

# Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 5, NO. 1-90

SEPTEMBER 2, 1968

TEN CENTS

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INSTITUTION

PEACE AND FREEDOM

PARTY REFORMISM AS

REACTIONARY UTOPIA

# NIXON-HUMPHREY

*THEIR REAL PLANS TO CRUSH LABOR*



BARBED WIRE, POLICE, NATIONAL GUARDSMEN TROOPS PROTECT WHAT WAS ONCE KNOWN AS THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE FROM THE PEOPLE



CZECHOSLOVAKIAN WORKERS CONFRONT RUSSIAN TANK DEMANDING EXPLANATION FROM SOLDIER OF UNPROVOKED INVASION

# SOVIET TANKS ROLL ON CZECH WORKERS



by Lucy St. John

The Republican convention ended recently with its candidate, Richard Nixon, telling us that, 'the long dark night for America is about to end.' But what the convention actually revealed is that the long dark night for the majority of people who live in this country is soon going to get darker.

What the convention was, was a gathering not of the majority of the American people to nominate those who are to run this country in their interests but rather a gathering of a section of the minority of those who run this country not in the interest and according to the needs of the majority, the working class, but in the interests of the minority, the capitalist class.

There has been much talk coming, in particular, from the liberal politicians and newspapers, of the irrelevancy of the Republican convention to the vast majority of Americans and its removal from 'reality'. It is precisely the Republican Party's concern with reality which makes it appear to be removed from the problems facing the people today. The fact is that the problems the country faces today pose the question of the very existence of the capitalist system. It is the preservation of this system which runs counter to the interests of the masses of this country with which the Republican Convention was concerned.

**relevant**

The Republican convention was hardly removed from reality. On the contrary the speeches, the candidates and the platform have enormous importance and relevancy for the entire world. They give us a glimpse of the present and the future, a foreboding of the increased struggles to come in this country. The policies taken up by the Republicans in no way represent just the views of the capitalist class in its entirety. This will be clearer in the next few weeks when the Democratic Party will take up much the same slogans with a different coating, but the same policies, because behind their demagogy about being the party of the people, the Democrats as well as the Republicans represent the capitalist-class.

What was expressed at the Republican convention was that there is a crisis, that the crisis has produced increasing conflict, expressed in the terms of 'lawlessness', and that a new 'leader-

The Democratic Party Convention is just as much a reflection of the deepening crisis of capitalism as the Republican Convention was. Both the Democratic and Republican parties are parties of the ruling class and they are going to be advancing the same fundamental policy in dealing with it. This is the meaning of the nominations of Humphrey and Nixon following the primaries and the anguished efforts of so-called liberal forces within both parties.

The so-called McCarthy movement in particular is the last gasp of liberalism and reformism in the U.S. Thousands of middle class intellectuals and reformists, responding to the crisis, have sought to revive liberalism once again through the Democratic Party. All their publicized efforts reveal not the strength but the complete impotence of bourgeois liberalism in this period.

There is no doubt that the Democratic Party is more badly split than at any time

# Nixon Nomination Reveals Turn From Reformism to Attacks On Working Class

ship', new methods are needed to deal with the crisis to preserve the system and put down any resistance to solving the crisis.

**firm**

The nomination of Nixon and Agnew and the rejection of a candidate such as Rockefeller represents a clear statement by the ruling class that it is time to take a firm stand, to get rid of the liberal rhetoric. Behind this and the statements by leading members of the Republican Party and the platform is a rejection of the traditional liberalism or reformism, talk of concessions, and promises of great reforms, which policy the ruling class has used for decades.

The ruling class realizes, and this was reflected at the Republican convention, that this policy is no longer viable, that it cannot deal with the increasing conflict, class struggle, in this country, where whole sections of the population, particularly the middle class, see the bankruptcy of this policy and are thrown into a panic in many cases turning outside the traditional parties for alternatives to this crisis, such as Wallace. The Republicans understand that maintaining their system is very much related to maintaining the allegiance of this section of the population and it is to these people that it addresses all its rhetoric designed to increase the feeling of panic about the crisis.

**dirkson**

The spokesman for the Republican Party devoted much time to an attack on liberalism posed by Everett Dirksen in the form of the 'Great Society', which today represents the dying grasp of reformism -- of rule by concessions and reforms. Dirksen put it clearly, 'We've been openhearted, we've been openhanded, we've done all this, and now it's time to reassess our generosity and the limit of our resources. Never have we known a time in which foreign financial leaders have been so fearful of America's resolution to overcome this fiscal crisis'. And Nixon echoes: 'We've had enough of big promises.' To speak of reforms today has become utopian.

The strongest words came in relation to 'law and order' and this theme predominated the convention. While the rhetoric heard at the convention was not without its references to reforms, to justice, equality, etc. the main theme of the convention and that which received the

loudest applause was 'law and order'. 'Lawlessness and violence' were seen as the cause and aggravation of the crisis. These words in the mouth of the ruling class pertain to the resistance on the part of the working class, and sections of the middle class to the crisis, this means the Negro people, the trade unions, the students and left and radical organizations.

**lawlessness**

In particular, 'lawlessness and violence,' and 'crime in the streets' have become epithets to slander the movement on the part of the black people and the poor in general against the direct attack on their living conditions. Although there is much denial that this is racism, one has only to listen to the politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties to see through this. Just who is Mr. Dirksen speaking of when he says, 'Desperadoes have converted the streets of Cleveland, Ohio, into bullet-swept lanes, like a frontier town?' The blame for the crisis is put on those who protest against the crisis.

Let there be no mistake. Racism is only one form of attack on the working class. When these politicians speak of 'law and order', they are speaking not only about the Negro people who have risen up in violent protest against the system, but law and order represents the means to deal with the entire working class or any section of society which seeks to protest.

All the talk of 'law and order' is combined with the spectre of 'anarchy and chaos', of the cities becoming 'guerilla'-infested hamlets. The purpose of all this demagogy is to whip up frenzy and panic, particularly among the middle class, and a section of the working class who see the crisis but cannot see the alternative.

**business**

Nixon promises a 'new road'. The economic crisis is to be solved at the expense of the working class and to the profit of the capitalist. The 'new road' according to Nixon is to aid 'American private enterprise'. Concretely, this means new loopholes and 'tax credits' for big business. While the working class is being hit harder and harder with taxes in order to pay for the economic crisis of capitalist system, the capitalists are to be given tax credits. The solution to the problems of the ghettos is 'black capitalism' or the further exploitation of the black people for the benefit of the few. 'Private enterprise' in the ghettos means the continuation of the ghettos; it means maybe a few office buildings to house the 'black capitalists' and the continuation of the deplorable slum housing where truly unliveable buildings are maintained with no repairs but with a high profit for those who own them. Poverty programs are to be stopped. The Republican's alternative is for the 'expanding free-enterprise system to provide jobs.' But if we look at this so-called expanding system we see what the ruling class has in store for the workers. What 'expanding' means for American workers is unemployment such as the lay-off of 100,000 steelworkers by the end of the year.

**labor**

For organized labor, the Republican platform (Continued on page 7)

# democrats barricade convention vs. people

in the last 20 years. If the opinion polls mean anything they mean that millions upon millions of working class as well as middle class voters are deserting the Democrats towards Nixon, Wallace, or the conception of another capitalist reform party, a so-called fourth party movement.

**troops**

Meanwhile the governor of Illinois calls out thousands of National Guard troops to protect the convention, wire fences are erected around the convention hall, the Democratic Party chiefs maneuver to prevent live television coverage of the demonstrations expected outside the convention hall, and the prospective de-

monstrators find that their very right to demonstrate is being called into question. These developments are of tremendous significance. The ruling class is reacting with great fear to a situation they can no longer so easily control.

At the platform hearings the liberals are making efforts to introduce once again the rhetoric of reform and of promises. The ruling class is becoming afraid even of this rhetoric, nor can it any longer afford even the token anti-poverty programs and similar measures of the last few years. The campaign of a Kennedy or McCarthy would have differed from that of Nixon in its attempt to

more energetically project a liberal image. Humphrey's campaign will differ only in the phony demagogy with which he will attempt to portray the Republicans as the bastion of reaction, while the Democrats, with the same fundamental policies, will be pictured as the party of the 'people.'

In a recent television advertisement Humphrey launched a vicious attack against student demonstrators. The so-called 'tyranny of the minority.' 'We will not have our campuses disrupted', says Humphrey in one breath, and he then proceeds to indignantly defend George Wallace's right to speak, and to denounce those who have pro-

tested Wallace's vicious attacks on Negroes, radicals and the entire working class.

Humphrey may not use the phrase 'law and order', he will even engage in sham battles against the Republicans and depict himself as the friend of the labor movement. But he is preparing the same attack against the entire working class that Nixon is, and he is almost as open in his use of racism and chauvinist demagogy.

