

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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**Trotskyism
And Stalinism
In The USA
Part Four**

As Unemployment & Inflation Soar

UNIONS FACE DANGER- WAGE FREEZE AHEAD

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

Last week the clamor for wage-price controls begun by Federal Reserve chief Burns reached a new high. Bankers and businessmen from every quarter, and above all the Democratic Party are now going all out to get Nixon to hit American labor with a vicious wage freezing attack.

Pressure from the international bankers has come in the form of a "suggestion" from the 22 nation Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development as well as International Monetary Fund head Pierre-Paul Schweitzer that Nixon adopt an "incomes policy" of some kind.

More significant yet is the fact that the Democratic party has now taken the lead in beating the drum for a wage freeze policy. It was the Democrats on the House Banking Committee which last week voted to back legislation authorizing the president to control wages, prices and rents for up to eight months.

The complete bankruptcy of the Democratic party, its real anti-labor character is now once again completely out in the open.

While Nixon is grinding the American working class into the dirt with an unemployment rate that now stands at 4.8% and is rapidly increasing, while Nixon is driving inflation to the point where it may shoot over 7% by the year's end, what do the Democrats together with assorted liberals like John Lindsay propose? What they propose is to smash the one weapon with which labor has been able to beat Nixon back—the wage offensive of the last six months.

On the necessity to make the labor movement pay for the otherwise hopeless economic crisis the Democrats and Republicans are in complete accord. Their differences are purely tactical revolving around the methods to be employed.

Nixon for his part has avoided an incomes policy or wage

(Continued On Page 3)

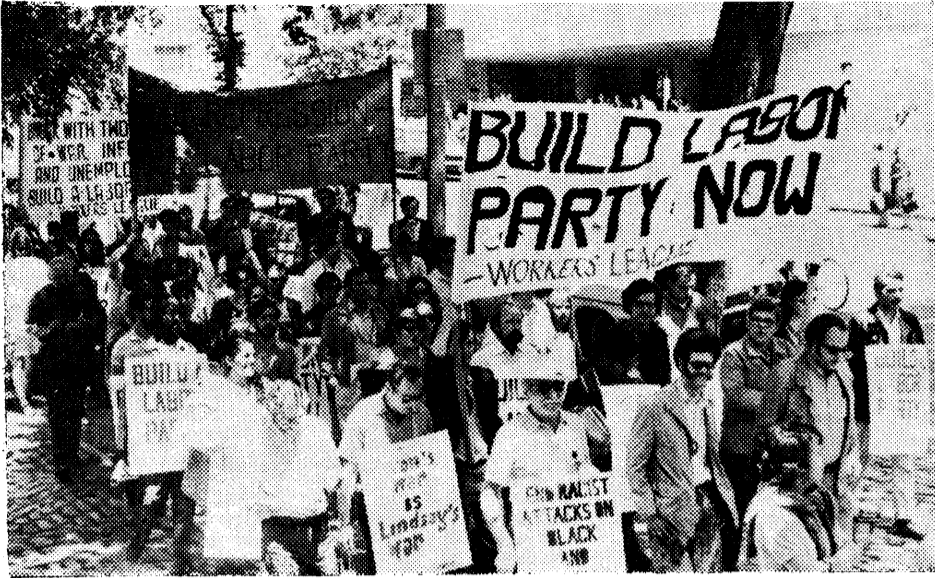
WORKERS LEAGUE MARCHES FOR LABOR PARTY



Arab guerrilla fighter

Two Articles

Zionist Regime Attacks Lebanon Behind Repression In Israel



Workers League contingent marches in Memorial Day demonstration against the war.

WL Fights for Labor Party At Memorial Day Rally

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, N.Y., May 30—A Memorial Day antiwar demonstration was held here today, with about 20,000 persons participating in a march from 92nd Street down to Central Park where a rally was held.

A Workers League contingent of about 100 persons marched with banners and placards, the central point of which was the call for a labor party. The Workers League had one of the largest and most spirited contingents on the march, chanting "U.S. Out of Indochina, Build a Labor Party Now," and "Nixon's war is the Bosses War, Build a Labor Party Now."

Neither the Socialist Workers Party nor the Communist Party had an independent contingent marching under their own banners.

The central slogan of the labor party was politically crucial. The speaker's platform was dominated by the Stalinists

LABOR PARTY URGED AT DETROIT ANTIWAR RALLY

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—Approximately three thousand assembled at an antiwar rally in Kennedy Square on Memorial Day. Ten to fifteen per cent of these were rank and file workers. This was the largest proportion of workers to participate in an antiwar demonstration.

The only political banners were those of the Workers League which raised the demand for a labor party.

The speakers were those primarily from the middle class: a black Democratic legislator, a black minister, an SWP candidate for State office and a student from SMC.

John Zupan, Vice President of Local 1497, AFSCME, AFL-CIO was the only speaker from labor. He pointed out that a major breakthrough in the labor movement on the war was taking place. He said labor would lead in the struggle against the war and that it was only labor that could end the war. He concluded by saying that labor had not only a responsibility to lead the struggle against the war but must take a political lead in organizing a labor party.

and liberals. Although a construction worker spoke, and other speakers talked about the working class, the leadership of the march refused to pose the political logic of the labor antiwar rally held May 21 at City Hall.

The leadership of today's demonstration, in particular the Communist Party, put forward the same kind of politics as the labor bureaucrats who spoke at the May 21 rally. These are the politics of the popular front, an alliance between the workers and the liberal capitalists on a reformist program. This was clearly expressed by an 1199 bureaucrat who pledged the union to support "peace" candidates—peace candidates, we can only presume, like Mayor Lindsay, dove, strikebreaker, and advocate of wage freezes for workers.

DEFLECT

The CP pushed this orientation at the May 21 rally, and carried this into today's rally. Their response to the big rank and file turnout last week is to try to deflect the militancy of the workers into the Democratic Party, to draw workers into the middle class protest movement, to create a popular front bringing the working class into a common movement with the capitalist class to deny its political independence.

In this regard the Socialist Workers Party plays a particularly bankrupt and rotten role. At the rally the SWP was liquidated politically into the SMC, and SWP member Pat Grogan who spoke for the SMC could not and would not raise any working class alternative to the Stalinists. The SWP completely and absolutely refuses to raise the demand for a labor party, it refuses to make this demand the center of the fight against the war. Unable to raise an independent class perspective, the SWP is forced to trail along behind the Stalinists and trade union bureaucrats.

Together the Stalinists and revisionists mislead and divert the thousands of serious youth who attended the rally and who want to take the struggle against the war forward.

WORKERS LEAGUE

The Workers League contingent in the Memorial Day march brought the strength and lessons of May 21 into today's rally. Rather than popular front politics of the trade union bureaucrats and the Stalinists, the contingent of the Workers League was the political expression of the May 21 demonstration.

The only way forward for the militancy of the working class lies in the construction of an independent party of labor. In that sense, the intervention of the Workers League, with a contingent including students from CCNY, Brooklyn College, NYCCC, New School, SSEU-371, 1199, National Maritime Union, Post Office workers, around the slogan of the labor party, took the march forward politically.

We intend to carry this fight forward, bringing the demand for the labor party into every struggle in the unions and the student movement, and fighting to take forward the fight against the war with the call for a mass demonstration against the war led by labor in Washington.

EDITORIAL

Lessons of Memorial Day In the Fight Against the War

On May 21 in New York an historic step was taken in the struggle against U.S. imperialism as the labor movement took a lead in the fight against the war by calling its own demonstration and marching under its banners.

But this development cannot go forward without a struggle against the trade union bureaucracy and above all the revisionists who now turn to the labor movement to contain the working class and the youth and prevent the independent political mobilization of the working class against capitalism.

This was made absolutely clear at the Memorial Day march called by the protest movement in New York and other cities. The struggle that went on inside that march was a struggle for the political leadership of the working class and the youth.

The Workers League intervened in the march on Memorial Day in order to carry forward a political struggle among the youth for the lessons of the May 21 rally. This was expressed in the program and character of the Workers League contingent. This contingent was one of the largest and the most disciplined and militant on the march. The demand for a labor party on the banners and in the chants was the political expression of the independent movement of the working class on May 21.

In raising this program and the necessity to construct a party capable of leading the workers and the youth the Workers League came into direct conflict with the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. While the Workers League fought to advance the struggle of the workers, these forces recognized the movement of the working class only in order to strangle it politically under the policy of a "peoples front."

stalinism

The real political cement behind this program is Stalinism. As the working class comes forward, the Communist Party more and more openly emerges to head it off using its roots in the unions to aid the labor bureaucracy in tying the struggles to the Democratic Party and keeping them safe within the bounds of capitalism and the middle class protest movement.

The politics of the Stalinists dominated the platform on Memorial Day as they have the traditional "peace movement" because of the role of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. While the SWP-YSA have been forced now to acknowledge the entrance of the working class into the struggle against the war, they propose the same popular front as the Stalinists by refusing to raise the demand for the labor party.

The SWP cannot see the growing dangers of Stalinism. This is why even when Stalinism in the form of PL-SDS launched a physical attack on the recent SMC meeting it could not get to the roots of this attack. In the recent issue of the Militant the SWP refuses to make the connection between these attacks and the historical relationship between Trotskyism and Stalinism. The Stalinists today reopen their campaign against Trotskyism precisely because the working class is on the offensive and because Trotskyism is the strategy for victory. Only the Workers League is able to carry this program forward against Stalinism. This was absolutely clear on Memorial Day.

cleveland

The struggle which the Workers League conducted against the revisionists on Memorial Day must go further. This is the significance of the conference called in Cleveland on June 16. This conference reflects the turn by the labor movement into the struggle against the war. The Cleveland Conference includes among its sponsors labor leaders from the UAW, Teamsters, UFT, AFSCME as well as the SMC and various pacifists. However, the call for the conference warns that politics are to be kept out. But this does not mean that there will be no politics at the conference. In fact, without a struggle for working class politics, for the labor party—the politics of the bureaucracy, of the Democratic Party will dominate.

At the last Cleveland Conference sponsored by the SMC the Workers League fought for labor to take the lead in the struggle against the war independently and on a class program. The SWP-YSA leadership of the SMC fought tooth and nail with the other tendencies to prevent this development and capitulated to the Stalinists in diffusing the struggle against the war.

Labor has indeed taken a lead. Now this struggle must be taken forward through the fight for a massive demonstration of a million workers and students under class banners and a class program on Washington—against the war, repression, unemployment, wage freezing, and government attacks on the unions. **AT THE CENTER OF THIS ACTION MUST BE THE LABOR PARTY.**

Bulletin

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Democrats & Republicans Prepare Wage Freeze

(Continued From Cover)

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Nixon knows full well that the imposition of wage freezes on American labor historically has been a relatively thankless task. Both in the Second World War and in the Korean War in spite of the cooperation of nearly the entire labor bureaucracy and the climate of patriotic fervor (the very opposite of which exists today), the ranks of labor broke through the wage ceilings the government sought to impose.

Nixon and the bosses are already sitting on a time bomb as the rebelliousness that has exploded on the university campuses finds its expression among young workers in basic industry. The bureaucracy in the steelworkers union and the UAW has expressed great concern in recent interviews about the unwillingness of young workers in these industries to accept the speedup and tight discipline, and their ready resort to wildcat strikes. This is forecast by both the workers and the bureaucrats to be heading toward major explosions in the immediate future.

PREPARING

Nixon is preparing the way for these measures through his strategy to pulverize the fight back of the unions with new upward leaps in unemployment combined with vicious new legal measures against the unions like the June 1 Supreme Court decision, empowering judges to enforce no strike clauses in union contracts.

Every worker should think twice about what it would mean to his standard of living if his next contract deadline were to come and go with no wage increase. He should measure this against the growing rate of inflation. No wage-price freeze in the history of this country or other countries has ever done a thing to halt the rise in prices.

Above all the American working class must take stock of the turn to wage controls by the Democrats and what it means for the whole historic alliance between labor and the Democratic party and the role of the trade union bureaucracy in perpetuating this alliance.

We say that just as the support given by the liberals to the breaking of the postal strike three months ago this latest turn reveals the real anti-working class character of the Democratic party. We say that this in turn poses the urgent necessity for labor to break with this party and create a labor party of its own.

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It is precisely the labor party slogan that can rally labor to a real offensive

against the economic attacks and to a real offensive against the Vietnam war.

What must be realized is that the Democrats and assorted liberals like John Lindsay of New York do not call for the smashing of the working class in the U.S. only to stand for the defense of the workers and peasants of Indochina. These liberals are just as much for the defeat of labor abroad as they are for the defeat

Nixon Plans Cambodian Escalation

BY PAT CONNOLLY

Nixon is preparing the way for American troops to be sent full scale into Cambodia in a new escalation and extension of the war in Southeast Asia.

U.S. troops now in Cambodia are restricted to a 21.7 mile range of operation, and are, according to Nixon, to leave Cambodia on June 30. The much publicized, and mythical, "Communist Central Headquarters" that Nixon used as his excuse to send in U.S. troops has not been found.

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This will be the opening for more U.S. troops to be poured into Cambodia full scale. It is more than obvious that South Vietnamese troops cannot hold territory for Saigon and beat back the Viet Cong in South Vietnam itself. That is why U.S. troops went to Vietnam in the first place. South Vietnam, even with U.S. arms and supplies, does not have the ability to prop up the Lon Nol regime and hold back the surging liberation forces in Cambodia by itself.

MARTIAL LAW

The U.S. is "encouraging" other nearby nations to send troops to aid the Cambodian regime, which faces increasing opposition from Cambodian workers and peasants. Martial law was declared in Phnompenh this week, and the death penalty for "treason" imposed. Green Beret Special Forces are training and equipping Thai and Laotian mercenary troops to come to the aid of the Lon Nol regime, and through Saigon the U.S. is sending arms, tanks and material to Cambodia.

But these mercenary and puppet forces cannot deal with the liberation forces in Cambodia. Liberation forces now control all of Cambodia east of the Mekong River,

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Wounded GI helped to cover in Cambodia. Combat refusals skyrocketed with invasion

and North Vietnamese units are concentrated in Northeast Cambodia. New supply routes have been set up from North Vietnam, through southern Laos, and down the Mekong River into Cambodia.

High American officials are describing the situation as similar to that in South Vietnam in 1966, with the prospect of protracted civil war. At best the regime of Lon Nol is at stake, they say, but in reality, all of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia is at stake.

Nixon and U.S. imperialism cannot rely on Asian puppet troops—South Vietnamese, CIA trained Cambodians, Green Beret trained Thai and Laotian mercenaries—to maintain itself. The ability of the liberation forces to open up new supply lines and gain support in Cambodia and Laos means that Nixon will be forced to bring in U.S. troops in full force, without deadlines or restrictions, to try to crush resistance in Cambodia and to move toward China.

ARMY

But Nixon has his problems. In addition to the stiff resistance liberation forces put up, he will have to contend with rising discontent within the Army, as well as the force of the U.S. labor movement coming into the fight against the war at home.

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common, if little publicized, occurrence. Newsweek, May 25, reports that "the current crop of U.S. troops—many of them draftees who make no bones about their opposition to the war—bear little resemblance to the aggressive, gung-ho units that saw action two or three years ago."

The rising tide of antiwar feelings among the soldiers in combat, now going over into "combat refusal" is potentially one of the most explosive and revolutionary forces that confronts imperialism as it prepares to expand the war.

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The revulsion and hatred of the war among the soldiers is not unrelated to the upsurge of the labor movement at home and internationally. In an unprecedented step on May 21, a section of the labor movement called its own huge rally against the war and repression. Hundreds of trade union leaders and locals have come out strongly against the war, since the Cambodian invasion.

The capitalist class in crisis is forced to try to beat back the Asian working class and peasantry in order to be able to really take on their own working class at home. But the working class in the U.S., under increasing attack on their standard of living and the independence of their trade unions, are on the offensive.

It is this offensive, taken into political struggle and united with the struggle of the Southeast Asians, which is going to destroy capitalism and imperialist war.

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BY MARTY JONAS

A situation is quickly shaping up in Italy much like May-June 1968 in France.

A four day work stoppage two weeks ago brought virtually all public services to a halt throughout the country. Public employees from all federal and state agencies took part in the massive strike. They were rapidly joined by firemen, railwaymen, postal workers, and teachers. At the same time, a nationwide printers' strike has been going on for a week.

Sporadic stoppages are occurring throughout the country. The first phase of a "burn the schools" campaign is being carried out in several cities.

The situation in Italy is developing a demonstration by the Vatican clergy, Pope Paul has been forced to grant 10% across the board increases to all Vatican employees plus the setting up of token grievance machinery.

UNITY

The pressure of the working class has become so intense that the leaderships of the three labor federations, the largest

of which is the Communist Party, have been forced to work together.

Up until recently the strikes were only over specific economic demands in specific plants or industries. Now, there is growing unity of all these strikes. Banners are being raised in the almost daily mass rallies for "social reform" and for class wide issues of wages, living, and working conditions.

As the Italian workers prepare for their May-June, the Communist Party is preparing for its role. This was expressed in the CP's leading magazine which took the following editorial line on the strikes:

The strikes of a mass movement of workers are only a first step at a time when the class struggle is sharpening all over Europe. It occurs as the French workers and youth fight the new wave of repression and the British working class mobilizes to defeat the Tories in the June election. The revolutionary upsurge in Europe reflects the deepening economic crisis as the tremors from the heart of world capitalism, Wall Street, shake the entire world system.



