

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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YSA  
AND THE  
RED  
UNIVERSITIES

*As 14 NYC Unions Call Mass City Hall Rally.*

# LABOR TAKES THE LEAD



Over 5,000 students march past Columbia University (above) following funeral for slain Kent student. Now the labor movement enters the struggle. At right is union banner during recent march of 70,000 workers and students in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

**GO FORWARD  
TO CENTRAL LABOR  
DEMONSTRATIONS  
IN EVERY CITY!**



## An Open Letter To Construction Workers And Longshoremen



Iron worker Charles Rivers addresses CCONY student rally supporting struggle.

The hundreds of New York construction and longshore workers who demonstrated in open support of Nixon and Agnew, the Vietnam War, and the "Establishment" were, whether they know it or not, coming out for their bitter enemies and for cutting their own throats.

Small wonder that Wall Street bankers and brokers cheered and applauded as these workers rampaged through the Wall Street area, waving flags and carrying signs reading "Honor America," "We Support Nixon and Agnew," and "God Bless the Establishment."

Those Wall Street members of the Establishment certainly know which side THEIR bread is buttered on. This "Establishment" is just another name for the Democratic and Republican politicians, the bankers and big businessmen and the building contractors and Shipping Associations who are hell bent on weakening and destroying the ILA (International Longshoremen's Association) and the construction unions. And they will use every force from anti-union legislation, National Guard strike-breaking attacks to union-hating John Birchers who wrap themselves in the American flag and shriek their support for the Vietnam war and the murder of the Kent State students.

Every worker, every trade unionist, every longshoreman, every construction worker should consider these simple facts: the same Ohio National Guard which was used to protect scabs trying to break the Ohio Teamsters strike were sent within the space of a few hours to terrorize and gun down the Kent students demonstrating against the war. The greatest friends of the establishment, Nixon and Agnew, who for years have supported the Taft-Hartley injunctions against striking Longshoremen, only two months ago brought in the National Guard to break the postal strike.

It was only one month ago that another member of the "Establishment", Florida Governor Kirk, ordered the National Guard into Palm Beach against construction workers who had been demonstrating there against the use of non-union labor on a construction site. One week earlier, 3,000 of these picketing unionists had been tear gassed (like demonstrating students) by the Palm Beach police department.

Any construction worker would have to admit that those so-called fat pay envelopes they are getting aren't so fat



Some workers "bless" establishment.

after you add up the toll of inflation and taxes--given a big boost by the Vietnam war--and the constant threat of unemployment and irregular work posed by seasonal employment and the chronic lack of work that plagues the construction industry. The latest move of the "Establishment" against the construction workers came when Nixon slashed the Federal construction budget which can only worsen the unemployment picture.

This is what the construction worker faces. Yet where is Mr. Brennan of the New York Building Trades Council, who gave his tacit support to the demonstration, when it comes to fighting for jobs for construction workers, for the 4 day week at 5 days pay? Where are the construction union "business agents" and "shop stewards" who backed this demonstration, when it comes to doing something about on the job beefs on construction sites? They are all with the "Establishment", of course.

### DESTRUCTION

Today the government, Wall Street, and the Shipping Associations are collaborating in the wholesale destruction of dock jobs in every port all over the world. The profiteers are out to get rich through the "container war" while entire ports and sections--such as Manhattan's West Side docks--are phased out. This is what the "Establishment" is doing for the longshoremen.

While ILA President Thomas (Teddy) Gleason denies he had anything to do with this demonstration, for years Gleason has organized right wing "patriotic" boycotts of shipments, has been an ardent supporter of the Vietnam war, and encouraged the attacks by longshoremen and ILA officials last year on anti-draft protesters. But where was Gleason when it came to fighting for the longshoremen and against the destruction of the West Side docks? In partnership with the shipping bosses of the "Establishment," of course.

### BLEED

It is big business and the Democratic-Republican government (the "Establishment") which, in the name of "patriotism" tells the American workers on their jobs to "bleed for your country" and then takes their sons and sends them over to Vietnam and Cambodia to be used as cannon fodder for the profit and power of the U.S. "Establishment."

With that as the future for thousands of high school and university students, is it any wonder that mass student strikes against the escalation of the war into Cambodia are sweeping the country?

These are facts that every construction worker and longshoreman must face up to or see his own job destroyed and his own sons sent to die in Southeast Asia.

Far better to follow the example of the British dockers who on May 1st went on strike against the Vietnam-Cambodian war, and of the Australian dockers who, in solidarity with the people of Vietnam, refused to load ships bearing arms to be used by U.S. forces in Vietnam.

Far better to follow the lead of the San Francisco longshoremen from ILWU, Local 10 who signed a telegram calling on the San Francisco Central Labor Council to hold a mass rally of labor to demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia and an end to government attacks on students and unions.

## EDITORIAL

# All Out to Central Labor Demonstration!

A number of major unions in New York City are calling a mass rally at City Hall 12 to 2 PM Thursday May 21st in opposition to the Cambodian invasion, in sympathy with the slain students at Kent State, and in solidarity with the nationwide student strike wave. Participating unions include: District 65, Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers, SSEU-371, DC 37(municipal workers), Moving Picture Machine Operators Local, IUE District 3, Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local 169, UAW Local 259, Furriers Joint Council, Fur Joint Board, District 65, Bakery Workers Local 3, United Store Workers AFL-CIO, Jewelry Workers Local, Furniture Workers Local 140.

This action can change the situation. The labor movement is moving into the lead. Now it must be: **STUDENTS AND WORKERS! ALL OUT NEXT THURSDAY FOR THE MASS LABOR RALLY AT CITY HALL! FORWARD TO CENTRAL LABOR DEMONSTRATIONS IN EVERY INDUSTRIAL CENTER IN THE UNITED STATES! FROM THE RALLIES TO A MASSIVE MARCH OF ONE MILLION WORKERS ON WASHINGTON MEMORIAL DAY!**

## fascist-inspired

At the initiative of the Committee For A New Leadership, the membership meeting of SSEU-Local 371 declared its opposition to the rightist-inspired demonstrations of construction workers and called upon the Central Labor Council to launch an independent investigation. It came to our attention that the extreme rightist and proto-fascist Ralph L. Clifford has been active in these pro-war demonstrations and issued a leaflet to iron workers urging a "Mass march Friday May 15th...Bring hard hats and flags."

The labor movement must fight against the invasion of fascist elements into its midst! The growth of such tendencies is a reflection of the failure of the union bureaucracies to take up the fight against the war and in the interests of their members against the bosses. **ANSWER THESE RIGHTISTS WITH MASSIVE LABOR RALLIES IN EVERY CITY OF THIS COUNTRY!**

## augusta murders

Right as the demonstrations mount against murder in Cambodia and murder at Kent State new slaughter occurs in the streets of the South. So far six black workers have been shot down as the National Guard has moved into Augusta, Georgia.

Some black nationalists are seeking to utilize these events to divide the struggles of black students from those of white students and the working class as a whole. The lesson to be drawn from Augusta is quite the opposite. **ALL WORKING PEOPLE AND STUDENTS FACE A COMMON ENEMY! WE MUST NOW ALL JOIN TOGETHER IN A COMMON STRUGGLE AGAINST OUR OPPRESSORS!**

## labor party

Everywhere the Workers League is fighting that these labor demonstrations be a giant step towards labor forming its own political party. **WE MUST NOT ALLOW THIS MASSIVE MOVEMENT OF STUDENTS AND WORKERS TO BE SIDETRACKED INTO SUPPORT FOR ANY SECTION OF EITHER MAJOR PARTY FOR THE VERY SAME POLITICAL FORCES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAR AND THE ATTACKS ON WORKERS AND STUDENTS. TAKE BANNERS CALLING FOR THE FORMATION OF A LABOR PARTY INTO EVERY DEMONSTRATION IN THE NATION.**

**ALL OUT THURSDAY  
FOR  
MASS RALLY  
OF  
LABOR AND STUDENTS  
AT CITY HALL!**

# U.S. Destroys Town in Cambodia

BY THE EDITORS

April 12--The real purpose of the Cambodian invasion, now involving over 50,000 troops, has been made plain by the destruction of the town of Snoul--the imperialists' only "victory."

With cameras grinding away American troops moved into the town, completely destroyed every building in it, murdered any living soul left in the town, and then proceeded to steal anything not tightly nailed down. That the loot was later returned can be attributed to the fact that this "showpiece" action took place for the benefit of 40 million American TV news watchers who would not have appreciated the looting.

As a result of the action nothing of any worth was captured and reporters witnessed only the "Vietcong" captured and three killed. However some 1,700 to 1,800 rubber plantation workers in the area

joined up with the Vietcong making it clear that the U.S. is fighting a section of the working class and peasantry in Cambodia not simply troops from South or North Vietnam.

## PHANTOM

It is important that the Snoul operation could in no way be connected with the supposed hunt for the Vietcong headquarters in the "Fishhook" area nor was it in any way related to protecting American troops in that operation. It is becoming more and more difficult for American officials to keep a straight face when they talk about their "search" for this phantom complex when in actuality the military actions in Cambodia are taking on the same character as military actions in Vietnam.

American troops are being deployed seeking out so-called Vietcong for body counts and destroying in the process everything they come across. As in South Vietnam so in Snoul it was "assumed" that the town was hostile and it was therefore destroyed. The 50,000 troops have been deployed over an extensive region and in no sense concentrated on finding some headquarters.

At the same time it is clear the whole military and political situation in Cambodia is deteriorating. What is actually happening is that the situation is developing into a generalized civil war with the Cambodian military regime resting only on American armed forces and supplies.

## EVACUATE

In this respect the government reported last Tuesday night that telephone and telegraph communications with 20 major cities and towns in Cambodia have been suspended because of "enemy" occupation



United States soldiers take away Cambodian prisoners during recent military actions.

or line cutting. What this means is that outside of Phnom Penh, the capital, there is barely a square mile of territory which the U.S. and its military puppets can count on.

The next big "victory" after the destruction and looting of Snoul has been the sending of a fleet of 47 ships from South Vietnam up the Mekong River to Phnom Penh in order to evacuate 20,000 Vietnamese held in concentration camps simply because they are Vietnamese. Such is the reactionary character of imperialism's servants in Asia.

Opposition to this has been so strong in South Vietnam that the military government there has been forced to shut down not only the universities but the entire school system. Even the grade school children are not to be counted upon.

The evacuation fleet is also carrying on military operations seeking to secure the Mekong River area for the U.S. imperialists. In this regard it is significant that while U.S. forces accompanying the armada halted reportedly at Neak Luong, some distance from the capital,

Neak Luong is definitely beyond the 21.7 mile limit that U.S. troops are supposedly not to penetrate beyond.

## "LIBERALS"

While all this is going on the Senate "liberals", led by Cooper, Case, Aiken, Fulbright and Church, voted to limit funds for future Cambodian military efforts. What this really amounts to is a statement on the part of these liberals that they plan to do nothing about the current Cambodian war.

As masses of students and workers announce their determination to fight it through to the end to get the U.S. out of Southeast Asia NOW, these liberals reveal the complete hollowness of their so-called "opposition" to the war.

There is no way forward in the struggle against the war in league with these mealy-mouthed class buddies of the imperialist cutthroats. Labor must fight independently of both parties and raise in its struggle the cry of a new party in America, a party of LABOR.

## GIs, VETS, CONDEMN CAMBODIAN INVASION

The universal hostility to the war in Southeast Asia which is spreading among the youth and labor movement is finding a strong expression within the armed forces itself.

Last week NBC interviewed GIs on the front line in Cambodia. One soldier reported that 16 men in his company had protested against going to Cambodia. As the news commentator summed it up, the sentiment among the GIs was that they were not afraid to die, they had proved this in Vietnam, but Cambodia is a different story and they wanted no part of it.

In New York four Vietnam veterans including three ex-Marines were threatened with release from the Veterans Administration Hospital for circulating a petition to protest the war in Southeast Asia. The petition on which the veterans obtained 100 signatures said:

"Mr. President, we are against your presence in Vietnam and into Cambodia and against the shooting of the students. We ask the President to stop supporting the rightwing government of South Vietnam."

One of the ex-GIs, Manuel Vitte, who lost his leg in battle in Vietnam told the New York Post; "I don't think the President is right when he says everybody who protests the war is a bum. I'm not a bum. I'm protesting a senseless war...."

## WORKERS LEAGUE LEAFLET

Workers! Students!

## FIGHT NOW FOR A MASS RALLY OF LABOR IN THE GARMENT CENTER FRIDAY!

### Around The Demands:

- Immediate Withdrawal of All U.S. Troops from Southeast Asia!
- End the Repression of the Panthers. Protest the Shooting of the Kent State students. Beat back Nixon's anti-labor offensive! Build a labor party now!

### Students!

Raise the call on your campus for a mass labor rally. There is no way forward in the student strikes isolated on the campuses. Students must reach out to the labor movement and fight for labor to take the lead.

### Trade Unionists!

Raise the call for a mass Garment Center rally in your union. Fight for your union to demand the Central Labor Council call such a rally. Demand that your union call the rally itself if the Central Labor Council refuses. Send telegrams directly to the Central Labor Council: 386 Park Ave. South.

Nixon is seeking to divide us so he can continue his attacks on students and workers and proceed with his bloody war that no one wants and only the bosses profit from. The attack of so-called construction workers on students has been shown to have been a put up job sponsored by the construction companies. As the postal strike and the recent Teamster strikes show it is not just the students and the Panthers who are under attack but all working people and all who resist Nixon's rule.

We must unite to fight back. All out to build a massive labor demonstration Friday. Let each trade unionist, each student raise his voice in unison, demanding that the labor movement as a whole take this action and take it now!

### Beat Nixon Back!

10,000 copies of this leaflet were issued in English and Spanish as part of an all-out campaign of the Workers League in the New York area to bring out the labor movement against the war and to turn the students beyond the campuses to the working class. During this campaign thousands of signatures and telegrams were solicited among students and workers calling upon the labor movement to take action. Within 24 hours the Workers League mobilized the CCNY Labor Action Committee behind this

leaflet, the text of the leaflet was carried at a New School strike committee meeting of over 300 with only 3 votes against, a mass meeting of over 1,000 students and workers of the Work Stoppage Committee at the New School endorsed the rally proposal, and wide support mobilized within Local 371-SSEU, Local 1199, Local 241 of Columbia workers, at Brooklyn College and many other schools. Everywhere the proposal to turn to labor got a tremendous ovation from striking students.

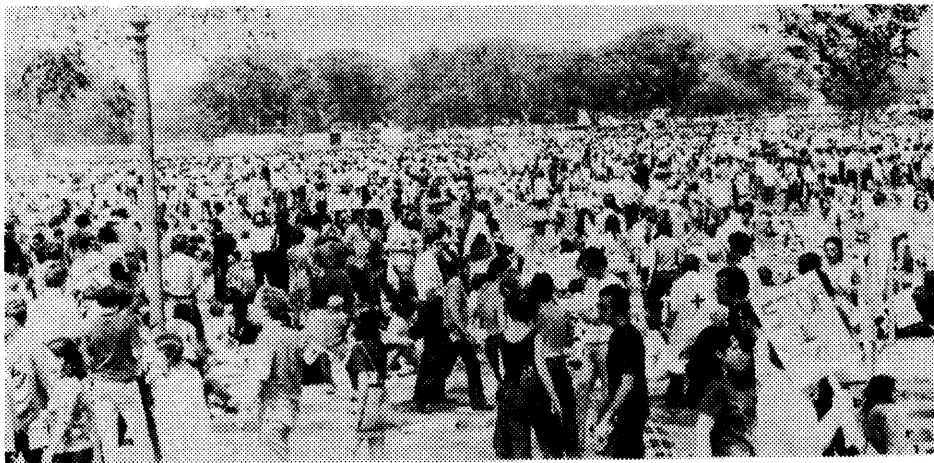
## Bulletin

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## Leaders Turn DC Protest Into Picnic



Top—Part of 100,000 strong crowd as it was being dispersed by stink bombs and Ginsberg's chants. Above—Workers League contingent marches from bus area with banners.