**break**

Nothing but a clear break with Nixon, Humphrey and the entire Democratic and Republican parties will suffice. The ruling class has one policy -- to divide the working class and to attack sections of it as well as the class as a whole. The working class must answer this strategy of the capitalists, and the only answer is a total break with reformism and the capitalist parties, and the fight for a labor party now.

# SOVIET TANKS ROLL ON CZECH WORKERS

by the editors

August 24--The military forces of the Soviet Union, East Germany, Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary have invaded Czechoslovakia without the slightest provocation and have established military rule over the country. Let there be not the slightest doubt about it--this is a blow aimed at the Czech working class and against the working class of all countries. It is another indication of the completely counterrevolutionary character of Stalinism and the absolutely insoluble crisis Stalinism has been thrown in.

Let those who have talked of a "new reality" and of Stalinism having changed its stripes ponder over these events. Twelve years after the Soviet Union entered Hungary to suppress the workers councils the Brezhnev government follows the same course.

There is no excuse whatsoever for this invasion. The talk of intervening to protect Czechoslovakia from counter-revolution is a complete and absolute lie. We accuse Gus

Hall, General Secretary of the American Communist Party, and the Daily World, organ of that party, of perpetrating this lie among American workers. Just look at Hall's own feeble statement. The best he can come up with is the charge that "there developed a paralysis which gravely increased the danger of an anti-socialist take-over." But this answers itself. Hall does not even claim that a counter-revolution had taken place nor that one was even being planned. What complete bankruptcy!

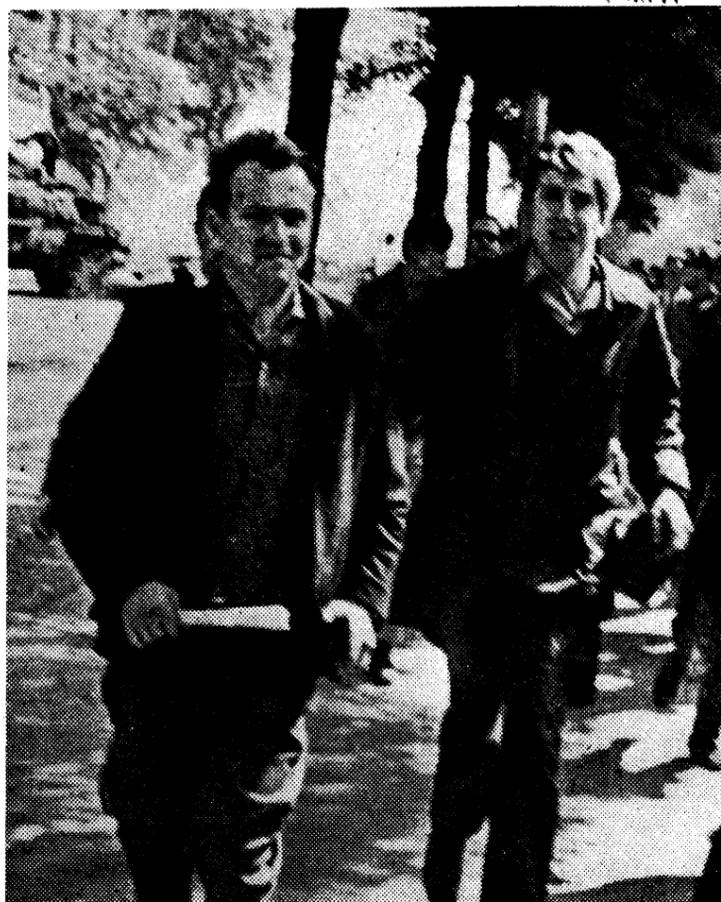
Of course there existed counterrevolutionary tendencies in Czechoslovakia. But these also exist in all the workers states. The fundamental source of these tendencies is the bureaucracy itself.

The Soviet Union intervened in Czechoslovakia because it feared, not these forces with whom it collaborates internationally each day, but the working class which was beginning to find its own independent way in Czechoslo-

vakia raising demands not only against the Dubcek bureaucracy but the rightists as well. As in Hungary the bureaucracy feared the government could no longer contain the working class and thus the very existence of the privileged bureaucracy was threatened throughout the bloc.

Those who point to the capitalist propagandists who utilize the Czech events for their own reactionary aims should ask who is really responsible for this? Clearly the policies of the Stalinists.

The crisis reveals the bankruptcy of the Dubcek regime which offered no resistance whatsoever to the invasion. To those who will say "What else could it do under the circumstances?" we answer that Dubcek is responsible for the circumstances. He banked everything on talks with fellow bureaucrats rather than rallying the workers, arming them in self defense, extending real workers democracy through workers councils, and mobilizing workers against the rightists as well.



PRAGUE RESIDENTS FLEE FROM SOVIET TANK

.Against the armed intervention of the Soviet Stalinists!

.No political support for

Dubcek!

.Forward to the political revolution and the socialist revolution everywhere. Build the Fourth International!

## Statement of the Political Committee

The American middle class is in a deep political crisis. The Rockefeller, McCarthy and Kennedy campaigns within the major parties, the independent Wallace campaign, the growth of black power movements and the Peace and Freedom Party are all reflections of this crisis.

The cause of the political crisis is the economic crisis of world capitalism. All the forces of world big business must now be devoted to the defense of profit at the expense of the working class. This signifies the end of reformism. The ruling class can no longer buy relative class peace at the price of economic concessions to the masses. The black section of the working class has been the first to be affected but, as the steel settlement shows, the offensive has already begun against the organized trade union movement.

## COMMENT

The cement that binds the middle classes to the capitalists in relatively peaceful periods is this reformism. The rejection by the Democrats and Republicans of reformist oppositions signifies this inability of the ruling class to grant meaningful concessions either at home or abroad. That the reactionary breakaway of Wallace has led to moves on the part of the leadership of both parties in the political direction of Wallace is a further indication of this.

The Peace and Freedom Party must be seen within this context. It represents the attempt of the radical section of the middle class to maintain illusions in the reformability of capitalism by forming a new capitalist party independent of the two major capitalist parties. By urging reforms, but failing to link

these reforms to a transitional program for posing a change in class rule itself the program of this party is completely utopian and reactionary. We are now in a period when reformism is a utopian illusion and revolutionary politics offers the only realistic basis for defending the interests of the American working class. If any concessions are to be gained at all from crisis-ridden capitalism it will only be as a by-product of a revolutionary struggle which poses the question of power in America in class terms. The recent events in France fully confirm this fundamental Marxist thesis.

## socialism

American revolutionaries must fight today for the socialist transformation of American society--for the nationalization of the basic means of production so that the great industrial might of America is placed in the hands of the working people and utilized to wipe out poverty, produce jobs for all, cut the work week, tear down the slums, transform the educational system, wipe out every last vestige of race discrimination, aid the development of the world's people rather than sending workers to Vietnam in support of the continued enslavement of man. Any of these specific demands are today incompatible with the maintenance of an economic system based on profit.

To raise such demands without linking them transitionally to the fundamental change in class rule needed to implement them only deludes the masses and deepens the demoralization of the middle classes which feeds fascist tendencies. The history of Europe in the 1930's proves conclusively that those who cling to middle class reform-

ism in a period when revolutionary tasks are posed aid the mobilization of the disillusioned middle classes into a reactionary frenzied fascist movement. So it will be in America unless the revolutionary struggle is waged uncompromisingly against all reformist tendencies.

This is why our central task today has got to be to



build the revolutionary party as part of the world party of the working class. The main task of this party is to fight within all sections of the working class for workers to form their own party--a labor party based on the unions--linking our solution of the crisis at all times with the beginning steps of the creation of the vehicle which can make this program a reality. Anything short of this is a delusion which objectively aids the capitalists in maintaining their exploitation of American workers and workers all over the world.

The Peace and Freedom Party has been formed precisely because the conditions exist in America today for the effective struggle on a mass scale for such a party. The P&F party is an impediment to this development just as the Wallace Progressive Party of 1948 was an impediment in a similar period of growing dissatisfaction with the capitalist parties.

It is this hostility to the construction of the revolutionary party and the re-

volutionary party's battle for a labor party in America which is the fundamental cement which holds together all the diverse forces which make up Peace and Freedom. The bloc of the black nationalists around the Black Panthers with P & F through the Cleaver presidential candidacy is based on this common opposition to the necessary tasks

ocratic Party, and who spent part of the time the P&F convention met participating in a pro-McCarthy rally.

Then there are the three revisionist socialist groups who have provided the necessary organizational work to hold together P&F--the Independent Socialist Clubs, the Progressive Labor Party, and the Communist Party. With-

**PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY:  
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facing American workers. Cleaver's participation in P&F is not a "mistake" because it is not a matter of an organization with a correct line giving support to one with an incorrect one. Both the Black Panthers and P&F represent a blind alley for working people, the blacks and the middle classes precisely because they refuse to fight a class battle in America.

