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 say 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

Two Articles
Zionist Regime Attacks Lebanon
Behind Repression In Israel
Lessons of Memorial Day
In the Fight Against the War

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 percent 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 labor party, which raised the demand for a labor party.

The speakers were those primarily from the middle class: a black Democrat, a black Catholic, a white Catholic candidate for State office and a student from SMC.

John Esten, Vice President of Local 1497, AFSCME, AFL-CIO was the only speaker. 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.

DEPACT

The CP pushed this orientation at the May 21 rally, and carried this into today's rally. Their response to the big 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 bourgeoisie to deny its independence.

Recent regard the Socialist Workers Party plays a particularly bankrupt and rotten role. At the rally the SWP was trying to eat the political line into the working class, the line of an unmilitant SWP member Pat Grogan who spoke for the SWP could not get to the roots of antiwar. The SWP completely and absolutely refuses to raise the demand for a labor party, they refuse to make the demand of center 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 misled and diverted the thousands of serious youth who attended the rally and who want to take the struggle against the war.

WORKERS LEAGUE

The Workers League contingent in the Memorial Day march brought the strength and lesson of May 31 into today's rally. Rather than push forward front politics of the trades union bureaucrats and the labor unions, the contingent of the Workers League was the most militant expression of the May 31 demonstration.

The only way forward for the militancy of the working class lies in the construction of an independent labor party. In that sense, the intervention of the Workers League, with a contingent including students from CCNY, Brooklyn College, NYCC, New School, SSEE-371, 1199, a contingent of students from Hunter College, workers around the slogans of the labor party, took the march forward politically.

This party fighters, bringing the demand for the labor party into every straggle in the student movement, and fighting to take the program for this fight against the war with the call for a mass demonstration against the war led by labor in Washington.

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 of 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 the SWP-YSA program. The SWP-YSA work for the strategy of a Popular Front in order to make the connection between these attacks and the historical relationship between Trotskyism and Stalinism. The Stalinists today repress their campaign against Trotskyism precisely because of the Popular Front, while the Trotskyists remain the only force with the strategy for victory. Only the Workers League is able to carry this program forward against Stalinism. This is 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, it encourages a whole lot of politics, for the labor party—the politics of the bureaucracy, of the Democratic Party will dominate.

At the first Cleveland Conference sponsored by the SMC the Workers League fought hard 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 all the other tendencies to prevent any development and capitulated to the Stalinists in different ways to capitulate to 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 today and tomorrow in the fight against the war. At the CENTER OF THIS ACTION MUST BE THE LABOR PARTY.
Democrats & Republicans Prepare Wage Freeze

(Continued From Cover) freeze like the plague. His strategy from the day he took office has been to soften the labor movement up through a strong dose of unemployability before pushing to more direct methods of attack.

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 coordination of nearly the entire labor bureaucracy and the climate of patriotic fervor (the very climate 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 before revising any new legal measures against the unions like the June 1 Supreme Court decision, empowering judges to enforce strike closures. 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 would 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 of living costs.

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 is the turning point in the class struggle and that it is necessary to build a new trade union party and create a labor party of its own.

Both on the occasion of Truman's advent in 1948 and the advent of 10K through the War Labor Board in 1951 and the advent of the machinists strike the call for the labor party was to be heard within the labor movement.

The specifically 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 allied liberals like John Lindsay of New York do not call for the smashing of the working class in the U.S. nor 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 of labor at home.

Support to the Democrats and liberals in the November elections is a full endorsement by every pacifist, Stalinist, middle-class radical of every stripe and the trade union bureaucracy. This is an open invitation to a United Congress to crack down on the unions.

We say build a labor party now to fight for:

- Full employment—Jobs for all—30-hour week at 40 hours pay!
- End the Escalator Clause in Every Contract!
- End Repression!
- No Wars Against the Unions!
- No Patronage for the Union Busters or the Hired Natives under workers control!
- Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina!

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 the 37 mile border zone, 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.

South Vietnamese troops are not restricted to the 37 mile limit and Nixon has said that they are free to go into Cambodia.

However this new situation, said the State Department, was agreed to by the South Vietnamese and the U.S. and is a mutual aid pact which provides that South Vietnamese troops to stay in Cambodia "when their mission is complete," with no timetable, no deadline and no limits.

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 the Cambodian workers and the Cambodian Leadership Council. Martial law was declared in Poipnhun this week, and the demands of the "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 the war in Laos and Cambodia.

But these mercenary and puppet forces cannot deal with the liberation forces in Cambodia. The U.S. has no possibility of moving all of Cambodia east of the Mekong River, 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 similar to that in South Vietnam in 1966, with the prospects 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 move toward China.

ARMY

But Nixon has no 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, which is becoming in strength and number.

Invasion of Cambodia, some infantrymen from the Fourth Division refuse to go into liberation forces occupied all of Cambodia east of the Mekong River, and "combat refusal" has become a common, if little publicized, occurrence.

New Revolutionary Explosion Shaping Up in Italy

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 primitive strike has been going on for a week. Strikes in factories, shops, and government offices have been going on in "stop-work" type action across Italy. This was known as the "Insufficient Grouping" movement.

UNITY

The pressure of the working class has become so intense that the leadership of the three labor federations, the largest of which is the Communist Party, have been forced to work together.

Up until recently the strike were only over specific economic demands in specific plants or industries. Now, there is growing up a nationwide strike movement as hundreds of thousands of workers are being raised in the almost daily mass rallies for "social reform" and for nationalization of the banks, poor and working conditions.

Workers prepare for their May-June, the Communist Party in the only movement to have won anything, has directed the mass movement, but the Unions are following behind.

Italian workers demonstrate in one of almost daily rallies for "social reform."
Democrats & Republicans Prepare Wage Freeze

(Continued From Cover)
freeze like the plagues. His strategy from the day he took office has been to soften the labor movement up through a strong dose of unemployment before proceeding to more direct methods of attack.

Nixon knows full well that the impetus of wage freezes on American labor historically has been a relatively thankless task. Both in the World War II and in the Korean War in spite of the contraction of nearly 2 million workers in the lumber 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 bureaucracy to be heading toward major explosive eruptions in the not too distant future.

PREPARING

Nixon is preparing the way for these measures that are certain to pulverize the fight back of the unions with new upward leaps in unemployment, new wage freezes, new legal measures against the unions like the June 1 Supreme Court decision, empowering judges to enforce no-strike clauses in contracts as if they were laws.

Every worker should think twice about what it would mean to his standard of living if a sudden increase in the price of meat and ongoing rate of inflation. No wage-price freeze in the history of this country or other countries has ever done a thing to halt inflation.

Above all the American working class must take stock of the turn to wage control 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 that latest turn reveals the real anti-working class character of that particular party. We say that this is turn poses the urgent necessity for labor to look within itself and create a labor party of its own.

