

# Bulletin

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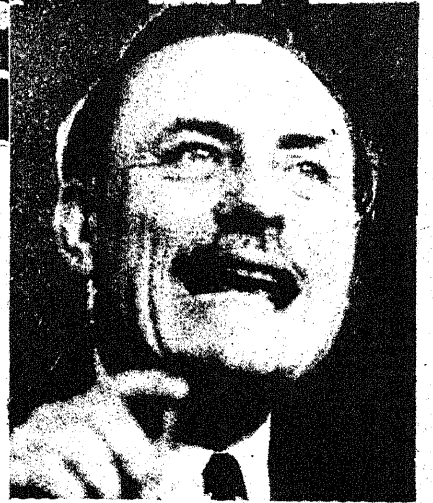
**SWP, Stalinism  
And The  
Labor Bureaucracy**

*Behind Attack on China*

## SOVIET LEADERS STAB VIETNAMESE IN BACK



Left: Wilson campaigns for June 18th elections. Above: Auto workers marching in London are part of class upsurge. Right: Racist Enoch Powell (top) calls the tune for the Tories, headed by Heath (bottom)



## England: Rightist Threat Behind Tory Campaign



**NY Hospital Workers Face Showdown**

# SWP Turns To Labor Bureaucracy in Cleveland

BY DAN FRIED

From the May 22 issue to the June 5 issue, the Militant, weekly organ of the Socialist Workers Party, reflected a sharp shift in perspective on the antiwar struggle.

In the May 22 issue, the headline blared forth: "Antiwar Universities keep spreading across the country; focus on May 30 action." The paper was dominated with articles on the "ongoing fight for the antiwar university," calls for extension of the student strike by strike councils and a perspective of extending the student strike to "build to May 30." In short, the Militant reflected the SWP's student power orientation with a vengeance.

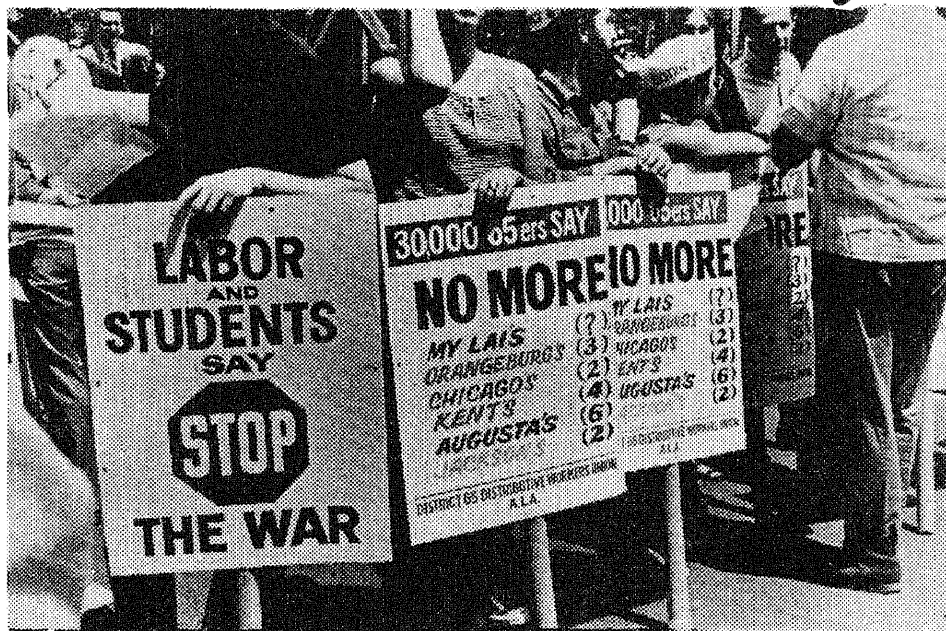
The SWP has fought resolutely against the demand to make mass labor action the center of the antiwar struggle. But as "practical" people who glorify "facts" they could no longer ignore the fact that a sizeable section of the labor movement and trade union rank and file had entered the antiwar movement in its own name. So in the aftermath of the student strikes, the Militant blared forth in its headline of June 5: "Antiwar breakthrough in union movement."

This referred to the New York May 21 City Hall rally called by a section of the labor movement and to the antiwar newspaper ad signed by 451 San Francisco trade unionists. They also gave front page treatment to the forthcoming Cleveland "Emergency National Conference" under the head, "Unionists join in sponsoring antiwar parley." At least on the surface, this issue of the Militant along with the SWP's campaign through the SMC and its connections with certain labor officials, reflected a marked turn towards the labor movement.

### PRAGMATIC

As in all the recent turns of the SWP since its capitulation to the impressionistic method of Pabloism, the Militant simply reflects a pragmatic adaptation to "the action." Over the years the SWP has been converted from a vanguard, struggling for leadership of the working class, to an opportunist rear-guard. The Militant has run some of the most enthusiastic campaigns, tailing the actions and politics of anti-working class forces from Elijah Muhammed and assorted black powerists, to Castro, Ben Bella, women's liberation, Chicano power, student power and now to a section of the labor bureaucracy.

The current switch does not mean that the SWP has rejected the student power orientation but simply that with the closing of the schools for the summer, and dissolution or repression of many of the "antiwar universities" the SWP has, at least temporarily, found a more "fruit-



50 thousand workers and students joined in mass labor rally in New York City May 21

ful" arena in the labor movement.

In the earlier period the labor movement was seen as only one element in the "population as a whole" which the antiwar university would be able to reach. This concept was expressed in the May 19 Militant. The SWP said that the students, supposedly after capturing and holding the universities and converting them into antiwar bastions, would reach out "into all communities—into the neighborhood, the labor unions, the Afro-American and other Third World Organizations, the churches and synagogues, 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 "labor unions" on May 19 are lost among the churches, synagogues, and the "political associations," which we must assume include the Democratic and Republican "political associations."

### BELITTLED

Not only were the "labor unions" submerged under the weight of the popular front alliance on May 19, but the SWP consistently and resolutely opposed the demand of the Workers League put forward at major SMC gatherings since last February's Cleveland conference for mass labor action against the war on a class program and for the construction of a labor party. While the Bulletin saw the mass action of last October and November as marking the beginning of the movement of the working class into opposition to the war through the trade unions, in spite of the bureaucratic leadership of these unions, the SWP belittled these developments.

In the November 17 issue of the Intercontinental Press, SWP writer, Les Evans, launched an extensive attack on our co-thinkers in the Socialist Labour League of Britain, for their "fantasies" of trade union participation in the anti-war movement. This was on the very eve of the

November 15 march on Washington in which union contingents involving thousands of workers participated.

### ANTI-WAR UNIVERSITY

At the height of the student strike movement, after the student-based march to Washington on May 9, the Militant still maintained its perspective of the development and spreading of the "anti-war university" as the way forward for the movement. Realizing that students who "control" a campus together with the faculty must do at least something outside of the campus, the Militant of May 22 editorialized:

"Preparing and building for May 30 demonstrations can provide a field of common endeavor for the forces of the anti-war universities, as can the effort to reach out to the noncampus communities to bring them into the May 30 demonstrations. A campaign to win endorsements from unions can prove especially fruitful."

At this point the Militant had moved, however timidly, to calling for the "endorsement" of unions, but as an adjunct to the student led demonstrations. It should be noted that the criticism of these "endorsements" along the lines of Evans' Intercontinental Press article is missing. Not leading, but reacting to events—this is the method of the SWP. Only after the May 21 City Hall rally did the SWP enthusiastically register the already accomplished fact that a key section of the labor bureaucracy and rank and file had moved into action against the war.

In contrast, at the time of the invasion into Cambodia and the Kent State murders, the Workers League entered into a campaign to bring about independent mass labor action against the war and raised the need for the labor party. Thousands of petitions were solicited among trade unionists and students endorsing telegrams to New York labor leaders demanding mass action by labor. Fifteen thousand leaflets were distributed by Workers League members and supporters calling for a massive labor rally in the garment center. When the plans for the labor rally at City Hall on May 21 were announced by a number of labor bureaucrats, the Workers League together with many students and young workers distributed 25,000 leaflets of its own to build this rally on a class basis. At the rally itself, the Workers League distributed more than 100 "Build A Labor Party" signs and took the lead in raising the labor party demand in the SSEU-371 contingent of 3,000 workers.

The May 21 City Hall rally in New York represented far more than an endorsement by the trade union bureaucrats of the student protest movement. An important section of the rank and file of the New York trade union movement joined with thousands of students and youth who came down to fight for the labor movement to take the lead against Nixon and the war. But up on the speakers platform the "progressive" labor bureaucrats were spelling out their political line in opposition to the rank and file, the channeling of the revolt of the students and workers into the liberal sections of the Democratic and Republican Parties. This is the policy spelled out most definitively by the Communist

Party—the "people's front" around which they are building the forthcoming "rank and file action conference" in Chicago.

It is on this same Stalinist people's front basis that the SWP recognizes the entry of labor into the antiwar movement and on which they are building the Cleveland Emergency Conference on June 19. What they propose is an alliance of a section of the labor bureaucracy with the radical student antiwar movement, an alliance politically dominated by the labor bureaucrats. The labor bureaucrats see this collaboration, both with the SWP and the CP as a means of keeping the rank and file revolt in the unions under control and of counteracting the explosive potential of the student movement that threatens to give leadership to the rank and file on a class basis.

### ALLIANCE

The statements and actions of these bureaucrats reflect the rising anger and militancy of the ranks and the growing resentment against the war. However these bureaucrats have fought against mass rank and file participation. This is a major reason why the May 21 rally was called at City Hall and not in New York's garment center where hundreds of thousands of workers might have participated. They seek to channel the antiwar sentiment of the workers into support of capitalist politicians like Mayor Lindsay and other doves who are leading the attack on the working class. The alliance of these bureaucrats with the SWP and the CP is a way of keeping the student radicalism within the safe channels of a "militant people's front" collaboration with the likes of Lindsay.

In their campaign for the Cleveland Conference, the SWP makes clear that it is collaborating with a section of the labor bureaucracy on the latter's political terms and will not raise any struggle for strike action against the war, for closing down the San Francisco docks, for example, unless the bureaucrats raise it first. Even more fundamental, when every question confronting the working class, from the war to the defense of the unions, inflation and unemployment, requires the independent political action of the working class expressed in the demand for the labor party, the SWP fights AGAINST bringing politics into the conference. It thereby leaves unchallenged the continued political alliance of the labor bureaucracy and the liberal capitalists through the people's front.

### POLITICS

Quoting the Cleveland Conference call that the purpose of the conference is to "organize massive opposition to the war"—and only that—the Militant makes clear that it sees this "massive opposition" quite apart from the necessity for working class politics. Evidently capitalist politics will suffice. The call which the Militant so enthusiastically quotes PUSHES ASIDE THE VERY CENTRAL QUESTIONS OF SOCIALISM, AND POLITICAL ACTION BY THE WORKING CLASS. It states:

"This conference is not intended to solve or even necessarily to discuss all the problems of our crisis-ridden society. It is not a conference to hammer out the strategy or tactics of social revolution or to found a new political party or movement. It is a conference to organize massive opposition to the war. All those who want to see such opposition organized are welcome to participate regardless of their political ideas or affiliation."

The turn of the SWP toward "labor" is in reality a further shift by the SWP toward the politics of Stalinism—an alliance with the liberal section of the capitalist class through the progressive labor bureaucrats.

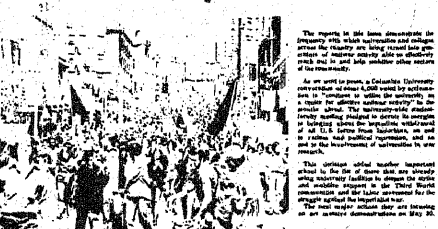
As the working class moves into action industrially and politically, the Communist Party, in the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, comes forward all the more strongly to behead this movement of the working class, to keep it within the safe channels of "progressive" capitalist politics. The SWP capitulates to this Stalinist offensive and moves to provide a left cover for the labor bureaucracy. These are the questions that the Workers League will fight to make the SWP and the YSA membership confront. At the Cleveland Conference the Workers League will carry forward the fight against people's frontism around the demands: Labor must organize to bring a million workers to a massive demonstration in Washington! All out to build a labor party!

**Stop the killings! No more Augustas! No more Kents!**

May 12—Just one week after the Kent State massacre, news reports poured in from all over the country that more and more students were being killed and injured in the streets. In the wake of the Kent State massacre, the SWP has been converted from a vanguard, struggling for leadership of the working class, to an opportunist rear-guard. The Militant has run some of the most enthusiastic campaigns, tailing the actions and politics of anti-working class forces from Elijah Muhammed and assorted black powerists, to Castro, Ben Bella, women's liberation, Chicano power, student power and now to a section of the labor bureaucracy.