Cleaver makes this clear himself when he dismisses orienting the P&F campaign towards the working class and expresses his hostility to the class stating: "the AFL-CIO is not endorsing us this year." Obviously class politics have got to be fought for within the trade union movement against the leadership of the AFL-CIO.

## guru

Look at the other P&F candidates. Cleaver himself nominates for vice president that political buffoon and representative of the gurus--Jerry Rubin. The New York P&F nominates for congress David McReynolds who voted for Johnson and, only recently resigned from the Dem-

out these parties there would be no P&F. The ISC holds that the workers states are "imperialist" and opposes the defense of the conquests of October. PLP and CP each agree that the other is revisionist and betrayers of socialism. Yet these three parties stand together in their opposition to the necessary tasks of the American working class.

There can be no compromise with P&F. It is not progressive in any way. We give no support whatsoever to P&F. We will fight it politically to the end. We urge P&F members to break with capitalist politics and take up the serious struggle to build the revolutionary party through the struggle for the labor party. Today this means giving critical support to the SWP candidates Halstead and Boutelle against P&F as well as Nixon, Humphrey and Wallace. This means fighting for a vote for Halstead and Boutelle on the independent class program put forward by the Workers League.

# WHEN THE GERMAN WORKING CL



LIEBKNECHT ADDRESSES LARGE WORKERS RALLY

by V. Barat

(The following article is part of a continuing series on the history of the German working class movement and the road ahead for German workers today. This section deals with the opposition to World War I which developed within the party and which lay the basis for the future German Communist Party.)

The dramatic manifestation of the SPD's degeneration was its affirmative stand on the war credits demanded of the Reichstag by the government. The vote occurred on August 4, 1914. In a fraction meeting prior to this parliamentary session the 110 SPD deputies were appealed to by Karl Liebknecht to oppose the government's financial request. Only 14 lined up against the measure. Long standing tradition in the party had decreed that on important issues a single policy be presented to the public; and the majority insisted on unit rule in the Reichstag voting. With heavy heart Liebknecht bowed to this demand, though soon afterwards he condemned his own act of acquiescence.

## Liebknecht

Karl Liebknecht was the son of Wilhelm, who, as a collaborator of Marx and Engels, had helped found the SPD in 1875. Karl, born in 1871, became one of the most admired and beloved proletarian leaders in Germany since Lassalle. Though widely acknowledged as a gifted public speaker, he owed his popularity less to his oratorical talents than to his obvious honesty and dogged courage in espousing and proclaiming revolutionary socialism under unbelievably trying and dangerous conditions. His contribution in helping to found the German Communist Party will be discussed shortly. Without pretensions as a theoretical genius,

his main role was that of a mass leader. Fate did not permit him to live long enough to have learned more from the Bolsheviks about the Leninist party which might have altered the tragic course of the revolution. But even his bitter foe Karl Kautsky was forced to acknowledge: "No monarch ever met with such an enthusiastic reception on the part of the masses as did Liebknecht when he arrived at the Anhalter Bahnhof on his return from prison." At his funeral following his brutal murder by Noske's mercenaries hundreds upon thousands of mourning workers walked behind his coffin to its resting place at the Friedrichshain Cemetery.

On that fateful August 4 there were a few others besides the fourteen in the Reichstag that refused to be stampeded by the patriotic whirlwind. In addition to Berlin courageous voices from 3 or 4 other proletarian centers were to be heard in protest of the party's betrayal despite prison threats. In the Prussian Diet (state legislature) on Oct. 22 five of the ten socialist deputies stood firm against the pressure to vote war credits. Soon thereafter all opposition to the war was driven underground. The oppositionists, however, were invariably the best and most devoted party workers and it soon became apparent that the organizational functioning of the SPD was beginning to bog down.

At the second vote for war credits on Dec. 2 Liebknecht stood up alone in the Reichstag to register his opposition. The party leadership charged him with breach of discipline, which he freely admitted. The following month, January 1915, he publicly condemned the war before an audience of Berlin workers: Only the international brotherhood of workers pursuing unremitting class war, he insisted, could end the human slaughter promoted by the capitalist masters.

A month later the government, with the likely connivance of the right-wing of the SPD, hoped to muzzle him by drafting him into the army as a non-combatant soldier. Under military discipline he was expressly forbidden from engaging in any political activity, except for attending sessions of the Reichstag and the Prussian state legislature of which he was also an elected member. Then in March 1915, when a third war credits bill was introduced into the Reichstag by the government, thirty SPD deputies abstained, with two voting against -- Liebknecht and Otto Ruehle.

A few months later, as it became evident to even the most obtuse that the German imperialists were pursuing a straight-out expansionist policy in Europe, 1,400 members of the SPD, including 11 party deputies in the Reichstag, signed an Open Letter addressed to the leadership categorically accusing the party of having forsaken its principles by the vote for war credits at the start of hostilities. The letter insisted that the SPD could begin to repair some of the horrible wrong only by repudiating the Burgfrieden (civil peace) and vigorously resuming its class war against the government and the monopolists. The spirits behind the letter were mainly Liebknecht and Franz Mehring, the leading biographer of Marx. It marked the first really national opposition to

spring up against the official policy of the SPD.

Almost simultaneously an important SPD organ, the Leipziger Volkszeitung, published a protest against the war. It was a much more restrained document than Liebknecht's and in typical pacifist fashion omitted all mention of class struggle. Two of the signers were Kautsky and Bernstein. The two revisionists had apparently found the war aims of their own imperialists no longer compatible with their reformist sensibilities. Besides, they were acutely aware of the growing hostility throughout the ranks of the party at the endless blood-letting on the front and the intensified suffering at home to preserve the profits of the big bourgeoisie: the Krupps, the Siemens, and the Thyssens.

The fifth war credits bill appeared before the Reichstag in December 1915. On this occasion 20 SPD deputies sided with Liebknecht in refusing to vote for the bill. Thereupon the SPD executive expelled Liebknecht from its parliamentary delegation and he had to sit in the Reichstag as a Wilder, an outcast. He was still permitted, however, to occupy his customary place as a legal member of the SPD fraction in the Prussian lower house. It was in this body that he arose in March 1916 and astounded the entire world with his courage and raised the spirit of all international socialists by urging those in the trenches as well as those at home to drop their guns and turn against their capitalist government. And two months later, on May 1, he defied the government and the military by speaking out against the war on the Potsdamer Platz, in the very heart of Berlin: "Down with the government! Down with the war!", he shouted and fearlessly handed out illegal leaflets to the bystanders. He was immediately arrested and, because he was a soldier, court-martialed. The Reichstag refused to grant him his right to parliamentary immunity. Thus he was sentenced to 4 years in prison. Even now he would not be intimidated and cried out: "No General has ever worn his uniform with greater pride than the pride with which I shall wear the convict's garb!" As a class gesture of respect for a brave fighter, though not necessarily in accord with his views, a number of workers went on strike on the day he was sentenced. The impending German revolution forced the imperialists to release him from prison near the end of October 1918.

During that spring of 1916 a de facto split in the SPD over the war question was becoming ever wider. The anti-war minority consisting mainly of the socialist deputies in the Reichstag now constituted themselves as a permanent Working Body (Arbeitsgemeinschaft). This caucus was composed of a heterogeneous collection of pacifists, discontented reform socialists, centrists, and on its extreme left-wing, the Spartacists, that is revolutionary Marxists. The founders of this group were harshly critical of this umbrella formation but for some time remained within it.

## Luxemburg

On New Year's Day 1916 Liebknecht together with his closest associates had organized their

## British Workers Launch Trade Union Alliance

by Marty Jonas

LONDON--The class struggle in Great Britain is quickening its pace. Right on the heels of last year's devaluation of the pound and Prices & Income Bill came a series

of sharp battles with the employers such as the Engineers' strike. Against a background as in pre-May France--is shaping up a sharper confrontation with the employers and the Wilson government over wages. Now, wages are a narrow trade union issue; each worker sees them from the vantage point of his own shop, his own industry. But wages in this period--when raises can less and less be conceded by the bosses--become an explosive issue.

The boom 1950's are over everywhere in the world. It has become very difficult and in many cases impossible for the trade union bureaucrats and their reformist and Stalin-

ist allies to do the usual gentle dirty work for the employers. In England the Labor Party has served its usefulness for the bosses and the banks, they have betrayed a total of 6 times in their history and their rhetoric no longer holds water with the workers. The right-wing Tories are waiting in the wings to do what the Labor Party can no longer do.

## state

The job that is left for the reformists and the labor skates is to help the state in its necessary absorption of the trade unions. At this time the independence of the trade unions is a threat to the restabilization of the cap-

italist economy.

Against this background the current struggles for wages shapes up. But a militant fight for wages alone is not sufficient. Also at stake is the life-and-death matter of the defense of the trade unions. Militancy alone will not help a bit and reformism amounts to treachery. The labor movement must fight with new tools.