Both on the occasion of Truman's at- tempt to break the 10% through the War Labor Board in 1951 and recent anti-union plants against ship- ment strike the call for the labor party has to be heard within the labor movement.

What precisely the labor party slogan that can rally labor to a real offensive against the economic attacks and to a real offensive against the Vietnamese war.

What must be realized is that the Demo- crats and assorted liberals like John Lindsay of New York do not call for the smashing of the working class in the U.S., only its 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 of labor at home.

Support to the Democrats and liberals in the upcoming elections is being pro- pounded by every pacifist, Stalinist, middle class radical of every stripe and the trade union bureaucracy. This is an open invitation to the right to lead Congress from the floor.

We say build a labor party now to fight for:

- Full employment- Jobs for all- 40 hour week at 60 hours pay!
- No More Escalation Classes in Every Contract!
- No Repression!
- No Wars Against the Unions!
- No Cuts in the pay of the bankrupt workers under workers control!
- No war on both sides of all U.S. troops from Indochina!

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 re- stricted to a 15 mile range of operation and are, according to Nixon, to leave Cambodia on June 30. The much publicized, and mythical, "Communist Central Headquartes" that Nixon said as his excuse to send in U.S. troops has not been found.

South Vietnamese troops are not re- stricted to the 21.7 mile limit and Nixon said that they can range freely into Cambodia. Nixon said that 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 the Vietnamese. The Vietnamese regime has not responded to "treaty" demands. Green Beret Special Forces are training and supplying and Laotian mercenary troops to come to the aid of the Lon Nol regime, and through French bases in Laos which supply arms and material to Cambodia.

But these mercenaries and puppet forces cannot deal with the liberation forces in Cambodia. U.S. troops cannot go into Laos to aid Lon Nol, and all of Cambodia east of the Mekong River.

Nixon and North Vietnamese are concen- trating their forces on the Ho Chi Minh Trail and the river. Service roads have been set up from North Vietnam through southeast 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 move toward China.

ARMY

But Nixon has his problems. In addi- tion 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 being against the war at home.

The invasion of Cambodia, some Americans, the Fourth Division revolutionaries who go into action against Cambodia, and "combat-refusal" has become a

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

Italian workers demonstrate in one of almost daily rallies for "social reform."

NEW REVOLUTIONARY EXPLOSION SHAPING UP IN ITALY

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 general strike has been going on for a week. General strikes are spreading across the nation. The Fiat plant in Turin, one of Italy's most important, had a week of stoppages on production because. 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 halls of the Vatican. Under the threat of a demonstration by the Vatican gendarmerie, Pope Paul has been forced to grant 10% across the board increases to all Vatican employees plus the setting up of coin 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 grow- ing up in Italy across the country. Banners are being raised in the almost daily mass rallies for "social reform" and for class wide issues of wages, living, and work- ing conditions.

In the past, the communist workers prepare for their May-June, the Communist Party is working to establish the "broad" and "independent." This was expressed in the CP's leading magazine which took a position of "neutrality" in the "party"s strike.

What this "neutrality" adds up to can be seen by the large number of the workers by the CP during the 1968 gen- eral strike.

UPSEURGE

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 re- flects the deepening economic crisis as the tremors from the heart of world capitalism, Wall Street, shake the entire world system.
1199 Must Make Wage Demands Non-Negotiable

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK, June 1—As of this date, the League of Volun-
teer Details has refused to offer new members of Local 1199, bringing closer the possibility of a strike on July 1.

They have not only rejected the pro-
gressive minimum wage but have de-
clared that they have no money at all to
pay. Although the union leadership
seem only too willing to negotiate away
every major demand, the hospitals have
turned a deaf ear.

Lack of money and file must now be
convinced the union leadership to take
up the bosses challenge and reject any
offer of the key demands. In the key demand of $140, the cost of living clause, the 35
hour week and classification of services.

A campaign has begun in the press
to divide workers in the city from the
district hospitals. 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
they can’t do it in line with the hospitals’
financial problems. But the lesson of
every major strike over the last year
should be that there is no hard
ground, no room for maneuvering for the interests of the bosses
in the interests of the workers.

The “friends of the hospital” must understand who is responsible
for the hospital crisis. It is
part of the overall cutback in the health
field. Every time at almost every point it
is the workers who pay for the crisis.

Hospitals are operated off the
income from the hospitals it led directly to the cutback of many clinic
services, hospital speedup and job cuts in the hospitals.

In the case of Memorial and Medical, the hospital rates jumped astronom-
ically, exposing the lie that it is wages
only. The only way to combat the lie that
it is wages only is to take up the fight for socialized medicine and win the right right
now to win the $140 minimum.

RIGHTS

The government is now threatening to
instigate non-unionism in the hospitals
which is supposed to make it seem as
though the hospitals are trying to make the wages non negotiable.

But what both the bosses and the
government mean by cost control is only wage
control. 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
wages demands non negotiable.
The hospital bosses must be shown to be
loud and clear.

At Kingsbrook Jewish Hospital the over-
whelming majority of the Guild chapter
leadership is refusing to negotiate to
make the wage demands non negotiable.

This fight must now be taken up in every
hospital. There we must make every
attempt to send the dispute to arbitra-
tion. The 35 hour week must be taken
before July 1. Massive labor sup-
port can be won at the side of the
hospital workers as it was in the GE strike.

Every hospital must take a stand, past
year—GE—Rail, Postal, Teamster.

The union leaders have retreated before the offensive wage stripping phases.

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 unions and the
over the city can win victory in July.

Witchhunt Unated in Utility Union

The red ballyard by “The Administra-
tion” was in response to a leaflet “Con
Ed Workers: Let’s Get Organized” put
out by the utility workers at Con Ed’s 1st
street 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 speak openly of being a
unionist, with the leadership of the Security
Party, who they say “were taken in over the years at the
Manhattan Center prior to union mem-
bership meetings.”

It is clear that this witchhunt
framework of union is the starting
point of rank and file militants as contract
violators, party hoppers and the old Wolfe
type will continue to split at the seams, exposing itself as a sellout to worker after worker.

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.”

COPS ATTACK BROOKLYN TECH STUDENTS

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Brooklyn—Last Wednesday morning, club wielding police viciously broke up a meeting in the hall of John C. Tech High School. Students were play-
fully spraying shaving cream at the teachers when, suddenly, cops started chasing them down the street, for no apparent reason.

Several youths were grabbed and beat-
en. One youth appeared to have had his
arm broken by a cop, while another
was hit with a clubs and was bloody
restlessly 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
them in line. These kinds of attacks
will not stop with Kent State or Jack-
son, Mississippi.

