


# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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JUL 16 1970  
**Revolutionary  
Youth  
Call  
International  
Conference**

As June 30th Deadline Nears:

## CAMBODIAN WAR IS HEATING UP

BY THE EDITOR

The war in Indochina is heating up with less than a week to go before Nixon's promise to withdraw U.S. forces from Cambodia is fulfilled.

Last week imperialism's armies fought the liberation forces on twelve fronts in the largest confrontation since the U.S. invaded Cambodia. Liberation armies control all roads surrounding Phnompenh, cutting it off from supplies and holding it literally under seige. Throughout Cambodia supply routes and communications have been cut. Kompong Speu, just thirty miles from Phnompenh was taken by guerrilla forces and last weekend the Cambodian army was forced to concede at least half of the provincial capital of Kompong Thom in north-central Cambodia.

It is clear that the U.S. aggression in Cambodia has only increased the determination of the workers and peasants throughout Southeast Asia to drive imperialism and its agents out.

Everyone from the military to the capitalist press is admitting that it is "highly questionable" that even the combined forces of the Cambodian and South Vietnamese armies can contain the liberation forces. The CIA backed Lon Nol regime is tottering on the verge of collapse. It is this situation and the U.S. drive to defeat the spreading Vietnamese revolution which

exposes Nixon's promise of withdrawal and "peace" as a fraud.

Exploding the Administration's propaganda was the recent revelation that U.S. fighter-bombers and gunships have been penetrating deep into Cambodian territory—far beyond the 21.7 mile limit supposedly prescribed for U.S. forces. Bombing expeditions by U.S. sky raiders dropped three tons of napalm around the town of Kompong Thom last week.

Nixon is pinning his hopes on the Soviet bureaucracy to contain the liberation forces. This is what lies behind the appeal by the U.S. puppet regime of Lon Nol to the Soviet Union asking it to "use its influence" to get the NLF out of Cambodia.

The key to ending this war, the key to driving imperialism out of Indochina lies in the combined offensive of the workers and peasants with the offensive of the American workers against the government. The ranks of the labor movement must take up the fight now for labor to call a massive demonstration of a million workers and youth in Washington on Labor Day, raising the demands for:

- Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from S.E. Asia!
- End Repression!
- Stop Nixon's Anti-Labor Offensive!
- Build a Labor Party Now!



## CLEVELAND CONFERENCE- WHAT REALLY HAPPENED; WHAT IT MEANS

Workers League (left) fought for serious class perspective for antiwar movement, against both the YSA-SMC liberalism and PL-SDS reformism which was covered by chanting and fist shaking (below)





Central issue of political independence of working class was posed to conference

BY PAT CONNOLLY

CLEVELAND, June 21—The National Emergency Conference against the war took place here this weekend, with approximately 1500 participants.

On the surface the conference was dominated by the Young Socialist Alliance against Progressive Labor-SDS, but the demands fought for by the Workers League—the question of the labor party—expressed the real division at the conference between Stalinism and Trotskyism.

The expression today of the fight for the political independence of the working class against the capitalist class and its

imperialist war is the demand for the construction of a labor party.

It was this question which divided the conference, with PL-SDS, the SWP-YSA and all other tendencies on the one side, and the Workers League on the other.

Against the question of a labor party, and the demand for a massive march on Washington on Labor Day led by the trade unions, both PL and the YSA could pose nothing but middle class, reformist

## what the editors think...

The role of Progressive Labor-SDS at the Cleveland Conference must be understood by all who seek to build a working class movement in the United States independent of the capitalists and dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism.

From the first opening procedural wrangle through to the last fist-shaking chant and the guerrilla theater episode PL-SDS was seeking its best to actually break up the conference. In this sense there was a division of labor between the Communist Party and PL-SDS—between the two branches of Stalinism. The Communist Party and those liberals and pacifists who work with it had withdrawn from participation in the conference and are holding rival conferences this weekend in Milwaukee and Chicago. The CP has used Sidney Peck to attack the Cleveland Conference as "Trotskyite." While the CP attacked the conference by organizing a boycott of it PL-SDS came to the conference seeking at every point to disrupt it.

While PL-SDS correctly attacked the SWP-YSA for not organizing a demonstration against Stokes and accepting a telegram from Stokes, not once did they mention the fact that the CP openly endorsed the Stokes Democratic Party campaign. For several months now they have been engaged in attacks on the YSA-SWP but have not found time to take on the CP and its youth, the YWLL, which have been growing.

We say there is a division of labor between the CP and PL in the fight against Trotskyism. We say it is the fight against Trotskyism, not the YSA and SWP, which is at the heart of it.

Politically the Communist Party supports liberal politicians in the peace movement while PL-SDS attacks them. But PL-SDS refuses to offer any political alternative to liberal politicians and liberalism. They, like the CP, refuse to raise the call for a labor party. Instead they talk about "allying" with the "rank and file." It is precisely the concept of building a "non-political" rank and file movement which lies behind the CP-sponsored Chicago conference.

Those who seek to keep politics out of the unions and talk in terms of the rank and file separated from the construction of the political alternative leave the rank and file of the unions under bourgeois political domination. It was Lenin who said that trade union consciousness is bourgeois consciousness and that it is the task of socialists to bring working class political consciousness into the unions. Today this means bringing in the fight for the labor party.

Without the fight for the labor party Progressive Labor's talk of a student-worker alliance is another form of the Stalinist popular front. In New York City such an "alliance" has been formed between union leaders and student leaders based on the union leader's advocacy of liberal bourgeois politics.

PL-SDS seeks to counterpose to the SWP-YSA's liberalism in the anti-war movement reformist student power adventures of the worse sort. All talk of the working class is a complete phony cover for an orientation which centers on student mobilizations against ROTC. This is then combined with idealist middle class "Summer Work-Ins." The working class must "work-in" all its life! The concept that students can "learn" from workers by simply rubbing shoulders with them for the summer is but another form of avoiding a political struggle within the working class.

PL-SDS stands together with the Communist Party on fundamental theoretical questions. When confronted with Trotskyism, both the CP and PL-SDS go back to STALIN's arguments about socialism in one country. This is why Hyman Lumer and Mort Scheer use the same quotes against Trotskyism. This is why their fight among themselves is becoming more and more subordinated to a fight against Trotskyism. This is why the growth of PL-SDS will in the long run contribute to the growth of the Communist Party. This is why PL-SDS is today only a stage, a period in the development of the Stalinist movement in America.

The YSA-SWP seeks to fight PL-SDS—a tendency which they ignored for years just as they ignored the YWLL—today on an organizational level and with Stalinist politics. They refuse to get to the heart of PL by getting to the heart of their Stalinism for if they did they would expose their own Stalinist politics.

Spartacist stated there was a class line at Cleveland with PL on one side and the YSA-SWP on the other. They even demanded of PL a speaker at PL's rally and tried to get one of PL's speaker slots for the SDS motion. Needless to say they were rebuffed which should have given Spartacist an indication that the class line at Cleveland cut across in a different way.

Only the Workers League fought for the labor party against both PL's left Stalinism and the YSA-SWP's Stalinism in the form of a popular front peace movement. That was the real class line at Cleveland. Perhaps this explains why Spartacist devoted so much of its time to attacking the Workers League.

# Cleveland Conference--

programs. Progressive Labor and SDS have more of a "left" cover with their attacks on liberal politicians, but have absolutely no political program for the working class.

Right from the start of the convention this was clear. On Saturday morning as the conference started, the first action was a fight over the agenda between YSA and PL-SDS. Then the question of the scheduled demonstration against Agnew, who was in Cleveland Saturday afternoon, was opened for discussion.

### DEMONSTRATION

PL-SDS said that the demonstration should be against both Agnew and Stokes and that the conference should repudiate Stokes for his liberalism and ally with workers. After pointing out that Stokes called the National Guard against the Teamsters, approved of the use of troops against students, PL-SDS called for the demonstration to be anti-Stokes as well as anti-Agnew.

In answer to this attack, the SWP-YSA really exposed their own politics, Peter Camejo of the SWP tried to cover up the fact that the SMC-YSA operates on a middle class program with the liberals. Regarding a telegram the conference received from Mayor Stokes, who is against the war, Camejo said: "Stokes sent us the telegram, we didn't send it to him." It is merely a matter of coincidence that he got to them first, since the YSA-SMC has telegraphed liberal Mayor Lindsay more than once asking him to endorse demonstrations, and fights consistently for liberals to be represented at antiwar demonstrations.

Harry Ring, the editor of the Militant, pointed out that the majority of black workers in Cleveland had voted for Stokes for Mayor, and therefore the antiwar movement should not demonstrate against him for fear of alienating these workers.

### ROTTEN

But the most outstanding, anti-working class and rotten statement on this question came from Miguel Padilla of the SWP, who in opposition to PL's call for support to rank and file militancy and

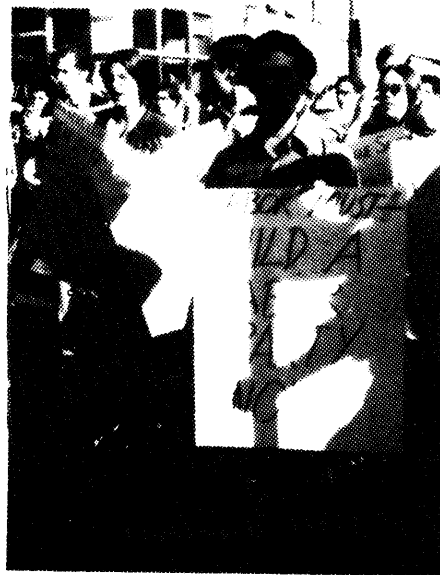
the wildcatting Teamsters instead of Stokes, said: "Those Teamster wildcaters you talk so much about are all racists and reactionary."

The Workers League spokesman during this discussion insisted that the fight against the war must be a fight against the ruling class at home, including its liberal wing. To refuse to demonstrate against Stokes because black workers still vote for him and they might be "alienated" is absolutely the same method as the Stalinists use. The Communist Party supports black and liberal Democrats because "the majority of workers still vote Democrat" and the SWP, despite its campaigns in the electoral arena, does the same. Rather than seeing this political backwardness as something which must be fought against and overcome with a fight for a working class program centering around the demand for a labor party, the SWP concedes completely to this backwardness and gives backhanded support to the Democrats and liberals.

PL-SDS, although it spoke and chanted against the liberals, the Workers League spokesman pointed out, was totally incapable of posing the political alternative to liberalism, the labor party. Instead PL-SDS uses demagoguery about "rank and file militancy" to cover their refusal to take up the political struggle against the capitalist politicians.

### IDENTITY

The political identity that exists between the Pabloite SWP and the Stalinist Communist Party—their unanimity on the popular front was made clear by all of these speakers. PL for all its talk of sellouts and liberals offers only "rank and file" to the working class, in a completely idealist, reformist program which does nothing to oppose the labor bureaucracy's political grip on the working class. The Workers League counterposed to this that the demonstration be against Agnew and Stokes, posing the



# What Really Happened And What It Means

question of the labor party as the alternative to the Republicans and Democrats.

After the vote the YSA-SMC position of an anti-Agnew demonstration passed. In the demonstration later that afternoon the Workers League contingent of over 80 persons participated, marching with banners calling for the labor party and with spirited chants against both Agnew and Stokes.

After a series of workshops in later morning, the plenary conference session resumed with major proposals being put on the floor.

The proposal supported by the SWP-YSA-SMC, the Gordon-Lafferty proposal (Jerry Gordon, liberal lawyer of CAPAC, Jim Lafferty, liberal of the Detroit Coalition Against the War) was a continuation of the middle class pacifist policy which the SWP has pursued in the antiwar movement. This was expressed in the statement:

"The desire for peace cuts across political, racial, religious and national lines."

In short the desire for peace cuts across CLASS lines, and therefore the fight against the war must be conducted on a multiclass—not a working class—basis.

Although the first part of the Gordon-Lafferty proposal speaks of the working class, it is confined to appeals to the trade union bureaucracy. The main demands of this proposal were for local antiwar demonstrations August 6-9, Hiro-

shima-Nagasaki days, support for the Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles August 29, and regional demonstrations October 31.

## UMBRELLA

The object of this program, including references to the working class, is to create a popular front. They, just as the Stalinists who are meeting in Chicago next weekend, want to build a movement which is an umbrella covering the working class and the liberal bourgeoisie, bringing them together in a common bloc.

Over and over again the SWP-YSA defended this program which is completely alien to Marxism, and can only be described as Stalinist.

The proposal the PL-SDS forces offered to the convention was a series of reformist demands calling for student support to black rebellion, and student support for striking workers. Behind the cover of support for the spontaneous actions of the working class and the ghettos was their real program of student power, expressed clearly in the constant chants of "Off ROTC."

## WORKERS LEAGUE

The Workers League, counterposing itself to both these tendencies, demanded that the conference center its fight on bringing the labor movement into the fight against the war, that it implement this by fighting for a mass march on Washington on Labor Day led by the unions, around the demands: Immediate Withdrawal of all U.S. Troops from Southeast Asia; Protest Against the killings at Kent, Augusta, Jackson; Against Nixon's Anti-Labor Offensive; Build a Labor Party.

Other proposals were made by IS, the Labor Committee, and the Spartacist League. Spartacist, while pointing out that it agreed with the "overview" of PL—that is, with Stalinism—raised the demands "For a Political Party of the Working Class" and "All Indo-China Must Go Communist." Its role was to support PL-SDS while spending most of its time attacking the Workers League.

The agenda on Sunday allowed for a half hour of general discussion on the proposals on the floor, then a vote to narrow it down to the two proposals with the most votes, with three speakers from each of the two proposals.

