

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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FEBRUARY 16, 1970

TEN CENTS

*stalinism
and the swp
in the anti-war
movement*

CALL MASS LABOR MARCH TO END VIETNAM WAR



MEMBERS OF AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA MARCH AGAINST VIETNAM WAR IN WASHINGTON MORATORIUM DEMONSTRATION

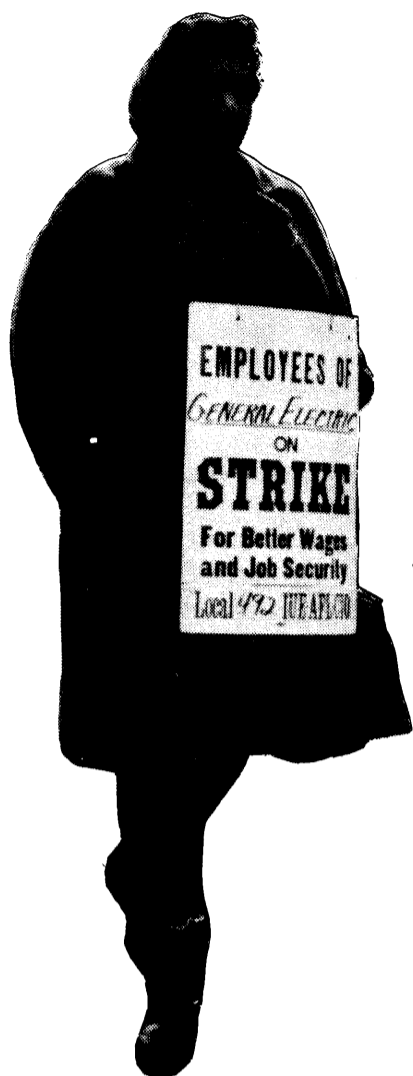
AN OPEN LETTER TO THE SMC

TROTSKYISTS RALLY 10,000 YOUTH IN FRANCE



**open letter
to the smc**

CALL MASS MARCH OF LABOR TO END THE VIETNAM WAR



THE STRUGGLE OF TRADE UNIONISTS (LEFT) AND VIETNAMESE WORKERS AND PEASANTS (ABOVE) NOW MERGES INTO ONE STRUGGLE

an isolated excess or an example of immoral foreign policy, as the pacifists, Stalinists, and reformists would have it. It is the touchstone for world imperialism in its war against the international working class. It is also the touchstone for the working class internationally as the defense of the Vietnamese revolution requires the defeat of imperialism at home.

As the fight of the Vietnamese workers and peasants is merged on an elemental level with the struggle of the GI's and the trade unionists into the same class struggle, the rulers of the U.S. are seeking tooth and nail to divert this struggle, to take Vietnam out of the news. Nixon has the full cooperation of his war critics in the Democratic and Republican parties in this deception, as together they plot their war against the working class at home. This is why in the Democrats' answer to Nixon's State of the Union address--Vietnam was not even mentioned, and why compliments have been paid to Nixon on his Vietnam policy by Mansfield, Harris and Fullbright. The rulers are putting every bit of their energies into diffusing and scattering

the fight against the war. This is the meaning of the massive campaign launched by Nixon and all the capitalist politicians and press as well as their agents in the trade union bureaucracy around the question of pollution.

In this struggle the capitalists are receiving the full support of the Stalinists and reformists, just as Stalinism now moves internationally to aid imperialism in defeating the Vietnamese revolution. This is what lies behind the new crisis in the New Mobilization Committee. The Stalinists and their pacifist and reformist supporters like Dellinger are doing the job for the bourgeoisie by dissolving the struggle against the war into isolated actions and adventures around a million different issues whose essence is the popular front, a bloc of the capitalists, the middle class, and the workers for tax reforms, democratic rights, etc.

The SWP-YSA and the leadership of the SMC have adapted to the turn of the New Mobe and have been unable to pose a real alternative to these policies. In the call for the SMC conference in the January 21st issue of the Student Mobilizer, the SMC discusses expanding high school organizing and a bill of rights, campus complicity with the war, collaboration with the GI's around the rights struggle, supporting the GE strike,

in addition to a discussion on Women's Liberation, Third World Liberation, and workers' struggle.

What is missing is a clear, concrete proposal for a mass demonstration against the war. The point is the only massive demonstration possible now with the retreat of the liberals, pacifists and Stalinists away from the struggle against the war, is the demonstration of the labor movement. Because the SWP-YSA SMC has refused to take up this struggle, their proposals remain essentially the same as the rest of the New Mobe and they provide a left cover for the moves of the Stalinists and the capitalists to divert the struggle to end the war. What is required now is precisely a massive demonstration in Washington, two, three, four times as large as the demonstration last November.

The Workers League says that Vietnam is the touchstone; it is the central battle to unite the working class internationally and defeat imperialism. The trade unionists in Australia have taken the lead in this fight. Over 200 shop stewards from 26 trade unions have publicly defied the Australian government and possible criminal charges in calling for the Australian troops to lay down their arms in mutiny against the imperialist masters.

The only way forward in the struggle against the war is the mobilization of the labor movement in Washington against the war in Vietnam. The members of the Student Mobilization Committee must take up this fight in the trade unions to call a massive demonstration in Washington on April 15th against the war.

This demonstration must take up the following demands:

Withdrawal of All U.S. Troops From Vietnam!

Against Inflation and Unemployment--For the Wage Offensive and the 30 Hour Week at 40 Hours Pay!

Against Racism--Jobs For All! Build a Labor Party!

The struggle against the Vietnam war has now reached a critical stage. The Vietnamese workers and peasants are continuing their heroic battle against the imperialist forces and the corrupt puppet regime in Saigon. The U.S. now faces the threat of a new offensive precisely at the time that its working class in the army and in the trade unions are moving on the offensive against the war and against the attacks on their wages, jobs and working conditions at home.

Vietnam is the key to the international situation. Here the international class conflict is exposed in all its sharpness. Vietnam is not

1970--YEAR OF LENIN AND TROTSKY



THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND ITS FOUNDING; ITS FIRST 30 YEARS, ITS PERSPECTIVES TODAY

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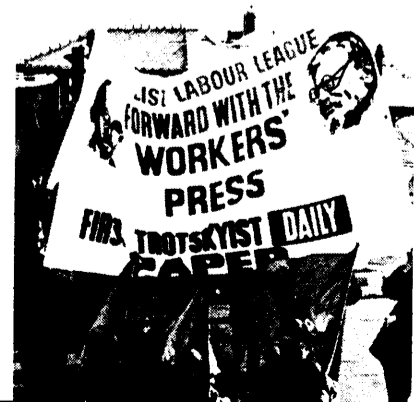
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BY LUCY ST. JOHN

As the class struggle deepens internationally and the working class moves on the offensive, the real potential for ending the Vietnam war and defeating imperialism comes forward. What is required is the mobilization of the workers in the U.S. in solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and peasants through class action. But it is this kind of action which is being fought against and diverted by the "coalition" in the anti-war movement led by the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

As imperialism moves into a head-on collision with the working class it requires the support of the traditional leaderships within the working class, the reformists and the Stalinists. The struggle against these betrayers of Marxism has been the central struggle of the Trotskyist movement to construct a new leadership within the working class to carry through the historic task of the working class--the overthrow of capitalism.

The Stalinists throughout the whole development of the peace movement have been the prop for the liberal bourgeoisie to maintain the struggle against the war on a reformist and pacifist basis, on the level of middle class protest politics. But the real cement for this coalition has come from the Socialist Workers Party. The role of the SWP has been one of betrayal after betrayal, providing a left cover for the CP and at the same time refusing to take up the political struggle against Stalinism by posing the mobilization of the working class on a class program

DISPUTES

Through all the disputes within the peace movement between the CP and the SWP, going back to the original split at the Washington Conference of the National Coordinating Committee in 1965, to the present dispute in the New Mobilization Committee, the CP has maintained its stranglehold, diverting all struggles into the camp of bourgeois politics. This has been possible because the SWP has refused to take up the struggle against Stalinism and has sought at each point to recreate its coalition with the Stalinists. It is the class struggle which has torn at this coalition with the tailing of the CP after the liberals when the latter sought to contain this struggle. Because the SWP has been unable to pose the only alternative--the mobilization of the working class, it has played whipping boy to the CP, which has at each point used the SWP as a left cover to revitalize its leadership and it shield its relationship with the liberal bourgeoisie.

Underlying the CP and SWP's dispute over "single issue" and "multi-issue" is the political glue that binds them together--reformism. The unity of the CP and SWP is based on a common political program. Carol Lipman of the YSA and the SMC put it this way, addressing the rally at the Nov. 15th march: "Everyone is welcome in our movement--Republicans, Democrats, socialists, communists, pacifists or whatever. And we are proud of it." All these forces are united around the "single issue" of ending the war. It is this coalition that the SWP terms its "united front."

In reviewing the history of the anti-war actions in the Oct. 18, 1969 issue of the Militant, Gus Horowitz says of the 'united front': "These historic actions illustrate the power of the tactic of the united front and its particular application in the form of the antiwar coalitions. No single group acting alone could have organized such large and militant



PABLOITES CALLED THE COPS ON YS'ERS COMMEMORATING THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION IN LIEGE DEMONSTRATION, 1966.

stalinism, the vietnam war and the swp

demonstrations. In those united fronts, the left wing, the SMC, was the best builder and the militant spearhead of the actions."

These statements only reveal how far the SWP has moved from Trotskyism and how close they are to Stalinism. What both Lipman and Horowitz describe has absolutely nothing to do with the united front tactic developed by Lenin and Trotsky during the period of the first five years of the Communist International, but it has a lot to do with the strategy of the popular front developed by Stalin in the 1930s. The united front tactic was not developed for the struggles of the middle class but for the working class. As developed by Lenin and Trotsky, it was a fighting agreement for action between the main organizations of the working class and initiated by the Communist parties where they had sufficient mass following in the working class to make the social democracy take up their proposals. It was a relationship between mass parties of the working class and NOT between the middle class and the bourgeoisie. The right to criticism was central and the purpose of the tactic was not just to build big demonstrations but to expose the reformist leadership's inaction in defense of the class, and to win the ranks of the reformist parties to the revolutionary party. The "left wing" of the front was the revolutionary party. The purpose was to drive a wedge between the ranks on the one hand and the reformist leaderships and the bourgeoisie on the other.

This is a far cry from the "united front" of the SWP. The purpose of the SWP's popular front has been

to substitute the middle class for the working class in the peace movement and tie this movement to the liberals. The last thing in the mind of the SWP has been exposing the CP and posing a revolutionary alternative.