The ruling class is very much afraid of
the radicalization of the high school
youth, particularly those who will end
up at a 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 drawn-out struggle, and that it is
going to have to use any means necessary to keep things cool. Attacks like the one at Brooklyn Tech are just a
warning,

MINNEAPOLIS SDS STAGES Anti-ROTC Adventures

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—A group of students, including members of SDS, have attempted to spark some little back lash against the
branch of the ROTC which is currently
being staged by a series of anti-ROTC rallies. What has not really revealed, how-
ever, is the utter political bankruptcy
that is the ROTC. Whenever peacefu
clamors of those demanding a
clamping down of participants, and the the
move to lock up the ROTC is a direct
arrests in the course of the campaign
gives an indication of.

The student strike here is on the ebb,
but no amount of frustrated and scat-
tered fighting will stop it. The
corporate open up by the
students, the police and the ROTC
workers last month is the break from
which the current anti-war movement in
utility workers have created an explosive
situation among the ranks. The
union bosses who gave Con Ed its illusory
light by selling the ranks the last contract
is now finding it difficult to fak
any membership without at every moment
being subjected to the anger and recent-
ment every worker had toward them.
The response of the leadership of the
Security Party to the right-wing attack on 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 publica-
tions they come out in com-
plete agreement with “The Administra-
tion” saying that the young worker should have
emigrated to Con Ed because of her
political views.

“FRIENDS”

“The Friends of the Administration”
would be more properly named “Friends
of Con Edison.” This is the side that they really stand by the
union militants. Every rank and file worker is being attacked by the
workers because of her political views and demand that the Security
Party defend this work. The "Friends of Con Ed" side should be used to prevent the ranks from taking up a struggle against Con Ed.

The student strike here is on the ebb,
but no amount of frustrated and scat-
tered fighting will stop it. The
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**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 German workers against the voice of the bourgeoisie.

The packed meeting in the auditorium of the modern school for Formative Arts in Kassel filled the seats of over 200 workers, apprentices, grade school pupils, and members of the public from Kassel itself as well as from cities throughout West Germany.

The German Trotskyists grouped around the newspaper *Der Arbeiter* (the Worker’s Correspondence (IAG) and the youth group, the Young Guard, presented the only viable alternative to Brandt-Stoph, its candidate Willy Brandt of West Germany (CDU), and his East German counterpart (DDR), Willi Stoph, under the status quo quo on the working class of both nations. The issue is to keep the proletariat chained to their respective bureaucracies of Social Democracy and Stalinism.

The main speaker showed that there’s no alternative to the two German states,” in other words, the status quo. Brandt-Stoph capitalism hopes to pen- cill in the DDR “peacefully,” but, the result of the world’s bourgeoisie German imperialism is in deep crisis and des- perately seeking additional areas of investment and for the exploitation of the workers. But if it is to be a West German world, there must be the nationalization of the means of production, its planned economy, and its monopoly over foreign trade.

**THREAT**

The spokesman for the German Trotskyists declared that Stalinism shows no indication of an attempt to build socialism, not even in one country but in both. It cannot accept the West German capitalist because of its own overwhelming economic difficulties. Thus, the Utharberg regime represents a grave inner threat even as the United States capital through NATO represents a external threat to the hard fought reforms not only of the workers but of all the German proletariat but ultimately of all the workers’ states.

To the West German working people, the General Secretary of the German party, was thus helping to undermine the remaining conquests from the October Revolution, he was helplessly betraying the West German proletariat and offered them no hope for a reunification of the country on a socialistic basis and of any other.

Furthermore, by insisting on a coalition with liberal bourgeois Free Democratic Party (FDP) supporters in the German trade unions were directed to put aside its interests of the West German working people and to “work closely with the employers” (a euph- emism for allowing union organizers and employers to make binding deals behind the backs of the union trade ranks). In addition the wage level of apprentices have been kept far below that of the adult workers, thus weakening the bond between the working class and the workers’ families.

**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 fascist National Socialists. The main speaker for the Trotskyists made the following demands:

1. Full democratic trade union rights in both states of the Social Democratic Party and thus the absolute right to strike in the DDR.
2. For a sliding scale of wages as a hedge against inflation and a thousand mark minimum monthly wage!
3. The strengthening of democracy for the working class in West Germany! As a sign of the new democratic society, and the rights of the German CF (KPD), which are included in the program of different name.
4. Legalization all working class and pro-socialist parties and ten percent list place in the next federal elections.
5. Down with attacks on the living standards of youth in the Red Army (ARM) and students in the BND!
6. For a national conference in West Germany of proletarian and student youth to determine line and carry through their demands!

In preparation for the protest demonstration on both Germanies, encourage unrestricted travel between workers and youth of both nations, leading up to joint discussions about their mutual problems and interests!

6. For a unified Germany under a socialist program, the integration of the Socialist States of Europe! These demands received an enthusiastic response from the united workers.

**PREPARATIONS**

To hold the meeting all in Kassel required the overcoming of a number of serious handicaps. The government of BND had declared all meeting in public halls out of bounds anywhere in the Kassels area. With the help of a group of left wing activists 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 BND nor the West German Stalinists would permit such meetings.

Defense guards were organized and instructed in advance to deny free access to the meeting. It was fortunate that this precaution had been made because the meeting was joined by a small clique of anarchists, fascists and militarists who were arguing their cases line in the discussion period, a few of them made a bid for a riot in order to prevent the meeting by the guards in red arm bands put an immediate stop to it.

The meeting terminated without further incident.

**Minn. SWP-YSA Retreats From Fight Against Liberals**

**BY J. RENEE**

Minnapolises—In 1968 the McCarthy campaign mobilized a new generation of youth to work for their full time and energy. Yet as the Workers League pointed out at the time, its only purpose was to act as a va- level to keep the mounting re- bellion 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 capitali- ist politics? The need was for labor to break completely with capitalist pol- itics and form a labor party, thus taking the risks of the fight against reaction and, for the defense of the workers’ standard of living.

Today the need is even more urgent. Labor must-unify the banner of the labor movement and unite the workers, students and all oppressed behind the workers program and break with any notion of reform.

**SAFE**

But today, as in 1968, we see a pro- liferation of “peace,” reform candidates attempting again to channel the movement behind the old political parties. In Minneapolis Earl Craig, running for U.S. Senate, is running against Hubert Humphrey, another one such candidate. Craig is a former national secretary of the Workers Political Action Coalition and an instructor in the Afro- American Studies Department at the Univer- sity of Minnesota. In his words, he is running because “the people need and the times demand forthright and radical alter- natives to failing programs and in- sensitive politicians.”

United behind his campaign are two groups. First, the liberals and reform- ers who have determined to pin the growing rebellion of both students and workers back to the safe middle ground of liberal political politics, and correctly predict that the “independent” campaign is a new vehicle for this purpose. Aiding them in this conscious deception are the labor unions, who are seeking the labor pa- gings for their own reasons. The sale of Craig’s support comes from younger workers and students. It is this group which swells the ranks of the demonstrations, marches and strikes which sweep the country in the wake of Nixon’s invasion of Cambodia.