BY PAT CONNOLLY

NEW YORK--The march on Washington this Saturday made it absolutely clear that the present leadership of the student movement from Dve Dellinger, the Black Panthers, and Jerry Rubin on down is completely and totally bankrupt.

These leaders have absolutely no perspective for carrying forward a serious fight against the war with the tens of thousands of new students and youth who were moved to protest for the first time by the invasion of Cambodia and the murder of the Kent State Students.

Despite Dave Dellinger's pitiful announcement that "this is not a picnic, no more fun and games," the demonstration turned into a circus, complete with naked karate classes and Allen Ginsberg chanting: "Hari Krishna, Merrily we welcome in... the Panther, the CIA, the fuss, the revolution, Hari Krishna."

It was the politics of the Dellingers, the Rubins, and the Panthers which allowed, and lead the demonstration into a demoralized circus.

In the course of the student strikes which have swept the nation's colleges,

it has become clearer than ever that students alone cannot end the war, and that student strikes kept isolated on the campus will die out for lack of a serious perspective. Unless the strikes break out of the campuses, and their isolation, and turn to the working class, to the tens of thousands of workers who are opposed to the war, to inflation and unemployment and fight to mobilize them as a class, the fight against the war cannot go forward.

Hundreds and hundreds of Bulletins were sold at the demonstration on this perspective of reaching the labor movement. This reporter spoke with dozens of students, most notably many newly radicalized students from Ohio who had been moved by the murder of students at Kent State to come to Washington against the war.

The overwhelming sentiment among

those we spoke to was disgust with the complete degeneration of the demonstration into Hari Krishna, and the desire for a serious perspective to reach the labor unions. A youth from Youngstown, Ohio, commenting on the circus atmosphere said, "They're liberating everything from hotdogs to crackerjacks, but they're not serious. I come from a union town and I know if we went to the unions we could get support that could stop the war. But not with this nonsense."

The Washington fiasco was like a macabre of what went on at many colleges and universities. In New York, the strike at CCNY started with the anarchists and "psychedelic Marxists" in control. After thousands of students had responded to the invasion and massacres at Kent by coming together in a mass rally, the so called leadership of December 4th Movement and anarchists could only offer rhetoric like "Let's Get our shit together," "Fuck ROTC", "Off the pigs, Free the Panther", "Liberate the university."

No program for action was advanced and none followed. The rally dispersed. This lack of leadership and lack of program feeds liberalism in the sense that no viable course of action is proposed. Students are given the choice between "offing ROTC", petty bourgeois anarchism, or liberalism, or signing petitions for the McGovern amendment to cut off funds for the war. After several mass meetings degenerated into fist fights between various so-called radicals, there was a reaction among the students as a whole against political discussion. The strike committee was reconstituted by a more serious group of students who tried to hold the strike together but who really lack any kind of political perspective for breaking out of the isolation on the campuses.

### LABOR

The Workers League fought from the beginning of the strike for a working class orientation for the students at CCNY, and other city colleges. Thousands of students at CCNY, Brooklyn College, and Columbia signed a petition for telegrams to Harry Van Arsdale of the Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO calling for Labor support to the strike and action in the fight against the war. Labor Action groups were formed to fight to bring a working class perspective to the campuses and out of the unions.

The perspective put forward by Progressive Labor and SDS at CCNY was one of "Shut the University Down" and "Smash ROTC" means "Trash ROTC" which is what happened last Tuesday. A few students marched into ROTC, ripped up uniforms, carried them out on top of the ROTC flags, and lit the torn uniforms on fire, and did a little "trash-

ing" in the building. Then SDSers announced that ROTC had been smashed at CCNY. The "ally with workers" campaign at City College degenerated to the point where all PL could offer was that students should help campus workers clean down the walls (which had been painted with slogans like "Smash ROTC").

Rather than fighting for campus workers to join the strike against the war and take that fight into the city labor movement, they were for scrubbing the walls and rubbing shoulders with the workers. They ignored all political questions of mobilizing the workers. For all the talk of the demonstration at the Labor Department, they didn't even try to mobilize workers to go to Washington.

The YSA was paralysed during the past week at CCNY. They tried and failed to revive SMC which is dead on campus, and offered a perspective of the "Red University." For all their protestations against "offing ROTC" in a physical manner (they call for ROTC off campus, but are not hot for burning it down) this is the culmination of their politics, and the "Red University". Students were to hold the colleges "by any means necessary" as anti-war headquarters in complete isolation from the labor movement, and from reality.

The YSA's perspective was totally one of student power. Although many YSAers signed the petition to the Central Labor Council circulated by the Workers League, it was clear that they had no perspective of following through on a working class orientation. We are advised by their paper *The Militant* to go out to "the American people", "to our churches and synagogues" to stop the war. They call for another demonstration on Memorial day that will turn into another circus unless the labor movement takes the lead on a class program.

The Communist Party and its supporters took the same classless perspective as the YSA, with its call for "the people", "the American people" to protest the war and end up pushing the slogan "Impeach Nixon."

### FORWARD

The Workers League is fighting on every campus and in the unions for the labor movement to take the lead in the fight against the war, fighting for the unions to call a mass labor rally in the Garment Center on Friday, May 15th, around the demands of:

- Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from SE Asia!
- Break with the twin parties of war, inflation, unemployment, and repression; Build a Labor Party!

The events of the past week, the upsurge on the campuses and unions, the march on Washington, show that this is the only way forward.

## Bay Area Unionists and Students Call For Labor Demonstration

### SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

SAN FRANCISCO, May 12--Tremendous support is building throughout the Bay Area labor movement and in every section of the working class for the antiwar struggle and the protest against the repression of students. The Bay Area Workers League has initiated a petition campaign to send signed telegrams to the San Francisco, Alameda and Contra Costa County Labor Councils calling on the labor councils to "immediately take action to call a mass labor demonstration on Friday, May 15, demanding withdrawal of all U.S. troops and an end to government attacks on the students and unions."

In response to the campaign, telegrams have been sent by the Teaching Assistants, Local 1928, San Francisco State AFT; by 35 longshoremen from ILWU Local 10. Telegrams were signed by over 500 students at San Francisco State, by several hundred workers from the social service section, Local 400, by a group of census and government workers, by 12 ironworker apprentices, and several hundred students from the University of California at Berkeley.

Another telegram was signed by members of the following unions: AFT Local 1928; Teamster Local 986; Marine Engineers; Retail Clerks, Local 1100; AFT Local 1352; Letter Carriers Union; Musicians Union; Local 6, IBEW (electricians); Communication Workers of America; Sailors Union of the Pacific; Newspaper Guild; San Francisco Hospital Workers, Local 250; Retail Clerks Local 648; Building Service Employees, Local 87; Carpenters, Local 2164; Teamsters Local 291; Waitresses Union. Local 48.

All of these signatures were collected in a 24 hour period which indicates the potential of the campaign which has just begun.

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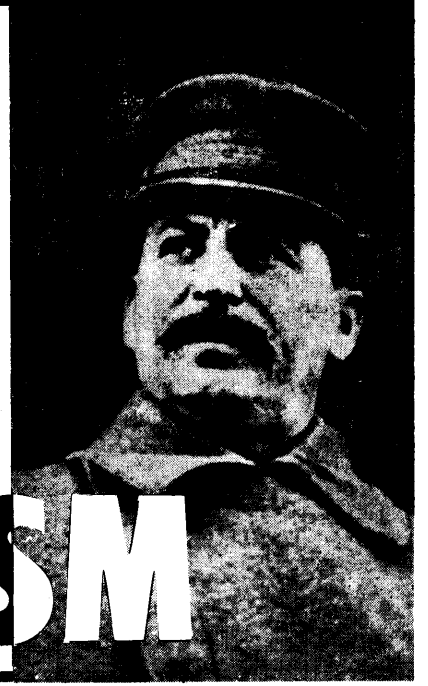
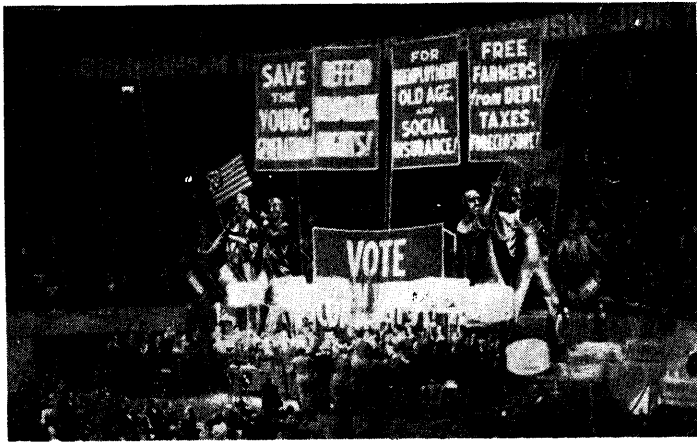
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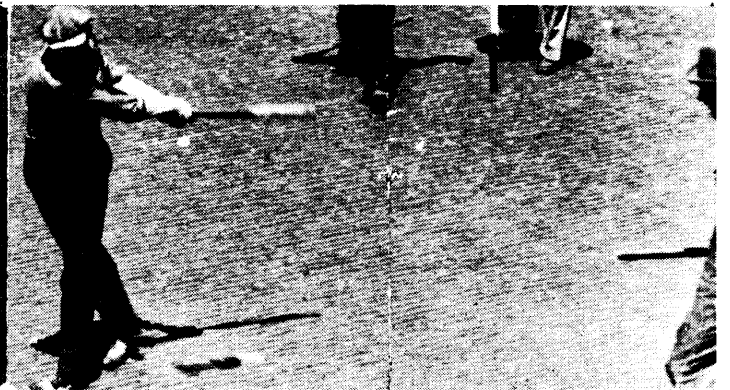




# STALINISM

# & TROTSKYISM IN USA

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



## III. THE POPULAR FRONT IN U.S.A.

ONE ASPECT OF its history about which the Communist Party is less reticent is the period of the Popular Front. As we have shown, the Moscow Trials and the Stalin terror were but one aspect of Stalinism, and were made necessary by Stalin's turn internationally towards the most open class collaboration with the big bourgeoisie.

While the American Stalinists cover up or remain silent about the crimes of Stalinism they try to use the experiences of the Popular Front to carry forward the same essential policies under new names today.

This is, indeed, the theme of the commemorative issue of *Political Affairs* which is devoted to the 50 years history of the U.S. Communist Party. In every chapter the message is clear. For the Stalinists the lesson of history is to build anew and strengthen the alliance between the liberal bourgeoisie and the working class.

In his diatribe against Trotsky, Hyman Lumer emphasizes that "Trotskyism rejects the fight for democracy and with it the concept of the united front for democratic objectives, which is characterized as the disease of 'united frontism' or 'coalitionism'.... From the thirties on,

they have refused to recognize the struggle against Fascism as a struggle for democracy, uniting all democratic forces, but have viewed it as a struggle in which the only alternative to fascism is socialism."(1)

### UNITED FRONT

Once again Lumer is lying and his lies are intentional. There is no such thing as a "united front for democratic objectives." Lumer is consciously confusing the united front of the working class against the bourgeoisie with the popular front with the bourgeoisie. All of his lies are designed to obscure this central class difference.

Not only does Trotskyism not reject the concept of the united front, it was Lenin and Trotsky who fought for this conception in the early years of the Communist International and it was Trotsky, as we shall see, who fought for the united front as the means of defeating fascism. But this was not a united front for "democratic objectives", but a united front of the working class organizations to defeat the onslaught of fascism.

### LAFOLLETTE

Another contributor to *Political Affairs*, Tom Foley, writes about the LaFollette campaign for the presidency in 1924. There is one reason and one reason only for the inclusion of an entire chapter in this issue of *Political Affairs* on this subject. The Stalinist leaders see it as another opportunity to justify and bolster their current class collaborationist line.

Here too it is necessary for the writer to distort history as well as the fundamentals of Marxism in order to drive home his point. Foley writes, "If, after the massive failure of capitalism in 1929, there had existed in the U.S. a mass-based third party whose aims were to counter monopoly capitalism, it seems almost unquestionable that the entire history of this country would be different - perhaps very different from what it is



American CP betrayed Spanish Revolution through support to capitalist popular front. Above Daily Worker cartoon and below is popular front demonstration in Madrid.



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

# 70,000 MARCH IN TWIN CITIES

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS, May 11--Last Saturday over 70,000 young workers and students marched against the war at a mass rally at the state capitol in St. Paul.

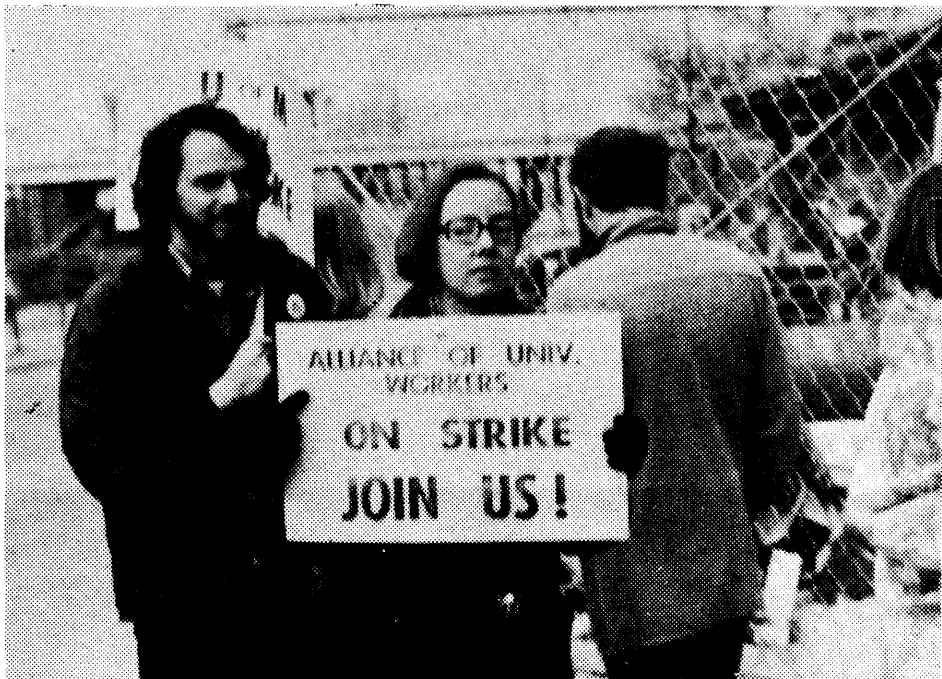
This massive demonstration of trade unionists and youth, the largest antiwar march in the state's history, follows the long tradition of working class struggle in the Twin Cities.

The strike at the University of Minnesota of students, faculty and a significant number of campus employees now enters its second week full of strength and determination. Drawing its strength from the nationwide upsurge of students and workers triggered by the Cambodian invasion and the Kent State murders, the strike has spread like wildfire.

The strike began on Monday May 4th after a rally in which 8,000 students voted enthusiastically to join fellow students across the country on strike. In the following days the students were joined by faculty and civil service employees.

The strike has become stronger and better organized each day. Daily rallies

University workers formed organization to fight war and for their own conditions.



## Ranks Fight Stalinists at Brooklyn College

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER  
BROOKLYN, N.Y. -- On Monday, May 11, the SGS of Brooklyn College (night school) voted their solidarity with the strike. The strike is almost completely solid. The Saturday demonstration in Washington has only made the students more determined than ever to continue their fight.

The students have shown, in the whole way they have conducted the strike, their desire to extend it and not dissipate it in isolated adventures and to maintain the central orientation of the strike, to end the war. The students are coming into more and more open conflict with their leadership which now poses the biggest threat to the strike.