1965

The political program which unites the CP and SWP today in the anti-war movement was developed by the SWP before the actual coalition was fully cemented. At the November 1965 meeting of the National Coordinating Committee in Washington, the SWP laid the basis for its strategy of a "single issue", "non-exclusionary" peace movement around the demand for "Bring the Troops Home Now." While the SWP opposed any support to the National Liberation Front, it called for a movement that would include everyone, including the Democrats and Republicans. It fought against turning the peace movement to the working class. In fact, prior to this conference it has used the fight by members of the Detroit local within the SWP to turn the movement to the working class as the political basis to expel them.

It was in this way that the SWP attempted to fight the CP, which was doing the dirty work for the liberals who, with the deepening struggle in Vietnam in 1965, the growing opposition in the U.S. and the discrediting of SANE before the new militants, sought a new coalition to divert the movement and keep its center "Negotiations."

It was A.J. Muste, the spokesman of liberalism and pacifism, that the SWP chose to be the main arbiter

in the peace movement and to build a bridge back to the Stalinists and liberals. Muste himself was a renegade from Trotskyism who had left the movement in 1936 for pacifism and the church, a man who had played no small role in the betrayal of the American working class in the Second World War with pacifism.

Muste's whole concern was to keep the anti-war movement on a pacifist program, and the SWP's slogan, "Bring the Troops Home Now" fitted perfectly into that perspective. The CP in turn welcomed Muste as an opening to the liberals and the Democratic party. It was indeed Muste who brought together all these forces, and it was Muste's program of pacifism, of a settlement at the cost of the Viet Cong at the negotiations table, that became the program of the anti-war movement.

BLOC

The alliance between the SWP and the CP was formalized when the SWP joined with Muste and the CP in the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee. This committee was superseded by the November 5-8 Mobilization Committee. At the November, 1966 convention of this Committee the CP-SWP-YSA bloc came out in the open when Arnold Johnson of the CP and Fred Halstead of the SWP took the leadership together with the pacifists in the fight against the left wing militants of the SDS. At this convention the Spring Mobilization Committee was formed with Muste in the lead. The Student Mobilization Committee became the child of the alliance of the CP-SWP.

The real fruits and direction of this coalition were borne out in December of 1966, when the SWP proudly announced its support to the SANE Madison Square Garden Rally, and noted that SANE whose slogans had always been "negotiation" was part of the new peace "coalition." A year before the SWP had explained away its compromises by pointing to the fact that it was building a movement independent of SANE.

The SWP deepened its ties with the CP and the liberal bourgeoisie when it supported the Congressional campaign of Stalinist Herbert Aptheker on the grounds that he was running an independent campaign. But this was far from the case, as Aptheker was openly supporting the liberal Democrats and was using his so-called independent campaign for this purpose.

At the international youth demonstration against the war which was held in Liege, Belgium in October, 1966, the European allies of the SWP attempted to use the police to remove banners carried by the British and French Trotskyist youth denouncing Stalinism and commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution.

Mary Alice Waters, YSA representative at the demonstration defended the attack on the basis that the banners defending the Hungarian Revolution were "an unnecessary obstacle to building a united-front demonstration in defense of the Vietnam revolution."

The SWP has consistently soft-pedaled or ignored the betrayals of the Stalinists all over the world, absolutely refused to warn about Stalinist pressures on Vietnam, and remained silent when one of their British followers wrote an article apologizing for the murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyists at the hands of Ho Chi Minh's regime after the Second World War.

TO BE CONTINUED

NIXON PLANS NEW LAW TO SMASH RAIL STRIKERS



BY DAN FRIED

The recent injunction by the U.S. District Court against striking Union Pacific Railroad shopcraft workers sets the stage for a sharp turn by the Nixon Administration and Congress to replace the existing Railway Labor Act and Taft-Hartley Act with far more vicious anti-union legislation. The immediate aim of this legislation now being prepared in Washington is to force a binding settlement on the striking shopcraft unions.

The Nixon plan includes two possible alternatives. If there is no settlement when the union-company contract extension expires on Feb. 21st the workers will be hit either with special "emergency" legislation by Congress, calling for an immediate compulsory settlement or a full scale replacement of the old laws with new legislation. The new legislation would provide that after a "cooling off period" injunction sending the workers back to work expires, the President may make use of "an arsenal of weapons" against the union, including a modified form of compulsory arbitration in which the final decision on terms of a contract are decided by a fact-finding board.

If the emergency "ad hoc" legislation is used against the strikers, it will only be a prelude to the full anti-labor legislation for compulsory arbitration to be used to settle threatened major strikes this year,

Bulletin Fund Goes Over The Top!

The Weekly Bulletin Fund Drive moved to a magnificent conclusion with a total collected of \$12,151.67. We made our goal of \$12,000 with room to spare, once again proving that the Workers League is dead serious about building the weekly Bulletin and going forward to the struggle for the mass revolutionary party. We started the drive with a modest goal of \$7,000. Out of necessity and because of the growth and development of the Workers League in new areas and among new layers of workers and youth, we raised our goal several times.

The final event of the drive was a fund raising party in New York which netted over \$80. The high point of the drive was undoubtedly the Jan. 2nd meeting in New York City, at which Jany Sylveire of the British Young Socialists spoke and the films on the Young Socialists and on the Workers Press, world's first Trotskyist daily paper, were shown. A collection at this meeting raised

such as in the trucking and auto industry. When Nixon and the spokesmen for the employers talk of dealing with strikes that "endanger the public interest," they really mean that the full power of the state is now to be used to make the workers live with the inflation and speed up that underlies the growing strike wave in the United States.

ANTI-LABOR

The railroads as well as other major sections of U.S. industry have been pushing hard for compulsory arbitration as a way of dealing with the rank and file in the unions who will not tolerate their leaders' sell-out agreements. The New York Times has been among the most vicious anti-labor voices in its campaign for compulsory arbitration. Times labor "expert" A.H. Raskin is obsessed with the extent to which "the public is hurt by strikes" which he

Move To Break Tug Strike

BY TOM GORDON

The strike by tugboat and lighter crews in Local 333 of the NMU is in grave danger of being broken. On February 8th President Nixon, at the request of New Jersey Governor Cahill, supplied Coast Guard tugs to tow barges of New Jersey sewage, normally worked by Local 333, out to sea to be dumped. The barges were placed under direct state control by a court order. Ob-

\$477.27 in cash and pledges.

The financial base for the new phototypesetting equipment for the weekly Bulletin is now assured. As we announced previously, we have already installed a stabilization processor and complete darkroom set-up. Final arrangements for delivery of the photo-composer are being made. We are sure our readers are as anxious as we are to see the innovations in the format and overall appearance of the weekly Bulletin that are planned.

The success of the fund drive also means that we will continue to devote considerable space and attention to the treatment of theoretical and historical questions which must be understood in the building of a Marxist leadership in the working class movement.

On behalf of the Bulletin staff we want to express our appreciation to all the Workers League members, friends and readers throughout the country who helped make the fund drive a resounding success.

fears are getting out of hand. He bemoans "featherbedding" and escalating wage demands by workers in the trade unions.

Raskin's concern for "the public interest" is only a very thinly veiled public relations job for the multimillionaires that run the U.S. The real issue for the workers is the runaway inflation, the continual moves to increase productivity through speed-up and time study, and mass layoffs from automation and production cutbacks.

Raskin, fronting for the railroad bosses, complains about "featherbedding" but he has nothing to say about getting jobs for all workers who now face an unemployment rate of nearly 4% while government economists talk about a figure of more than 6% as necessary to "cool off" the economy. He has nothing to say about the workers trying to keep up with runaway inflation now eating away at our pocketbooks at a 7% clip and nearly 10% in the New York area.

The issue in the shopcraft strike is fundamentally an issue of job security. All the unions are standing behind the sheet metal workers who refuse to accept new work rules opening the way to the breakdown of lines of demarcation between the crafts. Once the railroad bosses have their foot in that door they will soon be demanding that craftsmen perform more than one job as a regular routine. The railroad workers are well aware that the employers are out to do away with thousands more jobs in an industry faced with automation and rapid technological change. The only answer to the public being "inconvenienced" by strikes of workers defending their jobs is for the railroads to be nationalized and operated under workers control with jobs guaranteed on the basis of the shorter work week.

viously what is being prepared is a court injunction to break the strike.

While Nixon is mobilizing the armed forces and the courts to break the strike, Captain O'Hare and other leaders of Local 333 have called no membership meetings and have allowed no picket lines to be put up at any piers in the Port of New York. Both foreign and NMU-manned vessels are docking in the port and are being worked by longshoremen from the ILA. The Local 333 leadership is endangering the strike by backing down on its promises to mobilize the rest of maritime labor by putting up picket lines.

1967

There must be no repeat of the 1967 contract in which a one week strike ended with pay cuts for most men and the loss of one job on each tug. The ranks of Local 333 must demand that picket lines be put up at every pier in the Port.

The leadership of Local 333 has been meeting with the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service since before the strike began and at one point cut the original wage demand to 92% as a signal that it was willing to compromise. It is up to the rank and file to demand that the leadership fight for the original demands to the finish.

*100% wage increase!
*Twenty years and out pension!
*Stop the Southern and foreign-flag charters!

MARITIME SERIES WILL BE CONTINUED

IN NEXT ISSUE

What is clear now is that the labor movement is faced with a political attack which will bring the unions under the complete domination of the state, as in Nazi Germany UNLESS there is a political counter-offensive. The labor bureaucrats have been doing anything BUT preparing this political fight. On the contrary, their complete dependence on such liberal "friends" as Morse and Javits (two favorite Senators of the New York Times) has led the way for the Nixon legislation for compulsory arbitration. Liberal Senator Morse played the leading role in proposing "emergency" legislation to break the airlines mechanics strike with a binding settlement only a few years ago. Last month when Senator Javits proposed a "fact finding" board to make recommendations to settle the General Electric strike, and the leaders of the U.E. and I.U.E. hailed the Javits plan, we warned that "fact-finding" was merely a bridge to compulsory arbitration. Much as these leaders may protest now about compulsory arbitration in the Nixon legislation, they have led the unions into this situation like sheep being led to the slaughterhouse.

LEAD

But the rank and file of the unions are no sheep. In the General Electric strike the ranks were just waiting for a lead that would unite their forces with the power of the entire labor movement in independent class action against Nixon and G.E. Instead they were offered a piddling \$12 per week strike benefits, a boycott of G.E. products which fell flat on its face, and schemes like the Javits plan. Above all, the labor bureaucrats showed how they feared the independent mobilization of the labor movement acting in its own behalf. They much prefer closed door negotiations and deals with the employers and their political stooges. But now, facing the Nixon legislation, more than ever before the unions need to break completely with the Democrats and Republicans and launch a political counter-offensive for the mobilization of an independent labor party based on the power of the entire labor movement.

