

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 6, NO. 40-155 JULY 13, 1970

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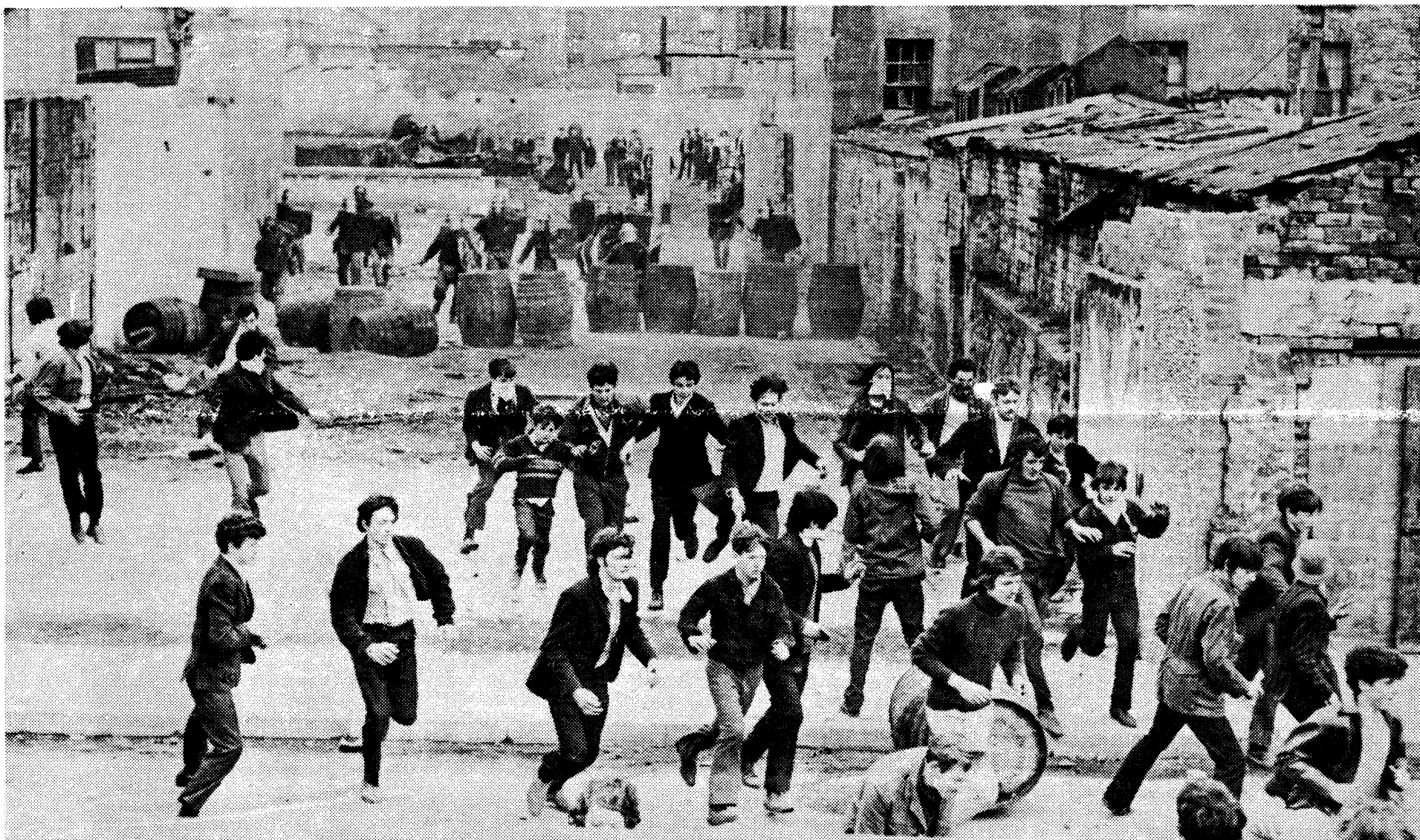
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INSTITUTION

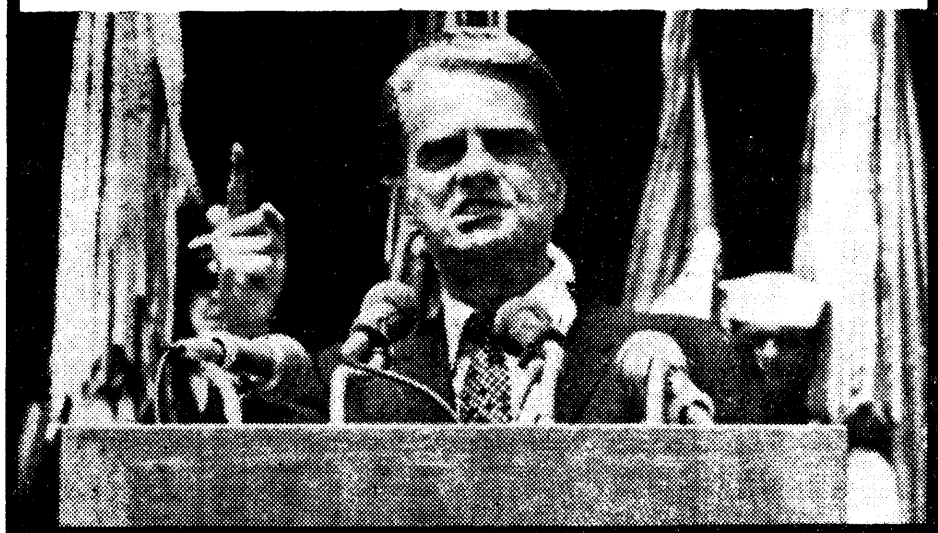
**Open Letter to
Bill Epton
From The Former
Editor Of DeSafio**

TORIES OPEN FIRE ON IRISH WORKERS

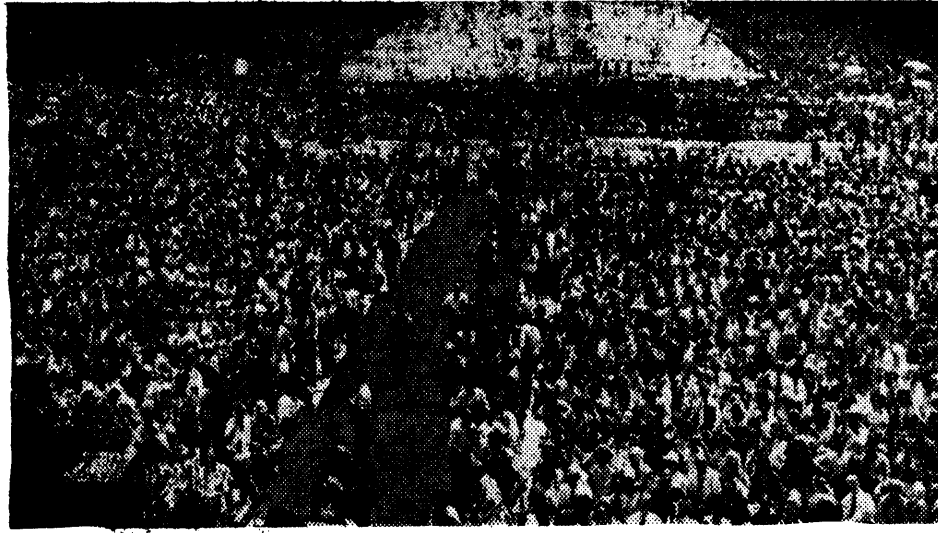


British troops storming into the Bogside, Catholic ghetto in Derry, North Ireland last week met resistance from stone-throwing youth in many back street battles.

**BILLY GRAHAM LEADS
'HONOR AMERICA' CRUSADE
—COVER FOR RIGHTISTS**



**Hospital Workers
Must Fight To
Reject Sellout
Contract Offer!**



"Honor America Day" in Washington, D.C. was attempt to whip up frenzied patriotism.

Nixon Unleashes Rightists On 'Honor America' Day

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

In a setting combining Hollywood pageantry with the atmosphere of a Southern revival meeting the "Honor America" crusade descended on Washington to celebrate the Fourth of July. Selling the wares of patriotism for the capitalist class were such charlatans as evangelist preacher Billy Graham, and multi-millionaire entertainers such as Kate Smith and Bob Hope.

While the police looked kindly upon the Yuppies holding their "pot smoke-in" at the Reflecting Pool, Kate Smith sang "God Bless America," Boy Scouts were mobilized to hand out American flags, Bob Hope made cynical jokes and speakers praised the untarnished honor and power of America.

"Honor America Day" was sponsored, organized and paid for by "the circle of President Nixon's aides and friends" who as the New York Times put it "thought they could celebrate and appropriate patriotism in one giant rally, providing a climax to a week of Presidential propaganda on behalf of the venture into Cambodia and the war effort in general."

COVER

Clearly "Honor America Day" was designed to cover over the failure of the Cambodian venture and the deepening class conflict which it has produced. Despite all his propaganda Nixon cannot hide the fact that imperialism's forces could not drive back the struggles of the workers and peasants in Indochina nor the fact that the American working class has decisively entered the struggle against the war.

Once again Nixon attempted to drum up the support of the "silent majority" for U.S. imperialism's policies. In building the rally the sponsors played down the question of the war billing it as a "non-political" gathering which could unite "hawks" and "doves," hard hats and the "long hair youth" behind something everyone could agree on—the American flag. This flag, of course, is nothing but the symbol of U.S. imperialism stained with the blood of millions which has been split in the wars to make the American multimillionaires the richest in the world.

LIBERALS

Joining with Nixon and his friends and such rightwing organizations as Young Americans for Freedom were all those antiwar liberals like McGovern, Muskie, Kennedy, and Lindsay. While Lindsay was holding his own "Honor America Day" festivities in New York, Kennedy remarked "the flag is still the symbol of our unity." What indeed unites these forces is their interests in preserving American imperialism.

But all the patriotism and flag weaving could not mobilize the "silent majority" on the Fourth of July. While the Park Police in Washington reported that the afternoon's festivities drew 25,000, reporters said 10,000 was a more "accurate figure." The big crowd of 150,000 was drawn only to the entertainment portion of the activities in the evening. This is a far cry from the over half million which were mobilized in Washington last fall against the war.

DANGERS

However, the small size of the forces who "Honored America" does not at all lessen the dangers of this campaign. Like the mobilization of the "Hard Hats," "Honor America Day" was an attempt by the capitalist class to whip up patriotic frenzy in the middle class and a section of the working class to back Nixon in his war in Southeast Asia and his attacks on

the American working class at home. While this attempt reflects the fear of the Nixon Administration of the real movement of the working class against his policies, it is also a warning of the forces which the capitalist class is prepared to unleash against the working class.

In this sense Billy Graham definitely gave the keynote address:

"Lately our institutions have been under attack—the Supreme Court, the Congress, the President, the flag, the home, the educational system, and even the church, but we are here to say with loud voices that, in spite of their faults, we believe in these institutions."

Mr. Graham went on to warn about "the great inroads of materialism and the rising sea of permissiveness," calling for "Americans" to strive towards "spiritual identity." The permissiveness as far as Graham is concerned is the growing threat of the movement of the working class and the youth against capitalism. The "materialism" which he detests is the fight by the working class to improve its standards of life. It is the materialism of the capitalist class, its lust for profits, for which all the institutions of the Supreme Court, the Congress and the President exist which he defends.

DEMOGOGY

Appropriately Graham ended his speech with a quote from Winston Churchill, the vicious enemy of the working class and defender of world imperialism: "Never give in! Never! Never! Never!"

Graham's speech is a preview of the demogogy of fascism. It is behind the conception of the all powerful state, the elevation of the institutions and leader of the nation to a supernatural power in which the people place their "faith" that the fascists prepare their gangs and their weapons to destroy the working class. The pageantry and demogogy of "Honor America Day" raises the spectre of those infamous "God, Country and Flag" rallies held in Nuremberg by the Nazis.

It is significant that only three months ago a similar "Honor America" demonstration was held in Washington but this one was called by Carl McIntyre, the New Jersey clergyman who was trained at the same bible school and is a close friend of Ian Paisley, the leader of the fascistic forces in North Ireland. The banners of this demonstration openly defended racism and imperialist slaughter.

POLARIZATION

Now it is Nixon's circle and friends who are organizing the demonstrations. Nixon and his class are facing the growing polarization of the class struggle and fear the inevitable confrontation. While Nixon uses the right wing forces against the working class, he wants to control them to cover over the deepening divisions in society by doing a balancing act. He stands with one foot on the working class through the offices of the right wing labor bureaucracy and with the other foot on the racist, anti-working class Wallacite forces.

In this way Nixon hopes to raise himself above the class struggle as the compromiser and the mediator. This

what the editors think...

The analysis of Kenneth Gibson's election as mayor of Newark which appeared in the July 3 *Militant* reveals that the Socialist Workers Party has deepened its movement toward Stalinist popular front politics.

The Communist Party, through its newspaper the *Daily World*, had openly and unabashedly supported Gibson's election on the grounds that black liberal mayors like Gibson, Stokes and Hatcher can defend capitalist "law and order" better than anyone else.

While the CP openly and loudly trumpets its support for Gibson, the article in the *Militant* by Nat London is more devious. London goes to great lengths to differentiate the Gibson candidacy from the "openly" Democratic Party campaigns of Hatcher in Gary and Stokes in Cleveland. The SWP had opposed Stokes on the electoral arena by running its own candidate for mayor of Cleveland on the grounds that Stokes was an open Democratic Party candidate.

FIGLEAF

But even this electoral opposition to Stokes was shown to be a figleaf behind which the SWP openly refused to bring even the mildest criticism of Stokes into the Cleveland anti-war demonstration held at the time of last month's National Emergency Conference. *Militant* Editor, Harry Ring, took the floor at the conference to justify this refusal to demonstrate against Stokes on the grounds that 90% of the blacks in Cleveland had supported Stokes in the election. With the same opportunist logic, one could have justified the refusal to demonstrate against Lyndon Johnson on the grounds that he was supported by the overwhelming majority of black voters.

London's analysis of the Gibson campaign shows that even the SWP's figleaf is wearing thin. London is preparing the rationale for open support to liberal politicians via the back door of a campaign for an independent black political party. Thus every argument is geared toward demonstrating Gibson's independence from the Democratic Party and from the capitalist ruling class. The reader is left with the inescapable conclusion that unlike Stokes, there was no reason to oppose Gibson and in fact his election provides the framework for the mobilization of the blacks for control of the "black community" and for the formation of an "independent black political party." If this is the SWP's conclusion then they should come right out in the open and say whether they were for Gibson, Addonizio or for abstention in the Newark election.

"INDEPENDENCE"

The London article builds up its portrayal of Gibson as an independent by pointing out that he was nominated by a black and Puerto Rican Convention last November as a candidate who was not "openly associated with the Democratic Party." London also points out that the Newark elections are "formally non-partisan" and that the "openly" Democratic Party machine candidates "like Calvin West, a councilman, cannot even speak in the Central Ward," the center of Newark's black ghetto.