That is where the All Trades Unions Alliance comes in.

The first national conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance has been called for the end of October. The English working class must be pre-



pared for the next stage of its fight for power. This requires the mobilization of the workers on a political basis. The issue of wages is a common fight; it must be brought home to the workers as just that, a fight against a common enemy--the capitalist state. It isn't en-

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# CLASS FOUGHT IMPERIALIST WAR

revolutionary followers into the Spartakusbund (Spartacist League), so named for the leader of the heroic slave rebellions of the first century in Rome. The leadership was composed of the ideologically mature and tested members of the SPD: Besides Liebknecht there were Franz Mehring, Leo Jogiches, Klara Zetkin, and Rosa Luxemburg. The tiny, frail Rosa, born in 1870, was indisputably the most advanced theoretician of the group.

At an age when most upper middle class European girls were primarily concerned with the image they produced at glittering balls, the young Rosa was forced to flee from Czarist gendarmes because of socialist underground activity in her native Poland. She first went to Switzerland. After winning a doctoral degree from the University of Zurich on the basis of a brilliant dissertation on Polish industry, she waged a determined struggle against the opportunism of the Polish Socialist Party and helped found the Marxist oriented Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania. In 1896 she emigrated to Germany. She soon became the outstanding theoretician of the revolutionary wing of the SPD and was made editor of the Saxon Arbeiterzeitung and also wrote for the Leipziger Volkszeitung. She participated in the Russian 1905 Revolution and became the first in Germany to raise the slogan for a general strike as a strategic revolutionary demand. Unlike the Stalinists or the Pabloite SWP of today, she persistently warned against the illusion that pacifism, no matter how militant, could be a means of averting or ending a war. Together with Lenin at the 1907 Congress of the Second International, she presented the resolution calling upon revolutionists to overthrow capitalism in time of war as a means of ending the bloody horrors. In 1914 she was sentenced to prison for "advocacy of insubordination". Her Junius pamphlet, a superb analysis of the war and its economic causes and a most readable work even today, was written from behind prison walls in 1915 and then smuggled out to her comrades. As will be seen, one vital question -- the nature of the revolutionary party -- separated her political views from Lenin's. Evidence, however, points to her realization that Lenin's and not her conception of party building was correct. Her discovery came too late to avert the defeat of the German revolution.

## Independents

The Working Body that had started out as a vague parliamentary rump began by the spring of 1916 to be increasingly assailed by the right-wing of the SPD for being too radical while receiving not so gentle nudges from the more revolutionary workers to move to the left. It was finally compelled to call a special conference of its adherents for January 1917 and promptly passed some anti-war and anti-government resolutions. For the SPD executive this was too much and they reacted as typical bureaucrats by expelling en masse from the party not only the rebellious deputies but all their known supporters.

Delegates elected by the expelled group gathered on Good Friday, April 6, 1917, in the city of Gotha, where in 1875 the SPD itself had been formed. The delegates launched the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD). There was an air of jubilation at this first congress, the result of the February bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia, where the hated Czar had been overthrown, heralding a new hope of peace and freedom for mankind. Almost at this very hour across the mountains in Switzerland, Lenin, with a far more realistic appraisal of the February revolution and what it implied, was laboring over his April Thesis.

How ill-fitted this new German party would ever be for engaging in decisive action can be seen by merely glancing at its composition. There were Kautsky, Bernstein and others of that temper on the right with the Spartacists on the left and every manner of centrist between these poles. Indeed the right-wing fought with all its might against any "irrevocable" rupture with the SWP and was constantly examining formulas that would allow a return to the "mother" party. Notwithstanding its hydra-headed tendencies the USPD grew at a phenomenal rate, attracting ever wider circles of the militant workers, including the powerful Obleute, the elected shop-stewards in the huge industrial plants throughout the country. Just before the formation of the new party, the official total of the SPD was just under 250,000 members. Within a period of 6 months the old party lost 100,000 dues paying members and the USPD had swollen its ranks to an almost unbelievable 120,000. With the loss of its centrist and left wings, the SPD lost little time in going even further to the right. It carried favor and began an open collaboration with the bourgeois liberals.

The confusion of Luxemburg and Liebknecht and the rest of the leadership with their almost mystical belief in the spontaneity of the masses (the instinct of the masses is sound and can be relied on to guide them to the revolutionary party) kept them from correctly judging the significance of the USPD. It certainly prevented them from adopting in sufficient time a correct tactic to remove this centrist obstacle from their path. On the question of affiliation to the USPD there was anything but unity in the Spartacist ranks. In any case maneuvering within such a large and amorphous centrist swamp as the USPD would have been an intricate and questionable undertaking for a party far more experienced than was the Spartacists at that historical juncture.

The effect of the 1917 Bolshevik October Revolution on the German working class is incalculable. Even the more backward layers of the proletariat saw in this event a way out for finally ending the imperialist slaughter. Consequently Trotsky's appeal to the entire German working class over the heads of the imperialists at Brest-Litovsk in December 1917 in protest against the draconian terms for peace imposed by the reactionary General Ludendorff was sympathetically listened to. In the wake of widespread proletarian protests in Vienna and Buda-



ROSA LUXEMBURG AT SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC RALLY

pest, the German metal workers called a carefully planned mass strike for January 28, 1918. About 400,000 workers in Berlin alone hit the bricks. It was a dramatic victory for the revolutionary minded shop-stewards in breaking the grip of the patriotic trade union bureaucrats over the rank and file workers. At this stage the vast majority of the shop-stewards still followed a centrist leadership that was within the USPD because of distrust of the Spartacists. The latter had engaged in some adventurist acts and had acquired a reputation among the workers as advocates of putschism. Nonetheless, many of the demands of the strikers went beyond mere centrism: for example, the demand for immediate peace with workers' representatives present at all future peace negotiations; a direct appeal to the working class of all the belligerent powers to carry out general strikes as a means of ending the war. Badly needed democratic reforms were also insisted upon.

The strike, marked by the governments use of violence against the workers, endured for a week. Lacking a program for the seizure of power, there was nothing the workers could do but return to their jobs without having won any of their major demands. But they returned with pride and a new awareness of their tremendous strength. The government, in the hope of permanently sterilizing such a movement in the future, drafted into the army and navy as many of the strike leaders as were physically qualified for military duty. The result of this action was to aid the spread of the revolutionary virus among the armed forces, a factor of vital importance in the November 1918 revolution.



ough to be a trade union militant fighting bravely around economic issues and ignoring politics. Neither militant leadership nor reformist leadership are any defense for the unions. Only revolutionary leadership can now answer the vicious political and economic attacks of the state.

The Socialist Labor League is fighting to build the All Trades Unions Alliance. The daily Newsletter--out within the next period--will be closely tied to this fight. It is on the floor of factories, in union halls, where the greatest push will be for the sales of the daily Newsletter.

Right now the Newsletter is campaigning for the lifting of the bans against the left-wing organizations in France. This action, though it involves the working class movement in another country, is part of the fight to unite the British workers for political struggles. The Socialist Labor League has waged a constant fight to expose the British Communist Party (which remains mute on the bans) to working class militants. It has posed the issue of democratic rights for workers' organizations--which in this

period is a revolutionary demand.

The training of a revolutionary leadership for the working class is most important. To this end the Socialist Labor League and the Young Socialists recently held a two week summer school. Present were hundreds of young workers, students, trade unionists and people with decades of experience in the revolutionary movement from all over the British Isles. The classes were not just interesting discussions, but were sharp training courses for the Marxists who will lead the coming struggles in England. The emphasis was on the unity of theory and practice--the absolutely indispensable theoretical armament that the cadres of a revolutionary party must have in order to lead a victorious fight against capitalism.

## NEW REPRESSIONS HIT FRANCE; MUST STEP UP FIGHT ON BANS

Workers and students in France today face deeper attacks, growing repression by the Gaullist government and their cohorts in big business. Student leaders, Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset of the Communist Revolutionary Youth (JCR) one of the banned organizations remain in jail and have been refused bail. Workers and trade unionists, militants who were in the leadership of the struggle in May and June have been laid off during the summer vacations. Such attacks have been reported at the Renault and Citroen plants. The campaign in the United States to support the French

workers and students is at a low ebb while the French workers and students suffer further attacks. We call on all trade unionists to take up this struggle in their shops and their unions for support of their brothers and sisters in France. We call on students to take up the struggle this fall on their campuses and high schools, gathering petitions and resolutions in support of the French workers and students. **HELP FRENCH TROTSKYISTS** send contributions to: BULLETIN rm. 7 243 10 St. nyc. 10003.