A CORRECTION

Last week's Bulletin stated that the strike against American Export Isbrandtsen Lines, which forced the line to announce it would not sell the SS Constitution, was a wildcat. Reliable sources in the NMU ranks now state that that the strike was called by the NMU bureaucracy. The strike was forced onto Curran by the pressure of the ranks who are fed up with the destruction of their jobs and working conditions.

Bulletin

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DOCUMENTS FROM THE SOVIET OPPOSITION



Appeal by Alexis Kosterin translated from 'Samizdat 1'

ALEXIS KOSTERIN joined the Bolshevik Party in 1916. He was deported for 17 years to the gold mines of Kolyma. He died on November 16, 1968, three weeks after writing this letter.

Take up the struggle against Stalinism

Appeal by Alexis Kosterin to the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR. Copies to:

The editorial committee of 'Pravda' for publication;

The local committee of the Frunze Party;

The Party organization of the Moscow Writers' Union.

Dear Comrades,

OVER the last few months I have sent several letters to my Party cell and to the Central Committee criticising a whole series of negative phenomena in the internal life of the Party and the social life of our country.

I persisted so that the problems I raised would lead to public discussion.

After having debated them clearly, in the spirit of the Party, I could be told how and why I was wrong; and, if sometimes I was right, I could be supported so that positive solutions to the problems I raised could be found and applied where necessary to the Party and the State.

No one can deny, I believe, that I had the indisputable right guaranteed to me by the Party statutes as a Party member, to take this step.

What followed however, violated the Party statutes as well as violating simple common sense.

I was informed that the Moscow Party Committee would debate my letters on October 17 of this year.

For reasons of health, I

could not be at the meeting—following a serious and painful heart attack, the second!—that recently laid me up; the doctors categorically forbid me to participate in these discussions because of the nervous tension it would have involved.

And as I had set out and argued very clearly and in a convincing way the problems I was raising I thought the discussion could go on without me.

It appears that the content of my letters was never examined. Instead of discussing them, my letters had the labels 'anti-Party' and 'anti-Soviet' attached to them in a totally wanton way and I was expelled from the Party.

Several other CPSU statutes were flagrantly violated:

1. The question of my Party membership was ruled on without consulting my local organization.
2. I was expelled for exercising the indefensible right of a Party member: to express himself before the Party on any important question, to present his proposals and defend them until a decision is taken about the matters they concern.
3. The transcript of the proceedings of the meeting and the decision of the Party Committee were passed on to the local committee right away without informing me first.
4. Neither was I told about the local committee's deliberations; they had evidently already decided with amazing rapidity to 'settle' the question of my expulsion.

This confirmed my hypothesis that only the fact that I sent the letters was considered and not the questions raised in those letters. Their content—the real problems—has not been examined.

The label 'anti-Party' was wantonly attached to my letters. I had already been reproached for defending the Tartars of Crimea.

To be consistent, the Party Committee should have accused me at the same time for writing in defence of the Germans living in the Volga and the Turks. It should also be remembered that in 1958 I was expelled from the Party for having defended the Chetchen-Ingush people. I should have been reproached for

THE LETTER of resignation and the funeral oration published here have an exceptional significance for the international communist movement. The author of the letter was an old Bolshevik who fought in the civil war, endured the torture and terror of the Stalin regime and yet retained his communist convictions undimmed.

He fought the bureaucracy's policies in the party consistently and passionately. In particular he fought for a Leninist policy in relation to the national minorities such as the Chetchen-Ingush, the Volga Germans and the Crimean Tartars who were deported en masse to the far east before the Second World War by Stalin.

After his resignation Kosterin continued his struggle for the regeneration of socialism in the USSR and against the return of some of the worst features of Stalinism—exemplified by the trial of the Soviet writers and the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Kosterin lived and died a communist. His remarkable life and struggle, the grandeur and pathos of which is so vividly evoked in the speech of Yakir, is a magnificent testimony to the resurgence of the Soviet working class and the new generation of youth who will dig the graves of the Kremlin bureaucracy as surely as Kosterin's generation dug the graves of the Kremlin Tsar and the Russian bourgeoisie.

The speech and the letter together constitute an eloquent and damning indictment of the heirs of Stalin and, we feel certain, it will inspire the new generation of communists inside and outside the Soviet Union to complete the task begun by Trotsky and the Left Opposition: to carry through the political revolution and open the road to a world October.

M. Banda, October 10, 1969

having defended with arms, in the first years of the revolution, the Leninist policy of nationalities and the right of minorities to national equality.

What happened to me is not accidental.

It springs from the whole line of the Party leadership. The Politbureau of the Central Committee does not itself respect the Party laws, does not take them into account.

In spite of the decisions of the 22nd and 23rd Party Congresses, the name and anti-human acts of Stalin are being 'cautiously' but insistently rehabilitated. And, in practice, Stalinist methods are allowed more and more scope.

As under Stalin, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom to meet, freedom to march and demonstrate in the streets only exists in written form in the Constitution.

In practice, all those who try to exercise these rights are arrested; those who protest against this arbitrary injustice are expelled from the Party, dismissed from their jobs and put under constant surveillance by KGB agents. Their mouths are closed by all possible methods including the most repugnant.

As under Stalin, a whole series of national minorities are the victims of savage persecution, discrimination and veritable acts of genocide.

Stalinism manifests itself with particular clarity in the domain of foreign policy. The events in Czechoslovakia are an especially striking illustration.

The supreme leadership of the Party and the Soviet state is not afraid to put the world on the brink of a thermonuclear catastrophe without considering the genuine interests of our country and the world communist movement; the leadership has provided the imperialist extremists with arguments to be used for increasing interna-

tional tension.

The leadership has inflicted a moral defeat with very far reaching effects on our country and on the international communist movement. And all this with the sole end of defending the narrow interests of caste.

A climate of oppression continues to reign in the Party. The carefully sorted and selected Stalinist Party machinery throws itself un-animously into the assault against whoever expresses any doubts—whoever the doubter is—about the machine's policies or tries to criticise any member of the Party and state leadership.

In our Party today discussion is forbidden, the right to think is refused. You are expelled for the sole reason that you have formulated proposals that appeared good to you but don't conform to the prescriptions that rain down from on high.

Only those who carry out orders from on high without thinking can live in this Party; only those who consider their presence in the Party an assurance of safe conduct and of their own well being can live in this Party.

I foresaw what the local Party Committee's decision would be because I knew of certain other expulsions from the Party decided upon by its committees without any discussion in the lower Party organizations.

But I do not want to go to the local committee to be 'corrected'. I don't have the strength or health for that. I could still endure these corrections in 1937 when they followed my arrest, but not today.

As a protest against the flagrant violations of Party statutes and in order to free myself from that Party discipline which deprives me of the right to think, I am resigning from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and I am

returning my Party membership card, number 8,293,698.

I am taking this step consciously and with the hope that it will compel true communists to think seriously about what is happening inside our Party as well as in all of our society.

If the Central Committee sees that it is in its interest that all Party members, including the Party machine, observe the statutes, it will decide on my case publicly and punish those who are guilty of violating these statutes.

If this is the case I will rescind my decision to resign from the Party and continue to struggle against Stalinism inside the Party ranks sub-

mitting to its discipline.

But with or without a Party card I have been, I am, and I will remain a Marxist-Leninist communist, a Bolshevik. My whole existence, from my youth to today, bears witness to that.

If I find myself outside the Party I will continue to struggle for my Marxist-Leninist ideas, for their democratic application in life, as I've always struggled, making use of all the rights given to me by our Constitution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man adopted by the United Nations and signed by our government.

October 24, 1968

Funeral oration at the grave of Alexis Kosterin

PIOTR YAKIR is an historian from Moscow and the son of Army Commander I. E. Yakir, who was assassinated by Stalin. Piotr himself, as the son of an 'enemy of the people', spent 17 years in a concentration camp from the age of 14 to the age of 31.

☆

MANY TRUE things have already been said about the dead man. I also loved him and I would like to speak about him without holding back.

I would like to recall my meetings and discussions with him; those meetings which now seem to have been so few and far between. At my last meeting with him I even arrived late.

I went to see him at his invitation; that was when it was most possible to have a conversation with him.

I won't take too much time away from those who are waiting their turn to share their sorrow with friends. I'll only describe one side of Alexis Kosterin, a side that I don't see in many of his generation. I want to talk about his fidelity to his ideals.

This fidelity he preserved pure and unshaken from his youth to the last sigh; to the last moment he raised his fist to ask for oxygen because he

could no longer speak.

I know that among the millions of men ruthlessly wiped out by the Stalinist extermination machine, there were many—perhaps the majority—who, because they kept their faith in Marxism-Leninism, had to cross the Styx. [Traditionally the entry into Hell.]

But many of this generation survived. The majority of these survivors were not victims of repression. And all, all betrayed their ideals.

A few isolated men, crouching in their corners and holding their faith deep in their hearts do not change the appalling picture of the degeneracy of an entire generation.

Some of the representatives of this generation, of course, speak about 'sacred ideals' to which they swear fidelity but they serve the Stalinists faithfully, the Stalinists who mock ideals whatever they are.

Many of these flunkies hope to get a few scraps from the leftovers off the banquet table of our rulers. The Christian ethic calls such people Pharisees.

Others behave like this out of fear. They are repulsive hypocrites who in public praise and flatter the powerful and then turn around and criticize them in private confidences.

Some of them, having already fouled themselves like this, then don't hesitate to denounce their erstwhile and trusting confidantes when they sense danger.

Most of these people are fanatics and petty bourgeois.

They have never read, the



Red Army leaders Tikhonov, Voroshilov, Yegorov (seated) Budyenny, Bluecher (standing). Yakir, after Trotsky appointed him to organize military education and training, collaborated with Tikhonov, the brilliant ex-Tsarist officer, who had become a convinced communist in 1917.

works of the creators of Marxist-Leninist theory; they are stuffed with prejudices and ready to dress up any drivel with the name of Marxism-Leninism, socialism, communism and other 'isms' in order to receive their credentials from the authorities.

They will support all the undertakings of those in power including exploits worthy of the Black Hundreds; they are ready to do even better.

These are the people who cried 'crucify him' to Pontius Pilate; the people who flood the streets of our cities and villages like a tidal wave, howling for the execution of the 'enemies of the people'.

This is how they dealt with Kosterin in his Party organization and in the Presidium of the Writers' Union.

How could one not be struck by the strength of this man's spirit; this man who preserved his convictions in the midst of this dark mass of people, gangrenous with prejudices and preconceived ideas; this man who preserved his convictions through the tortures of the 'house of Vaskov', the horrible Magadan where he was shut up in May 1938 and Kolyma concentration camp; preserved his convictions through 're-education' by the pharisees and hypocrites and

the howls of the fanatics and petty bourgeoisie.

Looking at the life of this man one can only say, 'Truly, the men of October were a strong generation'.

I loved Alexis Kosterin because of his great spirit; I loved him as a citizen. An empathy which flowed from our somewhat shared destinies no doubt played a part too. But I loved him particularly for the clarity of his thought, for his fidelity to his ideas.

It's no secret that many who endured the same trials as Alexis Kosterin lost faith in the ideals they had fought for in their youth. They considered the ideas, and not only men, responsible for what happened to them.

Alexis Kosterin drew other lessons. When we were together he spoke to me like this:

◊ **Marxism-Leninism, no more than any other ideological system, is not totally pure nor genuine in all its parts. It carries with it the mark of the individuality of its creators—who were men and not gods—and of the period in which it was created—and we know times change.**

There is therefore nothing astonishing if men who special-

ize in this study find in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin all the quotations necessary to justify the blackest deeds of all the Stalins, Krushchevs and Brezhnevs.

It's a very easy thing to do in our country, given the method of quotation used here; a method that shatters the thought expressed in a passage, not once but often into many fragments.

The quotation is often completed with statements entirely strange to the original text.

This is done with impunity because in our country no organ of the press would dare to contradict such falsifications. There are many volunteers ready to shovel out and distribute this pre-digested food.

This exploitation of the ideas and names sacred to our people has created the 'moral' base on which Stalinism in the past and neo-Stalinism today have developed. It's been difficult even for me to free myself of this hallucination.

For a long time I too thought that the policies carried out consciously to consolidate Stalin's personal dictatorship were a series of errors of 'detail' committed in the local and Central Committees. I fought against these 'errors' of 'detail' and 'deviations'.

I always emerged from these struggles scarred and bruised but sometimes luck was with me and I threw myself into tilt-



STALIN-HITLER PACT

The Stalinists had denounced Yakir as a Nazi agent. His real crime had been to oppose Stalin's turn towards Hitler, which ended with the Stalin-Hitler Pact on August 23, 1939. Stalin is seen above shaking hands with Ribbentrop, Hitler's foreign minister.

ing at windmills again absolutely certain that this was exactly what my duty as a Party member consisted of.

It wasn't until after 1934, after the assassination of Kirov, that I started to have doubts. But the veil didn't finally fall from my eyes until the "house of Vaskov". It was only then that I understood that Marxism-Leninism had been buried in our country and Lenin's party destroyed.

I am leaving aside the question of whether or not his final conclusion is correct.

But I must bow before the integrity of this man, his purity, his courage and his incredible fortitude. Imagine a man convinced that in spite of the doctrine they profess, men who hold nothing sacred are leading this country.

Imagine that he knows that these leaders will stop at nothing to close the mouths of whoever tries to unmask them.

As if that were not enough, he also had endured the tortures of the 'house of Vaskov' and years at the Kolyma concentration camp!

If you have imagined all that then bow your head again to Alexis Kosterin. Without having time to heal from all he'd endured he intervened on behalf of the Chetchens and the Ingushes.

At once the pack of pharisees, hypocrites and fanatics fell on him. He was again expelled from the Party and he expected his arrest at any moment. A trial beyond comprehension for those who did not pass through 'the house of Vaskov' and Kolyma or through the other numerous camps in our country.

But Kosterin survived this new test.

There were communists who defended him, kept him out of prison and got him reinstated in the Party. I speak to all those militants, and above all to one communist whose name I won't give because I was not authorized to do so—he never forgot, to his last day.

Even after this terrible moral test, Alexis Kosterin entered into struggle for his ideals.

He intervened on behalf of the Germans in the Lower Volga, on behalf of the Tartars of the Crimea and on behalf of other national minorities. He spoke out against the re-birth of Stalinism. . . .

But how can I enumerate all that this man with a half-broken heart but such a strong soul was able to do? He tried to make us, his friends and companions at arms, share his faith. I remember one of our conversations in which he countered our objections with the following arguments:

Of course the so-called advanced capitalist countries have outstripped us in social development by an entire epoch. They have satisfied the material and spiritual needs of their citizens much better than we, they have guaranteed the free development of the individual better than we.

But have they attained the ideal?

Can a man whose life does not satisfy him whether because of birth or unhappy circumstances—can he hope to break out of the vicious circle in which he is caught?

Have they created equal conditions for the development of everyone?

Has misery and crime completely disappeared?

Have social, national, racial inequalities been liquidated?

What do you propose as an alternative to this system which we see is far from being perfect?

He was silent for several minutes then answered himself:

The only alternative to this system and to Stalinist 'socialism' is Marxist-Leninist socialism, pulled out of the mud, regenerated and developing in liberty.

How full of joy he was at the birth of democracy in Czechoslovakia! Hearing the news about the process of democratization there, he burst out:

You see! That's what I told you! There it is, the alternative to capitalism and to Stalinism!

He had complete confidence in the Czech Communist Party and the Czech people.

But Czechoslovakia is not Russia! People there know what democracy is. They will not endure the barbarism forced on them for long. Stalin made a mistake.

After a pause he added ironically:

He swallowed a delicacy that his barbaric stomach couldn't digest.

Czechoslovakia is not Touva or Mongolia! It's an advanced European country with the richest democratic traditions. I think that little Czechoslovakia will have enough moral strength to sweep the whole socialist world along with it.

The Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia marked him deeply.

I believe this intervention brought the fatal end closer by putting too heavy a burden on his heart.

He followed the evolution of events in Czechoslovakia closely. He seemed to want to hold back the disease that was keeping him in his bed so that he could fly to this people he believed in and become a soldier in their ranks.

Until his death, until his last sigh, he believed in the victory of the Czechoslovak people because he believed in the strength of the ideas that illuminated the way they had taken and which had illuminated his whole life.

I bow once again before the strength of this incredible spirit, before his courage, and before this fidelity to his ideals. I ask you to join me.

I would like to be like him; I would like those close to me, family and friends, to be like him.

Our regular readers will have been both deeply moved and politically inspired by Pyotr Yakir's speech at the graveside of the old Bolshevik Alexis Kosterin.

P. Yakir comes from a family of Bolsheviks, like so many of the anti-Stalinist oppositionists in the Soviet Union today.

With the rehabilitation of Stalin in full swing and the denigration of his countless victims daily taking on a more strident tone, it is vital to place the present struggle against Soviet Stalinism in its correct historical setting.

In the case of Pyotr Yakir, we can best do this by outlining the political career of his father, I. E. Yakir, underlining at the same time the counter-revolutionary role of all those, from the rulers of the Kremlin down to the most wretched British Stalinist, who helped to destroy him.



By Robert Black

I. E. YAKIR, father of Pyotr Yakir, the outstanding fighter against present-day Stalinism in the Soviet Union, was a revolutionary from his early youth.

Born in Bessarabia in 1896, he joined the Bolshevik Party in 1917. From the first days of the revolution, he was in the thick of the fighting, organizing partisan groups in the Ukraine.

He became a leading member of the Bessarabian Soldiers' Committee, taking part in the Civil War campaigns against Denikin and white-guard Poland.

By dint of military and political skill, I. E. Yakir won rapid promotion in the Red Army, and after commanding the 14th Rifle Corps, he was appointed by Trotsky to organize the Military Education and Training Administration departments.

In this new post, Yakir was drawn into collaboration with Tukhachevsky, the brilliant ex-Tsarist officer, who in 1917 became a convinced communist and threw in his

lot with the working class and the Revolution.

These two, against the careerist element creeping into the Party and the army, fought to develop a revolutionary military strategy linked to both the latest developments in military techniques and the international struggle between imperialism and the working class.

After Lenin's death a furious offensive against Trotsky began in the Party, which had its inevitable repercussions in the armed forces, of which he was the head.

Military leaders, especially those in the Party, were compelled to take sides in the struggle between the Opposition and the Stalin-led bureaucratic clique that masqueraded as the defender of Bolshevism.

Even after Trotsky's removal from the Red Army leadership early in 1925, the struggle continued.

Stalin used the danger of imperialist intervention to blackmail the Opposition into surrender.

Trotsky refused to be intimidated in this way and insisted that side by side with his unconditional defence of the Soviet Union, he would continue to fight to correct the false policies of the party and change its leadership.

Within the Red Army, the Stalinist Voroshilov stepped up the witch-hunt against Trotsky's old comrades. They hit back with a letter to the Party Politbureau, declaring support for the policies of the Left Opposition.

One of its signatories was I. E. Yakir.

It also declared Commissar for War Voroshilov to be incompetent, a condemnation they were later to pay for with their lives.



With the defeat of the Left Opposition, Trotsky's supporters in the Army turned away from political questions and concentrated on building up the armed forces of the Soviet Union, a task which they saw as being their only effective contribution to its defence.

This was undoubtedly, an error of political judgement.

Stalin's reactionary home and international policies continued to undermine the position of the Soviet Union, and though the armed forces developed rapidly in a technical sense, political leadership remained in the hands of Stalin's men.

Yakir was one of the leading members of the group led by Tukhachevsky that constantly opposed the bureaucratic methods introduced into the armed forces by the Voroshilov clique.

And up to the middle 1930s, they seemed to be holding their own. In 1934, Yakir was elected to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party at the same time as he took up his post as commander of the strategically vital Ukrainian military district.

Soviet military policy up to the late 1920s had been to collaborate with the German General Staff as a counterweight against the far more powerful Anglo-French threat of intervention through Poland and from the south.

Hitler's victory in 1933 brought a radical change in strategy. Nazi re-armament convinced Tukhachevsky's group that new allies had to be sought in the west. Official talks between the French and Red General Staffs were begun.

Stalin was content to play along with this line after his early failure to arrive at an understanding with Hitler.

But under cover of the

Red Army officers purged from 1937/39 included:

Marshals :	3	out of	5	shot.
Deputy Commissars for Defence :	11	out of	11	shot.
Members of Military Soviet :	75	out of	80	shot.
Military District Commanders :				All shot.
Naval and Air Chiefs of Staffs :				Both shot.
Army Commanders :	13	out of	15	shot.
Corps Commanders :	57	out of	85	shot.
Divisional Commanders :	110	out of	195	shot.
Brigade Commanders :	184	out of	406	shot.
Admirals :	8	out of	8	shot.
Out of an Officer Corps of 70,000, at least half were purged.				