This leadership, composed of student power forces and the Young Workers Liberation League, youth group of the Communist Party, by encouraging the illusion that the students can indefinitely hold the university on their own, are leading it in the direction of confrontation with the police. The strike committees are completely paralyzed by Brooklyn College President's announcement that he would seek an injunction to clear the strikers out of the buildings.

### TRAILED

At the SGS meeting Monday night the leadership showed how far it trailed behind the students by proposing a discussion on exclusively SGS demands. They thought this was the only way to win the night students support. No sooner had they proposed this than students shouted them down by saying that the main issue was the war.

The Workers League called on students

keep the strikers informed. Mass picketing and leafletting have continued with the strike. This upheaval has forged a real link with the massive struggle against the war begun with the Nov. 15th march on Washington. It has cut through all the diversions and defeatism that the official antiwar leadership, in particular the Moratorium Committee and the New Mobe, had put in the way of really deepening the struggle against the war.

It is obvious to the masses of students that this upsurge, primarily confined to the campuses, must be spread beyond the campus. The spectre of strike action by labor against the war has been raised here over and over again in rally after rally. It has really been a driving force inspiring students in the strike.

This perspective alone can cut through the YSA's illusion of a "red university" a liberated island in capitalist America, which can only deepen the divisions between students and workers.

to expand the strike into the labor movement by calling for a central labor demonstration in New York on Friday. The chairman did everything he could to avoid this question, even suggesting the meeting break up into small groups to "discuss" to cover up his lack of any solution.

The chairman's real perspective, was that President Kneller of Brooklyn College had to be "pressured," the same man who is preparing to move cops onto the campus to break the strike.

### STALINISTS

The strike committees and the Stalinists are therefore out to win a few concessions and not to continue the fight against the war, because they reject the only force that can accomplish this, the working class. It is the Stalinists who play the most cynical and dangerous role. These people know the power of the working class and are consciously fighting to prevent students from linking up with it.

The Stalinists have worked hand in glove with student power advocates, openly hostile to the working class, to isolate the students on the campus. They have fought to obscure the political questions and the central focus of the strike by a multitude of local demands pertaining to Brooklyn College.

One of the leaders of the strike committee, a member of the YWLL, on hearing the decision to clear the building proposed that students stay "until the last minute", i.e. until the students are arrested. The Stalinists know this will only end in defeat and this is precisely what they want.

### DIVIDED

The Workers League has fought to expose this by posing the alternative of the mobilization of the unions and the call for a labor party. The Stalinists denounced this as student elitism and said that it was



Workers League contingent marches with Workers Alliance during 70,000 strong demo.

During this strike Workers Alliance, a group of civil servants, was formed initially to join in the students' strike. The Workers League intervened in this group to pose firstly, the importance of independent working class action against the war and secondly the importance of reaching out to the trade union movement for support. It was also decided to form a union embracing all University of Minnesota civil service employees around a program of union recognition, a negotiated union contract, no firings because of strike activity. A wide cross section of University employees are involved in this group.

The Workers Alliance has provided a certain leadership in the strike. At a mass rally following the march on Saturday, in front of the state capitol, Vickie Walbert, a representative of the Workers Alliance spoke about inflation, unemployment and other attacks on the working people directly connected with the war. Noting the significance of the postal strike, which showed the power of the American workers to stop the war, she stated, "We, workers at the U. of M. have gone one step beyond the marches of moral indignation which initiated the antiwar movement. We will show President Nixon that marches are not merely moral protests which can be ignored,

that they are not just safety valves which allow people to let off steam and be ignored."

In raising the challenge to the labor movement to take class action against the war, this kind of lead shows the way forward for the bulk of the students who know they have no real independent strength to take forward their struggle.

## WORKERS LEAGUE INTERVENES TO SPUR CARLETON STRIKE

BY J. RENEE

NORTHFIELD, MINN.—The strike wave sweeping across the country's campuses in the aftermath of Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the brutal murders of the Kent students, hit this sleepy rural town with a vengeance last week. At St. Olafs and Carleton, preliminary activities reached a peak by Tuesday at rallies where strike votes were taken.

Nevertheless, aroused anger of the students began to dissipate Wednesday in a variety of essentially academic or symbolic activities, and there was talk of returning to "business as usual" on Thursday. On Wednesday night a community assembly was called to debate the issue and take a secret ballot on whether to end the strike or not.

A turning point in the debate came when the Workers League was able to intervene pointing out that the strike wave was no longer just a middle class protest movement but had reached a qualitatively different level. The current movement in Northfield, said the WL spokesman, had to be seen as part of a national and international struggle involving wider sections of the working class. The strike of the U. of Minnesota Civil Service employees was posed as an example of this.

The result of the debate was an overwhelming strike vote and the beginning of a concerted drive to get more participation in the Saturday March on the state capital.

## JOIN THE WORKERS LEAGUE!

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not the students' job to change the workers' consciousness. In this way they seek to divide students and workers and minimize the tremendous impact the strike and the massacre at Kent have already had on the working class.

In France in May-June 1968 when the Stalinists realized they could not prevent this unity by denouncing the students as "rich sons of the bourgeoisie", they fought to exclude students from the demonstrations. In this strike their policy is to keep the struggle on the level of student reforms while opening the way to bloody battles with the cops.

While the Labor Committee has opposed these adventures they have been unable to pose a concrete alternative. They cannot fight the Stalinists precisely because their program is a reformist one. They put forward various schemes about taxing profits and eliminating the Brooklyn College construction fund without showing how the working class can take the lead in the struggle.

Recently the Labor Committee issued a leaflet to construction workers calling on them to come to the campus and "find out what's going on" instead of posing a way to mobilize the trade unions. Their lifeless schemes are completely removed from the struggle against the war.

### FORGE

The Workers League has been the only organization on campus to fight for class demands to take the fight into the working class. Last week we initiated petitions to the Central Labor Council, which received 2,000 signatures, calling on them to take concrete action in defence of students and against the war. At meeting after meeting the program of the Workers League has received tremendous response. The students at Brooklyn College must now forge a new leadership, basing itself on this perspective as the only way to carry forward the strike.



# Labor Takes up Fight Against The War

BY DAN FRIED

The invasion of Cambodia and the renewal of U.S. bombing of North Vietnam, together with the brutal slaying of the four Kent State students is raising antiwar sentiment in the U.S. labor movement to a higher pitch than ever before.

Last week at the height of the massive student strike wave sweeping every campus, the 18th bi-annual convention

## AS STOCK MARKET FALLS UNEMPLOYMENT HITS 4,000,000 WORKERS

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The falling stock market and the announcement of a leap in unemployment last month point out the severity of the crisis U. S. capitalism is facing. The threat of a major depression is now posed.

The huge political crisis that exploded last week with Nixon's invasion into Cambodia has thrown Wall Street into chaos and near collapse.

Share prices which have taken an incredible beating for the last six weeks suddenly on May 4, and May 5 fell to the lowest point since the Kennedy assassination in 1963. Nor has the desperate move by the Federal Reserve Board reducing stock margin requirements from 80% to 65% done any more than momentarily reverse this slide.

What is feared in all financial and business circles and is posed following a collapse of stock prices and the bankruptcy of stockbrokerage firms is banking and other financial failures throughout the world.

Beneath the collapse on Wall Street is not simply the political crisis of the recent week but the decisive downward trend of corporate profits under the pressure of Nixon's continued policy of restraint. This is reflected in interest rates which have returned to their January 1969 levels and in some cases exceeded 10%.

A just released survey of the First National City Bank shows 1,390 nonfinancial firms showing after taxes net profits from the first quarter of 1970 some 9% below the comparable figure for 1969.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

In this situation unemployment is surging upward in every sector of the economy in leaps and bounds.

Last week it was revealed that unemployment stood in April at 4 million or 4.8% compared with 4.4% in March and 3.5% at the beginning of the year. This figure represents the highest monthly level of unemployment in the U.S. in 5 years and the biggest monthly leap in a decade. Moreover the Federal Reserve Board in St. Louis openly admitted that the current rate of unemployment rise could be expected to continue right into 1971 unless there was some let up in the money supply.

The Nixon Administration however is hardly in a position to head off the powerful drive into recession by any serious loosening whether in the fiscal or the monetary sphere. In spite of the dangerous rise in unemployment no head way has been made in the fight to halt inflation. In fact prices continue to rise at an annual rate of 5% while the projected budget surplus is now expected to be transformed into an \$8 billion deficit.

Already the 1970 balance of payments deficit under the pressure of domestic inflation is threatening to double that of any year in the past decade raising the spectre of new attacks on the dollar as holders of currency and stocks transform their more and more worthless paper into gold.

### DOOMED

What is more and more clear is that all the efforts of Federal Reserve Board head Burns and the Nixon Administration to walk the "narrow path" between inflation and recession are completely doomed. The international capitalist system stands on the edge of a deep recession and a collapse of the monetary structure in effect since the Breton Woods agreement of 1944.

In this situation the capitalist class can maintain itself only through the most ruthless attack on the U. S. and world working class, posing quite sharply before the working class and its leadership the fight for state power.

of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) representing some 480,000 workers passed a resolution condemning the war. The resolution, supported by more than two thirds of the 2,000 delegates, read: "AFSCME opposes expansion of the Vietnam war into Cambodia; AFSCME urges immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces from Southeast Asia consistent with the safety of our armed forces and without regard to the willingness or ability of the Thieu government to carry on the war."

On the following day, the convention passed another resolution condemning the murder of the Kent State students and called on workers throughout the country to participate in a national day of mourning. In the discussion on the resolution, delegate John Zupan from Detroit, Michigan, spoke for a consistent line of mobilizing labor against the war. He pointed out that "We must do more than condemn the Kent killings. Labor has a great responsibility in this matter. These killings will continue. It is Nixon's policy. Only organized labor can give the student struggle against the war the discipline, direction and effectiveness that is needed. Yesterday's resolution on Vietnam was one step in this direction. This resolution is another step. However I would like to strengthen it by suggesting a mass labor rally on Memorial Day in Washington, D.C. to memorialize these murders."

### CONDEMN

One of the first local unions in the country to condemn the Cambodian invasion was AFSCME Local 371-SSEU in New York, whose Executive Committee passed a resolution calling on District Council 37 as well as the National Convention to condemn the murders of innocent students; to demand that the civil and military authorities responsible for the Kent slayings be put on trial; to condemn all U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, demanding immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and a "re-ordering of priorities for needs of the working people at home."

At the Delegates Assembly of the SSEU, although there was no quorum, the overwhelming sentiment of SSEU delegates present at the meeting was for decisive action by the union. Through the efforts of the SSEU Committee for New Leadership, a general membership meeting was called for May 12 at which the CNL plans a fight to demand that the New York Central Labor Council call a central demonstration of the entire labor movement against the war and the student repression to be held in New York's garment center on Friday, May 15th.

This motion marks the high point of the campaign by the CNL which was able to get the support of hundreds of workers at more than 15 welfare centers where chapter meetings were held or petitions signed to send telegrams to the Central Labor Council and to District Council 37 demanding immediate action by labor "up to and including work stoppages" in opposition to Nixon's invasion. Many of these petitions and resolutions included the demand for the organization of a labor party, and urged participation in Saturday's Washington demonstration.

### 1199

Many New York unions including Local 1199 (Hospital Workers), District 65 RWDSU condemned the invasion and the Kent State slayings and organized participation in the Washington demonstration. 1199 sent 10 busloads down to Washington. At the same time more than 400 workers at the Kingsbrook Jewish and Beth Israel Medical Centers signed petitions in support of telegrams to 1199 President Leon Davis and Central Labor Council President Harry Van Arsdale, demanding that last Saturday's demonstration be followed up with a mass march of labor on Washington on Memorial Day.

The Rank and File Committee of 1199 which initiated the telegrams is now campaigning for the calling of the central demonstration of the entire New York labor movement in the garment

center this Friday.

### DECISIVE

At the Saturday Washington demonstration, District 65 President, David Livingston urged the trade union movement to take up the struggle against the war as their own issue and quoted the statement of the late Walter Reuther that "working people have nothing to do with this war." But for all his militant talk, Livingston had no proposal for action by the labor movement except the call to "impeach Nixon."

Despite the dissolution of the trade union contingents in the vast throng which began to resemble a picnic more than a demonstration, there were thousands of trade unionists who came as individuals and many thousands more students who were seriously looking for a program of decisive action by the labor movement to end the war. This was expressed in the tremendous enthusiastic cheer by the crowd which greeted an announcement from the speakers' platform of resolutions by various unions condemning the invasion and supporting the student protests.

The tremendous response of workers all over the U.S. in opposition to the war and its extension now sets the stage for the march on Washington by labor on Memorial Day and for central demonstrations of labor in cities such as New York and San Francisco this week. The opposition to the war and feelings of solidarity with the student protests has come from every section of the working class and every area of the country.

### UAW

In addition to the actions by the unions already mentioned, New York telephone operators held a noon hour demonstration last week, tying up traffic in front

of a large downtown telephone company office. Auto workers shut down the 14,000 man G.M. plant at Framingham, Mass., while they demonstrated against the Cambodian invasion. Opposition to the war is running strong throughout the UAW, with the leadership of Chicago based Region 4 urging the 138 locals in the District to "register their opposition to the escalation of the war and the killing of four Kent State University students by the National Guard."

On the West Coast, the Contra Costa and Alameda County labor councils have come out against the invasion and in support of the Kent students. Los Angeles AFT Local 1990 at UCLA passed a motion calling for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia.

### POWER

What is needed is to tie all these actions in the labor movement into a mighty power that can stop the imperialist intervention in Southeast Asia, that can unite students behind the banner of labor, is the independent mobilization of the ranks of the labor movement and not David Livingston's campaign to "impeach Nixon." Much more in the direction required is the support by Michigan AFL-CIO President August Scholle and UAW Local 600 Frame Unit President Glen Grady for a mass demonstration May 8 in Detroit.

The Workers League has taken the initiative in carrying the intervention of labor further by fighting for the New York Central Labor Council to call a massive rally of all labor in New York's garment center on May 15th around the demands for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia and a break with the Democrats and Republicans to form a labor party.

## Campus Workers Shut Down Columbia in Support of Strike



Columbia University workers enter building to urge security guards to join their strike.

### BY 241 MEMBER

NEW YORK—As the student strike was spreading last week 300 rank and file members of Local 241, campus workers at Columbia University, signed a petition on May 6th asking that their union president demand that University declare a workers moratorium so that the campus workers could participate in the strike and the discussions on the war without loss of pay. Members of 241 also demanded that the union call an emergency mass meeting of the Local so that members could discuss the question of the war and the murder of the students and decide on action.

The request for a moratorium with pay was denied by the university even though Cordier claimed he supported the student strike. When the president of Local 241 refused to call an emergency meeting, the ranks of 241 decided to support the one day work stoppage in support of the student strike called by campus workers in 1999. Members of 241 formed a group which went throughout the campus

trying to get other workers out on strike. They approached the security guards calling: "Brothers, join us."

In the midst of this struggle as the campus workers were campaigning to get the trade unionists out, Progressive Labor and the YSA were fighting to keep the struggle within the confines of the campus and student power. In the middle of a rally in which members of 241 were trying to get other workers out, a YSA spokesman took the microphone to "rap" at length about how they were "negotiating" with President Cordier to turn the university into an anti-war center. Some of the workers became very irritated with this attempt to completely turn away from the struggle to get the workers out and took the microphone from the YSA spokesman.