# GERMAN WORKING CLASS FOUGHT IMPERIALISM

of a mass leader. Fate was long enough to have allowed the Bolsheviks to alter the tragic. But even his bitter foe had to acknowledge: "No such an enthusiastic response of the masses as did Liebknecht at the Anhalter Bahnhof." At his funeral, however, by Noske's mercenaries, thousands of mourning workers gathered at its resting place.

At the Reichstag there were a few patriotic whirlwinds. The patriotic voices from 300 members were to be heard in betrayal despite prison sentences (state legislature) and ten socialist deputies were assured to vote war credits in opposition to the war. The oppositionists, however, the best and most devoted became apparent that the end of the SPD was beginning.

War credits on Dec. 2 in the Reichstag to re-party leadership charged the line, which he freely admitted, January 1915, he spoke before an audience of international brotherhood-unremitting class war, human slaughter protesters.

Government, with the likely ending of the SPD, hoped to bring him into the army as a military discipline he from engaging in any further attending sessions of the Prussian state legislature of elected member. Then in the war credits bill was introduced by the government, defeated, with two voting members to Ruehle.

As it became evident to the German imperialists about expansionist policy of the SPD, including the Reichstag, signed an Open Letter leadership categorically renouncing forsaken its principles war credits at the start insisted that the SPD could do the horrible wrong only to end (civil peace) and class war against the imperialists. The spirits belong to Liebknecht and Franz Oppenheimer of Marx. It was national opposition to

spring up against the official policy of the SPD. Almost simultaneously an important SPD organ, the Leipziger Volkszeitung, published a protest against the war. It was a much more restrained document than Liebknecht's and in typical pacifist fashion omitted all mention of class struggle. Two of the signers were Kautsky and Bernstein. The two revisionists had apparently found the war aims of their own imperialists no longer compatible with their reformist sensibilities. Besides, they were acutely aware of the growing hostility throughout the ranks of the party at the endless blood-letting on the front and the intensified suffering at home to preserve the profits of the big bourgeoisie: the Krupps, the Siemens, and the Thyssens.

The fifth war credits bill appeared before the Reichstag in December 1915. On this occasion 20 SPD deputies sided with Liebknecht in refusing to vote for the bill. Thereupon the SPD executive expelled Liebknecht from its parliamentary delegation and he had to sit in the Reichstag as a Wilder, an outcast. He was still permitted, however, to occupy his customary place as a legal member of the SPD fraction in the Prussian lower house. It was in this body that he arose in March 1916 and astounded the entire world with his courage and raised the spirit of all international socialists by urging those in the trenches as well as those at home to drop their guns and turn against their capitalist government. And two months later, on May 1, he defied the government and the military by speaking out against the war on the Potsdamer Platz, in the very heart of Berlin: "Down with the government! Down with the war!" he shouted and fearlessly handed out illegal leaflets to the bystanders. He was immediately arrested and, because he was a soldier, court-martialled. The Reichstag refused to grant him his right to parliamentary immunity. Thus he was sentenced to 4 years in prison. Even now he would not be intimidated and cried out: "No General has ever worn his uniform with greater pride than the pride with which I shall wear the convict's garb!" As a class gesture of respect for a brave fighter, though not necessarily in accord with his views, a number of workers went on strike on the day he was sentenced. The impending German revolution forced the imperialists to release him from prison near the end of October 1918.

During that spring of 1916 a de facto split in the SPD over the war question was becoming ever wider. The anti-war minority consisting mainly of the socialist deputies in the Reichstag now constituted themselves as a permanent Working Body (Arbeitsgemeinschaft). This caucus was composed of a heterogeneous collection of pacifists, discontented reform socialists, centrists, and on its extreme left-wing, the Spartacists, that is revolutionary Marxists. The founders of this group were harshly critical of this umbrella formation but for some time remained within it.

### Luxemburg

On New Year's Day 1916 Liebknecht together with his closest associates had organized their

revolutionary followers into the Spartakusbund (Spartacist League), so named for the leader of the heroic slave rebellions of the first century in Rome. The leadership was composed of the ideologically mature and tested members of the SPD: Besides Liebknecht there were Franz Mehring, Leo Jogiches, Klara Zetkin, and Rosa Luxemburg. The tiny, frail Rosa, born in 1870, was indisputably the most advanced theoretician of the group.

At an age when most upper middle class European girls were primarily concerned with the image they produced at glittering balls, the young Rosa was forced to flee from Czarist gendarmes because of socialist underground activity in her native Poland. She first went to Switzerland. After winning a doctoral degree from the University of Zurich on the basis of a brilliant dissertation on Polish industry, she waged a determined struggle against the opportunism of the Polish Socialist Party and helped found the Marxist oriented Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania. In 1896 she emigrated to Germany. She soon became the outstanding theoretician of the revolutionary wing of the SPD and was made editor of the Saxon Arbeiterzeitung and also wrote for the Leipziger Volkszeitung. She participated in the Russian 1905 Revolution and became the first in Germany to raise the slogan for a general strike as a strategic revolutionary demand. Unlike the Stalinists or the Pabloite SWP of today, she persistently warned against the illusion that pacifism, no matter how militant, could be a means of averting or ending a war. Together with Lenin at the 1907 Congress of the Second International, she presented the resolution calling upon revolutionists to overthrow capitalism in time of war as a means of ending the bloody horrors. In 1914 she was sentenced to prison for "advocacy of insubordination". Her Junius pamphlet, a superb analysis of the war and its economic causes and a most readable work even today, was written from behind prison walls in 1915 and then smuggled out to her comrades. As will be seen, one vital question -- the nature of the revolutionary party -- separated her political views from Lenin's. Evidence, however, points to her realization that Lenin's and not her conception of party building was correct. Her discovery came too late to avert the defeat of the German revolution.

### Independents

The Working Body that had started out as a vague parliamentary rump began by the spring of 1916 to be increasingly assailed by the right-wing of the SPD for being too radical while receiving not so gentle nudges from the more revolutionary workers to move to the left. It was finally compelled to call a special conference of its adherents for January 1917 and promptly passed some anti-war and anti-government resolutions. For the SPD executive this was too much and they reacted as typical bureaucrats by expelling en masse from the party not only the rebellious deputies but all their known supporters.

Delegates elected by the expelled members met on Good Friday, April 6, 1917 in Gotha, where in 1875 the SPD was first formed. The delegates launched the Social Democratic Party (USPD). The air of jubilation at this first congress of the February bourgeois democracy in Russia, where the hated Czar had been thrown, heralding a new hope of peace for mankind. Almost at this time across the mountains in Switzerland, a far more realistic appraisal of the revolution and what it implied, was laid out in his April Thesis.

How ill-fitted this new German party ever be for engaging in decisive action seen by merely glancing at its composition were Kautsky, Bernstein and others of the right with the Spartacists on every manner of centrist between. Indeed the right-wing fought with a vengeance against any "irrevocable" rupture with the left and was constantly examining formulas to allow a return to the "mother" party, standing its hydra-headed tendencies grew at a phenomenal rate, attracting circles of the militant workers, including the full-time shop-stewards of industrial plants throughout the country before the formation of the new party. The official total of the SPD was just under 1 million members. Within a period of 6 months the party lost 100,000 dues paying members. The USPD had swollen its ranks to an unbelievable 120,000. With the loss of the right and left wings, the SPD lost little if not even further to the right. It hurriedly began an open collaboration with the liberals.

The confusion of Luxemburg and the rest of the leadership with their mystical belief in the spontaneity of the masses (the instinct of the masses is sound and relied on to guide them to the revolution) kept them from correctly judging the situation of the USPD. It certainly prevented them from adopting in sufficient time a correct move to move this centrist obstacle from the path of the question of affiliation to the USPD anything but unity in the Spartacist party in any case maneuvering within such an amorphous centrist swamp as the USPD had been an intricate and questionable union of a party far more experienced than were the Spartacists at that historical juncture.

The effect of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution on the German working class was incalculable. Even the more backward layers of the proletariat saw in this event a way of finally ending the imperialist slaughter. Frequently Trotsky's appeal to the entire working class over the heads of the leadership at Brest-Litovsk in December 1917 against the draconian terms for peace proposed by the reactionary General Ludendorff pathetically listened to. In the wake of the spread proletarian protests in Vienna

## Union Alliance

usual gentle pressure on employers. The Labor Party is usefulness for the banks, and a total of history and no longer holds workers. The workers are waiting to do what the employers no longer do. Against this background the current struggles for wages shapes up. But a militant fight for wages alone is not sufficient. Also at stake is the life-and-death matter of the defense of the trade unions. Militancy alone will not help a bit and reformism amounts to treachery. The labor movement must fight with new tools. That is where the All Trades Unions Alliance comes in. The first national conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance has been called for the end of October. The English working class must be prepared for the next stage of its fight for power. This requires the mobilization of the workers on a political basis. The issue of wages is a common fight; it must be brought home to the workers as just that, a fight against a common enemy--the capitalist state. It isn't enough to be a trade union militant fighting bravely around economic issues and ignoring politics. Neither militant leadership nor reformist leadership are any defense for the unions. Only revolutionary leadership can now answer the vicious political and economic attacks of the state.