During the 30 minutes general discussion, there were over six speakers in favor of the Gordon-Lafferty proposal, with only one speaker against from SDS. Objections to this were raised by the Workers League which demanded and got a speaker on the floor.

## DISRUPTION

PL-SDS then began a commotion for a

On opposite page: (center left and bottom) Workers League contingent demonstrates against Stokes and Agnew, calling for a labor party; (center right) Workers League literature table where over \$150 worth of Marxist literature was sold. Over 500 Bulletins were sold during conference. This page: (above left) Tim Wohlforth addresses meeting on "Fourth International and the Fight against Imperialist War". (Below left and below) Fred Mueller and Dennis O'Casey speak in support of Workers League proposal.



PL-SDS presented a ten minute circus-like "guerrilla theater" performance rather than any kind of serious political discussion. "Guerrilla theater" incident was also used to try to provoke a confrontation with the YSA-SMC marshalls.

point of order. As throughout the conference PL-SDS utilized organizational points to disrupt the conference. When the chairman advised the maker of the motion that he would consider his point of order after the speaker, SDS began chanting and moving its people down the aisles towards the defense guard in the front, posing the threat of a physical confrontation.

At this point a Workers League spokesman who was the next speaker on the floor advised he would yield one minute of his time to PL-SDS in order to prevent PL-SDS from using its point as a pretext for a physical attack on the conference. When he spoke he said that while he was yielding the minute for clarification, the Workers League completely condemned the disruptive tactics of PL-SDS.

PL-SDS then made a motion to have a speaker from PL and SDS and equal speakers for and against the Gordon-Lafferty proposal. This was passed almost unanimously by the body.

The Workers League spokesman then continued, pointing out that the central question facing the conference was that of the Popular Front against the United Front. He said the political expression of the fight against the popular front was the demand for the labor party and the political independence of the working class.

## REFUSED

During the general discussion, PL-SDS continued to fight for its motion on the basis of "rank and file militancy" and demagogy about "supporting black rebellions," all the while raising no political program for action either for the conference or for the working class.

Speakers for the Gordon-Lafferty proposal counterposed student maturity to labor immaturity and said "we can't force our 'line' on workers." The SWP-YSA refused to confront PL on the political

questions of Stalinism and reformism.

When the vote for the top two proposals was taken, PL and the YSA proposals were the first two. The Workers League proposal was third.

## CHANTING

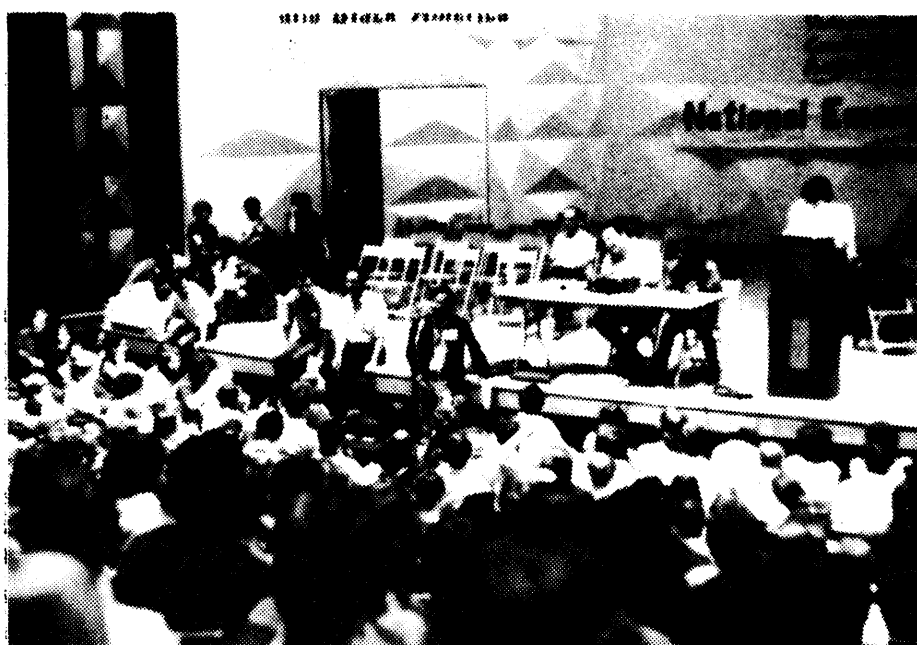
At this point PL-SDS requested that instead of one of its three speakers, it be allowed to present five minutes of guerrilla theater. When this was passed, dozens of PL-SDSers began to move forward in what was an obvious attempt to seize the stage. As marshalls moved in front of them, there was a motion to reconsider the "guerrilla theater" proposal. The motion to reconsider, which required a 2/3 vote to pass, failed. At this point the entire PL-SDS section of the room was on its feet with clenched fists chanting "Cops Off The Stage" and "Lets Go, Lets Go, Lets Go." It was clear that PL-SDS was trying to force a physical confrontation like the one that took place in Boston last month when they attacked an SMC meeting.

Marshalls were gathered along the aisles and near the stage, and the 10 or so persons who went on stage to present the guerrilla skit were not allowed to disrupt the conference further.

## STRATEGY

When the final vote was taken, the Gordon-Lafferty proposal was passed.

The call for this conference said it would not be a meeting to discuss "politics" and "revolutionary strategy." But this is precisely what was discussed at Cleveland. It is clear that the movement of the working class into the struggle against the war has only sharpened the struggle for leadership. The real development of this movement, of labor taking the lead in the fight against the war requires deepening the political and theoretical struggle against Stalinism and revisionism. This is the fight the Workers League will continue, combining it with a struggle in the unions and among the youth to mobilize labor for class action against the war and for an independent political struggle against capitalism.



## Bulletin

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# Nixon Threatens Unions With Productivity Drive

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

Nixon's speech last week on economic policy marked the launching of a new head on offensive by Nixon against the American labor movement.

The complete inability of Nixon's fiscal and monetary restraint policies of the past year and a half to make the slightest dent in the growing economic crisis was succinctly underlined by Nixon himself: "Unemployment has increased, the price index continues to rise, profits have gone down, the stock market has declined. Interest rates are too high."

Thus Nixon is now forced to go to the heart of the matter with an all out drive to break the back of the American working class.

This is the meaning of his establishment of a National Committee on Productivity and his scheme for issuing periodic "inflation alerts."

## HYSTERIA

When Nixon says the task of this Productivity Commission will be to draw public attention to or "spotlight significant wage and price increases" what he really means is that its job will be to

whip up a frenzied anti-labor hysteria each time the workers win significant wage increases.

In this way Nixon is preparing the ground for outright wage freezing in the near future.

While one prong of the Productivity Commission's two pronged attack is to prepare the way for a wage freeze the other is to begin an all out drive against the working class in the form of speed up.

## PRODUCTIVITY

Nixon's great bewailing of the fact that there has been a fall back in the rate of industrial productivity in the last few months is merely the latest in his slanderous attempts to place the blame for inflation on the working class rather than on the bankruptcy of the capitalist system itself.

"Productivity in America," says Nixon, "depends on the effectiveness of manage-

ment, the investment of capital for research development and advanced technology and most of all on the training and progressive spirit of 86 million working Americans."

## "PROGRESSIVE"

We say that Nixon may be able to throw his weight behind all sorts of time and motion schemes dreamed up by management. He may assist in the introduction of all sorts of job cutting, labor intensifying automation methods, but he had better not depend upon what he cynically terms the "progressive spirit" of the American working class.

What characterizes the American working class is its "fighting spirit." It is this Nixon fears most, and is trying to break with his productivity schemes, unemployment and efforts at wage freezing. It is this fighting spirit expressed in the current wage offensive and settlements of 15% to 90% which will inevitably disrupt these schemes.

## BUREAUCRACY

What Nixon is in fact seeking to rely upon is the "progressive spirit of the trade union bureaucracy." Without it he is completely incapable of controlling the working class. At the heart of the Productivity Commission scheme is the plan to draw into the Productivity Commission together with representatives of government, business and the so-called public—representatives from the labor movement.

## ITU Leaders Bow to Automation

BY AN ITU MEMBER

Two months after the contract expiration date, Bertram Powers, President of the ITU #6, reached a wage settlement with the New York Times for 41.69% increase over a three year period. This is now up for ratification by the membership.

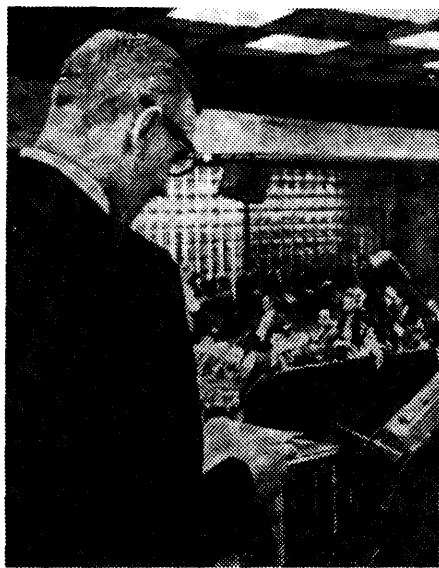
This settlement is a reflection of the pressure placed on the union leadership by the rank and file, which is unwilling to pay for the increase in cost of living.

However it is now becoming clear the price the ranks will pay for this settlement. Theodore Kheel, the mediator in the newspaper negotiations, let the cat out of the bag at the time of the settlement.

Kheel commented that workers would only realize job security by securing the profits of their employers. He went on to urge the union leadership to make reasonable provisions for the introduction of automated equipment. His cover for this statement was that new technology would produce a higher standard in competition to the benefit of everyone in the industry.

What Kheel is really saying is that in order for workers to gain a "substantial wage increase" the unions must allow the employers to introduce automated equipment, cut back on employment and maintain their profits.

The concession Powers made was on composing room control, opening the door for automation. The price the printers will pay for this contract is unemployment through the introduction of automated equipment. This equipment is already being brought into the New York Times in the form of photo typesetting. Powers has stated that there will be no one fired because of this. But he has laid the basis for the employers to use other means to reduce the work force in the composing room—that is through attrition. Attrition means whittling down the work force by layoffs during slow periods, no replacements for retired or fired printers. The result is to increase



Bertram Powers addressing ITU meeting

the production of each worker remaining in the shop, on equipment which requires less skill. It means no jobs for the already hundreds of printers who are shaping up at the union hiring halls now.

This freedom Powers has given to the newspaper bosses is the foot in the door they needed to take away all the gains of the printers and break the union. Once the publishers have reduced the work force they can then break strikes by bringing in scab labor on this new equipment which requires less skills, and transform the paper into a non-union one. The newspaper bosses have a history of these union busting tactics.

The rank and file must stop this by demanding that there be no job cuts. The fight for a 4 day week at five days pay must be taken up now. The ranks must make clear that they will not pay for automation with their jobs.

## SF WELFARE WORKERS HOLD SUCCESSFUL ACTION

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Social workers in the general assistance program who handle aid to unemployables, carried out a successful work action last week by calling in "sick" when assigned to caseloads besides their own.

Supervisors were forced to do the work and additional workers were quickly hired as a result. This work action was clearly more effective than the constant stream of naive letters written by the so-called Social Service Employees Union to various government agencies asking for help against the threat of layoffs.

The SSEU rejects strike action in advance and believes that all that is needed is to pressure or embarrass politicians: "Standing eyeball to eyeball with administrators and politicians to talk..."

Though more than a hundred social workers (the so-called temporaries) are threatened with layoff, the SSEU is relying on testifying almost every week at the Civil Service Commission and on its

lawyers and court injunctions. To culminate the disaster, it is sending a delegation to the Chamber of Commerce in order to prove to these reasonable businessmen that they will be losing tax dollars when they fire social workers.

## CONVERSION

The conversion plan the city proposed is to reduce the number of senior social workers from 185 to 80 and ordinary social workers from 243 to 108. The rest would be laid off or become eligibility clerks.

Local 400 (AFL-CIO) city workers union has done nothing to fight the layoffs. In order to "not alienate anyone" it has alienated the most militant workers and forced many into the arms of the SSEU. In the middle of March this year, Local 400 and the hospital workers union called a strike of city workers. Bus drivers honored the city workers picket lines and no buses ran. The city hospitals were closed down and pickets were being prepared in fact to close down the docks. At that point the union leaders called off the strike before the actual strike vote, on the grounds that Mayor Alioto had agreed to collective bargaining and a 5%

wage increase with seniority increments for everyone.

Mayor Alioto is now proposing legislation prohibiting strikes of city workers and is proposing compulsory arbitration. He apparently calls this "collective bargaining."

## STRIKE

The union leaders who only a few months ago were proclaiming the strike settlement a "victory" now admit they were not even present during the final negotiations that ended the strike and now are not even sure what the settlement was. Certain categories of workers will be receiving no pay increase at all and clerks who will be starting work in July will receive a 10% decrease in pay despite the fact that the strike had supposedly defeated the 10% decrease.

Another strike is now inevitable. The last strike was not lost on the picket lines—it was lost by the union leaders. For any future strike to be successful, it will be necessary for the union leaders to break their political ties with City Hall.

Meany's standing offer to accept wage freezing gives Nixon little reason to doubt that the labor bureaucracy will repeat the shameful participation it gave to government wage boards in the Second World War and the Korean War.

The new turn towards head on struggle with the working class on wages and productivity is not being offered by Nixon as an alternative to, but on top of, a continued drive for unemployment.

There is only one road forward for the American labor movement along which it can achieve peace, an end to inflation, resist a vicious new round of speedup, mass unemployment and the slashing of living standards that lie ahead.