London sees the fact that Gibson not only CAN speak in the ghetto but can get overwhelming support there as a sign of his independence. What is clear, however, is that it is precisely Gibson's image as an "independent," as a reformer, that made him so valuable to the capitalist ruling class who supported him.

strategy was clearly outlined in the briefing given by leading members of Nixon's cabinet to news executives. The *New York Times* of July 6 reports on the remarks of Nixon's aides:

"What we have to attempt to do, really, all of us, is to preserve some vestige of authority in this country, if we are ever going to move with confidence and competence toward a better future...If confidence in him (the President) is systematically destroyed, we will turn into a group that has nothing left but a physical test of strength, and the only outcome of this is Caesarism....Upper middle class college kids will not take this country over. Some more elemental forces will do that if it happens."

What is revealed here is the recognition of the struggle emerging in this epoch—socialism or fascism.

What has become clear is that in order

London sees Gibson not as the man whose role it is to keep the black and white working class of Newark under control, but as the nominee of last November's Convention of Black and Puerto Rican People who chose him "to represent the black and Puerto Rican people of Newark." "In this sense, the campaign slogan, the 'community's choice,' had real meaning," says London. London goes on to point out that Gibson's opponents recognized his nomination by the Convention as "a danger to the status quo."

STATUS QUO

Gibson's election is seen as flowing out of the 1967 rebellion in the black ghetto. Presumably referring to Gibson's election, London says, "Today, the reverberations from this mighty explosion are tearing gaping holes in the extensive political machinery carefully nurtured over the years by the Newark Chamber of Commerce."

If there are any gaping holes in the political machinery, the Newark Chamber of Commerce is using the Gibson election



Kenneth Gibson, new Mayor of Newark.

to patch them up. This most authoritative voice of the ruling class in Newark greeted Gibson's election as "a new dawn" for Newark and told Gibson "all the initiative and leadership of the business community are behind you in your efforts to build a great American City." The *New York Times* notes that Gibson is "bending over backwards" to build a bridge to the previous Addonizio administration. His appointments are designed to reassure the ruling class that the status quo is not in the slightest danger.

PRAGMATIC

Beginning with a pragmatic adaptation to the consciousness of the "black community" rather than a program for the objective needs of the working class, the SWP has taken a further step in support of Stalinist popular front politics by giving backhanded support to Kenneth Gibson. Behind the formula of "black control of the black community" they are renouncing Trotskyism and the struggle for an independent labor party in favor of the swamp of liberal politics.

to strike against and contain the working class Nixon must more and more unleash the rightist forces which pave the way for fascism. This is the significance of "Honor America Day." The bankruptcy of the liberals in this situation was also revealed as they joined together with Nixon and the forces of reaction.

The events of the Fourth of July pose sharply to the American working class the necessity to act quickly and decisively. This means drawing the class lines. It means going on the political offensive against the whole lot of the capitalist class, its flag, its institutions, its patriotism, its wars, by taking up the fight for a labor party. As Marx put it over a hundred years ago: "The workingmen have no country." The struggle for the labor party is today what unites the American working class together with the international working class in a battle to defeat imperialism.

From The Former Editor Of Desafio

AN OPEN LETTER TO BILL EPTON

Dear Bill:

I have before me a copy of Progressive Labor's National Steering Committee Report on "Inner Party Struggle" dated June 11, 1970. I must confess that it is the most slanderous piece of trash I have ever seen in my life. I also have before me the document which you and the other comrades wrote putting forth your criticisms of the PLP.

The campaign of slander against you and the other comrades unleashed in that document and presently going on throughout PL can only be described as Stalinism gone rampant. It is in the best tradition of Stalin's frame-up trials and "confessions," particularly the Moscow Trials, through which Mort Scheer's Big Hero consolidated his power by physically annihilating Lenin's comrades in arms. This campaign exposes as a fraud for all to see Progressive Labor's claim to Marxism and Leninism and shows clearly that it stands four square on the negation of Marxism and Leninism, that is, on Stalinism with its inability to deal with political differences in any other way than by organizational maneuvers and slanders. You are right Bill, and I know it from my own experience, there is no democratic centralism in Progressive Labor.

I must say that, despite some serious flaws, I consider your document to be a serious and honest attempt to criticize Progressive Labor. The fundamental flaw I see in your document is that PL and its mistakes are seen isolated and abstracted from the history of the Marxist movement in this country and the world. That is, it does not deal with the historical and theoretical roots of those problems. The main two you mention are the inability of Progressive Labor to penetrate the working class and its violation of democratic centralism.

PRAGMATISM

The reason for this is that you are starting with essentially the same outlook that the rest of the leadership of PL started with when it split from the Communist Party. That outlook is pragmatism. Basic to this outlook is the refusal to confront the fundamental issue in the revolutionary workers movement—Marxism versus revisionism, which in this century, and particularly in this decade of the 1970s with the upsurge of the working class on all fronts, means Trotskyism versus Stalinism. That is why you can make very telling criticisms of Progressive Labor and at the same time pose no alternative whatsoever to PL's bankruptcy. The reason I stress this to you is that without confronting the issue of Trotskyism vs. Stalinism you will, regardless of your best intentions, go down the same road PL has travelled since it broke from the CP.

Historically Stalinism means the revision of Marxism, the destruction of revolutionary strategy as developed by the Bolshevik party and the first four Congresses of the Communist International. It meant the break with the world revolution with Stalin's "theory" of socialism in one country. This new revisionism which emerged in the Soviet Union after the death of Lenin started as a pragmatic adaptation on the part of Stalin and the rising Soviet bureaucracy to the "reality" of the Soviet Union in the 1920s. That reality, the isolated workers' state in an economically backward country, challenged the Marxists of that time to the defense and development of the theoretical and practical conquests of Leninism and the outlook of transforming that reality by the extension of the revolution into the advanced capitalist countries. That outlook was defended by Trotsky and the Left Opposition against Stalin's adaptation to that reality through his "theory" of socialism in one country. So we see that the essence of the new revisionism, Stalinism meant the abandonment of Marxist theory and strategy.

Progressive Labor, when it broke from the Communist Party did so organizationally only. Politically and theoretically it stood and still stands today on the same revisionism as the CP: Stalinism. This is the foundation of all its problems. PL

at no point based its work on any thought out strategy or analysis of the situation in this country and much less, of course, in the world. This can best be illustrated by the way in which it sought to penetrate the American working class. This is of particular importance since not only have you not broken from PL's conception on this score but that conception is at the heart of your own outlook.

This is how you put it:

"We see it as primary right now that we proletarianize ourselves and win workers to M-L through struggle at the point of production. To begin this process we intend to try to integrate ourselves into the working class at the point of production, learn from them, and struggle with them. Out of these struggles, and the ongoing class struggle all over the country, organizations and eventually a party will be created which will lead the working class to overthrow the ruling class and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Basically this is a continuation of PL's outlook of mechanically "integrating" oneself into the working class at the point of production, a process by which, after "learning from the workers" and "struggling with them," one will arrive at Marxism-Leninism and a new party will be formed. This is nothing but a repudiation of Lenin's concept of the party as an organization of revolutionaries that fights within the working class for a strategy developed on the basis of an independent analysis of the international and national situations. Basically it is an adaptation to the workers' spontaneous struggles, putting forth the idea, demolished by Lenin in *What Is To Be Done*, that the working class can, through its day-to-day struggles "at the point of production," arrive at Marxism on its own.

LENIN

The central thrust in Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* is that there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory. Your whole outlook, which is the same as PL's, negates this, whether you realize it or not.

What this means is that going to the workers can in no way be a substitute for developing an independent strategy for power based on the whole history and theory of the Marxist movement because what one will learn from the workers' "day-to-day experiences and struggles in the shops and factories" will not be, and cannot be, anything more than trade union consciousness. This, as Lenin pointed out, in spite of all its militancy, still is bourgeois consciousness. This is what Lenin said:

"But the spontaneous development of the working-class movement leads to its subordination to bourgeois ideology...for the spontaneous working-class movement is trade-unionism...and trade-unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie."

Progressive Labor, as you well know, prides itself on being a "communist" party and of fighting for the "dictatorship of the proletariat." So what they essentially end up doing is attaching a lot of "Marxist-Leninist" double talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat, and about the need for socialism, to completely reform struggles. This is graphically and vividly expressed in *Challenge* where practically every article concerns a reform struggle at the end of which is attached the one or two standard paragraphs about the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "socialism."

This betrays Progressive Labor's blind incapacity to understand the conception of transitional demands. The conception of transitional demands, which is at the very heart of the Trotskyist movement, poses the need of the working class to take power through a set of demands which, while arising from the material conditions of the working class in capitalism, cannot be met within the realm of capitalism. In other words it poses a series of tasks to the working class the achievement of which by the working class in action concretely means the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

This means, for example, confronting the attacks on wages and jobs and the attempts to divide the workers with racism with the demands for the wage offensive and the escalator clause to beat back inflation, with the demand for jobs for all through the fight for the thirty hour week at forty hours pay. It means answering the employers' claims they



Bill Epton, leader expelled from P.L.

cannot meet the workers' needs because of bankruptcy with the demand for nationalization of basic industry under workers' control. It means mobilizing the working class independently for an end to war and repression. The vehicle for this program, the demand which welds all these demands together and poses the only way they can be realized is the demand for the labor party. The labor party unites the class as a whole and raises in the struggles of the class today the necessity for the working class to take state power.

This conception of a transitional program is not something that sprung out of Trotsky's head full blown like Minerva out of Jupiter's head but was the common property of the Bolshevik Party and was hammered out during the first four Congresses of the Communist International.

Before I finish there is another matter in your document about which I would like to make some comments. That is the question of black nationalism and its relation to the struggles of the working class. The reason why I want to go into this is that while it is true that you fought within PL against the outright and open nationalism of the Bill MacAdoos and Una Mulzacs, at the same time you, and the rest of the leadership of PL, adapted to black nationalism all along. This was done through the very ambiguous conception that the struggle of the black people was "national in form and working class in content." This is how you yourself state it in your document:

NATIONALISM

"In a number of articles in *Progressive Labor and Challenge*, over the years, there have been articles referring to the various black workers organizations that have been formed to wage class struggle. In all of these articles it was concluded that this was a legitimate form—not in contradiction to M-L principles—organizationally to wage struggle against the bosses and the corrupt union leaders. Most of these organizations were national in form and working class in content...When the PLP arrived at the point where we had enough black members who had a working class outlook and sufficient black workers around us, the National Committee (NC) decided it was time to try to build some form of black workers organization. One of the primary considerations that we kept in mind was that we were trying to build a black workers organization that would be a rank-and-file movement and hopefully a center-led organization."

This "national in form and working class in content" formulation is nothing more than a feeble excuse for the establishment of separate organizations of struggle for the black workers. Again, this is an expression of pragmatism, for what it means is the acceptance and adaptation to capitalism with its racial divisions instead of trying to break down those racial divisions in the working class with the organization of the working class on a class basis. This "national in form and working class in content" business is nothing more than double talk and refuses to see the unity of form and content.

The experience in this country, as you know very well, with these black caucuses (and other caucuses based on racial lines) is that they have either gone down the road of nationalism or have disintegrated. And this cannot be otherwise for these caucuses do not exist suspended in the air or in some sort of a vacuum. In other words, in the last analysis either form determines the content or the content determines the form. It is absolutely true that black and other minority workers suffer racial discrimination on top of

their class exploitation. But that in no way puts before us the task of building separate organizations for black and minority workers. What it does confront us with is the absolutely necessary task of combatting all forms of racial and national discrimination and fighting for the absolute equality of all races and nationalities. In other words, the task of a communist is not to build a black caucus. This does not mean at all that we just dismiss and do not intervene in the existing black caucuses or those that may spontaneously arise in the future. What it means is that the perspective of any communist working in any such a caucus has to be the **DESTRUCTION** of that caucus as a racial caucus and the organization of an integrated workers caucus. Any other outlook is an adaptation to nationalism.

STRATEGY

In conclusion I would like to reiterate that the central question facing you and your supporters is this question of Marxism versus revisionism. Stalinism meant the destruction of the strategy for the world revolution. For this strategy Stalin substituted the counterrevolutionary perspective of alliances with the bourgeoisie and the trade union bureaucracy and substituted the building of a bloc of four classes or the popular front for the construction of the revolutionary party.

While PL broke empirically with the CP and the Popular Front, it has maintained this outlook in another form, in the form of the struggle of the "rank and file" and the "center-left-coalition." This is the result of PL's refusal to probe to the roots of revisionism in Stalinism. These formulations which you yourself put forward come straight from the Communist Party. It is this perspective of simply building a "rank and file movement" which the Communist Party put forward at the Chicago Conference in order to tie the ranks of the working class to the trade union bureaucracy and the "liberal" section of the capitalist class.

The perspective of building a rank and file movement led by the rank and file or the "center" ignores the question of changing the consciousness of the rank and file which is bourgeois consciousness. By maintaining the working class on this level you are simply advocating building the popular front at the point of production and leaving the workers under the control of the trade union bureaucracy and ultimately under the control of bourgeois politics.

The task of revolutionaries is not to merge as the "left" in a coalition with the rank and file but to fight for leadership of the ranks, for independent socialist consciousness in the working class.

This is the alternative strategy which today and historically is developed and fought for only by the Trotskyist movement. To break with the politics and pragmatism of PL, you must go back to the real roots of its perspective in the Communist Party and Stalinism.

LABOR PARTY

The central question of strategy for the working class today as it has been historically is the fight in the U.S. for the labor party. This question of the relationship between American Marxists and an independent political party of the working class was raised as the main task in the development of the class struggle in the U.S. and internationally by the Marxist movement.

This is the position Marx and Engels fought for in the 1870s and 1880s in their "Letters to Americans." Lenin continued this fight for an independent labor party with the American Marxists, seeing it as critical to the building of the Third International. This was the strategy outlined by the international Marxist movement up until the time it was destroyed by Stalin.

The fight for the political independence of the working class stands in direct contradiction to PL's reactionary slogan—"Don't Vote, Organize" which only means leaving the working class under the domination of capitalist politics.

It was Trotsky during the preparations for the founding of the Fourth International who again raised the fight for the labor party. Today the development of an independent party by the American working class will mark the advance of the revolutionary struggle not only in the U.S. but internationally.

Fraternally,
Juan P. Farinas

Banks Rescue Chrysler As Bankruptcy Panic Spreads

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

Last week only a major rescue operation personally directed by Chrysler Chairman Lynn Townsend and involving a dozen or so of the biggest U.S. banks prevented Chrysler from succumbing to a run on its commercial paper and following the Penn Central into bankruptcy:

What is revealed is that the U. S. economy is teetering on the edge of a precipice. This situation can give way to a landslide of corporation bankruptcies and bank failures at any moment.

Chrysler has been in an extremely vulnerable position for many months. It has taken the brunt of the beating from the slump since 1969 in new car sales. It has had to cut dividends from 50 cents to 15 cents per quarter per share. It showed a first quarter loss in 1970 of \$29 million. It is in debt to the tune of \$673 million payable within the year for

its parent corporation and \$1.6 billion in short term commercial paper for Chrysler Financial.

With the general panic conditions brought on with the collapse of the Penn Central, Chrysler suddenly found itself under seige, unable to "roll" its corporate paper, i.e. float additional paper to pay off what was immediately falling due.