The Socialist Labor League is fighting to build the All Trades Unions Alliance. The daily Newsletter--out within the next period--will be closely tied to this fight. It is on the floor of factories, in union halls, where the greatest push will be for the sales of the daily Newsletter. Right now the Newsletter is campaigning for the lifting of the bans against the left-wing organizations in France. This action, though it involves the working class movement in another country, is part of the fight to unite the British workers for political struggles. The Socialist Labor League has waged a constant fight to expose the British Communist Party (which remains mute on the bans) to working class militants. It has posed the issue of democratic rights for workers' organizations--which in this

period is a revolutionary demand. The training of a revolutionary leadership for the working class is most important. To this end the Socialist Labor League and the Young Socialists recently held a two week summer school. Present were hundreds of young workers, students, trade unionists and people with decades of experience in the revolutionary movement from all over the British Isles. The classes were not just interesting discussions, but were sharp training courses for the Marxists who will lead the coming struggles in England. The emphasis was on the unity of theory and practice--the absolutely indispensable theoretical armament that the cadres of a revolutionary party must have in order to lead a victorious fight against capitalism.

# SSEU MEMBERS FIGHT O'DWYER ENDORSEMENT

by Dennis O'Casey

NEW YORK--At the August 8th meeting of the Social Service Employees Union Executive Board the Morgenstern leadership put before the Board a recommendation for SSEU endorsement of Paul O'Dwyer, well known liberal Democrat currently a candidate for the U.S. Senate.

Forces in the SSEU supported by the Workers League immediately introduced a counter motion calling for no support to O'Dwyer and endorsement of Socialist Workers Party presidential, vice presidential and senatorial candidates, Halstead, Boutelle and Garza. In support of their motion these forces dealt not only with O'Dwyer's labor record, including his collaboration with John Delury in the January '68 sanitation sellout, and his support to New York's Office of Collective Bargaining revealing O'Dwyer to be nothing more than the darling of certain sections of New York's 'liberal' labor bureaucracy, but his more fundamental political role.

Precisely at a time when the

Democratic Party is forced more and more to shed its cloak of reformism, the O'Dwyers and the McCarthys come to the fore to contain the militancy of the most advanced sections of the working class within the very party that under Humphrey will intensify its assaults on the unions and upon Blacks in and out of the union movement. An SSEU endorsement of the SWP campaign, which puts forth in its election platform the creation of a Labor party in the U.S., was thus presented to the Board as a concrete step towards labor's break with the two parties of its employers.

swp

This counter motion was supported by forces in the union supported by the Spartacist League as well as those supported by the SWP. However it is significant that forces supported by the SWP, the very party conducting the Halstead campaign, though formally supporting the counter motion saw fit to retreat from its central thrust in their

contributions to the floor debate. In discussion while opposing the O'Dwyer endorsement and favoring the formation of a labor party these people refused to say one word about the Halstead campaign.

It is well known that those in the SSEU supported by the SWP are accustomed to going on record in favor of a labor party when pressed in the face of the union's endorsement of a Democrat or a Republican. But merely to make the record once or twice a year on this point is worse than useless. It is these very people who together with Morgenstern, the SSEU Rank and File Committee, and all other radical tendencies in the SSEU have staunchly opposed at every step the unremitting campaign for the labor party waged in the union by forces supported by the WL. To disconnect the Halstead campaign from advocacy of the labor party three months before the presidential election is nothing more than a conscious attempt to sabotage a real opportunity for making

concrete the labor party demand and winning concrete support for it through an election referendum. It amounts to a fight against the creation of a labor party, and portrays the Halstead campaign which could play an important role in developing labor party sentiment and political consciousness as something fundamentally irrelevant to trade unionists.

silent

Something also should be said of forces supported by the Peace and Freedom Party and the Progressive Labor Party who remained silent throughout the discussion presenting no alternative to O'Dwyer whatsoever. Forces supported by the Communist Party as was to be expected were even more enthusiastic than the Morgenstern leadership in their praise for the O'Dwyer candidacy.

While the counter motion in support of SWP candidates obtained only a half dozen votes the question of the need to break with the Democratic party was brought to the real test when there arose a general demand for a roll call vote on the main notion in support of O'Dwyer. The vote tallied 53 for O'Dwyer, 11 against and 10 abstentions. This opposition vote must be seen as the beginning of an understanding in the working

class that the Democratic party has ceased to be a party of reform either on questions relating to wages and working conditions or questions relating to war or racial oppression. This vote, moreover, betokens a radicalization which goes much deeper into the ranks of the SSEU and city labor as a whole than is generally imagined. The point is that conscious intervention around the labor party demand has today more than ever the potential of reaching whole sections of city labor to declare war on McCarthyism O'Dwyerism as well as disgusting displays like Harry Van Arsdale's endorsement of Hubert Humphrey.

discussion

We say the SSEU ranks must turn thumbs down on the O'Dwyer endorsement at the next general membership meeting. They must furthermore demand that the question of an SSEU electoral policy for November receive full discussion in every welfare center, candidates for every office be invited to address the membership and endorsements be decided through union referendum.

At the same time we call for an endorsement of the only candidates calling for an independent party of American labor, Halstead, Boutelle and Garza.

## hospital guild delegates vote down endorsement of mccarthy and o'dwyer

by a hospital worker

NEW YORK--At a recent meeting of delegates representing technical and clerical workers within Local 1199, the recommendations of the 1199 Executive Board to endorse McCarthy for President within the Democratic Party and Democratic Senatorial candidate Paul O'Dwyer were narrowly defeated. The discussion at this meeting showed that probably as much as half of the opposition to McCarthy was on a class basis and was receptive to the idea of a clear break with the Democrats and Republicans and the fight for a labor party.

Delegate Fred Mazelis stressed that the Democratic Party was the enemy of hospital workers and all workers. Precisely at the time that this party was in deep crisis and

the entire boss-run two party system was under great strain, both McCarthy and O'Dwyer sought to breathe new life into the Democratic Party and urged dissidents to remain inside it. Neither McCarthy nor O'Dwyer advanced a program in the interests of the working class, and the main lesson of the growing political disarray and crisis was the necessity to begin fighting for a labor party now. In 1968 it was possible to cast a meaningful protest vote, to vote for the SWP candidates Halstead and Boutelle as part of the fight for a labor party, which these candidates support.

support

This delegate was strongly supported by several other delegates on the nature of the two capitalist parties and



PRESIDENT LEON DAVIS (SECOND FROM LEFT) FLANKED BY OTHER 1199 OFFICIALS

the need for a labor party. The rest of the opposition to McCarthy came primarily from confused supporters of Kennedy or from those who feared that an endorsement would 'divide' the union. There were almost no illusions in Humphrey or any Republican candidate expressed.

The policy of the 1199 leadership has been for a long time one of 'left' talk and 'left' criticism combined with refusing to fight for an alternative to the big business parties and their policies. There has always been a lot wrong but the time has never been 'ripe' for a fight against the bosses politically. Thus 1199 endorsed Rockefeller in 1962 and 1966, Johnson in 1964, and the leadership continues to keep the union within the framework of the capitalist parties.

Because only one of the three divisions of the union rejected the endorsement of McCarthy and O'Dwyer, these endorsements still stand. The situation is changing, how-

ever, the crisis is having a powerful effect now on the thinking of millions of workers. This impact and the search for alternative policies were expressed in this delegates' meeting. Thus the

1199 leadership's past policies are being challenged by the ranks and the demand for a labor party is meeting with new interest. This demand must be taken to all the workers and constantly fought for.

### WORKERS LEAGUE BRANCHES

CINCINNATI: P.O. BOX 12061

NEW YORK: RM. 7 243 E. 10 ST.

MINNEAPOLIS: P.O. BOX 14002 UNIV. STA.

SAN FRANCISCO: 644 OAK ST.

TORONTO: RM. 27 165 SPADINA

### BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Editor: Tim Wohlforth

Art Director: Marty Jonas

Published bi-weekly by the Workers League which is in

political solidarity with International Committee Fourth

International Printed entirely by union labor

FIRST  
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READING  
FOR  
TODAY!