**BEURACRACY**

But why can a Craig step in and channel the energy of these rebellious youth be- hind a campaign to build “a counter- constitution against that of political machin- ements and governmental insensitiv- ities.” Essentially, Craig is stopped to fill a void in the leadership. Young work- ers and students seeking a way out and act on the one hand with a protest of bureaucra- cacy tied band and foot to the Demo- cratic machine. If the Democratic Party is by its nature a fascist Party, it is natural for the leadership to see groups and committees which sweep the country in the wake of Nixon’s invasion of Cambodia.

**ILLUSSIONS**

Moreover, they foster and perpetuate illusions that capitalism can be reformed by calling for such things as “nonprofit cooperatives” and “alternative energy.” Craig seeks to pose an “independent” alternative within the capitalist system. The SWP assumes an anticapitalist posture but puts forward essentially similar de- mands. It is trying to wonder the com- munist to be unable to cut through the illusions represented by Craig.

The demand that must be central— the immediate withdrawal of Nixon’s middle-class veritque of the SWP’s platform. It is this demand which ex- amines the role of the public movement 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

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 Fateh forces in the Jordan River Valley and air clashes between the Israelis and the Egyptians. They have also joined with the Lebanon's design to "search and destroy" guerrilla bases on Mount Lebanon. Tel Aviv holds the Beirut regime responsible for the guerrilla operations from its territory. The latest raid was not a commando operation by Israel, but a full-scale 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. At Al Fateh claimed that they were very serious Israeli losses. The Israelis were repulsed from some guerrilla bases and others were almost immediately reoccupied following their departure.

ANNEXATION

From the political standpoint the Zionist strategy is even more troublesome. To effectively strike at the guerrillas who enjoy guerrilla status, the Zionists must move faster and more along the lines of permanent occupation and assimilation. This is 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 new legitimacy for these latest raids and gives the attack against Lebanon added ominous significance. With the UN General Assembly in the so-called National Unity cabinet are pressing more and more insistently for outright annexation policies.

The Zionists are fighting the Arab masses and that is why their strategy backfires no matter how well they may have been on paper. They are still using pressure on the pro-imperialist regime in Lebanon, but they only increase the popular support for the guerrillas. On May 26 a general strike was 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, were also too willing to play the role of footman to Mrs. Bandaranaike on the alleged communist program in Ceylon.

There was still one more obstacle for Mrs. Bandaranaike and her bourgeois nationalist Ceylonese working class. It was primarily under the leadership of the Lanka Rasanama Party (LSP), which represented itself as a Trotskyist party with the patronage of the revisionist Secretariat of the International (LICP), which is supported by the Social Democratic Party in the United States. The bourgeois need help of the Bandaranaike government as well as of the LICP and the LSPF, to make apparent an open struggle for socialism.

PABLOIST

This is where the real dirty work of the "United Secretariat" came in. For throughout the Pablist element of the LICP and the LSPF, led by Mrs. Bandaranaike and her allies, had represented itself as a Trotskyist party, the Pablist leaders absolutely refused to mount any struggle or even discussion with them. The Pablists finally expelled Mrs. Bandaranaike and her allies from the LICP, the most important group in Ceylon, and the LICP called a congress to form a new "United Secretariat." But this time when the LICP was formed it had the support of the LICP revisionists. The LICP was now composed of a Trotskyist minority that was no longer able to control the Pablists.

For daring to raise this issue inside the LICP, Bandaranaike was expelled. In 1965, within 26 weeks of the entry of the Trotskyists into the LICP, the LICP expelled all the Trotskyists. This was a clear break with the LICP.

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This was followed by a battle between the Israelis and Al Farah forces in the Jordan River Valley and air clashes between the Israelis and the Egyptians. Al Farah, a small guerrilla organization designed to "search and destroy" guerrilla bases on Mount Hermon. Tel Aviv holds the Beirut regime responsible for the guerrilla operations 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. Tel Aviv claimed that there were very serious Israeli losses. The Israelis were repelled from some guerrilla bases and others were almost immediately reoccupied 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 and 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. This dilemma for the Israelis which provides the backdrop for the latest round of fighting for control of 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. The so-called strategy is simply a pro-imperialist regime in Lebanon, but they only increase the popular support for the guerrillas. On May 26 a general strike was called in Beirut in protest over the Israeli offensive and the inaction of the government.

CONTRADICTION

There is another contradiction in the fact that the Beirut regime, which fought the guerrillas along with the Israeli last year, are now fighting with the guerrillas against Israel. This brings irony to the tragic situation in South Asia in which Tel Aviv ignores the UN when it comes to its own bluster in South 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 aid, from the U.S. for the sale of Phantom jets. But all these are hollow arguments. Imperialist military policies is a complete fraud, is meant to pick up back up the enthusiasm of the United States' expanding war in the Middle East.

In Southeast Asia, Cuba, the Middle East and elseware Soviet "aid" serves as a lever in the hands of the Kremlin bureaucratic, Stalinist influence is a conservative reaction to the Arab masses, as shown by the example of the Sudanese guerrilla movements, their support for the bourgeois nationalist resistance even on Nasser. The Zionists have this not only why the Stalinist bureaucracy to bolster their own military and diplomatic position.

LEFT COALITION WINS ELECTION IN CEYLON

BY ED SMITH

The recent overwhelming victory of the bourgeois-radical coalition led by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike in the 1970 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 Sri Lanka Trotskyist LSP. They overthrew the conservative, pro-American United National Party by means of "left" sounding talk and demagogic promises. The victory reflects the tremendous spiraling up 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 vehicles of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, his wife, and had control of the government from 1955 to 1970. When Mrs. Bandaranaike was assassinated by a Buddhist fanatic who thought the SLFP's racist expression 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 popular appeal to the voters.

But there was still one more obstacle for Mrs. Bandaranaike and her bourgeois friends. The Ceylonese working class was already united under the leadership of the Lanka Sama-samajaya Party (LSP), which claimed itself a Trotskyist-Leninist party, with the patronage of the revolutionary United Secretariat of the Fourth International, which is supported by the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. The bourgeois leadership of the LSP, however, needed the help of the LSP to hold down the working class and the Sri Lanka LSP leaders, after fifteen years of pragmatic adaptation to capitalist politics, were only too willing to oblige.

PAHIBOT

This is where the "dirty" work of the "United Secretariat" came in. For this reason the Pahibot in the LSP, encouraged the LSP leaders in their opportunist course. When the LSP leaders started speaking about the LSP as a popular front with the SLFP, the Pahibot leadership absolutely refused to mount any struggle or even discussion with them. The other leaders finally expelled the "right-wingers" and, while only after they had entered the LSP leadership, the "United Secretariat" world congress, exactly ninety minutes were devoted to the LSP without the Pahibot's biggest section.