The Workers League has been fighting within 241 to turn the struggle of labor at Columbia beyond the campus to move the thousands of trade unionists in New York in action against the war.



now." And further, "Lenin's writings and speeches stressed the necessity of winning mass support through participation in every area and level of struggle where the exploited working masses were to be found. This was very important for American revolutionaries to understand, for then as now, some people were more interested in their own individual revolutionary 'purity' in thought, word and deed, undefiled by contact with trade unions, elections and other capitalist snares, than they were in perhaps winning the socialist revolution."(2)

First Foley deliberately confuses the conception of a third bourgeois party which would strive to counter monopoly capitalism with the conception of a labor party, the independent class expression of the working class, not the liberal bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie. When he actually quotes from the convention of the New York Communists (Workers Party) in 1922, it is clear that the movement favored the formation of a labor party, not simply a "third" party. The Stalinists constantly mix up the labor and third party movements just as they confuse the united front and the popular front. The aim is the same - to substitute for the independent struggle of the working class the political program and interests of the bourgeoisie.

Foley also uses the same device to try to make it appear that Lenin insisted that his American supporters had to understand the necessity of supporting the capitalist parties as well as working in the trade unions. Again, all distinction between the organizations of the working class and the political parties of the capitalists is erased - in the name of Lenin! The technique of distortion is very refined. The writer is not actually saying that Lenin advised support to the Democratic Party, but that he urged "contact with the trade unions, elections", which he certainly did!

#### SPAIN

In his article on Spain, Joseph North contributes his effort to popular front propaganda:

The vast fascist intervention was, of course, designed to overthrow Spain's Popular Front government—El Frente Popular—an unprecedentedly comprehensive and heroic effort of people of various classes (minus monarchists and monopolists) to stand together against a common foe—fascism. For nearly three years it held against terrible odds, held, in great part, because the Communists of that country inspired tremendous effort and sacrifice by their selfless example, giving themselves up to the national good.

And further:

In 1935, the Communist International met in Moscow at the Seventh World Congress. There it developed the famous policy of the anti-fascist peoples front. Instances of the urgent need for that policy were indicated by developments in France and Spain. Major sectors of the populace were alarmed by the peril of fascist domination. The Popular Front was conceived as a combination of all democratic strata—workers, farmers, intellectuals, small merchants, Communists, Socialists, Catholics and others—all who were willing to stand side by side against fascism and war. (3)

This is just a small sample of the super-sentimental tripe with which North seeks to revive the Popular Front today. All semblance of a class analysis or even a mention of the class struggle is thrown overboard in this gushing nostalgia which passes for history.

#### POLICY

It is fashionable in bourgeois academic circles to present Soviet policy simply as a series of zig zags based upon Russian national interests which we are told have not changed since the days of the Czars. Of course this has nothing in common with Marxism. We can only understand the surface zig zags of Stalinism, not by abstracting them from the class struggle, but as the political expression of this class struggle in the USSR and internationally.

Soviet policy is not simply a series of left and right turns. It is above all the policy of a ruling bureaucratic caste which has usurped political power from the working class but continues to rule in the name of the working class and to undermine the conquests of the October Revolution.

Trotsky consistently fought for an objective and materialist understanding of the bureaucracy, of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the Communist International. He fought against idealism and formalism, against the tendency to view the Soviet Union from the standpoint of bourgeois morality or as the expression of incorrect ideas put into practice.

In a discussion with one of his supporters in 1939, Trotsky argued heatedly against the conception that all subsequent developments could be understood as flowing from the appearance of Stalin's theory of socialism in one country in 1924.(4) He argued that this theory as well as subsequent developments had to be viewed within the context of the class struggle, not the other way around.

This theory corresponded to the inter-

ests of the Soviet bureaucracy which was rapidly consolidating its power in the 1920s. The degeneration of the Soviet party was not something upon which a date could be pinned. It was a contradictory process, a long battle during which the Bolsheviks fought, through the Left Opposition, against the rising bureaucracy.

#### GERMANY

Stalinist policy and the popular front in particular can only be understood in the context of the class struggle, the development of the bureaucracy inside the USSR and the defeats of the working class internationally. In this context, Germany, as Trotsky wrote, was the key.

The tremendous social crisis which wracked Germany from 1930 to 1933 and led to the triumph of Hitler was the decisive turning point for the Communist International. The defeat in Germany, the inability of the German Communist Party (KPD) and the Communist International to put up any struggle against fascism, led Trotsky to conclude that Stalinism was no longer centrism, but had become counterrevolution. The task therefore was no longer the reform of the Communist International, but the building of a new, Fourth International.

#### SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The Nazis grew by leaps and bounds after the world economic crash of 1929-1930. Unemployment grew from 1 million in 1929 to over 7 million in 1933. The mass basis for the fascist movement was the vast layers between big capital and the organized working class. All the intermediate strata were thrown into frenzy by the economic crisis and were looking desperately for a way out. Instead of following a bold class policy which would have drawn these strata behind the working class, the Social Democratic leaders followed a policy of retreat before reaction. Their policy at every point was to stave off Hitler by supporting the "lesser evil", while the successive bourgeois cabinets of Brüning, Von Papen and Schleicher each moved closer and closer to the Nazis until Hitler was finally appointed chancellor in January of 1933.

The Social Democratic and trade union leaders handed the working class over to the Nazis by following a conscious policy of supporting capitalism when capitalism could only continue to exist in the form of Bonapartism and then of Fascist dictatorship.

#### COMMUNISTS

But the German Communist Party had become a mass party in this period. It could have changed this situation. What was required was the policy of the united front, to expose the treachery of the reformist leadership to the millions of workers who still followed the old leaders. If this had been accomplished the way would have been open for a successful workers' revolution in Germany to defeat fascism.

The German party had been won to the policy of the united front only after a long struggle within the Communist International. A sharp debate on this subject took place at the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921. The CI, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky,

Only a few months before Hitler came to power masses of German workers (left) marched through Berlin for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Stalin was complacent about this growth in support for the CP and made no preparation to fight back with the united front against the even greater growth of the Nazis. Below Nazis line up communists and workers at the Oranienburg concentration camp less than a year after demonstration at left.



Above is the Seventh and last congress endorsed the line of Georgi Dimitroff (left). Sometimes falsely called a political bloc with the liberal capitalist United States this line found expression in the Democratic Party. Today the CP is op-

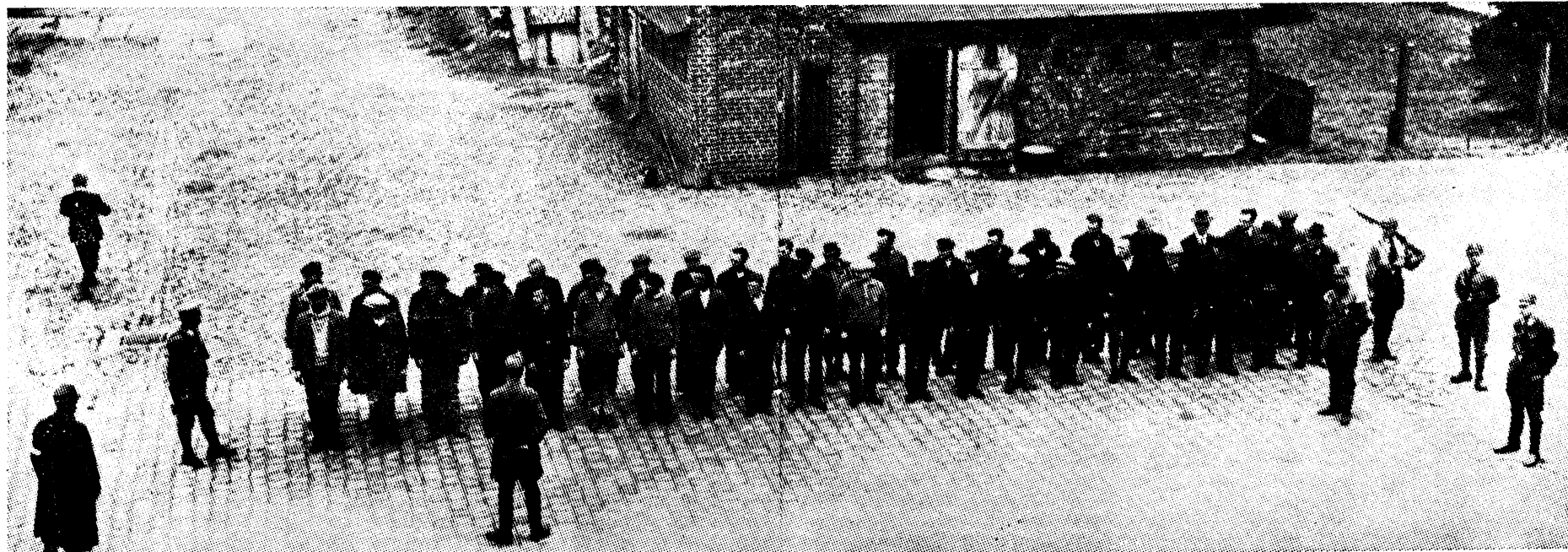
fought for the Communist Parties in those countries where they had become mass parties but where the reformists still led the majority or near-majority of the working class, to follow a policy designed to win the masses, to break the hold of the Social Democratic traitors upon the working class.

The new situation and the need for a new strategy was expressed most clearly in Germany. In the 1920s the KPD grew and became the largest Communist Party outside of the Soviet Union. But the Social Democracy was stronger still. The German workers were the most highly organized and class conscious in all of Europe. The Communists could not begin as if the task of having destroyed the Social Democracy had already been completed. They had to take the millions of reformist workers through a struggle in which both the Communist and Social Democratic leaders would be put to the test. This could be accomplished by the policy of united class action on concrete partial issues facing the workers.

The policy of the united front required the maintenance of the independence of the working class vanguard organized in the Communist Party. The united front was not designed to sow illusions in the Social Democrats, but precisely the opposite, to break down the illusions still held by millions of workers. But this could only be done by fighting for unity in action while continuing the theoretical and political struggle against reformism.

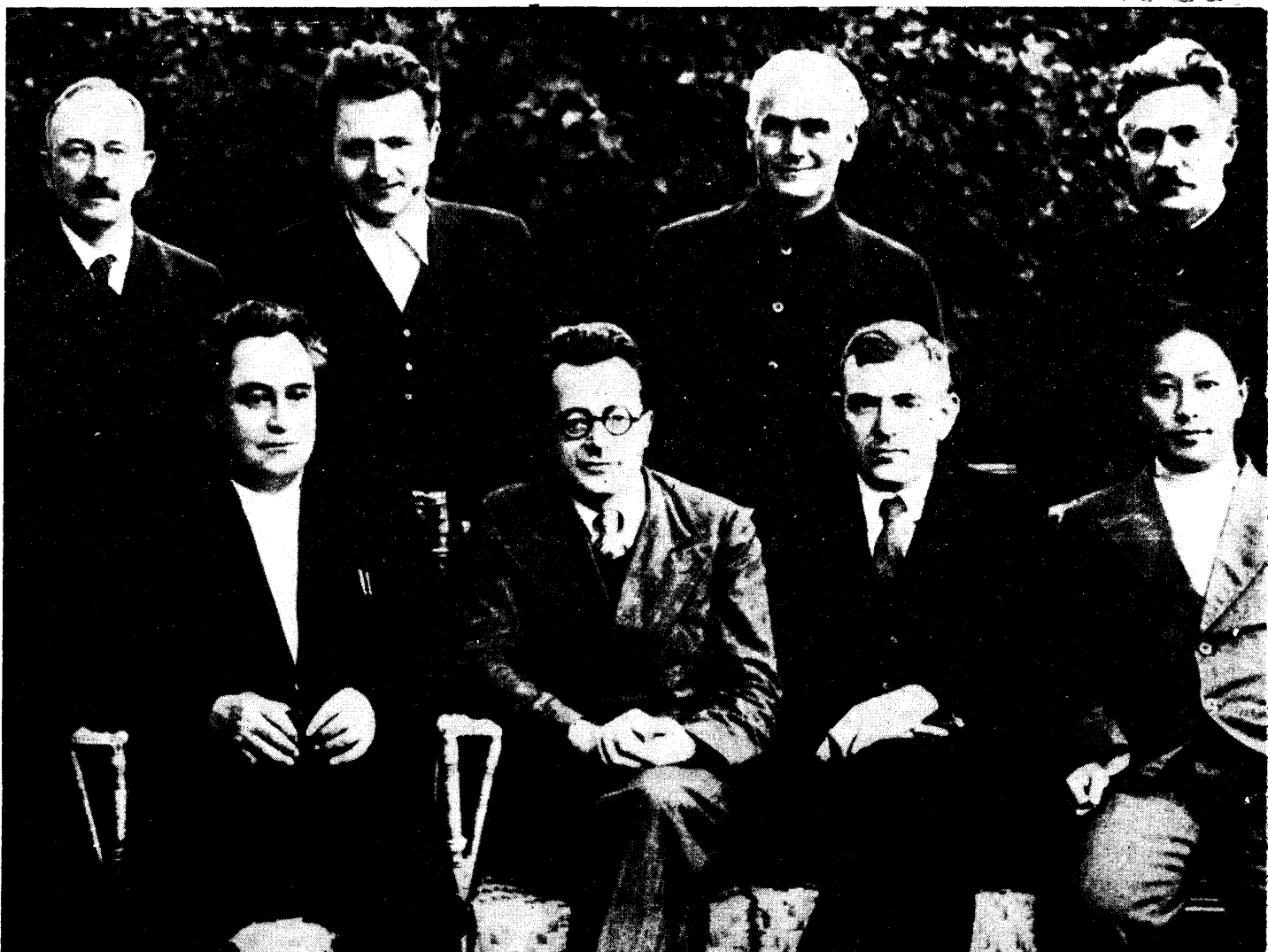
#### STALIN

From the time he came to power, Stalin at no time was capable of carrying forward the united front strategy. First he followed the policy of reliance upon





6th congress of the Comintern in session. This congress was called a "United Front" the Dimitrov line proposed a program of class collaboration with the capitalists on the basis of a capitalist program. In the United Front expression in the CP's support for Roosevelt and the CP is openly pushing the same line as are the Panthers.



the Social Democratic and trade union lefts. After the 6th Congress of the Communist International in 1928, he embarked upon a violent ultra-left course. This was dictated not by the objective needs of the working class but by the needs of the bureaucracy to "correct" its previous policy and attempt empirically to deal with the crisis facing the USSR internally and internationally.

In this so-called Third Period the Stalinist theoreticians mechanically proclaimed that revolution was on the order of the day everywhere. The Communist Parties proceeded with a policy which was a disgusting caricature of Marxism. Social Democracy was now viewed as a tendency outside the working class movement, indeed as the "moderate" wing of fascism. The theory of social fascism led the KPD to ally with the Nazis against the Social Democrats, as in the Red Referendum in August 1931 in which they failed to remove the Social Democratic state government in Prussia. Throughout this

The popular front was an expression within the United States and other countries of the foreign policy needs of the Kremlin. As Trotsky said Stalin used the working class as so much to be bartered away. Below Stalin (left) is seen with French foreign Minister Pierre Laval after signing a non-aggression pact in 1934.



period and even after the triumph of Hitler the KPD insisted that the main enemy was not the Nazis but the Social Democratic and trade union leaders.

#### NAZIS

During this period the SPD polled from 7 to 9 million votes, the KPD from 3 to 6 millions. The Nazi vote grew from a mere 800,000 in 1928, during the boom, to 6 million in 1930, almost 14 million in July 1932 and 17 million in 1933. Until after the appointment of the Hitler cabinet, the KPD and SPD together continued to poll more votes than the Nazis. But the KPD leadership, instead of seeking to break the reformist workers from their leaders by the policy of the united front,

actually strengthened the SPD's hold on these workers. While the SPD paved the way for Hitler by its craven policy the KPD capitulated to the Nazis by refusing to lead any kind of struggle and continuing to see the SPD as social fascist and the main enemy.

Nine months after Hitler came to power, eight months after the Reichstag fire and the banning of the KPD, six months after the dissolution of the trade unions, the Communist International headed by Stalin stated (November 10, 1933) "Communism is growing in Germany from day to day." (5) Such was the stubborn suicidal policy of the Third Period.