**THE MILITANT** Nixon's Cambodia gamble; why it's doomed to failure

**Antiwar universities keep spreading across country; focus on May 30 actions**



**THE MILITANT** Post-Cambodia upsurge brought historic changes

**Antiwar breakthrough in union movement**



**Unionists join in sponsoring antiwar parley**



# AJS Rally Banned in France As Assembly Passes Law

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Last week the infamous "anti-wrecker" law was passed by the National Assembly of France. This law gives the government the right to ban all "illicit" demonstrations, to impose "collective liability" on all those who participate, and to hold anyone present at these demonstrations responsible for any violence. This means that mere bystanders will be hauled off to jail and prosecuted.

The passing of the law was preceded by phony bomb plots which were in fact the work of the police, and provocations by police of students and workers. Their purpose was to establish justification for the law.

The only reason that the law was passed was because the French Communist Party refused to mobilize the working class in massive demonstrations leading up to the day of the vote which could have forced the government to back down. The Pompidou government would have been faced with the threat of another May-June.

## ATTACK

The French working class understood

## MINNESOTA LABOR LEADERS

### PUSH HUBERT HUMPHREY IN RACE FOR SENATE

BY MIKE ROSS

ST. PAUL—The real politics of the labor bureaucracy were shown on June 3rd when some 1,300 of them filled an auditorium here for a statewide bean feed to push the candidacy of former Senator and Vice President Hubert Humphrey. Humphrey is expected to announce for the Senate race on June 13th.

This is the same Humphrey who strongly supported the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin act, the attacks on Cuba in 1961, and the Dominican Republic in 1965 and supported Johnson's attempt in 1966 to break the airline machinists' strike. This real face of Humphrey was quietly forgotten in this obscene affair. "He's our man," declared State AFL-CIO President David Roe. This only indicates how far the bureaucracy is willing to go to serve capitalism.

At a time when the Democratic Party has joined with Nixon in crying for more controls on the unions adding the demand for a wage freeze to Nixon's plans for more unemployment and anti-strike legislation, these bureaucrats grovel before its candidates.

In Germany in 1933 their counterparts in the unions tried to make a deal with Hitler. This is the extent to which these leaders were prepared to go to avoid the mobilization of their ranks politically against the state. The only way the ranks of labor can prevent such a development is through an all out fight against these labor leaders for a break with the Democrats and Republicans and the building of a labor party.

that this law was an attack on its basic right to organize and demonstrate for its rights and would have rallied behind such a call from its party. But only token efforts were made and the fight against the law was in fact given up before it had ever begun.

Before the law was passed the government decided to exercise its powers in what was clearly another provocation. In the town of Vallourec a battle with the police took place after the workers had locked up the director of their factory. He had refused to negotiate with them and had locked them out. The CRS, after forcing the workers to retreat with tear gas, engaged the 150 workers in a bloody battle in which 20 workers were injured.

On May 27th the government banned a Maoist group called the Proletarian Left and sentenced the editors of the group's newspaper, La Cause, to eight and twelve month terms in jail. The ban was immediately followed by clashes of students and police in the Latin Quarter of Paris in which 487 left wing students were arrested.

## AJS

The most significant development was the government's refusal to allow the AJS (French Trotskyist youth organization) to hold a march and rally on May 24th to commemorate the 99th anniversary of the founding of the Paris Commune. The AJS has decided not to attempt to hold the demonstration which at this point would only provide another provocation for the government. At the same time the AJS has taken up the fight to unite students and workers in joint demonstrations to oppose the law. Purely student demonstrations are not only not sufficient to stop the repression but will aid the Stalinist leadership of the Communist Party in dividing workers from students.

## COMMUNE

The banning of the Paris Commune demonstration reveals the fear by the ruling class of the Trotskyists and the history of the Commune which was the first workers' government set up in the world. The Paris Commune set up in 1871 which lasted for 72 days holds im-

## 1199 Must Prepare to Strike for New Contract

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK, June 8—The negotiations between this city's major voluntary hospitals and Local 1199 are heading down to the wire, with the contract expiring on June 30th.

The hospitals are now openly preparing for a strike. The workers, for their part, are also preparing for a showdown fight on their basic wage and hour demands.

It would be the biggest mistake for workers to conclude that there is little to be done between now and July 1st. This is not a fight that will be settled on top or in quiet negotiations. Now is the time for the rank and file to make its aims unmistakably clear.

## PROGRAM

The mass membership meeting called for June 16th must take this fight forward. Every worker must be mobilized behind a program for victory in July:

1. The demands for a \$40 or 30% increase, a cost of living clause, a classification system and the 35 hour week must be made non-negotiable.

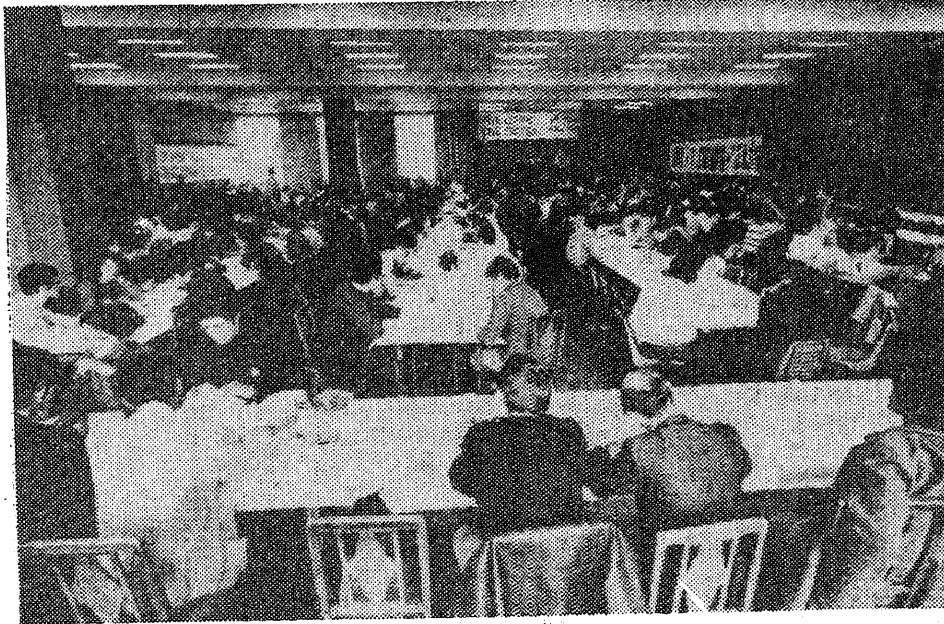
2. The bosses must be put on notice immediately that under no conditions will any of the major demands be submitted to arbitration.

3. The union must announce that it is prepared for citywide strike action on July 1st, and prepare for this by work actions and demonstrations in the next 2 weeks.

4. The ranks must demand that a mass membership meeting be called to ratify any settlement that is negotiated.

In addition attention must be turned to the job of mobilizing mass labor support behind the hospital workers.

Without an independent fight by the workers all of the demands are gravely



Above: First Congress of AJS, French Trotskyist youth group. Right: Students battle police after Maoist group banned

important lessons for the working class today. The French workers and peasants took over the state and breaking with the bourgeois parties. In this Commune all tendencies were allowed freedom of expression and all members were given a workers' salary. Here is what Engels wrote about the experience of the Commune:

"What makes the historic greatness of the Commune is its sincerely international character, the challenge that it boldly threw down to every bourgeois chauvinist feeling. The proletariat of every country understand this well. Let the workers celebrate their July 14th. The workers holiday will always and everywhere be the 18th of March."

The lesson that had to be learned from the defeat of the Commune is the necessity of building a revolutionary party that does not merely take over the state but first must smash the whole "bureaucratic and military machine" as Lenin said. It is one thing to take power and another thing to hold it. It is here that the revolutionary party becomes indispensable.

The French Communist Party which annually holds a commemoration meeting on the Commune was only too willing to cancel its own meeting. The experience of the Paris Commune is completely opposed to everything it espouse today, the collaboration with the bourgeoisie under the Popular Front, the existence of a privileged bureaucracy in the workers' states. Only the Trotskyist movement can celebrate the Commune and use its lessons



to build a new leadership for the struggles today.

## LESSONS

This is the task that the AJS set itself at their first congress on May 16th. The AJS's response to the government's repression was to increase the circulation of their paper, Jeune Revolutionnaire, to build roots among the working class youth and to expand their membership. The lessons of the Paris Commune find their expression in its fight for a workers united front against repression and for the construction of a workers' government. The fight against the repressive law just passed by the Assembly is just beginning.

## Bulletin

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Leon Davis, President of Local 1199

workers and the poor are the same attack. The financial crisis of the hospitals is the responsibility of the bosses and the government, from Nixon on down to Lindsay. The capitalist system can no longer provide even the minimum standards of decency in the most powerful capitalist nation. It must attack all the gains which the working class has won. This is the meaning of the hospital crisis, which the bosses and all their allies seek to blame on the workers.

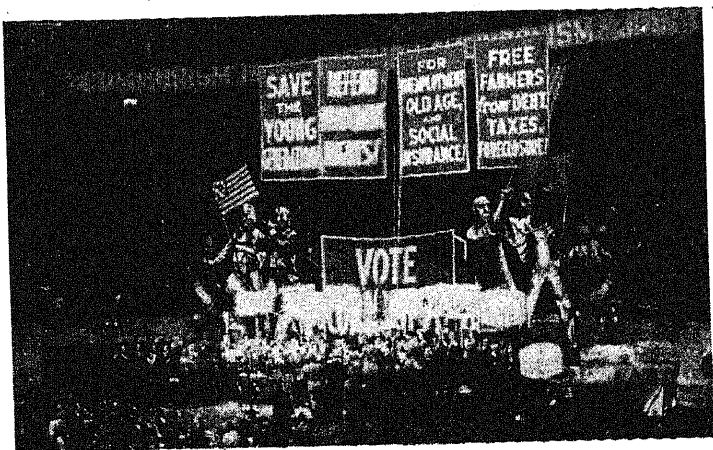
The union must add to its demands the refusal to accept any further cutbacks in services whatsoever and to fight to restore all previous cuts.

All Out To Mass Membership Rally June 16th!

Prepare For Citywide Strike July 1st! No Retreat From Wage Demands! Make The Bosses Pay For Their Crisis!

The union must answer this without further delay. The attacks on the hospital

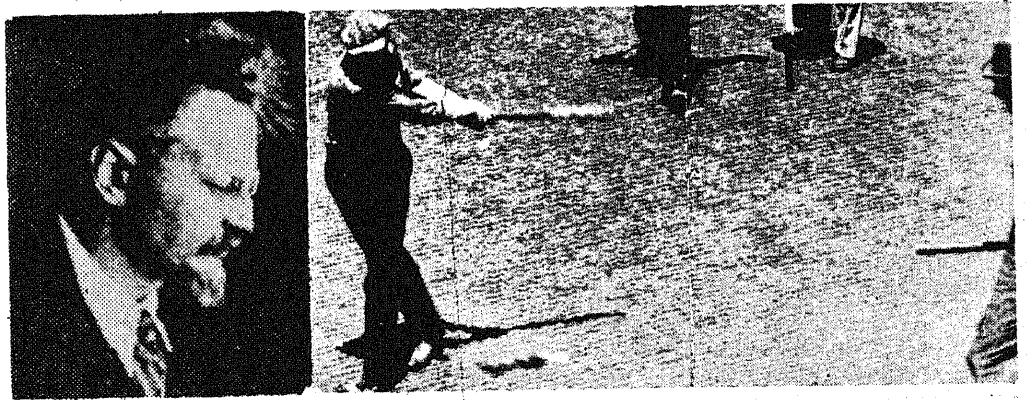




# STALINISM

# & TROTSKYISM IN USA

*an answer to Hyman Lumer and others*  
 by **FRED MUELLER**



## V. STALINISM & REVISIONISM TODAY

THE STALINISTS CARRY forward the popular front in 1970 and the revisionists aid them at every point. That is the real line up of class forces within the working class movement today. The battle between Trotskyism and Stalinism is the fundamental question which will decide the future of the working class and of all humanity. In this battle the role of the Socialist Workers Party has become one of capitulation to Stalinism.

As the class struggle deepens more and more workers and youth search for revolutionary solutions. The Communist Party comes forward with its daily newspaper and its new youth organization to trap serious militants in its reformist grip. The Stalinists are preparing right now for the call from the bourgeoisie. They hope to perform the same services they performed in the 1930s and

during World War II. They are preparing for an open alliance with the capitalist class and the trade union bureaucracy.