This is not the road of accommodation to Nixon's appeals for "social responsibility" and "restraint." It is the road already followed by the European working class whose struggles over the past two years in Britain, France, Germany and Italy have broken the back of every effort by European capitalism to impose wage controls and hold it back.

This means stepping up the wage offensive and fighting for 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. Above all with the Nixon government openly intervening against the working class supported to the hilt by Senator Kennedy and even attacked from the right by Humphrey labor must fight for a break with the Democrats and the Republicans and the building of a labor party.

This should be labor's answer to Nixon's economic address.

## 1199 RANKS FIGHT DAVIS FOR JULY STRIKE ACTION

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK, June 22—The strike deadline for New York's hospital workers is drawing very close. The union leadership persists in its policy of not preparing for strike.

In spite of this, a strike appears more likely with every passing day. The hospital bosses are clearly not interested or able to avoid a clash. The union officials on the other hand have tried to make it very clear that if a strike comes it is not because they are not prepared to negotiate away some of the major demands, but because the hospital bosses simply will not give them the opportunity.

The rank and file is ready for a fight. At the June 16 membership rally there was an enthusiastic response to a proposal made by a supporter of the Rank and File Committee. This proposal advocated that the major demands for a \$40 increase, a cost of living clause, 35 hour week and classification system be made non-negotiable, that a citywide strike be prepared for in the event of no settlement by July 1, and that any proposed contract be ratified by a mass meeting.

## REACTION

The reaction of the 1199 officials to this proposal and the support it got from the ranks was revealing indeed. Not only did the officials not support these elementary steps to prepare for victory, they launched a vicious attack on the members who had dared to propose them. Only by these means were they able to defeat the Rank and File Committee proposals, which still

received substantial support even after they were slandered and distorted.

For years the so-called progressive leaders of 1199 have bemoaned the alleged apathy of the workers. Now it is clear for all to see. They try to encourage apathy, and when confronted by a militant rank and file they show their true colors.

The tremendous fear of the 1199 bureaucrats for the ranks and for the potential struggle which could be unleashed by a citywide strike was expressed at this mass meeting. That is why the officials crudely slandered the opposition instead of answering its arguments.

## SLANDERS

The cries of "bosses stooges," the accusation that the rank and file militants really would run the other way in the event of a strike, the charge that the opposition had never risked anything for the union or fought for the union—all of these crude slanders harked back to the kind of attacks on militants from the right wing and from the Stalinist bureaucrats in the 1930s and 1940s.

1199 President Davis knows that supporters of the Rank and File Committee are on every union picket line, raised among the largest sums for last year's Charleston strike, and mobilized more union members than the leadership itself for the historic May 21 labor rally against the Indochinese War. The slander that the opposition is anti-union is the last desperate refuge of bureaucrats who are feeling the heat of a militant rank and file.

In spite of the smokescreen put up by the officials, the ranks are ready for a fight.

## WIN

What is needed now is absolute clarity on the workers' demands and how to win them.

No retreat on the major demands! The ranks must be prepared to reject any settlement which compromises on the basic demands of the \$140 minimum, a cost of living clause and a 35 hour week. Any proposed settlement must be ratified by the membership at a mass meeting.

There must be strike action and it must be citywide in the event the July 1 contract deadline is not met.

Now is the time to start to mobilize mass labor support behind the hospital workers. The hospital workers are now pushed to the fore in the offensive against Nixon and the bosses, against the effort to make the workers pay for the inflationary crisis. The fight of the hospital workers is the fight of the entire trade union movement.

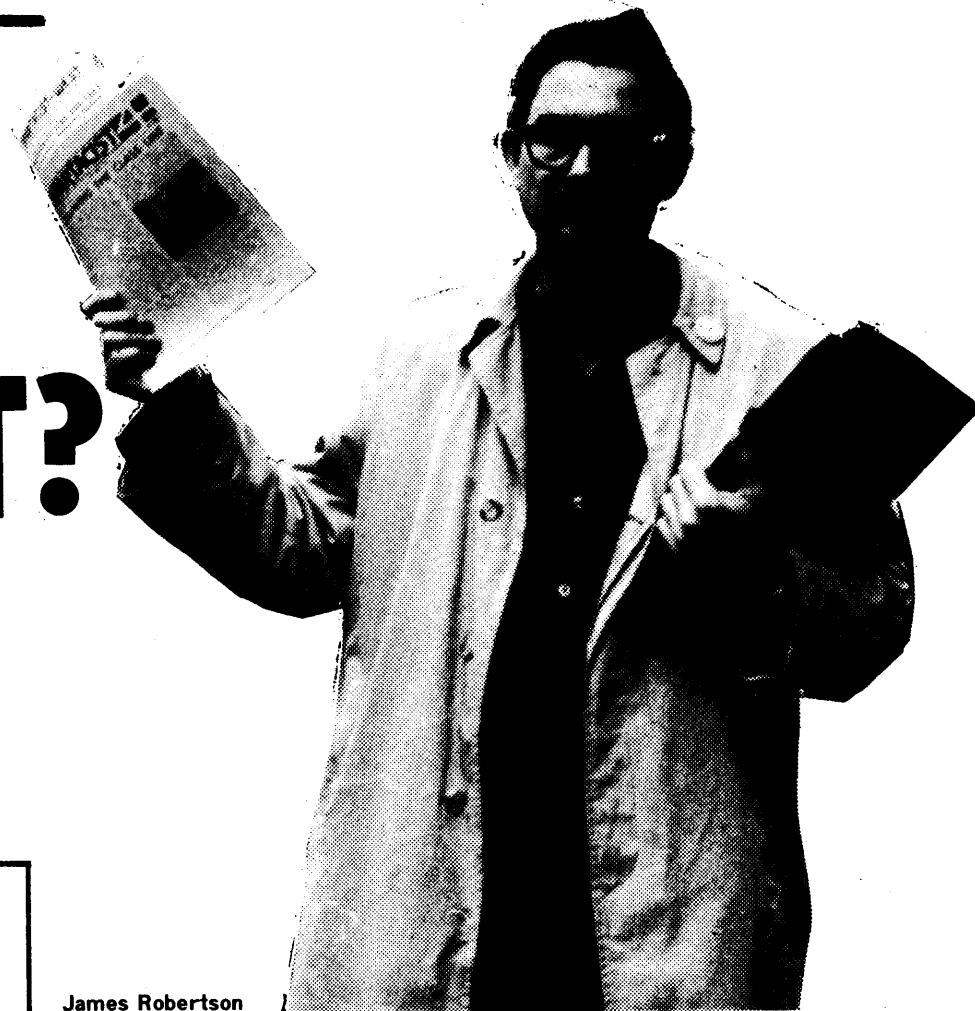
a series by **TIM WOHLFORTH**

# WHAT IS SPARTACIST?

"If we subtract everything accidental, personal and episodic, if we reduce the present groupings in struggle to their fundamental political types, then indubitably the struggle of comrade Abern against comrade Cannon has been the most consistent. In this struggle Abern represents a propagandistic group, petty-bourgeois in its social composition, united by old personal ties and having almost the character of a family."

—Leon Trotsky - In Defense of Marxism p. 61

## Part Two—The 1963 SWP Convention And Its Aftermath



James Robertson

EXACTLY WHERE ROBERTSON and his "Revolutionary Tendency" actually stood in relation to the SWP and the International Committee became crystal clear one year later at the June 1963 convention of the party. It was at this convention that the SWP majority organized its split from the International Committee and its unification with the Pabloite International Secretariat of Ernest Mandel. This was to be carried through on the basis of a document "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement."

On the basis of this document the SWP called an unauthorized rump conference of its supporters within the International Committee held simultaneously with the conference of the Pabloites and carried through the hasty reunification. At all costs a serious discussion within the IC had to be avoided. Today, as the recent world conference of the "Unified Secretariat" revealed, the Pabloites are being forced to confront the very questions they refused to discuss in 1963.

Robertson's RT submitted to this convention a document called "Towards Rebirth of the Fourth International." (2) The very first paragraph illustrated how far they had drifted from the International Committee in less than a year: "For the past fifteen years the movement founded by Leon Trotsky has been rent by a profound theoretical, political, and organizational crisis. The surface manifestation of this crisis has been the disappearance of the Fourth International as a meaningful structure. The movement has consequently been reduced to a large number of grouplets, nominally arrayed into three tendencies: the 'International Committee,' 'International Secretariat (Pablo),' and 'International Secretariat (Posadas).'"(3)

In two sentences Robertson wipes out the entire continuity of struggle of Trotskyism. Just at a time when the SWP majority stated in its resolution "While

substantial differences still remain, especially over the causes of the 1954 split, the area of disagreement appears of secondary importance..." (4) Robertson in his own way disconnects the whole struggle of 1952-54 from the current reunification. The critical point which both Robertson and the SWP leadership were seeking to avoid was the meaning of the original split with Pablo.

It was the position of the SLL, the French comrades and our tendency in the SWP that the 1952-54 split with Pabloism was a necessary break with revisionism which must now become definitive. The SWP, forced into this empirical break, refused to probe the roots of Pabloism and to continue the struggle against Pabloism. Therefore they ended up by embracing Pablo's method and returning to the Pabloite fold.

We viewed as a liquidationist tendency which repudiated in practice the Transitional Program upon which the Fourth International was founded. While this revisionism cut deeply into the ranks of the Fourth International it did not succeed in liquidating the Fourth International. The Fourth International continued in the form of the International Committee. Once again in the 1961-63 period the liquidation of the Fourth International was posed in the turn of a section of the International Committee sup-

porters, led by the SWP, to liquidate the IC into the liquidationist Pabloite International Secretariat. It was against this liquidation that the minority tendency, from its birth, was dedicated.

All this disappears with the RT document along with the "meaningful structure" of the Fourth International. In its place we find "a large number of grouplets nominally arrayed into three tendencies..." Parties become "grouplets" after the fashion of the New Left and the Fourth International becomes "three tendencies" each we gather can just as legitimately or illegitimately claim to be the Fourth International.

Flowing from this perspective Robertson's RT cannot really oppose the SWP majority's liquidationist move:

"'Reunification' of the Trotskyist movement on the centrist basis of Pabloism in any of its variants would be a step away, not towards, the genuine rebirth of the Fourth International. If, however, the majority of the presently existing Trotskyist groups insist on going through with 'reunification,' the revolutionary tendency of the world movement would not turn its back on these cadres. On the contrary: it would be vitally necessary to go through this experience with them." (5)

All the groups claiming to be Trotskyist are seen by Robertson as Trotskyist. If the majority of such groups want

to unite in a single organization then Robertson wishes to "go through the experience with them." On this basis it is hard to see how Robertson could have supported the original split in 1953. Pabloism is for Robertson a matter of taste. It would be a "step back" to unify on a Pabloite program but Robertson will willingly participate in this backward step.

So, at the 1963 SWP Convention the Robertson RT delegation abstained on the actual vote to unify with the Pabloites and it was only the Reorganized Minority Tendency, those comrades who remained with the IC, who voted against!

What a vivid contrast between the approach of Robertson to the International Committee tendency and to the revisionist Pabloites. Robertson was willing to accept the discipline of the Pabloites and the Pabloite line to "go through the experience" with the Pabloites but would not give in on a tactical question to the IC tendency despite his purported complete political agreement programmatically with the IC tendency. Why was it that Robertson would not "go through the experience" with the IC? Could it be, as Gerry Healy had suggested a few months earlier, that Robertson was closer to the SWP majority on matters of method?

### CURRENT

Spartacist has just published a new "Marxist Bulletin"—this one is "No. 3



Joe Hansen, who gave the International report at the 1963 convention singled out Robertson for praise.

(part iv — 1965).” Called “Conversations with Wohlforth” it contains the minutes of negotiations held between Spartacist and our predecessor organization the American Committee for the Fourth International (ACFI) between June and October of 1965. The “Preface” to this, dated April 24, 1970, is useful as a current statement of Spartacist’s view today of the period under discussion while the documents themselves have some importance as a transition from the period when both groups were in the SWP to the period of the 1966 IC Congress.

In this “preface” Spartacist has the following to say about this critical 1963 Convention:

“The Wohlforth tendency continued to exhibit its characteristic lack of backbone and principle at the 1963 SWP Convention. The main issue facing the SWP was Black Nationalism; their capitulation to it was the first application of their Pabloism to the terrain of the domestic class struggle... In these negotiating sessions ACFI constantly insisted that the ‘American Question’—divorced from the Black question, a separation which is artificial in any case—was the important

question at the 1963 Convention. Rather we counterposed documents to be voted up and down against the positions of the SWP majority on the International question and the American question. Furthermore our analysis in the American question document was a development of the International perspectives outlined in the International Committee “World Prospects of Socialism” resolution in 1961.

Third, Spartacist’s treatment of the Negro question is exemplary of their approach to all questions. According to Spartacist our position at that time was conciliatory to Black Nationalism while today Spartacist itself supports black caucuses in unions and denounces our class line as “grossly insensitive” to blacks and a result of the SLL’s “fake superproletarianism.” It would thus appear that the present position of Spartacist is consistent with the past position of the Workers League. And so it is. In 1963 we stood closer to the SWP majority on the Negro question and today Spartacist stands closer to the SWP on the Negro question.

This is why a machete is needed to cut through the bamboo forest. The dif-

organization it therefore had and has no central strategy, no principled political history and development. So today it is incapable of writing two sentences about its differences with our tendency historically or currently that get to the heart of anything.

Fourth, as far as the question of our predicting some “imminent economic crisis” which Spartacist even after the May-June events in France and the GE and Postal Strikes here— not to mention the current upsurge considers “hopelessly disoriented,” we will return to this question a little later on so we can see how it was developed at the 1966 IC Congress, how it relates to the current outlook of Spartacist, and at the same time answer the charges on this question in Spartacist West.