Only gradually after the German defeat did the bureaucracy veer away from the ultra left course it had followed for four years. The slogans of the Popular Front began to appear toward the end of 1933 but were not officially proclaimed until August of 1935.

#### TURN

The new turn flowed, once again, not from the interests of the working class. Stalin was forced to take into account the tremendous defeat suffered by the entire working class movement. A new policy was desperately needed. But the new turn did not mean a turn toward Leninism, towards the united front. The policy went from ultra-left to ultra-right, from denunciations of the Social Democratic and trade union leaders as fascist, to the embracing of the liberal bourgeoisie as a reliable ally in the fight against fascism.

It has been necessary to show in some detail the defeat in Germany which led to the new turn. But the Popular Front was not just another "mistake". With each defeat of the working class the degeneration of the Comintern was accelerated. The German defeat was, as we have said, decisive. Stalin now embarked on a policy which was to lead to the conscious destruction of the revolutionary movement, to the murder of a generation of Bolsheviks in the USSR and complete collaboration with the bourgeoisie internationally.

#### THIRD PERIOD

In writing the history of the 50 years of the Communist Party the present leaders pretend that the Third Period did not exist. Not a single word is written about the policies followed by the Stalinists for over four years. The article in *Political Affairs* on the unemployment struggles in the early 1930s simply says nothing about the theory of social fascism and the conception of dual unionism which the Stalinists advocated in that period.

This was also the period in which the famous black belt theory was developed, the idea that the Negro constituted a nation in the so-called black belt area of cotton farming in the deep South. This

was a completely reactionary and utopian scheme which was imposed on the struggle for racial equality during this period and simply dropped by the Stalinists years after. It is also unmentioned in the *Political Affairs* history.

#### TROTSKY

The Peoples' Front was defined very clearly by Trotsky in a draft of an article written one month before his assassination:

The essence of Bolshevism was the class policy of the proletariat, which alone could bring about the conquest of power in October. In the course of its entire history, Bolshevism came out irreconcilably against the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Precisely in this consisted the fundamental contradiction between Bolshevism and Menshevism. Still more, the struggle within the labor movement, which preceded the rise of Bolshevism and Menshevism, always in the last analysis revolved around the central question, the central alternative: either collaboration with the bourgeoisie or irreconcilable class struggle. The policy of "People's Fronts" does not include an iota of novelty, if we discount the solemn and essentially charlatan name. The matter at issue in all cases concerns the political subordination of the proletariat to the left wing of the exploiters, regardless of whether this practice bears the name of coalition or left bloc (as in France) or "People's Front" in the language of the Comintern. (6)

The Stalinist "theoretician" Manuilsky described the "new situation" facing the working class in 1935, in trying to explain and justify the 180 degree turn being ordered by Moscow:

The situation is different today. Today, the proletariat in most capitalist countries are not confronted with the alternative of bourgeois democracy or proletarian democracy; they are confronted with the alternative of bourgeois democracy or fascism. (7)

The task of the working class is to defend bourgeois democracy. In order to do this the workers and their parties must be prepared to accept governmental power, not to smash the old state apparatus as Lenin had described but to preserve it and protect it.

The Stalinists attempt to defend the old practice of class collaboration and coalition government by reference to the "new situation." Of course the situation is always changing, always new. In 1914 the social-patriotic traitors could point to the First World War. In his day Bernstein also pointed to new conditions to justify class collaboration instead of class struggle. And the argument that the working class is directly and immediately menaced by the forces of reaction has always been used to justify an alliance with the bourgeoisie. Thus there is nothing new at all in the Stalinist "theory".



ests of the Soviet bureaucracy which was rapidly consolidating its power in the 1920s. The degeneration of the Soviet party was not something upon which a date could be pinned. It was a contradictory process, a long battle during which the Bolsheviks fought, through the Left Opposition, against the rising bureaucracy.

#### GERMANY

Stalinist policy and the popular front in particular can only be understood in the context of the class struggle, the development of the bureaucracy inside the USSR and the defeats of the working class internationally. In this context, Germany, as Trotsky wrote, was the key.

The tremendous social crisis which wracked Germany from 1930 to 1933 and led to the triumph of Hitler was the decisive turning point for the Communist International. The defeat in Germany, the inability of the German Communist Party (KPD) and the Communist International to put up any struggle against fascism, led Trotsky to conclude that Stalinism was no longer centrism, but had become counterrevolution. The task therefore was no longer the reform of the Communist International, but the building of a new, Fourth International.

#### SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The Nazis grew by leaps and bounds after the world economic crash of 1929-1930. Unemployment grew from 1 million in 1929 to over 7 million in 1933. The mass basis for the fascist movement was the vast layers between big capital and the organized working class. All the intermediate strata were thrown into frenzy by the economic crisis and were looking desperately for a way out. Instead of following a bold class policy which would have drawn these strata behind the working class, the Social Democratic leaders followed a policy of retreat before reaction. Their policy at every point was to stave off Hitler by supporting the "lesser evil", while the successive bourgeois cabinets of Brüning, Von Papen and Schleicher each moved closer and closer to the Nazis until Hitler was finally appointed chancellor in January of 1933.

The Social Democratic and trade union leaders handed the working class over to the Nazis by following a conscious policy of supporting capitalism when capitalism could only continue to exist in the form of Bonapartism and then of Fascist dictatorship.

#### COMMUNISTS

But the German Communist Party had become a mass party in this period. It could have changed this situation. What was required was the policy of the united front, to expose the treachery of the reformist leadership to the millions of workers who still followed the old leaders. If this had been accomplished the way would have been open for a successful workers' revolution in Germany to defeat fascism.

The German party had been won to the policy of the united front only after a long struggle within the Communist International. A sharp debate on this subject took place at the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921. The CI, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky,



Above is the Seventh and last congress of the Comintern in session. This congress endorsed the line of Georgi Dimitrov (shown with other leaders at right. He is seated at left). Sometimes falsely called a "United Front" the Dimitrov line proposed a political bloc with the liberal capitalists on the basis of a capitalist program. In the United States this line found expression in the CP's support for Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. Today the CP is openly pushing the same line as are the Panthers.

fought for the Communist Parties in those countries where they had become mass parties but where the reformists still led the majority or near-majority of the working class, to follow a policy designed to win the masses, to break the hold of the Social Democratic traitors upon the working class.

The new situation and the need for a new strategy was expressed most clearly in Germany. In the 1920s the KPD grew and became the largest Communist Party outside of the Soviet Union. But the Social Democracy was stronger still. The German workers were the most highly organized and class conscious in all of Europe. The Communists could not begin as if the task of having destroyed the Social Democracy had already been completed. They had to take the millions of reformist workers through a struggle in which both the Communist and Social Democratic leaders would be put to the test. This could be accomplished by the policy of united class action on concrete partial issues facing the workers.

The policy of the united front required the maintenance of the independence of the working class vanguard organized in the Communist Party. The united front was not designed to sow illusions in the Social Democrats, but precisely the opposite, to break down the illusions still held by millions of workers. But this could only be done by fighting for unity in action while continuing the theoretical and political struggle against reformism.

#### STALIN

From the time he came to power, Stalin at no time was capable of carrying forward the united front strategy. First he followed the policy of reliance upon



period and even after the triumph of Hitler the KPD insisted that the main enemy was not the Nazis but the Social Democratic and trade union leaders.

#### NAZIS

During this period the SPD polled from 7 to 9 million votes, the KPD from 3 to 6 millions. The Nazi vote grew from a mere 800,000 in 1928, during the boom, to 6 million in 1930, almost 14 million in July 1932 and 17 million in 1933. Until after the appointment of the Hitler cabinet, the KPD and SPD together continued to poll more votes than the Nazis. But the KPD leadership, instead of seeking to break the reformist workers from their leaders by the policy of the united front,

The popular front was an expression within the United States and other countries of the foreign policy needs of the Kremlin. As Trotsky said Stalin used the working class as so much to be bartered away. Below Stalin (left) is seen with French foreign Minister Pierre Laval after signing a non-aggression pact in 1934.



months before Hitler came to power masses of German workers (left) in Berlin for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Stalin was committed to this growth in support for the CP and made no preparation to fight the united front against the even greater growth of the Nazis. Below Communists and workers at the Oranienburg concentration camp less than a year after the demonstration at left.





Reference was now made to the united front in order to justify a completely opposite policy. Just a few years earlier the united front was taboo and the German working class was delivered up to Hitler. Now the united front was consciously confused with the popular front.

The united front and popular front are class opposites. The united front is the unity in action of the working class and its organizations against the bourgeoisie. The popular front is an alliance between the working class and a section of the bourgeoisie on the program of the liberal bourgeoisie.

Thus the Stalinists carried forward the policy of the Mensheviks. The Mensheviks in 1917 said that the only way to fight reaction was to support the bourgeois provisional government, that the time was not ripe for the class struggle, and that Lenin and Trotsky were aiding reaction. The Bolsheviks proved otherwise.

If the time is not ripe for the struggle for socialism when the capitalist system is literally tottering, then it will never be ripe. In periods of relative stability for the bourgeoisie, the Stalinists and revisionists say that the struggle for socialism is not on the agenda. That is what they say today, although the post war stabilization of capitalism is in ruins and the working class is on the offensive and crying out for leadership in the advanced countries. When the crisis becomes so acute that the alternative of socialism or barbarism is sharply posed before all classes, the Stalinists come forward to say as they did in the 1930s—wait! The issue now becomes—democracy or fascism.

Either democracy is secure, or if it is not, then it must be defended. In neither case is the struggle for socialism involved. The Stalinists clearly have one function and one function only—the preservation of capitalism.

#### DECAY

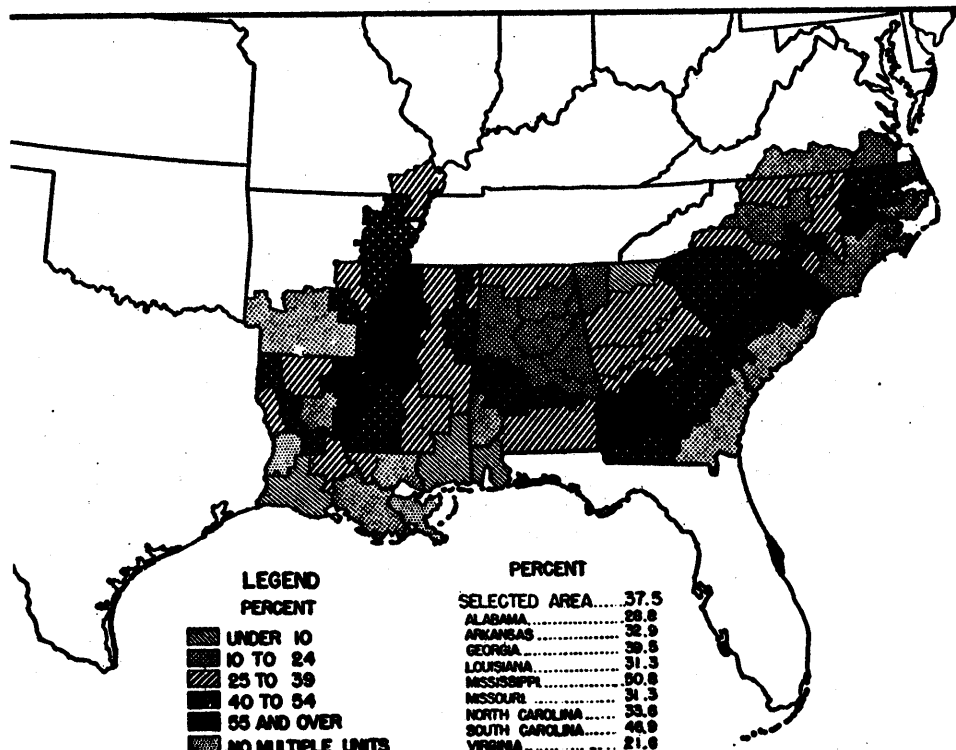
But fascism can in any case not be fought through reliance on bourgeois democracy. It is precisely the decay and crisis of the old order which leads to fascism.

The middle classes are expressing their lack of confidence in the old political and economic order, in the bankruptcy of the so-called democratic bourgeoisie. This is what feeds the fascist movement, this is the significance of the growth of the fascists from among these layers of society. Instead of viewing these political developments with a class analysis, the Stalinists come forward to try to revive bourgeois democracy, to treat the symptoms of the illness with the underlying cause itself instead of the cure.

According to the Stalinists, then, the rise of fascism is not an index of the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy. The Popular Front helps the Fascists, instead of defeating them.

Thus the Popular Front takes its place, and a very important place, in the history of class collaboration which the bourgeoisie brings through its agents into the working class movement. The Popular Front proved once again the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism. Class collaboration was practiced on a wider scale than ever before. This was not merely the continuation of Menshevism.

One of the products of the Third Period was the CP's Black Belt theory. This persisted into the 40s. Map below is from a book by Harry Haywood published in 1948.



During the Third Period the American Communists played a very militant role in the class battles at the beginning period of the depression. This cartoon from the Daily Worker was typical of their agitation. This work was of course distorted by ultra-leftism including dual unionism. However militants who joined the CP in that period were destroyed by the class collaborationist policies which were to shortly follow.

It was much more pernicious, much more dangerous, more disguised as genuine Marxism through its association with the October Revolution.

In the United States as all over the world, the theory of the popular front soon found expression in practice, in the work and activity of the Kremlin's American followers, especially inside the labor movement.

In the early 1930s the Communist Party, in spite of its ultra left policies, had played an important role in the developing class struggle. Art Preis describes this in his book on 20 years of the CIO, *Labor's Giant Step*:

...The ranks of the Communist Party played a far from disreputable role in the awakening struggles of the American workers in the early Thirties and in the rise of the CIO. It was the Communist Party, still imbued with class instinct and revolutionary zeal although already badly disoriented by Stalinism, which gave the first great impulse and leadership to working class mass action in the early years of the Great Depression.... The Communist Party provided by far the

largest number of zealous and courageous local organizers in the early days. In finally demoralizing this generation of militants with its opportunist, class-collaborationist line, the Stalinist movement dissipated the greatest capital of the American working class, its most conscious vanguard.(8)

It is very important that we see the actual class role played by Stalinism inside the labor movement. It could only play this role because it remained a part of the labor movement. And it can only be fought if both aspects of its role, this counterrevolutionary role within the working class, are understood.

The Popular Front had to be sold to thousands of class conscious workers, members of the CP who had played a sometimes heroic role in the early years of the depression and who resisted the new turn. At the same time within a short time large numbers of petty bourgeois elements were attracted to the CP during its honeymoon with liberalism.

#### FRANCE

On May 2, 1935, the Franco-Soviet mutual defense pact was signed. This was the beginning of a new era of class collaborationist Kremlin diplomacy. It was not a tactical move which remained subordinate to the interests of the working class. The working class was subordinated to Stalin's diplomacy. As Trotsky stated:

The fundamental trait of Stalin's international policy in recent years has been this: that he trades in the working class movement just as he trades in oil, manganese and other goods. In this statement there is not an iota of exaggeration. Stalin looks upon the sections of the Comintern in various countries and upon the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations as so much small change in deals with imperialist powers.(9)

Just four months before the Franco-Soviet Pact, British Stalinist R. Palme Dutt wrote:

The workers under capitalism have no fatherland... What of the hypothetical argument of a possible war of "democratic defense" against a Fascist aggression?... We shall not let ourselves be dragged into warring for one set of masters against another...(10)

On May 11, 1935, Leninist policy was clearly reaffirmed in the Daily Worker: Q: In the event of war which would find both the Soviet Union and France fighting against Germany, what would the

French Communists do?