The Communist Party requires an orthodox cover for its reformist policies. This is the meaning of the article in Political Affairs by the late Betty Gannett on Browderism. By formal assertions of orthodoxy, textbook criticisms of Browder's views, she aims to defend the CP's claim to be the continuators of Marx and Lenin.

**BROWDER**

Gannett limits herself to the following kind of rhetoric in her analysis of Browderism:  
 "Earl Browder, who headed the Communist Party for fifteen years, had enormous prestige within and outside the Party's ranks. Yet, it took but a few short months of intense and unhampered discussion of the policies he projected for the overwhelming majority of the leadership and membership to free itself from the quagmire of Right opportunism in which those policies had landed the party... The clear repudiation of Browder-revisionism was possible, first of all, because of the inner health of the party. What was decisive, however, was the fact that the inexorable realities of world developments had already begun to expose the illusory conclusions Browder had drawn from the Teheran conference."  
 (1)

As Gannett herself points out, it was really a question of illusions on Browder's part. Browder faithfully carried out Stalinist policy. It was the Stalinist illusions, not merely Browder's, which were shattered by imperialism in the closing days of World War II and immediately

afterwards. As we have shown, the moves of the imperialists forced upon Stalin certain defensive measures in the interests of the self-preservation of the bureaucracy itself. Browder did not go along with the new turn empirically forced upon Stalin and he became the scapegoat for old policies which could not be explained politically by the Stalinists. Neither Gannett nor any of the other CP leaders can explain Browderism because they accepted it completely and because the break with Browder had absolutely nothing to do with a principled break with class collaborationist policies. It is not only the connection between all of the present CP leaders with Browder's policies in the past period which is involved. The Stalinists follow precisely the same policies today.

They come forward with the very same phrases and slogans which they denounced Browder for. They continue to call for permanent coexistence and collaboration with imperialism. They expect their supporters to file away the criticisms of Browder and proceed today with the same line.

**LENIN**

This is expressed quite clearly in the manner in which the Communist Party commemorated the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin. Their public meeting on the centennial drew only a small number of aging Stalinists. In the April 22, 1970 issue of the Daily World, a special editorial turns Leninism into its opposite:  
 "One of Lenin's greatest legacies to humanity was his axiom that peaceful coexistence was possible and necessary in this troubled world. The first act of the Soviet government, 24 hours after liberation, was Lenin's call for peace in the midst of World War I. That call continues ever more insistently to this day, and strikes deep into the hearts of countless millions, Communists and non-Communists alike.

And Joseph North expands on this theme in the April 25 Daily World:

"It began the day socialism triumphed over capitalism in the USSR. Twenty four hours after November 7, 1917, Lenin called upon all of humanity to end the war and learn to live together in this common Earth. Peaceful coexistence was a theme he turned to again and again, teaching its possibility and its necessity. He believed different social systems could coexist and must. We live in a day when hydrogen weapons are available to both sides. Pollution? Let the atomic-tipped rockets fly and the good old Earth can be changed into a glassy ball on which not even a single bumble bee could live. We would then know where all the flowers have gone."

This is truly monstrous. Of course what Lenin and the Soviet government said 24 hours after the seizure of power had nothing to do with this pacifist gibberish. Why don't North and the Daily World editors explain that the Soviet government abolished all secret diplomacy and published the secret treaties of the Czar? Why don't they explain that in order to appeal for peace it had been necessary to turn the imperialist war into a civil war, to overthrow the bourgeoisie? That was the Leninist road to peace.

The first act of the Soviet government was to implement its pledge to the masses to end the imperialist war. This had



Hyman Lumer addresses meeting of Communist Party on Lenin Centennial Year.

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



# Kremlin Attacks Viet Revolution



BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The Soviet bureaucracy has just launched the most vicious barrage of counterrevolutionary slander against Peking and its role in Indo-China to date.

These slanders are motivated by the mortal fear instilled in the bureaucracy by the tremendous resistance of the liberation fighters to the U.S. invasion of Cambodia and the fracturing impact these developments must now have on the Kremlin's whole strategy of peaceful coexistence in Indo-China.

In an article appearing last week in the Soviet foreign weekly, *New Times*, Peking is openly held responsible for the right wing CIA coup that ousted Prince Sihanouk and brought to power the Lon Nol regime. "The meddling by the Chinese in Cambodian affairs," the article states, "is one of the factors that pushed the rightist forces of Cambodia to a governmental overthrow and closer relations with the American imperialists."

#### WARNING

In the same article the Moscow bureaucrats, feeling the sharp threat posed by Peking's rapid support to and growing influence in the United Front of Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian liberation forces, issued the following sharp warning:

"The Peking leaders, pressing their adventurous tactics on some segments of the Communist and national liberation movements of South East Asia are trying to use them for asserting Chinese domination of Asian countries and to condemn them to defeat and destruction."

The charges of national territorial ambition sharply expressed in the title of the *New Times* article itself, "Asia and the Peking Khans," is nothing but a smokescreen beneath which the message is clear and counterrevolutionary to the core.

What the Kremlin is saying with its

## LOCAL 2175 REDBAITS OPPOSITION SLATE

BY 2175 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS—Steelworkers' Local 2175 President Ben Stephani and the bulk of his machine had little trouble getting re-elected on June 4th. The key reason for this was the refusal of the opposition slate headed by Jim Siler to fight the election with a program any different from Stephani's.

They fought the election on Stephani's terms. This left them wide open to red-baiting with no way to fight back by showing that Stephani was doing this to avoid facing the real issues. The opposition collapsed in the face of this witchhunt.

Part of Siler's slate had worked with

charges of ultra-leftism is quite simply that the millions of Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian workers and peasants struggling against the offensive of U.S. imperialism would do better to retreat before Nixon's attack.

What Moscow would have us believe is that if Peking had only not supplied what aid it has to the NLF and the liberation fighters throughout Indo-China, if it had in particular not supported the resistance of the Cambodian based units of the NLF, there would have been no right wing coup.

#### WAY

Now that the coup has indeed taken place and American and Saigon troops are butchering Cambodians and Vietnamese by the thousands with the blessing of the Lon Nol regime, the Kremlin bureaucrats not only advise support but through maintenance of formal diplomatic ties actually do support the Lon Nol regime as the best way of encouraging the imperialists to relent, and not escalate the struggle further.

The attack on Peking and the charge of adventurism is based on the simple fact that China will not follow suit in giving support to these CIA backed butchers. This of course would be the surest guarantee of "destruction and defeat."

#### RECOGNITION

This is why the governments of China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Albania, the Vietcong as well as Cuba, the Congo, Yugoslavia, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Libya, the Sudan, Syria and Algeria have all broken with the USSR on the

Workers League in trying to defeat the contract sellout of April 26 at Thermo-King. But from then on there had been a retreat from serious opposition to Stephani. The opposition group was coopted by a section of the bureaucracy who had some personal differences with Stephani and wanted to use this group to get re-elected. Their whole perspective was one of "no politics."

The whole business became reduced to the argument that the essential thing was to win the election and to ignore what the union had been through and where it was going after that.

#### SETTLEMENT

What was necessary was to tell the ranks of 2175 the truth about the contract settlement and its meaning for their living standards and offer a program to continue the fight against Westinghouse, Nixon and their agents in the Steelworkers bureaucracy in Duluth and Pittsburgh.

None of this was done and when Stephani began his last ditch redbaiting campaign the opposition gave in to it and joined his redbaiting. Stephani demanded that the opposition confront the real issues, the origin of the group and the meaning of the contract. This the opposition refused to do.

Many workers, looking to the opposition for serious leadership and seeing none, either voted for Stephani or didn't vote at all. What is now necessary is to continue the fight for a new leadership in the union movement around a program to fight Nixon and his war, the GE-Westinghouse wage pattern, and the employers and their agents in the union bureaucracy.



Left: Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia with Mao. Above: USSR still has diplomatic relations with US puppet Lon Nol

issue of recognition of the Lon Nol regime and are backing the government in exile of Sihanouk.

This likewise lies behind the threat of the intervention of Chinese volunteers made in an exclusive *New York Times* interview with Chau Seng a representative of the newly formed United Front. Seng reportedly said:

"The direct intervention of our Chinese friends as volunteers in Cambodia is not excluded as the United States and its valets cross a certain threshold in their aggression by putting our resistance movement in grave difficulties. China cannot accept its defeat."

The Stalinist Chinese leadership is forced empirically as in 1948 to recognize the predatory intentions of U.S. imperialism. It cannot ignore the fact that the U.S. is absolutely hellbent upon the subjugation of all of Asia in the coming period even if this requires the opening of a new world war.

#### MAO

Mao himself in a statement on May 18 correctly drew attention to this threat:

"The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."

Mao is correct in underlining the fact that world war can be averted only through world revolution.

It is, in fact, the Kremlin's drive to

undermine the resistance of the Indo-Chinese liberation fighters, its drive to break the back of the Indo-Chinese revolution in favor of its peaceful coexistence fraud that paves the way for U.S. imperialism to launch a third world war.

The Kremlin's role today in Indo-China more and more openly takes on the brutal counterrevolutionary character that led to the triumph of fascism in Germany and Spain in the 1930s and paved the way for the Second World War.

The lesson to be learned from the defeats of the 1930s is that there can be no peaceful coexistence with capitalism once it enters serious crisis. The alternative is socialism or fascism, and those who refuse to struggle for socialism, namely the Stalinists, are directly responsible for the defeat of the working class.

#### RAPPROCHMENT

As in the period of the notorious popular front; however, today the rapprochement between the Soviet bureaucracy and U.S. imperialism is growing by the day.

The brief show of disgruntlement by Breshnev over the Cambodian invasion has now all but melted away as he sent his "heartfelt gratitude" last week via astronaut Neil Armstrong for a piece of moonrock.

The Kremlin's counter-revolutionary role on the Indo-Chinese mainland is of course mimicked by the Communist Party's role in the U.S. peace movement.

Now the question of independent working class action against the war is being posed. This development poses the road forward against U.S. imperialism in Indo-China through the sharpening of the class struggle at home. But what is the role of the CP in this development?

Its role is to begin a vicious denunciation of Trotskyism and to attack all those who seek to prevent the working class from being sidetracked in popular front politics with the Democrats and liberals as ultra-lefts.

The CP's attack on Trotskyism in the United States and the Kremlin's recent attack on Peking are cut of the same cloth. The aim in each case is the smashing of the forces of world revolution and the maintenance of peaceful coexistence at any costs.

#### COST

The cost, however, is not just the invasion of China by U.S. imperialism but the destruction of all the historic gains of the world working class in the Soviet Union itself.

There can be no talk of solidarity with the workers and peasants of Indo-China in their struggle against U.S. imperialism without the most ruthless exposure of the role of imperialism's agents in the Kremlin and in the Communist Parties.

At a recent forum held in New York City by the CP's new youth organization, the Young Workers Liberation League, Mike Zagarell speaking on Trotskyism expressed encouragement at the growing rapprochement between China and the USSR. What we want to know is where does the Young Workers Liberation League, the CP, and the *Daily World* now stand in light of the Kremlin's latest slanderous attack on China?

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absolutely nothing to do with the perspective of permanent peace with imperialism, of "learning to live together" with the bosses. In order to assure the survival of the Soviet regime the Bolsheviks had to sign the Brest-Litovsk agreement. Lenin openly proclaimed that this treaty was a peace imposed upon the revolutionary government. He called the League of Nations a thieves' kitchen. The Bolsheviks proceeded to secure peace for the Soviet government so that the Communist International could proceed with the task of overthrowing imperialism on a world scale.

The Stalinists' sickening attempts to turn Lenin into a pacifist are on a par with their slanderous assertions that he agreed with the theory of socialism in one country. Lenin rejected both socialism in one country and peaceful coexistence, which are two aspects of Stalinist policy.

Thus right in the pages of the Daily World today the Stalinists are saying exactly the same things they denounced Browder for.

#### ELECTIONS

Daniel Rubin, in the final article of the Political Affairs history of the Communist Party, also exposes the complete worthlessness of the Stalinist protestations of orthodoxy. He reports that the 1953 resolution of the CP National Committee:

"Reviewed the 1952 electoral victory for reaction and concluded that the Party's policy in opposing Eisenhower and Stevenson, making the peace issue the central question and supporting the Progressive Party ticket, was correct. Within that framework, the main weaknesses were expressed as:

"1. A rigid third-party line which failed to sufficiently uphold a policy of united front and of coalition approaches on issues and in congressional and senatorial races...