For daring to raise this issue inside the LSP, the Pahibot tendency that became the Workers League was expelled.

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

ACCOMODATING

After five years, new dissatisfaction with the UP, its attacks on the working class and its pro-imperialist policies has reached a fever pitch. Only a reanimated SLFP-CP-LSP coalition could put the body into a "safe" direction. Once again the LSP and CP went all out in accommodating to their bourgeois ally. The LSP, 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-C.P.-LSP coalition any real chance for change, although a new upsurge of the working class is likely to mean a reassertion of politics within the framework of capitalism and as a result the bourgeois United Party came into power.

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an answer to hyman lumer and others
by FRED MUELLER

IV. EARLY CP. 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 group of 400 gathered 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 Stalinist tendencies, against the idea 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 control 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 imperial 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 country. The 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: Rothenberg, Foster, Love- stone and Cannon. Rothenberg died in 1927, Lovestone was expelled in 1929 and by the outbreak of World War II had become a rabid anticommmunist 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 Trotsk

James Cannon, founder of SWP, in 1941

skilled and effective organizer.

Cannon was born in Kansas in 1883. His father was associated first with the Knights of Labor, later with the Populists. Later still with the Byrnes 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.

FACATIONALISM

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, through those 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.
Because this early factionalism was no coin-toss, many bourgeois communists and ex-communists 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, "Far 10 years American Trotskyism"

The factional struggles which marked the whole course of the Communist movement for its first ten years had numerous causes. There was a violent struggle of bands 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 Comintern, although it sometimes acted like the parties in other countries, failed to understand the complicated issues raised by the question of the party in the dark, thinking only of our national troubles. That is the party itself and Foster, the factional struggles here. What is that caused them to—generate in the block to unprincipled squabbles and contests for control. Only an international organization, comprehended 1928, 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 analysis, not in his efforts 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 Russian-Lovestone leadership. The bloc, as we have indicated, represented the proletariat and more native born elements in the party. It was not as though a group said: "We wanted to proletarianize and Americanize the party."

Cannon also describes the differences between Foster and Cannon as "The group most closely associated 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."(6)

PROLETARIAN

It must be emphasized 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 internationals, 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 a fraction more fundamental did not begin with the philosophy of Marxism, they knew nothing of dialectical materialism. They banded together with the philosophy which was adequate for the tasks facing the American bourgeoisie in its ascendency, pragmatism and empiricism.

FOSTER

Cannon was known as a most gifted organizer, and he had a great deal of personal charm in the early movement. He was a natural leader in that account. But he had functioned in the broadest sense of the word, as an organizer of the union bureaucracy, and was used by this bureaucracy at least as much as he used Cannon.

Foster's views on trade union work were a Marxist apology for his position within the bureaucracy. It must be stated that the Communist members of the IWW, like the others in the IWW, did not bother Foster in this respect precisely because Foster did not pose a political threat to them. Foster's weakness, his concern with his position at the top of the IWW.

Foster's conception of operating from within the AFL was simply a mechanical reversal of the dual union strategy posed 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 mechanistic conception between Foster and his opponents of the IWW was characteristic of the oscillation between opportunism and sectarianism of early American radicalism.

This description of how he attempted to reconcile the Foster and Ruhemburg factionalities after 1925 is likewise revealing: "I began to recognize the bankruptcy of the factional struggle without a defined political basis as early as 1925, and long before I found a way out of it. That still did not get me off the cost of the problem—the basic cause out of which the unprincipled factionalism had soured—but it was a step forward.

While I considered the Foster group as a whole more proletarian, closer 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 Ruhemburg-Lovestone group. But the latter, although more 'political' than the Fosterite trade unionists, was too intellectualistic to suit me. I thought that the Ruhemburg-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 transcendence of the factions through a sharp struggle for theoretical clarity. This eclecticism is in 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 dropped Foster's weaknesses, his remarks on the nationalism and provincialism of all the leaders, including himself. 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 proponent 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 sizable section of the working class cadre and leadership of the workers 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 possible, however, because of the fatal 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, 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 again more in common with one another than with Trotsky, made a successful bid for the American working class. This fundamental split into two opposite roads was evidenced sharply by the Dune brothers. William F. Dune cast his lot in with Foster, while his three brothers went with the Young Communists in Gay 90s folk dance contest.
The Trotskyists.

All the negative characteristics of Foster were brought out by subsequent developments. Once the principles were set forth, the nationalism and pragmatism came to the fore as he lined up with the new revisionism represented by Stalin. For the next 35 years he followed every twist and turn of Kremlin policy, from the wild ultrafascism of the Third Period to the smooth populism 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, gaueism and burglary. The Daily Worker refused them the right to talk to their own people about the Trotskyists had to say. Physical violence was the order of the day at meetings and inadequate distributors of literature. In the process, the Trotskyists were shorn of the Stalinists. (4) 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 hair-splitting sectarianists.

The Trotskyists stuck it out because they were freed from the fundamental theoretical considerations. In the course of the years they showed that these were not hair-splitting 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 play a leading role in the revolutionary tasks and organizational gains. When the theoretical workers of the Trotskyists showed that their attention to the practical questions enabled them to play a critical and leading role in the class struggle.

They faced the heroic and terrible task of awakening the working class. It was not enough for the party to immure itself in the class struggle and expect theory to develop automatically out of this struggle.

THEORY

Thus the early years of American Trotskyism showed in the most radical way what the working class was capable of for theory were waged in the revolutionary labor movement. The evolution of Foster and the Trotskyists, the depths to which CPC policy sank in the New Deal and World War II years, proved once and for all what could and should logically happen with this struggle and theory as the method and the program of the bourgeoisie took charge. From the beginning of his collaboration with American supporters, Trotsky had stressed the importance of the fight for Marxist theory. This 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 other hand, the first try meeting with the Americans after his arrival in New York in February, 1937, Trotsky stressed these questions. As you can see, he was right.

There has been no other controversy has been given by William F. Warden: "Trotsky's persuasion shone 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 and about Lenin's "Empire-Criticism" and the theoretical backwardness of American radicalism. Trotsky was interested in the Eastman who in various works had polemicized against the ideas of the Russian idealist hangover from the Hegelian heritage. Eastman was obviously being agitated. 'Upon going back to the States', he said, 'you can improve on this. We must take up the struggle against Eastman's distortion and repudiation of dialectical materialism. But it is more important than this. Pragmatism, empiricism, the battle against this poison is essential. You must inoculate younger comrades with the same infection.'"

This was very much the same point, and certainly Eastman's views on Lenin had urged on the early American Communist Louis Frana, in discussion with him in 1929. "You can improve on this", Eastman was continuing the struggles of the early American Communists.

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 tremendous dead weight of American pragmatism and empiricism, and shallow methods of thought which could not at all destroy the effort to build the revolutionary party.