A: ...The French Communist Party would continue to wage its relentless and unceasing struggle against French capitalism...It would raise Lenin's slogan of turning the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war. Under all circumstances the main task of the working class is the overthrow of the capitalists in its own country.(11)

Yet within a few months the Stalinists were saying the opposite. The policy of revolutionary defeatism so clearly enunciated above was completely thrown overboard and in conditions exactly as described in the "question" posed in the Daily Worker, the French, U.S., British and other CPs made their "main task" the strengthening of their own capitalists.

#### SPAIN

Spain became the international cause celebre of the Stalinists, the crucial test for all political tendencies and therefore for the Stalinists and the Popular Front. To this day the Stalinists attempt to explain the victory of Franco on the basis of his superior military might and German and Italian aid. They continue to use Spain as a kind of "heroic" cover for all their betrayals past and present.

This is why a separate chapter is devoted to Spain in the Political Affairs history. This article is headed by a quote from William Z. Foster: "The Communists of the United States may well be proud of the active part they took in the gallant defense of the Spanish Republic. It constituted the most glorious event in the entire life of the Party."(12) The struggle and sacrifices of the Spanish workers as well as the American Communist Party members and sympathizers who mistakenly believed they were helping to defeat fascism are all used to justify the counterrevolutionary policies of the Stalinists.

Joseph North's article is nothing but shameless liberal nostalgia and demagoguery. The listing of prominent liberals and intellectuals who associated themselves with the Popular Front becomes a substitute for a political defense of the Stalinist line in Spain. Amidst all of North's purple prose there is absolutely no room at all for the struggles of the working class.

This is no surprise. For North the repeated references to the heroism of the anti-fascist fighters and the cruelty of the fascist forces is sufficient for his purposes. But this is nothing but a slander against the Spanish workers who independently took up the fight against the fascists, and whom the Stalinists suppressed in the interests of unity with the bourgeoisie.

The Stalinists in Spain played a decisive role because of the influence of the Kremlin as the only major ally of the Loyalist government. The Stalinists helped to crush the Spanish working class. The Spanish Trotskyists and the centrists of the POUM were murdered by the agents of the GPU, the struggles of the Catalonian workers were smashed with the crucial aid of the CP.

Then North says, "No strike is ever lost," Carl Sandburg wrote, and though the Republic went down, the mass relationships it built up around the world, the universal loathing of fascism it engendered, left an indelible mark on the time's history."(13)

Quotes from Sandburg notwithstanding, the victory of Franco proved the counter-revolutionary nature of the popular front, its inability to stop fascism, the inability of the Stalinists to function as anything but the protectors of capitalism and therefore the assistants of fascism.

#### OVERTURES

Soon after the Seventh World Congress in 1935, the American Stalinists began making overtures towards the small Socialist Party led by Norman Thomas. In this groping towards an American version of the popular front a series of friendly debates were held between Earl Browder and Thomas, and the Daily Worker heralded these as the harbingers of Communist-Socialist unity.

This soon changed, however. The SP moved somewhat to the left while the Stalinists moved so sharply to the right that they lost all interest in the SP. In addition in the U.S. the small SP was of less importance in the Stalinists' overall plans for tying the working class to the liberal bourgeoisie.

TO BE  
CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

# PACIFISTS INVADE STONY BROOK

BY MARK ROSENZWEIG

STONY BROOK, N.Y.—Like hundreds of other colleges across the nation, Stony Brook University nestled in the suburban isolation of Suffolk County on Long Island, is being jarred to the realization that there is a world beyond the campus, a world of sharpening struggle. No longer do students here feel comfortable with their narrow campus outlook. They are seeking a new perspective, a perspective which will of necessity tear them from their isolation.

But all around us there are those who would betray this new awareness. As soon

as a strike was declared, pacifists from the community flocked to the campus to capitalize on the student body's turn from the SDS form of protest, building seizures, and petty arson. In place of this the pacifists, in the name of non-violence wish to channel the movement into Democratic Party politics, into a new McCarthy campaign, as if any politician, given the basic premise of American imperialism, would be able to behave any differently than Nixon.

## CLASS

The students at Stony Brook and the students across the nation must see that

the choice is not between violent and non-violent protests, nor is the choice between the Democratic and Republican Parties.

If we examine the struggles internationally we see it as a class struggle. If we are to break the isolation of the students we must join this class fight. The way to do this is to take the strike off campus, give it a conscious political form, and a conscious class character. At Stony Brook only the Committee for A General Strike has fought for this.

The Committee For A General Strike is made up of students who realize the necessity of bringing the labor movement into the fight against the war, around a program of political independence. Seeing labor as the force capable of ending the war, we realize that this will be possible only if the working class is no longer tied to the Democratic and Republican Parties. To this end the Committee for a General Strike calls for the formation of an independent party of the working class, behind which the working class of this nation will be united against the imperialist bosses.

## POLITICAL

The only way to unite the students and the workers is around a political program. The workers think little of wanton destruction, although they do not have second thoughts about taking up arms, as in the Teamster wildcat strikes, to defend themselves against Nixon's National Guard. The Committee for a General Strike has been building for a labor march on Washington on Memorial Day and has called upon labor to publicly condemn the war in Southeast Asia, and the Kent massacre.

The Labor Committee at Stony Brook does not support the efforts of the Committee for a General Strike. They do

not support our campaign which has already sent 2,000 signed letters to the Central Labor Council of New York calling for mass labor action against the war. This is because they really do not see the possibility of political unity between the students and workers. Rather they prefer to go out to the community with schemes of reconverting war-time economic to peace production. Appealing to the reactionary consumer mentality, their solution in no way poses the victory of the workers and peasants in Vietnam.

## RETREATS

That is why such fights in no way develop the political consciousness of the American working class towards an understanding of the need for international class solidarity. That is the real fight and its from this that the Labor Committee retreats. The Labor Committee is duping many serious people at Stony Brook that there is a way of taking the strike off campus through the "community." We of the Committee for a General Strike feel that the only way the strike can go forward is through the mobilization of the labor movement as a whole. "Community action" is a way to avoid the class issues and is precisely the perspective put forward by the pacifists from the Democratic Party.

The tasks on the universities are twofold now. We must rally students behind independent labor actions against the capitalist government and at the same time we must develop a leadership among the students based on a working class program. The fight for a labor party is central to this struggle. It is the fight for the political independence of the working class that the Labor Committee and all the revisionists refuse to pose.

## Madison WL Fights Student Power With Turn to Labor Movement

BY STEPHEN DIAMOND

MADISON, WIS.—The strike here is receiving massive support from students. Strike rallies are attracting over 5,000 students. The outrage of these students at Nixon's new escalation is assuming truly mass proportions, and the calling out of the National Guard has not weakened the strike.

A well-developed student power leadership has dominated student politics at Madison. This student power leadership did not waste any time in putting itself at the head of the mobilized students.

A coalition of some 30 liberal, Stalinist and revisionist organizations was put together. Calling itself the United Front, this unprincipled coalition called the strike on an eclectic set of demands:

Immediate Withdrawal from S.E. Asia

All political prisoners be set free and the University of Wisconsin pay 130,000 bail for the Milwaukee 3 (Panthers)

An end to University participation in the war machinery

Opposes oppression by U.S. corporations of workers and peasants at home and abroad; end the government's strike-breaking activities and support the right of public employees to strike

The objective function of these demands is to win student support and to divert the struggle into reformist University centered struggle.

## REFORM

The method which the "United Front" chose to pursue its reformist ends was student terrorism. Confrontations with the police and National Guard were engineered and arson and property damage perpetrated. The aim was to have the state shut the University down. This tactic flowed from its University reform orientation. The University, the "United Front" apparently believed, could be converted into an instrument of pressure on the government.

Even the ardent student powerists of the "United Front" had to recognize the working class. At one point teams of students were sent out in mass to "the community." The whole orientation was to bring workers behind the middle class movement as individuals. There was no orientation towards the trade unions.

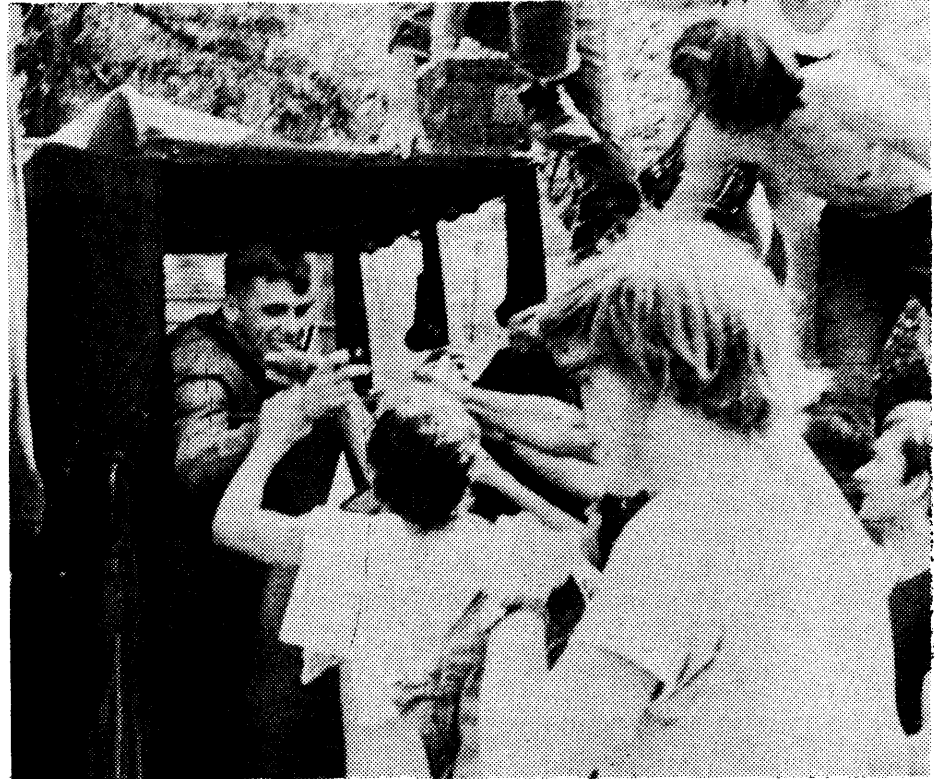
The Teaching Assistants Association voted to support the strike, but the paper ballot had to be suspended because the tear gas made a vote impossible. A motion by a Workers League member to strike on a set of class demands was defeated, as was a motion by a member of the YSA, supported by the Workers League, to call on Madison unions to join the strike. The Workers League welcomes any trade union participation in the strike, even on a reformist program.

## YSA

The YSA has opposed the—"United Front's" terrorism but has remained a part of the "United Front" despite reported persecution within it, and has abstained from any struggle against it. As the "United Front" wrote in a leaflet: "Within the last few years the movement to end the war has taken many different forms. At first there were Teach-Ins, Sit-Ins, and peaceful protest marches. We continually attempted to support peace candidates..." So now there is terror. These liberals and liberals turned revisionists admit that they have misled the movement time and time again, from one opportunist turn to the next. Only the Workers League is able to conduct a struggle to break the students from their student power leaders.

Throughout the strike the Workers League has fought against the student power current, fighting for the strike to take place on a working class program. The Workers League called upon striking students to demand the "United Front" end its terrorist adventures and start building the strike on a serious political basis by calling a mass march under working class demands.

During the Washington demonstration three National Guard trucks entered the area bringing water because of the large number of heat prostration cases due to unseasonably hot weather. They were immediately greeted by the youth who urged them to join in the antiwar demonstration. The soldiers held up the "V" peace symbol and the trucks were soon swarming with youth. At right soldier shakes hands with the youth while other youth climb on to truck. Below army truck loaded down with hundreds of youth drives up streets while thousands cheer from the sidelines. This time the students are using the fist salute rather than the "V". On the trip into Washington through the black working class districts the busses were greeted all along the way with cheers the raised fist of the Panthers and the "V" sign.





# THE YSA AND



The recent YSA conference (shown here) passed the line of the "Red University."

**BY TIM WOHLFORTH**  
WITH THE MAY 19th issue of the *Militant*, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party have come out strongly for student power in the current student strike wave. Their position, based on their theory of the "Red University", is to transform the universities into "antiwar universities."

These universities would then become centers for mobilizing "the population as a whole." The students would reach out "into all communities--into the neighborhoods, the labor unions, the Afro-American and other Third World organizations, the churches and syn-

## SWP Turns to Democratic Party In Bay Area to "Impeach Nixon"

**BY JEFF SEBASTIAN**

SAN FRANCISCO--At times of great crisis the frenzy of the middle class knows no bounds. The Cambodian invasion and the mounting labor upsurge across the country has driven the SWP-YSA to abandon even the cover of a formal adherence to Marxist principle.

In a desperate attempt to head off and divert the independent mobilization of the working class they are marching in seven league boots into the camp of Stalinism and the Democratic Party. Not a shred of Trotskyism remains to conceal their capitulation to the Communist Party and the popular front.

"If democracy will work you will have to make it work now." With these words the Student Mobilization Committee and the Bay Area Peace Action Council both dominated by the SWP-YSA joined the New Mobe, Women for Peace and a menagerie of pacifist scoundrels in appealing to the S.F. Board of Supervisors for the demands of the "people". These "peoples'" demands make it absolutely clear that the SWP-YSA has accepted the perspectives of Stalinism.

### PRESSURE

Not a mention of the working class. Not a hint that labor action is the only way forward. The Contra Costa and Alameda labor councils have been forced under mass pressure to support the Kent students and speak out against the invasion. The S.F. Labor Council is afraid to meet for fear of the struggle that will break out. Union locals across the Bay Area are protesting with resolutions.

Instead of turning towards this development with an all out fight for union action and the political independence of the working class the SWP-YSA turns all its resources towards tying labor to the parties of the warmakers.

At this critical stage it proposes a turn towards the Democratic Party with a policy of classless pressure designed to make democracy work by forcing the

agogues, the women's groups, the political associations, the military installations and organize the new, united anti-war movement that will have the power to actually compel an end to the killing abroad as well as home."

The position of the YSA is thus clearly an extension of student powerism and it has placed them in the right wing of the student forces on the campuses. They propose that students on their own hold the universities and that these universities be the center of the struggle. They propose from these centers to organize—"all the communities", "the churches and synagogues"—and finally and most significantly—"the political associations" In plain everyday language this is an open call for building a common movement with the reform and liberal sections of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Board of Supervisors to respond to the will of the "people". It demands in effect that S.F. declare its independence from the U.S. by not permitting its citizens to participate in "illegal wars".

It demands the impeachment of Nixon for his "illegal", "unconstitutional" attack on "neutral" Cambodia. Here we have a complete capitulation to liberalism, pacifism and every rotten concept of bourgeois democracy.

The dissolution of the Moratorium Committee was a shattering blow to the SWP-YSA. They were so disoriented and paralyzed that they were in effect shutting down the SMC and abandoning the anti-war struggle for the summer. The Cambodian crisis is now seen as a golden opportunity to reconstitute the bloc with liberalism and Stalinism. As these resolutions prove this time the SWP-YSA is determined to see to it that not even a scrap of militancy or independence will remain to disturb its relationship with the liberals. It has given them everything.

### CREDIT

The SMC spokesmen at a May 4 rally for these proposals literally appealed to the Democratic Party politicians to join the anti-war movement in the streets. She had the audacity to once again claim credit for removing Johnson and proposed that Nixon now receive the same treatment. The SWP demands credit for replacing Johnson with Nixon. Does it now intend to win world acclaim by bringing Agnew to power?

Serious militants in the SWP-YSA must examine the logic of these developments and speak out.

### UNIVERSITY

Thus the line becomes clear—the university is the center and this university center is to be utilized to build a bourgeois anti-war movement encompassing the capitalist parties. Both as a strategy and as a political program the position of the YSA is in direct opposition to the needs of the students and the interests of the working class as a whole.

The tremendous strike wave which has swept the university and high school campuses must be seen for what it is as a student struggle which objectively goes beyond student issues. This means that wide sections of youth have taken up the fight of the working class as a whole against a war directed against workers and against the Nixon Administration which represents the repression of the capitalist class as a whole in this new period of international capitalist crisis.