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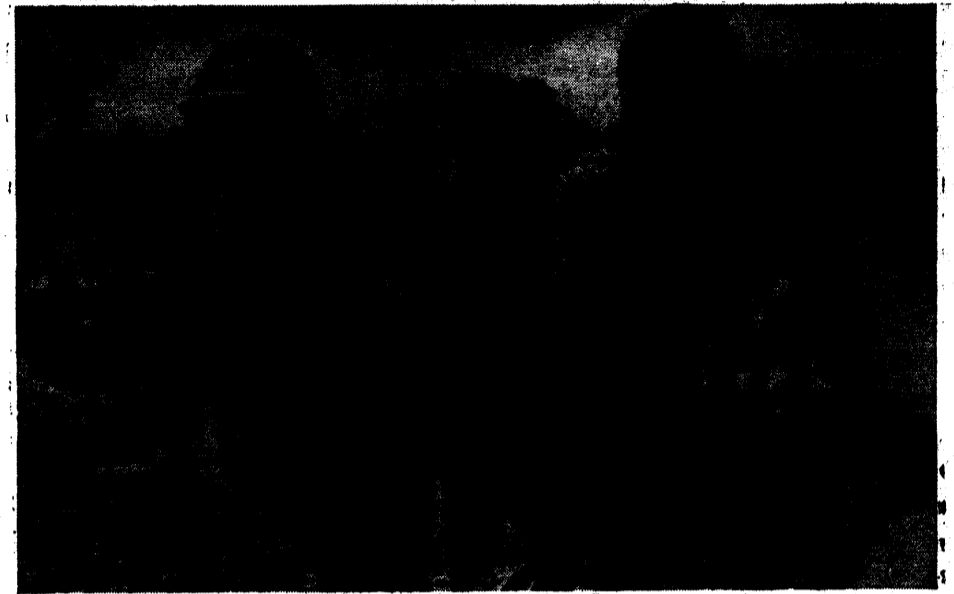
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Sporadic stoppages are occurring throughout the country. The Fiat plant in Turin, one of Italy's most important, had a series of stoppages over production bonuses.

Agricultural workers have been going out on a regional basis. General strikes have, in fact, been held regionally on an almost daily basis.

The pressure of the Italian working class has even reached into the walls of the Vatican. Under the threat of a demonstration by the Vatican gendarmery, Pope Paul has been forced to grant 10% across the board increases to all Vatican employees plus the setting up of token grievance machinery.

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As the Italian workers prepare for their May-June, the Communist Party is preparing for its role. This was exposed in the CP's leading magazine which took a position of "neutrality" in the printers' strike.

What this "neutrality" adds up to can be seen by the betrayal of the French workers by the CP during the 1968 general strike.

UPSURGE

The threat of a national general strike in Italy occurs at a time when the class struggle is sharpening all over Europe. It occurs as the French workers and youth fight the new wave of repression and the British working class mobilizes to defeat the Tories in the June election. The revolutionary upsurge in Europe reflects the deepening economic crisis as the tremors from the heart of world capitalism, Wall Street, shake the entire world system.

SECTION A		SECTION B		SECTION C							SECTION D		SECTION E			
ACTIVITY/ CASE NAME/ CASE NUMBER/		TIME (8-10)		CASE CATEGORY (11)							STATUS (12)		FUNCTION (13)			
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Time and motion study form used by the city to justify more layoffs and job cuts

SSEU Delegates and Ranks Back Fight to Stop Time Study

NEW YORK—The Committee for a New Leadership has taken up the fight in the SSEU-371 against the City's time and motion study. The study was introduced ostensibly for the purpose of "federal reimbursement for administrative costs."

Workers in the Department are being asked to fill out forms which will account for every minute of their working day. In the context of the reorganization of the Department and the City's need to get rid of the majority of the higher paid titles, this time and motion study becomes doubly vicious.

Despite tremendous opposition from the delegates and rank and file, President Hill made a deal with the City to force the time and motion study through. As a rationale for this sell out he stated that the agreement with the City guaranteed that no individual would be penalized or compared with any other individual as a result of this study. This obviously is completely phoney, and offers no protection to workers, as time and motion studies are rarely used for the purposes of studying individual workers anyway, but for speeding up and laying off great numbers of workers.

RANKS

The issue was taken out of the hands of the rank and file, however, because of a lack of a quorum at two consecutive Delegates Assembly meetings. The quorum call is conveniently for the leadership too high to be met, due to loss of staff and the transfer of workers.

The CNL decided to bring the issue back into the hands of the ranks. The CNL got over 1,300 signatures on petitions calling for an emergency membership meeting on June 4 to take up the time study. At this meeting the CNL will put forward a motion calling for the discontinuance of the time study.

The CNL also drew up a statement signed by 71 delegates and alternates opposed to the time and motion study, calling for a big turnout to the membership meeting and asking workers to postpone the time study scheduled for June 2, pending the membership meeting.

"DEAD ISSUE"

The union leadership is trying to say

COPS ATTACK BROOKLYN TECH STUDENTS

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Brooklyn—Last Wednesday morning, club wielding police viciously broke up a senior day celebration at Brooklyn Tech High School. Students were playfully spraying shaving cream on one another when, suddenly, cops started chasing them down the street, for no apparent reason.

Several youths were grabbed and beaten. One youth appeared to have had his arm broken by a cop, while another writhed in pain on the sidewalk, apparently kicked in the groin.

This kind of unprovoked attack is no accident. It is part of the systematic attack by the state on youth to keep

that the time study is a "dead issue." The time study will not be a "dead issue" until it is stopped. The Hill leadership is trying to discredit those who are fighting for the rank and file by saying that they are "just looking for an issue."

The bureaucracy is, of course, playing the City's game, and the City knows who its friends are. The union leadership has been so cooperative that it has permitted the City to show the utmost contempt for the workers by having them be their own efficiency experts.

The information gathered from these studies will be used to take more money out of the workers' pockets and to eliminate hundreds of more jobs. The ranks must mobilize for the membership meeting and throw this time study back in the face of the Hill leadership and the City.



Jim Geoghegan, head of the Security Party

BY A UTILITY WORKER

NEW YORK—A red scare the likes of which has not been seen since the late 1940s and early 50s is presently being waged within the Utility Workers Union of America Local 1-2 by a group calling itself "friends of The Administration."

them in line. These kinds of attacks will not stop with Kent State or Jackson, Mississippi.

The ruling class is very much afraid of the radicalization of the high school youth, particularly those who will soon be flooding the job market.

With a 40% unemployment rate among youth projected for New York City this summer, and no prospect of jobs being created, the bosses are digging in for all out warfare. They know that this will be a long, hot summer, and they are going to have to use any means necessary to keep things cool. Attacks like the one at Brooklyn Tech are just a warning.

1199 Must Make Wage Demands Non-Negotiable

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK, June 1—As of this date, the League of Voluntary Hospitals has refused to offer any wage increase to members of Local 1199, bringing closer the possibility of a strike on July 1.

They have not only rejected the proposed \$140 minimum wage but have declared that they have no money at all to bargain with. Although the union leaders seem only too willing to negotiate away every major demand, the hospitals have turned a deaf ear.

The rank and file must lose no time in forcing the union leadership to take up the bosses challenge and reject any negotiation on the key demands for the \$140, the cost of living clause, the 35 hour week and classifications.

A campaign has begun in the press to divide workers in the city from the hospital workers. At a press conference the hospital bosses announced that the union's demands would boost the cost of a private room to \$140 a day.

RESPONSIBLE

The union leadership has done nothing to counteract this propaganda. On the one hand they talk about the need for higher wages and on the other hand say that this must be in line with the bosses financial problems. But the lesson of every major strike over the last year has been that there is no more middle ground, no more room for maneuvering between the interests of the bosses and the interests of the workers.

Every worker must understand who is responsible for the hospital crisis. It is part of the overall cutback in funds which has meant at every point that it is the workers who pay for the crisis. When Rockefeller cut off Medicaid funds from the hospitals it led directly to the shut down of many clinic services and speedup and job cuts in the hospitals. When Medicare and Medicaid were introduced hospital rates jumped astronom-

ically, exposing the lie that it is wages which are responsible.

The only way to combat the lie that workers do not care about hospital costs is to take up the fight for socialized medicine while continuing the fight right now to win the \$140 minimum.

CONTROLS

The government is now threatening to institute some form of "cost control" which is supposed to make it seem as if the hospital bosses are being curbed. But what both the bosses and the government mean by cost control is only wage controls. Once again the workers will be asked to pay for the crisis. The complicity of the Davis leadership with the "cost control" is clear. This is why it has refused to make the union's wage demands non negotiable. The answer of the hospital workers must be loud and clear.

At Kingsbrook Jewish Hospital the overwhelming majority of the Guild chapter voted for a resolution from the floor to make the wage demands non negotiable. This fight must now be taken up in every hospital. Hospital workers must fight any attempt to send the dispute to arbitration by demanding a strike vote be taken before July 1. Massive labor support can be won to the side of the hospital workers as it was in the GE strike.

In every major strike over the past year—GE, Rail, Postal, Teamster—the union leaders have retreated before the offensive of the bosses to drive back wages. President Davis of Local 1199 is following in their footsteps. The determination of the workers not to back down backed up by the support of trade unionists all over the city can win victory in July.

Witchhunt Unleashed in Utility Union

The red baiting by "The Administration" was in response to a leaflet "Con Ed Workers: Lets Get Organized" put out by a utility worker at Con Ed's 41st St. telephone service. The attack is also aimed against the Security Party, the present opposition within Local 1-2.

In this leaflet "The Administration" tries to link the young worker who wrote the leaflet and spoke openly of being a communist, with the leadership of the Security Party, who they say "were seen talking together in the rear of the hall at Manhattan Center prior to a union membership meeting."

It is clear that this witchhunt flows from the fear of the union bureaucracy of rank and file militants as contract talks are nearing and the old contract continues to split at the seams, exposing itself as a sellout to worker after worker.

WITCHHUNTING

The redbaiting and witchhunting which "The Administration" promised is going to follow, is nothing more than a desperate attempt to divert the attention of Con Ed workers from the real issues that are facing them today because of the rotten contract.

It is important that young workers learn the true history of the labor movement. In this history they will learn that redbaiting and witchhunting of militant trade unionists is an old method which union bureaucrats use time and time again. In the World War II period it was done to sell the workers the no strike pledge, wage freeze, wage cuts and other patriotic niceties which the government demands of the working class so that profits can be preserved.

EXPLOSIVE

The deteriorating working conditions, the inflation eaten paychecks, the work overload and speedup, combined with all the other attacks by Con Edison against utility workers have created an explosive situation among the ranks. The union bureaucrats who gave Con Ed the green light by selling the ranks the last contract are finding it difficult to face the union membership without at every moment being subjected to the anger and resentment every worker has toward them.

The response of the leadership of the

Security Party to the right wing attack against them and the young worker has been turned into a case of making the victim the culprit. They answer none of the attacks made against them. In an editorial in the May issue of their publication *Highlights* they come out in complete agreement with "The Administration" saying that the young worker should be driven out of Con Ed because of her political views.

"FRIENDS"

The "friends of The Administration" would be more appropriately named "friends of Con Edison." This is the side they really stand on when they attack union militants. Every rank and file worker must condemn the attack on this worker because of her political views and demand that the Security Party defend this worker. Such attacks will only be used to prevent the ranks from taking up a struggle against Con Ed.

Minneapolis SDS Stages Anti-ROTC Adventures

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—A number of students, including members of SDS, have attempted to spark some life back into the student strike at the University of Minnesota by staging a series of anti ROTC rallies.

What they have really revealed, however, is the utter political bankruptcy of the whole anti ROTC campaign. The dwindling number of participants, and the impunity with which the cops have made arrests in the course of the campaign are indications of this.

The student strike here is on the ebb, but no amount of frustrated and scattered "student actions" can change that.

The real opportunity opened up by the mass upsurge of students and young workers last month is the break from middle class protest politics and the fight for independent working class action against the imperialist war. The mass labor and student rally against the war in New York City on May 21 shows the way forward.

By continuing its antics around the question of ROTC on campus SDS shows that it has learned nothing at all from this mass upsurge.

German Trotskyists Offer Alternative to Brandt-Stoph

BY V. BARAT

Kassel, Germany, May 21—Breaking through the heavy fog of official deceit at Kassel tonight and the only one to defend the genuine interests of the working class in both halves of Germany was the clear voice of Trotskyism.

The packed meeting in the auditorium of the modern school for Formative Arts in Kassel was composed of an audience of workers, apprentices, grade school pupils, and students. They came not only from Kassel itself but from cities throughout the country.

The German Trotskyists grouped around the newspaper *International Workers Correspondence (IAK)* and the youth group, the Young Guard, presented the only viable alternative to the attempts of SPD Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany (BRD) and his official counterpart in the East German government (DDR), Willi Stoph, to impose the status quo on the working class of both nations. The intent is to keep the proletariat chained to their respective bureaucracies of

Social Democracy and Stalinism.

The main speaker showed that the "normalization of relationships between the two German states," in other words, peaceful coexistence, was a fraud. Through Brandt German capital hopes to penetrate the DDR "peacefully." Like the rest of the world's bourgeoisie German imperialism is in deep crisis and desperately needs additional areas for capital investment and for the exploitation of fresh labor, if it is to survive. The result is a direct threat to the conquests of the East German working class: its nationalization of the means of production, its planned economy, and its monopoly over foreign trade.

THREAT

The spokesman for the German Trotskyists showed that Stalinism in its absurd attempt to build socialism, not even in one country but in half a country, was anxious to accept West German capital because of its own overwhelming economic difficulties. Hence, the Ulbricht regime represents a grave inner threat even as West German capital through the SPD represents an external threat to the hard won achievements not only of the East German proletariat but ultimately of all the workers' states.

While Brandt was thus helping to undermine the remaining conquests from the Bolshevik Revolution, he was simultaneously betraying the West German proletariat. He offered them no hope for a reunification of the country on a socialist basis, or any other.

Furthermore, by insisting on a coalition with liberal bourgeois Free Democrats (FDP), Brandt and his chief supporters in the German trade union bureaucracy were directly attacking the interests of the West German working class and youth through the comanagement hoax and "concerted action" (a euphemism for allowing union bureaucrats and employers to make binding deals behind the backs of the trade union ranks).

In addition the wage level of apprentices have been kept far below that of the adult workers, thus weakening the bond



West German Communist Party members demonstrate in Kassel as Stoph arrives

between both and forcing the young workers to become a source of cheap labor and depressing general wage levels. This has been combined with debasing the quality of education and the training of apprentices, preparing them instead for the most menial assignments in the rapid process of automation. Opportunities for university education have been reduced for increasing numbers of youth through instituting of the medieval concept of a numerous clauses, while at the same time curtailing human and material resources necessary for adequate professional training.

ATTACKS

In such daily attacks on the working class and by the SPD officials' support for the status quo and for two separate Germanies, they were only preparing the soil for a rapid growth of the fascists in West Germany.

The main speaker for the Trotskyists made the following demands:

1. Full democratic trade union rights in both halves of Germany, including the absolute right to strike in the DDR! For a sliding scale of wages as a hedge against inflation and a thousand Mark minimum monthly wage!
2. Strengthen the democracy for the working class in West Germany! As a step in this direction restore the legal rights of the German CP (KPD), which is today compelled to function under a different name. Legalize all working class and pro socialist parties and tendencies in the DDR!
3. Down with attacks on the living and educational standards of young workers and students in the BRD!
4. For a national conference in West

Germany of proletarian and student youth to formulate and carry through their demands!

5. In preparation for the proletarian reunification of both Germanies, encourage unrestricted travel between workers and youth of each half of the nation, leading up to joint discussions about their mutual problems and interests!

6. For a unified Germany under a workers' government as an integral part of the Socialist United States of Europe!

These demands received an enthusiastic response from the audience.

PREPARATIONS

To hold the meeting at all in Kassel required the overcoming of a number of serious handicaps. The government of BRD had declared all meeting in public halls out of bounds anywhere in the Kassel area. With the help of a group of left wing students from the city it was possible to secure a hall at a private school.

Careful preparations were made for the public meeting in the knowledge that neither the SRD nor the West German Stalinists wanted it.

Defense guards were organized and instructed in advance on how to defend the meeting against possible provocateurs. It was fortunate that this precaution had been taken. When a group of Stalinists, joined by a small clique of anarchists, suffered a decisive political defeat in arguing their coexistence line in the discussion period, a few of them made a rush for the mike. A quick response by the guards in red arm bands put an immediate end to the disruption. The meeting terminated without further incident.

WISCONSIN ALLIANCE OPPOSES LABOR PARTY AT RECENT CONVENTION

BY STEPHEN DIAMOND

MADISON, WIS—The Wisconsin Alliance has just held an open convention to debate and implement the content and structure for its summer program. The Alliance is widely regarded as having a working class orientation, and it bills itself as based on a student-worker alliance.

In reality the Wisconsin Alliance is a middle class reformist swamp whose main activity is community organizing. Multi class ward organizations have been established in Madison, and these organizations fight for democratic reforms acceptable to a section of the ruling class.

Typical of these reforms is the proposal that Madison annex two affluent outlying areas in order to tax them heavily and use the money to build health clinics. The Alliance thus substitutes the struggle of the poor against the rich for the class struggle. The Alliance speaks of the need for a mass third party, which it sometimes calls a labor party. What it means, however, is not a party based on the trade unions, but a radical bourgeois party. The slogan which it has adopted, "All power to the people," is entirely appropriate.

STALINIST

The Workers League intervened in the Alliance convention. The Workers League posed that the main slogan for the next period be Build a Labor Party Now and the main thrust of all political work had to be to take the struggle for a labor party into the trade unions. When a Workers League member showed the connections between the current Alliance activity and the Stalinist popular front—connections which Alliance leaders try to obscure by portraying themselves as pragmatically groping for solutions—he was cut off by Alliance leaders.