It was this situation that forced Townsend to come hat in hand to the New York bankers who this time, at least, came through with \$410 million in additional credit lines, momentarily stopping the

dike.

Had the bankers refused, it is clear that a general financial panic would almost certainly have ensued.

As one Chrysler executive put it: "We're going to survive whatever happens...but if we can't, there are a lot of companies that are going to go down."

While the bankers were willing to come to the aid of Chrysler this time around, there is no guarantee that they will bail it out again. Already financial difficulties have forced Chrysler to delay introduction of its minicar until 1972 giving Ford and GM another tremendous edge. It is, in fact, only a matter of time before the Chrysler corporation under the pressure of Ford, GM and the general financial crisis will be forced to the wall.

What the Chrysler failing showed was that the Penn Central bankruptcy was no fluke.

CHAIN

Fearing more bankruptcies immediately ahead, Senator Jacob Javits has called upon Nixon to create a new U.S. agency which would back corporations that are momentarily strapped for cash. Javits has openly admitted that he fears a "chain reaction" might be in the offing as a result of the money squeeze.

Meanwhile under the gun of growing numbers of large well known companies going bankrupt (last week the Milno Electronics Corporation and Henry Rosenfield Industries), the House of Representatives approved a commission to study and recommend the first overhauling of U.S.

bankruptcy laws in 32 years.

These developments are by no means limited to the United States.

The extremely tight money situation brought on internationally by the capitalist class' attempt to stem the inflationary tide has now forced a court administered reorganization of the Paris merchant bank, the Credit Vendome. The Italian banking industry is likewise facing a crisis of major proportions.

WARNING

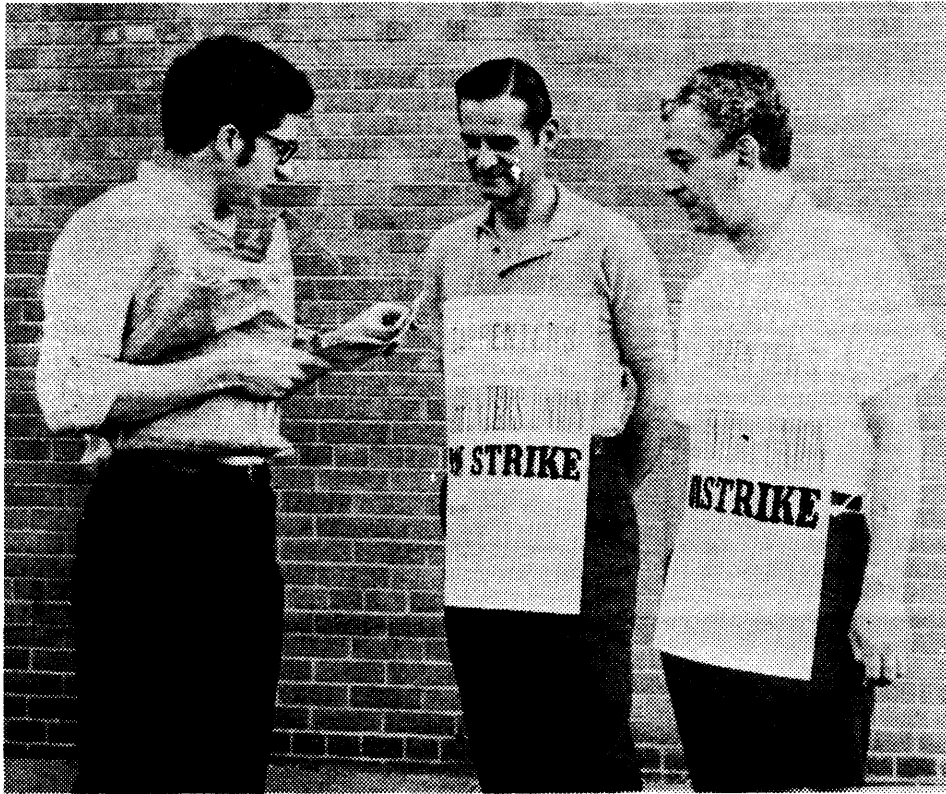
These first signs of the wave of international bankruptcies must serve as a warning to the working class.

If the capitalist class has held back from striking its most vicious blows at labor's offensive which is very much at the root of its crisis, it is because it fears today the all out confrontation with the working class. But with the collapse of major corporations and banks the employers and the government will very quickly be forced to take the harshest kind of measures against the working class.

The collapse and threatened collapse of not just small companies but some of the largest corporations in the U.S. calls into question the whole existence of the capitalist system and its ability to run the productive forces.

The labor movement must answer the employers and the government's attempts to save its rotten system at the expense of the working class with the fight for the nationalization of basic industry under workers' control and with a political offensive through the fight for a labor party.

Local 2947 Ranks Force Strike Over Wages At Williamsburg Steel



Bulletin salesman talks with striking workers of Local 2947 at Williamsburg Steel Co.

BY STANLEY GARRETT

NEW YORK, July 6—A strike by Local 2947 against two of the major indoor construction shops here, Williamsburg Steel and Acme Steel, is now entering its second week.

The decision to strike on July 1 was made by a unionwide ballot on Sat., June 27. The strike vote defeated a proposal from the Executive Council to postpone any work action until a bargaining deadline of August 15.

The ranks are clearly enraged by the toll inflation has taken on their wages from the last contract and are eager to fight for a contract which will protect them in the coming period.

The proposal made by the employers was an arrogant slap in the face and has only increased the determination of the ranks to fight.

The bosses offered 25 cents per year in a three year settlement with one sick day in the last year. To add insult to injury they demanded that any wage increase be accompanied by big increases in productivity. Already in the door shop at Williamsburg the leadmen are pushing for 70 doors over the 25 the men now put out.

The top rate now is \$4.01 an hour enjoyed only by the highly skilled mechanics. The bosses' offer does not even put a dent in the loss men have taken through inflation.

The union is demanding 80 cents per year for a three year contract. But 2947 Pres. Claytor has made it clear that these demands are very negotiable and can be watered down. Forty cents he figures sounds much better than 25. While not addressing himself to the burning questions of job security, working conditions, and rising inflation, Pres. Claytor has not raised one finger to prepare the ranks for any kind of struggle ahead. The only word from him has been a letter listing the companies' demands without even a word of comment!

GUARANTEES

The ranks must realize that the kind of struggle needed to win is one much different than in 1967. This fight takes place under conditions of extreme economic crisis. Both Williamsburg and Acme have to compete with much bigger firms. To do this it must try to break the union completely, drive back wages and increase productivity.

The ranks of 2947 must accept nothing less than 80 cents a year and must demand an escalator clause to keep up with the rising inflation. They must reject any deal which ties the wage increases to productivity and must demand union control over shop floor conditions. The contract must include ironclad guarantees on job security and against firings and layoffs which have begun in these plants.

Global Trade War Threatens As U.S.-Japan Talks Collapse

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The breakdown of the U.S.-Japanese textile negotiations and Nixon's decision to back the imposition of mandatory import quotas opens the door to the beginning of a global trade war.

The fourteen month old U.S.-Japanese talks collapsed on June 24. Maurice Stans, Nixon's trade negotiator, and Kiichi Miyazawa, Japanese Minister of Trade and Industry, meeting in Washington, reached no agreement. While the U.S. demanded that Japan accept a cut in its share of the U.S. textile market for the next 3 to 5 years, the Japanese would accept nothing less than an increase in their exports by 12 to 15 percent this year.

With the collapse of the talks Maurice Stans on behalf of the Nixon Administration gave the green light to Congress to proceed with mandatory controls.

Though the official stand of Nixon is now to approve quotas only on textiles, it is well known that the Congress is inclined at this point to pass protectionist legislation that goes way beyond the relatively narrow issue of textiles or Japan.

PRETEXT

The breakdown of the talks will now serve as the pretext for wider controls. During the month of hearings held by the House Ways and Means Committee over 70 categories of commodities were proposed for protection.

Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Wilbur Mills, is clearly preparing legislation that will allow virtually dozens if not hundreds of industries to gain protective status.

On July 1 Mills asked the Nixon Administration to give consideration to a general "trigger" mechanism that would automatically fix import quotas on any product whose domestic producer was being disrupted by imports.

Thus the groundwork is being laid for the construction of a massive import quota wall, as high as any tariff wall thrown up in the 1930s.

As in 1929 with the passage of the Smoot-Hawley bill, the erection of protective barriers not only reflects but must become a significant factor in the economic crisis as Europe and Asia take retaliatory measures.

As Japan which depends on the U.S. for 30% of its exports is cut out of this market, it together with South Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan must now seek to flood Europe with their cheap products provoking from the Europeans a similar set of import controls.

More important than this, however, and the real significance of the move towards protectionism is the growing trade struggle that must now develop directly between Europe and the United States.

On July 2 Edmund Wellenstein, Director General for external trade for the Common Market, was reported to have warned the United States that new import controls would force the Common Market to make defensive changes in its own import policy.

Meanwhile the new initiative towards British entry into the Common Market reflects the fact that Europe is preparing for a fight back against the giant, U.S. capitalism.

The whole move towards quotas (which are in complete violation of GATT regulations) stand in the sharpest contradiction to the free trade spirit which as late as 1962 saw the Trade Expansion Act passed easily in both houses of Congress setting in motion the Kennedy Round.

NATIONALISM

Unlike 1962 however the international capitalist economy now stands very much on the verge of collapse. In this situation the capitalist class carries out not only vicious assaults on the working class but reverts to the most rabid nationalism approaching its capitalist partners in the spirit of dog eat dog.

The opening of a trade war and the collapse of world trade that this must provoke will not stem the crisis. It can only intensify the pressures tearing at the international capitalist system.

The growing antagonisms between Europe and America will force the European bourgeoisie more and more to take on its working classes opening the door to major battles by the European working class which raise the question of power.

Bulletin

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THE BULLETIN, Weekly Organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Room Seven, 243 E. 10 St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St. New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone: 254-7120. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$3.00; Foreign—1 year: \$4.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
special issue
DOCUMENTS FROM THE
WORLD CONFERENCE
OF THE REVISIONIST
'UNIFIED SECRETARIAT
OF THE FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL 75¢
LABOR PUBLICATIONS
243 E. 10th St. New York, N.Y.
10003

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 FOUR—The Graduates: Shane Mage and Geoff White

WE NOW TURN to the graduates of the Spartacist School. Following the 1966 IC Conference the Spartacist experienced a series of desertions and splits which reduced the group to a shell of its former self and more important removed virtually every leading member who had played any role in the previous struggles.

A look at just a few of these figures, the actual role they played while in Spartacist particularly in relation to the IC, and where they ended up will throw more light on to the nature and character of Spartacist and Robertson. We will begin with Shane Mage.

Shane Mage was one of the three initiators of the opposition within the SWP at the beginning of 1961. He sided with Robertson in the 1962 split in the minority and from then on to the 1966 Conference was one of the central leaders of the Spartacist group, a member of its leading body, the Resident Editorial Board, and a spokesman for the organization. After four years in the leadership of Spartacist he was to leave to embrace LSD, psychedelia and today, Zen Buddhism.

SSEU

In fact Mage was very directly involved in the issue which started the discussion which led to the split in the tendency. In the spring of 1962 Shane Mage's wife, Judy became involved in the initial organizing campaign which led to the formation of the Social Service Employees Union in the Department of Welfare in New York City. In the course of this work Judy Mage came into conflict with the leadership of the SWP. It became clear that either she would have to abandon or at least circumscribe this work or be in danger of expulsion from the party for violation of discipline. She resigned from the party.

It was because of this situation that this author wrote the "Proposed Statement on Orientation" which stated directly against Judy Mage's action which endangered the whole work of the international tendency:

ORIENTATION

"We recognize no circumstances whatsoever which would justify a member of our tendency, or any member of the

party for that matter, in resigning from the party. We predict that there will be many, many situations in the coming period in which comrades will have to see important mass work temporarily injured in order to remain a part of the party. The party to us is more important than any of these individual mass activities—or all of them together. Our task is to politically utilize these grave errors of the party leadership in order to educate the proletarian cadres of the party politically as to the nature of the political process now going on in the party."(1)

The position taken by Shane Mage and Robertson was to defend Judy Mage in her act of resigning from the party and to insist that she still be a member of our tendency despite the fact she was not a member of the party. Needless to say this raised certain questions as far as the discipline of the SWP but, as we have discussed earlier, even more questions as far as an understanding of the importance of the political struggle against revisionism in the Trotskyist movement internationally.

Mage added his defense to Robertson's: "Presence in the same movement as the Pabloite revisionists and even, in certain cases, participation in a national party with a solidly entrenched revisionist majority, is a necessary tactic for the revolutionary tendency. Like any tactic it is entirely subordinate to revolutionary strategy."

"The essential strategy of Marxism today is the formation of the revolutionary vanguard party of the working class through continual promotion of and participation in the class struggle on the basis of the perpetual development, dissemination, and implementation of the program of Trotskyism."

"Strategic imperatives can give way to tactical considerations only on the basis of concrete and compelling argument. Where the discipline of a non-revolutionary organization conflicts with the obligation of a revolutionary to his class and to the Marxist program there can be no presumption in favor of acceptance of that discipline."

"The revolutionary tendency consists of all those individuals participating in the class struggle on the basis of the Trotskyist program, irrespective of whether some party with a revisionist majority is willing to permit them to be 'party members.'"(2)

This same Mage was to have the gall to write to Gerry Healy in November: "You have undoubtedly been told, as we were told to our face, that the majority of the tendency in the U.S. is preparing to split from the SWP. I can give you the most categorical assurance that this is a lie....When all of us have stated that we have no perspective outside the SWP we meant every word."(3)

But what about your wife Judy, and your defense of her split from the SWP?