But at the same time as long as the form of the struggle remains as it is—mass action of students isolated from the working class—and as long as the present political leadership of the struggle remains in charge—which means the dominance of capitalist politics and ideology—then the struggle faces severe dangers of being isolated and broken.

### BREAK

The central need of the moment is to break the students out from the universities and high schools and to spread the strike into the working class. The key demand must be that labor take the lead in the struggle. Unless this is done then the ruling class will accomplish what it is seeking—to pit workers against students, and to break up the unity of the students themselves.

To propose under these circumstances that the universities be transformed into "antiwar universities" is first of all utopian rubbish of the most dangerous sort. The shootings of the Kent State students reveals the ruthlessness of the capitalist class. It is the most dangerous sort of illusion-spreading to propose that somehow through student pressure alone the universities will be unmolested and left in the possession of the students. The question of the universities is already subordinated to the question of the role of the working class in the struggle. If the workers remain basically out of it then the universities one by one or all together will fall.

### UTOPIAN

How does Susan Lamont, National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, expect to answer this threat to the struggle? "Efforts by those like California's Governor Reagan to dislodge the students should be met by united and unyielding student-faculty resistance." What, Miss Lamont, do you propose the student and faculty members do when confronted by tear gas, bayonets and rifles? The YSA on the one hand opposes barricades and such adventures and on the other hand mutters that students should be "unyielding" in their efforts to preserve the universities as an

"anti-war center".

We can only conclude from this that Miss Lamont and the YSA propose that antiwar universities be maintained as long as the ruling class permits and that if the ruling class decides that they should not be maintained so be it. Of course Miss Lamont and supporters will put in a good word for the students at the churches, the synagogues and with the political associations.

The antiwar university concept is not only utopian in the sense that nothing is said on how the university is to be protected from ruling class attack and kept open, but it is reformist in its political conception. The YSA sees the university as a center for the building of an antiwar movement of all social classes and together with the bourgeois political parties. Thus it seeks collaboration with one section of the capitalist class in order to prevent another section from conducting war in Vietnam and attacks on students at home.

### STALINIST

In this sense it is not only utopian but STALINIST in concept. That is its theoretical roots lie in the period when Leninism was destroyed by Stalinism, the Communist International transformed into an instrument of class collaboration, and the Moscow Trials held to physically exterminate the whole generation which led the October Revolution.

It was in this period of the 1930s that Stalin proposed that the way to prevent World War II and the triumph of fascism was to unite in one common movement



"Liberated" Sorbonne during May-June.

all the "popular" or "peoples" forces. That is war and fascism could be prevented through a common bloc of the working class with the liberal political representatives of the capitalist class. However since the war was being prepared not by a group of individuals but by the very material character of the capitalist system and since fascism was the necessary expression of this same system in a period of deep crisis, such

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# THEORY OF RED UNIVERSITIES

popular front movements only tied the hands of the working class and aid the development of war and fascism.

In Spain when Franco went out and built up an army composed largely of conscripted Morroccans, a colony of Spain, the Spanish Republican forces supported by the Communist Party could not even come out for the independence of Morocco for fear of breaking up their coalition with the liberal capitalists. The crushing of the Spanish Republic marked the beginning of World War II.

## MAY-JUNE

The lessons of May-June 1968 in France must also be brought out forcefully here. The Sorbonne in May-June was the classic case of the "liberated" university. But the Sorbonne stayed open only as long as the strike was extended into the working class. Once the French Communist Party succeeded in breaking the general strike of the workers the police were able to reenter the Sorbonne and the "liberated" university once again came under the direct control of the government. The fate of the student movement is completely tied up with the fate of the working class. This is the lesson of France for American students today.

There is another lesson of the French struggle. In May the French Pabloite supporters of the SWP—in the JCR—concentrated their efforts on the Sorbonne. They rarely left the university and as a

result had much influence among the students and sold very large quantities of literature. But the fate of France was being decided in the factories of France. In contrast to this the French section of the International Committee of the Fourth International and its youth supporters—the OCI and FER—conducted an all out struggle in the factories to extend the general strike and out of it to develop a national strike committee to raise the question of power itself in France.

Today the YSA plays the same traitorous role as the JCR did. It confines itself to the universities and strengthens the illusions of some students that somehow on the campus the question of power can be ignored and a permissive bourgeoisie will permit its educational facilities to be used against a war it obviously sees it necessary to conduct. What childish and dangerous balderdash this "antiwar university" is!

## RED UNIVERSITY

The concept of the antiwar university is actually an expression of the "Red University" position to be found in the resolution "The Worldwide Radicalization of the Youth and the Task of the Fourth International", which was passed at the last YSA convention. "By the slogan, 'For a Red University!' or 'student power' in some countries they mean that the university ought to be transformed from a factory, producing robots, into an organizing center for anticapitalist activities, a powerhouse for revolutionary edu-

cation, an arena for mobilizing youth in a struggle for the complete transformation of society," so read the resolution. It is interesting to note that the resolution identified the Red University slogan with the slogan of student power.

This resolution was placed before the last congress of the "United Secretariat" forces which the SWP and YSA are politically in agreement with. The vast majority of the delegates were in sharp disagreement with it and for this reason it was necessary for the SWP forces to withdraw the resolution for voting and to propose that a discussion be held on it instead.

According to Joseph Hansen of the SWP, the opposition to it felt it to be "non-interventionist" and that it gave too much emphasis to "democratic demands". He also noted that in part the opposition was motivated by a desire to counterpose to this Red University perspective guerilla warfare adventures.

At the same time the opposition did raise a telling point: "On the question of transitional slogans, they raised the point that these really concern the working class, so that in relation to students the only slogan you could raise would be that workers control education."

## REFORMIST

It is clear from this that in many ways the SWP and YSA were posing an orienta-

tion on university work which even the European youth of their own movement had to reject because of its conservative reformist character and its substitution of democratic demands—demands held in common with bourgeois liberals—for any working class demands in relation to education. The fact that the opposition posed only another variant of petty bourgeois politics in guerillaism in no way lessens their telling criticisms of the SWP-YSA proposals.

The current struggles of trade unionists and workers have strong roots in the whole history of the American working class—particularly the great class battles of the 1930s which threw up the CIO. The role of conscious revolutionaries must carry forward this history and to bring the theoretical lessons learned through these past struggles into the new struggles.

## 1930s

In the 1930s trade unionists in vast numbers engaged in tremendous sitdown strikes and confronted the armed violence of the state at every point. Today it is the children of these workers as well as of the middle class who have taken up the struggle and have faced the armed violence of the state. At the same time the workers themselves have had to face the mobilization of the Army to break the postal strike and the National Guard to break the recent Teamsters wildcats.

This is why it is so important right now in the midst of these new struggles to go back in particular to Minneapolis in 1934 when a Trotskyist leadership led the Teamsters through a general strike movement which mobilized the working class as a whole—class against class—in a battle which led to the development of the Teamsters as the powerful union it is today and contributed to the development of the CIO itself. Those who led the great Teamsters struggles began with the working class and its unity and fought at every stage against class collaboration—against subordinating the workers movement to middle class politics.

## DEPUTIES RUN

It is significant that at the very same convention of the YSA which passed this infamous "Red University" resolution, a march to commemorate the Battle of Deputies Run—a critical class battle in the Teamsters struggle—was called off by the leadership of the YSA. This expresses the real situation in the YSA and SWP. The Red University line is the expression of the destruction of the party which led the Battle of Deputies Run, which started from the perspective of class struggle, which learned this in Lenin and Trotsky's school.

The road forward today must be the road of the Battle of Deputies Run enriched precisely through the learning of the lessons of the theoretical struggle against the degeneration of the party which led that struggle.



A workers meeting in Citfoen factory in 1968. It was working class which was decisive.

# CHICAGO COURTS CLEAR SUTTON IN FASCIST ATTACK ON SWP

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO -- The recently concluded trial of Thomas Sutton, leader of a fascist gang called the "Legion of Justice" is an important lesson for the entire left on how not to fight fascism.

The Legion of Justice was formed with the explicit purpose of destroying the organizations of the left through terrorism. It consists of Thomas Sutton, a prominent attorney, and about a dozen hired hooligans.

Last Nov. 1 they raided the headquarters of the Chicago branch of the Socialist Workers Party, attacked the members present, and stole files, money and literature. Since then they have attacked the DeKalb YSA, the Chicago Peace Council, and the Guild bookstore. The latter two establishments are dominated by the Stalinist movement.

The whole response of the Stalinists and Pabloites was to unite with their liberal allies in a 'Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks', and to plea their

case before the courts.

The primary demands of the committee were for prosecution of the hooligans, and a grand jury investigation of the Legion aimed at an injunction against further attacks on the left.

After six months work the committee received its day in court. Sutton and the Legion were cleared of all charges. Moreover the Legion has emerged stronger than ever because Sutton was granted extensive T.V. time in which to "defend himself" against "slanders" from the left. The committee hopes to eventually receive equal time.

## CYNICAL

The method in which the court cleared Sutton is an index of the desperation with which the employers are preparing their attacks upon the working class.

Prior to the trial, Assistant State Attorney, Eugene Willens, the prosecutor, pretended to be sympathetic to the YSA, and agreed to place a series of questions to the YSAers on the stand which would establish evidence against Sutton and the Legion. He also agreed to place in ev-

idence the televised tape of of the press conference at which Sutton boasted of having stolen the files of the Socialist Workers Party.

But at the trial itself Willens posed his questions in such a way as to prevent any evidence against Sutton being placed in the court record. He feigned any knowledge of Sutton's press conference. When YSAers attempted to inject evidence against Sutton, the judge silenced them on the grounds that their statements were not in response to the questions of the prosecutor. In this way the 'trial' of Sutton was reduced to a cynical farse.

## LESSONS

But the Stalinists and the Socialist Workers Party are completely incapable of understanding this trial or drawing any lessons from it because they are forced by their political method to treat the Legion as a phenomenon divorced from the class struggle.

Revisionism, in order to survive, must constantly foist up illusions about the nature of the capitalist system—illusions which place the working class in deadly peril.

This is shown in the recent articles in the *Militant* which characterize Sutton as a fanatical 'ultrarightist' who just happens to have the support of some police and high-ranking city officials. But why he gets the support of such distinguished personages is never posed. The whole affair is treated as a conspiracy of individuals rather than as an integral part of the class struggle.

We, however, insist that the judge and prosecutor in this trial make these cynical maneuvers not basically because they themselves are reactionaries, or because they are a part of the Daly regime, but because they are attuned to the needs and demands of the capitalist class.

These same forces know very well that they will soon be forced to launch attacks on the trade union movement, and that they will be met with a massive and violent reaction on the part of the working class. The truth of the matter is that they need Sutton today to hold back the development of the revolutionary movement.

As in the case of the Panthers, the only defense of the workers' movement and its parties is through the working class and the labor movement.

# WORKERS LEAGUE HOLDS MEETING

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER  
NEW YORK--OVER 150 people attended the Lenin Centennial meeting sponsored by the Workers League on Friday May 8th right in the middle of the student strike struggle and on the eve of the Washington demonstration.

The meeting took place despite heavy competition of other meetings, preparations for the next day's trip to Washington, the actions of Stalinists in taking down posters for the meeting at CCNY and Columbia, and the necessity to move the meeting at the last moment from Harkness, which was closed by the strike, to John Jay Cafeteria.

It was the largest meeting held in New York on the Lenin Centennial. The Communist Party's meeting attracted under 100 while the Socialist Workers Party, International Socialists and Progressive Labor Party did not even attempt to organize Lenin meetings.

The main address was given by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League. His central theme was the necessity to turn to Lenin and theory precisely now that we are in the midst of such important struggles which show that the United States is in no sense immune from the revolutionary situations like May-June 1968 in France.

## THEORY

Referring to Lenin's famous pamphlet *What Is to Be Done?*, he noted its central emphasis on theory. "Those who have the slightest acquaintance with the actual state of our movement cannot but see that the wide spread of Marxism was accompanied by certain lowering of the theoretical level," he quoted Lenin as saying. Comrade Wohlforth noted that this also could be said about the situation in the United States today. "We can judge from that," Lenin went on to say, "how tactless Rabocheye Dvelo is when, with an air of triumph, it quotes Marx's statement: 'Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programs.' To repeat these words in a period of theoretical disorder is like wishing mourners at a funeral many happy returns of the day." "This, Wohlforth stated, "is even more true today than it was in the period Lenin wrote it.



There must be a sharp turn towards theory if we are to come up to the new tasks posed to us."

The purpose of theory is to lay bare the real class relations in every situation, and take the working class forward to the understanding that for the workers to live capitalism must die." Wohlforth stated. In this context he went on to Lenin's famous *Letter to American Workers* which he issued at a time when the young Soviet Republic was surrounded by hostile imperialist armies in a situation similar to that now faced by the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia. "Lenin did not urge the American workers to form a 'single issue peace movement' along with their bourgeoisie, nor did he urge building seizures and student powerism. What he stated clearly was: 'The American workers will not follow the bourgeoisie. They will be with us, for civil war against the bourgeoisie.'"

## MEANING

"It is with this understanding that we fight today to have labor take the lead in the struggle against the Vietnam war on its own independent program. This is the meaning of our fight for a Mass

Tim Wohlforth addresses meeting of over 150 held in John Jay Cafeteria on Lenin and the Fourth International at Columbia University during the student antiwar strikes.

March of Labor on Washington Memorial Day."

Lenin, as early as 1901, wrote on the kind of struggles which has presently swept the American campuses. 'Last year's experiences taught the students a lesson,' he wrote. They realized that only the support of the people, especially of the workers, could guarantee them success, and that in order to obtain that support, they must not restrict themselves to struggling merely for academic (student) freedom, but for the freedom of the entire people, for political freedom. Lenin would have warmly greeted the current student strike wave. But at the same time he would have urged with all this might that the students see their struggle as part of the class struggle and reach outside the university campuses fighting for a program to bring out the working class as well against Nixon and the ruling class which he serves

## FEAR

It is fear that May 1970 in the USA could become like May-June 1968 in France

which is throwing the Nixon Administration into a sharp crisis. It is the understanding that large sections of the working class are sympathetic to the student struggles because they hate the war and are fighting back against the bosses, that causes the ruling class to fabricate this construction workers business with its guided tour of City Hall conducted by the police department and the flag handed out to all and intimidation against construction workers who did not go along with it."

"Lenin was above all an internationalist. He saw his struggle in 1901 and again in 1903 against revisionism as part of an international struggle against those forces within the workers movement which were to end up in support of the War. As early as 1915 he called for the formation of a Third International. To him the October Revolution was part of the international revolution.

## LENINISM

"Today Leninism is carried forward only by the Fourth International. Stalin substituted class collaboration for class

## France--Mass Protest Against Cambodia, Repression



As militancy rises workers march through Paris in united May Day demonstration.

## BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

On May 1st hundreds of thousands of workers and students demonstrated all over France against attacks on the democratic rights of the labor movement and against the Cambodian invasion.

This demonstration comes on the eve of a debate in the Senate on a law which would impose collective liability for "illicit" demonstrations. The law has already passed in the National Assembly.

This law is part of a series of attacks and provocations against students, socialists and trade unionists. Pompidou is considering once again outlawing the AJS (of the French section of the International Committee of the Fourth International). In a factory at Aulnoye twenty workers were wounded after a savage police attack. At Nanterre police charged onto the campus shouting "Death to Students" and destroyed any cars they could find.

Just before the debate on the new law bombs exploded outside two right wing newspapers in Paris, supposedly planted by revolutionaries. Despite all this the government was forced to postpone debate for one week on learning that the Communist party, the Socialist party, the CGT (Stalinist led Federation of unions) and UNEF (the student union) were calling a meeting to fight the law.