It was only after the Workers League spokesman pointed out that a Stalinist program requires Stalinist methods of stifling democratic debate that he was allowed to continue. Nevertheless in the discussion the Workers League was continually baited as a bureaucratic organization, as opposed to the free and open Alliance which "doesn't have all the solutions."

The Workers League proposal was defeated by a coalition of rightwingers who poured their scorn on the trade unions and even on the working class itself, and the centrist Alliance leadership, which said community organizing was just a tactic and that it would be arrogant for students to call on workers to form a labor party.

Expressing a middle class antipathy to theory typical of the Alliance, one Alliance leader said "I am not afraid to make reformist mistakes." The working class has no need for these dilettantes for whose mistakes it may have to pay dearly.

Minn. SWP-YSA Retreats From Fight Against Liberals

BY J. RENEE

MINNEAPOLIS—In 1968 the McCarthy campaign mobilized thousands of youth and utilized their full time and energy. Yet as the Workers League pointed out at the time, its only purpose was to act as a safety valve to keep the mounting rebellion within the two party system, that is, safe within the confines of the capitalist system.

The real question was: Is there going to be any complete break with capitalist politics? The need was for labor to break completely with capitalist politics and form a labor party, thus taking leadership of the fight against the war and against racism, and for the defense of the workers' standard of living.

Today the need is even more urgent. Labor must unfurl the banner of the labor party and unite the forces of workers, students and all oppressed behind a class struggle program that completely breaks with any notion of reform.

SAFE

But today, as in 1968, we see a proliferation of "peace," reform candidates attempting again to channel the movement into the safe path of protest politics.

In Minneapolis Earl Craig, running for U.S. Senate against Hubert Humphrey, is one such candidate. Craig is a former state chairman of the New Democratic Coalition and an instructor in the Afro-American Studies Department at the University of Minnesota. In his words, he is running because "the people need and the times demand forthright and radical alternatives to failing programs and insensitive politicians."

United behind his campaign are two groups. First, the liberals and reformists who are determined to channel the growing rebellion of both students and workers back into the safe pathway of liberal protest politics, and correctly see Craig's "independent" campaign as a new vehicle for this purpose. Aiding them in this conscious deception are the Stalinists, who tailend the Craig campaign for their own reasons.

For the Communist Party this is one more opportunity to tie the working class to the Democratic Party, and thus further prove their loyalty and provide support to those "good Democrats" who support a deal with the Soviet Union. Thus the CP uses the Craig campaign to attempt to foist another popular front on U.S. workers.

The bulk of Craig's support comes from younger workers and students. It is this group which swelled the ranks of the demonstrations, marches and strikes which swept the country in the wake of Nixon's invasion of Cambodia.

BUREAUCRACY

But why can a Craig step in and channel the energy of these rebellious youth behind a campaign to build "a counter-constituency against that of political machinations and governmental insensitivities?" Essentially, Craig is stepping in to fill a void in leadership. Young workers and students seeking a way out are met on the one side by the labor bureaucracy tied hand and foot to the Democratic Party.

In Minnesota this means their continued subservient and obsequious support of Hubert Humphrey. No leadership is forthcoming from these bureaucrats. What is needed is a new leadership in the labor movement capable of taking an aggressive lead in the fight against the war, and against Nixon's attacks on the working class by a call for the labor party.

Not only the labor skates but the CP as well are seeking instead to keep the growing rebellious masses tied firmly to the capitalist system.

But neither is the YSA-SWP providing the leadership that could undercut the Craig campaign and similar moves. Within the SMC, which it leads, the YSA still pushes for an antipolitical, single-issue protest movement against the war. And the election program of the SWP is essentially no different from that of the protest candidate Craig.

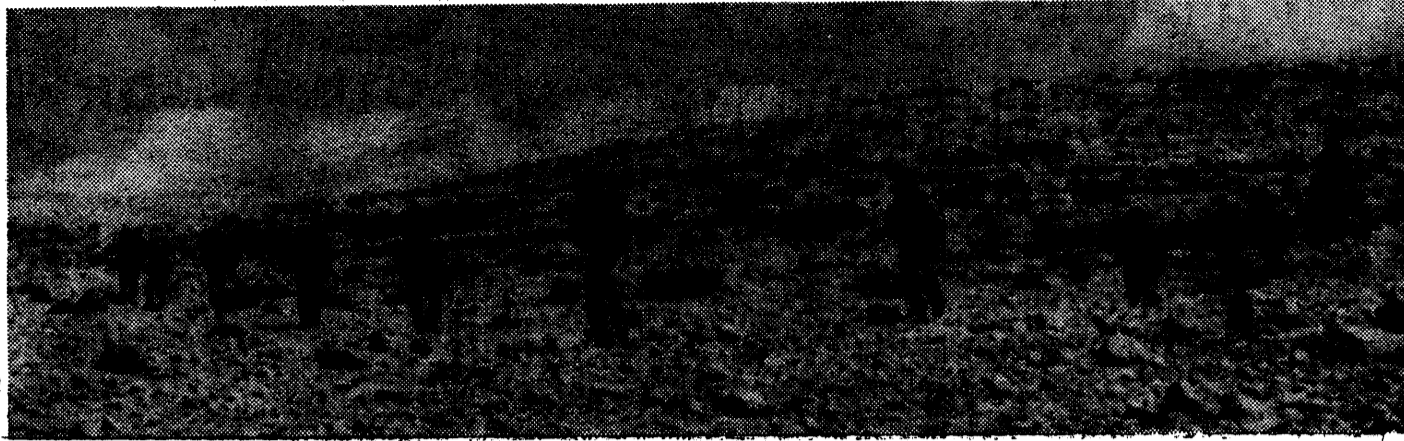
Craig proposes immediate withdrawal from Viet Nam; so do Strebe, Harary and Myers, the SWP candidates. Craig calls for an end to the draft. The SWP agrees. Craig declares "the most exciting social and political development in the past few years has been the drive for self-determination in the Black, Indian, Chicano and other minority communities." The SWP also supports continuation of the divisions between the races and the legalization of the ghettos by urging self-control of ghetto communities.

ILLUSIONS

Moreover, they foster and perpetuate illusions that capitalism can be reformed by calling for such things as "nonprofit cooperatives run by the community." Craig seeks to pose an "independent" political answer within capitalism. The SWP assumes an anticapitalist posture, but puts forward essentially similar demands. Is it any wonder they are completely unable to cut through the illusions represented by Craig?

The demand that must be central—the labor party—is buried in the reformist middle-class verbiage of the SWP's platform. It is this demand which expresses politically the growing upsurge of the working class and the youth. Only by making the labor party central can the workers and youth be united in a political offensive against capitalism.

Israel Escalates War in Middle East



Al Fatah guerrillas train in the desert in preparation for new attacks by Israeli forces on Lebanon

BY FRED MUELLER

The battle between the Zionist regime and the Arab guerrilla fighters continues to intensify, recently erupting in the biggest clash between Israel and Lebanon since the 1948 war.

This was followed by a battle between the Israelis and Al Fatah forces in the Jordan River Valley and air clashes between the Israelis and the Egyptians.

The Israeli raid against Lebanon was designed to "search and destroy" guerrilla bases on Mount Hebron. Tel Aviv holds the Beirut regime responsible for the guerrillas operating from its territory. The latest raid was not a commando operation by Israel, but a full blown attack including tanks, artillery and jets.

The Zionists face precisely the same dilemma faced by U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. They are forced to fight against an entire people. Even on the military plane the latest raids are beginning to be recognized as of questionable value. Al Fatah claimed that there were very serious Israeli losses. The Israelis were repulsed from some guerrilla bases and others were almost immediately re-occupied following their departure.

ANNEXATION

From the political standpoint the Zionist strategy is even more of a disaster. To effectively strike at the guerrillas who enjoy massive and growing popular support, the Zionists must more and more think along the lines of permanent occupation or annexation. They are driven towards the most brutal imperialist adventures by the very logic of their position as an outpost of imperialism in the Middle East.

It is this dilemma for the Israelis which provides the backdrop for the latest raids and gives the attack against Lebanon added ominous significance. Within Israel the right wing forces within the so-called National Unity cabinet are pressing more and more insistently for outright annexationist policies.

The Zionists are fighting the Arab masses and that is why their strategy backfires no matter how well it is executed. They aim to put pressure on the pro-imperialist regime in Lebanon, but they only increase the popular support for the guerrillas. On May 26 a general strike shut down Beirut in protest over the Israeli offensive and the inaction of the government.

CONTRADICTION

There is irony in the fact that the Beirut regime, which fought the guerrillas along with the Israelis last year

now fights with the guerrillas against Israel. Behind this irony lies the tremendous contradiction between the revolutionary struggle of the masses and the petty bourgeois and bourgeois nationalist leaders.

The appeals of the Arab bourgeois regimes to the United Nations point up their inability to fight imperialism and Zionism. The UN has condemned Israeli actions many times and with absolutely

no effect. Tel Aviv contemptuously rejects all UN statements just as Washington ignores the UN when it comes to its aggression in Southeast Asia.

The Israelis have pointed to increased Soviet aid to Egypt and have alleged that Soviet pilots are flying MIG fighters for Cairo. This excuse is used to appeal for more aid, from the U.S. particularly for the sale of Phantom jets. But all the talk of Soviet agitation and inflammatory policies is a complete fraud, is only used to back up imperialism's expanding war in the Middle East.

In Southeast Asia, Cuba, the Middle East and elsewhere Soviet "aid" serves as a lever in the hands of the Kremlin

bureaucrats. Stalinist influence is a conservative restraining factor. It is used to push for a big power settlement which can only mean the betrayal of the Arab masses.

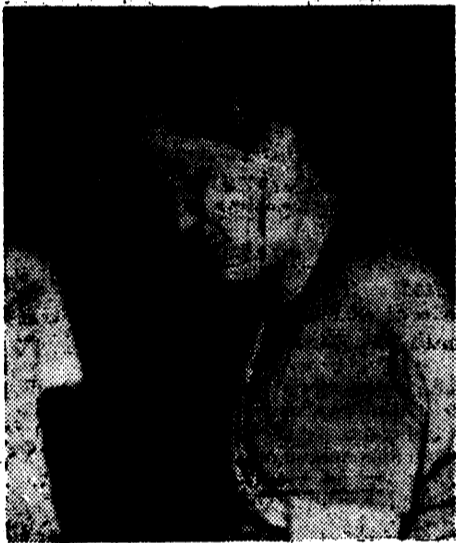
Kremlin policy and motives have been exposed in their attacks upon the guerrilla movements, their support for the bourgeois regimes and their restraining influence even on Nasser. The Zionists know this but lyingly whip up anticommunist hysteria to bolster their own military and diplomatic position.

LEADERSHIP

The influence of Moscow remains a big danger to the struggles of the Arab masses, as shown by the example of Khrushchev's moves in the Cuban crisis of 1962, as well as the Kremlin role in the 1954 Geneva conference over Vietnam and the policy of peaceful coexistence and betrayals of revolutionary struggles all over the world.

The Zionists are on the defensive, but they are far from defeated. The Arab masses must forge a leadership which can really defeat imperialism. This means a fight against Stalinist policies as well as the national bourgeoisie. Socialist, internationalist policies are required, to form the basis of an alliance between Jewish and Arab workers with aid from the International working class.

LEFT COALITION WINS ELECTION IN CEYLON



Bandaranaike, head of Ceylon government

BY ED SMITH

The recent overwhelming victory of the bourgeois-radical coalition led by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike in the Ceylonese general elections opens a new stage in the struggle of the Ceylonese working class.

The three victorious parties are Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the Communist Party and the ex-Trotskyist LSSP. They overturned the conservative, pro-American United National Party by means of "left" sounding talk and demagogic promises. The victory reflects the tremendous upsurge of the past period among the Ceylonese workers and peasants. But the entire history of the three parties shows that they are incapable of carrying forward the struggle of Ceylon's working class.

The SLFP originally came out of the bourgeois United National Party itself, as the personal vehicle of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Sirimavo's husband, and had control of the government from 1955. When Mr. Bandaranaike was assassinated by a Buddhist fanatic who thought the SLFP's racist repression against the Tamil minority did not go far enough, Mrs. Bandaranaike took over the leadership of the SLFP.

COVER

By 1963 the emergence of the crisis of capitalism had its political reflection in Ceylon. The Ceylonese masses grew more and more restive under the capitalist yoke and Mrs. Bandaranaike realized she would need a "left" cover as the bankruptcy of the SLFP was becoming more and more apparent.

The Stalinists in the Communist Party

were all too willing to play the role of footman to Mrs. Bandaranaike on the basis of a popular front reformist program.

But there was still one more obstacle for Mrs. Bandaranaike and her bourgeois friends. The Ceylonese working class was primarily under the leadership of the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP), which proclaimed itself a Trotskyist party, with the patronage of the revisionist Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International, which is supported by the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

The bourgeoisie needed the help of the LSSP to hold down the working class and the LSSP's leaders, after fifteen years of pragmatic adaptation to capitalist politics were only too willing to oblige.

PABLOITES

This is where the real dirty work of the "United Secretariat" came in. For thirteen years the Pabloites has encouraged the LSSP leaders in their opportunist course. When the LSSP leaders began to bandy about the idea of a popular front with the SLFP, the Pabloite leaders absolutely refused to mount any struggle or even discussion with them. The Pabloites finally expelled the LSSP leaders, but only after they had entered the Bandaranaike government. At the next "United Secretariat" world congress, exactly ninety minutes were devoted to the loss of the Pabloites' biggest section. For daring to raise this issue inside the SWP the tendency that became the Workers League was expelled.

In 1965, within 26 weeks of the entrance of the traitor LSSP and CP, the Bandaranaike coalition government fell from power. It was impossible to fulfill popular expectations of the coalition within the framework of capitalism and as a result the bourgeois United National Party came into power.

ACCOMODATING

After five years, now dissatisfaction with the UNP, its attacks on the working class and its pro-imperialist policies has reached a fever pitch. Only a refurbished SLFP-CP-LSSP coalition could capably channel mass discontent in a "safe" direction. Once again the LSSP and CP went all out in accomodating to their bourgeois ally. The LSSP, once strongly represented in rural districts through the Estate Workers' Union, abandoned them entirely to the SLFP.

Despite all this, Ceylon's laboring masses saw in the SLFP-CP-LSSP coalition an alternative to the UNP. This is the reason for the coalition's smashing victory. Exactly at a time when the sinking state of capitalism rules out all reformist palliatives for the demands of the working class. The recent actions of the Ceylonese workers, including a

bitter port strike and the sacking of reactionary newspapers by thousands of youth on election night, show that the SLFP-CP-LSSP coalition's inevitable betrayal will not get past the Ceylonese workers and youth this time without bitter struggles.

The Bandaranaike coalition gained its mass support in the election only by the "socialist" credentials given to it by the misleaders of the working class.

CONFLICT

The defeat of the UNP can only add new power to the determination of the Ceylonese workers and peasants to step up their struggle against capitalism. It is this struggle which will expose the liberals and their agents in the Communist Party, the LSSP and the trade union leadership. When the LSSP entered the coalition government in 1964, only a year after the reunification of the SWP with the Pabloites it was carrying out the logic of Pabloism just as it does today serving the interests of capitalism, and preserving its rule. But today we are living in a new period of deepening capitalist crisis and the offensive of the working class internationally which more and more brings it in conflict with its revisionist leaders. This opens up a whole new period for the growth of Trotskyism in Ceylon under the banner of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

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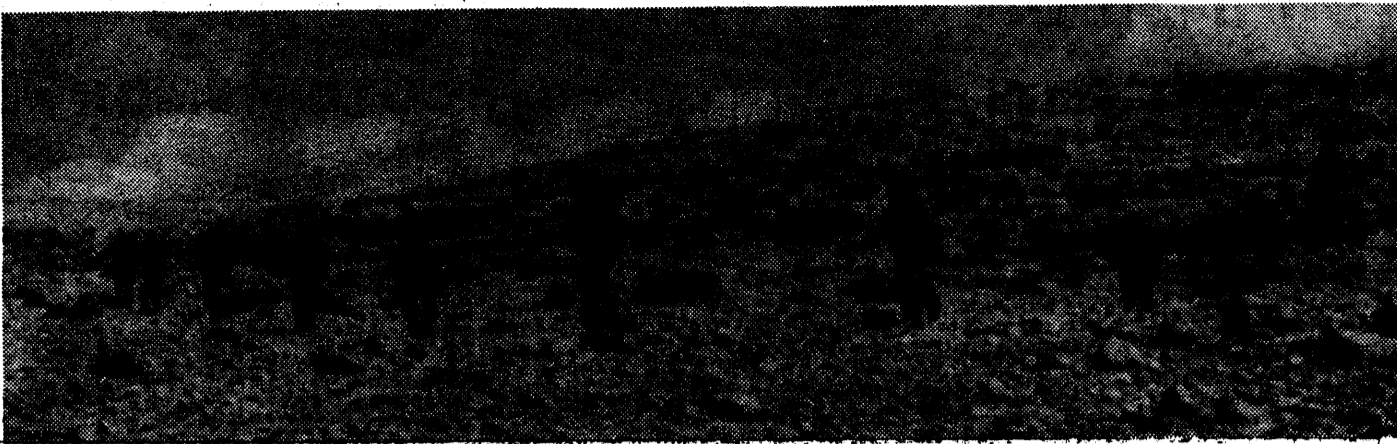
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Israel Escalates War in Middle East



Al Fatah guerrillas train in the desert in preparation for new attacks by Israeli forces on Lebanon

BY FRED MUELLER

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From the political standpoint the Zionist strategy is even more of a disaster. To effectively strike at the guerrillas who enjoy massive and growing popular support, the Zionists must more and more think along the lines of permanent occupation or annexation. They are driven towards the most brutal imperialist adventures by the very logic of their position as an outpost of imperialism in the Middle East.