Now the American Trotskyists faced the same problem as the Comintern party whose struggle they sought to carry forward. The time 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 would and could not only lead Stalinism and the International into the abyss, but in precisely what happened. After over a generation of fighting for Marxism, Cannan and the SWP began to succumb to the same pressures and eventually capitulate to revisionism. This must be understood in order to understand the principles and traditions of the Russian Revolution.

Trotsky fought for his American supporters to pay contained attention to the Stalinist movement. He commented and over again that they must fight and work against the workers influenced and led by the Stalinists.

WITHDRAW

The tendency to withdraw from a struggle against the Stalinists was a retreat from theory, from the very same pragmatism which guided both Foster and Cannan 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 sacemouring or phrasenouring or the slightest concession to revisionism. Those like Buitrum and Shachtman who claimed that the Soviet Union or the world worker's state but a new class society, were in reality capitulating to Stalinism and imperially, not fighting it. They were giving up the fight to defend 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 a reduction of revolutionary analysis, our ideas, divided from concrete eile, from the implementation of theory. The understanding of Stalinism as a current international international sense, had been developed to the point where it had no further meaning.

Terrestrial tendency in the class struggle. In this interview the workers were expressed in struggle through the movement and among the Spanish workers.

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 leadership of the SWP brought up the theoretical problems facing the movement at that time, and indeed that was Trotsky's major task of the SWP.

The 1940 elections took place in the midst of the period of the Stalinist Popular Pact. For diplomatic purposes, by accident rather than by design, the Stalinists had veered back temporarily and inconstantly to the Stalinist Popular Pact and left the world worker's party. They now have to decide whether and how they will turn back to the old road. They are still systematically pursuing policies that correspond to the interests of the world class in the new Soviet bureaucracy. The SWP leaders resisted the proposal of Trotsky's very strongly. All the pragmatic and empirical thinking ingrained in the vast majority of American workers and middle class radicals was expressed in discussions.

It was the same question of theory put to us in the most blatant expression of pragmatism. Cannan exclaimed during the discussions: "Such a line would disrupt our work. What我们learned from the Stalinists we would lose otherwise." (D) Thus the question was reduced to a question of numbers while the theoretical fight was ignored. Other leaders claimed that Stalinists attacked the movement, that it was impossible to talk to their members, that the obstacles were too great. "The SWP is a good workers' party." (10) said Cannan. Over and over Trotsky patiently insisted on beginning from the other opposition labor bureaucracies and the tasks posed before the party.

ADAPTATION

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

"There are two competitive, 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 bureaucratic 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, they call us unpatriotic and expelled us."..."You propose a trade union policy, but a Bolshevik policy. Bolshevik policies begin outside the party...into which we are afraid to be admitted compromised in the eyes of the Roosevelt trade unionists." (11) And Trotsky's insistence on viewing the Stalinists objectively is brought out in his concluding remarks:

"Of course the Stalinists are legitimate part of the workers' movement. That is it's abused by its leaders for specific GPU ends. One thing is true, for Kremlin ends another. It is not at all different from the other opposition labor bureaucracies. The powerful interests of Moscow influence Above: A cartoon from the Militant on the founding of the Fourth International Below: Leaders of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union, 1928.\n
activities toward the Stalinists. They represent a whole period from 1917 up to date. We can't move without them. The connection between their program and ours is transitory, but it can give us a bridge to these workers." (8)
The Third International but it is not different in principle. Of course, we consider the third Browder the CP of the imperialist pattern; they fight with all means, even borders solve. 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 morally, they are workers. They are a selection of revolutionary elements, abundant by Moscow, but by Moscow, and not by Moscow. We must consider them from the objective Marxist viewpoint - they are a very contradictory phenomenon. They have great courage. We can't let the antagonists 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 to be 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. We win 5 per cent, the party will be doomed. They can then lead only a counter-revolution. Disintegration will set in, because this 5 per cent connects them with new sources from the most oppressed sectors. 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.

Theses

The Theses on the American Revolution was adopted by the SWP Convention of November 1946. It held that a revolutionary situation was rapidly maturing in the U.S. This resolution expressed the confidence of a party which was very much a part of the workers in the factories, and which had recruited over 1,000 new members in the year of the post-war strike upsurge. But while the SWP was part of the struggle in the shops it ignored the class struggle which was based on the theoretical front. The conclusions of the Theses were based on little more than faith and con- fidence. The post-war militarization, the capitalists, and the movement of a counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie were taking place with the aid of the Kremlin was ignored. Once again, partially hidden by genuine revolutionary sentiment, the SWP was proceeding from national considerations alone. A revolutionary viewpoint which is not an international perspective is impossible.

In the same time the SWP presented the conception of the 'small mass party.' This was interpreted to mean that the SWP could skip over the struggle against Stalinism and the trade union bureaucracy because of the rapidly developing class struggle. Instead of paying more attention to the Stalinists it was suggested that less attention was necessary. The 1952-53 crisis in the SWP was the penalty paid for the retreat from the theoretical questions, the substitution of orthodoxy and formulas for Marxism.

Pabloism

In order to understand this it is necessary to see the interaction within the Fourth International itself. Within the Fourth International in the post-war period a revisionist trend developed which sought to liquidate Trotskyist movement into the Stalinist and Social-Democratic bureaucracies. This tendency, led at that time by Michel Pablo, turned its back completely on the struggle method and the core of the movement of revolutionary parties. For all its revisionist rhetoric it based itself on the post-war boom and the apparent strength and growing influence of imperialism and Stalinism. The Pabloists forecast "Centuries of deformed workers' states." They stated that the main parties were now capable of "projecting a revolutionary orientation" under the impact of the supposedly imminent Third World War, and they predicted a breakdown in the framework of the workers' states. At every point they showed not only a lack of understanding of revolutionary parties and they attempted to liquidate the Trotskyist movement through entry into the reformist and Stalinist parties. The Pabloists proceeded not only to misrepresent the facts, but they attempted to liquidate the Trotskyist movement through entry into the reformist and Stalinist parties. The Pabloists forecasted the liquidation of the revolutionary parties and the destruction of the revolutionary movement, and this meant both the destruction of the Fourth International and the destruction of the revolutionary party itself. This is why the theoretical struggle is so vital to the future of the movement.

Succumbing

Thirty-five years after Cannon and Francis Lathrop were killed to the same pressures which had earlier forced in 1928 Cannon had symbolized all the possibilities of Communism for the working class. This perspective of the Stalinist movement had been destroyed. As the crisis of capitalism deepens the SWP lines up all the deeper on the side of Stalinism and against the working class and the revolutionary movement, a movement which was a reflection of the world scene to take the struggle against Stalinism and Trotskyism. This is the job of the Workers League to be against the International Committee for the Fourth International.