The Pompidou government is desperately afraid of the resurgence of the

class and particularly of the Trotskyist movement which is gaining in strength every day and threatens the French rulers most reliable ally, the Communist Party.

The repression against the Trotskyists is openly welcomed by the Stalinists. When the government announced that its new laws were primarily aimed at the "roughnecks" (meaning the Trotskyists) the Communist Party responded by saying: "You already have the means for this" referring to the banning in 1968 of all groups except the CP.

But the government knows it cannot indefinitely count on the betrayals of the CP to hold back the working class and is thus preparing to move against all left wing groups. During the May Day demonstration the CP excluded the left wing students from the march and even stood by while the cops attacked them with tear gas and clubs.

## CONTRADICTION

While the workers marched behind their Communist, Socialist and Catholic union leaderships the hold of these parties is far from assured as can be seen from the May-June events in 1968 and the massive demonstration of 10,000 youth called by the AJS in February.

On Sunday, May 10 another demonstration will be held against the Cambodian invasion. It is the contradiction between the tremendous class solidarity of the French workers with the Vietnamese workers and peasants and the reformist line of the Stalinists on the war which opens tremendous opportunities for the growth of the Fourth International.



# ON LENIN

struggle, transformed the Third International from an instrument of world revolution into an instrument of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and then finally dissolved it. Trotsky carried forward Lenin's program and we today carry forward Trotsky's program.

"Because Marxism is true, because it is the real expression of the objective reality, Marxism is taking on new life in the form of the growth of the International Committee of the Fourth International today. In February at the Le Bourget Airport in Paris 10,000 youth gathered under the banner of the Fourth International. Last month a large delegation of French youth attended the mass Scarborough Conference of the British Young Socialists, as part of the preparation for the forthcoming International Youth Conference of the Fourth International. A few months ago in Switzerland young communists from Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland gathered together to carry forward the work of the Fourth International deep into the workers states for the first time since the early 1930s.

## OCTOBER

"In this year of Lenin and Trotsky we must redouble our efforts to construct the Leninist party here in the United States. The question of the October Revolution is not a historical question. It is the question of the future of the United States as well as the whole world."

A major feature of the evening was the two film presentations. There was a tremendous response from the audience to "Czar to Lenin", an actual documentary of the Russian Revolution narrated by Max Eastman at a time when he supported Lenin and Trotsky. At each appearance of Lenin and Trotsky cheers went up throughout the audience. When scenes of soldiers joining the revolution and of Russian and German soldiers fraternizing with each other were shown all could not help but think of the current situation in Southeast Asia.

This film was followed by the Workers Press film which showed the launching of the first Marxist daily paper since the early days of the Third International. The film represented the expression of the Russian Revolution in the current situation in the world today.

Following the meeting Workers League members and supporters prepared to leave at 6 AM the next morning for Washington where contingents from Stony Brook, Connecticut, Penn State and Philadelphia joined the New York busload to fight for a class perspective in the sea of confusion created by the revisionist and liberal leaderships of the massive 100,000 strong crowd.



50 youth with red flags lead the 2,000 strong May Day march of British Trotskyists.

# 2,000 Trotskyists March In London May Day

BY MELODY FARROW

On Sunday, May 3, the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists of Britain held the biggest and most impressive May Day demonstration in its history.

Two thousand trade unionists, young workers and students marched through London headed by a militant contingent of fifty youth carrying red flags. Behind them were the banners of the SLL and YS which read: VOTE LABOUR! KEEP THE TORIES OUT! EXPOSE WILSON! BUILD THE SLL! and WELL DONE MERSEYSIDE! WORKERS ACTION TO DEFEAT NIXON IN VIETNAM & CAMBODIA!

Eight floats, entirely built and painted by the Young Socialists proclaimed the main points of the program of the Fourth International: Hands off Cambodia & Laos! Victory to the NLF! Smash Toryism With Socialist policies! No Common Market -No NATO! No European Security Alliance! Forward to the United Socialist States of Europe! Defeat Stalinism! For a Political Revolution in the USSR-Eastern Europe! Join the Young Socialists! Forward to the International Youth Conference!

for by the SLL. This May Day as the front page of the Workers Press proclaimed is a day of revolutionary optimism for the forces of the Fourth International.

Following the London march, leaders of the SLL and YS addressed a packed meeting at the Lyceum. Cliff Slaughter, Central Committee member of the SLL said that the imperialists and their allies --the Stalinists and revisionists--were in a crisis bigger than they had ever faced before. "We celebrate May Day, above all, in the spirit of the banner which led the march today--build the alternative leadership of the Fourth International through the youth and trade union movements on a new mass scale all over Europe."

Michael Banda, editor of the Workers Press, stressed the significance of the Cambodian invasion occurring at a time of deep internal crisis. It exposed the impossibility of the Stalinist policy of reforming imperialism. Only the independent action of the working class, he said, could smash imperialism and its agents.

SLL's National Secretary, Gerry Healy, told the meeting that May Day should be celebrated in an atmosphere of confidence. "Never on any previous May Day since the mid-1920s have we witnessed such an incredible crisis of the capitalist system." He pointed out that this is what lay behind the recent witch-hunt of the SLL. This witch-hunt is clearly aimed at slandering the revolutionary movement and to use it as a scapegoat to bring in more stringent anti-union laws and to attack militants in the unions. The CP only encourages the government in these attacks. The May Day demonstration showed decisively that the witch-hunt will not prevent the growing influence of the SLL.

"The capitalist press," said Healy, "cannot stop the SLL from expressing its opinions. This movement is based on principle--Stalin couldn't destroy it, Hitler couldn't destroy it, Churchill couldn't destroy it, and we're not going to stop now."

"Let's resolve that we're going to build this revolutionary party, increase the circulation of the Workers Press, bring in more members and fight for working class unity against the Tories."

## CONTRAST

By comparison, the Communist Party's demonstration was a spiritless routine affair with only a third of the marchers carrying political banners. It carried such slogans as 'British Council of Churches says demonstrate against apartheid.' Despite this tremendous contrast, the capitalist press, presently engaged in a witch-hunt against the SLL, either ignored the SLL's demonstration or sought to link it to the Stalinists' demonstration to cover up the growing strength of Trotskyism as a revolutionary alternative to the working class.

This May Day demonstration comes at a crucial time for the world working class. Capitalism, in the depths of economic and political crisis unprecedented since the Second World War has expanded the Vietnam War in Southeast Asia and is stepping up its offensive against the unions in preparation for Bonapartist and fascist governments.

## OPTIMISM

The Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists have led the fight against a return of the Tories and to throw out Wilson and replace him with a socialist leadership. This May Day was marked by huge spontaneous demonstrations against the Cambodian invasion all over the world.

In Germany and France thousands of workers took to the streets to celebrate May Day and in England the Liverpool dockers went on strike May 1 against the war in an action consciously fought

By Tom Kemp

price: \$.75



The author, a reporter for the British Trotskyist paper, The Newsletter was on the scene in France during the tumultuous days of the revolution in May, 1968. He gives a full story of the Stalinist betrayal and an alternative program for victory.

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# WHY KREMLIN BUREAUCRATS LAUNCH ANTI-TROTSKYIST CAMPAIGN

THE TEXT of Leonid Brezhnev's speech of April 21 to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party contains an ominous warning that must be heeded and countered by Trotskyists throughout the world. Below Robert Black analyses the speech.

The key passage of Brezhnev's speech, ostensibly on the theme of the Lenin Centenary, reads:

... we have to say today that certain weaknesses and difficulties have manifested themselves in the communist movement over the past few years, disrupting its unity in a number of links and preventing communists from making full use of the possibilities of the revolutionary struggle.

## ADVENTURISM

"This refers to the policy of the 'left' opportunists, including Trotskyists, who seek to replace the scientifically substantiated Marxist line of the revolutionary movement by adventurism. . . . One of the features of the present stage of the revolutionary struggle is that in many cases both a right and 'left' opportunism intertwine with nationalistic trends.

"In the present epoch, when the international class struggle has grown extremely acute, the danger of right and 'left' deviations and of nationalism in the communist movement has grown more tangible than ever before. The struggle against right and 'left' opportunism and nationalism cannot, therefore, be conducted as a campaign calculated only for some definite span of time. The denunciation of opportunism of all kinds has been and continues to be an immutable law for all Marxist-Leninist parties." ('Soviet News' April 28, p. 46. Emphasis added.)

These carefully measured words mean only one thing. Not only is the struggle against Trotskyism an 'immutable law' for all Stalinist parties—that has been the case for more than 40 years.

## CHALLENGE

What is new—and recognized as such by Brezhnev—is the growth of the world Trotskyist challenge to Stalinism for the leadership of the international working class.

Brezhnev's public admission that the activities and growth of Trotskyism have caused the world Stalinist movement to encounter 'certain weakness and difficulties' is truly historic.

Previously, attacks on Trotskyism have combined slander with references to the insignificance of their influence and forces.

Now the emphasis is changing. Trotskyists are now able to weaken the work of the so-called 'world communist movement' with all its resources of state power daily press and deep roots in the workers' movement of the capitalist world.

## THREATENS

The movement Brezhnev, Stalin and company believed had been crushed by the purges and trials of the 1930s has not only survived—it grows and threatens the grip of Stalinism on the working class.

That is the real meaning of Brezhnev's words.

The slanderous references to 'adventurism' are routine Brezhnev. They are used to divert attention away from the utterly counter-revolutionary line pursued by Stalinism inside the workers' movement in the main struggles of recent years.

The claim that Trotskyists have prevented the Stalinist parties from 'making the full use of the possibilities of revolutionary struggle' is barely worth refutation.

If the French Stalinists had managed to carry through their chosen line in March and April of 1968 of walling off the working class from the revolutionary students, there would have been no May-June general strike, no wage increases and no defeat of DeGaulle in the referendum a year later.

Right up to the one-day strike of May 13, they were denouncing Trotskyist and other student militants as fascists.

It was precisely the ability of the numerically small forces of the Trotskyist movement to mobilize the youth and sections of the working class independently of the Stalinist bureaucracy in France that forced the CGT leadership's hand and compelled them, against their wishes and interests, to call a token strike in defense of those they had previously been slandering as fascists.

## ALARM

It is this 'weakness' and 'difficulty' as much a product of working-class militancy as the direct work of Trotskyists, that forces Brezhnev to sound the alarm.

May-June 1968 was a close call for both French capitalism and the Soviet bureaucracy.

For after May-June came the offensive of the Czechoslovak working class against

Stalinism, an offensive that could only be crushed by the use of Soviet tanks and infantry.

Trotskyism can no longer be presented as isolated from the workers' movement. Its programme now takes on real meaning and relevance for thousands of workers previously dominated by either the social-democratic or Stalinist bureaucracies.

Significantly, there has been scant reference in any of the 'Lenin centenary' meetings in Moscow to the role of the reformists.

The main fire has been directed at Trotskyism. That is both a tribute—and a warning to the Fourth International.

Brezhnev and company mean what they say when they slander Trotskyism. That is the one part of their speeches that we must take seriously.

The witch-hunt against the Socialist Labour League, aided and abetted by the Stalinists, and the new offensive against the left in France—also connived at by the Stalinists there—has its counterpart in Brezhnev's warnings and slanders.

## 'DIFFICULTIES'

We can be sure that despite all their internal problems and differences, the leaders of British Stalinism will take



Brezhnev has launched a new attack on Trotskyism as Stalinist crisis deepens.

Brezhnev's words to heart.

Measured in terms of the success of Trotskyism, they have experienced more than their fair share of 'weakness and difficulties.'

## MANY MORE

We must see to it that they have many more.

Stalinism constantly proclaims its desire to co-exist peacefully with the enemies of the working class and the colonial peoples.

For the real Leninists of today, the Fourth International, they have nothing but fear and hatred.

## CLUB WIELDING COPS ATTACK STRIKING TEAMSTERS IN S.F.

BY ALEX ROSSI

SAN FRANCISCO—"Law enforcement officers" armed with guns, police dogs, and clubs attacked rank and file Teamsters May 3 at the San Francisco Airport.

This action reveals again the decision taken by the Nixon Administration in agreement with the capitalist class to destroy every effort of the working class to organize and defend their rights won after long struggles.

According to the police, the intervention was motivated by the fact that traffic was blocked. The attack against the workers and the following arrests of R. Rodriguez, P. Rodriguez, and L. Arellanes was a result, according to the police, of refusing to disperse and of assault upon law officers.

In reality the police attack was an action to break the protest of the Teamsters against the Viking Trucking Co. The company, after having brought out the Shulman Delivery Co., immediately fired

ten Teamsters of Local 85 and replaced them with scabs, with half the pay and without benefits guaranteed by the union.

For some time Local 85 sought, but without results, to unionize the employees of the Viking Trucking Co. and have them accept the contract of the majority of companies and workers.

## WALK-OUT

Immediately after the firings the workers of the Air Freight Lines refused to load or unload the trucks of Viking. They staged a walk-out. The police intervened with brutality. The following day, May 4, sixty-five workers of the Air Freight Lines were laid off. All of the employees of the various air freight companies protested this action. An immediate strike was organized by the workers and their locals. Truckdrivers, busdrivers, and taxi drivers supported the strike. All other airport workers gave their full moral support. Respect for the picket lines was total.

Faced with such firmness on the part of the workers, the Mayor of San Francisco called to his office the union bureaucracy, the Viking Trucking Co. attorney, the head of the S.F. Airport, and a superintendent of San Mateo County. A decision was made to dissolve the strike until a Federal Judge decided the case. During this time the Viking Trucking Co. was not to operate at the airport.

Viking trucks defended by police continue to operate as before. The ten Teamsters are still jobless. The federal judge prohibited further striking for the duration of negotiations between the union and Viking.

## CONTRACT

The workers, however, are firmly decided to carry on the fight demanding that all of their fellow workers are rehired, that the workers of the Viking Trucking Co. are unionized, and the disarming of the police during their intervention at workers' and students' demonstrations.

Airport Teamsters must understand that the politicians and the union bureaucrats have come together like this because they live in mortal fear that this struggle will be related to the fight against the national contract. The leaders of Local 85 are trying to ram that contract down the members' throats. They are desperately trying to avert another Bay Area Teamster explosion until they can pass that contract.

The airport struggle must be tied to the national struggle. Teamsters must join their brothers across the country in rejecting the national sellout and carrying out a struggle to shut the airport down completely until their demands are met.

## Militant Strike Sweeps N.Y. High Schools

BY ALEX ROSSI

NEW YORK, May 12 -- Hundreds of striking Seward Park High School students marched up First Avenue this morning, shouting antiwar slogans and tying up traffic.

They made their way across 14th St. and over to the New School where a city wide high school meeting was held together with other high school and junior high students who had converged on the New School.

A speaker at the main meeting was

greeted with wild cheers and applause when he said, "We're going to shut down the whole of Seward tomorrow and keep it shut until they end this war." Another speaker said that this was "not a picnic. We are serious, and we've go to have meetings every single day."

Speakers made clear their intention to bring all of New York's schools together behind the strike. Black speakers who addressed the students were among the most outspoken on the central question of what one called "the sickness of the war in Vietnam and Cambodia" despite the talk by the Panthers that we shouldn't worry about Vietnam, but about "our" own problems at home.

## SERIOUSNESS

These students, many of them as young as 13 or 14 conducted themselves in a completely orderly and disciplined manner, entirely different in their seriousness from some of the youth who tried to turn last Saturday's Washington demonstration into a vast picnic. Every color, race and nationality was represented at the meeting, with the majority from working class families.

Spokesman for the High School Committee said that more than 60 high schools and junior high schools have had strikes during the past week and said they were working closely with university groups throughout the city. He agreed that it was now necessary not only to get all the high school students together but also to take the struggle beyond the schools and campuses in order to bring out labor in support of the students and against the war.



Seward Park high school students hold meeting at New School after march up First Ave.