Above: Stalin (left) presides over the 1937 May Day parade in Red Square. Below: The Red Army leaders Tukhachevsky, Bielov, Voroshilov, Yegorov and Budyenny. Tukhachevsky, Bielov and Yegorov were shot some six weeks later under the pretext that they were German spies. Above right: General Gamarnik, political chief; Marshal Yegorov, chief of staff; Marshal Bluecher, far east commander in the Kremlin in 1936.



blare of 'popular front' propaganda against fascism, Stalin put out new feelers to Hitler, a turn that spelled doom for Yakir and his Red Army comrades.

On January 29, 1937, two Soviet officials, Kandelaki and Friedrichson, met the director of the Reichsbank, Dr Schacht, suggesting that the Nazi and Soviet governments should begin direct talks towards a mutual settlement of outstanding problems.

The whole of the Bolshevik Party 'old guard' had to be killed before the Nazi-Soviet pact could be rammed down the throat of the Communist International.

And in the Red armed forces, Stalin's cynical manoeuvres were certain to meet an equally firm opposition.

A pact with France compelled Hitler to face war on two fronts.

A pact with Hitler presented the Nazi forces with the opportunity of defeating his enemies one by one.

☆

The noose rapidly tightened round the necks of the Red General Staff.

In his speech to the 22nd congress of the CPSU, Khrushchev released a few details of Stalin's plot against the Red Army, but only a few:

'Such prominent leaders as Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Uborevich, Kork, Yegorov, Eideman and others were victims of the repressions. They were military men who had great services to their credit, especially Tukhachevsky, Yakir and Uborevich, who were outstanding soldiers. . . A rather curious report once found its way into the foreign press to the effect that when Hitler was preparing his assault on our country he had his secret service fabricate a document describing Comrades Yakir. . . and others as agents of the German General Staff.

This "document", allegedly secret, fell into the hands of President Benes of Czechoslovakia, and he . . . forwarded it to Stalin. Yakir, Tukhachevsky and other comrades were arrested and were then killed.'

What Khrushchev does not reveal is Stalin's role in helping to frame up the Red Army leaders.

On his instructions, Soviet intelligence agents contacted white emigre circles in Germany, and through them, supplied documents to the Gestapo essential for the framing of Yakir and his comrades.

Again with the co-operation of Stalinist agents, the forged

documents were passed onto Czech government leaders, who, believing them to be genuine (and seeking Soviet military guarantees against Germany), passed them on to Stalin.

The circle now completed, Stalin used this 'proof' to have first Yakir and Tukhachevsky, then thousands of other Soviet military leaders shot.

Until Khrushchev's 'Secret Speech' at the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956, Stalinists had denounced Yakir as a Nazi agent. His real crime had been to oppose Stalin's turn towards Hitler, consummated two years later with the Stalin-Hitler Pact of August 23, 1939.

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The 'History of the CPSU (Short Course)', first published in 1938 and circulated in millions of copies throughout the world, says this of Yakir and his comrades:

'The trial of Pyatakov, Radek and others, the trial of Tukhachevsky, Yakir and others, and lastly, the trial of Bukharin, Rykov, Krestinsky, Rosengoltz and others, all showed that the Bukharinites and Trotskyites had long ago joined to form a common band of enemies of the people. . . The trials showed that these dregs of humanity, in conjunction with the enemies of the people, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev [the last two were shot in the first 1936 'trial'] had been in conspiracy against Lenin, the Party and the Soviet state ever since the early days of the October Revolution.' (page 427).

So according to Stalin, who wrote this 'History', Yakir had been working against the revolution even as he led his Red troops into battle against the White Guards and the armies of imperialist intervention.

This foul slander against the leaders of the Party and the Red Army was not only purveyed by Stalin.

In his bid to strangle the party and the Red Army, Stalin found his most willing accomplices in the leaders of the British Communist Party.

On June 16, 1937, only four days after the murder of Yakir, the Central Committee of the British Communist Party issued a statement welcoming the military purges and trials:

'The Communist Party of Great Britain congratulates the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, their Party and their government on the drastic measures which they

are taking to root out the wreckers and spies from their midst'.

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At the 1939 Congress of the CPSU, Stalin scoffed at the idea that military purges had weakened the Red Army:

'Certain foreign pressmen have been talking drivel to the effect that the purging of the Soviet organizations of spies, assassins and wreckers like Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Yakir. . . and other fiends has "shaken" the Soviet system. . . One can only laugh at such cheap drivel. . . ('Problems of Leninism', q. 645.)

In his speeches of 1956 and 1961, Khrushchev described in a very dramatic way the chaos and suffering that the Red Army purges created in the first period of the war.

Khrushchev takes great care to present himself as a staunch defender of the rights of the purged leaders, and as the leading advocate of their rehabilitation.

In his speech to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU (1961) Khrushchev poses as a close friend of Yakir in particular:

'I knew comrade Yakir very well. I also knew Tukhachevsky, but not as well as Yakir. [How well we shall see in a moment.] During a conference in Alma Ata this year, his son, [Pyotr Yakir, the leader of the anti-Stalinist opposition] who is working in Kazakhstan came to me. He asked me about his father. What could I say to him? When we were examining these cases in the Presidium of the Central Committee and were informed that neither Tukhachevsky, Yakir nor Uborevich had committed any crimes against the Party, we asked Molotov, Kaganovich and Voroshilov: "Are you in favour of their rehabilitation?"

"Yes we are", they answered. "But it was you who executed those people", we said indignantly. "When were you following the dictates of your conscience, then or now?"'

The same question must be addressed to Khrushchev himself, as well as to his successors in the Kremlin, Kosygin, Brezhnev and company. In this same speech, he relates the events leading up to Yakir's death:

'Comrade Shepin...quoted a letter from Comrade Yakir to Stalin, and read to you the resolutions on that letter. It should be said that at one time Stalin had a lot of respect for Yakir. I can add that at the moment Yakir was shot he shouted "Long live the Party, Long live Stalin!" . . . When Stalin was told how Yakir had behaved before his death, he cursed Yakir.'

How did Khrushchev stand up for Yakir when he came under suspicion?

How did Khrushchev de-

tend the man whom he claimed to know very well, and thus obviously realized him to be innocent?

Like the present rulers of the Kremlin, Khrushchev climbed to power on a mountain of corpses—all of them purged communists of the Party and the armed forces.

His ascendancy in the Ukrainian party apparatus followed a dreadful blood purge in which several generations of Bolsheviks were simply wiped out:

'Only after the faithful Stalinist, Nikita Sergeyevitch Khrushchev, arrived in the Ukraine did the smashing of the enemies of the people begin in earnest.' ('Visti VTs VK' June 17, 1938.)

In Khrushchev's first major speech in his new job as Stalin's chief executioner in the Ukraine, he demanded a stepping up of the purge:

☆

'We got rid of a considerable number of enemies. But as Party workers of the Ukraine, . . . we should not be conceited. We must not relax. . . Comrades, we have annihilated quite a few enemies, but not all of them.'

Khrushchev then dwelt on lessons from the past purges:

'The Yakirs, the Balitskys . . . and the other riff-raff wanted to let in the German fascists, the landowners and bourgeois, and make the Ukraine a colony of the Polish-German fascists'. ('Bilshovik Ukrainy' no. 6, p. 7. (Our emphasis.)

When Khrushchev made his revelations about the crimes of the Stalin era, he did so not willingly, but under the tremendous pressure of the masses, of the youth, the intellectuals, the sons and daughters of murdered Communists, and of the sections of the armed forces Stalin had purged so thoroughly in the years before the war with Germany.

The lesson of I. E. Yakir's life and death is that the struggle against Stalinism is decisive for the Soviet Union

and the international working class.

Yakir believed that he could escape from Stalinism by turning away from political struggle and devoting himself purely to the technical problems of the Army.

But Stalinism was and remains all pervading.

The bureaucracy will not yield a single corner or sphere of human activity without a bloody and unprincipled struggle.

It crushed Bolshevism in the arts, in literature, in philosophy, in science and in historiography as well as in the Party, the International, the factories and the universities.

And least of all could it leave the armed forces as neutral territory.

Like thousands of other communists, Yakir was used by Stalin.

His brains were picked, his talents absorbed, and when the bureaucracy had sucked him dry, he was crushed.

While Stalin chose to play along with France, the Yakir-Tukhachevsky group could be tolerated.

Once Stalin made his decisive turn to Hitler, politics, counter-revolutionary politics, burst in upon the High Command, cutting down in a matter of weeks the flower of the Red Army leaders trained and blooded in the Civil War.

Yakir's son Pyotr spent 17 humiliating years in a Stalin slave camp (his crime was to be the son of his father) dwelling on the terrible lessons of his father's death.

He was dragged off to the camp as a boy of 14, but returned from it after Stalin's death as a dedicated fighter against the Stalinist bureaucracy, as a partisan of the pro-Leninist tendency in the Soviet Union.

The sons and daughters of murdered Bolsheviks such as Yakir will be the first to build the Soviet section of the Fourth International.

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who paid yablonski killers?

BY MARTY JONAS

Four people now stand indicted in Cleveland on federal charges of conspiracy in the murder of Joseph Yablonski and his family.

Evidence being uncovered by a federal grand jury investigating the source of funds for the assassins is pointing a finger straight at the UMW bureaucracy.

Right now the big question before the grand jury is what happened to the \$3.7 million of the UMW national pension fund that was "loaned" to District 19 (Tennessee-Harlan) of the UMW. Yablonski maintained that this money was given to the District 19 leaders to keep it in line and it was this that he was ready to testify about in Washington before he was murdered.

Now the leaders of District 19 are being called to the stand in Cleveland. Like most of the District and local officers of the UMW, they are not elected by the ranks but are the hand-picked vassals of Tony Boyle.

WITNESS

The most significant of the witnesses yet called is Silous Huddleston, President of Local 3228, District 19 of the UMW in LaFollette, Tennessee. Huddleston is not only the bureaucrat who received the "loan" from Boyle but is the father of Antoinette Gilly and the father-in-law of Paul Gilly, two of the alleged killers. The indictment names Paul Gilly as the one who hired the others

S. HUDDLESTON, HEAD OF UMW LOCAL 3228, AND FATHER-IN-LAW OF PAUL GILLY, ACCUSED OF YABLONSKI MURDERS



and paid them off from a fund of several thousand dollars. Before becoming head of Local 3228, Huddleston served three years for armed robbery and was a bodyguard for Boyle.