"2. The failures within the framework of a correct policy of basic attack on both parties and tickets to sufficiently direct the sharpest fire against the Republicans..."(2)

Thus the Stalinists concluded less than eight years after the removal of Browder that their very hesitant left turn had really been a mistake after all. Their policy of backing a third "peace" capitalist party was now seen as "too rigid," and a turn back to the Democratic Party and the search for an alliance with the dominant section of the ruling class was required. This is their policy to this day. When they are forced to withhold support from the Democrats, as in the case of Humphrey in 1968, it is only to underscore their perspective towards the liberal wing of the Democrats and their yearning for a return to the Roosevelt days.

The CP's experiments with such middle class groups as the Peace and Freedom Party, and the setting up of the Stalinist-led Freedom and Peace Party, as well as the occasional running of independent CP candidates, all fit into this overall perspective. The aim is not a class break with the Democrats but pressure upon the bourgeoisie.

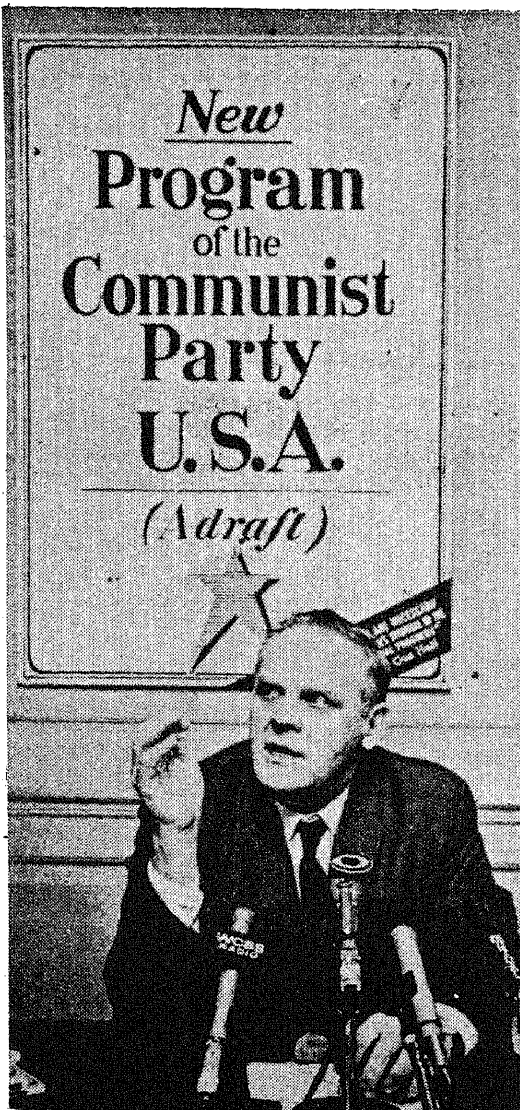
To this day the CP insists, moreover, that it doesn't actually support capitalist candidates. It "explains" the issues, it "points out the main danger," and so forth. And, of course, it maintains its criticisms and does not take responsibility. When Cleveland's Negro Democratic Mayor Stokes called out the National Guard in the Teamster strike, the same Guard which was later used in the killings of the Kent State students, the Stalinists disclaim responsibility. Similarly when Reform Democrat Howard Samuels in the race for Governor of New York explains that he would have led a "people's strike" against the "illegal strike" of the sanitationmen in 1968.

The Stalinists' line on supporting capitalist candidates flows directly out of the popular front. They repeat over and over the confusion between the united front of the working class and the popular front with the bourgeoisie in order to justify their 35 year old reformist policies which are the complete opposite of Marxism.

#### UNIONS

Within the unions, CP policy is to re-establish ties with the liberal section of the bureaucracy. In the pages of the Daily World there is much talk of the struggles of the workers and the union movement. The Stalinists are careful to pay the greatest attention to these developments. As the wage offensive goes ahead they come forward as defenders and advocates of that fight.

But that is far from the reality. The real Stalinist line came through in their response to the settlement of the GE strike. The Daily World applauded the



Gus Hall (left) presents Communist Party Program adopted at 18th Convention (above). The program includes support for capitalist candidates as part of its popular front approach. It is this political content the CP brings into anti-war and black struggles today as in the 1930s.

This is a concrete expression of the Stalinist line of popular front. They will seek to nourish and develop the embryo versions of the popular front with which they have begun.

#### SWP

In this context the role of the revisionists becomes most critical. The Socialist Workers Party, while it reprints the works of Trotsky and calls itself Trotskyist, betrays everything he ever fought for.

On every question confronting the working class today, the SWP is completely bankrupt and prostrate before middle class public opinion. This capitulation to the middle class is expressed in their total infatuation with every middle class protest movement from women's liberation to the so-called ecology movement, in their complete adaptation to petty bourgeois nationalism in the colonial world as well as in the U.S., and in their inability to fight politically against Stalinism.

It is in the antiwar and student movements that the role of the SWP as the objective political accomplice of Stalinism becomes clearest at this time.

While the dispute rages between the CP and the SWP over whether the antiwar movement shall be single issue or multi issue in its program, the fundamental agreement between these tendencies is exposed: the peace movement shall be a multi-class movement. They both begin by throwing out the Leninist conception of imperialist war and the fight against it. They begin as pacifists, divorcing the class struggle from the fight against imperialist war. For the Stalinists this is nothing new, it is the continuation of decades of betrayal. For the SWP it represents a capitulation to the method and policies of Stalinism.

In the peace movement (Cleveland SMC conference below) the SWP and CP find common ground in support for inclusion of liberals. CP (see demonstration at right) finds common ground with Black Panthers in political bloc with liberals against repression.

sellout contract rammed through by the IUE and UE bureaucrats despite the tremendous opposition of tens of thousands of workers. The settlement was rejected overwhelmingly by those workers who were covered by unemployment insurance of the bosses. Only the greatest economic pressure was able to get the workers in those states not covered by unemployment insurance to accept the contract. Yet the Stalinists repeated word for word the press releases of the bureaucrats and called the settlement a victory.

#### REUTHER

The Stalinist line is summed up in their attitude toward the late UAW President Walter Reuther. Reuther headed the UAW for almost 25 years and sought to build up a liberal image for himself, even trying to pattern himself after right wing Social Democrats of the stripe of Harold Wilson or Willy Brandt.

The Stalinists, instead of exposing Reuther's treachery, built him up as a great left. They constantly gave advice to him and welcomed his reformist talk and promises.

A recent example of this approach is contained in the Daily World for April 16, 1970. In a column signed "by a Ford worker," the Stalinist line and the Stalinist plea directed towards Reuther is summed up as follows:

"Our convention should resolve to end the war in Vietnam that is consuming most of the tax monies collected from us. Change the foreign policies so that we can live in peace and concentrate on all the improvements needed in our own country."

Almost nothing is said about the critical contract demands and especially the wage demands, when it is clear to every militant worker that a gigantic test of Nixon's attempt to break the wage offensive is shaping up in the UAW contract fight.

The Stalinists don't care about that. They don't care about Reuther's consistent record of selling out the auto workers. As usual, they care about one matter and one matter alone: peaceful coexistence between the Soviet bureaucracy and American imperialism. They would have liked to enlist Reuther in this cause, that of maintaining peace, i.e., the world status quo.

Nowhere in the unions do the Stalinists fight for the building of an alternative leadership on class struggle policies. They hold back on all the burning questions facing labor because they do not want to see the kind of confrontation which will put the bureaucrats to the ultimate test. Thus they encourage militancy only up to a point and no further.

Within the unions a relentless struggle against the Stalinist line is required. This means an all out fight for the wage offensive, the fight against the bureaucracy throughout the union movement,

the fight for the shorter work week, jobs for all and the outlawing of discrimination, all linked to a political fight, to the breaking of the labor movement from the Democratic Party and the construction of a labor party.

#### REFORMISM

The tremendous upsurge following the invasion of Cambodia and the murders at Kent State, Augusta and Jackson State have put all tendencies to the test and shown further what the policies of Stalinism represent today. The unprecedented mass student upsurge led almost immediately to demands that the struggle be taken from the university campuses and extended into the working class. Thousands of youth began to confront and understand the limitations of middle class protest. In this framework the fight for an independent class policy to defeat Nixon became the most burning question.

The Communist Party came forward at this time through its new youth organization and its influence in certain unions to attempt to divert this struggle into reformist channels. Instead of the independent struggle of the working class, the Stalinists pushed a policy which would not embarrass the "liberal" union officials. At this historic moment of the working class coming into the struggle against the war, the Stalinists sought to use the workers to bolster the liberals. They sought to put flesh onto their conceptions of the popular front.

The Stalinists fought against a working class program and against a leading role for the labor movement. They fought against the call for a Memorial Day Labor March against the war. They fought against the call for a labor party. They covered up for the efforts of the union bureaucrats, they sought to mobilize the workers only as far as was acceptable to the bureaucracy.





# PARTY U-S-A



The SWP accepts the popular front in its insistence that the "American people"—not the international working class—can defeat imperialism in Vietnam. Try as they do to twist this perspective into something else, it is the essence of popular front politics.

### IDENTICAL

Both the CP and the SWP have attacked in almost identical language the ultra left groups which disrupted the April 15 antiwar rally in New York at which several liberal speakers were scheduled. They denounce confrontation tactics as playing into the hands of the enemy. But what is their alternative? By fighting against a class alternative they are feeding anarchist and terrorist tendencies which express the tremendous frustration of sections of youth who see no way forward in the fight against war and repression.

This is summed up in the title of a recent debate between SWP leader Peter Camejo and a leading Michigan "peace" Democrat: "Which Way for the Antiwar Movement—Into the Democratic Party or Into the Streets?"

This is the fig leaf of orthodoxy for the revisionists—their opposition to capitalist politics. It really amounts to cap-

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All these groups, from the doves all the way to the anarchists, stand together for middle class protest. The SWP claims to fight against class collaboration by fighting for a policy of keeping politics out of the antiwar movement. Over and over again they stress this point. At the Cleveland Conference of the Student Mobilization Committee in February 1970, a YSA speaker said it quite clearly: "When you come into this conference, you should leave your politics outside."

But that is also politics! The political vacuum which the YSA and SWP claim to favor is immediately filled by the dominant philosophy and political line—liberalism. Here too this fraud of "no politics" can be shown to flow directly out of the popular front. How many times have we heard that in the fight for democracy, in the fight against fascism, politics had no place, that it would divide the democratic forces? What is the lesson of history, of Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism, which the SWP is now clearly deserting.

Thus, in spite of all the disputes, the CP and SWP present an identical popular front perspective. The Stalinists seek to use the labor movement in order to bolster the liberals directly. The SWP shows little interest in the working class even as it moves more and more into big struggles. The end result is the same, the strengthening of liberalism, of bourgeois ideology, within both the student and labor movement.

### LUMER

The attacks by the Stalinists upon the SWP are revealing in spite of the SWP's desertion of Trotskyism. It is significant that Hyman Lumer in his article "The Fight Against Trotskyism," which has now been published as a separate pamphlet, concentrates almost entirely upon the SWP and of course accepts their claim to represent Trotskyism.

The attacks by Lumer fall into two general areas. First he attacks Trotskyism, its history of struggle and its political positions, some of which the SWP still adheres to in an orthodox fashion. Lumer quotes, for instance from an SWP election platform of 1956 which attacks the Stalinist policy of peaceful coexistence.

Lumer also attacks the SWP for positions which it no longer holds. Thus he quotes a resolution adopted in 1944, which says:

"We call on the Soviet workers to organize the forces for the revolutionary overthrow of the oligarchy in the Kremlin and set up a genuine Soviet democracy as the essential condition for the preservation of the Soviet Union and of Socialist construction."(3)

This is no longer the position of the SWP. They no longer agree with Trotsky's conception that the bureaucracy threatens the basic social conquests of the October Revolution. They do not see the battle to overthrow the bureaucracy as essential for the fight against capitalist restoration, but rather as a "cleansing" of the bureaucratic deformations of Soviet and East European society.

This is expressed in a 1954 resolution of the revisionist tendency internationally with which the SWP is now in political agreement:

"...Since in the USSR itself the relationship of forces tends to become modified in favor of the working class paralleled with an analogous modification on a world scale, the coming decisive battle will not be waged between the restorationist forces launching an offensive to restore private property, and the forces defending the conquests of October. It will be, on the contrary, waged between the forces defending the privileges and administration of the bureaucracy against the assault of the revolutionary forces of the working class embarking on the struggle for the restoration of Soviet democracy upon a higher level."(4)

From this conception it was logical for the SWP to move away from the conception of a political revolution and closer to the conception of reform of the bureaucracy put forward by such people as Isaac Deutscher. This was expressed by the SWP leader Joseph Hansen as long ago as 1958 when he wrote the following in trying to make the political revolution more palatable to the followers of Deutscher and similar frightened middle class skeptics:

"It is much closer to reality to view the program of political revolution as the total series of reforms, gained through militant struggles, culminating in the transfer of power to the workers. No revolution comes in a single oversize dose like a horse pill..."(5)

As long ago as 1958 the SWP obliterated the distinction between reform and revolution, espousing Kautsky's conception, trying somehow to compromise reform and revolution, ignoring the qualitative leap, the destruction of the old state apparatus so vividly demonstrated in the October Revolution itself.