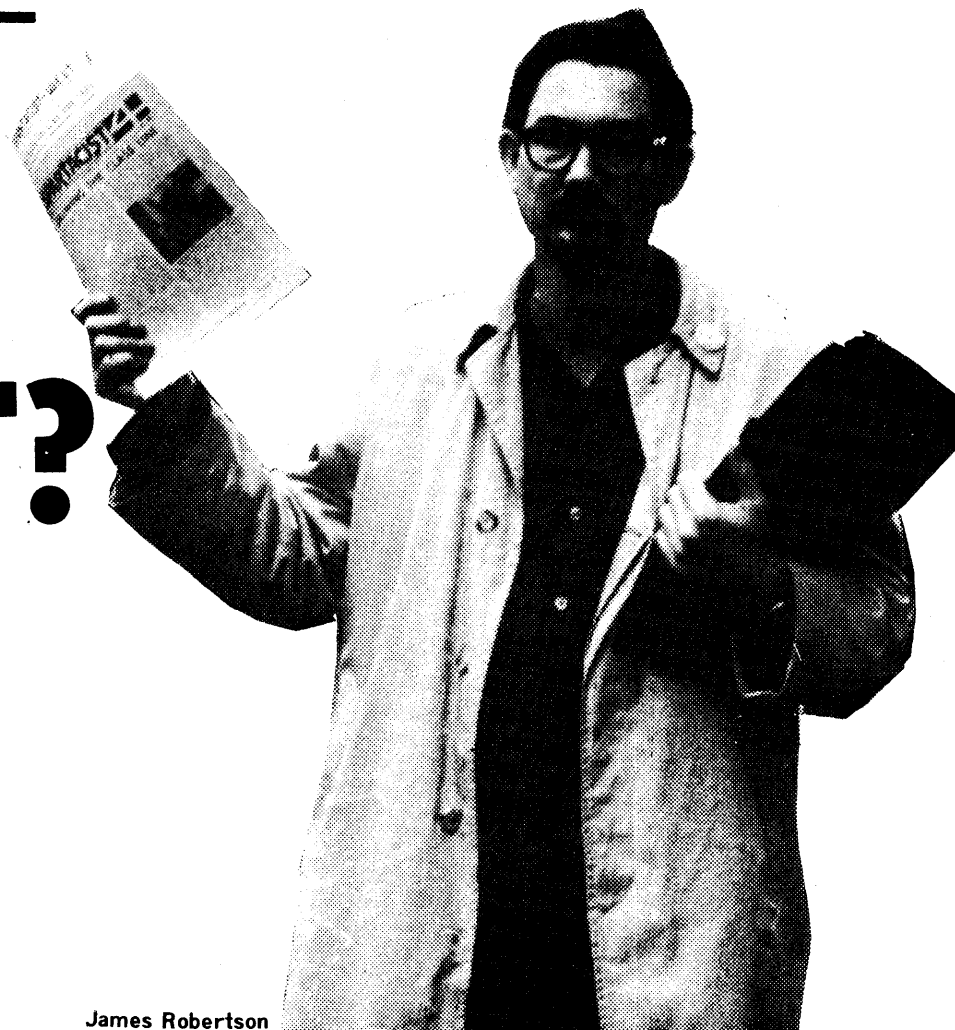
At issue here was clearly a retreat from the political struggle against Pabloism on the grounds that all that counted was to fight as a "Trotskyist" in the working class directly. Judy Mage was to carry out the logic of this rationale provided by Shane and Robertson and break completely from the Robertson group and become a labor bureaucrat. At one point in her bureaucratic career as president of the SSEU, this "Trotskyist" who chose the "class," had to be escorted out of a union meeting by reporters from the Daily News so that she would not be physically lynched by an enraged membership!

It must be remembered that it was Shane Mage who provided the theoretical cover for this desertion of the movement

tendency. Moreover as far as I can see it would be a direct violation of SWP party discipline and certainly would be a disloyal act toward the party!

"(2) I believe that the entire SWP leadership, by its political methodology, outlook, and practice, is fundamentally Pabloite. Like all centrist tendencies it is heterogeneous, and splits within it can be counted on to provide us with concrete chances to intervene. But I would give weight to differences among individuals within this leadership only in the context of their basic political identity."(4)

Here we have the most arrogant of nationalist outlooks! Mage objects to a discussion centralized through England because it would "obstruct the healthy political and organizational development of the tendency." His arguments about



James Robertson

Robertson defended Judy Mage when she broke from SWP to do trade union work. Later she became SSEU union president and at one point was almost lynched by enraged ranks.



by Judy Mage and that it was Robertson who organized a faction on the basis of this theoretical cover, a faction which in the fall split from the International Committee tendency.

SHOCK

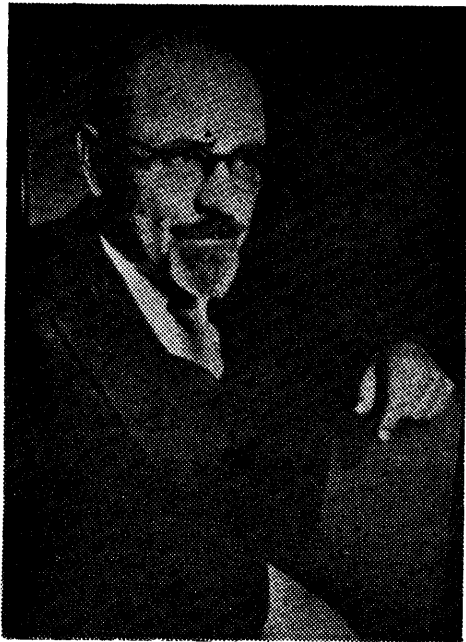
We next meet Shane Mage in November of 1962 writing to Gerry Healy "in shock and disbelief." In this letter he stated that his differences with the proposals of the IC to the tendency "are essentially only two:"

"(1) I disagree with the proposal to centralize discussion among members of the tendency in the U.S. through a bulletin published in England. This proposal could only tend to obstruct the healthy political and organizational development of the

violating party discipline and being a "disloyal act against the party" shows how close he stood on such matters with the prejudices of the SWP leadership. The SWP was in that period politically part of the International Committee and the arrangement proposed by the British was neither undisciplined nor disloyal if one understood the conception of a world party!

LIQUIDATIONIST

The second point is a criticism of that section of the statement which singled out Weiss and Swabek as the greatest liquidationist danger inside the SWP. Mage did not want to make this distinction for his own orientation was towards Weiss! The meaning of this was to come a



Shane Mage in answering Isaac Deutscher laid blame for Stalinism on Trotsky.

short while later.

We next run into Mage in Myra Tanner Weiss' previously quoted speech in which she mentions Mage as her source for information on the nature of the 1966 tendency split. She reveals that Mage, shortly after writing Gerry Healy "in shock and disbelief" was telling Myra Tanner Weiss, leader of the extreme right wing of the party, all about the split. Further it is revealed that in 1963 Mage handed over to Weiss to use publicly in the party precisely those sections of the IC statement which in November of 1962 he saw as in "direct violation of SWP party discipline!"

It was in the 1965-66 period of the preparation of the International Committee Conference that the political tendency of Mage's development, seen embryonically in this early period, begin a very rapid liquidationist development. By this time Mage was becoming less and less active in the life of Spartacist devoting most of his efforts to his academic career. He did find a little spare time from his career to make two interventions of a political character.

TROTSKY

They first took the form of an article printed in the November-December, 1965 issue of Spartacist "Trotsky and the Fate of the Russian Revolution." Written in the form of a review of Deutscher's trilogy on Trotsky—some three years after the last volume appeared—it was in actuality a vehicle for Mage's own reevaluation of Trotsky and Trotskyism. Criticizing Deutscher for being "fatalistic" Mage poses the question this way:

"The victory of Stalinism that actually took place can appear as inevitable if and only if we are convinced that no reasonable course of action present as a real possibility to Trotsky but rejected by him would have resulted in a preferable alternative."(5)

Deutscher sees the rise of Stalinism as inevitable and irreversible but Trotsky's struggle to be correct, though hopeless. Mage accepts this way of posing the question and thus proposes to break through Deutscher's fatalism by discovering that Trotsky was incorrect! What both Mage and Deutscher leave out is the actual dynamic of the international class struggle and its interrelation with the conscious struggle. The outcome of this interplay is not predetermined ahead of time.

The historian who after the events informs us that what happened happened and thus had to happen reduces the theory of history to the empirical level. What both Deutscher and Mage cannot comprehend is that even though Trotsky was correct and lost he could have won, and this he or anyone else at the time could only assess through the struggle to win.

"MISTAKES"

Mage pins the fate of great historical events on certain tactical factional mistakes he asserts Trotsky made. These include making a compromise with Stalin at the 12th Party Congress in 1923, going duck hunting in 1924, and his repudiation under discipline of Eastman's publication of Lenin's Testament. "The picture adds up." Mage comments, "not to a series of errors but to a ruinous policy."(6) So assesses Mage the 1923-1926 period.

He then proceeds to the 1928-29 period as the period of the united opposition bloc with Zinoviev seems to meet with his approval. Here Mage attacks Trotsky for refusing to bloc with Bukharin, the right wing opposition, against Stalin. After

all, he notes, "political designations 'left', 'right' and 'center', which should be neutral and have no emotional weighting at all (at least within the revolutionary spectrum) somehow became metaphysical essences showing the true nature of each faction."(7)

CHALLENGE

What we have here is a basic challenge to not only Trotsky's tactics but the political and theoretical character of Trotskyism itself. In commenting on the 1923-26 period Mage noted that Trotsky was "totally unwilling to take any action which might risk organizational exclusion from the party."(8) Mage, as we have noted in the conduct of he and his wife in 1962, is the kind of brave soul who is always willing to take risks of organizational exclusion from a party! He thus projected on to Trotsky the methods of Robertson and himself in the SWP fight rather than learning from Trotsky's fight within the Bolshevik party.

Trotsky's strategy in the 1923-26 period proceeded from his understanding of the critical importance of the issues at stake in the struggle, the central role of the Communist Party in the international movement, and that the fate of the world's first workers' state was at stake. Therefore he showed a willingness on a number of occasions to sacrifice factional advantage and even make certain political compromises in order to remain inside the Bolshevik party for as long as possible to carry out the fight.

Trotsky also proceeded from an understanding dialectically of the relation of the internal struggle inside the Bolshevik party with the class struggle internationally. Thus he sought to bide time in the hopes that a favorable turn in the class struggle would materially strengthen the hand of the Left Opposition, that the many millions of the working class internationally could be brought to play against the Stalinist bureaucracy rooted in the pessimism and defeat of revolutions and the isolation of a backward country.

But all this is of no concern for Mage. He actually goes so far as to blame the rise of Stalinism on the "mistaken" tactics of Trotsky!

Trotsky writing in 1940 summed up the approach of the Left Opposition toward the Communist Party and Communist International even after the expulsions and exile of 1928:

"In the Third International we persisted with all our power to remain a tendency or a faction. They persecuted us, they deprived us of all the means of legal expression, they invented the worst calumnies, in the USSR they arrested and shot our comrades—in spite of all we didn't wish to separate ourselves from the workers. We considered ourselves as a faction to the very last possibility. And all that—in spite of the corrupt totalitarian bureaucracy of the Third International."(9)

BUKHARIN

The question of a bloc with Bukharin reflects the same anti-Marxist method. Trotsky used the terms "left", "center" and "right" in a scientific, not metaphysical, way. He saw Stalin in the center resting on the right wing Bukharin grouping which in turn openly rested on the small capitalist kulak farmers within Russia and international capital externally. He correctly saw the main danger in that period coming from this right wing tendency which Stalin openly encouraged. Furthermore Trotsky never repudiated this policy. Even in the late 1930s Trotsky made clear he would be willing to bloc even with Stalin against restorationist tendencies within the bureaucracy.

To propose a bloc with Bukharin against Stalin raises the question of on what program? It could only be on the program of the struggle for "democracy" against "bureaucracy" independent of any class assessment. Such a perspective could only flow from a Shachtmanite assessment of Stalinism. And it is in fact within Shachtmanite circles that all these "criticisms" of Trotsky's "tactics" were first raised.

The parallel between Mage's advocacy of a bloc with Bukharin and the Mage-Robertson bloc with Weiss over "democracy" within the SWP is sharp and clear. What Mage put forward in this article was a fundamental attack directly on Trotsky and Trotskyism which simply carried out openly the logic implicit in the past behavior of the Robertson group. Even more revealing this article was printed with the approval of Robertson in Spartacist and defended even after Mage left Spartacist.

Writing in the September-October Spartacist the editors state:

"Wohlforth completes this preoccupation in personality by predicating his case on the assumption of Leon Trotsky's basic infallibility. However, Trotsky was not infallible (indeed, who should he be?); until the bloc with Zinoviev his course in the struggle against Stalinism was disoriented and unclear, but afterwards unswerving to the end."(10)

RENEGADE

It was around the time of the April 1966 International Committee that Shane Mage publically disassociated himself with Spartacist and any connection with Marxism. But before he left he did his best to poison the already difficult situation between Spartacist and the IC. Gerry Healy comments in a letter after the Conference to Harry Turner and Bob Sherwood:

"It should be understood here that Robertson had had at least four months to prepare this document prior to the Congress which he had not done. Instead he brought the anti-Trotskyist Mage into one meeting of the Negotiating Committee which this renegade effectively broke up."(11)

In answer to this letter Harry Turner wrote, in a draft approved by Robertson:

"Your characterization of Shane Mage as an anti-Trotskyist renegade who broke up a session of the negotiations of the Joint Unity Committee after being 'brought' into it by Robertson is also spiteful and untrue. Mage has recently and publicly revealed political differences with Spartacist which in our opinion, effectively removes him from the ranks of revolutionary Marxists. However, he is neither anti-Trotskyist nor a renegade."(12)

Let us see exactly what the role of

session supported Mage's economic position.

"Shortly after this episode Mage turned up at a public meeting held by Spartacist and spoke at length from the floor expressing the position that the working class was no longer a meaningful revolutionary force in the modern world. The Spartacist organization then asked Mage to resign which he promptly did."(13)

LSD

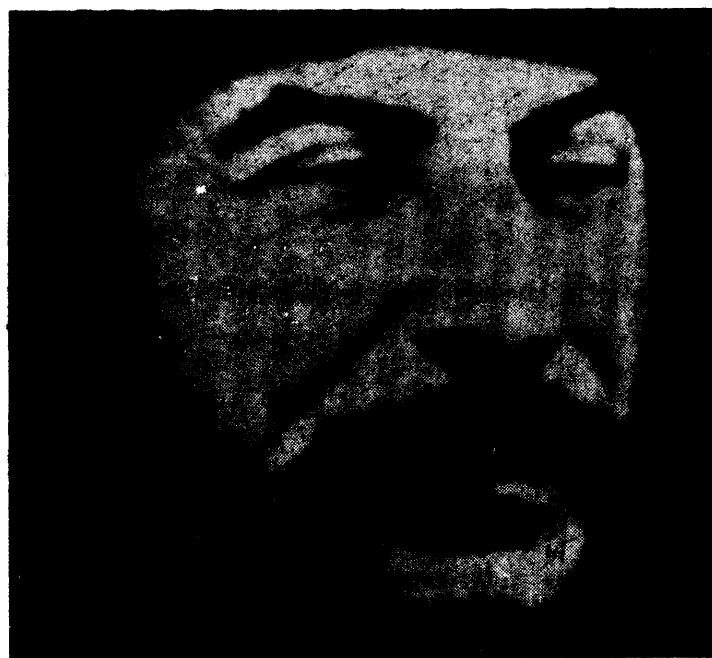
We need only add that by fall Mage appeared at a session of the Socialist Scholars Conference along with Isaac Deutscher. He utilized this platform to expound on the virtues of LSD and the inner revolution. Deutscher had to take him up sharply. Our latest report is that he has become a convert of Zen Buddhism spicing his psychedelic dreams with religious opium.

Shane Mage's road from Marxism to Buddhism is not a personal evolution. It reflects a whole important side of Spartacist. Mage functioned not only as a leader of the Robertson group since 1962 but in that capacity was one of its most consistent opponents of the International Committee. It was this man who openly collaborated with the liquidationist Weiss in 1963 against the International Committee blocking with her precisely over the question of hostility to Healy and the IC.

When Mage launched an attack on Trotsky seeking to blame Trotsky for the rise of Stalinism, much in the spirit of Shachtman, Robertson went along with him. When Mage repudiated any conception of an economic crisis and any potential for class struggle Robertson put him forward as his economic expert. When Mage broke openly



Shane Mage proposed that Trotsky and the Left Opposition (far right) bloc with right wing Bukharin (right) against Stalin (below). The only programmatic basis for such a bloc would have been 'democracy' abstracted from a class program.