## LEON TROTSKY ON LABOR PARTY

stenographic report of discussion held in 1938  
with leaders of socialist workers party



With Introduction:  
THE STRUGGLE FOR AN AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS

20 CENTS

BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS

243 E. 10 ST. RM. 8 NEW YORK 10003

by Dan Fried

It is becoming increasingly clear why Steel Industry chief negotiator R. Conrad Cooper hailed the recent pact with the Steelworkers Union as the "best conclusion that our joint efforts could produce." To begin with the steelworkers have actually lost ground in real purchasing power because the two and three percent increase they got over the last six years have more than been wiped out by inflation and tax increases. But this is just the beginning. The July 31 settlement is estimated at a 6% increase over a three year period while the June figures recently released by the government reveal consumer prices rising at a rate of 6% a year, up from the 4% of recent months and the 1 1/2 of 1961-1964. No wonder that steelworkers expect the rise in the cost of living to wipe out their wage increase by the first of the year. No wonder that there was a rash of wildcat walkouts by steelworkers, affecting every major steel producer following the settlement. Despite a well oiled bureaucratic machine, USW President J.W. Abel was barely able to win a 55% majority of the "600 Presidents" (of local unions) Basic Steel Conference in favor of ratification of the contract reflecting the depth of the dissatisfaction in the ranks of the steelworkers. The negotiations had been shrouded in secrecy but there is little doubt that if the steelworkers themselves had the right to study the contract and vote on it, it would have been roundly rejected.

**bosses**

The Big 11 steel companies don't stand to lose one cent as a result of the settlement. The outcome of the "price war" between the Industry and the Johnson Administration, termed a "compromise" by the New York Times, assures the industry of getting back everything it gives to the workers while at the

same time passing along the bill to the entire working class in the form of another shot in the arm for inflation.

Perhaps the most favorable result of the settlement for the Steel Barons is that they have now begun large scale cutbacks in production, leading to the beginning of mass layoffs of steelworkers. This is a result of the huge stockpile of steel built up by manufacturers as a hedge against the strike that never took place. Steel production plummeted 12.7% the first week after the settlement and another 7.5% the following week. At that point, production was down 23.5% below the peak of last April.

**unemployment**

The entire cutback operation follows the design by the Corporation strategists to push production toward the upper limit in the first part of 1968, sign a contract with Abel giving him a few crumbs to help him sell it to the local presidents, drastically reduce operations for the balance of '68 and into 1969, WHILE UTILIZING THIS PERIOD OF CUTBACKS AND LAYOFFS TO RATIONALIZE, MODERNIZE, AND INTRODUCE A BASIC RE-TOOLING OF THE INDUSTRY. The goal of this modernization program which is to eliminate inefficient, marginal productive units and introduce more automated processes in order to better compete with foreign producers. To U.S. steel corporations, this is far more profitable in the long run than any immediate advantage granted to foreign producers resulting from the domestic price increases.

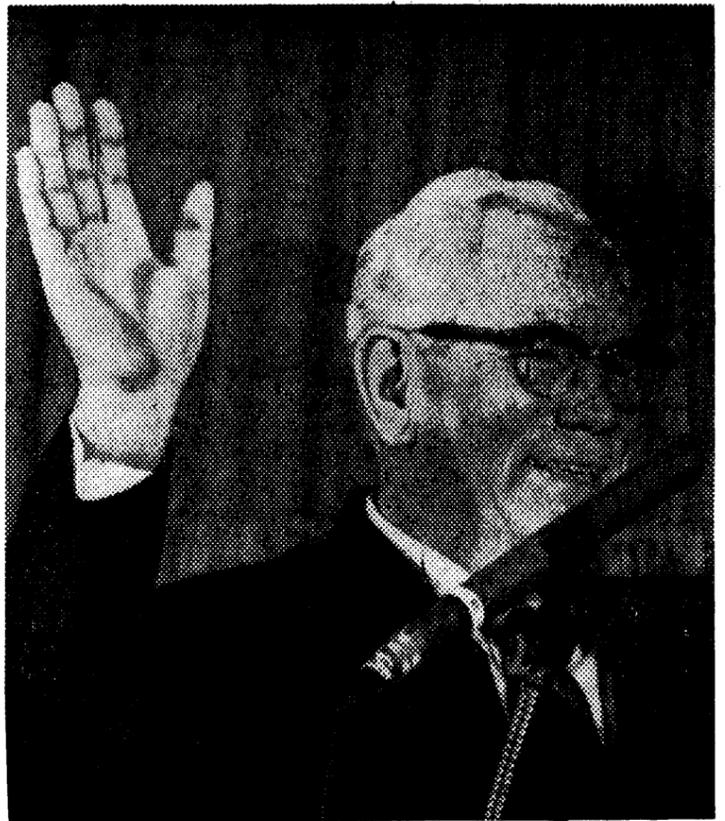
For the steelworkers, it means an acceleration of permanent unemployment in an industry where in 1946 some 650,000 men produced half the steel that is today produced by only 450,000 men. The industry wants to accelerate this trend. That is why many of the 100,000 men which Steel Magazine predicts

will be laid off by the end of the year will never see the inside of a steel mill again. Even for those who are called back, the prospect is for short hours to join those men still working but also on short hours. So for those steelworkers laid off, who never return, the contract means disaster. For those workers lucky enough to be partially employed or on short hours during the next six months, the steel settlement is indeed a bitter pill to swallow.

**recession**

For the working class as a whole, the cutbacks in steel inject the possibility of layoffs throughout the economy as recessionary trends are encouraged. The auto workers may be among the first to be hit with layoff notices since more than one million six hundred thousand unsold cars are currently piled up in dealers showrooms and the average price of an American car is expected to rise by \$135 in 1969. The prospect for the working class is by no means a lowering of the cost of living as a result of the recessionary trends that are developing in the economy. On the contrary, as a statement of the New York Federal Reserve Bank noted recently, "substantial price rises must be anticipated for some time to come."

For the U.S. working class, the mock war of the Johnson Administration against the steel corporations is only a prelude to the real war of the Johnson Administration and its successor against the working class-- in the name of wage restraint. As capitalist voices such as the New York Times see it, the government has now achieved price 'restraint' on the part of the steel corporations--now it is time for WAGE restraint on the part of the unions to combat inflation and maintain the profitability of U.S. capitalism. This is the program of the liberal capitalist Times as well as all major presi-



STEELWORKER PRESIDENT I. W. ABEL

**MASS LAYOFFS  
FACE STEEL**

dental candidates-- to push back wages below the level of price rises by re-instituting the wage-price guidelines with teeth in them.

The capitalist rulers of the U.S. are determined to impose "restraint" on the unions by attacking the power of the unions to defend the gains made during the post-war boom years. The attacks have already begun and will be accelerated by the rule and policies of the Democratic and Republican parties after November.

The answer to these attacks is not to rely on the likes of I.W. Abel and his cohorts. These bureaucrats who presently control the USW sign a contract which accomodates the Steel corporations while they go along with the Democratic Party politicians who prepare new attacks on all

workers. While the work force in the steel industry has been whittled down by the bosses drive for profits during the last two decades, Abel and his predecessor MacDonald never even raised the demand for a shorter work week to counter unemployment.

The only answer for steelworkers is to fight for a leadership which will stand on a program of: the thirty hour week, a cost of living escalator guaranteeing full protection against the rise in the cost of living; full production and employment in the steel industry to be achieved by nationalization of those companies claiming that this cannot be done because it will hurt profits; the organization of a labor party by the trade unions to fight for these demands.

**SPECTOR, PIONEER TROTSKYIST, DIES**

On August 1, Maurice Spector, a founder of the Communist Party and the Trotskyist movement in Canada, died of cancer. He was 70. The revolutionary movement owes him a great debt for being among the first to fight for Trotskyism in North America against tremendous odds. It was at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in Moscow in 1928 that he and James P. Cannon accidentally were given Trotsky's "Criticism of the Draft Program

of the Third International." They smuggled the document out of the Soviet Union and publicized the arguments of the Left Opposition in the United States and Canada. Cannon was expelled from the CP in America, Spector from the one in Canada. Both then started Trotskyist revolutionary organizations in their countries. In the 1930's, Spector came to the United States and played an important role in building the movement here.

Subsequently, due to loss of confidence in the international working class, Spector fled the revolutionary movement following the Moscow Trials. Having failed to develop theoretically as a revolutionary, he could only react to the Trials in panic.

He ended his life as director of the New York Trade Union Division of the National Committee for Labor Israel--in short, a Zionist labor bureaucrat.

**SWP SEEKS BALLOT IN 20 STATES**

The Socialist Workers Party campaign is seeking ballot status for its presidential candidates in over 20 states this year, including key states such as New York, New Jersey, Minnesota, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and others. All the technical work has already been completed in 11 states thus far, and substantial progress has been made in 10 other states.

Workers League supporters have played an active role in helping to place the SWP candidates on the ballot, petitioning in the states of New York, Wisconsin and North Dakota. A total of 21,055 signatures, almost double the amount required, have been collected in record time in New York, where the SWP also plans to run a Senatorial and Congressional candidate.

The Workers League urges all militant workers and socialists to aid the SWP petition campaigns in any way possible, so that a working class alternative can be presented in the November elections.