### DUBCEK

The logic of this position was the uncritical support extended by the SWP and its allies internationally to the Dubcek leadership in Czechoslovakia. The so called liberal wing of the bureaucracy is seen not as an expression of the crisis but as its solution, as in some way really leading the fight against the bureaucracy. Instead of opposing the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia from the perspective of the construction of an independent revolutionary party, a section of the Fourth International, in Czechoslovakia and throughout Eastern Europe, the SWP saw Dubcek as leading this struggle.

Lumer also castigates the SWP for refusing to support liberal capitalist politicians:

"The Trotskyites rigidly adhere to a policy of supporting no candidates whatever who run on Democratic or Republican Party tickets but only those candidates who run on 'independent'—that is anti-capitalists—tickets... In keeping with this they have refused to give any support to peace candidates and in 1968 they flatly rejected the idea of an independent presidential peace ticket."(6)

Here the Stalinist attack the SWP for a remnant of class struggle policies. But the SWP is in no position to reply to the attack. It upholds a popular front in the peace movement but refuses to extend it to the sphere of electoral politics. At the same time it calls for independent black and Chicano political parties, not working class parties, but nationalist parties. It is therefore completely incapable of exposing the class collaboration policies of the Stalinists, and the attacks of Lumer on this score serves both to attack Trotskyism as well as to prod the SWP and insist that it give up the fig leaf of class struggle to which it clings.

As far as the Stalinists are concerned the enemy is Trotskyism. To the extent that the SWP is still associated even in the most distorted way with tradition of the struggle against Stalinism, the venom of the Stalinists is directed towards it.



SWP actually supported Dubcek (above) rather than struggle of workers against all sections of the bureaucracy and for a political revolution.

At the same time the Stalinists seize upon the current SWP line to discredit Trotskyism. The SWP facilitates demagogic attacks by the CP from the left, it allows the Stalinists to smear and slander Trotskyism.

An example of this is Lumer's attack on the SWP's position on black nationalism:

"George Breitman speaks of 'the capacity of the Negro people to lead the working class revolution to replace capitalism with socialism' and he proceeds to advise them on 'How a Minority Can Change Society' in a currently circulating pamphlet of that name. Virtually nothing is said about unity of black and white as the basis of the struggle for progress..."(7)

At a recent public meeting on "The Inside Job: Trotskyism in the Movement," Stalinist youth leader Mike Zagarell utilized every break by the SWP from class struggle policies to discredit Trotskyism and to obscure his own party's betrayals. Zagarell began by posing the fight against Trotskyism today as the fight against the single issue peace movement, against the exclusive student orientation of the SWP and YSA, against the complete adaptation to black nationalism by the SWP.

The Stalinists denounce the SWP for refusing to bring issues other than the war itself into the anti-war movement. They concentrate on the question of racism, insisting that this question be linked to the fight against the war. All of this is posed in general class terms, as part of the class struggle, but precisely in order to submerge the class struggle in the popular front.

### ALTERNATIVE

The SWP cannot answer these attacks. The only alternative to Stalinist reformism is an independent working class alternative and the theoretical struggle against Stalinism and its record of betrayals. The SWP allows the Stalinists to get off the hook, to pose as a working class tendency in opposition to the middle class-oriented revisionists.

The result of the SWP's capitulation to revisionism is therefore capitulation to Stalinism, the inability to fight Stalinism and in fact enabling the Stalinists to confuse and mislead serious militants.

This is the concrete expression of the liquidationist method and political line of the revisionists today. While they claim to represent Trotskyism they actually discredit and fight Trotskyism.

Why is the SWP silent on Stalinism today? When it criticizes the Stalinists, it limits itself to questions of tactics and defends itself against the attacks of the Stalinists in the narrowest possible way.

Why has the SWP said next to nothing about the centennial of Lenin's birth? Why has it not launched a campaign on the Moscow Trials and all of the crimes of Stalinism which must be etched into the consciousness of every revolutionary? Why has it not answered the new international campaign against Trotskyism with its own campaign?

This question is bound up with the popular front. All of the crimes of Stalinism flowed from the conscious policy of class collaboration. But the SWP has gone





# 18<sup>th</sup> CONVENTION COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A



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Lumer also attacks the SWP for positions which it no longer holds. Thus he quotes a resolution adopted in 1944, which says:





over to these policies. Its differences with the Stalinists therefore are posed not historically, not theoretically, but episodically and tactically. To the extent it still defends the history of Trotskyism, it separates this history from the struggles today.

#### BANNERS

When the British and French Trotskyists carried banners commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution at the Liege demonstration against the Vietnam War in October 1966, the Pabloites tried to have these banners removed in the interests of their bloc with the Stalinist youth organization. This rapprochement with Stalinism has been their policy ever since. Neither on the anti-war demonstrations nor in their newspaper are the revisionists capable of fighting Stalinism.

To the revisionists Stalinism has become "irrelevant." And this is pre-

cisely what the Stalinists themselves would like us to believe. "Forget the past! Let us go forward today, not bothering with all these past problems." They want to carry forward the policies of Stalinism without having to take any responsibility for the historical lessons and crimes of Stalinism. And the SWP has become their accomplices, even as it continues to masquerade as Trotskyist.

This then is the real relationship between Stalinism, revisionism and Trotskyism today. In order to destroy Stalinism politically it is necessary to defeat revisionism.

Stalinism originated as a revisionist tendency within the Soviet party and internationally. It reflected the interests of the dominant bureaucratic caste which had usurped political power from the masses of workers and peasants. This bureaucracy defended its newly won privileges against the working class and it used orthodoxy as the screen for its

betrayals.

On the philosophical front this could only be accomplished by the complete negation of Marxism and the embracing of bourgeois philosophy. This is the significance of the theory of socialism in one country. Nationalism and pragmatism became the new tools of the Stalinists.

While devotion to the Soviet bureaucracy and its foreign policy line was used by the Stalinists to pose as internationalists, their policies were anti-internationalist to the core. The development of Stalinism necessarily led to adaptation by each Stalinist party to its own national bourgeoisie. On the one hand the rule of the bureaucracy meant the continuous undermining of the conquests of the revolution in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, as part of the same process, it had to mean centrifugal tendencies within the international Stalinist movement itself, as each CP proceeded more and more from its own national considerations.

#### BROWDERISM

This was the meaning of Browderism. After Stalin's death this process was accelerated, and this is the significance of the differences on certain questions by the British, French, Italian and other Communist Parties in relation to the Kremlin. In every case the leaders of these parties do not begin from the standpoint of an internationalist criticism of the Kremlin. Quite the opposite. Even when their criticisms expose the Kremlin, as in the invasion of Czechoslovakia, it is meant to reassure their own bourgeoisie and as part of a turn to sections of the middle class and labor bureaucracy.

We have discussed how Foster and Cannon represented the healthiest working class tendency within the early Communist Party in the U.S., and how they parted ways and went on to become the leaders of American Stalinism and Trotskyism respectively. In the early years of the Communist International the leadership, and Lenin and Trotsky in particular, struggled for the theoretical development of the American Communists, and against American pragmatism and nationalism which all the Americans brought with them into the new movement.

With the rise of the bureaucracy and Stalin to power, these theoretical considerations were pushed aside, while Stalin maneuvered unprincipledly between the factions in the American party.

#### PRAGMATISM

The struggle against pragmatism was completely dropped with the going over of the Stalinist leadership of the Comintern to this same essential method. Stalin

leaned upon the theoretical backwardness of Americans such as Foster. It was Trotsky who now continued Lenin's struggle for theory and the revolutionary party. It was Trotsky who, as we have shown, took up this fight with his American supporters.

#### PHILOSOPHY

In connection with an intervention within the Stalinist ranks, on the trade union work of the American Trotskyists, on the question of the theoretical education of the party itself, on all fronts Trotsky insistently raised the question of Marxist theory and philosophy.

After Trotsky's death this fight was not taken up by the Socialist Workers Party and with the long postwar boom the bitter harvest of American pragmatism has once again been reaped in the United States. Cannon and the rest of the SWP leadership has been pushed back into the same nationalist conceptions which they fought in 1928 and afterwards.

This is the meaning of the SWP line in the anti-war movement, its complete inability to fight Stalinism or for the Transitional Program within the working class and among the youth today. The Stalinists and revisionists begin with the same philosophical method and wind up with fundamental political agreement on most questions confronting the working class today.

The working class is on the offensive internationally, and it is this offensive which is giving renewed vitality to the Trotskyist movement. The tremendous strides forward which have been made by the sections and supporters of the International Committee of the Fourth International in the past period have only been possible on the basis of the fight against Stalinism and revisionism.

#### MARXISTS

The British Socialist Labour League and the Workers Press, the first Trotskyist daily newspaper, are milestones in this fight. A cadre of youth and adult trade unionists is being trained as Marxists and this will be the key to the coming socialist revolution. In France the Trotskyist movement has made great gains among young workers and students, as was so vividly shown by the historic mass meeting last February 1st of over 10,000 youth at Paris Airport under Trotskyist leadership. In the U.S., the Trotskyist movement has re-established the weekly press through the publication of the Bulletin on a weekly basis since November of 1969. All over the world the forces of the Fourth International have made significant gains because they have based themselves on the revolutionary nature of the epoch and the tasks posed before the working class now.

These tasks include the fight against Stalinism and revisionism. Lenin explained the necessity of carrying forward the class struggle on three fronts: the economic, the political and the theoretical. These three fronts of the class struggle must be taken forward together.

It is the new upsurge of the working class together with the struggles of the revolutionary vanguard which have called forth from the Kremlin a new anti-Trotskyist campaign on an international scale. The latest expression of this has been the speech of Brezhnev to the Soviet Central Committee on the occasion of the Lenin Centenary. In this speech Brezhnev felt obliged to openly take up the menace of Trotskyism.

The lesson is clear. Imperialism and Stalinism know the enemy they face in the advanced working class preparing for battle. It is our job to deepen the struggle, to provide the working class with the necessary theoretical, political and organizational weapons for victory.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Gannett, Betty, The Essence of Browder Revisionism, in Political Affairs, Sept.-October, 1969, 50 Years of the Communist Party USA, 1919-1969, pp. 111-112
2. Rubin, Daniel, Communist in the McCarthy Era, in Political Affairs, op. cit., p. 140
3. Lumer, Hyman, The Fight Against Trotskyism, in Political Affairs, op. cit., p. 48
4. Quoted in Bulletin, July 22, 1968
5. Hansen, Joseph, Proposed Roads to Soviet Democracy, in International Socialist Review, Spring 1958
6. Lumer, op. cit., p. 50
7. Ibid., pp. 51-52



Above: French Trotskyists carry banner celebrating 10th Anniversary of Hungarian Revolution which Pabloites opposed at Liege demonstration. Below: Principled struggle for Trotskyism led to 10,000 strong Bourget rally in February 1970 of French youth.





# Behind the French CP's Expulsion of Garaudy

BY MELODY FARROW

Roger Garaudy, one of the leading theoreticians of the French Communist Party, was expelled by his party cell on April 20, opening up a new crisis in the French Communist Party and revealing the plans of the Czech Communist Party to open up a series of trials against Dubcek and others.

The expulsion, since ratified by the Central Committee, was by demand of the Political Bureau itself. The vote in his cell on his expulsion is significant: eight voted in favor, five were against and one abstained. The close vote, reveals precisely what the French Stalinists are afraid of—the widespread desire among the party's rank and file to open up a discussion on all the questions which Garaudy raised.

The official reason for his expulsion is his view that the working class no longer can play a revolutionary role in society, that the scientific and technical revolution has changed the "relationship of social forces." In this respect Garaudy is to the right of the CP leadership. However, he is only carrying to its logical theoretical conclusion the present practice of the Stalinists who proclaim the possibility of peaceful coexistence and subordinate the working class



Husak (above) and Dubcek (below)

to the liberal bourgeoisie. Garaudy accused the leadership of "believing silently what I am saying out loud."

## REAL REASON

But this is not the real reason for his expulsion. At the 19th Congress of the French CP, where the groundwork for his expulsion was laid, Garaudy not only gave his views on the working class but attacked the party leadership for favoring a return to Stalin, for not speaking out against the increasing repression in Czechoslovakia and for remaining silent on the sending of Polish coal to Spain during the Asturian miners strike. For this he was booed at the Congress.