COLLABORATED

The ranks of the UMW are learning that the UMW bureaucrats will stop at nothing to see that the union does not fall into the hands of the membership. Karl Kefton, a rank and file militant in the UMW, testified at a Senate sub-committee investigating the affairs of the UMW

and the Yablonski murder, charged that the UMW bureaucracy had collaborated with twelve coal companies in blacklisting rank and file miners who opposed the Boyle leadership.

Rank and file miners from locals in Pennsylvania and West Virginia met this past weekend to take forward the fight begun by Yablonski to wrest control from the corrupt Boyle leadership. At the center of this fight must be the independent investigation of the ranks into the Yablonski murder and into the dealings of the Boyle leadership.

RANKS FIGHT HONEYWELL SELL-OUT

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS-- There is no more crucial lesson to learn from the recent contract settlement at Minneapolis Honeywell than the central need to build up in the trade union movement a new leadership independent of the bureaucracy.

A total absence of leadership from both Teamsters 1145 officials and the union's 55 man negotiating committee was responsible for the vote on Jan. 31st turning out the way it did. Honeywell workers are now stuck with an even worse contract than that G.E. settled for.

On Sunday, Jan. 24th, Teamsters 1145 had voted 9-1 to reject Honeywell's pitiful contract offer. But the negotiations were kept completely secret and Honeywell workers were completely in the dark. A vote was to be taken Saturday, January 31st to strike if union demands were not met. But no one knew really what the negotiating committee was demanding.

Thousands of Honeywell workers jammed the Minneapolis Auditorium for the Saturday meeting and feeling was high for a strike. The negotiation committee got up and presented Honeywell's final offer, which was essentially the same one voted down 9-1 the week before. With only several exceptions they urged the workers to accept the contract.

BOOED

They were booed and shouted down by the ranks for so openly capitulating to the Honeywell bosses. Several officials couldn't even speak.

The official leadership insisted that this contract was the best they were going to get out of Honeywell and the message was clear: Go on strike and you will just lose lots of pay and gain nothing. They were trying to use the setback G.E. workers suffered for all it was worth.

The new contract offer had no cost-of-living clause. At the last membership meeting of the union the president was directed to bring

to the strike vote meeting documented proof of just what inflation has cost the workers so that the workers could evaluate the contract offer in that light. However he didn't "have the time" to do this. Clearly the leadership was committed to the company's offer.

Even militants who wanted to strike were not so much worried about the stubbornness of Honeywell as they were impressed with the fact that with "leadership" like this a strike would probably be defeated. Despite all this 46% of those present voted to strike.

PROTESTS

Immediately after it was announced that the contract had been approved there were sporadic walk-out pro-

tests by groups of skilled trades workers who had been pushing for \$1.00 "equity," that is an additional dollar increase above the general settlement.

But now the danger is real that because of this rotten contract settlement, the union, Minnesota's largest local, will be all split up along craft lines, with the skilled trades workers going their own way. This would seriously cripple all Honeywell workers. It would be the first fruit of the official leadership's policy of betrayal.

What is needed in Teamsters 1145 is a new leadership that can direct the willingness of the ranks to fight around a program that corresponds to the actual needs of the workers.

frame-up trial aims to smash panthers

BY PAT CONNOLLY

NEW YORK-- As demonstrators marched outside the courthouse and sympathizers tried to jam into the courtroom itself, the trial of 13 of the Panther 21 began here last week.

The whole court area was saturated with police, and clashes took place in the courtroom between the police and defendants and spectators, with arrests in two incidents, and injuries to two of the defendants.

The attitude of presiding Judge John M. Murtagh was clear from the start. In the pretrial hearing he refused pleas for reduced bail for the Panthers, who are held on \$100,000 ransom each.

The Panthers are facing frame-up charges of conspiracy to bomb the Bronx Botanical gardens, department stores and subway stations as well as illegal possession of weapons.

MURDER

It is becoming crystal clear that the courts are just another extension of a government which is intent upon smashing the Black Panthers. The



DEMONSTRATORS CALL FOR THE RELEASE OF THE PANTHERS

Auto Cutbacks Hit Canadian Workers Hard

BY JUDITH LEE

TORONTO--General Motors, Chrysler and Ford of Canada just announced their planned cutbacks in production for the month of February, or as a Chrysler spokesman puts it, "until something good happens."

Car and truck production to January 24th is down to 80,958 from 94,954 for the similar period last year. This means thousands and thousands of Canadian workers will be laid off, some temporarily, but it is probable that many workers who are low in seniority and with less skill will never see their jobs again.

This is occurring at the same time as 133,500 U.S. auto workers are facing the same fate. The automobile industry in Canada is a major one which employs many thousands of workers in car and truck production and of course, in related industries. When this industry goes into a crisis, thousands of workers in other industries will be laid off, for instance in steel and rubber.

UNITE

As unemployment rises daily towards the 6% mark, what does the New Democratic Party do? Some members of the NDP are demanding that U.S.-owned auto companies lay off U.S. workers not Canadian workers, instead of uniting the working class in Canada and the U.S. in a struggle against job cuts and unemployment by calling for nationalization of the car and truck industries under workers' control. Nationalization of basic industries was adopted as part of the CCF-NDP program following the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.

CONTRACT

As the UAW contract expires this September, the car manufacturers will use this unemployment they created to intimidate the workers in settling for a decrease in their standard of living. This contract fight will be one of the sharpest the UAW has ever faced. The workers must demand that the union close down all 3 companies in both countries if their demands are not met.

cold-blooded murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark by Chicago police made this clear enough.

It is useless to speak of "constitutional rights" and "democratic rights" in this situation. If the case of Bobby Seale is any guide--he was sentenced to four years in prison for rattling his chains and asking for his "constitutional" right to defend himself--those on trial can expect nothing but attacks from the courts.

This trial, and the whole attack on the Panther organization nationwide, is a warning to all militants, black and white, that the ruling class is as determined to smash the resistance of the American working class as it is to smash the Vietnamese revolution, and as ruthlessly.

Court injunctions, police strike-breaking and brutality, and outright murder are all used by the ruling class and their agents in a desperate battle against the rising tide of working class militancy. The attacks on the Panthers are part and parcel of the attacks now facing the working class.

ZIONIST GOVERNMENT ATTACKS WAGES OF ISRAELI WORKERS



AS ISRAELI TRCOPERS CARRY OUT NAZI-LIKE "AREA PUNISHMENT" (ABOVE) ISRAELI WORKERS (LEFT) COME UNDER NEW ATTACKS BY THE GOVERNMENT



was at first rejected by the Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor.

COMPULSORY

The "package deal" provides for all wage increases to be paid in government bonds, in what the government subtly calls "compulsory loans." When the labor movement refused to go along with the plan, the government threatened to introduce higher taxes to soak up the purchasing power created by any wage increases.

Workers will receive cash wage increases of 4% of the first \$200 of their monthly salaries to compensate for the 1969 rise in the cost of living. But the cash wage gains will be eaten up by higher premiums for social security, a rise in income taxes, and defense loans which had been voluntary, but are now compulsory.

As the crisis of world imperialism and Israeli capitalism deepens

it is more and more necessary for the government to go over into severe attacks on the Israeli working class. Signs of this were clearly visible with the breaking of teachers' and postmen's strikes in Israel last year "in the interests of national security." These new measures, which amount to wage freezing, are the newest attack on Israeli workers, and it is no coincidence that they come at the same time as the Israeli government carries out new attacks on the Arab masses.

The only solution for both the Arab and Israeli working class is unity in the face of these attacks. The struggle for socialism, for the defeat of both Zionism and the petty-bourgeois Arab leaders who hold back the revolutionary fight of the Arab workers and peasants, is the only answer in the Middle East.

U.S., FRANCE, NASSER PLOT AGAINST ARAB REVOLUTION

BY NEIL MARTIN

Premier Golda Meir revealed last week that Israel's current series of air raids over the interior of Egypt are intended to expose to the Arab masses Nasser's military weakness and Egypt's vulnerability to Israeli attack.

In an interview with James Reston of the New York Times, she also made it clear that the raids could be interpreted as a declaration of war on the Arab masses unless Nasser surrendered completely on the issue of Arab lands conquered by Israel during and after the 1967 war.

Nasser, conceding Israeli air superiority, immediately went to the Soviet Union and obtained the promise of increased aid unless the United States pulled back on its promise of jets for Israel.

Nixon rejected the Soviet threats and reaffirmed imperialist backing to Zionist aggression. The United States attached to its commitment of arms to Israel calls on the Soviet Union to discuss "peace" proposals for the Middle East. Through the Soviet Union the United States hopes to bring pressure on Nasser, who in turn can use his prestige and his contacts with the Palestine guerilla movement to disorient the growing movement for Arab liberation and socialism.

FRANCE

Adding to the present situation is the role of French imperialism. France has just sold Libya jet planes and wants to increase her influence in the area. Thus when Pompidou and Nixon get together next month, they will surely attempt to work out an integrated two prong attack against the Arab Revolution. While the United States and Israel attack head on, the French imperialism, with the tacit approval of Nixon, serves the role of bolstering the bourgeois nationalist regime of Nasser to try to head off the revolutionary movement of the masses. This plan is only possible because of the complete capitulation of the Soviet Union and the Stalinist bureaucracy to imperialism.

Also, to the extent that the Arab workers and liberation fighters tie themselves to the bourgeois nationalist governments, or to the Soviet bureaucracy, they strengthen the hands of Zionism and imperialism. An independent Marxist leadership must be built.

BY A BULLETIN CORRESPONDENT

In the midst of the sharpening conflict in the Middle East, with Israel not only still occupying Arab territory taken in the 1967 war, but launching vicious new attacks on the Arab masses, bombing the suburbs of Cairo without provocation, and airpirating equipment off the island of Shadwan, it is becoming clear that Israeli workers are also under attack by the Zionist government.

In the face of an increasing gap

in the balance of payments and the threat of inflation caused by financing the imperialist war against the Arab countries, the Israeli government has started new attacks on the wages and conditions of the Israeli workers.

Last week government, industry and labor signed a package deal to restrain wages for two years.

Businessmen in the Manufacturers Association put forward the plan, designed to cut domestic consumption and import spending, which

The Decline And Fall Of SDS At Penn State

BY PENN STATE STUDENTS

STATE COLLEGE, PA.-- The last six months have witnessed the decline and fall of SDS as an influential political force at Penn State University. Recognizing this, they have just issued a rather curious document entitled "Get Organized," containing proposals to remedy this situation.

As stated in this document, "These proposals stem from the conviction that the present crisis in SDS can be solved, and that organization and discipline are the principal ways of solving it." This is followed by a plan for reorganization, including breaking the membership up into "cells," forming a "central committee" with executive powers, and other organizational gimmicks.

However, the crisis in SDS is due, not to its loose structure, but to its politics and its perspective. By formulating its "politics" based on the individual presence of students

as students and their subjective hatred of the capitalist system, they proceed to pragmatically adapt their politics to any on-campus situation that arises. They conceive of their role as revolutionaries as one of "exposing" the evil nature of the capitalist system to middle class students, and thereby "raising their political consciousness," with the hope of mobilizing students as a revolutionary force for the overthrow of capitalism. Out of this perspective comes their current level of activity: petitioning the university for "increased admissions for black, third world, disadvantaged and working class youth, and the abolition of the quota system for women students."

IGNORE

Fortunately--for the ruling class, that is-- these "revolutionaries" are in no way connected with the struggles of the working class, the only force capable of actually eliminating the capitalist system and building a socialist society. In this period, where the crisis of capitalism is daily becoming more intense, and where the ruling class is preparing crushing blows against the working class that can only push the world closer to the brink of fascist barbarism and world war, SDS continues to totally ignore the reality of class struggle.

But this reality means that the working class will continue to struggle regardless of whether SDS chooses to recognize this struggle or not. It is in the resolution of this struggle between the working class and the capitalist class that our future, socialist or fascist, will be deter-

mined, and not in the resolution of ideas in the minds of middle class students. What is required in this period is a clear understanding of the crisis in capitalism and the objective tasks posed to the American working class. The attempts of Penn State SDS to solve its crisis through organizational maneuvers shows its absolute hostility to theory, to Marxism.

Furthermore, no amount of reorganization can change the basic fact that students, as students, do not constitute a revolutionary force. Only by joining the revolutionary party of the working class can students effectively and meaningfully participate in the building of socialism.

UNEMPLOYMENT UP TO 3.9% MARK

Unemployment rose to 3.9% last month according to the Labor Department. This was an increase of .5% over December. The rise has been described as "unusually large for a single month," and is just on its way up. The increase reflects the massive lay-offs underway in the auto industry and other industries.

The real fruits of Nixon's policies of making the American workers pay for inflation, for the war in Vietnam are now coming forth in full force. The call made by I.W. Abel a few months ago for a four day week at five days pay must be taken up by the ranks of the labor movement in answer to the government's and the employer's push for further cutbacks in jobs.

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HOW BUREAUCRATS PUSHED GE SELL OUT

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LYNN, MASS.-- The resounding success (a vote of about two to one) of the IUE leadership's contract proposal will very soon be seen as a resounding sell-out of the G.E. strike and a setback for the working class as a whole. The



COPS TRY TO HOLD BACK GE STRIKERS AT LYNN, MASS. PLANT

outcome of the strike vote was of great importance to the whole union across the nation, as the Local, 201 in Lynn, is the second largest in the country. Its leaders, despite all sorts of militant talk, have, predictably, sold their union down the river to Richard Nixon and all the capitalist power he represents.

These "leaders" played their cards just as they wanted--Peter DiCicco, the local's business agent, knew the Lynn strikers were a militant crew, so he talked tough. During the final negotiations, he kept in close touch with the chief negotiator for the union, John Shambo, and

he knew every word of that contract, and just exactly the infinitesimal differences between this contract and G.E.'s insulting proposal last fall. In a leaflet passed out to strikers just before the day of voting, he watered down his militancy a bit: "On the surface at this time, it would appear that

the offer does not fully meet the needs of G.E. workers and fails to meet the goals they had set." It was sure that if things weren't right on the surface, these "leaders" would dig down and find some redeeming factor hidden deep beneath the immediately visible surface. They dug deep, all right. Despite all sorts of talk at the meeting about not selling anything to the members and relying only on "the facts," the union leadership clearly supported the proposal and said so at every turn.

The slight improvements in the new contract that DiCicco characterized as "substantial" were mostly in the realm of small changes in health insurance, death-in-the-family insurance and vacations. He excused the pitiful cost-of-living clause on the grounds that it was parallel to those in the auto industry, and he said it was a "full cost-of-living clause with a cap on it." He meant a LD. It allows full cost-of-living increases--up to 8¢ an hour, which is just exactly the rise in the cost-of-living index for the Boston area, including Lynn, for this past year. G.E. workers won't see a penny of this escalator clause, the same way the auto workers aren't.

But the most outrageous thing about this contract is that the average wage increase is only ONE PENNY AND A HALF more than G.E.'s original proposal. This miserable sum undermines completely any gains from an escalator clause, and it will surely stand as a supreme example of complete sellout.

"BREAKTHROUGHS"

DiCicco tried to counter this with talk of a series of "breakthroughs," namely five-week vacations for persons with thirty years with the union, and effective date changes, making the effective date for sick pay earlier, and the effective date for rotten holiday schedules earlier. And on top of all this, the contract is on paper 10 months longer than the original G.E. offer, but in reality, three months of strike make this a forty-three month contract.

In a full page ad in the New York Times following the announcement of ratification nationally, G.E. also hails the "breakthroughs and innovations" in the contract which help make it a settlement that "is fair to all concerned." In the ad, G.E. makes it quite clear that they are going to try to squeeze out of the workers every penny of what little they granted by finding "ways to achieve significant increases in productivity." This so-called victory over G.E. that the labor bureaucrats, the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party talk about is really the green light for G.E. to go ahead with productivity increases involving more speed up and loss of jobs through automation. Rank and file workers have been under tremendous pressure during the fourteen weeks of the strike. They have not been eligible for unemployment pay as the strikers in New York have been; winter weather and skyrocketing prices have made living on \$20 a week strike pay nearly impossible, and then, at the last minute, as a prelude to the voting, the strike paychecks were "temporarily" suspended--until the voting was over. Those paychecks could have been held back indefinitely by the union "leaders" until the workers were literally starved into a settlement. As it was, that was not needed. All these factors contributed to the defeat of the strike in Local 201 precisely because the leaders failed to take up the struggle

and carry this fight through to the end, to victory. Many of the most militant strikers were feeling defeat in the days before the meeting. One striker, when asked what he thought were the chances of the workers being back to work soon, answered, "ZERO. Let me put it this way. If you were fourteen weeks out at sea, and your boat sank, and you'd been swimming for three days, would you quit now?"

Well, it is clear that the IUE "leaders" won't give any help. Their ties with the ruling class keep them from making any move that would endanger their positions, and that includes breaking a strike when it threatens to turn into a militant class action of the whole working class of the United States.

CONTRACT FIGHT AT THERMO-KING

BY A STEELWORKER 2175 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS--The Negotiating Committee of Steelworkers Local 2175 presented a series of demands to the February 8th meeting for the upcoming contract with the Thermo-King (Westinghouse) plant in Bloomington.

Among others, the proposals that were passed included:

A 75¢ an hour hike for each year of the contract;

A complete cost of living clause;

A 35 hour week with 40 hours pay;

Sick leave pay beginning with the first day sick;

No compulsory overtime.

What is now essential is that the entire membership of Local 2175 be mobilized for an all-out fight to win these demands. Westinghouse must be made to understand that they are not just dealing with a half-dozen Negotiating Committee members, but that they are also dealing with a plant of 900 workers ready to fight for decent living standards.

The demand for 75¢ an hour each year and the full cost of living clause represents a real declaration of war on Nixon's plans to ram the economic crisis down the throats of the workers.

This program put forward by the Negotiating Committee resembles, in many respects, the program of the Dollar an Hour Caucus, and shows that this caucus was not wrong in coming out for a big wage hike and a full cost of living clause. This group will give full support to the Negotiating Committee's demands, but warns that only with the full mobilization of the union's ranks can these demands be won.

Workers League

CALIFORNIA: San Francisco: 1333A Stevenson St. Phone: 626-7019

Los Angeles: 11260 Missouri Ave. No. 1. Phone: 473-0464

CONNECTICUT: P.O. Box 162 Shelton, Conn. 06484

ILLINOIS: Chicago: Box 6044, Main P.O.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: P.O. Box 1057, Southfield, Mich. 48075

Oakland University: Phone: 377-2000, Ext. 3034 863-7951

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: P.O. Box 14002 Univ. Sta. Phone: 336-4700

MISSOURI: St. Louis: Phone: 863-7951 P.O. Box 3174, St. Louis, Mo. 63130

NEW YORK: Brooklyn: Phone: 624-7179 Manhattan: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St. NYC. Phone: 254-7120

Columbia: Phone: 866-6384

Cornell: Ed Smith, Rm. 1305, Class of 1917 Hall. Phone: 256-1377

Stony Brook: Phone: 246-5493

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: G.P.O. Box 7714

State College: 718 W. College Ave. Phone: 237-0739

CANADA: Toronto: P.O. Box 5758, Postal Station A

Montreal: Phone: 935-5373

WISCONSIN: Madison: Phone: 257-7559

SSEU Leaders Use Referendum As Opening For Job Cutbacks

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

The so called "strike referendum" conducted Feb. 9 in the SSEU-Local 371 was easily the biggest fraud yet put over on the ranks by the Morgenstern leadership.

By steadfastly refusing to carry out the mandate of the Dec. 15th membership meeting which called for all out efforts to prepare the union for a strike, the Morgenstern leadership sought to force the ranks into a position where they would have no choice but to accept the offer cooked up between Morgenstern and the City no matter how rotten.

In spite of this a solid 20% of the ranks 836 to 3231 (with 95% of the vote in) supported the rejection campaign spearheaded by the SSEU Committee for New Leadership, voting to reject the infamous \$720 Morgenstern offer, and to strike.

The alternative to acceptance on the ballot "reject-strike" was consciously designed by the leadership to stampede the ranks into acceptance by suggesting that rejection meant immediate strike under conditions where no strike preparation had been undertaken. This ploy, however, backfired on the leadership when less than 50% of the ranks even cast a ballot so disgusted were they with the rotten choice being offered them. Dozens more expressed their disgust in remarks written across the face of their ballots.