It is this dilemma for the Israelis which provides the backdrop for the latest raids and gives the attack against Lebanon added ominous significance. Within Israel the right wing forces within the so-called National Unity cabinet are pressing more and more insistently for outright annexationist policies.

The Zionists are fighting the Arab masses and that is why their strategy backfires no matter how well it is executed. They aim to put pressure on the pro-imperialist regime in Lebanon, but they only increase the popular support for the guerrillas. On May 26 a general strike shut down Beirut in protest over the Israeli offensive and the inaction of the government.

CONTRADICTION

There is irony in the fact that the Beirut regime, which fought the guerrillas along with the Israelis last year

now fights with the guerrillas against Israel. Behind this irony lies the tremendous contradiction between the revolutionary struggle of the masses and the petty bourgeois and bourgeois nationalist leaders.

The appeals of the Arab bourgeois regimes to the United Nations point up their inability to fight imperialism and Zionism. The UN has condemned Israeli actions many times and with absolutely

no effect. Tel Aviv contemptuously rejects all UN statements just as Washington ignores the UN when it comes to its aggression in Southeast Asia.

The Israelis have pointed to increased Soviet aid to Egypt and have alleged that Soviet pilots are flying MIG fighters for Cairo. This excuse is used to appeal for more aid, from the U.S. particularly for the sale of Phantom jets. But all the talk of Soviet agitation and inflammatory policies is a complete fraud, is only used to back up imperialism's expanding war in the Middle East.

In Southeast Asia, Cuba, the Middle East and elsewhere Soviet "aid" serves as a lever in the hands of the Kremlin

bureaucrats. Stalinist influence is a conservative restraining factor. It is used to push for a big power settlement which can only mean the betrayal of the Arab masses.

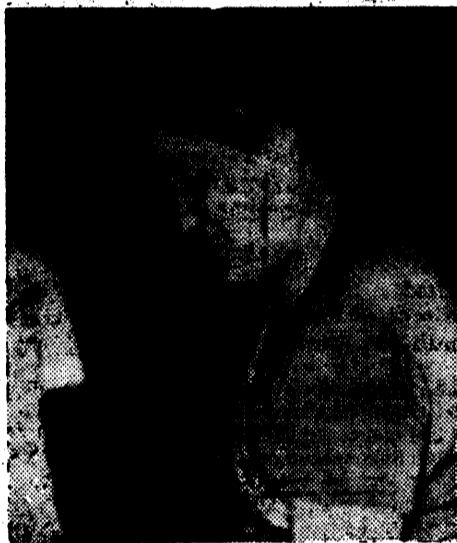
Kremlin policy and motives have been exposed in their attacks upon the guerrilla movements, their support for the bourgeois regimes and their restraining influence even on Nasser. The Zionists know this but lyingly whip up anticommunist hysteria to bolster their own military and diplomatic position.

LEADERSHIP

The influence of Moscow remains a big danger to the struggles of the Arab masses, as shown by the example of Khrushchev's moves in the Cuban crisis of 1962, as well as the Kremlin role in the 1954 Geneva conference over Vietnam and the policy of peaceful coexistence and betrayals of revolutionary struggles all over the world.

The Zionists are on the defensive, but they are far from defeated. The Arab masses must forge a leadership which can really defeat imperialism. This means a fight against Stalinist policies as well as the national bourgeoisie. Socialist, internationalist policies are required, to form the basis of an alliance between Jewish and Arab workers with aid from the International working class.

LEFT COALITION WINS ELECTION IN CEYLON



Bandaranaike, head of Ceylon government

BY ED SMITH

The recent overwhelming victory of the bourgeois-radical coalition led by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike in the Ceylonese general elections opens a new stage in the struggle of the Ceylonese working class.

The three victorious parties are Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the Communist Party and the ex-Trotskyist LSSP. They overturned the conservative, pro-American United National Party by means of "left" sounding talk and demagogic promises. The victory reflects the tremendous upsurge of the past period among the Ceylonese workers and peasants. But the entire history of the three parties shows that they are incapable of carrying forward the struggle of Ceylon's working class.

The SLFP originally came out of the bourgeois United National Party itself, as the personal vehicle of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Sirimavo's husband, and had control of the government from 1955. When Mr. Bandaranaike was assassinated by a Buddhist fanatic who thought the SLFP's racist repression against the Tamil minority did not go far enough, Mrs. Bandaranaike took over the leadership of the SLFP.

COVER

By 1963 the emergence of the crisis of capitalism had its political reflection in Ceylon. The Ceylonese masses grew more and more restive under the capitalist yoke and Mrs. Bandaranaike realized she would need a "left" cover as the bankruptcy of the SLFP was becoming more and more apparent.

The Stalinists in the Communist Party

were all too willing to play the role of footman to Mrs. Bandaranaike on the basis of a popular front reformist program.

But there was still one more obstacle for Mrs. Bandaranaike and her bourgeois friends. The Ceylonese working class was primarily under the leadership of the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP), which proclaimed itself a Trotskyist party, with the patronage of the revisionist Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International, which is supported by the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

The bourgeoisie needed the help of the LSSP to hold down the working class and the LSSP's leaders, after fifteen years of pragmatic adaptation to capitalist politics were only too willing to oblige.

PABLOITES

This is where the real dirty work of the "United Secretariat" came in. For thirteen years the Pabloites has encouraged the LSSP leaders in their opportunist course. When the LSSP leaders began to bandy about the idea of a popular front with the SLFP, the Pabloite leaders absolutely refused to mount any struggle or even discussion with them.

The Pabloites finally expelled the LSSP leaders, but only after they had entered the Bandaranaike government. At the next "United Secretariat" world congress, exactly ninety minutes were devoted to the loss of the Pabloites' biggest section. For daring to raise this issue inside the SWP the tendency that became the Workers League was expelled.

In 1965, within 26 weeks of the entrance of the traitor LSSP and CP, the Bandaranaike coalition government fell from power. It was impossible to fulfill popular expectations of the coalition within the framework of capitalism and as a result the bourgeois United National Party came into power.

ACCOMODATING

After five years, now dissatisfaction with the UNP, its attacks on the working class and its pro-imperialist policies has reached a fever pitch. Only a re-furnished SLFP-CP-LSSP coalition could capably channel mass discontent in a "safe" direction. Once again the LSSP and CP went all out in accomodating to their bourgeois ally. The LSSP, once strongly represented in rural districts through the Estate Workers' Union, abandoned them entirely to the SLFP.

Despite all this, Ceylon's laboring masses saw in the SLFP-CP-LSSP coalition an alternative to the UNP. This is the reason for the coalition's smashing victory. Exactly at a time when the sinking state of capitalism rules out all reformist palliatives for the demands of the working class. The recent actions of the Ceylonese workers, including a

bitter port strike and the sacking of reactionary newspapers by thousands of youth on election night, show that the SLFP-CP-LSSP coalition's inevitable betrayal will not get past the Ceylonese workers and youth this time without bitter struggles.

The Bandaranaike coalition gained its mass support in the election only by the "socialist" credentials given to it by the misleaders of the working class.

CONFLICT

The defeat of the UNP can only add new power to the determination of the Ceylonese workers and peasants to step up their struggle against capitalism. It is this struggle which will expose the liberals and their agents in the Communist Party, the LSSP and the trade union leadership. When the LSSP entered the coalition government in 1964, only a year after the reunification of the SWP with the Pabloites it was carrying out the logic of Pabloism just as it does today serving the interests of capitalism, and preserving its rule. But today we are living in a new period of deepening capitalist crisis and the offensive of the working class internationally which more and more brings it in conflict with its revisionist leaders. This opens up a whole new period for the growth of Trotskyism in Ceylon under the banner of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

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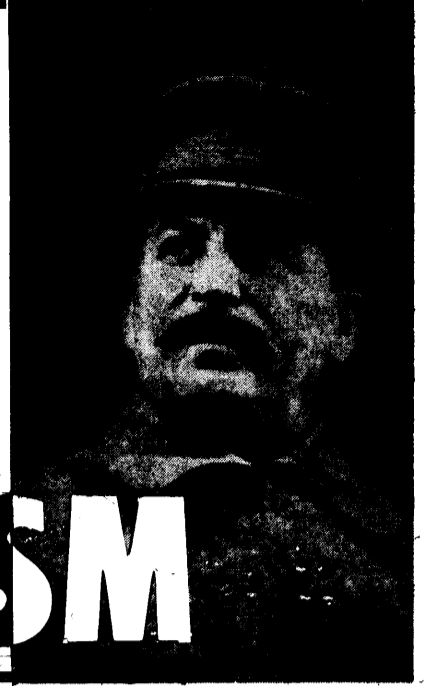
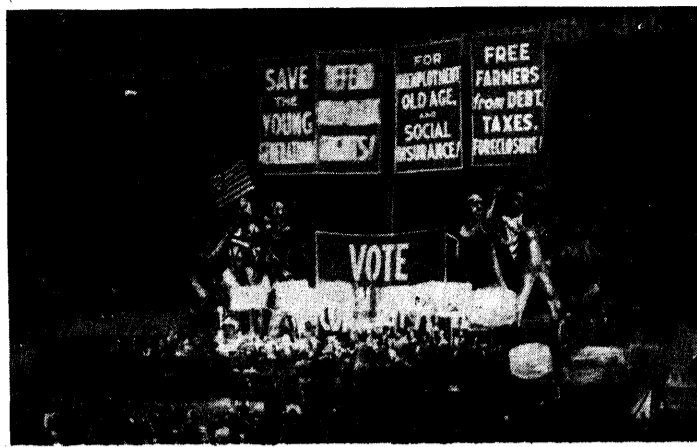
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STALINISM

& TROTSKYISM IN USA

an answer to hyman lumer and others
 by **FRED MUELLER**



IV. EARLY C.P. AND AMERICAN PRAGMATISM

AT A SPECIAL session of the Communist Party National Committee held after the invasion of Cambodia and the killings in Kent State, Augusta and Jackson, Mississippi, a program was discussed for the fight against reaction at home and abroad. This was summed up by CP National Secretary Gus Hall, who said, "The need of the hour is the building of a broad peoples' alliance which will gather all democratic forces into a coalition."

In a leaflet issued at this time, the Stalinists were even more precise in their terminology, calling for the building of a "peoples' front." There it is in black and white. The Communist Party is more and more openly calling for a popular front. As the crisis deepens the Stalinists are preparing to move quickly to revive and rebuild the kind of alliance which existed during the late 1930s

and World War II.

It is impossible to fight these policies of class collaboration today without bringing history and theory to bear in this fight. A continuous struggle is required against all antitheory tendencies, against the conception that Stalinism is not an immediate question. The Stalinists played an indispensable role in the New Deal and war years, acting as a safety valve and channeling the militancy of thousands and even millions of workers behind the left wing of the bourgeoisie. Without the services of the Communist Party Roosevelt and his henchmen in the labor bureaucracy would not have been able to forestall a break by the unions with the Democratic Party. In the high echelons of the CIO the Stalinists worked overtime to dampen rank and file militancy and to crush militant and left wing opponents.

CRISIS

The meaning of the deepening imperialist crisis in the 1970s, the meaning of Nixon's desperate moves in Southeast Asia and at home and the collapse of stock market prices all over the world, is that revolutionists must prepare for the decisive struggle between the classes in this decade. Every single historical lesson of the struggle between Stalinism and Trotskyism must be burned into the consciousness of a new revolutionary generation and its vanguard. This is the only way the working class can emerge victorious from the coming struggles.

What is required is not only an answer to the Stalinist slanders against Trotskyism, or a study of the crimes of Stalinism and its legacy of class collaboration. Also required is an understanding of the actual struggle between Stalinism

and Trotskyism, the origin of these two tendencies in the United States and their combat over a period of 40 years.

HISTORY

The history of Stalinism and Trotskyism in the U.S. is very closely bound up with two names in the workers' movement, William Z. Foster and James P. Cannon. In the early days of the Communist Party in the early and mid 1920s, four men came to the fore as the recognized leaders of the Party: Ruthenberg, Foster, Lovestone, and Cannon. Ruthenberg died in 1927. Lovestone was expelled in 1929 and by the outbreak of World War II had become a rabid anticommunist advisor to the imperialists and the labor bureaucracy, which he remains to this day. Foster and Cannon went on to become the leaders of American Stalinism and Trotskyism, respectively.

Although Foster did not achieve top leadership until the ouster of Bowder in 1945, he remains the dominant figure of the American Communist Party since its founding. The present leadership, as we have noted, was trained under Foster and received its battle scars in defense of the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution by the Kremlin. Cannon, on the other hand, was the founder and leader of American Trotskyism for well over a generation.

PATHS

Foster and Cannon came to symbolize two different paths for the American working class, the alternatives between reformism and revolution, nationalism and internationalism. But they began their days in the Communist Party with a great deal in common. Both Foster and Cannon more than any other leaders represented the native born elements and the orientation towards the American proletariat within the early CP. They reflected the proletarian tendency within the Party, expressing both the strengths and weaknesses of an important section of the young and growing American working class. If anyone had suggested 45 years ago that Cannon and Foster would have become the leaders of the bitterest opponent tendencies in the labor movement, it would have been dismissed as a highly unlikely possibility. Yet that is exactly what happened.

Foster was born into a working class family in Massachusetts in 1881. He did not join the CP until 1921, when he was 40 years old and with many years of trade union experience already behind him. Foster came into the party after years of work as a syndicalist. He had led the historic steel strike in 1919, in which he got the reputation of a highly



James Cannon, founder of SWP, in 1941

skilled and effective organizer.

Cannon was born in Kansas in 1891. His father was associated first with the Knights of Labor, later with the Populists. Later still with the Bryan movement and then the Socialist Party. Cannon himself made his way into the IWW, bringing with him a background which included almost every strand of native middle class and working class radicalism and especially the native American pragmatism which all these tendencies shared in common and which made it possible for them to coexist alongside one another.

FACTIONALISM

The Communist Party in the early days was a battleground of factional struggle. Only later, after the Stalinist bureaucracy consolidated its power in the USSR and in the international movement, was factionalism replaced by the monolithism of the bureaucracy. The early struggles reflected the class contradictions and all of the weaknesses and problems facing the new movement, though these contradictions and problems were by no means clearly expressed and resolved.

Precisely because the contending factions were incapable of clarifying the struggle politically the early factionalism took on a very confused and often destructive character. Stalin played one faction against the other until after the expulsion of Lovestone in 1929 and the installation of a new leadership which could be trusted to take its cue from Moscow obediently and with no questions asked.

PHOTOS AT TOP OF PAGE: Upper left: "For Victory and a Secure Peace", Daily Worker, May 14, 1944; Upper center: CP rally in 1936 celebrates "Spirit of '76"; Upper right: Stalin; Lower center: Trotsky; Lower right: Battle of Deputies Run during Trotskyist led teamsters strike in 1934



Left: Little Steel Strike, 1919. Above center: William Z. Foster, 1919. Above right: William Dunne and Charles Ruthenberg.

with me were pioneer Communists, party men from the beginning, who had adopted the principles of Communism earlier than the Foster wing. The Foster wing was more trade unionist in experience, more limited in its conceptions, less attentive to theoretical and political questions."(4)

PROLETARIAN

It must be understood that this proletarian section around Cannon and Foster had only the vaguest conception of what it was fighting for. It was not only Foster who was "less attentive to theoretical and political questions." None of the early leaders had any understanding of the international questions nor any interest in the questions which were being fought out in the Soviet party. None of the leaders began with the fundamental philosophy of Marxism. They gave lip service to internationalism but proceeded in their functioning as "practical politicians." This was the fundamental weakness of the proletarian as well as the petty bourgeois elements within the early CP.

Cannon says they did not begin with an international program, and that is correct. But even more fundamental, they did not begin with the philosophy of Marxism, the conscious expression of the historical interests of the proletariat. They knew nothing of dialectical materialism. They began instead with the philosophy which had been adequate for the tasks facing the American bourgeoisie in its ascendancy, pragmatism and empiricism.

FOSTER

Foster was known as a most gifted organizer, and he had a great deal of prestige in the early movement on this account. But he had functioned in the union movement through adaptation to the union bureaucracy, and was used by this bureaucracy at least as much as he used it.

Foster's views on trade union work were a syndicalist apology for his adaptation to the bureaucracy. It must be stated that Compters tolerated Foster in the early days precisely because Foster did not pose a political alternative at any time.

Foster's conception of boring from within the AFL was simply a mechanical reversal of the dual union strategy espoused by the IWW. Both Foster and the IWW did not begin from the class struggle, from the contradictions within the labor movement. Neither Foster nor the IWW were able to predict and prepare for the industrial organizing upsurge which took place in a contradictory way in the 1930s. These tendencies began as syndicalists, with formulas and not with the fight for theory. On the basis of a Marxist program the most flexible tactics in the unions are not only possible but absolutely necessary. The mechanical counterposition between Foster and his opponents of the IWW was characteristic of the oscillation between opportunism and adventurism of early American radicalism.

Cannon's description of how he attempted to reconcile the Foster and Ruthenberg factions after 1925 is likewise revealing: "I began to recognize the bankruptcy of factional struggle without a clearly defined principled basis as early as 1925, and began to look for a way out of it. That still did not go to the root of the problem—the basic causes out of which the unprincipled factionalism had flourished—but it was a step forward..."