FOOTNOTES
3. Cannon, op. cit., p. 30
4. Ibid., p. 30
7. Ward, William F., Trotsky's Views in the Diasporic Materialist Humanist Interna- tional Socialist Review, Fall 1960
9. Ibid., p. 36
10. Ibid., p. 40
11. Ibid., p. 36
12. Ibid., p. 41
14. Wohlsteth, op. cit., p. 49

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 German working class in the voice of the Workers League.

The packed meeting in the auditorium of the Kassel Technical University was attended by several hundred members of the Workers League in Kassel was composed of an audience of workers, apprentices, grade school pupils, university students, and Kassel citizens from Kassel itself but from cities throughout Germany.

The German Trotskyists around the Workers League have issued their program, their program of resistance (IAK) and the youth group, the Young Guard, presented the only viable alternative to the attempts of SPD Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany (Bonn) and the so-called East German government (DDR), Willy Stoph of the Unified Socialist Party of Germany (USPD).

The program includes a sharp criticism of the working class in both halves of the German state and the sodium element in the program of the German working class in both halves of the German state. It includes the genuine interests of the German working class both in West Germany and in East Germany and its future in a united Germany.

**WISCONSIN ALLIANCE OPPOSES LABOR PARTY AT RECENT CONVENTION**

**BY STEPHEN DIAMOND**

MADISON, Wis.—The Wisconsin Alliance has just held an open meeting and passed a WWP resolution to implement the content and structure for its summer program. The Alliance is widely regarded as the strongest student labor organiza-

tion, and it bills itself as a student-worker al-

**STALINIST**

The Workers League, a group that was involved in the Alliance convention, the Workers League posed that the main point for the next period: 1. Workers who are part of the mass of workers in both halves of Germany must actively struggle against the rich for the struggle. The Alliance speaks of the need for a third party, but a third party only calls for another split. What it means, however, is not a new party but a new tendency, a new tendency of a radical bourgeois party. The slogan which Workers League proposes as a battle cry to the people, is entirely appropriate.

The Workers League stated that the new party, which is the main thrust of all political work had to be to insist on the struggle for a labor party into the trade union movement. When a Workers League member showed the students at the meeting, that the Workers League had to form a new party, the main thrust of all political work had to be to insist on the struggle for a labor party into the trade union movement. When a Workers League member showed the students at the meeting, that the Workers League had to form a new party, the main thrust of all political work had to be to insist on the struggle for a labor party into the trade union movement. When a Workers League member showed the students at the meeting, that the Workers League had to form a new party, the main thrust of all political work had to be to insist on the struggle for a labor party into the trade union movement. When a Workers League member showed the students at the meeting, that the Workers League had to form a new party, the main thrust of all political work had to be to insist on the struggle for a labor party into the trade union movement. When a Workers League member showed the students at the meeting, that the Workers League had to form a new party, the main thrust of all political work had to be to insist on the struggle for a labor party into the trade union movement.

**ATTACKS**

In such 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 way for a rapid growth of the fascist movement in West Germany.

The main speaker for the Trotskyists described the following points:

1. Full democratic trade union rights in both halves of Germany, including the absolute right to strike in the DDR for any scale of wages.

2. Full democracy for the working class in West Germany! As a step in the fight for direct democracy in the SPD and in the Community agreement with the fascist groups in the DDR.

3. Down with attacks on the living standards of German workers and students in the BSW!

For a national conference in West Germany demonstrat

**Minn. YSWA Retreats From Fight Against Liberals**

**BY J. RENEE**

MINNEAPOLIS—In 1968 the McCarthy campaign mobilized young U.S. workers to take on the war in Vietnam and their full time and energy. Yet as the Workers League pointed out at the time, it's only pur-

**SAFE**

But today, as in 1968, we see a pro-

**BUREARCRACY**

But why can a Craig step in and channel the energy of these rebellions youth be-

**ILLUSIONS**

Moreover, they foster and perpetuate an illusion that capitalism can be reformed by calling for such things as "nonprofit cooperatives run by the community." The Craig seeks to pose an "independent" political answer within capitalism. The SWP assumes an anticapitalist posture, but puts forward essentially similar demands. In its way another they are com-

Not only the laborers but the CP as well are seeking instead to keep the growing rebellion against the rich firmly to the capitalist system.

The SWP-YSA providing the leadership that could undercut the new cadre of young people in the BSW, which it leads, the YSA still pushes for an antislavery, single-issue antiwar movement. The leadership that the election program of the SWP is es-

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 ex-

Craig seeks to pose an "independent" political answer within capitalism. The SWP assumes an anticapitalist posture, but puts forward essentially similar demands. In its way another they are com-

The demand that must be central—worker control of the factories, the end of the middle-class vein of the SWP's strategies, the professionalization of the Workers League and the press in the press conferences—must now press politically the growing upsurge of the working class and the youth. Only then can the workers and youth be united in a political offensive against capitalism.
Israel Escalates War in Middle East

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 Fa'tha forces in the Jordan River Valley and air clashes between the Israelis and the Egyptians. The operation against Lebanon was designed to "search and destroy" guerrilla bases on Mount Hermon. Tal Arvir 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-blow 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. Ali Fa'tha claimed that there were very serious Israeli losses. The Israelis were repelled from some guerrilla bases and others were almost immediately reoccupied following their departure.

ANNEXATION

From the political standpoint the Zionist strategy is even more of a contradiction. To effectively strike at the guerrillas who enjoy massive and growing popular support, the Zionists must move and think along the lines of permanent occupation and the destruction of the Palestinian national spirit and the creation of a Jewish hegemony in the Middle East.

It is in this dilemma for the Israelis which provides the backdrop for the latest raid against Lebanon that adds ominously significant. 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. The Israeli raid against Lebanon added ominously significant.

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

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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. Tel Aviv has been fighting a guerrilla war against the PLO. This war has been designed to "search and destroy" guerrilla bases on Mount Hermon. 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. All the Arab claims that there were very serious Israeli losses. The Israelis were reported from several guerrilla bases and others were almost immediately reoccupied following their departure.

ANEXATION

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 annihilation. They are also turning towards the most brutal imperialist adventurism by the very logic of their position as an outpost of imperialism in the Middle East.

This is a dilemma for the Israelis which provides the backdrop for the latest raids. The burning desire to attack Lebanon added ominous significance.

Within Israel the right wing forces within the so-called National Unity cabinet are pushing more and more insistently for outright annexation policies.

The Zionists are fighting the Arab masses and that is why their strategy backfires so badly. They only increase the popular support for the guerrillas. On May 26 a general strike were shut down Beirut in protest over the Israeli offensive and the inaction of the government.