FRONT PAGE

The real meaning of the whole referendum was however driven home the sharpest on the front page of the New York Times the Monday morning after the vote. Here it was revealed that, according to Dept. of Social Services Commissioner Jack Goldberg some \$13.5 million had been saved through the elimination of 2,200 caseworker jobs over the

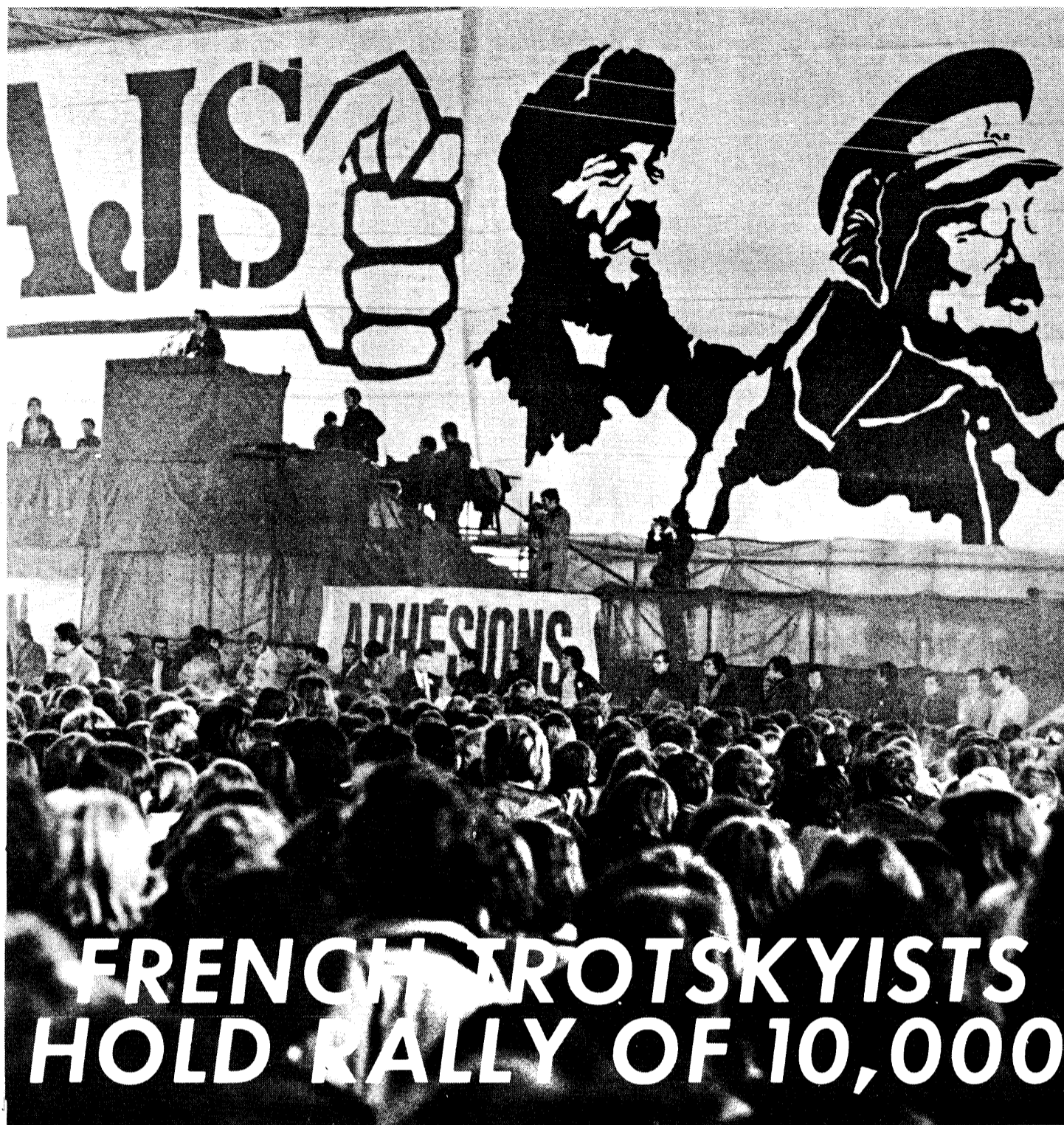
past year. Furthermore, it was announced that now the City's job cutting reorganization scheme which has been thus far introduced only partially is to be introduced in full. The clear implication from Goldberg's statistics was that caseworkers once numbering over 6,000 are likely to be whittled to 600 or less in the next 12 to 25 months. This is to be combined with mass transfers of staff into other bureaus and agencies combined with the farming out of such functions as Medicaid to private agencies, all aimed at cutting new thousands off the City payroll.

What was made crystal clear is neither the New York Times nor Jack Goldberg suffer from any of the illusions of the Morgenstern leadership that there is more to reorganization than job cuts and governmental economy.

But what was made clearest of all was that Morgenstern had deliberately used the strike referendum initiated by the ranks for the purpose of fighting reorganization as a weapon to clear the way for the introduction of the second phase of the Goldberg reorganization, knowing full well that resistance to the scheme could be expected every step of the way.

The task posed to the SSEU ranks now is to show Morgenstern just how worthless the mandate he thinks he got for acceptance last Friday really is by preparing a new round of struggle against the introduction of Goldberg's scheme.

At the very center of this task now is the fight to throw out the Morgenstern leadership in the upcoming officer elections the last payday in April. In both of these battles the SSEU-CNL who led the fight for rejection in the referendum intends to play a leading role.



FRENCH TROTSKYISTS HOLD RALLY OF 10,000

BY A BULLETIN CORRESPONDENT

LE BOURGET, FRANCE-- Under huge portraits of Lenin and Trotsky and with red flags being whipped by the wind, some 10,000 young workers, students and unemployed youth attended the February 1st youth rally of the Alliance of Youth for Socialism (AJS). It represented the largest Trotskyist gathering in modern history and, together with the publication of the daily Workers Press in England, marked a whole new stage in the development of the European and world working class.

The rally took place in three large hangars at the airport here. The central hangar was dominated by a portrait of Lenin and Trotsky some five stories high produced by art students affiliated with the AJS. In front of the hangar large red streamers flapped in the wind. But also in front, at a discreet distance and hidden from view, were several thousand armed CRS and police seated in buses awaiting any possible excuse to intervene. Such is the reality of France today where the government, learning from May-June 1968, has tremendously increased the police force to the largest per capita in the world.

POLITICAL THEMES

In the morning delegations arrived by bus from throughout the Paris region and even even the farthest province of France. Each delegation would enter the hall together with its own banner, chanting or singing the Internationale. Particularly important were the number of factory delegations such as Renault.

The central political themes of the rally were the fight back of French youth against the increasing attacks from the Gaullist government and from the bourgeoisie directly. This was linked to the whole struggle to build the Fourth International in all countries to prepare for the socialist revolution.

Packed into a huge exhibition hall at Le Bourget airport outside Paris, the audience listened attentively when Charles Berg, national secretary of the AJS, told them in his opening report never to forget the lessons of the 1968 General Strike.

"We were ten million workers, students, teachers," he said. "We had the strength...the state was vacillating, we could see its disintegration...What was lacking was the program and organization of a revolutionary party."

But French working class youth would not forget this lesson, he went on: it had marked a generation of fighters. Youth, in the front ranks of struggle against capitalism, had to arm themselves with theory and organization to build a revolutionary youth international.

CHARTER OF DEFENSE

Delegations from all over France attended the Assembly to draw up a Charter of Defense and Demands for working class youth in answer to the Gaullist government's infamous "White Book" on youth, which painted a glowing picture of life in France under capitalism.

Each delegation submitted its own demands and proposals for this Charter, a first step towards organizing youth to fight alongside the working class for socialism.

Stephane Just of the Trotskyist Organization for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International told the youth that "capitalist society is condemned to death and we will be its gravediggers...With the reconstruction of the Fourth International," he affirmed, "the proletariat in this country will take the power... the world proletariat will take power."

Speakers from every section of French youth described the brutal cut-backs and savage repression directed at youth by a desperate and rotten French bourgeoisie.

An engineer from Nord-Aviation described the misery of automation under capitalism which can only mean unemployment, down-grading and the destruction of skills.

Students, teachers and apprentices in technical colleges described the bourgeoisie's attempts to prevent working class youth from getting any kind of education--whether it is job-training, grammar school education or university education.

Nine out of ten young workers get no training at the present and even more cut-backs are planned. One youth in four is unemployed and this figure will grow.

But the working class is fighting back.

"The General Strike opened a new wave of working class struggle all over Europe," Pierre Levasseur of the Workers' Alliance told the meeting. The decisive rejection on January 14th by the gas and electricity workers of the productivity deal accepted by the union leadership "shows that hundreds of union cadres are refusing their leadership's policies."

Particularly significant was the tremendous enthusiastic response of the audience to every political re-

ference to internationalism and the construction of the Fourth International. Time and again the vast audience broke out into chants of "Vive Lenin, Vive Trotsky" or "Vive la Quatrieme Internationale" with fists clenched and everyone standing. Also impressive was the discipline and organization of the rally, so different from the anarchistic middle class functioning of the revisionist groups during May-June.

Also important was the number of Communist Party, Young Communist League and CGT members present at the conference.

This rally of 10,000 youth must be seen as a complete confirmation of the long, principled struggle of the French Trotskyists and of the International Committee of the Fourth International for the perspective of the Transitional Program. Central to preparing for this event has been the struggle against Fabloite revisionism which has sought and still seeks to liquidate the party and absorb itself completely in middle class trends, abandoning the Marxist method and thus the program itself.

PABLO

The French Trotskyist movement went through a number of difficult years in the 1950s following its expulsion in 1952 by Michel Pablo. It was this principled fight with the Fabloites as part of the International Committee which lay behind this rally and which now makes it possible for the Fourth International to grow not only in France and England but throughout Europe and in the United States and the colonial countries.

The challenge before the French Trotskyists is very great. The French Communist Party, though in crisis, still has tremendous weight in the French working class, and, as May-June showed, is willing to use this weight to maintain the capitalist order. The bourgeoisie had learned from May-June and is itself preparing not for another general strike but for civil war.

French capitalism must seek for a period to rule in Bonapartist fashion with one foot on the French Communist Party and the other on the police and the fascists. The CP will be used to try to contain and demoralize the workers preparing for the time when it will be possible, the capitalists hope, to go over to open warfare against the workers, as in Spain in the 1930s.

The fighting capacity and revolutionary spirit of the French workers, particularly the youth, which brought the whole country to within an inch of workers power in May-June 1968, is now moving forward again as expressed in this rally.

The real alternatives were there at Le Bourget airport: the Trotskyists inside with their banners, their discipline, their program, and the police outside in their vans with their clubs, clubs which will come down on the heads of all French workers if the Trotskyists do not succeed in winning the leadership of the French working class from the Communist Party.

But, as emphasized time and again from the platform and throughout the hall, the French Trotskyists will succeed, and succeed because they are part of the building of the Fourth International.

YOUTH CONFERENCE

The rally was viewed as a step toward the holding of a revolutionary youth conference later this year. The Workers' League extended its greetings to the rally and declares its intention to deepen its own work in the United States in preparation for participation in this critically important conference.