"While I considered that the Foster group as a whole was more proletarian, nearer to the workers and for that reason the 'better' group, I had begun to recognize all too clearly its trade union one-sidedness. In this respect I was nearer

to the Ruthenberg-Lovestone group. But the latter, although more 'political' than the Fosterite trade unionists, was too intellectualistic to suit me. I thought that the Ruthenberg-Lovestone group by itself could not lead the party and build it as a genuine workers' organization, and nothing ever happened in the ensuing years to change that opinion."(5)

Cannon's approach after 1925 thus became to seek an eclectic combination of the "strong points" of the different factions, not the transcending of the factions through a sharp struggle for theoretical clarity. This eclecticism is the opposite of Marxism.

DIVISION

Over and over again we see the same division between theory and practice. Tendencies are referred to as "too theoretical" or "too practical." The early struggle boiled down to workers vs. intellectuals, practice vs. theory. None of the participants was able to see that the only solution from a Marxist standpoint was to fight for the fusion of theory and practice. Cannon finally decided to add together the theory and the practice.

What all the tendencies had in common was the pragmatic method of viewing theory and practice as separate entities. They were beginning with the method which states that we can never know objective reality, the thing in itself. We can only mix a bit of theory and a bit of practice, instead of proceeding from the standpoint that theory and practice are one, that Marxist theory itself breaks down the divisions and is constantly enriched by practice.

This was the fundamental weakness of both Foster and Cannon. Though Cannon describes Foster's weaknesses, his remarks on the nationalism and provincialism of all the leaders, including himself, show that this was not Foster's problem alone.

When Cannon and his group came out in support of Trotsky it meant that a section of the proletarian wing of the CP had taken a tremendous step beyond narrow American nationalism and pragmatism. This was a tremendous blow against the bureaucracy, and set in motion truly historic developments. Nowhere else did a sizable

section of the working class cadre and leadership of one of the parties of the Comintern go over to Trotskyism.

TROTSKY

Cannon decided to support Trotsky after reading a copy of the criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern which had fallen into his hands at the Sixth Congress in Moscow in 1928. When he and the Canadian CP leader Maurice Spector came back from the Congress they brought copies of this document which they had to smuggle out of the USSR. A faction was organized secretly but within only two months was expelled from the party. The original American Trotskyists were expelled for the "crime" of agreeing with Trotsky and advocating his views within the American party.

It was not that Cannon and his group had suddenly overcome all their weaknesses. The acceptance of the Trotskyist program was a step which made possible the fight for a Leninist party in the U.S. It was a concrete objective step against the theoretical backwardness but not the immediate eradication of it. For that a long sharp struggle was required.

All the subsequent gains made by the American Trotskyists were only possible, however, because of the fateful step taken by Cannon and his supporters in 1928. Because they began then with principles, with an international theory, and not with numbers, practical politics, or being on the "winning side," they put themselves on the side of the proletariat and carried forward the basis upon which the proletariat could become the "winning side" for good.

OPPOSED

Thus it was that Foster and Cannon, in a bloc within the CP for most of the time between 1923 and 1928, and sharing more in common with one another than with any other of the top leaders, became after 1928 the leaders of two diametrically opposed paths facing the American working class. This fundamental split into two opposite roads was expressed sharply by the Dunne brothers. William F. Dunne cast his lot in with Foster, while his three brothers went with the



Young Communists in Gay 90s folk dance contest.

Because this early factionalism was so confused, many bourgeois commentators and excommunists have tried to view it simply within the framework of personal ambition and corruption. This is completely untrue.

EXPLAINS

Cannon explains this early period in his book of the first 10 years of American Trotskyism:

The factional struggles which marked the whole course of the Communist movement for its first ten years had numerous causes. It was not as though a gang of bandits combined together and then began to fight over spoils. There were no spoils. The overwhelming majority of people came to pioneer Communism with serious purposes and sincere motives to organize a movement for the emancipation of the workers of the whole world. They were prepared to make sacrifices and take risks for their ideal, and they did so...

"Our misfortune, our tragedy throughout the Comintern, was that the great leaders of the Russian Revolution, who really embodied the doctrine of Marxism and who really carried through the revolution, were thrust aside in the course of the reaction against the October revolution and the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Communist Party. The Communist Party in the United States, like the parties in other countries, failed to understand the complicated issues of the great struggle. We fought in the dark, thinking only of our national troubles. That is what poisoned the faction struggles here. That is what caused them to degenerate in the end to unprincipled squabbles and contests for control. Only an international program, comprehended in time, could have saved the young Communist Party of America from degeneration. We did not grasp this until 1928. Then it was too late to save more than a small fragment of the party for its original revolutionary aims."(1)

Needless to say, bourgeois commentators are incapable of even approaching this level of understanding in their analysis of the early CP. Theodore Draper is the most conscientious of the lot, and the merit of his writings lies in the accuracy and objectivity of his accounts and information, not in his effort to describe the CP as "the American appendage of a Russian revolutionary power."(2)

In the earlier years the factionalism had more political content. It was in 1923 that the Foster-Cannon bloc was first formed. For several years this combination fought against the Ruthenberg-Lovestone leadership. The bloc, as we have indicated, represented the proletarian and more native born elements in the party. Its aim, according to Cannon: "We wanted to proletarianize and Americanize the party."(3)

Cannon also describes the differences between himself and Foster:

"The group most closely associated

Trotskyists.

All the negative characteristics of Foster were brought out by subsequent developments. All the lack of concern for principles, the nationalism and pragmatism came to the fore as he lined up with the new revisionism represented by Stalin. For the next 33 years he followed every twist and turn of Kremlin policy, from the wild ultraleftism of the Third Period to the ultrachauvinism of the popular front and World War II. This process represented the complete political and moral destruction of a working class leader.

SLANDER

The early Trotskyists had to overcome slander, ostracism, gangsterism and burglary. The Daily Worker slandered them continuously as the paid agents of the bosses. CP members were forbidden to talk to them or read anything the Trotskyists had to say. Physical violence was used in attempts to break up meetings and intimidate distributors of literature, and the files of the movement were stolen by the Stalinists.(6) For the first few years in addition the Trotskyists had to fight against the tremendous theoretical backwardness in America at a time when Stalin's sharp left turn helped to discredit the Trotskyists as hairsplitters and sectarians.

The Trotskyists stuck it out because they proceeded from the fundamental theoretical considerations. In the course of the struggle they showed that these were not hairsplitting issues at all, that the very life and death of the working class was at stake.

When the German events exposed the bankruptcy of the Stalinist Third Period line, the Trotskyists were prepared to drive home the lessons and make political and organizational gains. When the tremendous working class upsurge began after the depths of the depression the Trotskyists showed that their attention to theoretical questions enabled them to play a critical and leading role in the class struggle. They led the historical Minneapolis general strikes precisely because of the theoretical fight. In so doing they dealt a tremendous blow to the Stalinist slander of Trotskyism as a middle class and counterrevolutionary sect.

THEORY

Thus the early years of American Trotskyism showed in a small but significant way what the working class was capable of if a continues fight for theory were waged in the revolutionary labor movement. The evolution of Foster and the Stalinists, the depths to which CP policy sank in the New Deal and World War II years proved similarly what could and would inevitably happen without this struggle for theory, as the method and then the program of the bourgeoisie took charge.

From the beginning of his collaboration with his American supporters, Trotsky had stressed the importance of the fight for Marxist theory. It was not enough for the party to immerse itself in the class struggle and expect theory to develop automatically out of this struggle.

PRAGMATISM

On the occasion of his very first meeting with the Americans after his arrival in Mexico in January 1937, Trotsky stressed these questions. An account of this has been given by William F. Warde:

"Our discussion glided in the subject of philosophy in which he was informed I had a special interest. We talked about the best ways of studying dialectical materialism, about Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-Criticism and the theoretical backwardness of American radicalism. Trotsky brought forward the name of Max Eastman who in various works had polemicized against dialectics as a worthless idealist hangover from the Hegelian heritage of Marxism. He became tense, agitated. 'Upon going back to the States', he urged, 'you comrades must at once take up the struggle against Eastman's distortion and repudiation of dialectical materialism. There is nothing more important than this. Pragmatism, empiricism is the greatest curse of American thought. You must inoculate younger comrades against its infection.'"(7)

This was very much the same point, and for the same reasons, which Lenin had urged upon the early American Communist Louis Fraina, in discussions with him in 1920. In the 1930s the American Trotskyists were continuing the struggles of the early supporters of the Russian Revolution. We have seen how all the early leaders began as pragmatists. They were defending the traditions and significance of the Russian Revolution and seeking to extend it. But in 1937 as well as in 1920 the Americans brought with them the tre-

mendous dead weight of American pragmatism and empiricism, conservatism and shallow methods of thought which threatened at every point to destroy the effort to build the revolutionary party.

Now the American Trotskyists faced the same fundamental tasks as the early Communist Party whose struggle they sought to carry forward. The fight for theory now had to be taken up against Stalinism. Without this fight the same fate which befell Foster and the rest of the leadership could and would befall Cannon and the pioneer Trotskyists. This is precisely what happened. After over a generation of fighting for Marxism, Cannon and the SWP began to succumb to the same pressures and eventually capitulated to revisionism. This must be understood in order to take forward the principles and traditions of the Russian Revolution.

Trotsky fought for his American supporters to pay continuous attention to the Stalinist movement. He urged over and over again that they search for opportunities to reach workers influenced or led by the Stalinists.

WITHDRAW

The tendency to withdraw from a struggle against the Stalinists was a retreat from theory, the very same pragmatism which guided both Foster and Cannon in the early days of the movement. It represented concessions to the antitheoretical prejudices so dominant in the U.S.

The struggle against Stalinism and revisionism did not mean namecalling or phrasemongering or the slightest concession to imperialism. Those like Burnham and Shachtman who proclaimed that the Soviet Union was no longer a workers' state but a new class society, were in reality capitulating to Stalinism and to imperialism, not fighting it. They were giving up the fight to understand the complex and contradictory Soviet reality and simply proceeding from superficial and subjective impressions. By reading Stalinism out of the labor movement they were saying that it was not necessary to fight it and expose its treachery to the working class.

Nor was the fight against Stalinism simply the refinement of our analysis, our ideas, divorced from concrete struggle, from the implementation of theory. The understanding of Stalinism as a coun-



terrevolutionary tendency within the labor movement had to be expressed concretely through intervention into the Stalinist movement and among the Stalinist workers.

ELECTIONS

This is why Trotsky proposed in June 1940 that the SWP consider the idea of offering critical support to the CP presidential candidate, Earl Browder. The discussion between Trotsky and the leaders of the SWP brought out all the theoretical problems facing the movement at that time, and indeed that was Trotsky's aim in this discussion.

The 1940 elections took place in the midst of the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. For diplomatic purposes, by accident so to speak, the Stalinists had veered back temporarily and inconsistently toward class struggle policies. They made a partial and hesitant left turn. They spoke now of opposing both Roosevelt and Nazi imperialism. They discovered the class struggle one again and within the CP thousands of workers responded with enthusiasm to the opportunity to do more than be cheerleaders for Roosevelt.

Trotsky proposed that the SWP intervene aggressively in this situation, into the crisis brought on by the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Fully recognizing the transitory nature of this turn and the likelihood of a new change in the Kremlin line, Trotsky stressed that an effort should be made while the opportunity existed to drive a wedge between the ranks of the CP and their Stalinist leadership. And he insisted upon this above all for theoretical, not narrow pragmatic considerations:

"Burnham and Shachtman opposed an



Above: a cartoon from the Militant on the founding of the Fourth International
Below: Leaders of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union, 1928



active attitude toward the Stalinists. They represent a whole period from 1917 up to date. We can't move without them. The coincidence between their slogans and ours is transitory, but it can give us a bridge to these workers."(8)

SINCERE

There were many CP members who sincerely desired a revolutionary policy and still expected to get one from their leaders. This was a problem of theory. If the Trotskyists offered critical support to the CP presidential campaign on the basis of a clear class line, these workers could be taken through a struggle in which their leadership would be exposed and in which they would learn directly that the Trotskyists were correct when they accused the Stalinists of subordinating the interests of the working class to the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The SWP leaders resisted the proposal of Trotsky's very strongly. All the pragmatism and conservative thinking ingrained in the vast majority of American workers and middle class radicals was expressed in this discussion.

It was the same question of theory pitted against practice, in the most blatant expression of pragmatism. Cannon exclaimed during the discussions: "Such a line would disrupt our work...What we gained from the Stalinists we would lose otherwise."(9) Thus the question was reduced to a question of numbers while the theoretical fight was ignored.

Others complained that Stalinists attacked the movement, that it was impossible to talk to their members, that

the obstacles were too great. "The CP is not a genuine workers' party,"(10) said Cannon. Over and over Trotsky patiently insisted on beginning from the objective considerations and the tasks posed before the party.

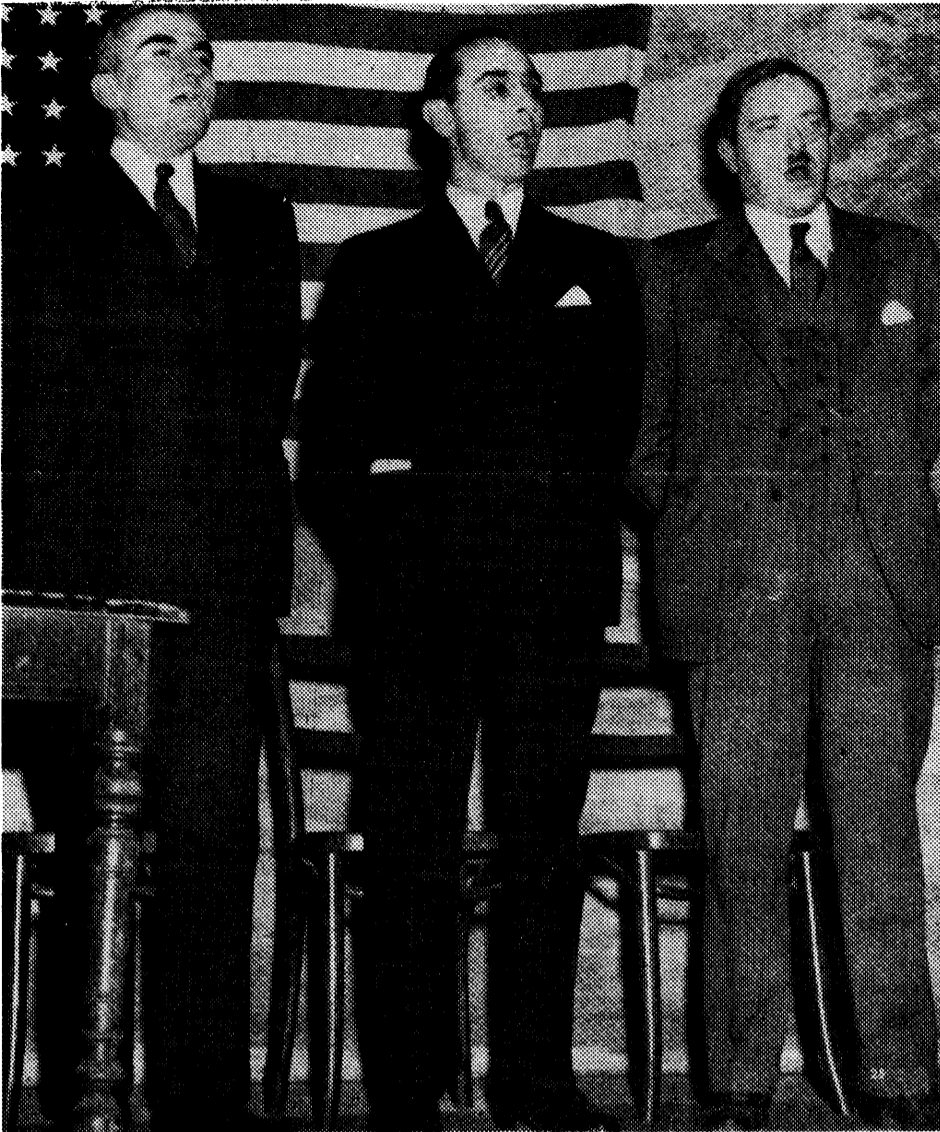
ADAPTATION

In the course of this discussion Trotsky showed how the refusal to fight the Stalinists was connected to an adaptation to the progressive section of the trade union bureaucracy.

"There are two competitors, the progressive bureaucrats and the Stalinists. We are a third competitor trying to capture this sentiment. These progressive bureaucrats can lean on us for advisors in the fight against the Stalinists. But the role of an advisor to a progressive bureaucrat doesn't promise much in the long run...we become the squeezed lemon of the bureaucrats. They use us against the Stalinists but as the war nears call us unpatriotic and expel us.

"...You propose a trade union policy, not a Bolshevik policy. Bolshevik policies begin outside the trade unions...You are afraid to become compromised in the eyes of the Rooseveltian trade unionists..."(11) And Trotsky's insistence on viewing the Stalinists objectively is brought out in his concluding remarks:

"Of course the Stalinists are a legitimate part of the workers' movement. That it is abused by its leaders for specific GPU ends is one thing, for Kremlin ends another. It is not at all different from other opposition labour bureaucracies. The powerful interests of Moscow influence



Left: Browder in 1940 campaign with his opponents Edelstein and Lefkowitz

Above: Molotov signs Nazi-Soviet pact

the Third International but it is not different in principle. Of course, we consider the terror of the GPU control differently; we fight with all means, even bourgeois police. But the political current of Stalinism is a current in the workers' movement. If it differs, it differs advantageously. In France the Stalinists show courage against the government. They are still inspired by October. They are a selection of revolutionary elements, abused by Moscow, but honest... We must consider them from the objective Marxist viewpoint. They are a very contradictory phenomenon. They have great courage. We can't let the antipathies of our moral feelings sway us. Even the assailants on Trotsky's house had great courage. I think that we can hope to win these workers who began as a crystallization of October. We see them negatively; how to break through this obstacle. We must set the base against the top. The Moscow gang we consider gangsters, but the rank and file doesn't feel themselves to be gangsters, but revolutionaries. They have been terribly poisoned. If we show that we understand, that we have a common language, we can turn them against their leaders. Uif we win 5 per cent, the party will be doomed. They can then lead only a conservative existence. Disintegration will set in, because this 5 per cent connects them with new sources from the masses."(12)

Little or nothing was done. Trotsky was dead within two months of these discussions and an important opportunity was missed. Soon the CP line changed once again towards super patriotism and support for the war and the capitalist government. But the new turn did not at all erase the mistake made by the American Trotskyists in 1939-40. The reason for this mistake was the neglect of theoretical questions, the concession to the backwardness of the American working class and the entire population, the conception that there were "more important" things that had to be done first, before fighting against Stalinism.

BROWDER

The U.S. CP went through another crisis after the war. Only a month after the end of the war in Europe, a special meeting of the National Committee denounced National Secretary Browder and set the stage for his removal from leadership and his expulsion in 1946. The party, which had been dissolved in the Communist Political Association, was reconstituted. Another left turn was undertaken.

Once again this crisis affected CP workers who stayed in the party because they saw in it the continuation of the Russian Revolution, and longed for class struggle policies. The Stalinist leaders now had to explain how Browder had been mistaken, how he had dissolved the party without any objections, and why he had

been so belatedly opposed by the rest of the leadership.

The fact that a separate article on "The Essence of Browder Revisionism," by the late Betty Gannett, is included in the Political Affairs issue commemorating the 50th anniversary of the CP, is an indication of the need of the Stalinists to this day to explain how Browderism came into being.

During this period the wartime alliance between Washington and the Kremlin was being ripped apart by imperialism's renewed war drive and the beginning of the cold war. A sharp empirical turn was forced once again upon the Stalinists. And once again the Trotskyist movement needed an active policy of intervention into the Stalinist ranks.

The Stalinists remained the decisive obstacle in the building of the revolutionary party. The 100,000 members of the CP included some devoted workers and a very sizable number of trade unionists. The Trotskyists were obliged as in 1940 to try to reach the best of these elements. But it was never simply a question of winning over some individuals or even sections. It was above all a theoretical question. The SWP could only make real gains in penetrating and winning over the American working class to the extent that it fought Stalinism which meant fighting the method and the program of the enemy within its own ranks and amongst the workers close to the party.

But the SWP in the postwar period proceeded as it had in the past. It upheld the ideas of Trotskyism without fighting for these ideas, making these ideas live in concrete struggle against revisionism.

THESES

The Theses on the American Revolution was adopted by the SWP Convention of November 1946.(13) It held that a revolutionary situation was rapidly maturing in



Mrs. Bandaranaike's Coalition SLFP-LSSP government, Ceylon, 1964

It is significant that Pablo's allies in the SWP in 1952-53 included the very same trade union sections of the party which had been most impatient with the theoretical struggle in 1940 against Burnham and Shactman and had resisted most strongly Trotsky's proposals for intervention among the Stalinists. Previous anti-Stalinists now became pro-Stalinists. In reality they were incapable of fighting Stalinism because they ignored the only weapon with which Stalinism could be fought.

ORTHODOXY

The SWP fought against this revisionism in 1953, but it fought back with orthodoxy, not with the development of theory in struggle against the new revisionism. Without a struggle to understand the roots of this revisionism the SWP was bound inevitably to succumb to the same class pressures. Within 10 years the SWP had rejoined the Pabloites, breaking from the British and French Trotskyists in 1963 in order to join the revisionists. Since 1963 the role of this party, in political solidarity with the so called United Secretariat in Paris, had been to hold back the construction of a revolutionary alternative to Stalinism. It has successively adapted to the Stalinists, the petty bourgeois nationalists in the colonial countries and to middle class radicalism in the advanced countries. Now it is more and more openly allying itself with the Stalinists against the revolutionary upsurge of the working class all over the world.

The evolution of the SWP is the evolution of orthodoxy to revisionism. This was the path of development by which the Second International ended up as the bulwark of capitalism. This was the evolution of Old Bolshevism against which Lenin fought continuously and which was to pave the way for counterrevolutionary Stalinism. And this was to be the evolution of the SWP within the Fourth International.

In the history of the working class movement this ideology and philosophy of the bourgeoisie inevitably finds expression within the movement. This is no abstract question. Theoretical stagnation and retreat within the Marxist movement is not simply a mistake, but the actual expression of the pressures of the capitalist class. The struggle against revisionism is a reflection of the class struggle. Revisionism means the liquidation of the historical conquests of the working class and the revolutionary movement, and this means the liquidation of the revolutionary party itself. This is why the theoretical struggle is a life and death matter for the entire working class.

SUCCUMBED

Thirty-five years after Cannon and Foster had parted ways, Cannon succumbed to the same pressures which had earlier led to the degeneration of the CP. After 1928 Cannon had symbolized amongst all the early leaders of the CP a revolutionary alternative for the working class. This alternative was weakened and finally destroyed. As the crisis of capitalism deepens the SWP lines up on all the decisive questions along with the Stalinists, against the working class and the revolutionary party. New forces have come on the scene to take forward the struggles of the early Communist Party and of Trotskyism. This is the job of the Workers League and the International Committee for the Fourth International.

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CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

German Trotskyists Offer Alternative to Brandt-Stoph

BY V. BARAT

Kassel, Germany, May 21—Breaking through the heavy fog of official deceit at Kassel tonight and the only one to defend the genuine interests of the working class in both halves of Germany was the clear voice of Trotskyism.

The packed meeting in the auditorium of the modern school for Formative Arts in Kassel was composed of an audience of workers, apprentices, grade school pupils, and students. They came not only from Kassel itself but from cities throughout the country.

The German Trotskyists grouped around the newspaper *International Workers Correspondence* (IAK) and the youth group, the Young Guard, presented the only viable alternative to the attempts of SPD Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany (BRD) and his official counterpart in the East German government (DDR), Willi Stoph, to impose the status quo on the working class of both nations. The intent is to keep the proletariat chained to their respective bureaucracies of

Social Democracy and Stalinism.

The main speaker showed that the "normalization of relationships between the two German states," in other words, peaceful coexistence, was a fraud. Through Brandt German capital hopes to penetrate the DDR "peacefully." Like the rest of the world's bourgeoisie German imperialism is in deep crisis and desperately needs additional areas for capital investment and for the exploitation of fresh labor, if it is to survive. The result is a direct threat to the conquests of the East German working class: its nationalization of the means of production, its planned economy, and its monopoly over foreign trade.

THREAT

The spokesman for the German Trotskyists showed that Stalinism in its absurd attempt to build socialism, not even in one country but in half a country, was anxious to accept West German capital because of its own overwhelming economic difficulties. Hence, the Ulbricht regime represents a grave inner threat even as West German capital through the SPD represents an external threat to the hard won achievements not only of the East German proletariat but ultimately of all the workers' states.

While Brandt was thus helping to undermine the remaining conquests from the Bolshevik Revolution, he was simultaneously betraying the West German proletariat. He offered them no hope for a reunification of the country on a socialist basis, or any other.

Furthermore, by insisting on a coalition with liberal bourgeois Free Democrats (FDP), Brandt and his chief supporters in the German trade union bureaucracy were directly attacking the interests of the West German working class and youth through the comanagement hoax and "concerted action" (a euphemism for allowing union bureaucrats and employers to make binding deals behind the backs of the trade union ranks).

In addition the wage level of apprentices have been kept far below that of the adult workers, thus weakening the bond



West German Communist Party members demonstrate in Kassel as Stoph arrives

between both and forcing the young workers to become a source of cheap labor and depressing general wage levels. This has been combined with debasing the quality of education and the training of apprentices, preparing them instead for the most menial assignments in the rapid process of automation. Opportunities for university education have been reduced for increasing numbers of youth through instituting of the medieval concept of a numerous clauses, while at the same time curtailing human and material resources necessary for adequate professional training.

ATTACKS

In such daily attacks on the working class and by the SPD officials' support for the status quo and for two separate Germanies, they were only preparing the soil for a rapid growth of the fascists in West Germany.

The main speaker for the Trotskyists made the following demands:

1. Full democratic trade union rights in both halves of Germany, including the absolute right to strike in the DDR! For a sliding scale of wages as a hedge against inflation and a thousand Mark minimum monthly wage!
2. Strengthen the democracy for the working class in West Germany! As a step in this direction restore the legal rights of the German CP (KPD), which is today compelled to function under a different name. Legalize all working class and pro socialist parties and tendencies in the DDR!
3. Down with attacks on the living and educational standards of young workers and students in the BRD!
4. For a national conference in West

Germany of proletarian and student youth to formulate and carry through their demands!

5. In preparation for the proletarian reunification of both Germanies, encourage unrestricted travel between workers and youth of each half of the nation, leading up to joint discussions about their mutual problems and interests!

6. For a unified Germany under a workers' government as an integral part of the Socialist United States of Europe!

These demands received an enthusiastic response from the audience.

PREPARATIONS

To hold the meeting at all in Kassel required the overcoming of a number of serious handicaps. The government of BRD had declared all meeting in public halls out of bounds anywhere in the Kassel area. With the help of a group of left wing students from the city it was possible to secure a hall at a private school.

Careful preparations were made for the public meeting in the knowledge that neither the SRD nor the West German Stalinists wanted it.

Defense guards were organized and instructed in advance on how to defend the meeting against possible provocateurs. It was fortunate that this precaution had been taken. When a group of Stalinists, joined by a small clique of anarchists, suffered a decisive political defeat in arguing their coexistence line in the discussion period, a few of them made a rush for the mike. A quick response by the guards in red arm bands put an immediate end to the disruption. The meeting terminated without further incident.

WISCONSIN ALLIANCE OPPOSES LABOR PARTY AT RECENT CONVENTION

BY STEPHEN DIAMOND

MADISON, WIS—The Wisconsin Alliance has just held an open convention to debate and implement the content and structure for its summer program. The Alliance is widely regarded as having a working class orientation, and it bills itself as based on a student-worker alliance.

In reality the Wisconsin Alliance is a middle class reformist swamp whose main activity is community organizing. Multi class ward organizations have been established in Madison, and these organizations fight for democratic reforms acceptable to a section of the ruling class.

Typical of these reforms is the proposal that Madison annex two affluent outlying areas in order to tax them heavily and use the money to build health clinics. The Alliance thus substitutes the struggle of the poor against the rich for the class struggle. The Alliance speaks of the need for a mass third party, which it sometimes calls a labor party. What it means, however, is not a party based on the trade unions, but a radical bourgeois party. The slogan which it has adopted, "All power to the people," is entirely appropriate.

STALINIST

The Workers League intervened in the Alliance convention. The Workers League posed that the main slogan for the next period be Build a Labor Party Now and the main thrust of all political work had to be to take the struggle for a labor party into the trade unions. When a Workers League member showed the connections between the current Alliance activity and the Stalinist popular front—connections which Alliance leaders try to obscure by portraying themselves as pragmatically groping for solutions—he was cut off by Alliance leaders.

It was only after the Workers League spokesman pointed out that a Stalinist program requires Stalinist methods of stifling democratic debate that he was allowed to continue. Nevertheless in the discussion the Workers League was continually baited as a bureaucratic organization, as opposed to the free and open Alliance which "doesn't have all the solutions."

The Workers League proposal was defeated by a coalition of rightwingers who poured their scorn on the trade unions and even on the working class itself, and the centrist Alliance leadership, which said community organizing was just a tactic and that it would be arrogant for students to call on workers to form a labor party.

Expressing a middle class antipathy to theory typical of the Alliance, one Alliance leader said "I am not afraid to make reformist mistakes." The working class has no need for these dilettantes for whose mistakes it may have to pay dearly.

Minn. SWP-YSA Retreats From Fight Against Liberals

BY J. RENEE

MINNEAPOLIS—In 1968 the McCarthy campaign mobilized thousands of youth and utilized their full time and energy. Yet as the Workers League pointed out at the time, its only purpose was to act as a safety valve to keep the mounting rebellion within the two party system, that is, safe within the confines of the capitalist system.

The real question was: Is there going to be any complete break with capitalist politics? The need was for labor to break completely with capitalist politics and form a labor party, thus taking leadership of the fight against the war and against racism, and for the defense of the workers' standard of living.

Today the need is even more urgent. Labor must unfurl the banner of the labor party and unite the forces of workers, students and all oppressed behind a class struggle program that completely breaks with any notion of reform.

SAFE

But today, as in 1968, we see a proliferation of "peace," reform candidates attempting again to channel the movement into the safe path of protest politics.

In Minneapolis Earl Craig, running for U.S. Senate against Hubert Humphrey, is one such candidate. Craig is a former state chairman of the New Democratic Coalition and an instructor in the Afro-American Studies Department at the University of Minnesota. In his words, he is running because "the people need and the times demand forthright and radical alternatives to failing programs and insensitive politicians."

United behind his campaign are two groups. First, the liberals and reformists who are determined to channel the growing rebellion of both students and workers back into the safe pathway of liberal protest politics, and correctly see Craig's "independent" campaign as a new vehicle for this purpose. Aiding them in this conscious deception are the Stalinists, who tailend the Craig campaign for their own reasons.

For the Communist Party this is one more opportunity to tie the working class to the Democratic Party, and thus further prove their loyalty and provide support to those "good Democrats" who support a deal with the Soviet Union. Thus the CP uses the Craig campaign to attempt to foist another popular front on U.S. workers.

The bulk of Craig's support comes from younger workers and students. It is this group which swelled the ranks of the demonstrations, marches and strikes which swept the country in the wake of Nixon's invasion of Cambodia.

BUREAUCRACY

But why can a Craig step in and channel the energy of these rebellious youth behind a campaign to build "a counter-constituency against that of political machinations and governmental insensitivities?" Essentially, Craig is stepping in to fill a void in leadership. Young workers and students seeking a way out are met on the one side by the labor bureaucracy tied hand and foot to the Democratic Party.

In Minnesota this means their continued subservient and obsequious support of Hubert Humphrey. No leadership is forthcoming from these bureaucrats. What is needed is a new leadership in the labor movement capable of taking an aggressive lead in the fight against the war, and against Nixon's attacks on the working class by a call for the labor party.

Not only the labor skates but the CP as well are seeking instead to keep the growing rebellious masses tied firmly to the capitalist system.

But neither is the YSA-SWP providing the leadership that could undercut the Craig campaign and similar moves. Within the SMC, which it leads, the YSA still pushes for an antipolitical, single-issue protest movement against the war. And the election program of the SWP is essentially no different from that of the protest candidate Craig.

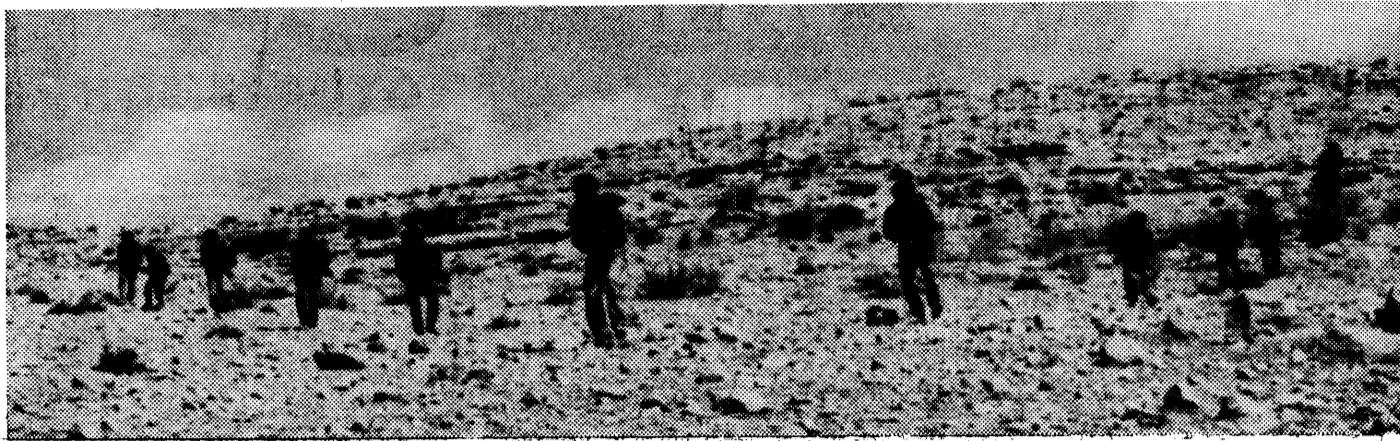
Craig proposes immediate withdrawal from Viet Nam; so do Strebe, Harary and Myers, the SWP candidates. Craig calls for an end to the draft. The SWP agrees. Craig declares "the most exciting social and political development in the past few years has been the drive for self-determination in the Black, Indian, Chicano and other minority communities." The SWP also supports continuation of the divisions between the races and the legalization of the ghettos by urging self-control of ghetto communities.

ILLUSIONS

Moreover, they foster and perpetuate illusions that capitalism can be reformed by calling for such things as "nonprofit cooperatives run by the community." Craig seeks to pose an "independent" political answer within capitalism. The SWP assumes an anticapitalist posture, but puts forward essentially similar demands. Is it any wonder they are completely unable to cut through the illusions represented by Craig?