Mage was in this period and the exact political nature of what "effectively removed him" from Spartacist. Writing in 1966 we described his evolution:

"Mage's recent evolution is of some relevance to this analysis. Soon after publication of the article under discussion, Mage was brought into the joint unity discussions between ACFI and Spartacist as the economic expert for Spartacist. At this session Mage launched a major attack on the economic perspectives of ACFI expressing his full confidence in the ability of capitalism to survive without serious economic crisis. Mage saw, instead, that the struggles of the future would occur despite this prosperity because of the alienation of man brought about by the meaninglessness of it all. Robertson and other representatives of Spartacist at this

with Marxism and Spartacist was forced to ask him to resign the Robertsonites still refused to see him as anti-Trotskyist and a renegade.

Robertson could hurl the foulest epithet at the International Committee and its leadership but the Robertsonites could not even work themselves up to "renegade" for a man who openly repudiated Trotsky and the working class.

Mage reveals a whole side of Spartacism. Underneath the bluster and talk of "revolution" stands deep middle class scepticism about the working class and a deep middle class hostility to the proletarian party. If this seems a too drastic conclusion to draw from the evolution of Shane Mage alone we will now turn to other figures in Spartacist who followed the same path. Mage was not the excep-

tion but the rule!

FRIEDLANDER

Shane Mage was not the only sceptic to leave Spartacist for LSD. Approximately a year later a small group, led by Peter Friedlander, split away and issued a leaflet asking the question: "Is Marxism dead?" which it answered by saying "it looks like it." The leaflet then went on: "Why did Stalinism become a mass movement embodying the most intelligent and dedicated workers and intellectuals, while remaining an organization of mysticism and deceit, a living lie?"

Again they answer:

"We are tired of the old Trotskyist formula which has nevertheless been the best answer so far."(14)

WHITE

But scepticism was not limited even to these examples. It penetrated deep into the central leadership of the Spartacist group eating away at another key leader of Spartacist, Geoff White. Geoff White played an important role leading the West Coast section of the minority inside the SWP. He played a key role in the split in 1962, was singled out for expulsion as one of the five leaders of the Robertson group in 1963, played a role in the 1966 fusion effort and was West Coast editor of Spartacist until 1968. There is no question but that White was the key leader of Spartacist after Robertson and Mage.

Geoff White played a critically important role for Robertson in the 1962 split. He alone can be held responsible for holding the entire minority in the Bay Area for Robertson and against the International Committee. He held the group as a group to a unanimous rejection of the IC statement. He wrote to Gerry Healy at the time:

"However, should you and the others follow your present course through to the end, you will force a split. For myself, regardless of what may be your attitude toward the non-signers, I would do all

grounds of maintaining the unanimity of this Bay Area group no matter what. Petras was soon to leave the SWP as well and to become an academic big wig in New Left and state capitalist circles.

In other words White's unanimous Bay Area group was actually a cover for a whole group which was preparing to desert the fight inside the SWP and politics altogether. White covered for these people by leading the struggle to preserve this unprincipled group against the SWP. This laid the basis for his long collaboration with Robertson.

UNITY

The approach White took to the question of unification of the two groups in 1965-1966 and the International Committee is particularly revealed in a letter he wrote in May of 1965 at a time when the first unity negotiations were begun:

"However, the political heart of the matter, I think, is that this will force us to define sharply our attitude toward Healy and his IC. For us, I think this is the real question involved in unity, not TW and his not particularly formidable grouping. We have had a certain historical connection with Healy, but his rupture with us has enabled us to avoid facing up to an evaluation of our current divergences and affinities. If this latest letter from Tim is anything more than just a gimmick, we can no longer just let it slide. Personally, I am much more concerned about our relations to Gerry than to Tim. I think we would make a big mistake to negotiate in any serious way (and how else would we negotiate) with Healy without first being clear ourselves as to what evaluation we make of him, not just what he wants with us. What can he do for us that we can't do for ourselves? What can he do to us? Do we really see the IC playing the role aspired to by Trotsky's FI? What about our relations to Posadas?..."(16)

HEART

Here we get to the heart of the man and in that way to the heart of the Robertson group. The whole question of the international movement is boiled down by Geoff White to the question as to what "they" can do to and for "us". In the spirit of American Pragmatism White wants to know what these bloody foreigners can "do for us that we can't do for ourselves."

It is clear from Robertson's conduct at the 1966 Congress that in response to this letter he came to agreement with White on the following: (1) it was a question of what "we do for them and they do for us"; (2) that the IC was not the continuation of the Fourth International of Trotsky; and (3) therefore there was no need to break relations with Posadas as the IC like Posadas was simply a dispensable place for international fishing.

RESIGNATION

We now move to July 1968. Some seven years have passed since Geoff White joined the opposition inside the SWP, six of them in collaboration with Robertson. Five years of independent existence in Spartacist have gone by and two of these after the definitive split with the International Committee in April 1966. Geoff White submits his resignation to Spartacist and completes his break with any sort of commitment to Trotskyism.

Following in the sceptical shoes of Shane Mage and Peter Friedlander Geoff White concludes that Trotskyism has been a failure:

"...There is the long term history of what may broadly be called our movement from the emergence of the Russian Left Opposition to the present.... Never, in any of the great historical crises, have we been able to influence the actual course of events.... The course of the struggle refuses to follow our preconceptions, and we are unable to make our ideas or our history relevant to it.... Judged by its ability to influence the resolution of the political and social crises of our day, or of future days, our existence is, in my opinion, one of total futility.

"This is the conclusion I have been moving toward with increasing consciousness at least ever since the Chicago conference, and in some ways, considerably before that. I have been reluctant to follow these thoughts to their logical conclusion for two main reasons. One is the subjective reason of considerable personal investment in the sectarian movement. The other is that despite my confidence in the validity of these criticisms, I have been unable to discover, much less develop, adequate alternatives. Just as I, and I suspect many other comrades, have subscribed to the degenerated workers' state position on the Russian question



Geoff White (above) is shown below addressing the 1966 Spartacist convention.



Rather than scientifically investigating the causes of the defeats of the 1930s, scientifically confronting all the difficulties of the construction of the conscious vanguard, and relating all this to the new period of upsurge and the construction of the party under these new conditions—Marxism in its entirety is thrown out as being proven to be irrelevant!

This man who led Spartacist on the West Coast from 1963 to 1968, and who fought viciously against the International Committee the whole time, admits that he has been questioning the relevancy of Trotskyism since the 1966 founding conference of Spartacist "and in some ways, considerably before that." It is revealed that he agreed with Trotsky's fundamental analysis on the nature of Stalinism and the Soviet Union all along only because "the visible alternatives present "even more horrendous intellectual difficulties..." This leading Spartacist spokesman saw Trotsky's theoretical work as "horrendous" but less so than the theories of Shachtman and others.

Finally he admits to remaining in Spartacist for a period of years as a sceptic because of his "considerable personal investment" in "the sectarian movement." Just as he proposed the question of the International in 1965 in the spirit of Wall Street wanting to know what Spartacist would get in "return" which it could not get on its own so he approached Spartacist itself in the same way a businessman approaches a failing company it has had to sink a certain equity in. The method of Henry Ford and the method of Geoffrey White is the same—now even their politics are the same.

SCEPTICISM

Scepticism as a method is completely idealist. Scientific understanding is not seen as a correct reflection of reality but as something independent of reality. At best it is seen as an approximation of reality with a relative "truth" valid until something better comes along. Thought thus floats independent of material reality and is mystical and religious. Material reality also becomes mystical and religious because it is not fully knowable with scientific and rational thought.

Scepticism is the theory of the middle class intellectual during the decline of capitalism. Capitalism in its early dynamic period came very close to a complete break with all forms of religion and mysticism in its struggle with feudalism. The ability of man to know reality and through

largely because the visible alternatives present even more horrendous intellectual difficulties and destructive political consequences, so for some time I have subscribed to the validity of Spartacism because I have been able to see no valid alternative."(17)

DEMORALIZED

Here we have the demoralized, degenerate results of the pragmatic, narrow and middle class outlook of Spartacist. The entire history of Trotskyism is rejected because—it didn't work by "influencing" the actual course of events. Trotskyism is not rejected because it is theoretically wrong but because despite its theoretical correctness it has not changed reality.



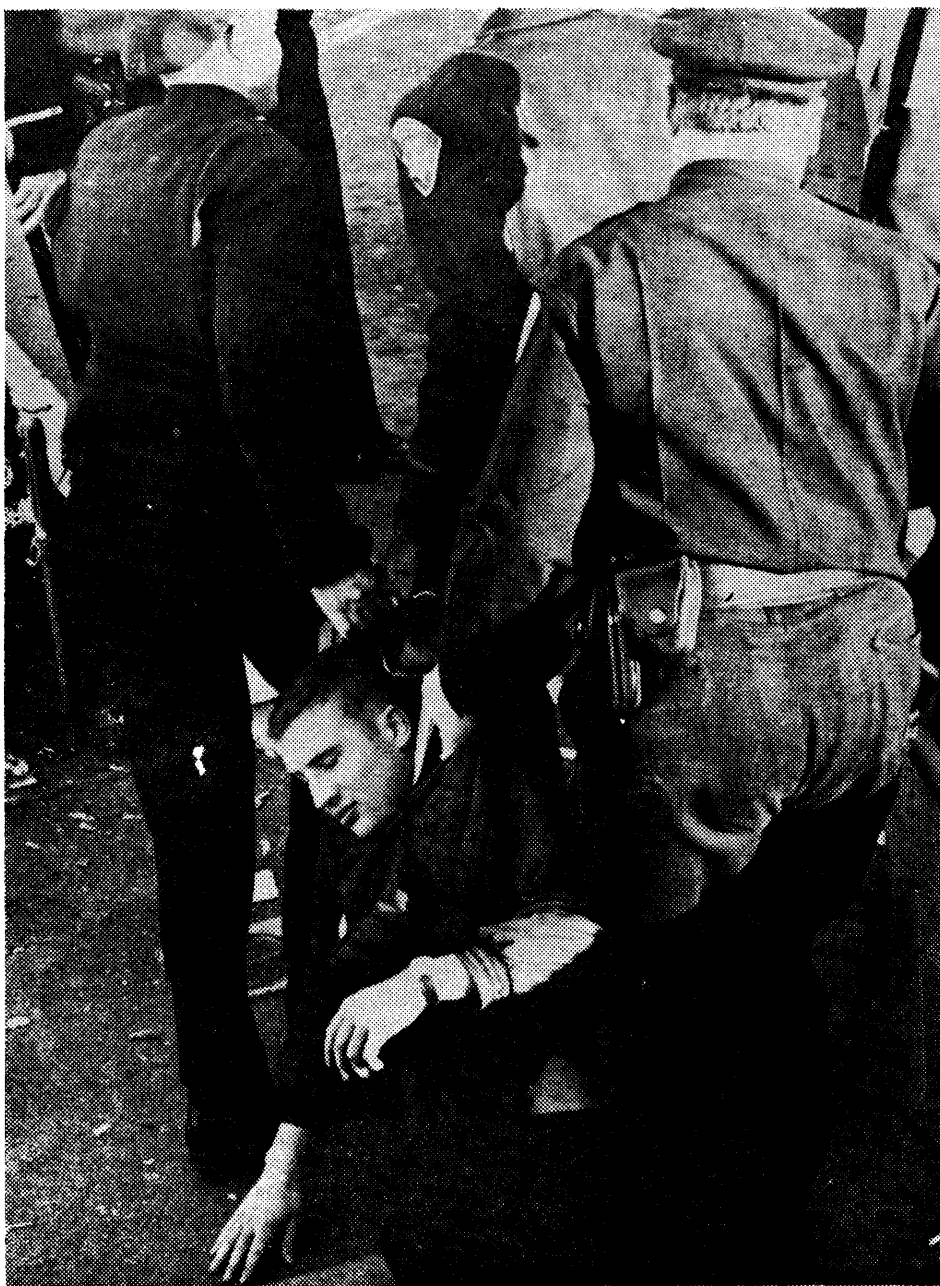
in my power to hold together an organization, to seek reunification of the tendency, and to attack loyally and energetically the tasks before us. I am sure that this attitude is shared by most and probably all the minority comrades here who under no circumstances will sign this statement.

"...It is my profound hope that the unanimity of our rejection of points four and five of your document will encourage on your part a reexamination of the situation in the American tendency, leading to a change in course which will make possible the most effective and rapid creation of a revolutionary tendency in America."(15)

It is clear from the above that Geoff White started with a perspective of building his group in the Bay Area and that was all. He assumed that Gerry Healy and the International Committee functioned on the same narrow pragmatic grounds and would thus abandon its principled proposals to the American tendency if met with the unanimous resistance of his West Coast group. He made a mistake on that score.

SPLIT

It was precisely in the Bay Area that the first splits from the SWP after the split within the minority took place. Some four comrades—who had stood in unanimity against the IC—had no difficulty in breaking this unanimity to desert the fight in the SWP and in fact politics altogether. In addition there was the case of James Petras who supported the IC tendency on all questions against Robertson. Petras, however, stood with Geoff White on the



As early as 1964 Geoff White's liquidationism and scepticism was reflected in the Berkeley student strike (shown above) which White refused to intervene politically in.

"Wohlforth completes this preoccupation in personality by predicating his case on the assumption of Leon Trotsky's basic infallibility. However, Trotsky was not infallible (indeed, who should he be?); until the bloc with Zinoviev his course in the struggle against Stalinism was disoriented and unclear, but afterwards unswerving to the end."(10)

RENEGADE

It was around the time of the April 1966 International Committee that Shane Mage publicly disassociated himself with Spartacist and any connection with Marxism. But before he left he did his best to poison the already difficult situation between Spartacist and the IC. Gerry Healy comments in a letter after the Conference to Harry Turner and Bob Sherwood:

"It should be understood here that Robertson had had at least four months to prepare this document prior to the Congress which he had not done. Instead he brought the anti-Trotskyist Mage into one meeting of the Negotiating Committee which this renegade effectively broke up."(11)

In answer to this letter Harry Turner wrote, in a draft approved by Robertson:

"Your characterization of Shane Mage as an anti-Trotskyist renegade who broke up a session of the negotiations of the Joint Unity Committee after being 'brought' into it by Robertson is also spiteful and untrue. Mage has recently and publicly revealed political differences with Spartacist which in our opinion, effectively removes him from the ranks of revolutionary Marxists. However, he is neither anti-Trotskyist nor a renegade."(12)

Let us see exactly what the role of

session supported Mage's economic position.

"Shortly after this episode Mage turned up at a public meeting held by Spartacist and spoke at length from the floor expressing the position that the working class was no longer a meaningful revolutionary force in the modern world. The Spartacist organization then asked Mage to resign which he promptly did."(13)

LSD

We need only add that by fall Mage appeared at a session of the Socialist Scholars Conference along with Isaac Deutscher. He utilized this platform to expound on the virtues of LSD and the inner revolution. Deutscher had to take him up sharply. Our latest report is that he has become a convert of Zen Buddhism spicing his psychedelic dreams with religious opium.

Shane Mage's road from Marxism to Buddhism is not a personal evolution. It reflects a whole important side of Spartacist. Mage functioned not only as a leader of the Robertson group since 1962 but in that capacity was one of its most consistent opponents of the International Committee. It was this man who openly collaborated with the liquidationist Weiss in 1963 against the International Committee blocking with her precisely over the question of hostility to Healy and the IC.

When Mage launched an attack on Trotsky seeking to blame Trotsky for the rise of Stalinism, much in the spirit of Shachtman, Robertson went along with him. When Mage repudiated any conception of an economic crisis and any potential for class struggle Robertson put him forward as his economic expert. When Mage broke openly

tion but the rule!

FRIEDLANDER

Shane Mage was not the only sceptic to leave Spartacist for LSD. Approximately a year later a small group, led by Peter Friedlander, split away and issued a leaflet asking the question: "Is Marxism dead?" which it answered by saying "it looks like it." The leaflet then went on: "Why did Stalinism become a mass movement embodying the most intelligent and dedicated workers and intellectuals, while remaining an organization of mysticism and deceit, a living lie?"

Again they answer:

"We are tired of the old Trotskyist formula which has nevertheless been the best answer so far."(14)

WHITE

But scepticism was not limited even to these examples. It penetrated deep into the central leadership of the Spartacist group eating away at another key leader of Spartacist, Geoff White. Geoff White played an important role leading the West Coast section of the minority inside the SWP. He played a key role in the split in 1962, was singled out for expulsion as one of the five leaders of the Robertson group in 1963, played a role in the 1966 fusion effort and was West Coast editor of Spartacist until 1968. There is no question but that White was the key leader of Spartacist after Robertson and Mage.

Geoff White played a critically important role for Robertson in the 1962 split. He alone can be held responsible for holding the entire minority in the Bay Area for Robertson and against the International Committee. He held the group as a group to a unanimous rejection of the IC statement. He wrote to Gerry Healy at the time:

"However, should you and the others follow your present course through to the end, you will force a split. For myself, regardless of what may be your attitude toward the non-signers, I would do all

grounds of maintaining the unanimity this Bay Area group no matter w Petras was soon to leave the SWP well and to become an academic big in New Left and state capitalist circles.

In other words White's unanimous Bay Area group was actually a cover for the fight inside the SWP and political altogether. White covered for these people by leading the struggle to preserve an unprincipled group against the SWP. This laid the basis for his long collaboration with Robertson.

UNITY

The approach White took to the question of unification of the two groups in 1966 and the International Committee particularly revealed in a letter he wrote in May of 1965 at a time when the fusion negotiations were begun:

"However, the political heart of the matter, I think, is that this will force us to define sharply our attitude toward Healy and his IC. For us, I think this is the real question involved in unity, TW and his not particularly formidable grouping. We have had a certain historical connection with Healy, but his rupture with us has enabled us to avoid facing up to an evaluation of our current divergences and affinities. If this letter from Tim is anything more than just a gimmick, we can no longer just let it slide. Personally, I am much more concerned about our relations to Geoff than to Tim. I think we would make a mistake to negotiate in any serious way (and how else would we negotiate) with Healy without first being clear ourselves as to what evaluation we make of him not just what he wants with us. What can he do for us that we can't do ourselves? What can he do to us? Do we really see the IC playing the role aspired to by Trotsky's FI? What about our relations to Posadas?..."(16)

HEART

Here we get to the heart of the matter and in that way to the heart of the Robertson group. The whole question of the international movement is boiled down by Geoff White to the question to what "they" can do to and for "us." In the spirit of American Pragmatism White wants to know what these bloated foreigners can "do for us that we can do for ourselves."

It is clear from Robertson's comments at the 1966 Congress that in response to this letter he came to agreement with White on the following: (1) it was a question of what "we do for them" and they do for us"; (2) that the IC was the continuation of the Fourth International of Trotsky; and (3) therefore there was no need to break relations with Posadas as the IC like Posadas was simply a dispensable place for international fishing.

RESIGNATION

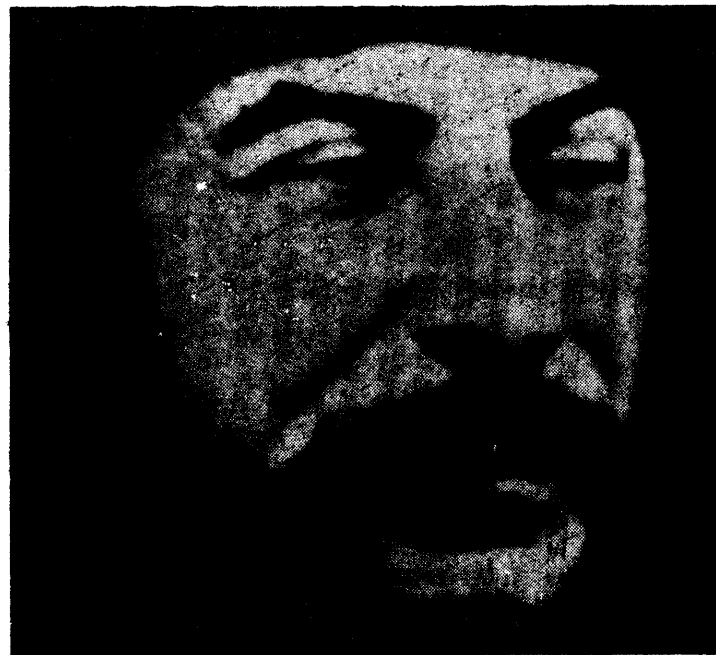
We now move to July 1968. Some seven years have passed since Geoff White joined the opposition inside the SWP, six of them in collaboration with Robertson. Five years of independent existence in Spartacist have gone by and two of these after a definitive split with the International Committee in April 1966. Geoff White submitted his resignation to Spartacist and completed his break with any sort of commitment to Trotskyism.

Following in the sceptical shoes of Shane Mage and Peter Friedlander Geoff White concludes that Trotskyism has been a failure:

"...There is the long term history of what may broadly be called our movement from the emergence of the Russian Revolution to the present.... Never in any of the great historical crises, have we been able to influence the actual course of events.... The course of the struggle refuses to follow our preconceptions, we are unable to make our ideas or history relevant to it.... Judged by its ability to influence the resolution of political and social crises of our current or of future days, our existence is in my opinion, one of total futility.

"This is the conclusion I have been moving toward with increasing consciousness at least ever since the Chicago conference, and in some ways, considerably before that. I have been reluctant to follow these thoughts to their logical conclusion for two main reasons. One is the subjective reason of considerable personal investment in the sectarian movement. The other is that despite my confidence in the validity of these criticisms I have been unable to discover, much less develop, adequate alternatives. Just as I, and I suspect many other comrades, have subscribed to the degenerated workers' state position on the Russian ques-

Shane Mage proposed that Trotsky and the Left Opposition (far right) bloc with right wing Bukarin (right) against Stalin (below). The only programmatic basis for such a bloc would have been 'democracy' abstracted from a class program.



Mage was in this period and the exact political nature of what "effectively removed him" from Spartacist. Writing in 1966 we described his evolution:

"Mage's recent evolution is of some relevance to this analysis. Soon after publication of the article under discussion, Mage was brought into the joint unity discussions between ACFI and Spartacist as the economic expert for Spartacist. At this session Mage launched a major attack on the economic perspectives of ACFI expressing his full confidence in the ability of capitalism to survive without serious economic crisis. Mage saw, instead, that the struggles of the future would occur despite this prosperity because of the alienation of man brought about by the meaninglessness of it all. Robertson and other representatives of Spartacist at this

with Marxism and Spartacist was forced to ask him to resign the Robertsonites still refused to see him as anti-Trotskyist and a renegade.

Robertson could hurl the foulest epithet at the International Committee and its leadership but the Robertsonites could not even work themselves up to "renegade" for a man who openly repudiated Trotsky and the working class.

Mage reveals a whole side of Spartacism. Underneath the bluster and talk of "revolution" stands deep middle class scepticism about the working class and a deep middle class hostility to the proletarian party. If this seems a too drastic conclusion to draw from the evolution of Shane Mage alone we will now turn to other figures in Spartacist who followed the same path. Mage was not the excep-



in my power to hold together an organization, to seek reunification of the tendency, and to attack loyally and energetically the tasks before us. I am sure that this attitude is shared by most and probably all the minority comrades here who under no circumstances will sign this statement.

"...It is my profound hope that the unanimity of our rejection of points four and five of your document will encourage on your part a reexamination of the situation in the American tendency, leading to a change in course which will make possible the most effective and rapid creation of a revolutionary tendency in America."(15)

It is clear from the above that Geoff White started with a perspective of building his group in the Bay Area and that was all. He assumed that Gerry Healy and the International Committee functioned on the same narrow pragmatic grounds and would thus abandon its principled proposals to the American tendency if met with the unanimous resistance of his West Coast group. He made a mistake on that score.

SPLIT

It was precisely in the Bay Area that the first splits from the SWP after the split within the minority took place. Some four comrades—who had stood in unanimity against the IC—had no difficulty in breaking this unanimity to desert the fight in the SWP and in fact politics altogether. In addition there was the case of James Petras who supported the IC tendency on all questions against Robertson. Petras, however, stood with Geoff White on the



While Spartacist was running around with Nuclear Shield posters White wanted the workers states to give up nuclear arms leaving them open to imperialist attack.

knowing it to change reality was the greatest strength philosophically of the bourgeois materialists and rationalists. But in a period of decay, capitalism throws up scepticism because to know reality is to discover the bankruptcy of capitalism and thus the necessity to fight for its overthrow.

REPLY

The political conclusion of scepticism is to abandon the struggle to overthrow capitalism, to accept capitalist reality as unknowable and unchangeable, and to therefore lead the life of a philistine benefitting materially from this capitalist reality and helping to maintain it through the propagation of religious sceptical views in the universities. This is the course both Mage and White have taken.

James Robertson's reply to the resignation of this renegade anti-Trotskyist who now views his stay in radical politics as a bad investment is even more revealing.

"Receipt of White's resignation statement creates mixed feelings. Comrade White, for all his inner corrosion, was a mainstay of our tendency in the Bay Area and nationally. Comrade White was instrumental in holding together the Bay Area tendency at the time of the Healy-Wohlforth split from us in 1962, so that not a single member of the Bay Area tendency went over... However from the beginning of his relationship with the tendency, a sceptical quality and a careful, sanitary aloofness were not absent from his make-up.... By our 1966 Founding Conference, Comrade White argued, albeit with stubbornness and unsuccessfully, that we should oppose the possession and development of nuclear weapons by the Sino-Soviet bloc, a position which cannot in any practical way be squared with the defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism.

"His scepticism was not without deep impact, especially his view that perhaps the historic opportunities for proletarian revolution had been missed and humanity faced now only the prospect of nuclear holocaust. In our principal local spokesman and political leader, this quality naturally alienated would-be revolution-

aries and militants who came in contact with the Bay Area local effectively leading to the recruitment of only one or two people in the area in a half decade! Moreover, the great Berkeley student strike of 1964, with many of whose militants White had close contact, was for us a lost opportunity. Comrade White felt strongly at the time that the Marxist movement—i.e. he—had nothing to tell the student radicals! Later his loss of necessary organizational focus and hardness led the local to distribute a leaflet, at a demonstration where many radical-talking tendencies were present, containing the outrageous slogan: 'Join the revolutionary organization of your choice!' Finally, as implied in his resignation, it was White who led our local into the Peace and Freedom Party, a step from which we extricated ourselves satisfactorily and without undue internal turmoil.

"So we miss White for what he was and what he might have been in helping forge a revolutionary workers movement in this country. And we note that in his leave taking he was organizationally responsible. He agreed to a gradual withdrawal so as to minimize damage to the Bay Area local in which he played a dominant role until the end of his active period. But given what he had become, his formal departure becomes mainly a new opportunity for younger comrades to build on foundations he helped lay but he himself lacked the strength to help develop."(18)

Robertson reacted to the desertion of someone who has openly abandoned Trotskyism, questions whether a proletarian revolution is possible in a nuclear age, and urges everyone to join whatever radical organization they please—with "mixed feelings." He even notes that he will "miss White." For half a decade he was willing to coexist with this sceptic, with this anti-Marxist and even allowed him to be the "dominant" political influence in his Western organization. This caused him no worry. But Robertson would not remain in a common international movement with the International Committee! In fact White is lauded to this day for his hatchet work against the IC and young comrades are urged to build on these

"foundations!"

CESSPOOL

What kind of a political cesspool was Robertson constructing all those years in common with Shane Mage and Geoff White? They all stood together on one issue and only one issue—their opposition to and hatred of the International Committee of the Fourth International, the continuators of Trotsky's struggle for the program of the October Revolution. But the other side of the principled fight of the Fourth International is the scepticism and anti-Marxism of Mage and White.

Can Robertson disassociate himself from this just because he formally holds to "Marxist" orthodoxy? Or is he a man like White trapped by a greater "personal investment" in the "sectarian movement" playing out his role for as long as he can get away with it? No wonder he misses White and his collaborators, could not call Mage a renegade and anti-Trotskyist. It was precisely renegade and anti-Marxism which held the whole lot of them together and against the International Committee all along!

FOOTNOTES

1. The Nature of the Socialist Workers Party—Revolutionary or Centrist? Marxist Bulletin No. 2, page 15.
2. *ibid.*, page 47-48.

3. The Split in the Revolutionary Tendency, Marxist Bulletin No. 3, page 16.
4. *ibid.*, page 16.
5. Spartacist No. 5, November-December 1965, page 9.
6. *ibid.*, page 10.
7. *ibid.*, page 11.
8. *ibid.*, page 9.
9. Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, page 155.
10. Spartacist No. 7, September-October 1966, page 3.
11. Healy Reconstructs, *op. cit.*, page 19.
12. *ibid.*, page 23.
13. Bulletin Vol. 2, No. 3, Aug.-Sept. 1966, pp. 15-16.
14. Problems of the Fourth International by G. Healy, page 29.
15. Marxist Bulletin No. 34, *op. cit.* 26.
16. Spartacist Internal Information Bulletin June 1965 "Miscellaneous Correspondence on the ACFI Letter of 16 May 1965."
17. Spartacist Political Bureau Minutes 29 July 1968.
18. *ibid.*

CONTINUED
NEXT ISSUE



White took Spartacist into the Peace & Freedom Party (nominating convention above)

Problems of the Fourth

International by G. Healy \$.40

IN APRIL, 1966, the International Committee of the Fourth International called its Third Congress. At this gathering, representatives of Trotskyist organisations in several countries argued out the problems of building the international revolutionary movement.

The task of this movement is to resolve the crisis of leadership which has held back the working class from overthrowing capitalism on a world scale.

Cynics have often sneered at the many splits and disputes which feature in the history of the Marxist movement. This only reveals their adaptation to the bureaucratic apparatus which shackles the workers' movement, channelling its consciousness within the confines of capitalist society.

Fighting with the weapons of gossip they slander those who strive to break the working class from the bureaucratic stranglehold. They play their part in the attempt to debase the ideas of the revolutionary movement.

Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, each in his time, showed that, in order to liberate itself from capital, to establish its political independence, the working class had to become conscious of its historic role.

This involved a scientific understanding of the class struggle and, in order to achieve this, a centralised organisation, fighting to lead the workers in all their national and international struggles, had to be constructed.

The process of building such a movement is complex and contradictory. It raises problems whose solution embodies a distillation of the experience of the working class in active struggle.

The fight for theory within the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, whose importance is stressed continually in this pamphlet, is thus not an abstract, academic exercise, but is cradled within the living reality of the class struggle itself.



LABOR PUBLICATIONS 243 E. 10th ST. NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

CP's Daily World Slanders Opposition At Chicago Conference

BY FRED MUELLER

According to the Communist Party, the National Rank and File Action Conference held in Chicago on June 27-28 was a great step forward for the working class. George Meyers, chairman of the CP Trade Union Commission, is quoted in the *Daily World* as saying, "I haven't seen, among trade unionists, such spirit, such determination and such consciousness about going somewhere, since the 1930s."

As far as consciousness is concerned the role of the Communist Party at this conference and in the unions is to hold it back. As we explained in our report on the conference in last week's *Bulletin*, the CP defends the class collaborationist policies of the trade union bureaucracy, seeking to give them a militant slant.

Not surprisingly the Stalinist account of this Chicago conference is completely distorted. In the first report in the *Daily World* there is absolutely no mention of any struggle at the conference at all. In the second report, in the July 2 *Daily World*, the opposition is mentioned briefly in order to smear it and distort its views.

BREAK

According to George Meyers, one of the main points of the conference was "...the determination of the delegates to break decisively with the Meany policies. To the delegates, I think, Meany's policies mean all-out support for the policies of U.S. big business and for the Vietnam War."

Meyers wants a break with Meany's policies, not toward the building of a Marxist leadership on class struggle policies, but toward the Reuther-Woodcock policies, towards the bureaucrats who express the interests of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party and the bosses. These leaders also support the policies of U.S. big business, particularly the wing of big business which is disenchanted with the Vietnam War and looks more towards Europe and America in the defense of capitalist interests.

Not a single capitalist politician or top labor bureaucrat is against the policy of wage and price controls which is being advanced by big sections of the capitalist

class. None of the bureaucrats to whom Meyers and his friends look are the slightest bit interested in leading the wage offensive of the working class against the attacks of Nixon and the employers. Meyers' vague talk about breaking with Meany is absolutely divorced from any program of struggle. He does not want a struggle in the unions because this means a struggle against the entire bureaucracy, not just Meany and his allies.

LIE

The remarks of the *Daily World* on the so-called "ultra-left diversion" at the conference are particularly important. It describes "...a fraction of opposition from a group of ultra-Leftists who sought at times to divert the conference to channels leading out of the unions, and to indiscriminate and all-embracing attacks on leaders..."

This is a complete lie, and the editors of the *Daily World* know it.

In the leaflet we quoted from in last week's account of the Chicago conference, a group of trade unionists proposed that the conference adopt a real program of struggle against Nixon and the bosses. This program included the fight against inflation through the wage offensive, the fight against unemployment through the four day week, the fight against repression and anti-union laws, the struggle against the war led by the working class and taken forward through a mass Labor Day labor march against the war, and the building of a labor party.

The Stalinist leadership of the conference rejected this program of struggle within the trade unions. They advocated instead a vague program of fighting racism and anti-union laws through reliance on a section of the bureaucracy and "labor's friends" in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

BANKRUPT

This is the same bankrupt class collaborationist policy followed by the Stalinists for decades. In order to defend themselves the Stalinists consciously ignore the program fought for in Chicago by the Workers League, they ignore the demands for a labor party fight and the fight for the wage offensive and shorter work week. They quite consciously single out the intervention of a number of revisionist groups like the International Socialists and Spartacist, because these tendencies equivocated precisely on the decisive question of the fight against the trade union bureaucracy within the unions.



CP policy of supporting Democrats and union bureaucrats dominated Chicago conference.

The refusal to take up the fight for a class program inside the unions today, whether this refusal is cloaked in anti-bureaucratic language or in the anti-Meany demagoguery of the Stalinists, is nothing but a capitulation to the bureaucracy.

The Stalinists defend their class collaborationist line by slandering the Trotskyist opposition as "anti-union," and by ignoring the real alternative to their policies.

BUREAUCRACY

As far as the *Daily World* is concerned, there is no such thing as the trade union bureaucracy. There are simply ranks and leaders. Some leaders, we are told, are good, while others are bad. As the *Daily World* says, the conference "...expressed support of trade union leaders who adhere to the interests of the membership, and opposition to those who forsake those interests."

What became of Lenin's analysis of the bribing of a section of the working class and the development of a reactionary bureaucracy based upon this section in the advanced capitalist countries? Lenin explained that this bureaucracy had to be mercilessly fought in the interests of the international working class.

The Stalinists no longer even make a pretense of analyzing the labor movement in materialist terms. They cannot face the question of the bureaucracy because they would then have to deal with the question of the Soviet bureaucracy, and the Stalinist bureaucracies in the leadership of the international labor movement.

According to the *Daily World*, the so-called "ultra-Leftists" "...were given attention but as their purposes became evident they were brushed aside."

The entire Sunday session of the conference was devoted to "brushing aside" serious political discussion on the need for a break by labor from the Democratic and Republican parties. Every trick and maneuver in the book of the labor bureaucracy was put to use by the Stalinists to make sure this dangerous idea was not "given attention" in a full session of the conference.

But neither at the conference itself nor afterwards have the Stalinists been successful in suppressing political discussion through slander and bureaucratic maneuver.

George Meyers is quoted as saying "There's one difference of course between now and the 1930s." But what is the difference? Meyers does not tell us. He simply goes on to state the obvious: "This is the beginning of the 1970s and the more than 800 delegates and observers in Chicago...were helping prepare the 1970's battles."

The one difference between now and the 1930s is—this is the 1970s! We do not need Meyers to tell us that!

DIFFERENCE

But we can tell Meyers and the rest of the CP just what the fundamental difference is. The Stalinists are carrying forward the same fundamental policies as in the 1930s but the working class is in a much stronger position to defeat these policies today. The 1930s was the period of defeat internationally, of the rise of fascism, the betrayals of the Comintern, and historic defeats for the working class. The 1970s are ushered in by a working class which has not been defeated in any decisive battle since the war, a working class which is defiant and determined to maintain its previous gains. The stage is set for explosive class battles in the 1970s, for the question of power to be resolved for once and for all.

And this means that Meyers and Company will have a much tougher time in misleading and betraying the working class. The Stalinist bureaucracy is menaced by a growing opposition from the workers and intellectuals in the Soviet Union and a massive international upsurge of the working class which threatens its policy of peaceful coexistence and long years of collaboration with the capitalists.

This is the lesson of the Chicago conference, and of the fight for the labor party there. Now is the time to step up the fight against the bosses and their collaborators. Stalinism remains the number one traitor within the international labor movement.

CCNY Hires Scab Labor To Bust Guard's Union



Burns guards picket CCNY to protest their firing and replacement with non union guards.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Burns Guards picketed in front of the South Campus gate of City College last week after non-union guards were hired to replace them. The pickets carried signs saying "N.Y. State Takes Our Job! Awards City College Contract To Non-Union Guards," and "Don't Let Non-Union Guards Take Our Jobs Away."

The contract held by the Burns Guard Agency with CCNY for security service expired on June 30. Burns guards had worked at City College for over 10 years. On July 1 non-union guards from the Wackenhut Corporation took over the security jobs on campus. The Wackenhut

Corporation underbid the Burns agency for the job on the basis of their non-union wages.

NON-UNION

The Burns guards are members of Local #2 U.P.P.E.-I.W.A., and received about \$2.00 an hour pay. The new, non-union guards will be paid even less.

CCNY Dean of Students Bernard Sohmers said that the difference in pay amounts to about \$1,400 per year.

In a statement issued July 2, the college said:

"In accordance with the Board of Higher Education contracting procedures, the City

College is mandated to award contracts to the lowest responsible bidders."

"The status of contractor's employees with respect to union affiliation is entirely a matter between the contractor and his employees."

"We are informed that the Wackenhut Corporation has extended an offer to employ the security personnel previously assigned to the City College by the Burns International Detective Agency..."

Most of the guards will refuse these jobs because to accept them will mean the loss of job seniority and pension benefits protected by the union.

The college administration says that "union affiliation" is no concern of theirs. This is a baldfaced lie. They, like every other city agency and institution, as well as every capitalist enterprise, are trying to cut costs at the expense of the workers living standards and working conditions. The first step in this direction is to get rid of the unions where possible, and hire non-union labor at lower wages.

They cannot be allowed to cut costs at the expense of either the students or the workers.

SUPPORT

According to the college, Wackenhut has offered to rehire the guards who formerly worked for Burns on the campus. The union guards must be rehired at union wages and benefits, as union members and all guards at the college must be unionized. Not one campus worker must be made to pay in either unemployment or non-union wages, for the cost cutting schemes of the city.

The fight to rehire the union guards and unionize the new guards must be taken to Local 2, and to every union on campus and in the city labor movement to mobilize support for these workers.

Workers League

PUBLIC MEETING

Saturday July 18
1:00 pm

REPORT ON CLEVELAND
AND
CHICAGO CONFERENCES

YWCA
2600 N. Bancroft
(Near Bowditch)
Berkeley

(not sponsored by the YWCA)

TORIES LAUNCH POGROM AGAINST



army for the withdrawal from the Bog-side—on the condition that vigilantes and the police be allowed to “keep order” in the ghetto!

SWP

The Pabloite Socialist Workers Party, whose forces in England and Ireland called for the use of troops in North Ireland, now has the temerity to attack the SLL for its warnings about Powell's role in the Tory government. In the Intercontinental Press of June 29, in an article on the British elections, they state:

“However in order not to assist the bourgeoisie's attempts to disorient the workers, it is important to avoid exaggerating the role of Powellism in Tory strategy. The ultraleft sectarian Socialist Labour League fell into this trap in the June issue of its organ Workers Press. ‘It is now very evident,’ an anonymous SLL ‘theoretician’ wrote, ‘that as a certain liberal observer remarked: ‘Mr. Heath might control the forms, but it is Powell who articulates the substantive beliefs and emotions...of the Tory Party.’

“If the reactionary racist demagoguery of Powell represented the ‘substantive beliefs’ of the party of the British big bourgeoisie, it is hard to see how this class could have survived comfortably into the second half of the twentieth century or maintained the relative social peace that reigns in Britain.”

This is coming from a party whose co-thinkers around the journal “Red Mole” actively assisted the bourgeoisie's attempt to disorient the working class by abstaining from voting Labor in the General Elections; from a party which has absolutely no perspective for fighting the Tories.

“PEACE”

This complacency, this unbounded faith in the ability of British capitalism not only to survive but to do so comfortably, is the same faith which these reformists had in the “peacekeeping” and “protective” role of British imperialism. Does the “social peace” they speak of “reign” in North Ireland?

It is precisely through the use of racist reactionary demagoguery of the Powells and the Paisleys that the Tories hope to maintain capitalism. It is precisely because the “social peace” is threatened by the working class fighting back against the Tories' attacks on their living standards and their rights, that the ruling class steps up its use of racism. This is the meaning of the crisis in North Ireland.

BY PAT CONNOLLY

Bloody street fighting and rioting have broken out in Belfast and Derry in North Ireland, with 12 persons dead, hundreds injured and hundreds more under arrest.

RACIST

In Ireland the Tories use both the open reactionary racist demagoguery of Paisley and the reformism and cowardice of the trade union “lefts” and leaders to maintain their power. In England as well, the Tories will more and more use the betrayals of the Labor leadership and fake “lefts” and the racists like Powell to divide and divert the working class. The new outbreak in Ireland is a warning for England.

This is a clear warning as well to all those “lefts” and revisionists, led by the Pabloites and Stalinists, who last year

called for and welcomed with open arms the British troops. This year they are witnessing the fruits of their labor with a military dictatorship in North Ireland.

They presumed, starting with a totally reformist and bankrupt outlook, that British troops—well known for putting down revolts and serving imperialism well, from Africa to India, the Middle East and Malaysia—would act to “protect” the Catholic minority from the Protestant Paisleyites. Today the troops in armored cars and tanks sweep into the Bog-side and Catholic ghettos in Belfast, as well as Protestant areas, to attack,

Photograph above and those on following page were sent special to the Bulletin from Derry, North Ireland, where unarmed workers and youth are under attack by British occupation troops.

arrest and murder workers and youth.

The Socialist Labour League was the only political tendency in Britain and Ireland to call clearly and unconditionally for “No Troops in Ireland” and for “Immediate Withdrawal of British Troops.” It warned all along of the use to which they would be put and fought for Protestant-Catholic unity against the troops.

The same revisionists and “leftists” who welcomed in the troops last August have learned nothing from the experience. Now they propose to the workers in Derry that they “negotiate” with the

Polish Stalinists Break Cement Strike In Ireland

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Last week over 750 workers at Cement Ltd. in Drogheda and Limerick, Ireland were forced back to work after a five month strike. After more than 21 weeks out on \$12 a week strike pay, the workers went back on the job without winning their wage demands.

Their strike was broken not only by the bosses and the police but by international scabbing of the Stalinist bureaucracy of Poland.

On April 6, two months after the start of the cement workers' strike in the Republic of Ireland, Poland exported some cement—scab cement.

Over 520 tons of Polish made “SAIL” brand portland cement was sold by Minex, the stateowned building materials export company, and shipped to Henry Thompson

“Coal Importer” in Merville, Ireland.

The cement was loaded onto the “MV FRANCE” in the port of Gdynia, Poland and was shipped to Merville Port, in County Donegal, a small port that does not normally handle cement shipments. No regular port in Ireland would accept the scab shipment.

SCAB

The Stalinists scab cement was sold to the bosses at \$19.20 a ton although the going price for cement during the strike reached as high as \$62.40 a ton. It was very profitable business indeed!

Meanwhile the strikers were confronted with so many truckloads of scab material that they were forced to form vigilante squads to ambush trucks carrying the Polish cement and destroy the cargo. But the strike was ultimately crushed, thanks to the kind cooperation of Mr. Gomulka and Co.

But scab cement is not the Polish Stalinists first venture into the filthy business of international strikebreaking. Earlier this year they exported coal to fascist Spain and helped Franco break the heroic Asturian miners' strike.

This is just another expression of the counterrevolutionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucracies. This is the same regime which has opened up diplomatic relations with the Lon Nol regime in Cambodia, which welcomed the Tory victory in England, which has “cultural exchanges” with Spain and Portugal.

Bill of Lading form with handwritten notes and stamps. Includes fields for ship name (C. Martwig - Gdynia), consignee (Messrs. J.S. Hamilton Limited), and cargo description (Portland Cement). A large 'ORIGINAL' stamp is visible.

BILL OF LADING
The Baltic and International Maritime Carriage Code
Only when used in accordance with the Rules of the Charter Party

MORSKA AGENCJA W GDYNI
Shipping, Charter & Agency
Head Office: GDYNI, POLSKA 2
Telephone: MAG 7400, 62-62

FRANCE Gdynia

PORTLAND CEMENT
according to BS 12/1958
10,400 bags 52c metric tons
6-ply seven valve paper bags of 50 kgs gross for net plus 3/12 empty open 3-ply paper bags

SHIPPED at the Port of Loading in accordance with the Bill of Lading and in conformity with the Rules of the Charter Party and the Rules of the Baltic and International Maritime Carriage Code.

6 APR 1970

Proof of Stalinist scabbing: Bills of Lading for shipment of cement to Republic of Ireland during big cement strike.

Amended Invoice form from Baltic Exchange Chambers. Includes fields for ship name (MV. "FRANCE" G/P, D.S. 70), consignee (Cement - Gdynia/Merville), and quantity (520 tons). A handwritten '70' is visible.

BALTIC EXCHANGE CHAMBERS
24, ST. MARY AXE, LONDON, E.C.3.

AMENDED INVOICE

24th April, 1970.

HENRY THOMPSON
Coal Importer, Merville, Co. Donegal, IRE.

POLISH COALING & TRADING CO., LTD.

M.V. "FRANCE" G/P, D.S. 70
Cement - Gdynia/Merville

520 tons Polish Portland Cement corresponding to B.S. 12/1958 @ 160/- per metric ton

C & F Merville

IRISH WORKERS

It shows the program of the Tories for England as well.

SLL

The only political force which has fought against this strategy of the ruling class has been the Socialist Labour League. The SLL has led the fight for the unity of the working class in Ireland, and for the unity of Irish and British workers, of all religions and races, against the plans of the Tories to drive back the working class. It is this fight, led by the revolutionary party, guided by Marxist strategy, which can pose the question of power, and topple the reactionary Stormont government and the Tories for good.

Three thousand additional troops have been rushed to Ulster to "maintain law and order" during the annual Orange parades scheduled for July 12. This brings to 11,000 the number of British troops occupying North Ireland, which is teetering on the brink of civil war.

Rioting was touched off by youths in Derry after the arrest and imprisonment of Bernadette Devlin, Member of Parliament from Mid-Ulster. She was arrested for her role in fighting the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the B-Specials when they attacked workers in Derry's Catholic slum of Bogside last August.

The Chichester-Clark regime has imposed a 10:30 curfew, and rushed through a new law providing for a mandatory minimum sentence of from 1 to 5 years for rioting. The Special Powers Act which suspends all civil liberties is used to arrest on suspicion and to imprison without trial. Thousands of British troops encircle the working class Catholic areas, searching all who enter for guns, and conducting house to house searches for firearms. In Belfast, Catholics in the cordoned off ghettos charge that British troops looted as they searched.

At the same time, the top British officer in North Ireland, Sir Ian Free-land, has the army under orders to shoot without warning anyone carrying firearms. Troops have used this time and again to fire at crowds of youths armed with only their fists, sticks and rocks.

DICTATORSHIP

For all intents and purposes, a military dictatorship exists in North Ireland.

The Tory government in Stormont with the aid of the Tories now in office in England, have every intention of carrying out the most vicious attacks on Catholic and Protestant workers alike.

The Unionists are clearly trying to provoke confrontations between Catholics and Protestant workers in order to re-enforce



divisions within the working class and strengthen the hand of the Unionists in attacking the working class with new force. Just as Powellism and racism is used in England to divide the working class there, Paisleyism and religious divisions are used to divide the Irish working class.

This is the meaning of the provocative Orange Day parades celebrating the victory of Protestants loyal to William of Orange in the Battle of the Boyne in the 1600s. For the past several weeks, "practice" Orange Day marches have been held in Belfast and Derry, marching directly through Catholic districts. This is like holding Klu Klux Klan marches in central Harlem. Tory officials absolutely refuse to reroute or cancel these parades which are designed for confrontation and British troops stand ready to attack Catholic workers and youth who interfere.

These religious hatreds have been nurtured for hundreds of years to keep Ireland divided and in colonial status. The Tories now provoke and inflame these prejudices to weaken and further divide the class and divert it from the prospect of more unemployment and poverty which now confronts both Catholic and Protestant workers. The Tories are trying to resolve the problems posed by the economic crisis in Britain at the expense of the workers' living standards. They use racism and religious divisions to achieve this.

UNION LEADERS

The North Irish trade union leaders are no better at fighting for the interests of the working class than are the British trade union leaders. In the face of this massive attack on the working class, trade union leaders last week met with Sir Reginald Maudling, the new Tory Home Secretary. They emerged from the meeting pleased that Maudling had assured them that the Tories would support the continuation of the Chichester-Clark "reform" program. They also welcomed the new act outlawing "Incitement to Hatred and Disorder." The acceptance by trade union leaders of these so-called "reforms" just opens the way to more vicious repression. The "Incitement to Hatred" Act will be used against all of those militants who try to fight the Tories. Chichester-Clark's "reform" program is just a cover for the Tory's real program—troops, arrests, military law, repression—which is now in action.

The attacks on the North Irish working class are samples of what workers can expect in England as they fight to defend their standards of living and their trade union rights against the Tories.

Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, speaking at a London meeting called by the SLL and the Young Socialists in solidarity with the working class of North Ireland against the British troops and the Tories, pointed this out:

"The government is showing its hand now in North Ireland. When the Tories bring Saracens and tanks into the Bogside against the barricades that the persecuted Catholic workers have had to erect, they are also serving notice that if the British working class comes out in protest for true rights, they will do the same thing in Liverpool and London as well."



French Trotskyists Hold Workers Conference

BY MELODY FARROW

On June 20-21 the Workers Alliance, founded by the French section of the Fourth International after the 1968 general strike, held its first conference in Paris. 452 delegates attended as well as 58 guests.

The conference brought together workers from every major union and from different political tendencies. The majority of delegates belonged to the GGT (Stalinist led union federation) while others came from the CGT-FO, CFDT and the student union, UNEF.

The main goal of the conference was to unite all workers and youth in a struggle to forge a United Front of workers organizations and fight for a workers' government based on socialist policies. The experience of the 1968 General Strike was central to the conference. Many delegates cited the role of the Stalinists in attempting to break up the General Strike and the refusal of the French CP to lead a fight against the new "anti-wrecker" law aimed at destroying the power of the working class and its vanguard.

The conference takes place at a time when the French ruling class is going over to open repression and provocation against the working class. The French working class, however, remains strong and undefeated. At the same time as open repression is used, the Pompidou government needs the collaboration of the Stalinists to hold the working class back.

OPEN LETTER

The conference issued an open letter to all workers and youth which outlined the major resolutions of the conference. In the fight against Pompidou's 6th Plan, the Workers Alliance demands—guaranteed employment, the shorter work week, a minimum salary of 1,000F a month, a sliding scale of wages, the abolishment of the attack on Social Security and a conference for defense of the youth. It called for an end to the June 12, 1968 law outlawing revolutionary organizations and the recently passed anti-wrecker law.

A number of resolutions were passed by the conference calling for immediate

withdrawal of all troops from Indochina, and for the removal of all Warsaw Pact troops from Czechoslovakia. The conference proposed the establishment of an International Inquiry Commission of workers' organizations to investigate the new trials in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and pledged to fight for the release of all political prisoners in these countries.

DEFENSE

A special resolution was passed to take up the defense of seven workers from Vallouvec now facing jail sentences following a police attack on the Vallouvec strikers. At the end of the conference a National Committee was elected.

Throughout the conference discussion the necessity to build a revolutionary party, based on the principles of Trotskyism, was emphasized. Without such a party the working class, through its unions alone, will not be able to defeat the bourgeoisie. The First Conference of the Workers Alliance is an important step forward in building this party.

MARXISM & MILITARY AFFAIRS

By Leon Trotsky

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special price; \$ 1.25

Opposition To Sellout Grows In 1199

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

New York, July 6—The leadership of Local 1199 who agreed to a tentative new contract last Wednesday will have a tough job selling this pact to the membership. There is widespread opposition to the settlement at the hospitals and many workers have denounced it as a sell-out.

Delegates from three major hospitals, Beth Israel, Mount Sinai and Montefiore have reported that the general reaction among the ranks is disgust and dissatisfaction. At Montefiore several delegates have circulated a petition against the contract which has already been signed by 300 members.

The rank and file were ready for a fight to win their demands and now can see that the union leadership pulled back from a fight and betrayed the entire struggle. Many workers have said that all the major demands could have been won if the threat of strike action had been carried out. This is the first time that the 1199 leadership has ever faced such mass opposition.

OPPOSITION

The opposition in 1199 is part of the militancy and rebellious mood sweeping whole sections of the rank and file in the labor movement. When the \$100 minimum was won in 1968 it seemed to be a good increase especially since the minimum had been \$76. Since then workers have seen what inflation has done to this increase. With prices still climbing it is clear that the \$130, a slightly larger increase than two years ago is not sufficient to really improve their living standards.

What is different in 1970 is that workers not only insist on defending past gains but will fight to make even greater advances at a time when every politician



Kingsbrook Hospital workers rally before July 1st contract date.

is calling for some form of wage controls. Hospital workers are joining the ranks of the GE, Teamster and postal workers who refused to accept the proposed settlements of their leaders. At the same time as the employers and the government prepare a crackdown on this wage offensive, they are afraid of the confrontation with the unions and of the power of the working class. This is why they raised their wage proposals to the \$130.

COLLABORATION

Davis' role is collaboration with the hospital bosses to prevent a strike and hold back the fight for the demands. Davis is the bosses' main weapon in holding back the rank and file and this is why they were forced to come up with more money than they wanted. They must try to preserve Davis' reputation in order to prevent a far more explosive situation such as a citywide strike.

On Wednesday morning Davis bragged that this settlement was "the best won by any union anywhere in the country." What he really means is that considering the tough stand the bosses are taking, we

did pretty well. But the ranks are not interested in simply frightening the bosses into concessions, they want to beat the bosses.

The concession won on wages were gotten at the price of the cost of living clause, the 35 hour week, job security, and other benefits. It is now learned that even the dental plan which supposedly the leadership would never give up will not go into effect for another year and a half.

The ranks must insist on job security, on protections against job losses through the job freeze and subcontracting.

The Rank and File Committee led the fight from the beginning to make the major demands non-negotiable and to prepare for a citywide strike to win these demands. It warned that Davis would drop his militant posture as soon as he had the opportunity. This warning was confirmed when Davis called off the strike on Wednesday morning.

VOTE NO

This settlement can and must be defeated! Davis is holding the vote at separate hospitals after a return to work precisely in order to whittle down opposi-

tion and encourage demoralization.

The membership must be mobilized to vote down this sellout at all meetings and must insist on a fight and a strike if necessary to win the major demands.

LETTER FROM A TEAMSTER CALLS FOR HOFFA RELEASE

June 20, 1970

Dear Editor,

I have written to numerous labor leaders, radical weeklies and radical magazines and even spoke to some progressive labor leaders and a university professor asking them to help me create a rank and file movement to free James R. Hoffa Pres. of the I.B.T. of America who was framed and railroaded to jail. But I got no answer; it was ignored.

I think the left and radicals abandoned the working class. You know and I know, without an awakened working class to support progress nothing can be done. So I believe a rank and file movement to free Jimmy Hoffa would awaken the working class.

To me it seems that the radical publications and the commercial press media are united to keep Hoffa in jail, or why else the silence.

Hoffa has been our best "Labor Leader" in the past decade, I should know I'm a member of Local 138 I.B.T. of America. He has lifted us out of bondage, but since he is in jail those gains are weakening.

Sincerely Yours,
M. T.

The Bulletin has always stood 100% in opposition to the persecution and jailing of Hoffa and has pointed out that "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party such as the Kennedys led this persecution. The attack on Hoffa was aimed at the rank and file and the way to end such attacks is through the fight against the government for a labor party.

It must also be pointed out that the current Teamsters' leadership was hand-picked by Hoffa himself and came out of the I.B.T. bureaucracy. Fitzsimmons was Hoffa's right hand man and came from the same Detroit local. Since the expiration of the national contract, Fitzsimmons and the other officers have played the role of policemen to break wildcat strikes in cities across the country—Detroit, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and Los Angeles, to name a few. It is not to Hoffa but to a new revolutionary leadership based on Marxist theory that we feel the rank and file Teamsters must now turn.—Labor Editor

Nasser And Kremlin Conspire Against Arab Revolution



New U.S. "peace plan" is aimed at undercutting guerrillas.

BY MARTY JONAS

The recent "peace" plan for the Middle East proposed by Secretary of State Rogers is designed to take the heat off both the Israeli Zionist leaders and the Arab leaders.

It consists of a cease-fire and renewed negotiations (under UN auspices) sup-

posedly based on Israel's giving back all territories gained in the 1967 war. It remains deliberately vague on all points.

But one thing is clear—it is based on the continuation of Israel as an imperialist cockpit in the Middle East. Its vagueness is due to the fact that Israel cannot be guaranteed to comply with any of the terms (certainly not the third!).

The plan comes at a time when both the Zionist leaders and all the Arab leaders are under attack by an upsurge of the Arab masses.

COOLING OFF

After the near civil war against Jordan's Hussein recently, a cooling off of the guerrilla forces is what Nasser, Hussein and the other Arab rulers as well as Golda Meir most need. The events in Jordan demonstrated that the war against imperialism in Israel could not be continued without a fight against the Arab ruling class.

This is the reason why Nasser went running to Moscow last week. Like Arafat of Al Fatah several weeks before him, he has no doubt been discussing with the Stalinist bureaucracy how to maintain the balance of power in the Middle East. This means the crushing of the Arab revolution. The Stalinist bureaucrats are expert in this, having assisted in the birth of Israel

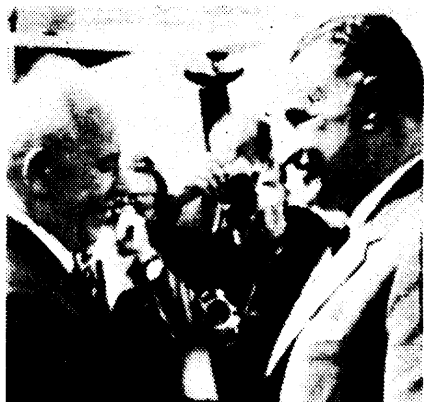
in 1948.

In this, all these forces come together. The Rogers plan's terms, which are vague, are less important than its intended effect on the mass struggles now reaching a peak in the Middle East. We can expect to see high level talks presided over by the U.N., while the Israelis entrench themselves deeper in stolen territories and the Arab rulers gather their strength to crush the revolutionary forces in the guerrilla movement.

FEAR

The thing that the imperialists and the Stalinists fear most is the immense force of the fedayeen in carrying forward the revolution and upsetting the balance of power. The leaderships of the guerrilla movements have up to now in even their most radical organizations been only willing to put pressure on the Arab leaders. This has been shown over and over in their unwillingness to seize power from those governments who not only back down from fighting the Zionists but attack the guerrillas.

A party must be constructed that can lead the struggle for power in the Middle East against the treachery of the Arab rulers and the Stalinists.



Podgorny welcomes Nasser in Moscow.

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