CONTRADICTION

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

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This article was translated from the French Trotskyist "Informations Ouvrières." It reports on the Zionist government's repression against the Arab workers and peasants in Israel. It criticizes the use of Nazi methods of repression to suppress the working class and Arab peoples within Israel. These methods are similar to the measures which are being implemented by imperialism's puppet 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, to which is added one of the pillars of the creation of the Zionist state. By setting out to install a closed "social frontier" to the economic life of the Palestinian people, the British authorities created the conditions for the development of the Israeli state. The British authorities excluded from the conquered territories any element which they assumed would contradict the dogma of "unpopulated land."

Another form of repression, typical of any bourgeois regime in crisis, has been grafted onto this "vertebral 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 1949, Jewish opinion has regarded this body of laws, whose first purpose was to present Palestine from escaping the control of British colonialism, after a congress of Jewish leaders in Tel Aviv in 1945, Dr. Shapira, future Minister of Justice declared: "The Nazi Germany does not have such laws." Later, as Minister of Justice he continued to apply these laws.

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

Establishment of a military regime; the military governors being assigned to maintain "public security," using all the "reasonably" necessary force to exercise this power. With the power of life and death over all, no habeas corpus; military trials are conducted behind closed doors; no rule that proof be established. In 1965 the Zionist state made a flamboyant about the "military tribunals" to whom it is his business to judge the laws of the "war of terror." In actuality the repressive regime passed from the hands of the military police into the hands of the traditional police apparatus.

Restrictions on freedom of movement without grant to 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 basic liberties. It authorizes administrative detention for an indeterminate time, without having to charge the detainee.

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

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

El Arad, an Arab political organization, mainly rooted in Israel, has been dissolved and its militants 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 pressures 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, Samirer-Et-Kassenh, Mahmood Dar-ouche, Fawzi-Et-Ammar, 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 Israeli 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 Hafiz lawyer, Sabri Djere, has been in jail without reason for more than six months. His book, The Arabs in Israel, published in Hebrew, has been banned in Arabic.

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

Since the 1966 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 homes, arbitrary methods, like dynamiting homes, collective punishments, that is the use of the housing 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 occupied territories, 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, began to resist. Matzpen has known the iron heel of the bourgeois Israeli state for a long time, since June 1947.

Through Jewish and American capital, the profits extracted from the conquered territories, the policy and 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 included the extreme right are represented on it. It is only when these elections are held on a higher level that Histadrout can speak of 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 Ashtod, the dockers who have been on strike almost since the spring of 1969, touched this taboo, Histadrout is threatened with a strike and the workers, accusing them of singing the country and delivering the mail and even, when they refused to register new officers, organized a police provocation. The militants of Matzpen who joined the postal workers will soon be accused of being "fascist agents." But that was not enough to turn the postal workers to go back to work.

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

Matzpen is a revolutionary Palestinian Israeli organization which fights in extremely difficult conditions, in a struggle agreed with being expelled and which bases itself on the principle of proletarian internationalism of the workers. Matzpen has begun deep political work in the Arab communities, in the organization and mobilization of the working class, establishing roots among the Arab masses. Matzpen is an example of what it is necessary to do in order to orient the masses to a revolutionary perspective.

This explains why the Zionist authorities whose repressive apparatus is relatively moderate, considering Matzpen as the good conscience of Israeli nationalism are abandoning this attitude in order to prevent revolutionary fervor from lifting its head. This last week, for example, an Arab village comes quickly to an end by the actions of the Israeli police. This is why there are constant searches of militants homes.

This is why during the June 5 demonstrations against the occupation of the one in the fall against Arab oppression the police openly collaborated with the violence of the crowd which was directed by enraged Zionists. At the time of the "Golda" demonstrations which followed in front of parliament organized by Histadrout, the police charged with rare violence.

Finally, the authorities of the school administration tries to prevent militants from speaking during the so-called "political hour" which school authorities have been forced to invite to by the high school students.

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

BY DAN FRIED

Walter Reuther is dead, but Reutherism lives on the UAW. A huge bureaucracy, based on a well-oiled machine of "International Reps" and the centralization of all the money and apparatus of the UAW stands as an immense barrier between the workers and 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 1952 UAW Constitutional Convention held last month in Atlantic City represented even less opposition from the delegates over the forthcoming convention than the last "special convention" held prior to the 1967 contract.

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 ranks were a source of strength, a reservoir of dissay, indeed, of horror, to the old line union officials who dealt with Reuther and the UAW for the first time in his lifetime and never let a member talk out of turn.

OPPOSITION

Various socialist tendencies, including the Socialist Workers Party, the Shachtmanite Party and the Workers World, have challenged the leadership. Today, the Socialist Workers Party still plays a role in the opposition to the UAW, in the ALA (though in some years, despite the efforts of the rightist "front organization" to "unite the.class") to which the UAW is a force for peace and covers.

The Communist Party talks of the "tragic losses" of Reuther to the UAW, plays up the ALA as a force for peace and covers up for the crimes of Reuther and fights, often at the back of the scenes, for "Socialist Party" headlines but the "Reutherite" leadership.

What is most important to understand is that the SWP and other left elements never transcended the left trade unionism never began in the UAW from the point of view of the construction of a revolutionary party, but rather with the concrete "workers movement" and "wage struggle" of the 1930s and 40s. This pragmatic outlook led them into an adaptationist tendency towards the "Roosveltian Progressives" with many of whom were "anti-Stalinists, Reutherites, during the 1939-40 period. In the discussion, Trotsky said, "We are in a bloc with so called progressives—workers..." But if the rank and file Yes they are honest and progressive but from time to time they work 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 of the unions as a socialist party as opposed to both the Stalinists and the Progressives.

The development of the revolutionary party as the "third competitor" necessarily means confrontation not organization, the destruction of old trade union ranks against the bureaucracy. During the 1944 convention, the UAW saw itself as a "working class party" on the basis of the 1946 election. Thus the SWP and the rank and file leadership movement against the no strike pledge of the UAW was born in the bitter fight at the 1944 convention. In 1944 a "rank and file" caucus arose to challenge this pledge 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 "American Labor" program was simply not a strike pledge for independent political action by labor.

The SWP also supported this caucus. But the SWP did not break anything out of it. Howe and Widrick wrote in "The UAW and the Fight for the Struggle that the "Rank and File" caucus disintegrated. Once the war was over its major plant became irrelevant and most of its people went back to the Reuther camp. The membership is nothing more than an apology for the capitulation of the Stalinists. The SWP has played an important role in the split between the workers and the trade unions, between the workers and the Stalinists.

The split between the workers and the Stalinists is the split between the workers and the leadership of the working class. There can no longer be any middle ground, any "neutralities" in the unions. There can be only the role of the unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay. The union can be a revolutionary, i.e. the decisive influence of the union in the life of the people and classes. And no better place than the objective conditions leave no room for the UAW party. Under this leadership the trade unions of our time can either with the imperialist "democratic" masses or with the imperialist capitalism for the subordination of the working class to the IMF and the World Bank. Or, constructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the management of the proletariat." These are the alternatives.