The demand that must be central—the labor party—is buried in the reformist middle-class verbiage of the SWP's platform. It is this demand which expresses politically the growing upsurge of the working class and the youth. Only by making the labor party central can the workers and youth be united in a political offensive against capitalism.

Israel Escalates War in Middle East



Al Fatah guerrillas train in the desert in preparation for new attacks by Israeli forces on Lebanon

BY FRED MUELLER

The battle between the Zionist regime and the Arab guerrilla fighters continues to intensify, recently erupting in the biggest clash between Israel and Lebanon since the 1948 war.

This was followed by a battle between the Israelis and Al Fatah forces in the Jordan River Valley and air clashes between the Israelis and the Egyptians.

The Israeli raid against Lebanon was designed to "search and destroy" guerrilla bases on Mount Hebron. Tel Aviv holds the Beirut regime responsible for the guerrillas operating from its territory. The latest raid was not a commando operation by Israel, but a full blown attack including tanks, artillery and jets.

The Zionists face precisely the same dilemma faced by U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. They are forced to fight against an entire people. Even on the military plane the latest raids are beginning to be recognized as of questionable value. Al Fatah claimed that there were very serious Israeli losses. The Israelis were repulsed from some guerrilla bases and others were almost immediately re-occupied following their departure.

ANNEXATION

From the political standpoint the Zionist strategy is even more of a disaster. To effectively strike at the guerrillas who enjoy massive and growing popular support, the Zionists must more and more think along the lines of permanent occupation or annexation. They are driven towards the most brutal imperialist adventures by the very logic of their position as an outpost of imperialism in the Middle East.

It is this dilemma for the Israelis which provides the backdrop for the latest raids and gives the attack against Lebanon added ominous significance. Within Israel the right wing forces within the so-called National Unity cabinet are pressing more and more insistently for outright annexationist policies.

The Zionists are fighting the Arab masses and that is why their strategy backfires no matter how well it is executed. They aim to put pressure on the pro-imperialist regime in Lebanon, but they only increase the popular support for the guerrillas. On May 26 a general strike shut down Beirut in protest over the Israeli offensive and the inaction of the government.

CONTRADICTION

There is irony in the fact that the Beirut regime, which fought the guerrillas along with the Israelis last year

now fights with the guerrillas against Israel. Behind this irony lies the tremendous contradiction between the revolutionary struggle of the masses and the petty bourgeois and bourgeois nationalist leaders.

The appeals of the Arab bourgeois regimes to the United Nations point up their inability to fight imperialism and Zionism. The UN has condemned Israeli actions many times and with absolutely

no effect. Tel Aviv contemptuously rejects all UN statements just as Washington ignores the UN when it comes to its aggression in Southeast Asia.

The Israelis have pointed to increased Soviet aid to Egypt and have alleged that Soviet pilots are flying MIG fighters for Cairo. This excuse is used to appeal for more aid, from the U.S. particularly for the sale of Phantom jets. But all the talk of Soviet agitation and inflammatory policies is a complete fraud, is only used to back up imperialism's expanding war in the Middle East.

In Southeast Asia, Cuba, the Middle East and elsewhere Soviet "aid" serves as a lever in the hands of the Kremlin

bureaucrats. Stalinist influence is a conservative restraining factor. It is used to push for a big power settlement which can only mean the betrayal of the Arab masses.

Kremlin policy and motives have been exposed in their attacks upon the guerrilla movements, their support for the bourgeois regimes and their restraining influence even on Nasser. The Zionists know this but lyingly whip up anticommunist hysteria to bolster their own military and diplomatic position.

LEADERSHIP

The influence of Moscow remains a big danger to the struggles of the Arab masses, as shown by the example of Khrushchev's moves in the Cuban crisis of 1962, as well as the Kremlin role in the 1954 Geneva conference over Vietnam and the policy of peaceful coexistence and betrayals of revolutionary struggles all over the world.

The Zionists are on the defensive, but they are far from defeated. The Arab masses must forge a leadership which can really defeat imperialism. This means a fight against Stalinist policies as well as the national bourgeoisie. Socialist, internationalist policies are required, to form the basis of an alliance between Jewish and Arab workers with aid from the International working class.

LEFT COALITION WINS ELECTION IN CEYLON



Bandaranaike, head of Ceylon government

BY ED SMITH

The recent overwhelming victory of the bourgeois-radical coalition led by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike in the Ceylonese general elections opens a new stage in the struggle of the Ceylonese working class.

The three victorious parties are Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the Communist Party and the ex-Trotskyist LSSP. They overturned the conservative, pro-American United National Party by means of "left" sounding talk and demagogic promises. The victory reflects the tremendous upsurge of the past period among the Ceylonese workers and peasants. But the entire history of the three parties shows that they are incapable of carrying forward the struggle of Ceylon's working class.

The Pablotites, who came out of the United Secretariat, were expelled from the SLFP in 1965. The Pablotites' biggest section, the Workers League, was expelled. In 1965, within 26 weeks of the entrance of the traitor LSSP and CP, the Bandaranaike coalition government fell from power. It was impossible to fulfill popular expectations of the coalition within the framework of capitalism and as a result the bourgeois United National Party came into power.

By 1963 the emergence of the crisis of capitalism had its political reflection in Ceylon. The Ceylonese masses grew more and more restive under the capitalist yoke and Mrs. Bandaranaike realized she would need a "left" cover as the bankruptcy of the SLFP was becoming more and more apparent.

The Stalinists in the Communist Party

were all too willing to play the role of footman to Mrs. Bandaranaike on the basis of a popular front reformist program.

But there was still one more obstacle for Mrs. Bandaranaike and her bourgeois friends. The Ceylonese working class was primarily under the leadership of the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP), which proclaimed itself a Trotskyist party, with the patronage of the revisionist Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International, which is supported by the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

The bourgeoisie needed the help of the LSSP to hold down the working class and the LSSP's leaders, after fifteen years of pragmatic adaptation to capitalist politics were only too willing to oblige.

PABLOITES

This is where the real dirty work of the "United Secretariat" came in. For thirteen years the Pablotites has encouraged the LSSP leaders in their opportunist course. When the LSSP leaders began to bandy about the idea of a popular front with the SLFP, the Pablotite leaders absolutely refused to mount any struggle or even discussion with them.

The Pablotites finally expelled the LSSP leaders, but only after they had entered the Bandaranaike government. At the next "United Secretariat" world congress, exactly ninety minutes were devoted to the loss of the Pablotites' biggest section. For daring to raise this issue inside the SWP the tendency that became the Workers League was expelled.

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ACCOMMODATING

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Despite all this, Ceylon's laboring masses saw in the SLFP-CP-LSSP coalition an alternative to the UNP. This is the reason for the coalition's smashing victory. Exactly at a time when the sinking state of capitalism rules out all reformist palliatives for the demands of the working class. The recent actions of the Ceylonese workers, including a

bitter port strike and the sacking of reactionary newspapers by thousands of youth on election night, show that the SLFP-CP-LSSP coalition's inevitable betrayal will not get past the Ceylonese workers and youth this time without bitter struggles.

The Bandaranaike coalition gained its mass support in the election only by the "socialist" credentials given to it by the misleaders of the working class.

CONFLICT

The defeat of the UNP can only add new power to the determination of the Ceylonese workers and peasants to step up their struggle against capitalism. It is this struggle which will expose the liberals and their agents in the Communist Party, the LSSP and the trade union leadership. When the LSSP entered the coalition government in 1964, only a year after the reunification of the SWP with the Pablotites it was carrying out the logic of Pablotism just as it does today serving the interests of capitalism, and preserving its rule. But today we are living in a new period of deepening capitalist crisis and the offensive of the working class internationally which more and more brings it in conflict with its revisionist leaders. This opens up a whole new period for the growth of Trotskyism in Ceylon under the banner of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

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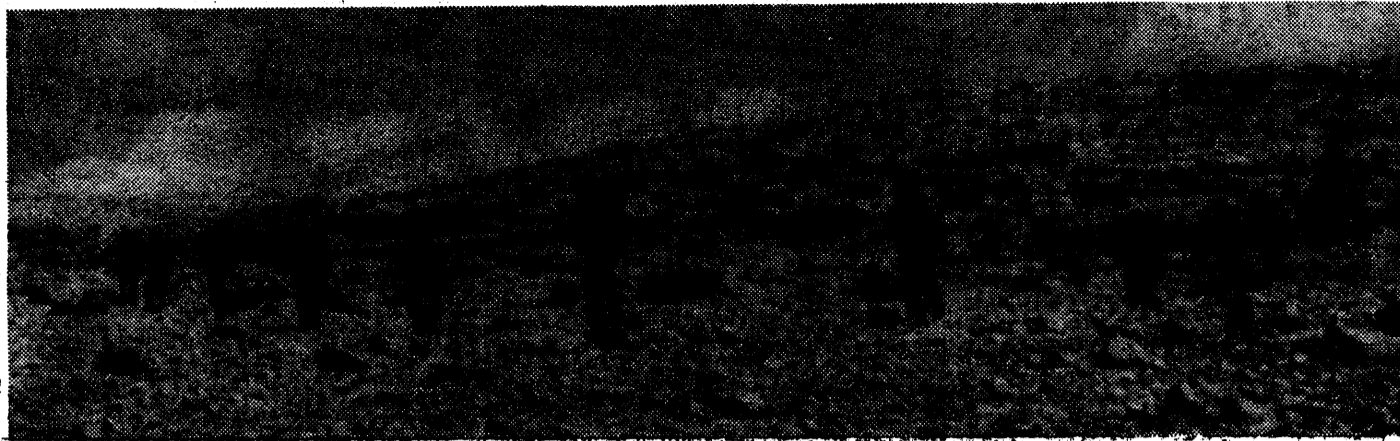
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Israel Escalates War in Middle East



Al Fatah guerrillas train in the desert in preparation for new attacks by Israeli forces on Lebanon

BY FRED MUELLER

The battle between the Zionist regime and the Arab guerrilla fighters continues to intensify, recently erupting in the biggest clash between Israel and Lebanon since the 1948 war.

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The Zionists face precisely the same dilemma faced by U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. They are forced to fight against an entire people. Even on the military plane the latest raids are beginning to be recognized as of questionable value. Al Fatah claimed that there were very serious Israeli losses. The Israelis were repulsed from some guerrilla bases and others were almost immediately re-occupied following their departure.

ANNEXATION

From the political standpoint the Zionist strategy is even more of a disaster. To effectively strike at the guerrillas who enjoy massive and growing popular support, the Zionists must more and more think along the lines of permanent occupation or annexation. They are driven towards the most brutal imperialist adventures by the very logic of their position as an outpost of imperialism in the Middle East.

It is this dilemma for the Israelis which provides the backdrop for the latest raids and gives the attack against Lebanon added ominous significance. Within Israel the right wing forces within the so-called National Unity cabinet are pressing more and more insistently for outright annexationist policies.

The Zionists are fighting the Arab masses and that is why their strategy backfires no matter how well it is executed. They aim to put pressure on the pro-imperialist regime in Lebanon, but they only increase the popular support for the guerrillas. On May 26 a general strike shut down Beirut in protest over the Israeli offensive and the inaction of the government.

CONTRADICTION

There is irony in the fact that the Beirut regime, which fought the guerrillas along with the Israelis last year

now fights with the guerrillas against Israel. Behind this irony lies the tremendous contradiction between the revolutionary struggle of the masses and the petty bourgeois and bourgeois nationalist leaders.

The appeals of the Arab bourgeois regimes to the United Nations point up their inability to fight imperialism and Zionism. The UN has condemned Israeli actions many times and with absolutely

no effect. Tel Aviv contemptuously rejects all UN statements just as Washington ignores the UN when it comes to its aggression in Southeast Asia.

The Israelis have pointed to increased Soviet aid to Egypt and have alleged that Soviet pilots are flying MIG fighters for Cairo. This excuse is used to appeal for more aid, from the U.S. particularly for the sale of Phantom jets. But all the talk of Soviet agitation and inflammatory policies is a complete fraud, is only used to back up imperialism's expanding war in the Middle East.

In Southeast Asia, Cuba, the Middle East and elsewhere Soviet "aid" serves as a lever in the hands of the Kremlin

bureaucrats. Stalinist influence is a conservative restraining factor. It is used to push for a big power settlement which can only mean the betrayal of the Arab masses.

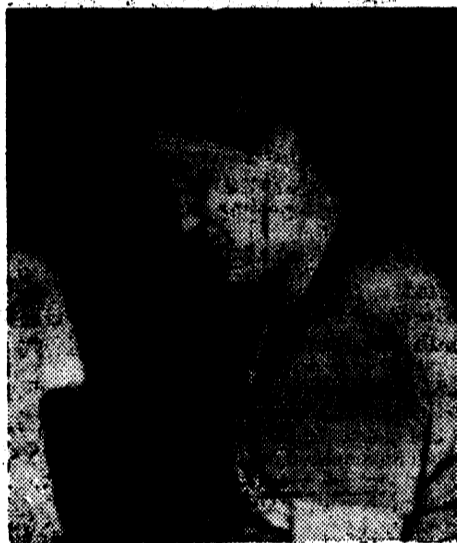
Kremlin policy and motives have been exposed in their attacks upon the guerrilla movements, their support for the bourgeois regimes and their restraining influence even on Nasser. The Zionists know this but lyingly whip up anticommunist hysteria to bolster their own military and diplomatic position.

LEADERSHIP

The influence of Moscow remains a big danger to the struggles of the Arab masses, as shown by the example of Khrushchev's moves in the Cuban crisis of 1962, as well as the Kremlin role in the 1954 Geneva conference over Vietnam and the policy of peaceful coexistence and betrayals of revolutionary struggles all over the world.

The Zionists are on the defensive, but they are far from defeated. The Arab masses must forge a leadership which can really defeat imperialism. This means a fight against Stalinist policies as well as the national bourgeoisie. Socialist, internationalist policies are required, to form the basis of an alliance between Jewish and Arab workers with aid from the International working class.

LEFT COALITION WINS ELECTION IN CEYLON



Bandaranaike, head of Ceylon government

BY ED SMITH

The recent overwhelming victory of the bourgeois-radical coalition led by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike in the Ceylonese general elections opens a new stage in the struggle of the Ceylonese working class.

The three victorious parties are Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the Communist Party and the ex-Trotskyist LSSP. They overturned the conservative, pro-American United National Party by means of "left" sounding talk and demagogic promises. The victory reflects the tremendous upsurge of the past period among the Ceylonese workers and peasants. But the entire history of the three parties shows that they are incapable of carrying forward the struggle of Ceylon's working class.

The SLFP originally came out of the bourgeois United National Party itself, as the personal vehicle of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Sirimavo's husband, and had control of the government from 1955. When Mr. Bandaranaike was assassinated by a Buddhist fanatic who thought the SLFP's racist repression against the Tamil minority did not go far enough, Mrs. Bandaranaike took over the leadership of the SLFP.

COVER

By 1963 the emergence of the crisis of capitalism had its political reflection in Ceylon. The Ceylonese masses grew more and more restive under the capitalist yoke and Mrs. Bandaranaike realized she would need a "left" cover as the bankruptcy of the SLFP was becoming more and more apparent.

The Stalinists in the Communist Party

were all too willing to play the role of footman to Mrs. Bandaranaike on the basis of a popular front reformist program.

But there was still one more obstacle for Mrs. Bandaranaike and her bourgeois friends. The Ceylonese working class was primarily under the leadership of the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP), which proclaimed itself a Trotskyist party, with the patronage of the revisionist Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International, which is supported by the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

The bourgeoisie needed the help of the LSSP to hold down the working class and the LSSP's leaders, after fifteen years of pragmatic adaptation to capitalist politics were only too willing to oblige.

PABLOITES

This is where the real dirty work of the "United Secretariat" came in. For thirteen years the Pabloites has encouraged the LSSP leaders in their opportunist course. When the LSSP leaders began to bandy about the idea of a popular front with the SLFP, the Pabloite leaders absolutely refused to mount any struggle or even discussion with them.

The Pabloites finally expelled the LSSP leaders, but only after they had entered the Bandaranaike government. At the next "United Secretariat" world congress, exactly ninety minutes were devoted to the loss of the Pabloites' biggest section. For daring to raise this issue inside the SWP the tendency that became the Workers League was expelled.

In 1965, within 26 weeks of the entrance of the traitor LSSP and CP, the Bandaranaike coalition government fell from power. It was impossible to fulfill popular expectations of the coalition within the framework of capitalism and as a result the bourgeois United National Party came into power.

ACCOMODATING

After five years, now dissatisfaction with the UNP, its attacks on the working class and its pro-imperialist policies has reached a fever pitch. Only a refurbished SLFP-CP-LSSP coalition could capably channel mass discontent in a "safe" direction. Once again the LSSP and CP went all out in accomodating to their bourgeois ally. The LSSP, once strongly represented in rural districts through the Estate Workers' Union, abandoned them entirely to the SLFP.

Despite all this, Ceylon's laboring masses saw in the SLFP-CP-LSSP coalition an alternative to the UNP. This is the reason for the coalition's smashing victory. Exactly at a time when the sinking state of capitalism rules out all reformist palliatives for the demands of the working class. The recent actions of the Ceylonese workers, including a

bitter port strike and the sacking of reactionary newspapers by thousands of youth on election night, show that the SLFP-CP-LSSP coalition's inevitable betrayal will not get past the Ceylonese workers and youth this time without bitter struggles.

The Bandaranaike coalition gained its mass support in the election only by the "socialist" credentials given to it by the misleaders of the working class.

CONFLICT

The defeat of the UNP can only add new power to the determination of the Ceylonese workers and peasants to step up their struggle against capitalism. It is this struggle which will expose the liberals and their agents in the Communist Party, the LSSP and the trade union leadership. When the LSSP entered the coalition government in 1964, only a year after the reunification of the SWP with the Pabloites it was carrying out the logic of Pabloism just as it does today serving the interests of capitalism, and preserving its rule. But today we are living in a new period of deepening capitalist crisis and the offensive of the working class internationally which more and more brings it in conflict with its revisionist leaders. This opens up a whole new period for the growth of Trotskyism in Ceylon under the banner of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

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THIS ARTICLE WAS translated from the French Trotskyists' Informations Ouvriere. It reveals the real internal situation within Israel. As the Zionist government steps up its offensive against the Arab workers and peasants it uses Nazi methods of repression to suppress the working class and Arab peoples within Israel. These are similar to the measures which are being implemented by imperialism's puppets in Cambodia in order to preserve its reactionary rule over and against the masses.

The skeleton of the repressive Israeli apparatus flows directly from British colonialism, that is, the Defense Emergency Regulations of 1945, still in effect, which constituted one of the pillars of the creation of the Zionist state. By setting out to install a closed "Jewish" economy in Palestine, they had to exclude from the conquered territories any element which by its presence would contradict the dogma of "unpopulated land."

Another form of repression, typical of any bourgeois regime in crisis, has been grafted onto this "vertebrale column" of repression, and which strikes down all those who by their actions, demands, demonstrations expose its failure.

Originally, these laws were put into effect by the British three years before the creation of the state of Israel. Since 1945, Jewish public opinion rose against this body of laws, whose first purpose was to prevent Palestine from escaping the control of British colonialism. After a congress of Jewish jurists in Tel-Aviv in 1946, Dr. Shapira, future Minister of Justice declared: "Even Nazi Germany does not have such laws." Later as Minister of Justice he continued to apply these laws.

It would be too extensive to integrally expose the content of these laws but a few examples will show their general meaning.

Establishment of a military regime; the military governor being assigned to maintain public security, using all the "reasonably" necessary force to exercise this power. Military courts rule with no appeal; no habeus corpus; military trials are conducted behind closed doors, no rule that proof be established. In 1965 the Zionist state made a clamour about the suppression of its military apparatus. In actuality the repressive regime passed from the hands of the military governor into the hands of the traditional police apparatus.

Restrictions on freedom of movement refusal to grant residence; obligation to inform the police of every move even to leave one's home, restrictions of the right to work.

Paragraph 111 strikes a very serious blow at the most basic liberties. It authorizes administrative detention, for an undetermined time, without having to bring charges.

The emergency laws also the legal arm of the regime to dissolve any political, cultural or even sports organization (Arab naturally).

ZIONIST TERROR IN ISRAEL



Israelis Nazi-like policy of "collective punishment" (above). At right, Israeli workers line up on pay day. They face new attacks by the government against standards of living and right to strike.



The application of this repressive arsenal explains the almost colonial condition of the Arabs in Israel.

El Ard, an Arab political organization, mainly rooted in Israel, has been dissolved and its militants are subjected to various limitations of their movements.

The majority of the militants of the pro-Soviet Communist Party, Rakah, have been imprisoned because they were suspected of terrorism during the entire electoral period. In the same period their families were subjected to all kinds of pressure and blackmail.

For example, at the time of the last elections for Parliament, two young prisoners, members of Rakah, were sent back to their villages. This could have been for good if the village voted well—Rakah won first place and the two young men, turned over to the military authorities, disappeared.

The Palestinian poets living in Israel, Sammier-El-Kassem, Mahmoud Darouiche, Fawzi-El-Asmar, spend a good part of their lives in administrative detention or under surveillance in their homes.

The Arab militants of Matzpen are today all assigned places to live. The Arab students in the Israel universities are under severe controls, subjected to abusive and repeated detention measures (detention for several days, several months, sometimes even several years.)

The student Mohamed Saadik, held for two years without any charges was set free on the condition that he leave the

country. He did so "by his own will."

The workers in the Arab villages, forced to find work in industry in the big cities and unable to find housing near their job (due to racism and speculation) must travel up to five hours a day from the villages to the city. This provides the police with an additional instrument of control which they use by identity checks on leaving and boarding buses and trucks.

The Haifa lawyer, Sabri Djeris, has been in jail without reason for more than two months. His book, *The Arabs in Israel*, published in Hebrew, has been banned in Arabic.

In the same way, Ennour, Arab organ of Matzpen, reproducing the integral translation of the authorized articles written in Hebrew, is censored.

Since the 1967 June war a large part of the Arab population has been integrated into the Israeli system of production of which is accompanied by a new repressive measures to purge this population of its most conscious elements. The Zionist government uses the most violent and arbitrary methods, like dynamiting of homes arbitrary methods, like dynamiting homes, collective punishments, that is the use of the hostage system which the Jews have suffered so much, and finally expulsion from the territory.

It is significant that the Israeli government has refused to authorize "international amnesty" to visit occupier territories, hiding behind the condition of Jews in certain Arab countries to justify its position.

If the Arab population is under a colonial and racist type repression, the Israeli working class, whether Jewish or Arab has known the iron heel of the bourgeois Israeli state, and to a much greater extent since June 1967.

Through Jewish and American capital, the profits extracted from the conquered territories, the policy of national union and the role of Histadrout have demobilized the working class for a long time, while today it is entering into struggle. (The Histadrout is the official and only union in Israel. It is not organized by industry and the elections are held on the local level in each village and by political lists. All the Zionist parties including the extreme right are represented on it. It is only when these elections are held on a higher level that Histadrout "specializes" in different branches of industry.)

The example of the struggles of the class these last six months gives us an idea of the concrete conditions in which these are taking place.

At Ashdod, the dockers who have been on strike almost permanently since the spring of 1969, touched this taboo, Histadrout. Threatened with being expelled from it, which would have meant the loss of all the basic gains of the workers movement (social security, indemnities, employment, etc.) and in the precise case of Israel, the loss of a big section of the job market, they resisted and challenged the work tribunal of Histadrout. Faced with the danger of this militancy spreading outside of Histadrout, one of the judges became ill...the trail was put off.

But repression began again with a new vengeance. The press and the Zionist parties attacked these "objective allies of Fatah."

In September, a strike broke out among the postal workers. The regime tried to use a strategy of division, distorting the demands of the workers, accusing them of cutting the countries front by not delivering the mail and even, when they refused to return to work, organizing a police provocation. The militants of Matzpen who had joined the postal workers were singled out by the police as "Fatah agents." But that was not enough to convince the postal workers to go back to work.

As the repression against the working class intensifies the repression of Matzpen has another character.

Matzpen is a revolutionary Israeli organization which fights in extremely difficult conditions against its own bourgeoisie and which bases itself on the principle of proletarian internationalism.

Matzpen has begun deep political work in three essential directions: the organization and mobilization of the working class, establishing roots among the Arab population and organizing the youth. This explains why the Zionist authorities whose repression was for a time relatively moderate, considering Matzpen as the good conscience of Israeli "democracy," are abandoning this attitude in order to prevent revolutionary fervor from lifting its head.

This is why any sale of papers in an Arab village comes quickly to an end by the jailing of the comrades. This is why there are constant searches of militants homes.

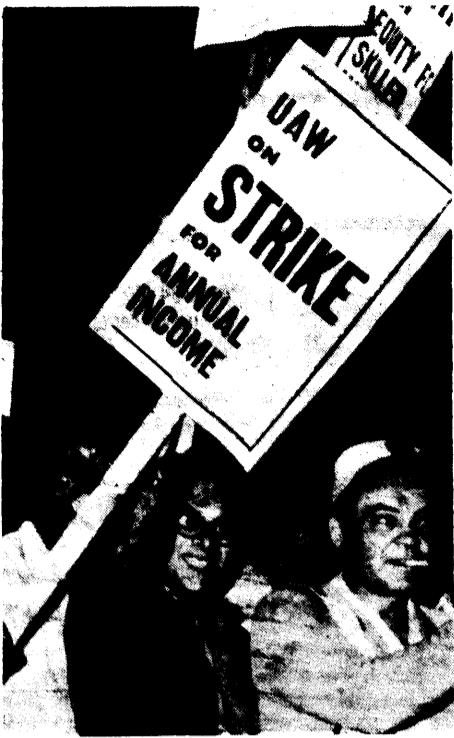
This is why during the June 5 demonstrations against the occupation or the ones in the fall against anti-Arab oppression the police openly collaborated with the violence of the crowd which was guided by enraged Zionists. At the time of the "Goldman affair" and the demonstrations which followed in front of parliament organized by Matzpen and Rakah, the police charged with rare violence.

Finally, this is why the high school administration tries to prevent militants from speaking during the so called "social" hours which they had been invited to by the high school students.

Matzpen, an Israeli socialist organization, organized the demonstration below, calling for Arab-Israeli unity on a socialist basis.



THE UAW AND WALTER REUTHER



Pickets in 1967 UAW strike (above) Art Fox (below) of the United National Caucus, speaking at UAW convention.



BY DAN FRIED

Walter Reuther is dead, but Reutherism lives on in the UAW. A huge bureaucracy, based on a well oiled machine of "International Reps" and the centralized control of all the money and apparatus of the UAW stands as an immense barrier between the workers in the plants and the employers.

Underneath the fine words, the militant rhetoric, the pose of a campaign to "organize the unorganized" and the criticism of the war in Vietnam, Reuther pulled together the bureaucracy to keep the rank and file under control.

After 1944, each successive convention of the UAW has reflected the widening gulf between the bureaucracy and the rank and file. Each convention, despite serious opposition such as over the labor party question in 1951, has seen Reuther more and more able to isolate the dissidents and run the entire show. The 1970 UAW Constitutional Convention held last month in Atlantic City represented even less opposition from the delegates over the forthcoming contract than the last "special convention" held prior to the negotiation of the 1967 contract.

HOSTILITY

Yet, there is probably more distrust of the leadership, more bitterness, frustration and hostility to the Reutherite bureaucracy in the shops and plants than ever before in the history of the UAW. As the fall auto negotiations approach, the auto industry is in crisis—in the U.S. Europe and Japan. International competition is being stepped up and cost cutting through automation is the price that the U.S. auto manufacturers want to make the workers pay. Last year's strike in Flint against GM over production quotas; the recent closing of the Ford plant in Dallas; the plans for building new plants for the mini-cars which will nearly double the number of cars produced per man

Marxism and the Fight for Leadership

hour; these are some of the signs of the employers' attack on working conditions.

With the recent sharp fall in auto sales and profits and a total of more than 100,000 auto workers hit by layoffs and short hours, the big three auto producers are getting ready for a showdown with the workers over the fall contract. At the same time the UAW rank and file is burning over the loss of wages due to inflation and short hours and continual pressure of speedup.

CONVENTION

At the Atlantic City convention, as we said in our report in the Bulletin, Reuther was "preparing both to 'sell' his contract agreements to the ranks and restrain the 'extremes' of the rank and file militancy. This is the meaning of Reuther's keynote address (in which) he raises the bogeyman of violence and launches a thinly veiled redbaiting campaign in the guise of an attack on the New Left, 'black militants' and 'anti-Americanism.'"

There has never been a more opportune time in the UAW or a more urgent need to build a rank and file movement—in opposition to the bureaucracy—than there is today. Yet, all the "socialists" and "radicals" have made their peace with the Reuther bureaucracy, while the "militants" like those in the United Nations Caucus are isolated from the broad layers of the rank and file and proceed from the basis of a revival of the old militant Reuther of 1946.

Our examination of Walter Reuther and the UAW must be seen as part of the urgent task of building a genuine opposition caucus to the Reuther machine. In our last article, we explained how Reuther rode the crest of the post war upsurge in the UAW, only to assure control by his machine over the UAW. This required the destruction of all serious dissidence and opposition caucuses in the UAW. Art Preis correctly points out in *Labor's Giant Step*:

"Until Walter Reuther finally succeeded in establishing one man rule in the late 1940s, the internal life of the UAW for years was a succession of factional struggles, revolts and opposition movements against all attempts to strengthen the top bureaucratic leaders against the ranks."

"The stormy conventions of the UAW became famous—or notorious, according to the point of view. The members jealously guarded their right to maintain



Ranks at River Rouge (above) and all plants are ready to fight to protect jobs and wages

organized caucuses, to press for policies and leaders they preferred. Those open factional struggles of tendencies were a source of dismay, indeed of horror, to the old line union officials who dealt ruthlessly with even the mildest opposition and never let a member talk out of turn."

OPPOSITION

Various socialist tendencies, including the Socialist Workers Party, the Shachtmanites and other left socialists had played a role in the opposition to the UAW bureaucracy during and after the war. Today, the Socialist Workers Party still makes some criticism of Reuther but does not fight to build any movement in opposition to Reuther in the UAW (indeed it is more concerned with alliances with UAW bureaucrats in the peace movement). The Communist Party talks of the "tragic loss" of Reuther to the UAW, plays up the ALA as a force for peace and covers

up for the crimes of Reuther and Fitzsimmons against the rank and file. The "Socialist Party" headlines its obituary, "Reuther Will Be Missed."

What is most important to understand is that the SWP and other left militants never transcended left wing trade unionism, never began in the UAW from the point of view of the construction of a revolutionary party, but rather with the concrete "work" in the UAW. As Trotsky had pointed out in his discussion with the SWP leadership in 1940, this pragmatic outlook led them into an adaptationist tendency towards the "Rooseveltian Progressives," many of whom were "militant" Reutherites, during the 1939-40 period. In the discussion, Trotsky said, "We are in a bloc with so called progressives—not only fakers but honest rank and file. Yes they are honest and progressive but from time to time they vote for Roosevelt—once in four years. You propose a trade union policy not a bolshevik policy. Bolshevik policies begin outside the trade unions. The worker is an honest trade unionist but far from bolshevik policies." Trotsky urged the SWP to fight for leadership in the unions as a "third competitor," as opposed to both the Stalinists and the Progressives.

SWP

The development of the revolutionary party as the "third competitor" necessarily had to be based on the struggle of the ranks against the bureaucracy. During World War II a mighty rank and file movement against the no strike pledge swept the UAW and was reflected in the bitter fight at the 1944 convention.

In 1944 a "rank and file" caucus arose in the UAW to challenge both the Reuther and the Stalinist influenced Addes-Thomas wings of the bureaucracy. The rank and file caucus was led by a number of militant secondary leaders, some of whom were members or supporter of the Shachtmanite Workers Party. Its program was simple—rescind the no strike pledge, press for independent political action by labor, elect UAW leaders pledged to these views. The SWP also supported this caucus. But the SWP did not build anything out of it. Howe and Widdick wrote in *The UAW and Walter Reuther* that "soon the 'Rank and File' caucus disintegrated. Once the war was over its major plank became irrelevant, and most of its people went back to the Reuther camp."

While this statement is nothing more than an apology for the capitulation of

Swabeck and Dunne (with Cannon's backing, Cochran insisted later) favored continuing support for Reuther, while Cochran and the auto faction pushed for a turn to Thomas-Addes. Neither side considered a third formation realistic. The auto faction finally supported Thomas-Addes but at a time when the Stalinists were losing control of the caucus.

Even before they made the switch to support the Thomas-Addes caucus, the SWP was unable to see itself independent of the militants, the left Reutherites in the Reuther caucus. They attempted to cover up their adaptation to Reuther during the period of the 1946 convention with the statement: "There was no movement in the ranks prepared to push a third alternative to the two presented by the main divisions of the convention."

OPPORTUNIST

The roots of the SWP's opportunist adaptation to the middle class radicals—which dominates the SWP today—were present in the postwar period in both the UAW and other areas of the SWP's trade union activities. Beginning with the same method as Reuther—pragmatic success of the union work separate from the struggle for socialism—it ended up bringing this method into the Party as the dominant method. Cannon's statement in October 1962 apologizing for Khrushchev's betrayal of the Cuban revolution, "what else could he do under the circumstances," revealed the identical pragmatic method as Reuther and the rest of the labor bureaucracy who apologize for their sell out deals with the phrase "it was the best we could do under the circumstances." The struggle to change those "circumstances" which are seem as fixed and immovable "facts," is dropped in favor of a blind worship of the accomplished fact. The vanguard revolutionary party is liquidated and replaced with "Practical work" and organizational tasks separated from Marxist theory.

MARXISTS

The task for Marxists today is not to recreate the militant Reuther of 1946 as the United National Caucus of Art Fox tends to, but to fight for Marxist theory inside the UAW. The Reuther of 1946 had to become the Reuther of 1970. As Trotsky said, we must begin as Bolsheviks, not as trade unionists, no matter how militant. Since the post war period, militant rank and file revolts and wildcat strike movements have been crushed by Reuther and channelled into pragmatic opposition groups to Reuther led by sections of the bureaucracy. Under the pressure of sharply rising unemployment in 1951, the President of the UAW Ford Local 600, Carl Stellato, projected a fight for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay and for a number of years, Stellato was regarded as the "official" opposition in the UAW. But the Stellatos come and go and Carl Stellato made his peace with Reuther in going along with the 1955 contract.

When Trotsky said that "Bolshevik policies begin outside of the trade unions," he in no way meant that Marxists turn their back on the unions, but that "militant trade unionism" as a method of fighting the bureaucracy leads to opportunism. In fact, the struggle for leadership in the unions between the bureaucracy and the revolutionary party is the central struggle for the leadership of the working class.

There can no longer be any middle ground, any "neutrality" in the unions. Trotsky pointed out in his *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay*:

"They can no longer be anarchistic, i.e. ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat." These are the lessons for militants who want to carry forward the fight against the Reutherite bureaucracy.