#### EXPULSIONS

In the “Preface,” as well as throughout the negotiation minutes contained in “Conversations with Wohlforth” we have the following standard Spartacist accusation: “In 1963-4 the Wohlforthites were instrumental in deliberately bringing about the expulsion of the RT from the SWP.” And later on “...We remained in the SWP—until the RMT framed up and then informed on our comrades...”

Let us take a serious look at this question of the expulsion of the Robertson group from the SWP. In the immediate period prior to the July 1963 convention and during that convention our tendency was at the center of the attack because the SWP was preparing its break from the International Committee forces with which it had collaborated since 1953.

While there were some small groups within the IC that went along with the SWP, it should be kept in mind that the very founders of the IC and its central forces from the beginning were the SLL, the French Lambert group and the SWP. It was these three organizations which had stood together against Pablo in 1953 and it was this formation which represented the continuity of the Fourth International.

The break with the International Committee was both a result of and a qualitative further step into American nationalism—an outlook which lay at the base of the pragmatic method and liquidationist political positions which the SWP now held in common with the United Secretariat in Europe. As long as Trotsky lived these pragmatic and national tendencies were kept in check and the SWP was an important part of an international movement. Much of the political direction of the SWP took place with the direct intervention of Trotsky who in that period embodied in himself to such a great extent, the internationalism and experience of the world working class since the writing of the Communist Manifesto in 1848.

#### CANNON

With the death of Trotsky, and particularly with the writing by Cannon of the “American Theses” in 1946, the SWP drifted away theoretically from any kind of international strategy while maintaining a formally correct relation with the Fourth International. Cannon’s “American Theses” saw an American revolution developing independently of an international strategy and actually in spite of the stabilization of capitalism in Europe in that period. The “Theses” was not only ridiculously wrong—being issued right on the eve of the boom in America and the dark McCarthy period—but more importantly it expressed the very essence of “Cannonism” as a tendency distinct from Trotskyism—that is the pragmatic construction of the SWP independent of the development of the Fourth International on the basis of an international strategy rooted in the international character of capital.(7)

When in January 1961 the Socialist Labour League issued its letter to the SWP demanding a serious discussion of what it detected to be a real drift on the part of the SWP back into the Pabloite camp, one thing became very clear to the leadership of the SWP. If it maintained its relations with the International Committee it would be on a different level from before. This time a serious international movement would be built and its discussions and its construction would take precedence over the national party of the SWP.

#### COVER

The split from the IC in 1963 was therefore very much a new qualitative step in the break of the SWP from internationalism itself and the political reunification with the United Secretariat was the cover for this break. We can see this especially in the writings of Tom Kerry

and Farrel Dobbs of the time more so than in Hansen’s writings which were more diplomatic, always with an eye to a proper cover for an international readership.

An example of this is Tom Kerry’s article “Preston-Healy Prepare Their Split!” written on the eve of the 1963 convention and before the consummation of the SWP’s own split from the IC.(8) Gerry Healy was at the time General Secretary of the International Committee though in that capacity he used the name G. Preston. While the SWP could not be a section of the IC because of the Voorhis Act it considered itself in political solidarity with the IC and thus functioned under its political guidance.

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#### NATIONAL

What Tom Kerry is saying is clear enough to see. The cover of the reunification is ripped off. He could care less about that. He does not counterpose the decisions of this new reunified body to those of the IC he is breaking from. No, it is the SWP’s national convention which is sacrosanct—it and it alone is the highest body, with nothing but nothing in the world higher. It and it alone will decide whether or not a discussion continues on international questions and whether or not a tendency is expelled because of its support of an international position held in common with other sections of the international movement.

#### DOBBS

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It was at the 1963 convention that the SWP leadership uncritically endorsed Malcolm X and black nationalism. It was and is the opinion of Robertson that this issue was of greater importance than the split of the SWP from the IC and its unity with Pabloites.

fight. The RMT’s (reorganized Minority Tendency—our group-TW) long counter-resolution on the American Question declared that the trouble with the SWP was that it had lost contact with the American proletariat, predicted imminent economic crisis and insisted now was the time for the conquest of the masses. In their analysis they were, of course, hopelessly disoriented. But more importantly, what the Wohlforthites would love to overlook now (with their present oversimplified, grossly insensitive position towards Black oppression) is that in 1963 they supported Black Nationalism. Were it not for the fake superproletarianism of their British mentors, they would probably be supporting it still.”(6)

If we seek to cut through all this gobbledook, for as in all Spartacist writings, it is like thrashing through a bamboo forest with a machete, several important points emerge:

First, Robertson still refuses to understand the significance of the 1963 Convention and therefore of the whole international struggle with Pabloism. Rather than seeing the SWP’s break with the International Committee—that is with the Fourth International and the whole continuity internationally since the First International—Spartacist sees the Negro question as central. In this way Spartacist shows it still stands on the same pragmatic national grounds with Cannonism concerned only with the “domestic” “terrain.”

#### CENTRAL

Second, contrary to what Spartacist states, our minority did not view the American question as such as the central

ferences between Spartacist and the Workers League—especially historically—are not a matter of this position on this question and that position on that question or some assortment or summation of positions and questions. We must get at the underlying and central questions. Once these are understood the individual bamboo trees fall into an order.

The Workers League began with a confused position on the question of Black Nationalism but has emerged today as the only political tendency which consistently and ruthlessly fights every and all manifestations of black nationalism—and precisely for this reason has attracted a section of black and Puerto Rican workers and students to its banner—while Spartacist, despite its sharp attacks on black nationalism in 1963, today embraces its most dangerous form in the proposal to organize black workers separate from white within unions thus breaking up the unity of the class right at the center of the class struggle.

This diametrically opposed evolution can be explained by the fact that the minority tendency which became the Workers League took the principled and correct stand on the fundamental question of the international movement and its perspectives and never for one moment backtracked from this stand. In time, and through participation in the international movement, this international strategy found a deeper expression in the Workers League’s understanding of the black question as it did in its understanding of many other questions.

For Spartacist, then and now, the international question was just one of many that it had held “positions” on. As an

# SPA

NUMBER 1

# WITCH H

The National Committee of the S Party expelled five members of the minority at a plenum in New York C December. The five expelled supporters Revolutionary Tendency are Shane M ertson, Geoffrey White, Laurence Ire Harper, The Party Political Committe them two months earlier on the groun Commission investigation had revealed Ireland, and Harper had expressed “opinions privately within their own accused had written that ‘SP is a revolutionary party that is unable





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to the December 1963 National Plenum of the SWP which suspended the leaders of the Robertson group.

"It's disloyal to connive behind the back of the Party with Healy or anybody else. I believe this cadre has more than had its fill of self-proclaimed world leaders who purport to set themselves up as the be-all and end-all of revolutionary wisdom, undertake to make rulings as to who is a centrist and who's a revolutionist, and then fish around for stooges to connive with them behind our backs."(11)

Once again the party alone is set up in opposition to anything outside it including and especially the international movement. As in the case of Kerry, Dobbs is addressing not just the IC—with which at this point the split had been consummated—but warning its new "friends" in the United Secretariat. Unity is all well and good internationally as long as the national convention and national leadership remains the highest body and nobody but

nobody in Europe deigns give it orders or pass political judgment upon it.

These statements of Dobbs and Kerry reveal the unprincipled and unwritten agreement upon which the reunification took place. There is some question as to whether even this agreement can keep this formation together now that the deepest political differences have come to the surface (See "Documents from the World Congress of the Revisionist 'Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International'" in the Winter 1969-70 issue of Fourth International).

**FRAMEWORK**

Such was the actual political climate in which the 1963 convention took place. Within this framework the Spartacist's role of breaking from the international tendency in 1962 and being willing to go along with reunification in 1963 took on a nationalist strike-breaking character and as such was of the greatest help to the SWP majority. Kerry's and Dobbs' attacks on the international are almost word for word the same as those used by Robertson the preceding year in the internal international discussion and that Robertson would use again in 1966.

No wonder in the period leading up to the 1963 convention and at the 1963 convention the strategy of the SWP leadership was to amalgamate the two tendencies in order to confuse the principled struggle of the International Committee with the antics of the Robertson group. At the same time the main fire was on Healy and on our tendency for its principled support to the International Committee.

**STATEMENT**

In June of 1963 our tendency issued a document "Party and Class" which sought to counter this campaign to amalgamate our struggle with that of Robertson and thus obscure the central issues in dispute internationally. We explained from our own point of view the reasons for the split in 1962 in the tendency but at the same time made it clear we did not feel the Robertson group was in any sense in violation of the discipline of the SWP and would defend same if it were so attacked. We stated:

"A number of individuals who refused to sign our reorganization statement did leave the party in the interim—four comrades who signed the Robertson statement on Cuba and two comrades who refused to sign either statement. But the bulk of the Robertson tendency seemed to pull back from a split course. This to us was a welcome sign and it opened up the possibility that these comrades would reconsider their whole approach towards the party and the class. We did our best in the New York local to keep factional pressure off them and were very much opposed to the factional attacks the majority leadership levelled against them...However while political collaboration is out of the ques-

tion, we do believe these comrades seriously seek to remain in the party and have shown willingness to carry out their responsibilities towards the party. Therefore, we continue to oppose any factional pressure or organizational attacks on this group and feel that they should be answered politically."(12)

At the actual convention the central heat was on our tendency. In fact Joseph Hansen, in his International Report devoted to a denunciation of the IC forces and our tendency, takes time out to compliment Robertson: "The Robertson-Mage tendency, for instance, have taken what I consider to be a favorable turn. They have decided that Cuba must be characterized as a 'deformed workers state.'"(13)

**DEBATE**

Inside the leadership during the convention a debate took place over action to be taken against our tendency. Weiss, who represented the most Pabloite wing of the leadership, had favored our expulsion as early as 1961 but by this time emerged as the greatest defenders of the Robertson tendency. Cannon, we understand, was pushing for the immediate expulsion of our tendency on the grounds of our being agents of the IC.

The difficulty was that while the basic framework for the reunification had already been worked out it had not yet been ratified by the smaller IC sections who were supporting the SWP. The SWP leadership was afraid that expulsions at that time on the basis of relations with the SLL would not sit well with these forces and would reveal the factional character of the SWP's whole "unity" operation. At the same time it was not easy for the SWP to break with the IC comrades it had collaborated with so long. It amounted to an irrevocable break with its whole past back to 1928. Almost instinctually the old cadre of the SWP felt compelled into this break but at the same time held back from its formal completion. As with such things, it took time. As far as our tendency was concerned it took, in fact, another year. Even then it was the coalition government in Ceylon which brought it to a head.

At this convention all the leadership could get away with was an undemocratic punitive action against the two members of our tendency on the National Committee of the SWP—Wohlforth and Phillips. We were summarily removed from this body on grounds of "disloyalty."

**COMMISSION**

In August of 1963 the Political Committee passed a motion setting up a Control Commission for the purpose of investigating the Robertson group. It sought to distort political charges made by our tendency into organizational charges and thus shift the onus of the pending expulsion to our tendency. Robertson, of course, did all in his power as well to make it appear as if our tendency carried out the expulsion.

The motion was a double-edged sword aimed at us as well:

"In face of Robertson's refusal to cooperate with the efforts of the National Secretary to clear up this question, Comrade Dobbs sent a formal request dated July 10 to Tim Wohlforth, requesting copies of the 'Robertson-Ireland document' and the 'Harper statement.' Apparently solidarizing himself with Robertson in this matter, Wohlforth rejected the request, alleging that the documents that had been cited and quoted from in Discussion Bulletin Vol. 24, No. 27, were 'private political material.'"

"In view of this obstructionist course being followed by both Robertson and Wohlforth in a matter of vital concern to the welfare and discipline of the party, the Political Committee now refers this question to the Control Commission, requesting that it conduct an investigation into possible violations of the statutes of the party, especially involving Robertson, Ireland and Harper."(14)

In the period before the Plenum which was held on the Robertson suspensions our tendency issued a statement which said in part:

"In the current suspension of members of a minority tendency, namely Comrades Robertson, Mage, White, Ireland, Harper, the Political Committee has not only suspended comrades for their ideas, written for internal tendency discussion some time ago, but has also suspended some who may or may not share these ideas."(15) The statement concluded with a call for the lifting of the suspensions.

In his report to the December 1963 Plenum Dobbs took full note of our role:

"A parenthetic question arises: Where does the Wohlforth-Phillips group stand today? In the split with Robertson, Mage



Myra Weiss was united with Robertson in deep hatred of the International Committee.

and White, they declared their loyalty to the party. But they waited several months, right up to the eve of the convention, before informing the party of the Robertson-Mage-White split perspective. Wohlforth refused my request for copies of the Robertson-Ireland and Harper documents. And now the Wohlforth-Phillips group has denounced the Political Committee for its action in suspending the leaders of the Robertson-Mage-White faction because of their disloyalty to the party. Clearly, the Wohlforth-Phillips group still has some things to explain to the party."(16)

So much for Spartacist's accusations that we "framed up" and "informed" on him. But there is another aspect of this whole expulsion process which is even more politically revealing. It is the role of Myra Tanner Weiss official lawyer for the Robertson group on the Political Committee and before the December 1963 Plenum.

**WEISS**

It must first be noted that Myra Tanner Weiss together with her husband stood in the right wing of the party. As the basic statement which the Robertson faction refused to sign in 1962 stated: "the main political fight of the tendency must be directed against the right wing elements in the party, the Weiss group and the Swabeck tendency." The Weisses had been the most enthusiastic Pabloites on the Political Committee. It was in fact in this period that Murry Weiss came to the conclusion that Cochran had been right in 1952 in his liquidationist course. Following this perspective after the December Plenum the Weisses dropped out of political activity and in a short time all those in the party associated with them—with the exception of Halstead who openly went over to Dobbs—dropped out of the party altogether.

It was this liquidationist element that Robertson used as his chief advocate against the suspensions. Clearly Weiss was looking for any weapon to use against the party leadership and Robertson was more than happy to help her in this respect. Once again we find a pattern devoid of principle; once again we find the "practical" relations Robertson works out with Pabloism for all his orthodox attacks on Pabloism.

Not surprisingly, Weiss defended Robertson precisely by attacking the IC and solidarizing herself with Robertson's break with the IC:

"Let me point out comrades, that they are not in an international caucus with Healy. This is not so. If that is really what is motivating you I can prove that it's not so. And I will take just a few minutes to prove it.

"You wondered about this loyalty oath that was brought in by Wohlforth over a year ago. You've got to appraise it. Why wouldn't Robertson or Mage sign it? Because they want to split with the party? Because they're disloyal? Wohlforth is right? But that's not so. That resolution presented to us by Wohlforth was written by Comrade Healy. You did not know that perhaps, but it was—you bide your time comrades, I'm not on the witness stand—I didn't know until very recently, but I know now. It was written by Comrade Healy. But it wasn't given to us as Comrade Healy wrote it. There were certain deletions and it was those sections that were deleted from Healy's draft against which Mage and Robertson

As the first issue of Spartacist expressed it the Robertson group allied with right wing forces against the leadership in its fight against expulsion. This issue featured the appeal of Pabloite liquidationist Myra Tanner Weiss on the expulsion issue.

# SPARTACIST

FEBRUARY-MARCH 1964

10 CENTS

## HUNT IN THE SWP

of the Socialist Workers Party's left wing in New York City at the end of 1963. Supporters of the SWP's left wing, Arne Mage, James Robertson, Ireland, and Lynne Phillips had suspended several party members on the grounds that a Control Commission had revealed that Robertson, Mage, Ireland and Phillips had "disloyal" written for their own tendency. The SWP had ceased to be a principled party, and its framework

those opposing and protesting the PC action were; Myra Tanner Weiss, several times the party's vice-presidential candidate; Arne Swabeck, a founding leader of American Trotskyism, together with many members of his tendency across the country; prominent party members such as Jack Wright of Seattle and Wendell Phillips from Southern California; the Wohlforth-Phillips grouping; several party branches including New Haven and Seattle.

Commission

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In June of 1963 our tendency issued a document "Party and Class" which sought to counter this campaign to amalgamate our struggle with that of Robertson and thus obscure the central issues in dispute internationally. We explained from our own point of view the reasons for the split in 1962 in the tendency but at the same time made it clear we did not feel the Robertson group was in any sense in violation of the discipline of the SWP and would defend same if it were so attacked. We stated:

"A number of individuals who refused to sign our reorganization statement did leave the party in the interim—four comrades who signed the Robertson statement on Cuba and two comrades who refused to sign either statement. But the bulk of the Robertson tendency seemed to pull back from a split course. This to us was a welcome sign and it opened up the possibility that these comrades would reconsider their whole approach towards the party and the class. We did our best in the New York local to keep factional pressure off them and were very much opposed to the factional attacks the majority leadership levelled against them....However while political collaboration is out of the ques-

As the first issue of Spartacist expressed it the Robertson group allied with right wing forces against the leadership in its fight against expulsion. This issue featured the appeal of Pabloite liquidationist Myra Tanner Weiss on the expulsion issue.

tion, we do believe openly seek to remain shown willingness to possibilities toward fore, we continue to pressure or organ this group and feel answered politically

At the actual co heat was on our ten Hansen, in his Inte voted to a denuncia and our tendency, t pliment Robertson: tendency, for instan consider to be a f have decided that C terized as a 'deforr (13)

**DEF**

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The difficulty was framework for the ready been worked been ratified by the who were supporting leadership was afra that time on the ba the SLL would not forces and would rev racter of the SWP's tion. At the same for the SWP to break it had collaborated amounted to an irrev whole past back to 1 tually the old cadre pelled into this bre time held back from tion. As with such As far as our teno it took, in fact, ano it was the coalition which brought it to a

At this conventio could get away with punitive action again our tendency on the of the SWP—Wohlfor were summarily ren on grounds of "disloy

**COMM**

In August of 196 mittee passed a n Control Commission investigating the R sought to distort poli our tendency into or and thus shift the expulsion to our te of course, did all to make it appear carried out the expuls

The motion was aimed at us as well: "In face of Rober operate with the ef Secretary to clear up rade Dobbs sent a f July 10 to Tim W copies of the 'Robe ment' and the 'Harj parently solidarizing son in this matter, the request, alleging that had been cited Discussion Bulletin 'private political mat

"In view of this being followed by Wohlforth in a mat to the welfare and di the Political Commi question to the Cont questing that it con into possible violatio the party, especially Ireland and Harper."

In the period bef was held on the Ro our tendency issued said in part:

"In the current su of a minority tendenc Robertson, Mage, WH the Political Commit pended comrades for for internal tendency ago, but has also sus or may not share th statement concluded lifting of the suspens

In his report to Plenum Dobbs took "A parenthetic qu does the Wohlforth today? In the split v

# SPARTACIST

NUMBER 1

FEBRUARY-MARCH 1964

10 CENTS

## WITCH HUNT IN THE SWP

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party expelled five members of the party's left wing minority at a plenum in New York City at the end of December. The five expelled supporters of the SWP's Revolutionary Tendency are Shane Mage, James Robertson, Geoffrey White, Laurence Ireland, and Lynne Harper. The Party Political Committee had suspended them two months earlier on the grounds that a Control Commission investigation had revealed that Robertson, Ireland, and Harper had expressed "disloyal" written opinions privately within their own tendency. The accused had written that the SWP had ceased to be a revolutionary party and had become centrist, and that the party's framework

those opposing and protesting the PC action were; Myra Tanner Weiss, several times the party's vice-presidential candidate; Arne Swabeck, a founding leader of American Trotskyism, together with many members of his tendency across the country; prominent party members such as Jack Wright of Seattle and Wendell Phillips from Southern California; the Wohlforth-Phillips grouping; several party branches including New Haven and Seattle.

**COMMISSION**

party are respon-

**CANNON**

n of Trotsky, and par- writing by Cannon of "theses" in 1946, the SWP pretically from any kind strategy while maintain- correct relation with the onal. Cannon's "Ameri- v an American revolution endently of an interna- and actually in spite of of capitalism in Europe The "Theses" was not y wrong—being issued of the boom in America McCarthy period—but y it expressed the very onism" as a tendency dis- kyism—that is the prag- on of the SWP independent ent of the Fourth Interna- asis of an international the international charac-

ary 1961 the Socialist issued its letter to the a serious discussion of to be a real drift on the P back into the Pabloite became very clear to the SWP. If it maintained its International Committee different level from before. ous international move- built and its discussions on would take precedence al party of the SWP.

**COVER**

m the IC in 1963 was much a new qualitative of the SWP from interna- and the political reunifi- nited Secretariat was the break. We can see this writings of Tom Kerry



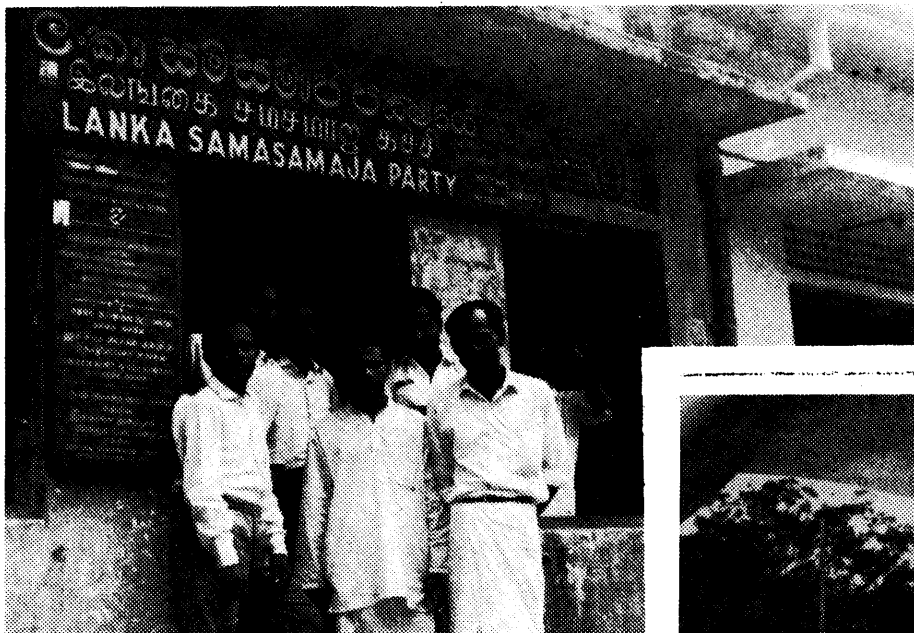
voted, thereby being expelled from the attempt to organize an international faction." (17)

She then goes on to quote from a section of the document not before made public inside the SWP precisely because it dealt with the internal organization of the international tendency. It was not made public because it was possible Dobbs might seek to twist it and use it to expel our tendency—particularly as we have noted earlier Dobbs saw the discipline of the SWP as overriding that of the international movement. It was the section proposing an international internal tendency discussion bulletin.

"So Robertson and Mage said this was bureaucratic," she concluded. "...You're going to expel those who couldn't stomach, in their first encounter with Healy, his bureaucratic, sectarian methods of organization." (18) Weiss then went on to reveal that the source of her information was Mage. Right after the document was originally issued she asked Mage about it and "he didn't tell me the whole story and I didn't ask to hear it, but I was thoroughly convinced that any collaboration between Healy and Robertson was out of the question." (19) The actual document she quoted from was given to her "more recently."

#### AGREEMENT

What this reveals is the bloc between Weiss and Robertson was based on more



Perera (right above), who had collaborated in the international Pabloite reunification, led the LSSP into a bourgeois coalition government. The splitoff LSSP(R) (above) refused to draw all the lessons of this and has since declined and split itself. The Revolutionary Communist League (right) drew the lessons and joined the IC.

than opposition to the undemocratic expulsion of the Robertson group. They stood together in common agreement in their hostility to internationalism and democratic centralism and above all their deep hatred of the International Committee. It was on this political basis that Weiss sought to get support for Robertson from the Dobbs leadership. At the same time it is also revealed that the Robertson group furnished internal material to Weiss and authorized her to use it in their defense knowing full well this material could be used to expel our group. In other words Robertson did exactly what he falsely accused us of doing—handing over to the majority documentary material which the majority could use for disciplinary action.

But it did not all end here. Following the ratification of the suspension by the December, 1963 Plenum of the SWP, the Robertson group issued an appeal to the United Secretariat. In this appeal Spartacist once again pointed out the position it had taken in urging the IC to follow the SWP into the Reunification. Thus as late as 1964 it was in favor of liquidating the Fourth International into the revisionists—right on the eve of the entry of the LSSP into the bourgeois coalition government in Ceylon. (20)

#### CEYLON

But just as important is the sentence which follows the one accusing us of being "instrumental" in their expulsion: "Shortly thereafter the RMT (having split internally, the unstable bloc with Phillips having blown up) engineered its own expulsion from the SWP." (21) So on the one hand Spartacist places the blame on us for its own expulsion and on the other hand Spartacist places the blame on us for our own expulsion. It could even appear that for Spartacist the main enemy

and culprit then as now is the Workers League and not the Pabloite revisionists!

What were the actual grounds upon which our tendency was expelled? In the summer of 1964 the LSSP, at that time an affiliate of the United Secretariat along with the SWP, entered into a bourgeois coalition government. Thus a group which called itself Trotskyist followed directly the path of Stalinism joining directly with the bourgeoisie in the government of a bourgeois state. It was the culmination of the whole degeneration of Pabloism begun in 1952. The SWP was up to its ears implicated in the entire situation. The great betrayal of the working class in Ceylon stood as a warning that the logic of Pabloite revisionism everywhere was open collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

#### PRINCIPLE

Under such circumstances it was absolutely necessary as a matter of principle for our minority to demand that the SWP be called to order and take a sharp look at itself and its evolution in the light of Ceylon. As our tendency had been undemocratically removed from the Political Committee and National Committee and the 1963 Convention, we had to resort to the only means open to us. We circulated to the party membership and branches an appeal to the Political Committee to open up a discussion on

letters between the two groups beginning as early as July of 1964. They were followed by the intervention of the International Committee and the beginning of new negotiations which prepared the way for the participation of both groups in the 1966 International Congress of the IC. Thus during the entire period from the expulsion of our tendency to the 1966 Congress some form of communication and negotiation was going on between the groups.

This is, in fact, the central importance of these particular minutes—not the detailed contents of same. This the Spartacist cannot recognize. Discussions of one sort or another took place between the two tendencies in that period precisely because the political differences between the two groups were not clear. Thus the current "Preface" concludes with a section claiming that even in that period Spartacist was to the "left" of our group stating: "For even when our political similarities were most striking, differences between ACFI and Spartacist tended to follow a pattern: Spartacist showed political seriousness, principle and spine, while ACFI caved in at any



the question of Ceylon. We did not go beyond the party. We did not even raise the question orally in the branches. All we did was circulate to party members an appeal to the Political Committee to open a discussion. For this we were forthwith suspended from party membership and not even allowed to appeal our suspensions at a branch meeting. The SWP could not tolerate a discussion on this question.

What actually "engineered" our expulsion was our determination to take a stand on this fundamental international question of principle. For Spartacist Ceylon was but one of many questions and internationalism and principles are unknown quantities. So to them our action seemed artificial, "engineered," and they obviously sympathized with the SWP's response to this "engineering."

#### NEGOTIATIONS

The "Preface" we have been quoting from is an introduction to a series of minutes of negotiations between the two tendencies held from June to October in 1965. The negotiations were actually the result of a series of exchanges of

opportunity." (22) But on July 17, 1964 Robertson wrote:

"As you know, in our view a principled political basis for unity has continuously existed since the split in November 1962, providing only that all comrades would function in a disciplined way on the basis of democratic-centralism. It is difficult to make an appraisal of our political differences in view of their marginal character." (23)

The inescapable conclusion which must be drawn from the entire process of exchanges of that period—covering some two years—as well as the admission of Robertson at the time is that the political differences between Spartacist and ACFI at that time had to be clarified either resulting in a new unification or going forward to deeper and irreparable split. It was not possible to clarify everything within the confines of the SWP. This clarification would be of critical importance for the future development of the revolutionary party in the United States. Thus the attention we still give these questions years after Spartacist disappeared as a serious force in American socialist politics.

It is also just as clear that the negotiating sessions, like the exchanges of letters which preceded them, were unable to clarify anything and ended up in collapsing into acrimony. It is precisely this acrimonious character of the minutes which motivates Robertson to republish them at this time. He has even published them out of sequence as to the best of our knowledge neither part 2 nor part 3 of Marxist Bulletin no. 3 has appeared.

This the "Preface" also acknowledges when it states: "Relations between the two groups deteriorated visibly throughout the last few negotiating sessions, culminating in a frank showdown in the 8th meeting over the 1962 split and the wretched record of ACFI." (24) We might note that anyone who thought unification could take place on the basis of common agreement on the "wretched record of ACFI" was simply expressing the completely blind and factional bind these sessions had fallen in to.

"At this point," the authors of the "Preface" continue, "Gerry Healy instructed ACFI to proceed with unity forthwith. In this sense, the negotiations are unreal: they actually had little to do with bringing about the Northern (Montreal) joint unity conference which followed them." (25) In the first place, Gerry Healy instructed no one but proposed to both the ACFI and Spartacist that the discussions take place on a different international level. Once this is understood then we see that the unity negotiations were anything but unreal and did have much to do with the joint unity conference and the IC Congress which followed.

#### NARROW

The negotiations proved the impossibility of resolving the differences between our tendency and Spartacist on the narrow national level. As long as the discussion remained on this level it could not help but bog down in isolated position versus isolated position, this scandal versus that scandal, factional and personal acrimony, etc. It was the failure of these minutes to clarify anything that made it so clear that it was necessary to break the controversy out of its national bounds and go forward into the international movement. It is the failure of these minutes to clarify anything that makes them so attractive to Robertson six years later.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. SWP Discussion Bulletin Vol. 24, No. 9 April 1963 page 34.
2. Spartacist Number 1 February-March 1964 page 11.
3. *ibid.* page 11.
4. SWP Discussion Bulletin *op. cit.* page 34.
5. Spartacist No. 1 *op. cit.* page 14.
6. Conversations With Wohlforth Marxist Bulletin No. 3 (part iv—1965) pp. iii-iv.
7. See: The Struggle for Marxism in the United States by Tim Wohlforth pp. 47 ff.
8. SWP Discussion Bulletin Vol. 24, No. 29 July 1963 page 1 ff.
9. *ibid.* page 4.
10. *ibid.* pp. 4-6.
11. "Summary on Internal Party Situation" by Farrell Dobbs, Robertson-Mage-White-Harper-Ireland Case Part V Internal Information Bulletin SWP April 1964—II page 28.
12. Party and Class—A statement on the pre-convention discussion by the Reorganized Minority Tendency, SWP Discussion Bulletin Vol. 24, No. 27 June 1963 pp. 5 and 7.
13. "International Report at the Twentieth Convention of the Socialist Workers Party" by Joseph Hansen International Information Bulletin August 1963—1 page 23.
14. Robertson-Mage-White-Harper-Ireland Case Part I Internal Information Bulletin SWP January 1964—I page 3.
15. Robertson-Mage-White-Harper-Ireland Case Part II Internal Information Bulletin SWP January 1964—II.
16. Robertson-Mage-White-Harper-Ireland Case Part III Internal Information Bulletin SWP February 1964—I page 10.
17. *ibid.* pp. 22-23.
18. *ibid.* page 23.
19. *ibid.*
20. See: Spartacist No. 2 July-August 1964 "Witch Hunt Deepens in the SWP" page 6.
21. Conversations with Wohlforth *op. cit.* page i.
22. *ibid.* page 4.
23. Letter of July 17, 1964 to "Tim Wohlforth, Reorganized Minority Tendency" and signed by "Jim Robertson."
24. Conversations *op. cit.* page i.
25. *ibid.*

**CONTINUED  
NEXT ISSUE**

# Moscow Embraces Portuguese Fascism

BY DAVID BARNES

First Athens, then Madrid and now Lisbon. No matter how brutal the regime, all are eligible candidates for 'peaceful co-existence' with the Kremlin.

The Soviet government, for the first time since the end of the Second World War, has established official contacts with the Portuguese dictatorship.

Stalinism extends its hand to the blood-soaked Caetano regime at the very time when South African racist Premier

As with Franco's regime in Spain, where the Kremlin bureaucracy made its first approaches under the cover of a visit by a Soviet football team, there can be no doubt that this visit indicates the Stalinists' desire to establish full formal links with Caetano.

This is the foulest and most cynical move yet in the burgeoning of 'peaceful co-existence' with the most reactionary regimes in the world.

Even the Greek colonels and Franco's fascism are not involved—as is the Portuguese ruling class—in three bloody colonial wars in Africa.

In Angola, Guinea and Mozambique Portuguese troops have for years been using the most barbarous methods against the liberation fighters. But even this butchery must not be allowed to get in the way of Soviet diplomacy.



Vorster began his European tour with a visit to Lisbon.

The occasion was the visit by the Kiev Ballet to Portugal.

At a reception given on June 8 by the director of the Portuguese National Opera, one of the few guests was the Minister of Education, Simao, who used the evening to have a lengthy conversation with a representative of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ostensibly travelling with the ballet corps.

## CIRCULATION

The last month has seen a brisk circulation of political leaders in Europe, 'improving' the relations between the imperialist states, the racial oppressors of Africa and the Stalinists.

William Rogers, US Secretary of State, left the Rome conference of NATO last month, where he announced expanded military aid for Greece, to negotiate in Madrid the provision of tanks and other weapons to Franco.

With both the Greek regime and Franco the Stalinists already have widespread links—links cemented by the shipping of Polish coal to break the Spanish miners' strike.

Then, following immediately on the state visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko to Paris, de Gaulle left retirement to be greeted with full honours and hold lengthy conversations in Spain and Portugal.

And Vorster, having been welcomed in Malawi and Rhodesia, visits Portugal and



Portugal's brutal war in Mozambique (above and left) is no bar to relations with Kremlin

Spain, arriving on June 11 in Paris and going on to Switzerland.

## ENTICEMENT

The Stalinists will leave no stone unturned in their attempt to entice the European capitalist regimes away from American imperialism.

They offer them not only direct economic aid, but the use of their influence in the working class—as shown by the sending of Polish 'experts' to help re-organize work in the Spanish mines after Polish coal had helped break the strike.

In this plan French imperialism plays a key role.

Far from having retired from politics, Pompidou's ex-chief de Gaulle appears to

have accepted this as his main task.

But for the bureaucrats the struggle of the African colonies for liberation is absolutely secondary.

When Moscow Radio, in its broadcast to Africa, condemns Vorster's Lisbon visit and 'opposes' Portugal's 'destructive wars,' it speaks with sickening cynicism.

In Portugal itself, where important strikes hit shipyards, railways and cement works last year, the working class must take the behaviour of the Stalinists in Spain as a warning.

The bureaucracy's overtures are no sign that the regime is 'liberalizing itself,' but opening the road for treachery on a grand scale.

## FILMS

REVIEWED BY TOM GORDON

The French film maker Jean-Luc Godard recently announced that it is the duty of the director not to make political films but to make films politically. Towards this end he has had the French anarchist student leader Daniel Cohn-Bendit write one of his films. His most recent released films in the U.S.A. show the petty bourgeois, idealist direction of his new works.

*Pravda*, the first of these two new films, is set in Prague in 1969 when the Czech Communist Party was moving towards "normalization" after the 1968 invasion, but before Dubcek was deposed. Godard entered Czechoslovakia with his hand held camera and went looking and exploring.

The resulting film is an outrageous insult to the courageous Czech working class which struggled against the Stalinist bureaucracy. This reactionary and dangerous film covers up the role of the bureaucracy in the invasion by blaming the Czech working class for their own supposed "bourgeoisification."

In one scene a peasant discusses his life. He says in Czech that he is not a Communist Party member but that he has no say so in what happens in the country. Godard uses this and other dialogues to make his point that the Czech workers are bought off and are no longer a revolutionary force, if they ever were. His added "proof" is young workers with long hair, and pornography on the streets of Prague, which he claims the workers buy.

Using Mao's little red book, he puts forth the perspective that what is needed is a popular front government with the conscious construction of a new middle class of managers and technocrats to run

## Godard's Exercise in Maoist Idealism

the factories while the working class remains as it is.

### NO DIRECTION

There is no attempt to penetrate the history of the events of the spring "thaw," there is no direction given to the struggles of the workers or of the youth there. The viewer is simply shown scenes of post-thaw Prague: peasants and workers speaking Czech (with no translation), a red trolley at a turnaround, a TV announcer, signs advertising Hertz cars, Heinz cat-soup, and Agfa film. The narrators, "Rosa" and "Vladimir" mouth Maoist phrases about the penetration of Western capital into the country, about farm policy, about art.

One of the didactic lectures in *Pravda* is to the effect that sometimes the viewer will see true images in the film, sometimes false ones; sometimes hear false words, sometimes true ones. All this is then done in the film. This is supposed to be "dialectics," "mutual interpenetration of opposites as discovered by Frederick Engels."

### BOURGEOIS

The viewer is supposed to fit together these "clashing" and "interpenetrating" opposites in his own head. We are supposed to believe that the way to understand, to penetrate reality, lies in combining bourgeois ideology in our heads with images of bourgeois material reality on the screen. This method of combining various sound and image tracks comes from the author, William Burroughs, and is the most idealistic sort of rubbish. All of the Maoist aesthetics are for Godard an excuse for copping out of any artistic or political struggle.

The heroic struggles of the Czech workers and youth remain for Godard only a hopeless battle, for as one of the narrators says, "the contradictions have already been resolved in Czechoslovakia and in Western Europe."

Both *Pravda* and *See You at Mao* are filled with the Stalinist line of class collaboration. The politics of class collaboration present in these films necessarily accompanies the method behind the films. So long as "making films politically" consists of rearranging reality as it already exists, then the politics

expressed in the film must consist of rearranging the class struggle as it already exists, accepting the limitations imposed by capitalism, and thus accepting capitalism.

### EPISODES

*See You at Mao* shows this most clearly. Briefly it is a film of four episodes. The first shows workers in England assembling red cars. The second is a naked woman parading up and downstairs while the voice over talks of the need for women's liberation movement. The third concerns workers talking about shop conditions and the role of the Labour government in supporting capitalism. The fourth is a group of longhaired youth making up Maoist words to Beatles songs. The film ends with Godard declaring his solidarity with "anarchist flat squatters" and every other political tendency on the "left." These scenes are interspersed with shots of slogans: "U.S. get out," "No More War," while a little girl's voice recites a list of events famous in British trade union struggles. There is no mention of the 1926 General Strike, of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee, of the 1966 Seamen's strike, or of any other political event in the recent history of the British working class.

### CULTURAL

Godard makes absolutely no connection between these incidents. The film starts on the shop floor and moves on to anarchist youth making up songs and waving red flags as if the struggles of the working class were going to be resolved by a cultural revolution. These scenes are interrupted by a fascist TV commentator, talking of the need for smashing the unions, sterilizing the blacks, and holding down wages. No struggle is waged against the fascist. It is left up to the viewer to assemble these facts in any way he pleases. A fascist could view this film except for the waving of the red flag at the end and agree that on the weight of the evidence presented in the film, the unions should be smashed and the blacks should be sterilized.

This film consists of distorted reflections of the trade union struggle and the middle class protest movement. When

as in *Pravda* there is an attempt to give political direction, the message is completely reactionary—that the working class is bought off. *See You at Mao* completes the picture by showing the middle class protest movement as the revolutionary force. For Godard the working class is good just for building cars, and should be kept in its exploited position.

Comparison with Bo Widerberg's excellent film makes Godard's shortcomings clear. Although Widerberg did not go beyond militant trade union consciousness, his film *Adalen 31* portrayed stirring scenes of workers on strike and in marches, along with its call to spread the strike and carry it forward to victory. Above all was the conscious intervention of the director struggling to order his material and make it coherent, make it clear that the action of the Adalen strikers and the armed resistance they met from the government, is a lesson for all workers and youth.

## JOIN THE WORKERS LEAGUE!

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WISCONSIN: Madison: Phone: 257-7558 CANADA: Toronto: P.O. Box 5758, Postal Sta. A Montreal: Phone: 935-5373



## As Working Class Upsurge Deepens

Below we print the Call for the International Youth Conference which was passed unanimously at the Scarborough Conference of the British Young Socialists on April 12th. Participating in the discussion were 110 delegates from the French AJS as well as delegates from Germany and other countries. The Conference is scheduled for December, 1970 and the Workers League plans to participate.

Comrades,

All over the world the working class takes up the struggle against capitalist exploitation, against imperialism and against bureaucratic Stalinist oppression. As the General Strike of May-June 1968 in France developed, the Czechoslovak people, with the working class at its head, took up the fight against the oppression of the Soviet Bureaucracy and its agents. This at a time, when the Vietnamese workers and peasants have been waging a sustained and heroic war for liberation against American imperialism for the last 20 years. A wave of strikes and demonstrations is sweeping Western Europe.

1969-1970 are years of sharp struggles in Italy as thousands and millions of workers strike and demonstrate. From one end of Europe to the other we see merging the strike of Asturian miners, of Swedish miners and of Limbourg miners in Belgium.

Engineering workers of Western Germany take up the fight and lead the way for all German workers, while in England teachers, engineers, public service workers take every opportunity to enter into struggle. After the fall of De Gaulle in France, the ruling class and all its agents, including its Government, ask themselves: 'What is the significance of these strikes, demonstrations and movements which are condemned by them as "barbarous outbursts?"'

### AIM

De Gaulle in France, Wilson in England, the Keisinger-Brandt Government in West Germany, the 'Christian-Socialist' governments in Italy, whatever forms they take, all have the same aim: to discipline the working class and oppressed peoples in line with the requirements of capital, to tie their trade unions and political organisations to the defence of the capitalist system. The fall of De Gaulle in France, the outcome of the General Strike of May-June 1968 has sounded the death-knell for this policy. There is nothing 'barbarous' about strikes, movements and demonstrations. The working class, organising itself to engage in action, as a class, calls on its traditional organisations, trade unions and parties to break with the bourgeoisie, to organise and take up the struggle of the proletariat against capitalism which poses the question of power: the need for a Government which expresses the interests of workers, organised as a class in struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The Wilson and Brandt governments, and those in Italy which have 'socialist' participation, try to paralyse the working class from adopting more open 'solutions' as under Franco or the Greek colonels. But they prepare for that, in the more-or-less near future, by containing and diverting the action of the working class. The ruling class of Europe is more and more conscious of how finely balanced are the scales of the class struggle. It knows that its power is threatened, that the working class is preparing to launch an assault on the bourgeoisie's power as a class. The so-called 'democratic' governments are only a screen, behind which naked dictatorship is prepared, if the working class were to be paralysed and prevented from striking the death blow against them.

### STALINISM

The Kremlin bureaucracy and its satellites are panic stricken. The working class of Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. is telling them more and more clearly that the expropriation of the capitalist class must benefit the workers, and not a parasitic and reactionary caste. This is the basic meaning of the struggle of the Czechoslovak workers, which the bureaucracy, despite the occupation and the repressions, has not been able to crush in the same way that the workers



## REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH CALL WORLD CONFERENCE



YS Scarborough Conference (above) adopted Call for the International Youth Conference. AJS, shown below at Le Bourget rally, will participate in Conference

committees of the Hungarian revolution in November 1956, were crushed.

In the U.S.S.R. itself, intellectuals and workers line up their struggle against the usurpers of the Kremlin. Even in the ranks of the bureaucracy, itself, criticisms of policy are voiced. From their own standpoint the bureaucracy grasp the unity between the struggle of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries particularly in Europe and that in the countries dominated by Stalinist bureaucracy. Desperately retreating before imperialism, they cling to a status-quo which is already crumbling, but which they hope will keep the working class of Western Europe chained to capitalism and the workers of Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. under their own domination. They know that, as Leon Trotsky explained: "The first big revolutionary victory in Europe will have the effect of an electric shock on the Soviet masses, will awaken them, will arouse their spirit of independence, will recall the traditions of 1905 and 1917." The bureaucrats know that the General Strike in France in 1968 and all the struggles of the workers in Western Europe, threaten the shaky agreements they made with imperialism at the end of the Second World War, under which the road to the European revolution was to be barred by dividing the German and European working class in two. They

know that the struggles in Western Europe, the resistance of the Czechoslovak working class and intellectuals are one and the same struggle for a new world: for socialism, for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, the destruction of the parasitic bureaucracies, the breaking down of national frontiers which are the safeguards of capitalist exploitation and bureaucratic oppression. They know, as the capitalists know, that through the French General Strike and the struggle of the Czechoslovak workers, every worker throughout Europe linked hands and joined together in a common struggle breaking through the barrier set up by imperialism and the bureaucracy, for socialism, for the United Socialist States of Europe.

With all their strength the agents of the Kremlin seek to preserve capitalist order in Western Europe and the World, while the imperialists lend the Soviet bureaucracy a free hand to oppress the Czechoslovak working class and the workers and intellectuals of Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R.

### EUROPE

The European Market is an attempt by capitalism to solve its crisis at the expense of the European working class. In the face of the superior strength of United States imperialism, the European capi-

talists are striving to create a larger, protected market and field of investment within which they can discipline and super exploit the workers of every European country. They are preparing for this by the creation of European-scale monopolies and mergers. Through the creation of a pool of millions of unemployed, they hope to smash the resistance of the working class. The living standards of the British working class and of the workers of every European country would be slashed, in order that the outmoded capitalist system should survive against its US rival.

The working class of Europe has now entered a period of intensive struggles against the monopolies and governments of the European countries. In every case, the counter-revolutionary Stalinist leadership enable the capitalist government to maintain power. Only the struggle to build revolutionary parties of the Fourth International and to defeat Stalinism can prepare for victory in these struggles, behind the demand of the United Socialist States of Europe. The only solution for the workers of Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. is the political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy, not reform it, and defend the nationalised property relations of those countries. That struggle for political revolution is insolubly linked with the social revolution in Western Europe. These are united by the building of the revolutionary youth international. The great rally of the AJS on 1st February in Paris was the first action in preparation for the achievement of this perspective.

Europe will be united in a Socialist United States of Europe through the political revolution in Eastern Europe and the social revolution in Western Europe. We stand for the withdrawal of all occupation troops from Europe and the disbandment of NATO. We oppose the Common Market.

The working class of Europe and the world have entered a new phase in their struggle: in which the revolution is imminent. Now the European workers struggle merges with the resistance of American workers to the effects of the policing of world imperialism by American imperialism, with the struggle of the workers and peasants of Vietnam, Cambodia and of all oppressed peoples against imperialism, with the revolutionary explosions in Latin America and all over the world.

In the front ranks of the class struggle are young workers and students. Imperialism and the bureaucracy in their crisis leave these young people no alternative but to struggle for the socialist revolution. Capitalism and the bankrupt bureaucracy offer no future for young people at school and for students. The very essentials of culture in scientific and technical training, which the developing capitalist class once passed on to its heirs and to a lesser extent to working class youth, are today threatened. Apart from a small minority destined to become the servants of decaying capitalist society the ruling class is forced to clash even with its own youth. They deprive them of any education, skill or security, giving them nothing to inspire them with any enthusiasm. The student struggles which are breaking out all over the world express the dead-end character of capitalism. When the youth of the ruling class takes a stand against its own class, its institutions and its political and social order, that can only mean that capitalist society is dying on its feet and condemned. Young people in schools and universities in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe react no less violently against the Kremlin bureaucracy and its agents. The bureaucracy because it reflects the pressures of imperialism acting as a barrier to the extension of socialist revolution and tied to imperialism, in order to defend its privileges, brings into the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe all the evils of capitalist society. As a result young people in these countries feel as much threatened by insecurity and destruction of culture and education as those in the capitalist countries.

The student revolt, by itself, can offer no solution. It expresses the crisis of capitalist society and of the bureaucracy: a crisis which threatens only catastrophe and slavery.

Working class youth takes up the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy with no less dynamism and determination. They are the first to be threatened. Apprentices and young workers in their millions are thrown out of jobs and their basic education is undermined. To be half-literate, unskilled, more or less chronically unemployed, is the future for millions of them.

### COLONIAL

In the economically backward countries there are tens of thousands of youth who



# Wilson's Betrayals Lead To Tory Victory

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

On June 18, the results of Harold Wilson's betrayals of the British working class were made clear with the election of a Tory government. While the pollsters had promised a Labour victory, the Tories headed by Edward Heath won a thirty seat majority in Parliament.

The Tory victory is being hailed by the U.S. capitalist class which sees it as critical to the plans of world imperialism to beat back the offensive of the working class in the U.S., Europe, and Indochina. The Christian Science Monitor in its June 20 editorial called the Tory victory "A Fresh Wind for Britain." As the Monitor put it: "Anglo-American relations were good under Wilson. They are likely to be still more cordial under Heath."

## RESPONSIBILITY

Wilson and his cabinet must take full responsibility for the defeat suffered by the Labour Party. Since his election in 1964 Wilson and his cohorts have carried out policies designed to restore the declining position of British capitalism. Wilson has acted not in the interests of the British workers but in the interests of those forces that stand behind the Tories—the bankers, big business, and world imperialism.

Basing his rule not on socialist poli-

cies but on reformism, at each point Wilson has sought to place the burden for the deepening crisis of British capitalism on the backs of the working class. This is what lies behind the wage freeze, the introduction of productivity deals, his attempts to pass anti-labor legislation to break the power of the shop stewards, prevent strikes and institute compulsory arbitration. Hand in hand with these domestic policies has been his unwavering support to U.S. imperialism's war in Southeast Asia and his sending of troops against the workers in Ireland.

## POWELL

But under Wilson the economic crisis has only been aggravated resulting in growing inflation and unemployment. It is this situation which lies behind the fact that many Labour supporters either abstained or voted for the Tories. Voter participation was the lowest for a general election in 25 years. Wilson's betrayals, his retreat before the Tories during the

election paved the way not only for Labour's defeat but for the growth of right-wing racist forces like Enoch Powell. Powell, who won his district by a big majority, played on the fears created by the shaky economic situation in England.

Aiding and abetting Wilson have been the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists whose perspective has been one of "pressuring" Wilson.

The Socialist Labour League (British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International) is the only organization in England which has consistently warned of Wilson's betrayals and the dangers of the economic crisis. The SLL supported the election of Labour in 1964 and 1966 but warned that without a change of policy and leadership in the government, Wilson would open the door to the return of the Tories.

The SLL and YS fought in this election to mobilize the working class to vote Labour and to fight for socialist policies against Wilson's bankrupt program of reformism.

## DANGERS

The dangers of Wilson's policies are now clear. The Tories are in and are preparing to move viciously against the unions to stop their mighty offensive, to hold back wages and increase unemploy-



Tory victory opens the way for Powell.

ment. In this the Tory Party will seek out the support of the right wing of the trade union bureaucracy. Just as this bureaucracy aided Wilson, so it will aid Heath defending this collaboration as a "lesser evil" to the right wing forces represented by Powell.

The Heath government will use Powellism as a threat to the trade union bureaucracy and the Labour leaders. It will attempt a balancing act, leaning to the right on Powell and to the left on the right wing union leaders. In this situation the Powellite wing will play a decisive and increasingly dangerous role with its program of anti-union legislation, "law and order" campaigns, attacks on social services and its racist policies to limit immigration and sow division among the working class.

The Labour leaders will now attempt to rally the workers behind them and give their reformist perspective a new life by playing on the hostility within the working class toward the Tories. The Stalinists and the Labour lefts will aid in this deception by posing themselves as a socialist alternative to the right wing in the Labour Party.

## ALTERNATIVE

While the British working class has suffered a political defeat in the parliamentary struggle, it is continuing its tremendous fight to defend its living standards and its trade unions. Only three days after the Tory victory, dockers at Merseyside announced a one day strike to demand full nationalization of the ports under workers' control and against unemployment. It is working class action on socialist policies which is showing the way forward to defeat the Tories.

The central task now posed to the British workers is the fight to build an alternative leadership, a Trotskyist leadership, which alone can defend the working class and prepare the struggle for a socialist victory. This leadership will be built by the SLL against reformism, Stalinism and its revisionist allies and in its fight to mobilize the working class against the counter offensive of the Tories.

# Moscow Trials Revived in Czechoslovakia

BY MELODY FARROW

Evidence is mounting day after day that the Husak regime in Czechoslovakia is preparing the groundwork for a grand "show trial" of Alexander Dubcek, in the tradition of the Stalinist trials of the 1930s. He has just been recalled from his duties as Ambassador to Turkey.

As reported in the June 15 issue of the Bulletin the French Communist Party handed over documents to the Czech Stalinists to be used in a future frameup of Dubcek. This is all part of a consistent campaign since the 1968 invasion to portray Dubcek as not merely misguided or opportunistic but as a man who openly collaborates with fascists. Dubcek must be destroyed once and for all and made an example of to try and suppress the deepening struggle of Czech workers and students for socialist democracy.

The new tone of the attack is declared in a recent broadcast by Radio Prague in which Dubcek is linked with the fascist Czech emigres. In the summer of 1968 Radio Prague stated that "Even in the First Republic there were people who were ready to betray their nation and join the fascists for the sole purpose of preserving their property. Today they have died out. But many have left descendants and disciples behind who dreamed that Dubcek would enable them to get hold first of the nationalized industry and later of power, to liquidate socialism and restore capitalism."

## REPRESSION

Just as Garaudy's name (recently expelled from the French CP) was linked with Trotskyism, Dubcek's name is linked with fascists. The old slander that Trotskyism is the same as fascism is being

revived.

But it is not enough for the Stalinists to attack Dubcek. His coming trial is only the beginning of massive repression against the Czech working class, students and intellectuals, a repression which has already begun with the trial of 3 prominent "liberals" in Czechoslovakia. So great is the crisis of the Stalinists, so great is the opposition to their regime that the Czech Communist Party has had to launch a complete purge of the party called the "card exchange."

This campaign was officially begun on February 3. The Stalinists had to openly admit that "For all the measures adopted by the Party's Central Committee to date and the partial results achieved, the main task has yet to be fulfilled." "Normalization" is impossible for the Stalinists. They can only turn to open repression.

## PURGE

Since the purge began 250,000 to 600,000 members have been expelled from the party. Before the purge the membership was about 1,500,000 but now it has dropped to 200,000. Before the purge 32% of the party members were workers. Now they only constitute 22.8% of the membership and in Prague only 16%. These figures expose the bureaucracy's claim that the opposition is limited to the students and intellectuals. Many workers have simply torn up their party cards and have refused to attend the meetings.

have never had a job and have no hope of ever getting one. Young workers will never accept this future. On the contrary, they have the will to fight for a real future. The only way capitalism and the Stalinist bureaucracy can reply to their hopes and aspirations is by repression, witchhunting and police brutality. Imperialism drives the youth into its armies like cattle to the slaughter, to carry out its military adventures and colonial massacres.

In countries like Vietnam the youth lay down their lives to defeat imperialism. They are the vanguard of the revolutionary struggles of workers both in the capitalist countries and in those countries dominated by Stalinist bureaucracy: in May-June 1968 in France, in Czechoslovakia and in all the big class actions.

Youth refuse to conform to a society which massacres whole peoples in Vietnam, Nigeria, the Middle East and elsewhere; which creates widespread famine in India, Latin America, and Africa. Capitalism imports from the economically backward countries millions of wage slaves with no rights: Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Spaniards, North Africans. Youth will ruthlessly oppose all attempts to divide workers along racialist lines or nationalist lines.

Youth rejects the methods of individual action 'fake leftism,' and all those tendencies which call into question the leading role of active minorities and all those who seek 'short cuts' to the socialist revolution.

Youth are in conflict with an economic and social system, imperialism, which leads to the war just as sure as night follows day: it is already responsible for two world wars. Capitalism's stability and 'prosperity' depends on millions of pounds in military spending, its main-spring of scientific and technical development is the preparation for a Third World War.

## FASCISM

They know that fascism is a product of imperialism in desperation and not a peculiarity of Germany. Capitalism can only 'overcome' its problems by smashing the working class and its youth by going to war against Russia, Eastern Europe and China, in order to re-open markets lost to them through the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the nationalisation of the main industries in these countries.

At the beginning of their lives, youth want to live as human beings, proud and free, able to use the prodigious conquests of science and technology to begin an

unlimited development in man's human and cultural potential. They equally reject Stalinism, the parasitic bureaucracy which distorts the October revolution, degrades the gains of the revolution and cheats the workers of the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe of the fruits of their labour.

In organising and fighting against capitalism in their own country, youth must be conscious that they summon youth and workers all over the world to do the same.

Youth in the East and West have proved that they are ready to fight alongside the working class for the great cause of Socialism. They are ready, with all their strength and enthusiasm, to engage in the struggle for a United Socialist States of Europe. On 1st February, in France, 9000 young people mobilised by the AJS, shouted the slogan which summed up all their aspirations: 'LONG LIVE THE UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE.'

On 11/12th April at the 10th Annual Conference of the Y.S., in the name of thousands of young workers and students, in England, in the name of the 9000 young workers and students who met at Le Bourget rally on February 1st, in the name of the young workers and students in Germany, represented by the

Young Socialists, by the AJS, and by Junge Garde (Germany) says to all those youth in Europe and internationally who want to fight imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy:

The time has come to unite the fight of revolutionary youth in all countries through the building of the Revolutionary Youth International. We propose a meeting to prepare a conference of all youth movements which are struggling for socialism.

The Scarborough Conference calls on all of you, as individuals and in your organisations who fight among the youth for the Socialist Revolution: Unite, let us continue in the tradition of Liebknecht by building the Revolutionary Youth International.

The Scarborough Conference undertakes to discuss and work together with all militants, groups and organisations of youth who agree to fight for this objective.

Meeting at Scarborough on 11th/12th April 1970, this conference undertakes to do everything possible to achieve this aim and to establish a working committee to prepare a conference of youth movements.

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL!  
LONG LIVE THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

# A Former CP Member Writes

New York, N. Y.

Editor:

As a former member of the CP, I enjoyed your article about Stalinism and Trotskyism (June 8).

I do not agree with everything in it. You mention the four leaders of the CP in the mid-1920s and do not include Ben Gitlow. Read his books. Why did he go sour?

You fail to mention that Earl Browder was originally a member of the early Foster faction. Where is he today?

You fail to quote James Cannon's remarks about the Foster-Cannon faction

being against moving the headquarters of the CP from Chicago to New York in 1924. Why were they against it?

Today all the Marxist parties, splinters and factions, have their main base and headquarters in New York City which is not an industrial city.

The fact that New York City is twenty-ninth on the list of all U.S. cities for average wage, and the majority of Puerto Ricans and blacks are not organized in the unions in New York City, shows what a weak middle class Marxist movement exists today.

ILA

# ... Fred Mueller Replies

BY FRED MUELLER

The articles on Stalinism and Trotskyism were aimed at tracing the struggle to build the revolutionary party in the United States. The fundamental question was and remains the fight for Marxist theory, and the bringing of this theory into the class struggle.

We discussed the top leaders of the early Communist Party from this standpoint and not from any interest in personalities alone. Cannon and Foster, as we pointed out, expressed some of the healthiest tendencies within the early movement. They came to represent the divergent paths of Trotskyism and Stalinism, of revolution and the new revisionism which became counterrevolution.

Gitlow never achieved the stature of Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Foster and Cannon. We made no special mention of Gitlow or of numerous other leaders because the fundamental history is expressed in the evolution of Cannon and Foster.

Gitlow deserted the working class movement entirely, as did so many other, after having been politically destroyed by Stalinism. His autobiography, *I Confess*, published in the 1950s, is one among many anti-communist memoirs.

### DISORIENTING

The question of the headquarters location became an early bone of contention between the Foster-Cannon and Ruthenberg-Lovestone factions. It was very much a part of the disorienting and confused faction struggle in this period. The Foster-Cannon bloc proposed moving the headquarters to Chicago. They won this point in 1923 and the headquarters remained there until 1927. But the Foster-Cannon group never posed this question on the level of theory.

The move to Chicago and the effort to

remain there were an expression of this group's pragmatic orientation toward the American working class. Without a fight to understand all of the historical and international questions and to bring this understanding to the working class, the question of orientation and of headquarters can become simply an expression of syndicalism. The revolutionary party will not be built in this way.

### THEORY

Similarly, it is incorrect to view the present weaknesses of the working class movement simply in terms of the location of the headquarters of the various political tendencies in New York. This conception is an expression of the pragmatism which has afflicted the working class movement from its origins. The essential weakness of the radical movement in the U.S. is its contempt for theory, for it is theory alone which can emancipate the working class. The "middle class Marxist movement," that is the middle class tendency which dominates the radical movement is a question of theory and program. Composition must flow from theory, not the other way around.

This is demonstrated by the Communist Party itself. The Stalinists are dangerous precisely because of their ties to the working class and to sections of the trade union bureaucracy. This working class orientation can and is being used to maintain the dependence of the working class on the middle class and through the middle class to the bourgeoisie.

The struggle to build the revolutionary party cannot be taken forward by idealizing the working class. There can be no concessions to the revisionist idea that the workers will spontaneously develop theory and the revolutionary party. There must be a conscious fight for theory. This is the only road to the industrial working class and the socialist revolution. And this means above all the fight against Stalinism and revisionism today.

# Joe Curran Backs Nixon With Witchhunt Against NMU Militants

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Joseph Curran has launched a vicious campaign against every militant and worker in the National Maritime Union. A resolution in favor of the Vietnam war was pushed through the New York port meeting recently with almost no discussion allowed. The June issue of the *Pilot* blames students and youth for all the repression that has come down

against them, and equates "Communists" with "Nazis" and "fascists."

Every member of the NMU must fight to throw back this attack in Curran's face. Curran is doing Meany and Nixon's dirty work in trying to whip up backward sentiments against the militants and youth.

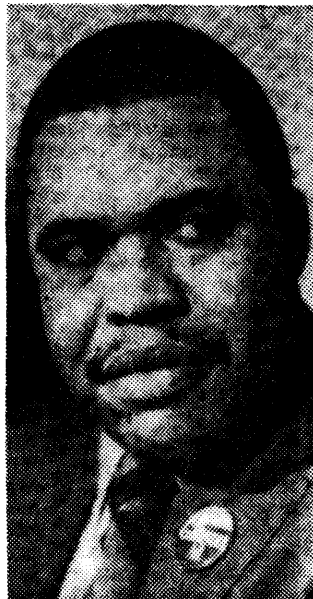
Curran states in the June *Pilot*: "Is the kind of barbarism and repression Hitler imposed on Germany and other countries what some deluded youth would like to see in America? There are elements in the background busy steaming up our youth who would like to see this happen. Only this time its name would not be Nazi or Fascist, it would be State Communism, controlled as rigidly as any dictatorship could be."

### SUPPRESSION

Alongside this slander is an appeal to nonviolence. A recent "Youth Conference on Democratic Change" was sponsored by the NMU in New York. The conference was directed towards "cooling off campus violence and channeling the energies of young people toward more productive areas..." Members of pacifist and religious organizations such as the Catholic Youth Organization, the A. Philip Randolph Institute and the NAACP were present. As Curran says, "Gandhi and Martin Luther King accomplished more with their nonviolent continuous pressures than all the violence from the time of the Roman Empire."

Curran's appeals to pacifism are a cover for his capitulation to the attack of the government and the bosses on the

# CP Hails Gibson Election As Victory For Peoples Front



New Mayor of Newark, Kenneth Gibson

largest investor, who also vouched for the "solid support" of "the business community."

### CP

The ideological defense of the "coalition" support for Gibson comes most clearly from the Communist Party, which in its paper the *Daily World* made the most reactionary appeal to capitalist "law and order" in behalf of the Gibson campaign. The CP stated in a June 13 editorial: "One important fact answers those of Newark's white voters who profess fear that the election of Kenneth Gibson...will cause more 'racial unrest' and violence. This is the fact that there has been no increase in violations of 'law and order' in the 48 U.S. cities and towns with black mayors."

The editorial goes on to remark that many white "respected citizens" are supporting Gibson and that if Gibson is elected by an electorate in a city where blacks and Puerto Ricans are a majority, "that would be double assurance that the basic needs of all Newark's citizens would receive attention." It is clear that the view of the Communist Party is that liberal Democrats like Gibson are the best defenders of capitalist "law and order" and that the basic needs of the "citizens" (presumably, including the working class) can be satisfied entirely within the framework of capitalism.

### POPULAR FRONT

The theory being presented by the CP here—the popular front—is a totally reformist idea that the working class does not need its own party but can utilize the capitalist parties "to improve the conditions of the poorest sectors of the population." What the CP fought for in Newark, as in Cleveland and New York was an alliance with the big capitalists through the liberal sections of the Democratic and Republican Parties in order to prevent the formation of an independent labor party. This is the program they are bringing into this weekend's "rank and file" conference of trade unionists in Chicago. This is what lies behind the mask of an economist program which pretends to avoid the question of political parties.

This is the program which the Communist Party says can defeat Nixon, Agnew, Wallace and the forces of the ultra-right behind Anthony Imperiale in Newark. But in reality it is the program that led to the triumph of fascist reaction in Germany and Spain, by preventing the INDEPENDENT mobilization of the power of the working class.

BY DAN FRIED

The election of Negro Democrat Kenneth A. Gibson as Mayor of Newark is being hailed as the greatest blessing for "the people" of Newark in the history of that city by forces ranging from the Newark Chamber of Commerce to "black militants" sympathetic to the Panthers and by the Communist Party, USA.

On election night after it was announced that Gibson, a former city engineer, had defeated his opponent, former Mayor Hugh Addonizio, crowds of his supporters celebrated his victory in the streets chanting "power to the people" to which Gibson responded, "right on!" Sections of the black ghetto greeted Gibson's election with a response described as "euphoric" and "jubilant," and some spoke of great changes that would provide a new and far better life for the nearly 250,000 black and Puerto Rican residents of Newark.

But the most jubilant were the men at the very pinnacle of capitalism in Newark who saw this "power to the people" as a victory for the power of the "people" of Wall Street. Charles A. Hall, president of the Greater Newark Chamber of Commerce, said that Gibson's election provided "a new dawn for Newark" and stated "all the initiative and leadership of the business community are behind you in your efforts to build a great American city." Hall was joined in greeting Gibson's victory by Donald MacNaughton, president of the Prudential Insurance Company, Newark's

# NMU Militants

rank and file face increasing unemployment and at a time when a large section of the labor movement is entering the struggle against the war seeing that its fight on wages and jobs is connected with the fight against the war.

The hijacking of a U.S. ammunition ship by several young sailors off Cambodia shows that the bosses are facing strikes and mutinies not only over jobs and wages but over the Vietnam war. Curran like his cohorts in the bureaucracy of the ILA and construction unions are consciously attempting to divide the students and militants from the rest of the workers to prevent their militancy from penetrating into the rank and file of the NMU.

### WARNING

Curran's warning is clear enough when he tells the youth to "root out elements in their midst who do not share their honest objectives." Curran used just such a purge against militants after World War II to construct the repressive machine that now strangles the ranks of the NMU.

The ranks of the NMU must go on the offensive against Curran joining their brothers who marched in New York on May 21 against the war and the attacks on students and blacks. The ranks must take up the struggle for the political independence of the unions through the fight for a labor party. It is the labor party which is the weapon to fight Curran's support to Democratic politicians such as Goldberg who calls for a wage freeze, and to fight Nixon's war against the workers and peasants in Indochina and his war at home against the unions.

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