In a letter to the secretary of his cell, following his expulsion, Garaudy wrote: "...one of the problems that I pose is for them (the leading group in the Party led by George Marchais) an unforgivable crime. I obstinately asked that we say clearly to the French people that the socialism that we want to install in France is not the same sort of socialism which Breshnev today imposes by military means in Czechoslovakia. This group cannot say that. It brought to Bilak in Prague (one of those who with Alois Indra was

the most active collaborator in carrying out the orders of the Soviet occupiers) contents of a dossier which has enabled them to denounce Dubcek. Bilak has publicly thanked (in Rude Pravo) the 'French leaders' for their invaluable collaboration in his policy of normalization."

## RETURN

This attack on the leadership in no way means that Garaudy can pose an alternative to Stalinism. In other remarks he made it clear that he too is against "counter-revolution" but, and in this he finds common ground with Dubcek, the way to fight it is with reforms which can head off the revolutionary upsurge of the masses in Eastern Europe.

Garaudy must go because the Stalinists internationally are junking the period of liberalization, because they are preparing a return to the worse forms of Stalinist repression. Garaudy attempts to fight the "leading group" of the party headed by George Marchais by appealing to the Thorez section. But it was Thorez who completely supported the Moscow Trials and defended Moscow's policies to the hilt.

Garaudy's expulsion, rather than burying these issues has unleashed an uproar in the party over the real role of the French Communist Party in the Czechoslovakian invasion which they officially opposed. The document mentioned by Garaudy is a report of the meeting which Waldek-Rochet had with Dubcek in July of 1968. At this meeting Waldek-Rochet urged Dubcek to carry out the wishes of the Soviet leaders to use violence to suppress the struggles of the Czech workers and youth in order to avoid the invasion. It is this document in which Dubcek refused to carry out this policy and declared that he would fight the right wing in the party that was handed over to the present Czech regime to use as a weapon in a frameup trial of Dubcek.

## DOCUMENT

At first the French CP leadership tried to deny that it had handed over this document. However, on May 13, 1970 the French paper, Le Monde published the transcript of a radio speech from Prague by Alois Indra made on Jan. 14th in which he said:

"The latest surprise we have had was brought by the French comrades which came to our country on Nov. 26, 1969 led by Comrade Fajon, member of the Political Bureau. To our great surprise these comrades gave us the stenographic notes they had on the meetings between Waldek-Rochet and Alexander Dubcek on July 19, 1968. When we heard of this it was for us a shock, comrades, a new shock. A shock in the course for our search for a reply to the question 'Who was Alexander Dubcek? An incompetent man or something else.'"

The French CP was then forced to publish the documents in their paper, L'Humanite, but claimed that nothing in them could be used against Dubcek. However, they did not publish an introduction to these notes which was included in their publication in an Internal Bulletin of the Czech Communist Party. This introduction reveals the real intentions of the Czech leadership. The introduction reads in part:

"Up to now many members of the Party have felt subconsciously that the ex-first secretary, Comrade Dubcek, was, at bottom, a good comrade, lacking in energy, and of limited ability, but who wanted to see the victory of the Party of socialism and friendship with the Soviet Union.

"However, his discussion with Comrade Waldek-Rochet shows that this is one of the many myths skillfully manufactured by the Prague manipulators. What sort of man was he, and is he, in fact?"

## EMPTY

These sinister remarks expose the empty reassurances of the French CP and make clear that a vicious trial of Dubcek is planned. The French leadership is unable to deny any of these remarks, including Indra's speech.



Above: 19th congress of French Communist Party. Marchais is in center. Below right: Maurice Thorez

If anyone still has any doubts about the intentions of the Husak regime, they were dispelled by a recent speech over Radio Prague by Josef Sobotecky in which he confirms that the documents will be used against Dubcek. This was followed by an attack on Garaudy in the May 20 issue of a Czech journal which says: "The substance of Garaudy's present efforts is the same as that of Trotsky in his time and other enemies of true progress and scientific socialism."

The expulsion of Garaudy and the coming trials in Czechoslovakia flow from the deepening crisis of Stalinism. The Husak bureaucracy has been unable to "normalize" the country since the invasion. The rebellious mood among the youth and the working class is clearly expressed in the tearing up of thousands of party membership cards. It is the fear of the bureaucracy that the working class in Eastern Europe will rediscover its links with the October Revolution in Trotskyism, which forces them to return to Stalin's brutal methods and purges. They are now going on the offensive against Trotskyism.

The opposition of the French Communist Party to the invasion of Czechoslovakia was a response not only to the pressure of their own bourgeoisie which they collaborate with, but also to the pressure of the rank and file militants. It is now clear that not only did they really approve of the invasion but are completely prepared to accept its consequences.

## SOVIET BIOLOGIST ARRESTED FOR CRITICISM OF LYSENKO

BY MARTY JONAS

The eminent Soviet biologist and academician, Zhores Medvedev, was arrested last week in Obninsk, near Moscow, and is being detained for psychiatric examination. This is a prelude to being declared "mentally incompetent" and being sent to a mental institution, a fate reserved for political dissidents in the Soviet Union.

Medvedev is one of the world's leading geneticists and one of the Soviet Union's greatest scientists. His crime was to have published a book last year in the United States, *The Rise and Fall of T.D. Lysenko*, which criticized the degeneration of the Soviet biological sciences under Stalin and Khrushchev. Lysenko's pseudoscientific genetics dominated for decades under the patronage of the Stalinist bureaucracy and served it well.

Medvedev has also come out publicly against Soviet censorship and restrictions on communications with non-Soviet scientists.

His book on Lysenko must be seen not as just a scientific work but as a political act. He set out not only to right scientific wrongs, but political wrongs as well. Medvedev's father perished in Stalin's purges.

## STALIN

The bureaucracy has responded with the same repression that has come down on Grigorenko, Daniel, Sinyavsky, and other political dissidents. At a time when Stalin is being rehabilitated by the bureaucracy, no criticism of Stalin will be tolerated—whether it be of his "science" or of his purges.

As with the persecutions of Grigorenko, Sinyavsky and Daniel, the arrest of Medvedev has created a storm among Soviet intellectuals. A letter is being circulated in Moscow protesting the arrest, signed by three Soviet nuclear physicists and an eminent poet. All three physicists are members of the Academy of Sciences, one is a Nobel Prize winner. One of



The members of the French CP must not let this question be dropped but must demand a full discussion on the issues. The defense of Dubcek and of all those who face trials in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere must be taken up with a new urgency. The working class of all countries must see that these frameups do not occur, raising the necessity of a political revolution in the Stalinist countries that will put an end to the bureaucracy for good.

the physicists, Sakharov, has been prominent in the protest against the repression of Grigorenko. The poet who signed, A.S. Yessenivolipn, was detained for psychiatric examination in 1968 after protesting the trials of Soviet writers.

Other noted scientists and historians have joined the protest against the bureaucracy's latest repression. This represents the growing dissatisfaction among intellectuals and workers against the return to the Stalin era and its purges.

The bureaucracy is determined to defend its Stalinist heritage—its purges, its class collaboration, its "science"—through the most barbarous of Stalinist methods.

## JOIN THE WORKERS LEAGUE!

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Wilson (left) with Victor Feather after T&GWU pledged its support to Labour Party

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

On June 18 the British working class will go to the polls for the General Election of Parliament. The outcome of this election will affect not only the British working class but the international working class in its struggle to defeat the plans of the capitalist class to drive back its living standards.

British workers face the threat of defeat of the Labour Party and a right wing victory by the Tories who are openly pledged to immediate and vicious measures against the unions to stop the wage offensive of the workers and throw them back to conditions of the 1930s.

Technically the election does not have to be called until October but the deepening economic crisis facing world capitalism has forced an early election. The British ruling class hopes to establish a political equilibrium in England shaken by the offensive of the working class and the political uncertainty of the pre-election period.

#### CRISIS

Underlying the political and economic situation in Britain is the worldwide crisis of capitalism whose source lies in America itself. The failing stock market, the deepening recessionary trend in the U.S. combined with soaring inflation has sent tremors throughout the world economy threatening a collapse on the order of 1929. This has found a sharp expression inside England deepened by the combativity of the working class

and the inability of the employers and the government to stop the offensive of the working class.

Since his election in 1964 Wilson and the Labour government have acted in the interests of the bankers and the employers. Under the Prices and Incomes Act wages were frozen. Unemployment has increased and schemes for increasing productivity and rationalization have been instituted. Social services have been cut drastically. While Wilson's victory in 1964 represented a victory against Toryism, Wilson proceeded to carry out policies in the interests of the Tories and paved the way for their return.

#### FAILED

However, despite Wilson's attempts with the aid of the lefts of the Labour Party, the trade union bureaucracy and the Communist Party to contain the working class, his policies have failed. The workers

# Tories Launch 'Law and

have continued their fight on wages and have essentially broken the incomes policy. In 1969 Wilson and the Labour Government proposed new anti-strike legislation but under tremendous resistance from the ranks of the labor movement Wilson was forced to back down and agree to the Trade Union Congress' (like the U.S. AFL-CIO) proposal that it discipline the workers.

Faced now with what they consider an intolerable situation—declining profits and a fighting labor movement—the employers are looking to the return of the Tories and a strong government to discipline the workers, stop wage increases and impose more unemployment. The employers fear that Wilson's relationship with the trade union bureaucracy can no longer contain the ranks of the unions.

The Tory program is based on taking back all the gains the working class has won in the past. They plan to cut unemployment benefits, welfare, health benefits and funds for education. Like Nixon and Agnew the Tories have been whipping up a "law and order" and "red scare" hysteria. In May speakers at a Scottish Tory Party Conference advocated "caning, hanging, and electrocution" for criminals among other Nazi-type measures.

#### "LAW AND ORDER"

At the center of the Tory "law and order" campaign is the trade union movement. Edward Heath, the Tory leader, has outlined his proposals for new anti-union legislation which would allow the courts to impose 60-90 day cooling off periods in strikes and legally binding contracts. If workers broke the rules the employers would be able to seek redress from the courts and fines could be imposed on unions and workers punished.

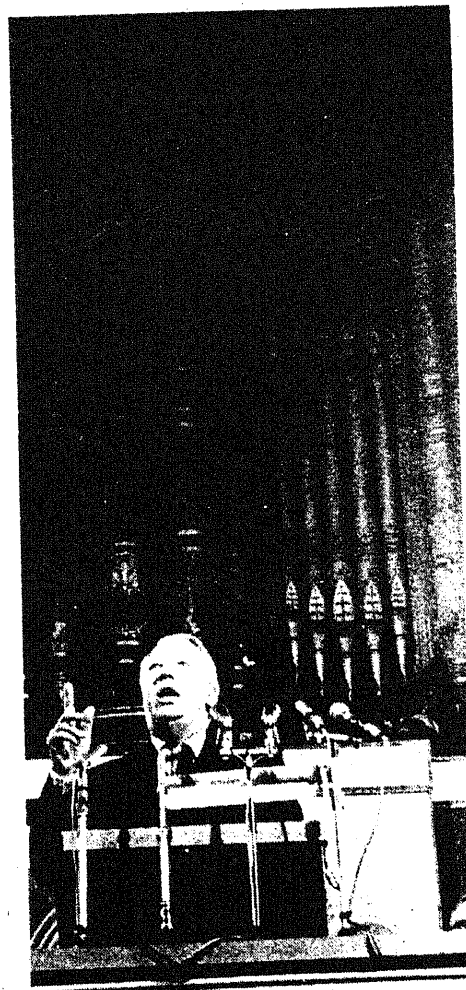
Heath is also demanding the use of the secret ballot if a strike follows the expiration of a contract. Key in the Tories' plans is the use of racism to divide the working class through its attacks on immigrants prohibiting an immigrant from the British Commonwealth to become a citizen after five years residence and repatriation. The Tories have also revealed their plans for denationalization of nationalized industry in England and its return to private hands.

To push their "law and order" campaign the Tories have attempted to create an atmosphere of "red scare" reminiscent of the Joe McCarthy period in the U.S. The Tory press has opened up a witchhunt including attacks on a union militant at the Girling plant who was laid off from her job and on striking glass workers at Pilkington. This is combined with an attack on the students.

The purpose of the red scare is to divide the trade union movement and the students and workers encouraging backward workers and the middle class to back the Tories.

#### DANGERS

The dangers posed by the conservatives' preparations to smash the resistance of the working class through Bona-



# A better tomorrow

Edward Heath, head of the Tory Party

# JOSEPH HANSEN AND

affiliated to the so-called United Secretariat of the Fourth International and in the U.S. to the Socialist Workers Party, are calling for abstention in the forthcoming vote.

The call by the IMG for opposition to both the Tory and Labour Parties amounts to the most open rejection by this group of all the lessons and history of the Marxist movement, particularly as summed up by Lenin in *Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, as well as in all the perspectives of the early Congresses of the Communist International.

The call for abstention means that the Pabloite revisionists of the IMG are openly proclaiming their isolation from and contempt for the working class, the only force upon which the revolutionary party and the struggle for socialism can be built.

#### IDEALIST

The job of Marxists is to take the working class through a struggle in which the Labour traitors can be exposed. To the revisionists of the IMG this is completely beside the point. They do not begin from the working class and the class struggle, but from their own idealist impressions of reality.

The predecessors of the IMG, the group led by Pat Jordan and Tariq Ali, rejected the necessity of an attack on the Wilson leadership back in 1964. Then they called the Labour government "left reformist"—not capitalist. They thus aided in build-

ing up reformist illusions instead of fighting them. At the same time they accused the SLL of "Third Period Stalinist policies," because the Trotskyists correctly warned of Wilson's betrayals and insisted that a new leadership had to be built to replace Wilson.

Now the revisionists have themselves adopted a pathetic caricature of the Third Period policies, with their sudden discovery of the betrayals of Wilson, and therefore, the impossibility of voting Labour. They have turned from opportunism to ultraleftism with hardly a word of explanation.

The new line is summed up by Robin Blackburn in the IMG paper, *The Red Mole*, on April 15:

"...after the recent extended experience of Labour government it would be absolutely incorrect for us to offer any kind of support to Harold Wilson or the Party he leads. I will assume that no Marxist can believe in passively abstaining from politics, especially during an election period when the political consciousness of the masses is stimulated. I will therefore conclude that the only principled course for revolutionary socialists during the coming election will be an active campaign to discredit both of Britain's large capitalist parties (i.e. Labour Party and Tory Party).

In this campaign we should certainly pull none of our punches. We should disrupt the campaigns of the bourgeois parties and their leading spokesmen using all the imaginative and direct methods which the last few years have taught us."

This is a bankrupt and reactionary policy which can only aid the bourgeoisie. In 1964 the revisionists refused to charac-

terize the Wilson government as capitalist. Now they call the Labour Party simply another capitalist party. In both cases they are unable to understand the crisis of capitalism and its expression within the working class. They refuse to see the contradiction between the struggles of the working class through their unions and the Labour Party and these same organizations as transmission belts for the power of the bourgeoisie. They refuse to fight the Labour and trade union bureaucracy.

The talk of "imaginative and direct" methods is nothing but the most sickening capitulation to anti-theory and the politics of confrontation, leading right into the hands of the class enemy. These so-called revolutionists advance as a perspective the breaking up of Social Democratic meetings.

The IMG is proceeding from its immediate impressions, in typical idealist and pragmatic fashion. It ends up indistinguishable from disillusioned liberals. In 1964, Wilson was "Dear Harold" to Tariq Ali who addressed the Prime Minister in those familiar terms in a note which was left at 10 Downing Street after an anti-war protest. But it seems that Harold and Co. have bitterly disappointed these lefts who had such high hopes for them. Now they seek to punish Wilson by equating the Labour and Conservative Parties, and "disrupting" the Labour campaign and meetings.

#### HANSEN

The IMG's allies in the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party, went even further than their British friends in 1964, when they characterized the new government as "left centrist." Now the SWP finds itself



Tariq Ali, an editor of IMG's Red Mole

BY FRED MUELLER

The British Trotskyists, organized behind the Socialist Labour League, are calling for a massive Labour vote in the June 18 election. The SLL is fighting for a conscious anti-Tory vote, for socialist policies to answer the crisis and against the anti-working class policies of the Wilson leadership.

The revisionists of the International Marxist Group (IMG),



# 'Order' Campaign Against British Workers

partist measures and through dividing the working class with racism only point out the urgent necessity of constructing a revolutionary leadership of the working class. The growing polarization of the class struggle, the strategy of the capitalist class to bring the working class to its knees whatever the cost raises the central question of this era—the question of socialism or fascism.

It is the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists (British Section of the Fourth International) which are fighting to build the alternative leadership in the working class, preparing the path for the defeat of capitalism. The SLL has waged a consistent battle to expose Wilson's betrayals and to build a Marxist leadership in the trade unions. The SLL and the YS have prepared the way not only for a real fight against the Tories but are laying the basis for the construction of an alternative to the bankrupt policies of Wilson.

Trotsky posed the problem of leadership as central in the Transitional Program: "The economy, the state, the politics of the bourgeoisie and its international relations are completely blighted by a social crisis, characteristic of a pre-revolutionary state of society. The chief obstacle in the path of transforming the pre-revolutionary into a revolutionary state is the opportunist character of proletarian leadership: its petty-bourgeois cowardice before the big bourgeoisie and its perfidious connection with it even in its death."

## RETREAT

Wilson's whole campaign has in fact been a cowardly retreat from the struggle against the Tories. Wilson throughout the election has refused to pose an alternative to the Tories, has refused to fight for socialist policies. In this way Wilson is demoralizing millions of his supporters and creating the danger of a Tory victory.

In his campaign Wilson has evaded a discussion of the crisis and its roots in capitalism itself. The program of the Labour Party is filled with empty reformist phrases such as the need for "a strong, just and compassionate society, where the handling of complex problems may be a source of pride to ourselves..."

In the face of the Tories' threat of vicious laws against the unions, Wilson poses his version of anti-union laws including agreements "enforceable if both sides agree." Sanctions would include injunctions against the parties who broke the agreement and possible action for contempt and damages.

In other words Wilson answers the

Tories' preparation for the destruction of the unions, including threats of "canning" and "hanging" if necessary with the promise to bring the unions in line with a softer cane.

The capitalist class through the Tories wants to make a last attempt to save British capitalism by smashing the resistance of the working class with racism and Bonapartist measures. Wilson's answer of reformism and capitulation only strengthens the growing fascist tendencies inside and outside the Tory Party. This is precisely what Wilson's counterparts did in Germany in the 1920s and early 1930s, which, with the betrayals of the Communist Party, delivered the working class up to Hitler. The real danger of Wilson's leadership can be seen in the by election victory of Paisleyism in Ireland and the growing strength of Powellism within the Tory Party.

The Tories must be defeated in order to weaken the employers, striking a blow against their anti-working class preparations, and in order to have the best conditions for defeating Wilson's anti-union policies. The key question in this struggle is the construction of a socialist leadership and the building of a revolutionary party.

Today the working class see the betrayals of Wilson; but do not see the

socialist alternative and the need to construct a revolutionary party. The workers still feel that under the umbrella of the Labour Party they can defeat the attacks on their jobs and living standards through a trade union fight.

## ALTERNATIVE

The Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists are fighting for a massive vote for Labour on June 18th. But they are combining this with a fight within the working class for the understanding of the need to go beyond militant trade unionism and to take up the political struggle for socialist policies and for Trotskyism. It is through this struggle to pose the program to defeat capitalism and to mobilize the class for this defeat that a revolutionary leadership is being built.

The role of the daily paper, the Workers Press, has been absolutely critical in this struggle in exposing all the lies, distortions and plans of the Tories and in posing the program to defeat these plans.

The SLL has raised the only policy which can meet the crisis facing the working class in this period, including the demands for:

- Nationalization of banks, major industries, and the land under workers

- control without compensation!
- Socialist policies to defend the unions and stop the rise in the cost of living!
- No Return to the 1930s!
- Withdraw all troops from abroad!
- End all support for the US war in Vietnam and Cambodia!
- No to the European Common Market!

For the Socialist United States of Europe!



Right wing audience (below) applauds Enoch Powell (right), whose racist and anti-working class attacks are the real policy of Tories.



# THE REAL ULTRALEFTS IN BRITAIN

in wide political disagreement with its allies, however, and Joseph Hansen addresses himself to this question in the June 1 issue of Intercontinental Press.

"One of the consequences of Wilson's gross betrayal of the mandate given him by the British workers in 1964 was a strengthening of ultraleftism in the British left, especially among radicalizing students... In the April 15 issue of The Red Mole, for instance, Robin Blackburn sought to establish a theoretical underpinning for this political opinion (not supporting Labour) and convert it into a principle. He argued that the Labour Party is a bourgeois party like the Democratic Party in the United States. This brought him, as consistency required, to advocate active opposition to both Labour and the Conservatives in the current elections... From the Leninist point of view, this is a gross political error inasmuch as the revolutionary left in Britain has no alternative to the Labour Party and its candidates to offer the workers at the present time either in the electoral or the extraparliamentary arenas."

Hansen's criticism is feeble and diplomatic. He does not even inform his readers that The Red Mole is the newspaper of the International Marxist Group and therefore the voice of the revisionist allies of the SWP in Britain.

Ultraleftism cannot be fought without revolutionary theory developed as part of the struggle inside the labor movement. Since the SWP ignores this fight for theory it is incapable of fighting the logic of revisionism as expressed within its own movement.

In reality Hansen shares with Blackburn and his friends their view of the non-

revolutionary nature of this epoch. For Hansen this means a continuation of the policies he supported in 1964. Though he may be prepared to step up his criticism of Wilson this means absolutely nothing as long as it is divorced from the fight in the unions and throughout the working class against the Wilson leadership.

It must also be remembered that for years the SWP has attacked the SLL and the Workers League as ultraleft. But who is taking up the fight for revolutionary leadership within the working class and who is abstaining from this struggle in classical ultraleft fashion? Now Hansen is forced to attack the IMG for ultraleftism, but whatever became of the alleged ultraleftism of the SLL? Perhaps he will next try to explain that the SLL's ultraleftism is of a different variety! It is the sort of ultraleftism which builds the first daily Trotskyist newspaper in the world, which takes the theory of Marxism to the youth and the trade unions and makes it live in the struggles of tens of thousands of workers, students and youth!

## EMBARRASSMENT

Precisely because the SWP cannot answer the burning questions facing the working class its reaction to its British allies is one of embarrassment and retreat. It seeks to shift the grounds of the debate away from the fundamental theoretical and historical questions. This is the meaning of the June 8 Intercontinental Press article concerning the April 26 anti-war demonstration in London sponsored by the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.

The SWP now raises a great hue and

cry over a report in the SLL's Workers Press on the demonstration. The Workers Press pointed out that the black power organizations which dominated this march took the issue of the revolt in Trinidad and converted it into an expression of their own bankruptcy as well as that of the revisionists.

A statement by the IMG reprinted by the Intercontinental Press charges the Workers Press with "lies and distortions." Upon reading the statement, however, it is clear that the only crime of which the Workers Press is guilty is its opposition to black nationalism, which, the Workers Press correctly pointed out, politically dominated the April 26 demonstration.

As the Workers Press reported: "instead of trying to mobilize the working class against the hated regime of Eric Williams as well as the military help which Wilson and Nixon gives him, the 'Black Power' men combined their contempt for the working class with their hatred for the capitalist state in a symbolic punch-up outside the Trinidad High Commissioner's Office..."

Both the IMG and the SWP are trying to divert attention away from their own political bankruptcy and impotence as it was revealed on the April 26 demonstration. The charge that the Workers Press is lying in its attack upon the ultraleft tactics of the revisionists is refuted by Hansen himself. In the issue of Intercontinental Press quoted above, he is forced to quote the IMG's advocacy of disruption of meetings. The Workers Press is guilty of exposing the middle class policies of the IMG and their black power friends as these policies are expressed concretely!

The SWP devoted so much space to this incident because, for all its apologies and disclaimers, it is a part of the revisionism which the SLL and the International Committee are fighting and destroying politically.

The differences between the SWP and the IMG are a reflection of the dispute within the international movement of the revisionists which came to the surface last year. The IMG is part of the dominant group, led by Ernest Mandel. This group expresses most clearly the liquidationist logic of revisionism within the United Secretariat.

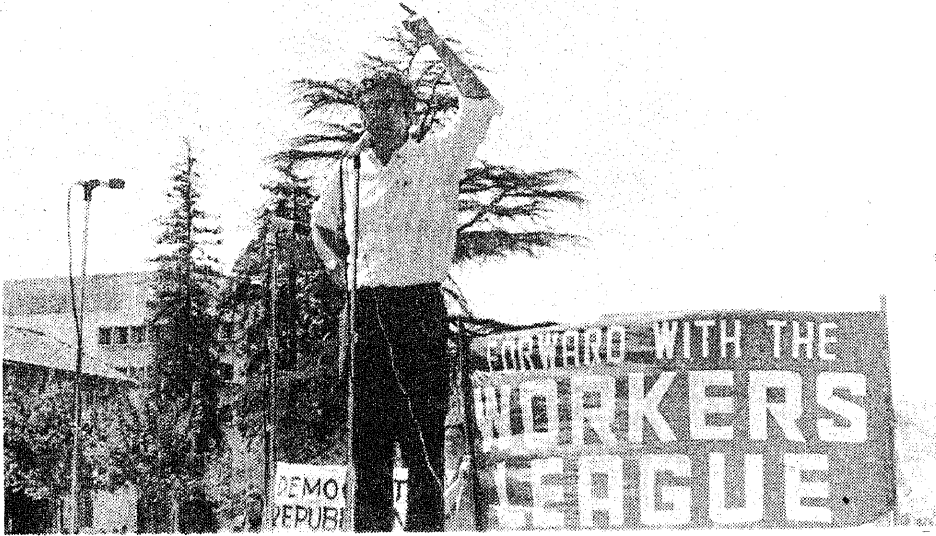
Last year the SWP found itself in a small minority within this movement, in its opposition to complete liquidation into the Castroite guerrilla movements in Latin America.

The current IMG line is nothing but a continuation and development of revisionism. As in 1969 the SWP recoils from its own offspring, from the open liquidationism and hostility to Marxism which it feeds by its own contempt for all theoretical and historical questions.

Hansen and the rest of the SWP leadership are mistaken if they believe that their disclaimers on the IMG policy resolve this question. The lesson of the evolution of the IMG and its completely rotten middle class role today is once again the burning need for the clarification of all the questions in dispute. For the ranks of the SWP this means more than ever going back to the 1953 split in the Trotskyist movement with the revisionists, and absorbing the lessons of this struggle and all the subsequent struggles against revisionism.



# Student-Labor Antiwar Rally Held at San Jose



Tim Wohlforth speaking at labor-student rally at San Jose calls for labor party

## SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

**SAN JOSE, CALIF.**—The Santa Clara County Central Labor Council joined with the Associated Students of San Jose State College to sponsor an anti-war rally here on Memorial Day.

While relatively small in attendance, around 400, it was the first such rally on the Coast and represented an important step forward.

Several labor leaders spoke including James McLoughlin, Secy.-Treas. of the Labor Council and Paul Schrade, Western Regional Director of the UAW. While the labor leaders came, they clearly did little or nothing to bring out their own membership. This point was underlined when Schrade urged students not to leaflet workers at plants but rather "to come to the union local offices and talk with them where they feel more at home." In other words the students are to restrict their relations to the labor bureaucracy and not extend it into the rank and file.

Politically the rally was very much dominated by reform Democratic Party politics. Democratic State Assembly candidate Ernie Abetya spoke from the platform while George Brown, Jr., fairhaired dove candidate, was scheduled to speak. Those sitting on the grass listening to the speakers in the very hot valley sun, were literally inundated with Democratic Party propaganda.

This made the role of the representa-

tives of various socialist tendencies on the platform particularly important. The idea for the rally had come from the initiative of the Workers League but the actual execution of it came from independents and forces from the Maoist Revolutionary Union and the Communist Party. All three organizations had speakers.

Mary Lou Greenberg spoke for the Revolutionary Union and an organization known as the Santa Clara County Workers Committee. The RU is an extreme Maoist group which strongly supports Stalin and has been involved in physical attacks on the Socialist Workers Party. Miss Greenberg spoke of rank and file militancy and the need for socialism and the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state. But she could not find time to say one word of criticism of George Brown, the Democratic Party, the labor fakery on the platform who support the Democratic Party, or the Communist Party which in the state of California in particular are a major factor in building support for the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

Thus we see this rank and file and abstract revolutionary rhetoric is but a

## Unemployment Rate Hits 5%

BY ED SMITH

"I don't think that there is any doubt that this country is in a recession," the AFL-CIO's chief economist, Nat Goldhaber, stated recently. And it is becoming clearer by the day that the ruling class hopes to salvage its system by making the working class pay for the crisis by inflation and unemployment, backed up by massive new legal artillery to smash its resistance.

Just as the burden of inflation is becoming backbreaking, the unemployment rate soared to 5%. Already, areas like Seattle and Detroit have unemployment rates more than double the national average because of layoffs in basic industries like aerospace and auto. As the impact of these layoffs widens and rebounds across the economy we will see that the present alarming rate of unemployment is only the beginning.

As the unemployment situation is reaching crisis proportions, the government is getting ready to implement new measures to prevent any fight back. The recent Supreme Court ruling outlawing wildcat strikes (a reversal of a 1962 ruling) is just the beginning. This ruling has just been used to smash the Los Angeles Teamsters wildcat.

But there is another element in the situation. American workers do not intend to be thrown back to the 1930s. The need of the hour is for American workers to take the offensive, to rally behind the demands of jobs for all through the 30 hour week for 40 hours pay, to smash inflation with full escalator clauses in every contract, and most of all to turn the political situation around by the formation of a labor party to fight back the attacks of the Democrats and Republicans.

cover for the popular front politics of Stalinism and the complete failure of these "ultras" to conduct any kind of fight against the labor bureaucracy.

Al Richmond of the Communist Party made an open pitch for the popular front, "broad left unity," and the need to reach out to the liberal middle class and form an alliance with them. He very much expressed the politics not only of the Communist Party but of the "left" strata of labor bureaucrats on the platform and now drawn into the anti-war movement.

## WORKERS LEAGUE

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, in the area as part of a Western tour, was the only speaker to attack the Democratic Party. He pointed to the role of Mayor Carl Stokes in calling in the National Guard against the Teamsters, the same National Guard which was used to shoot down students at Kent State. He noted that Stokes receives the political support of the trade union movement and of the Communist Party. He called for the formation of a labor party as the real political expression of this new movement of labor against the war, repressions, and rank and file class actions on the economic front.

The meeting at San Jose State very much reflects the new turn of students towards the working class and the great political limitations of this turn if left under Stalinist and labor bureaucrat domination. The Democratic Party politics are the natural political expression of the conception of a "student-labor alliance" which is now spreading like wildfire through West Coast campuses as well as throughout the rest of the country.

## BLOC

What this "alliance" means is a bloc between labor as it is with its present level of consciousness and its present leadership and the students with their present level of consciousness and revisionist and liberal leaderships. Under such circumstances support by students of rank and file union struggles is only a cover and not a challenge to the support by the labor leadership of a section of the Democratic Party.

At UCLA, in Southern California, the whole student strike has been completely coopted by the George Brown campaign. At the same time there has developed an important relationship between striking Teamsters and students with students being mobilized at the union's request to aid in manning picket lines. While this action represents a healthy turn towards the labor movement on the part of students and a breakthrough with workers against the whole anti-student campaign of the bosses, it does not in any way challenge the Brown campaign.

It is clear not only from Al Richmond's presence at the San Jose rally but also from the Peoples World, that the Communist Party has now taken up in a very active way this "student-labor alliance" seeing in it a highly important vehicle both for building popular front reformism within the student movement but also for strengthening the hold of the Democratic Party precisely on that section of the labor movement that is the most rebellious on Vietnam, repressions and economic attacks. In this way they not only ensure capitalist political domination but also the domination of the labor bureaucracy through its "left" faces

like Schrade and Bridges.

It is also clear that while these labor leaders will sign statements against the war and participate in student rallies, they will not seriously mobilize the rank and file in mass actions against the war. They certainly have no intention of calling class industrial action against the war—like closing down the docks. And above all they will not take this movement forward to the construction of a labor party.

These tasks fall on the shoulders of the Workers League which has championed from the beginning—for a long time the only such voice—class action against the war. We will step up our fight for the labor movement to act on the war, mobilizing independent struggles of labor's rank and file to bring this about, fighting at all times for the labor party. At the same time we will deepen our theoretical and political struggle against the Stalinists of all varieties and their supporters in the revisionist Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. These forces now play a very dangerous game of seeking to channel the new movement of students and workers back into the capitalist camp.

The Workers League, which is growing very rapidly in the whole region, is taking further steps to strengthen its work theoretically and organizationally to meet this challenge.

## Nixon's Southern Strategy Spurs Wallace Victory In Alabama Primary

BY PAT CONNOLLY

George Wallace's victory last week in the primary for governor of Alabama would appear to have put a dent in Nixon's so-called "Southern Strategy."

But the heart of the "Southern Strategy" is Nixon's plan to use the reactionary Southern ruling class and its racist ideology as a battering ram against the labor movement, dividing black and white workers. Nixon's "Southern Strategy" has in fact laid the basis for Wallace's victory.

Nixon has gone further and further to the right in encouraging racism to line up the South behind his anti-black, anti-labor campaign against the American working class.

Nixon's encouragement of racism, ranging from the so-called "benevolent neglect" to the complete reversal in school desegregation in the South has clearly given a shot in the arm to the most dihard racist elements in the South such as Wallace.

## IMPLEMENT

Wallace's victory will be used to put even more pressure on Nixon to carry out his promises. In the words of Wallace himself, Nixon has given "two year old unfulfilled pledges to stop busing and school closings, and to re-establish freedom of choice as the law of the land in public education."

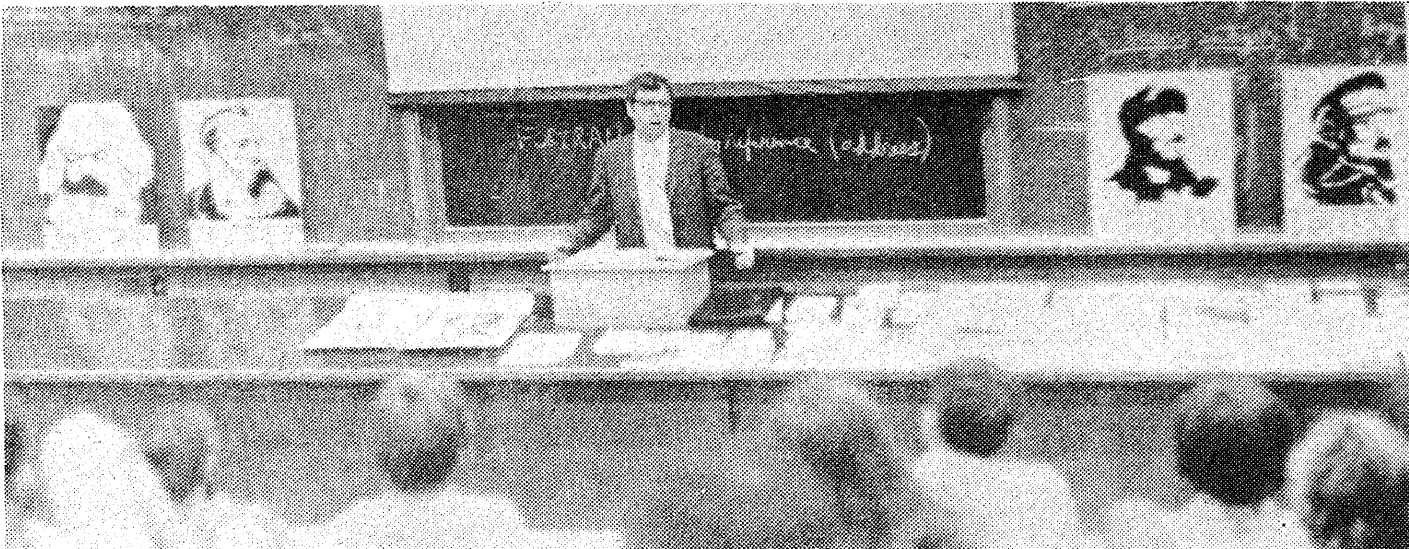
"The Republican Party knows it cannot win without the South in the next election, and as Governor I'll be able to convince them that they should implement their Southern strategy completely." What Wallace is saying is that he will not have to run for president if Nixon does his job for him.

This should be a warning to all workers, black and white. The return to school segregation, the persecution and murder of black militants, the previous attempts by Nixon to get Southern racist judges on the Supreme Court, are part of his plans to try to split the working class along racial lines.

## DANGER

As the working class moves on the offensive, these attacks will become more vicious as Nixon tries to line up the most reactionary forces behind his plans to attack the working class and make it toe the line.

It should be clear that Wallace is far from dead and that his victory in Alabama poses a real danger to the working class. The only way that Wallace's and Nixon's racist policies can be fought is through the building of a labor party which unites all workers in a common political battle against the entire capitalist class and its plans to drive back wages, working conditions and increase unemployment and continue its war in South-east Asia.



Tim Wohlforth addresses a meeting on "Fourth International Today" at the University of California at Berkeley. The two films "France May-June, 1968" and "The Workers Press" were also shown. As part of a Western tour this talk was also given at San Francisco State and at UCLA.

Plans were laid for the development of the Bulletin on the West Coast and a general expansion of the organization and political work of the Workers League. A commitment was also made for a sizable contingent to participate in future international activities of the Fourth International.