**NIXON NOMINATION: FROM REFORM TO ATTACKS ON WORKERS**

(Continued from page 2)

promises the 'protection of individual liberty' as the 'cornerstone of sound labor policy'. What this high sounding phrase has meant for the trade unions is the protection of the scab, the protection of the right of the scab against the unions, the protection of 'individuals' against the right of the unions to strike for an improvement of their working conditions. The real meaning of this phrase becomes clearer when the Republicans express the intention of 'vigorous enforcement of present laws, including the Taft-Hartley Act and Landrum-Griffin Act, and the addition of new protections where needed... This means of... It must break absolutely with the Democratic and Republican Parties. It must not be lulled

lation and passage of new measures to destroy the power of American labor.

**danger**

The goings on of the Republican convention should not be taken lightly, as ludicrous as all the balloons and demonstrations might have seemed. The policies enunciated there represent a clear and present danger to the working class. They are the policies not of a party but of a class. That is why they will be the policies of the Democrats as well.

The working class has only one alternative. It must break absolutely with the Democratic and Republican Parties. It must not be lulled

into support of these parties through the demagoguery of flag waving and threats of anarchy. Today the organized trade union movement stands strong, undefeated. Now is the time to begin the fight to construct a party of the majority of people in this country, a party of the working class, to fight in the interests of the working class. Wallace is not the alternative; he represents the destruction of the working class.

The Workers League states that the first step in building a labor party is the break from the Republicans and Democrats in this November election by casting your vote for Halstead and Boutelle, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. Nixon No! Humphrey No! Wallace No! Vote for a Labor Party! Vote for Halstead-Boutelle!

by Pat Connolly  
**NEW YORK**--In a mood that reflects the toughening mood of the ruling class which owns and operates Columbia University, the Alumni Federation of Columbia made pub-

ice Force was called on campus, the Alumni Federation has come to the conclusion that it is time for "law and order."

Two of the proposals offered by the Federation were

agement of Columbia and discipline remain under the control of the administration and the Board of Trustees.

The farcical objectivity of this big business Board of Trustees was clearly exposed

laws, big business is preparing to lay off workers by the thousands as inflation rises. The attacks on students must be seen against this background.

"Student agitators" will

# COLUMBIA PLANS CRACKDOWN ON THE STUDENTS

last spring.

## attacks

But the exposure of these individuals and the adventurous struggles ala Guevara in the occupation of buildings is obviously not enough. The major parties in this election year are preparing much broader attacks on the students as part of the capitalist offensive on the working class-black and white, in order to save their rapidly decaying system. Wallace, the most reactionary of the lot, setting the tone of the campaign which will be followed by both Nixon and Humphrey. At the same time as attacks are stepped up against the Black working class and the use of firearms is restricted with registration

be one of the major scapegoats for all the problems that the system will be faced with. Grants and scholarships will be cut off not only for the "student radicals" but to many more who have been up to now oblivious to the crisis. Thus, the struggle must be understood and fought on a national, class basis.

Just as in France, where the Fouchet reforms were fought as a class issue, which the workers were clearly able to relate to, so in the United States, must the students fight on these issues. The working class, not the middle class liberals is the students greatest ally.

## reformism

The crisis is too urgent

for serious revolutionary students to be pandering to middle class reformism as exemplified by the Peace and Freedom Party. These movements will spread like wildfire on the campuses in the coming period, and precisely because of their complete hostility to the working class, and to the tightly organized and disciplined kind of national student organization that is unquestionable necessity this critical period they must be a major target for struggle against.

Students can no longer confine their fight within the walls of their own universities or even within the surrounding community. The issues are not control of the university or the community by the most radical elements in it. Without a principled class fight against the capitalist system, such demands are solely diversions and thus, reactionary.

## task

The principal task before the students today is the development of a serious Marxist leadership and disciplined organization which can understand the crisis and thus avoid the pitfalls of reformism. Such a task is impossible if revolutionary students allow themselves to be swallowed up in the pseudo-radical milieu of such movements as Peace and Freedom.



ADMINISTRATION TAKES OVER WHERE COPS LEFT OFF

lic recently a series of proposals for the future governing of the university.

Although the proposals range from the merely ludicrous--"strengthening student government" to the more lucrative creation of a joint Harlem-Columbia Development Corporation, the main thrust of the proposals was clearly a serious cracking down on dissent within the university.

In the wake of active rebellion this Spring, when Columbia was closed for seven weeks, the buildings were briefly occupied by would-be Che's, and the Tactical Pol-

most illuminating. The call for the strengthening of student government specifically eliminated from the arena of consideration matters relating to curriculum, those matters which could damage the university financially, and disciplinary matters arising over conflicts concerning curriculum and financial matters. In short, the "strengthening of student government" means bigger and better student councils to arrange film schedules, senior yearbook photos, junior proms and other similarly irrelevant trivia. The curriculum, financial man-

# black panthers are a blind alley

by Fred Mueller

The Black Panther Party was formed in Oakland and later in other Northern ghettos as an answer to the harassment and attacks by the police on black workers and youth. The Black Panthers have stressed from the beginning the importance of armed self-defense of the Negro people. They formed armed patrols in their fight against police brutality and have enraged the cops and the ruling class by their fearlessness and openly expressed hatred of the system.

The answer of the ruling class to these defensive steps taken by the Black Panthers was an all out vicious attack aimed at destroying the Panthers and teaching a lesson to all those who challenged the existing conditions. This is the meaning of the constant harassment, the murder of young Bobby Hutton, the jailing of Eldridge Cleaver, and the murder charge against Huey Newton who is now being tried in Oakland.

The attacks against the Panthers are an expression of the class struggle in the U.S. in its most violent form. It is not simply racial oppression, it is the armed force of the capitalist state directed against a section of the working class. It is therefore an attack against the entire working class and must be fought as such. It is the duty of all workers to defend Huey Newton and the Black Panthers, not just because this persecution is a warning to the entire class

of what is in store but because it is an attack upon all workers now.

## p&f

In their struggle the Panthers have thus come up against the full power of the capitalist state. It is the entire system which they face, and they have been forced to seek more effective means of defending themselves against the attacks. The alliance between the Panthers and the Peace and Freedom Party is an attempt to meet this challenge.

What does this alliance really mean? In essence, it is an alliance with middle class radicals. The coalition is middle class not simply in its composition but in its entire political outlook, orientation and program. It refuses to see the fundamental crisis alone which pits the working class against the capitalists in this country and internationally. It therefore refuses to fight for a working class perspective, for a labor party to unite workers for political struggle, for a genuine revolutionary alternative to the capitalist system.

The Panthers have allied themselves with a more 'left' variation of liberal reformism. Whatever the intentions of these people, their program rejects a clear class break with capitalist politics. This alliance leaves the Panthers as defenseless and politically unprepared as they were before to fight the attacks of the courts, cops and

capitalist politicians.

## program

The Panthers' own program is just as classless in its outlook as the program of the Peace and Freedom Party, and somewhat less radical in its content. The Panthers put forward just demands for jobs, housing and schools and against police brutality, but all within the framework of black control of the black community. This completely misleads Negro militants, and directs them, in spite of their hatred of the system and their willingness to fight to defend themselves, towards compromise with the ruling class.

It is an openly non-revolutionary perspective. The Panthers continue to demand, not the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism but community control within capitalism. The concept of community control within the framework of this system is completely reactionary. The capitalists seize on this slogan to trick the Negro masses, to further divide the working class and to use black nationalism to per-

petuate the oppression of black and white workers. The Negro is to become a junior partner in his own oppression. We have seen this kind of radical demagoguery before, in Mussolini's corporate state and even in DeGaulle's concept of workers' participation in management. This slogan is worse than utopian, it can and is used to aid capitalist rule.

Nixon is now for black capitalism. Mayor Lindsay, the Ford Foundation and other powerful spokesmen for the ruling class have been pushing their own versions of community control, so-called, in order to divide the working class. The Panthers have continued to aid the enemies of black workers and their own enemies as well by their opposition to a class perspective for the struggle.

The leaders of CORE have completely and openly prostituted themselves in their schemes for black businesses which are now being sponsored in Congress by assorted leading Republican and Democrat representatives of the capitalists. The slogan of commun-

ity control, still advanced uncritically by the Socialist Workers Party revisionists and others, and consistently exposed only by the Workers League, is now being revealed more and more as a weapon in the hands of the oppressors. But the Panthers still cling to this slogan and thus on the most important question they do not distinguish themselves from the ruling class and black nationalist trends which play into their hands.

The Panthers must be defended against every judicial and police frameup and attack, but that is only part of the struggle. The attacks must be fought politically. Only in this way, by boldly advancing a program for the entire working class, can the fight be advanced and the ruling class be put on the defensive. Until the Panthers advance such a working class program which means a clear break with reactionary bourgeois black power conceptions, they will be misleading militants and weakening their own efforts to defend black workers and youth.



PANTHER OFFICERS (FROM LEFT) BOBBY SEALE, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER