

Bulletin

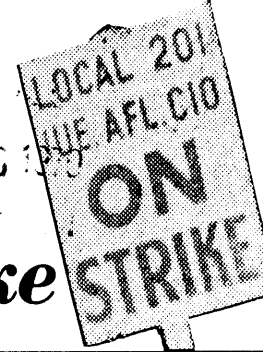
weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 6, NO. 20-134

FEBRUARY 23, 1970

TEN CENTS

*the revisionists
and
the
g.e. strike*



as unemployment soars

OPEN FIGHT NOW FOR A 4 DAY WEEK-5 DAYS PAY

BY THE EDITOR

While the city of Detroit was taking on the appearance of a ghost town with thousands of workers thrown off their jobs by the giant auto companies, Nixon's chief economic trouble shooter, Paul McCracken, admitted that thousands more men and women will be joining their fellow workers on the unemployment line. McCracken testified this week before the Congressional Joint Economic Committee that the government expected the average rate of unemployment to be "in the zone" of

4.3%. George Meany, however, speaking before an AFL-CIO conference held in Bal Harbor, Florida, was more to the point when he warned that unemployment could very well soar to 6%.

As Meany put it, Nixon was "in error" when he assured labor a year ago that the Administration could curb inflation without jeopardizing jobs. McCracken's revelations now can only serve as a very conservative estimate of the impact of Nixon's recessionary policies on American workers in 1970. In Jan-

uary alone unemployment rose from 3.5% to 3.9%. The truth of the matter is that Nixon's anti-inflationary drive has centered on making the working class pay for the inflation caused by the crisis in the capitalist system through loss of jobs. While the workers are made to suffer with unemployment and inflation, the government has done absolutely nothing to stop the rising prices.

LINES

In Detroit lines stretch out along

(continued on page 10)

SMC RETREATS FROM VIETNAM STRUGGLE

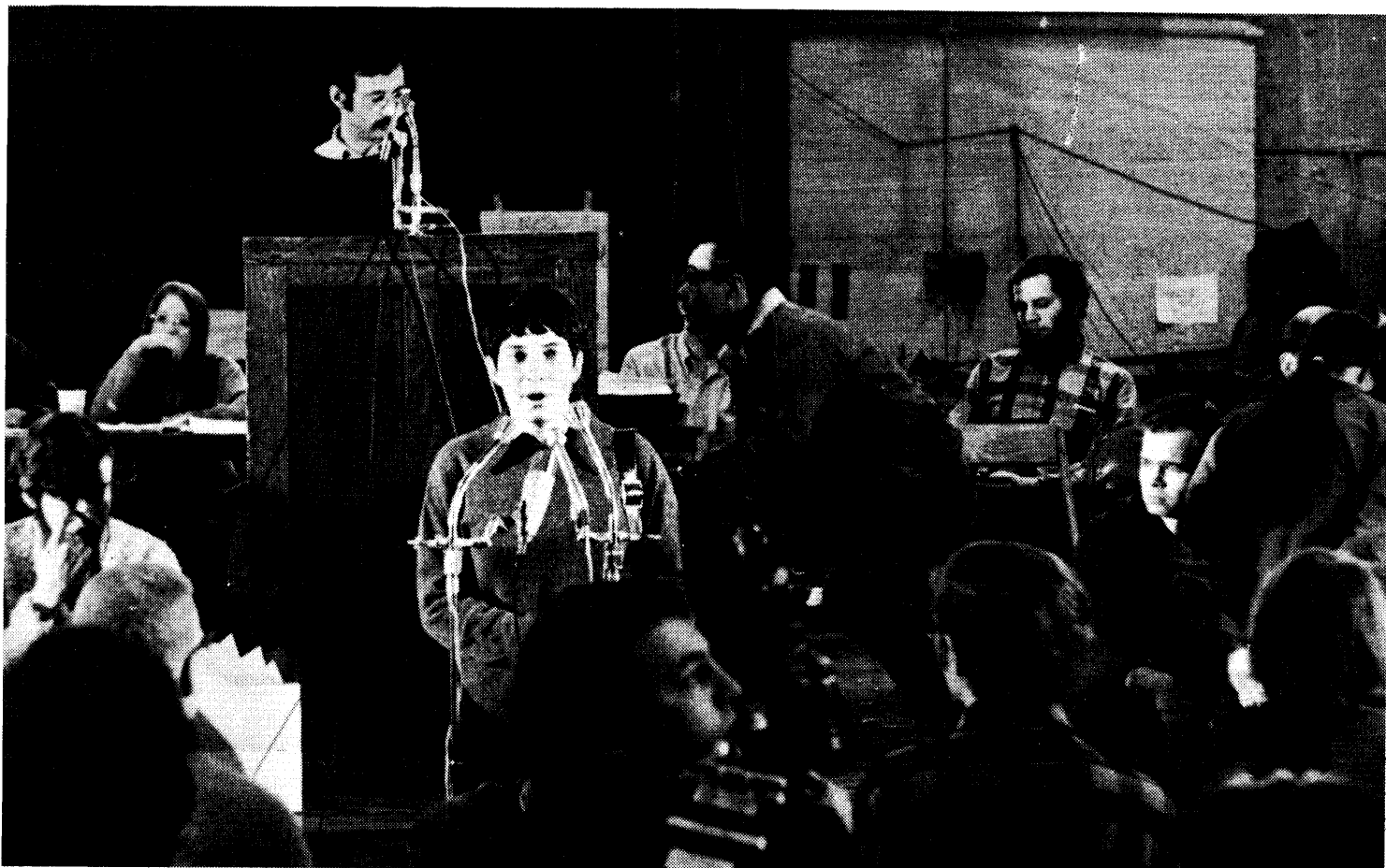
YSA LEADS SMC RETREAT

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

CLEVELAND, OHIO, Feb. 15--The Student Mobilization Committee's National Anti-War Conference was held here this weekend, and it was clear from the participation of 3,000 students, both from SMC and from other political tendencies, that masses of students are looking for a way to deepen the fight against the Vietnam war, and are looking to the SMC as an arena in which to struggle for socialist policies to end the war.

At the same time it was crystal clear that the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, who politically dominate the SMC, pulled back from deepening the fight against the war, and took a decisive step toward the politics of Stalinism.

As Nixon is stepping up the war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, and at the same time is trying to de-fuse and diffuse Vietnam as an "issue," the doves and the liberals are cooperating. In the Democrats' answer to Nixon's State of the Union Address, McGovern and his fellow liberals did not even MENTION Vietnam. The Stalinists, in particular the Communist Party, are trying to use the "multi-issue" and "local action" approach to divide and diffuse the movement against the war and channel it into liberal Democratic and Republican circles in time



CAROL LIPMAN, YSA-SMC, PRESENTS PROPOSAL FOR SMC ACTIONS, A RETREAT FROM NOV. 15TH

for the 1970 elections.

The class links between the liberal bourgeoisie, the Stalinists and the

Pabloites of the SWP were absolutely clear at the SMC conference. Not only did the YSA-dominated SMC refuse to take up the question of mobilizing the working class around Vietnam as a class issue, but they pulled away from making the question of Vietnam itself the central issue.

conception that "The People"--a classless abstraction that means, in practice, the middle class--can reform capitalism, pressure it to stop being imperialist and "immoral."

LIBERAL

The liberal note was sounded even louder, when early in the Saturday session, a fascist who had been handing out anti-communist leaflets approached the microphone and made the proposal that the conference call for self-determination for South Vietnam and unanimously support President Nixon's program for Vietnam. As the conference broke out into boos, hissing and shouts of "Throw the fascist out," the SMC-YSA chairman called for quiet and announced that "he has a right to his opinion." The fascist went back to handing out his anti-communist leaflets, and the conference went on.

The middle class nature of the SMC, and the Stalinist politics of the popular front which dominate the SMC through the YSA were exposed in the course of the convention. Peter Camejo of the SWP made this clear in several demagogic speeches. Using the cover of the so-called "United Front," he espoused the politics of the popular front, the classic Stalinist formula of a bloc of all classes, for the defeat of the working class. Camejo only revealed in his remarks how close the SWP has moved to Stalinism. The "United Front" as developed by Lenin and Trotsky was a unity of mass working class parties in common action AGAINST the capitalist class in order for the revolutionary party to expose the reformist leaders within the working class, to break the ranks from these leaders, and to win them to the revolutionary party.

In answer to the Workers League's call for the mobilization of the working class against the war on a class basis, Camejo answered that the working class could be partially mobilized against the war on a moral basis. "They know the war is wrong," said Camejo and can be drawn into the anti-war movement. He was completely opposed to the Marxist conception put forward in the Workers League motion, that the working class must be the center of any movement against the war because it is the only class force capable of stopping imperialist war, capable of smashing

what the editors think...

The development of the opposition coalition around RYM II at the recent SMC conference represents a serious danger to the development of the working class movement. From the opening of the conference to its conclusion these forces conducted an organizational and procedural war against the controlling YSA leadership of SMC. Not far beneath the surface, and in some cases openly expressed on the floor, was anti-Trotskyism which has its origins in the Stalinist movement.

The situation became so blatant that leading spokesmen of the RYM coalition were forced to disassociate themselves at the end of the conference from these antics. But the real question is that the coalition itself was an unprincipled combination against the YSA and thus of necessity Stalinism had to be the political cement which held together the disparate elements.

The Workers League delegation had absolutely nothing to do with this opposition and refrained entirely from participating in these organizational disputes, seeking at all times political discussion and political clarity on the basis of fundamental working class principles.

United into a common bloc were RYM II, the Radical Independent Caucus, the Community Organizing Caucus, the Yuppies and assorted anarchists, and Youth Against War and Fascism. Supporting this bloc was the Communist Party and the liberals from the New Mobe and Moratorium Committees.

The unprincipled character of this formation could be seen in two incidents. First, while RYM II and the Radical Caucus leaders spoke of anti-imperialism and correctly accused the YSA of conciliating with the liberals and avoiding a clear defeatist line on Vietnam, these groups were in a common bloc themselves with a section of liberals and the Communist Party, which openly supports liberal politicians.

Secondly the leading spokesman for the Radical Caucus correctly pointed

out that the YSA's proposal for mass, multi-class demonstrations was in line with the kind of popular front policies of the Communist Party in the 1930s which disarmed the working class. This was the only mention of Stalinism, outside of the Workers League spokesman. At the same time, the Radical Caucus maintained a bloc with the Communist Party against the YSA and around the CP's line of diffused localized activities.

The SDS Labor and IS groups, while not participating in the RYM bloc, aided it by avoiding the question of a mass struggle today against the war, substituting liberal proposals to aid the capitalists in restructuring the economy should the war be ended. They never explained exactly how the war was to end. Their concern was not with the bloody war against the Vietnamese but with the problems the ending of this war would pose to the American bourgeoisie.

The Workers League in no sense sees any of these tendencies as being to the "left" of the YSA and will under no circumstances bloc with them or give them an inch. We insist that the struggle against the Vietnam war must be kept central and requires massive independent demonstrations and actions. Precisely from this perspective we fought against the YSA's attempt to tail after the New Mobe and Moratorium Committees, retreating from any more mass Washington marches, and at the same time we posed that the struggle for such mass demonstration be taken into the American labor movement around a series of demands which pose the struggle against the war in class terms.

The Workers League will support and participate in the planned Vietnam activities of the week of April 13-18, fighting to bring the labor movement into these demonstrations, fighting to center the demonstrations on class demands, and fighting to go from April 13-18 forward to a mass labor march on Washington.

FROM VIETNAM STRUGGLE



PAT CONNOLLY OF WORKERS LEAGUE CALLS ON SMC TO TURN TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT

capitalism.

WORKERS LEAGUE

Pat Connolly raised the Workers League proposal on the floor, stating that the call for many demonstrations in many cities, around many issues put forward by Carol Lipman was a political retreat before Stalinism. When she said that a massive labor demonstration was the only way

to stop the war and that a "victory for the NLF is a victory for the American working class, a victory for the American working class is a victory for the NLF," the microphone was cut off. As the speaker protested and demanded the right to speak, the mike was turned on again with the explanation by the YSA chairman that it was "an accident." When the Workers League spokesman asked

"What is this, the Democratic National Convention?", the conference participants broke out into cheers and shouts.

In defending the SWP-YSA-SMC proposal put forward by Carol Lipman, Camejo departed even further from Marxism, saying that the single issue anti-war movement as carried out by the SMC in the past had worked, and therefore it should be continued.

This kind of blatant, anti-Marxist pragmatism has led directly into capitulation to Stalinism.

NLF

In a demagogic appeal to the convention, Camejo kept repeating: "The NLF sends us telegrams saying that mass mobilizations like we've held have helped the NLF." This appeal was made, of course, in conscious opposition to the Trotskyist understanding that Stalinism, flowing from its conception of socialism in one country, has always tried to defend the workers states by a policy of the popular front, that is, a bloc of all classes including the liberal bourgeoisie and the working class, on the basis of a reformist program. This policy, which Trotsky fought against to his death, and which led to the defeat of the working class in Spain and France in the 1930's, is the policy of the SMC. The YSA-SWP in the leadership of the SMC refuse to defend the Vietnamese Revolution by mobilizing the working class in the U.S. against imperialism. They rely instead on popular front formations with reformist programs to pressure the bourgeoisie into deals.

Trotskyists must fight for the position that the only way to defend the Vietnamese Revolution against American imperialism is by mobilizing the American working class, on a class basis, against capitalism and imperialist war.

It is this Marxist position that the SWP-YSA have retreated from completely. Their popular front formation embodied in the SMC is a complete capitulation to Stalinism.

YSA OPPOSES CLASS FIGHT AT GI WORKSHOP

BY PAT CONNOLLY

CLEVELAND-- The tremendous hatred that American GIs have for the Vietnam War is expressed over and over again both in Vietnam and in the U.S. Active duty combat infantrymen wore black armbands protesting against the war as they patrolled in Vietnam on Moratorium Day. Soldiers are calling for a war crimes trial of the brass involved in Song My and similar incidents. Thousands of U.S. soldiers are in military stockades and federal prisons for fighting back against the war. Un-counted thousands more--the government estimates are around 50,000--have deserted, some to fight for the Viet Cong.

At the Student Mobilization Committee Anti-War Conference held here, a workshop was held on the struggle of GIs against the war. About 50 GIs were present at the workshop session.

The SMC supports the slogans raised by the SWP-YSA of "Free Speech for GIs" and "Bring All the GIs Home Now." The SWP-YSA maintains the fight against the war within the army on a legal basis, fighting for the GI's legal, democratic, constitutional rights of free speech and free assembly.

A Workers League representative spoke at the workshop, making the point that to keep the fight within the army simply on a democratic, constitutional level would lead to defeat, both for the GIs and for a socialist struggle to end the war. The case of Bobby Seale made it clear that so-called "constitutional rights" can be suspended any time by those in power. Seale was sentenced to four years in prison just for demanding his constitutional right to defend himself in court.

GIs have to go beyond the fight for democratic rights, to fight against the war on a class basis, as a class issue. They can do this without being victimized by the Army brass only if there is a fight to build a powerful working class movement against the war outside the army as well.

The Workers League moved that the workshop session bring back to the conference session the demand that the SMC call upon the labor movement to hold a mass demonstration against the war, on working class demands, and that the fight against the war within the army be taken up on a class basis.

CLASS

Several GIs present spoke for this motion, saying that most soldiers were from the working class and would face the same conditions as other workers when they get out of the army. One soldier from the American Serviceman's Union spoke for the motion in a syndicalist way, pointing out that GIs have very low wages, and even when not in combat, bad working conditions. Another GI spoke up against keeping the fight only on the democratic level, saying that it prevents the radicalization of GIs, and keeps the struggle against the war divided and isolated.

At this point, Allen Myers, a former GI, and a member of the YSA said that to talk about socialism and the working class to GIs was "a lot of revolutionary rhetoric." The chairman of the session, also a YSA sympathizer, said that you have to keep it on the legal level because you scare off the GIs if you talk about socialism. Another YSAer, Joe Miles, spoke against organizing

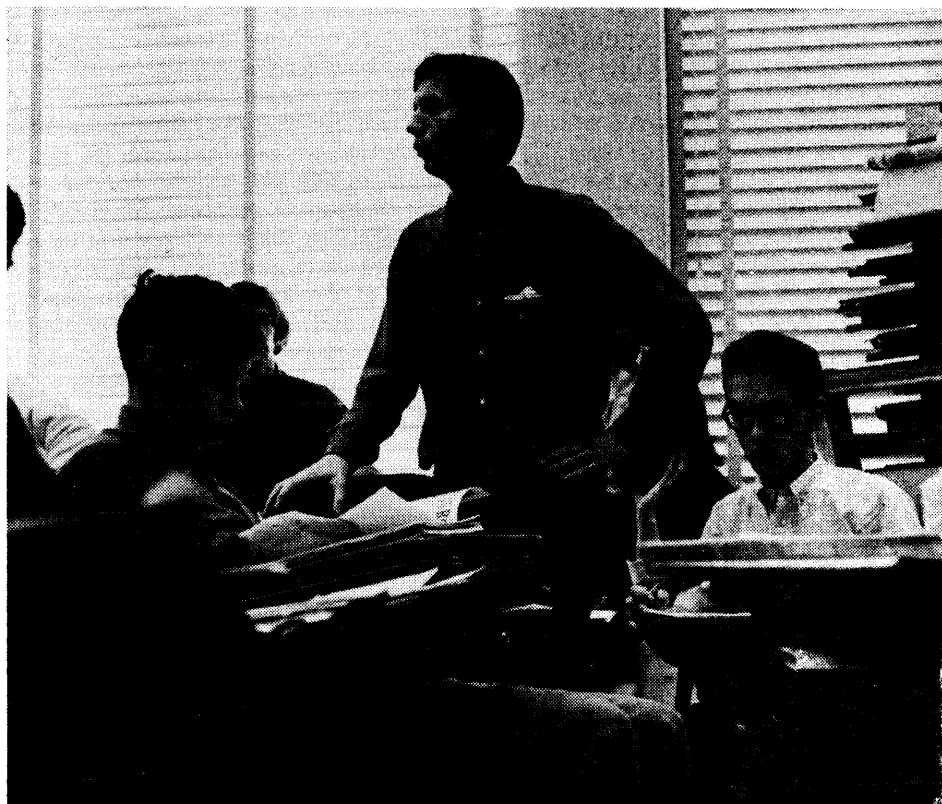
on a class basis, saying that GIs should fight and win their democratic rights of free speech, and that to talk about working class demands in the army was "for lifers not GIs."

VOTE

Despite all of these attempts to hold back the fight within the army, to keep it separate from the most powerful force that can fight against the war, the working class, when the Workers League proposal came to a vote in the workshop, it won 15 votes, many of them from active duty GIs.

The fight within the army cannot be separated from the necessity to make the working class the center of the fight against imperialist war.

It is no coincidence that the soldiers against the war are in a sense the most powerful section of the anti-war movement at this time. It is because they are from the working class that they are in the army, and the life or death struggle they fight against the war is the same life or death struggle that faces the working class as a whole, confronted with imperialism.



EX GI'S JOE COLE (STANDING) AND ALLEN MYERS (RIGHT) AT SMC GI WORKSHOP

LEGAL TERROR IN CHICAGO TRIAL AIMED AT ALL WORKERS



WILLIAM M. KUNSTLER

The action taken by Judge Julius Hoffman on Feb. 15th against the defense lawyers in the so-called "Conspiracy Nine Trial" in Chicago is dangerous evidence of the way in which the Nixon Administration is prepared to use the legal system to carry out Agnew's and Mitchell's threats against militants in the "black liberation," student, and anti-war movements.

The nine defendants were arrested during the demonstration at the Demo-

cratic Convention in Chicago and charged with "conspiracy to riot." William Kunstler one of the lawyers was charged with 24 counts of contempt and sentenced to 4 years and 13 days in prison. Leonard Weinglass, the second lawyer, was charged with 14 counts of contempt and sentenced to one year, 8 months and 3 days in prison. The charges against the two lawyers followed by a day the sentencing of four defendants for contempt, and by over a month the chaining of defendant Bobby Seale, to the witness chair. Kunstler's four years sentence is without precedent.

In answering Hoffman, Kunstler said that in his 22 years of experience in the U.S. courts, "I have never once been disciplined by any judge--Federal or state--although a large part of my practice for the last decade has taken place in hostile Southern courts where I was representing black and white clients in highly controversial civil rights cases."

PRECEDENT

It is not accidental that the closest precedent to these attacks is the contempt sentences given to three lawyers who defended Communist Party members tried under the Smith

Act in 1952. Hoffman's rulings are every bit a part of the witchhunt now under way by the legal arm of the Nixon Administration, the "Justice Department." Attorney General Mitchell is in the process of attempting to subpoena all the information that the capitalist press has on organizations involved in working class, student, and minorities struggles.

After Chicago mere should be no doubt about whose "justice" is being meted out. This "justice" is in reality the embodiment of the kind of legal terror which the capitalist class is prepared to use against the blacks, the students, and the militants in the trade unions.

The Nixon Administration is sharpening up its "arsenal of weapons." Hoffman in Chicago is setting the precedent for the implementation of the new strike-breaking laws Nixon and Congress are preparing for the trade unions. The attack on the Panthers and militants in Chicago is attack on the working class as a whole. Their defense and support must be taken up in full today by the labor movement. The resolution passed by delegates of the Guild Division of the New York Local of 1199 for a demonstration in support of the Panthers shows the way forward in this fight.

AGNEW SPEAKS FOR RACISM

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

Secretary of State Rogers, who is currently touring Africa, declared in Zambia last Sunday: "We deplore governments based on racial discrimination anywhere in the world, even though we do not believe that violence is the answer." This statement was exposed as the sheer demagoguery of U.S. imperialism seeking to impose a very heavy racist foot on the peoples of Africa by the statement of the Nixon Administration at home. It was Mr. Agnew himself who, speaking to a Republican dinner on the anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birthday in Chicago, declared in essence that what he deplored was a system based on racial equality.

Agnew used the quota system policies now being implemented at many universities, admitting a certain number of minority students, to launch an attack on "open admissions", in fact a far broader policy. The Vice President denounced those who advocated "open admissions" as "supercilious sophisticates." Agnew's remarks mean clearly that the capitalist system of which he is the spokesman, cannot provide quality education for everyone and that racial discrimination, the exclusion of minorities, must be maintained to protect and conceal the bankruptcy of this system.

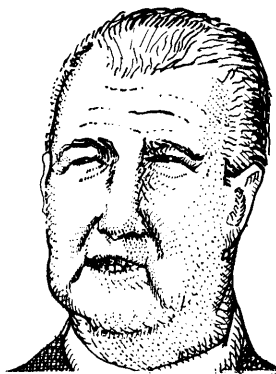
It was appropriate that Agnew should make this speech in the context of the Civil War. While the Civil War marked the end of slavery, racism, the ideology used to justify slavery, was incorporated into the developing capitalist system in order to maintain the basic relationship in bourgeois society, the oppression of one class by another. Racism has been an essential tool of the capitalist class to keep the working class divided and to justify its inability to develop a system capable of meeting the needs of the masses of people.

It was also fitting that Mr. Agnew should make his speech in Chicago where it has been made clear, contrary to Rogers' statements, that not only does this government use racism, but it enforces it with violence--with the murder of black militants if necessary.

STENNIS

Nixon gave his support to Agnew's position with his "hinted" support of the Stennis amendment, which is designed to prevent the full implementation of the Supreme Court's desegregation order. While the Court's order outlaws segregation based on law, as exists in the South, it says nothing about segregation implemented de facto through the maintenance of the ghetto and segregated housing plans. The meaning of the Stennis (a Democrat from Mississippi) amendment is that the South be allowed to maintain segregation on the basis that it is maintained in the North.

A White House aide, in describing Nixon's position, put it this way: "if de jure segregation is illegal in the South, then it should be illegal in the North; and if de facto segregation is legal in the North, it should be legal in the South." Mr. Ziegler, Nixon's spokesman, added that Nixon opposed the busing of students to enforce integration and that Nixon held that "we should do everything to preserve the neighborhood school system to allow children to go to the closest school in



their neighborhood." So the content of Nixon's talk of "quality education" is a defense of the school system as it presently exists, the maintenance of the ghetto schools and the ghetto. Nixon's remarks are an apology for the most blatant system of racial divisions that exist in the South. The recent statements of the administration go hand in hand with Nixon's nomination of Carswell, an open racist, for the Supreme Court.

It is not just a question of Nixon and Agnew trying to court the favor of the South for the next elections, but the open racist ideology of the Southern bourgeoisie now becomes an essential element of the ruling class policy to carry out the attacks on the working class as a whole.

DESTROY

Any concessions whatsoever within the working class and particularly within the trade unions to the racist demagoguery and racism of the rulers only paves the way for the further division of the working class required by capitalism to destroy the fighting power of the working class and its organizations. Black nationalism represents a capitulation to racism, in accepting and perpetuating the divisions which have been created and are being advanced today by the ruling class.

Racism is an inherent and necessary component of capitalist rule. Agnew has made that clear enough. There is no such thing as a non-racist capitalism. The fight against racism and the fight to unite the working class must be an essential part of the fight to destroy capitalist rule and to build a socialist society.

san francisco welfare workers face job-cutting attack by alioto

BY A WELFARE WORKER

SAN FRANCISCO-- Conversion has come to welfare in San Francisco. 183 social workers are being demoted to "eligibility worker," a clerical function. They will receive the same pay as they did when they were social workers, though the administration admits there is a "possibility" that after a year their pay will be cut.

The 75 remaining social workers in the AFDC program have been told their jobs will consist mostly of verifying clients' "special needs," which are rapidly being cut out. Clerks will now do the social workers jobs...at less pay.

The consciousness of most workers in Social Services lags far behind the real crisis within the system as a whole. The regular AFL-CIO union, Local 400, in the past contributed to all incumbent politicians when they ran for re-election and sent union representatives to all the campaign dinners. Another union, the SSEU, was formed as a split off from Local 400 three and a half years ago. It holds that the rank and file can form their own commune on the job and through fighting grievances drop out of the system while being paid a salary by the system. In practice, the SSEU exists in a symbiotic relationship with the administration it denounces; it rejects strikes by predicting defeat before it happens; and is largely isolated from the majority of city workers.

The Board of Supervisors, most of whom received campaign contributions from Local 400, and Mayor Alioto have stated they will not approve any wage increases at all this year for city employees. Local 400 has requested strike sanction from the Central Labor Council, but its leaders are opposed to making any preparations for the strike. The bureaucratic leaders of the AFL-CIO are frightened--for the first time in their lives they are forced into struggle because they cannot get their usual rotten compromise. They keep postponing their promised rally of city workers and apparently are still hoping for a compromise.

Neither the AFL-CIO leaders nor the New Leftist leaders of the SSEU are prepared for strike.

A rank and file caucus is being formed in Local 400. Central to the program of this caucus must be the demand that there be absolutely no job cuts, and no demotions, together with the demand for real wage increases and that the union be prepared for strike action to defend jobs, wages and working conditions.

Bulletin

EDITOR: Lucy St. John

ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

THE BULLETIN, Weekly Organ of the Workers League is published by Bulletin of International Socialism: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10th St. New York, N.Y. 10003. Published weekly except the last week of December, the first week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and business office: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone: 754-7120. Subscription rates: U.S.A.-1 year: \$3.00; Foreign-1 year: \$4.00. APPLICATION TO MAIL AT SECOND CLASS POSTAGE RATE IS PENDING AT NEW YORK, N.Y.

printed in the U.S.A.

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

to the
WEEKLY BULLETIN

—\$1.00 6 MONTH INTRODUCTORY SUB
—\$3.00 FOR FULL YEAR

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP _____

BULLETIN RM. 8, 243 E. 10 ST. NYC 10003

DOCUMENTS FROM THE SOVIET OPPOSITION



An Introduction to a series of letters and articles by

PIOTR GRIGORENKO

MAJOR GENERAL Piotr Grigorenko is one of the most outspoken and principled leaders of the anti-Stalinist opposition in the Soviet Union.

Now more than 60, Grigorenko joined the Bolshevik Party at the age of 20 and was from the beginning an opponent of the bureaucracy.

During the war, he witnessed the terrible blunders of the Soviet High Command as it blindly followed Stalin's suicidal military strategy.

After the war, he lectured at the top Soviet military school, the Frunze Academy, specializing in the application of cybernetics to military strategy and techniques.

But under Stalin, the development of cybernetics was banned, while the 'agronomist' Lysenko, now long-exposed as a crank, wrecked Soviet biology and agronomy for a full decade.

Soviet military strength was gravely undermined by Stalin's persecution of the nation's most gifted scientists, and it was only after his death in 1953 that cybernetics, essential to the development of space flight, became a legitimate subject in Soviet academies.

These bitter first-hand experiences of the bureaucracy at work were an essential part of Grigorenko's education in the counter-revolutionary role and nature of Stalinism, which, through its purging of the most gifted military and scientific

By
**Robert
Black**

personnel, proved itself incapable of organizing the defence of the Soviet Union.

Hounded

Stalin wanted only yes-men, careerists and political slaves.

Grigorenko saw that all those with least independence of thought and devotion to Leninist principles, were doomed to be hounded out of their posts as potential opponents of Stalinism, and eventually to be physically destroyed.

After Stalin's death Grigorenko shared with countless millions of other Soviet citizens the illusion that the bureaucracy would now reform itself.

Indeed under the first years of Khrushchev's rule there were indications that the worst and most oppressive features of Stalin's era were being eradicated.

But Grigorenko was one of the first to break from these reformist illusions.

While Isaac Deutscher and his revisionist co-thinkers within the Fourth International were speculating on the possibility of a gradual 'self-reform' of the Stalinist bureaucracy under Khrushchev, Grigorenko was engaged in a bitter struggle against it.

In 1961, he was sacked from his post at the Frunze Academy for charging Khrushchev with following in the political footsteps of Stalin.

In 1964, Grigorenko's oppositional activities were interrupted by a six-month term of detention in a 'mental institution', but he returned to the battle with renewed determination.

When the persecution of Soviet intellectuals began in 1965, followed the next year by the trial of the writers Daniel and Sinyavsky, Grigorenko was in the thick of the fight to rally support for them.

At each 'trial' he was to be found outside the court house demanding admission for the relatives of the accused, fearlessly and publicly denouncing the Stalinist legal system as a travesty of Soviet justice.

In the last few years Grigorenko became an outspoken champion of the rights of all the oppressed Soviet national minorities, particularly the Crimean Tartars, who were deported en masse during the war because Stalin feared that his brutal persecution of the national minorities would drive them into the arms of the Nazi invaders.

Remnants of the Crimean Tartars and other deported minorities are now scattered all over the eastern regions of the Soviet Union.

Many will die without ever seeing their homeland again. Yet one of the main demands in the programme of the Bolshevik Party in the 1917 Revolution was self-determination for all the peoples of the old Russian empire.

By taking up the public defence of the Crimean Tartars and the other oppressed peoples of the Soviet Union, Grigorenko has proved himself a thoroughgoing internationalist.

More than that; by insisting that the Tartar leaders fight for a Soviet Crimean Tartar Republic, he takes a firm class position on the self-determination question, separating himself politically from liberal elements who seek the middle-class Utopia of a 'neutral' Crimea and Ukraine mid-way between the Soviet Union and imperialism.

Precisely because of his Leninist stand on self-determination, the Stalinist bureaucracy acted against Grigorenko.

It tolerates movements of religious dissent inasmuch as they do not become a vehicle for protest against national oppression: it fosters the anti-Marxist dialogue with the Vatican and undertakes all manner of secret diplomatic exchanges with imperialism.

But one thing it cannot tolerate is the emergence of an opposition struggling to return to the principles and programme of 1917.

The Kremlin agent Victor Louis can hob-nob with that life-long enemy of the Chinese and Soviet people, Chiang Kai-shek, and Svetlana Stalin is permitted to defect to United States imperialism (for which she now writes books equating Stalinism with Leninism).

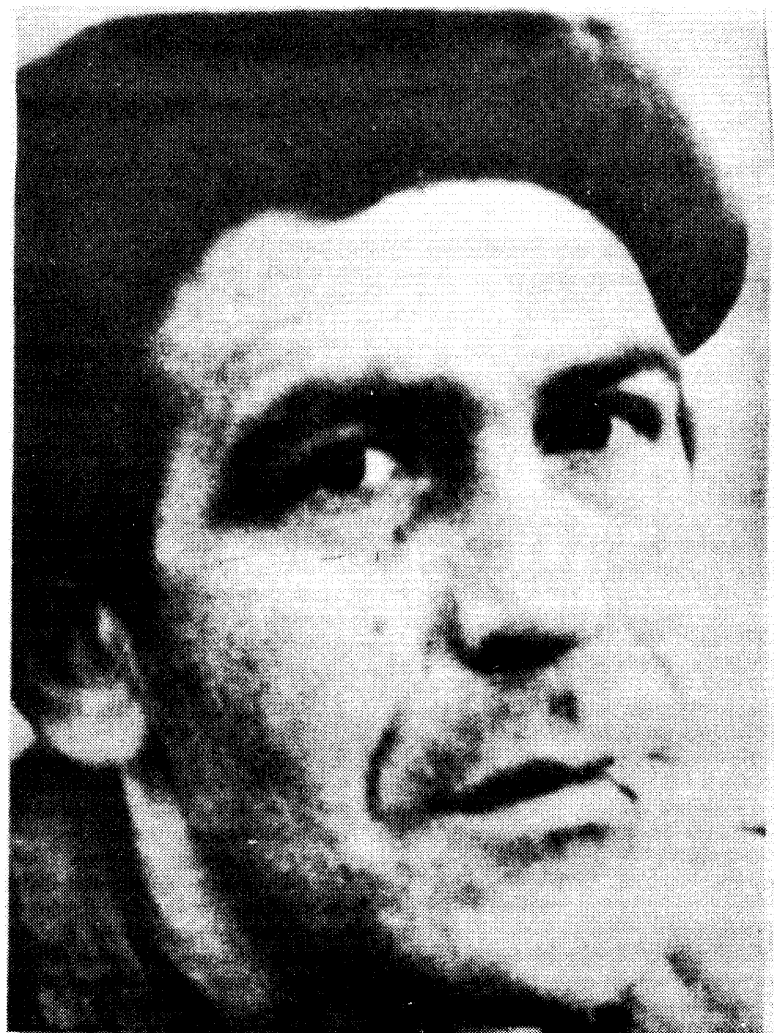
But when a group of deported Tartars celebrates the birthday of Lenin:

'Suddenly, the park becomes surrounded by troops and police. . . . Streams of some sort of poisonous liquid are aimed at the merry-makers from pressure hoses which have been brought by the police. . . . People are also directly assaulted by police who twist their arms, beat them up and brutally shove them into police vans which drive them off somewhere.' (From the speech 'For Alexis Kosterin's 72nd Birthday').

That is how the Stalinist bureaucracy, and its servants all over the world, treats those who honour the memory of Lenin by fighting for his principles.

Interned

That is why Grigorenko, after his arrest on May 7 of this year, has again been interned in a Moscow 'mental institution'.



In the Soviet Union today, the Leninists are declared insane, while the chauvinists, the Jew-baiters, the informers and the police thugs are praised for their 'Soviet patriotism'.

Grigorenko does not fight alone.

His courage and confidence come from a nation-wide movement of whole layers of Soviet society, from the highest sections of the intelligentsia, through the students and the working class to the youth.

The older generation has not been completely broken and corrupted by Stalinism—

Grigorenko's refusal to compromise with the bureaucracy is proof of that.

Today they gain new political strength and inspiration from the struggle of the international working class against both imperialism and Stalinism, and above all by the continued resistance of the Czech working class, students and intellectuals to the Kremlin's occupation of their country.

The struggle of Piotr Grigorenko is living proof that Stalinism has not been able to destroy the political heritage of Lenin, despite the purge of nearly all the Bolsheviks who led the October Revolution.

We salute him and all his comrades and demand that the international workers' movement raise its voice against the persecution of all those in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe struggling to return to the road of Lenin.

THE DEBATE ON NEKRITCH'S BOOK

Extracts from a letter by Piotr Grigorenko to

'Historical Problems of the C.P.S.U.'

—a Soviet historical journal

WHY SHOULD anyone want to maintain the silence about the first months of the Second World War?

Deborine and Telpukhovsky are trying to convince the reader that by carefully examining the concrete causes of the defeats we suffered at the beginning of the war in 1941, we weaken the scope of our final victory and denigrate the role that our social and state structure

cover up the facts is to play the game of those really responsible for our defeats, because it hinders the possibility of preventing the repetition of those terrible trials.

It is above all to play the game of the Nazi falsifiers.

It has been common knowledge for a long time that any country at war tries to magnify the forces of its vanquished adversary in order to increase the value of its victory. Read von Tippelskirch—you won't find any indication of the unprepared state of our army in his work.

If one follows the funda-

our people. That is why in history betrayals and mistakes in the preparation of a country for war have never been forgiven.

And it would be strange if they were pardoned or not spoken about. That would be the most dangerous form of 'forgiveness of sins' for future generations and for the leaders who will be responsible for the defence of the country.

It would directly encourage the repetition of errors and crimes.

During the last war no country was less prepared than the Soviet Union to face a

men—four million killed or wounded and then dying from their wounds.

On the German-Russian front alone we lost 13.5 million men, approximately three-and-a-half times as many.

Difficult

But none of those directly responsible for the paralysis of our country in the face of aggression accepted the least responsibility for these deaths

defence of our country.

A number of disturbing questions are posed in relation to this article:

Whose interests does it serve?

Who is afraid of the truth about the first months of the war?

What are the forces who, to the direct detriment of our country and its defensive potential, are obstinately trying to wipe out this whole period?

These are terrifying forces for our country.

It is time to sound the alarm about this; today, as tension mounts in the entire world, the imperialist aggressors spread their pillage to the four corners of our planet and a new world war knocks at our door. If, under these conditions, the forces who committed what can only be called treason when preparing for the last world war, survive and even extend their influence, we must, at the top of our voices, cry danger.

What happened on the eve of the Second World War was terrifying.

It seemed as if someone was waiting with unwavering patience, persistence and understanding to facilitate the victory of the fascists; waiting to put our entire people under their yoke.

When I think about that I try to imagine how a handful of traitors or even a fairly large and coherent organization could have successfully infiltrated our state machinery.

But this is so preposterous that I cannot even express these ideas. It appears indubitable to me that any organization of this kind would have been unmasked and disarmed very quickly in any country.

However, an enormous betrayal, unprecedented in history, did take place.

Disarm

And after taking place, it succeeds to this day in hiding itself from the eyes of the people. Only terrible forces are capable of that.

The people cannot live peacefully in this world full of contradiction as long as such forces exist. They must be surrounded and disarmed, and quickly. The needs of the defence of our country require this above all.

It is finally time to say: **no more!** We have had enough insipid declarations and hollow talk!

The human conscience can no longer compromise with hypocrisy and lies.

We cannot allow anyone to hide behind the deeds of unknown heroes who died through the direct fault of amateurs with pretty phrases about the heroism of others.

We can no longer scoff at the memory of those who fell on the battlefield by pardoning



Towns such as the one above fell quickly to Hitler's invading Panzers. '... And in our country the people paid for the mistakes of our government, mistakes which were terrible betrayals...' '... On the German-Russian front alone we lost 13.5 million men...'

played in that final victory over the enemy.

It would be impossible to speak greater untruths.

Just look at the long list of so-called 'mistakes' and 'errors of calculation' committed by our leaders. Such an impudent deliverance of a country to the 'fire and iron' of the enemy is unprecedented in history. That our country, under such conditions, was able not only to resist but to triumph surpasses the imagination.

Our bitterest enemies must recognize that this was because of the internal strength of our social and political structure, the force of our people. We can only emphasize this truth forcefully, we can only make it even more evident and more convincing by revealing the terrible trials our people had to surmount—trials brought about by the errors and perhaps the crimes of the leaders responsible for the preparation of the country for war.

Hinders

On the other hand, to try to

mental thesis of Nekritch's two critics, the work of the German von Tippelskirch is the most objective analysis of the initial period of the war. Generally speaking, according to him, our High Command never made a mistake. We didn't even blow up our fortified old sectors since, according to his work, the valiant German divisions 'broke through the Stalin line'.

This is the illustrious company that those who refuse to study facts and only try to discover in them confirmation of their own a priori views risk keeping.

The Hitlerites and neo-fascists have good reason to falsify the truth in this way. But why would we hide the truth of the first months of the war 22 years after it is over?

By becoming silent and minimizing all the weaknesses—whatever they were—which our defence suffered from, and by refusing to analyse boldly and completely the causes of the inadequacies existing in the years 1941-1943, we risk not digging out their roots.

We are leaving a menace to hover over the future security of our country, over the life of

surprise attack. In all the countries which were at war with Hitler's Germany and allied with us, the errors of the pre-war period have more or less been judged.

England removed Chamberlain's government only because it was incapable of preventing war from breaking out in conditions unfavourable for Great Britain; it was removed only for its errors of foreign policy (Munich).

The United States set up a Congressional commission just to investigate the Pearl Harbour surprise attack on the American Pacific fleet by the Japanese Air Force.

France arraigned its government before tribunals for having allowed its army to be beaten, an army very much inferior—above all in arms and equipment—even to the troops of our frontier regions. . . .

And in our country the people paid for the mistakes of our government, mistakes which were terrible betrayals.

The people paid first of all with the fantastic losses sustained at the front. The Germans on the Eastern, Western, Southern and African fronts lost about four million

—not even moral responsibility.

This is strange, almost unbelievable. If, however, one considers all that the 20th Congress revealed, it all becomes comprehensive.

But today it is much more difficult to explain the publication of Deborine and Telpukhovsky's article, which not only tries to hide the truth about our defeats, but openly threatens whoever tries to unveil this truth.

'And where are they threatening?

In the official review of the Marxist-Leninist Institute! For whom and for what does such an article serve? It is hard to believe it appeared on the initiative of its two authors or of you, comrade editor. No, someone ordered this libel.

Forces exist—and they are obviously influential forces—which have an interest in maintaining the silence about the first months of the war.

The article published in your review is merely an attempt to force the first period of the war into the category of 'taboo' subjects, with no consideration for the fundamental interests of the

past and future traitors.

All members of Lenin's party, all conscious citizens must demand a public investigation into the real causes of the defeat we suffered during the first months of the war.

That will increase our country's international authority, reinforce its defensive potential and bring unknown heroes out of the silence; men like Golikov's predecessor as general staff chief of intelligence, Air Force Lieutenant-General Proskurov, who was sent to his death by Stalin and Beria's executioners because he refused to give false information about the enemy in order to please Stalin.

Finally it will serve as an excellent warning to the present and future commanders of the Soviet armed forces.

What has been the result of Nekritch's research?

He reached the conclusions I express in my letter on almost all these problems, but with more form, more diplomacy and more circumlocution.

Not good

His book doesn't analyse the relationships between forces at the beginning of the war; his description of the evolution of Soviet military theory is not good; he doesn't throw light on the whole of the problem—far from it—of the leading cadres of the Red Army; he never analyses the effect of the massive repressions on the defensive potential of the country.

Previously I have only approached this last problem from a specifically military angle. During the purge years the arrests hit every area of society, shaking and draining all the links in the chain of economic, political and cultural life of the country.

On the eve, and even in the middle of the war, millions of men qualified for combat,

many of them eminent specialists on the economy, languished in the camps.

Guards

Hundreds of thousands of young, robust men who were needed at the front were out of action guarding the 'enemies of the people' behind their barbed wire, although the contingent reserves were exhausted and the need for fresh supporting troops tragically unsatisfied.

These camps and their guards weighed heavily on the country's budget and gravely weakened its defensive potential. However no one has yet dealt with this problem.

There was, however, a prodigious turnover in the Soviet, Party, economic and other organizations. The bootlickers, the slanderers, the informers, the incapable and those unqualified for any leading position, attained key posts.

Careerism and its inevitable corollary, bluff, expanded sumptuously.

Unrestrained flattery reinforced and hardened delirious bureaucratism. Stalin's policy favoured this situation. He poured important appointments—and secrets—on the high functionaries— together with cars, country houses, bonuses, promotions and decorations.

Undermined

These also weighed heavily on the budget and undermined the capacities of the state machinery. The spirit of initiative succumbed as unbridled servility flourished. Consideration for 'position' was substituted for those interests

which were allegedly being served.

This is perhaps what gave birth to phenomena like 'golikovchina',¹ an attitude which consists in sending intelligence information that will please hierarchic superiors. This problem too is still to be studied.

Nekritch is silent on all these problems, but this cannot be held against him. On this ground he is a pioneer and it is good that he has raised even part of the veil covering the secrets hidden from the popular masses for such a long time.

The only complaint that should be made against him is that he constantly smooths sharp edges.

He pares down his conclusions to such an extent that he gives the impression, in spite of the correct facts he reports, that it really was only a question of 'mistakes', 'errors of calculation' and 'inadequacies' for which Stalin alone was responsible. And that is far from the whole truth.

But can Nekritch be blamed for that?

No, of course not. And the best proofs of this are the 'critics' of his work.

Their 'criticism' shows that Nekritch conducted his research in the right direction and that, on the road he followed, the truth could be reached. And those who fear this truth are alarmed.

Defame

They set out to defame Nekritch and terrorize other historians.

I firmly believe that Nekritch and all authentic Marxist historians will have enough courage not to be frightened by the pitiful—and harmful to our country—terrorist incantations of the Deborines, the



Russian prisoners captured in the early months of Hitler's invasion, were moved in open freight trucks in sub-zero weather. Complained a German officer: 'There is no sense transporting manpower in open unheated cars because we have only corpses to unload'.

Telpukhovskys and other propagandists of the lie.

They must pursue their research on the period we have looked at and establish the complete truth in the interests of our country.

As for those who, in the fashion of Deborine and Telpukhovsky, try to oppose

the truth, they are committing the greatest crime one can commit against our people and our country.

They should remember the great Cervantes' wise and true warning:

Falsifiers of history must be punished just as counterfeiters are punished.

Why I will not vote for Kosygin

—a letter to Moscow electors

By Piotr Grigorenko

ALEXIS KOSYGIN was part of Stalin's government. Then, at Khrushchev's side he occupied the post of First Vice-President of the Council of Ministers.

He therefore shares responsibility for the activities and mistakes of these two governments.

We can allow such deeds to sink into darkness and be forgotten when it is clear that the implicated man has become conscious of his errors and does not intend to repeat them.

Unhappily this is not true in Alexis Kosygin's case. He remains the disciple of Stalin and Khrushchev precisely in the area in which the old leaders failed most seriously: respect for socialist law. Indeed, Kosygin does not think Soviet law concerns him.

I will give several examples of this.

From 1961 I spoke out against the unreasonable and often damaging activities of Khrushchev and his gang.

From that time I became the victim of unlawful reprisals and on February 2, 1964, I was arrested.

I won't discuss the legality or illegality of this arrest here; neither will I dwell on the way the law was twisted in the course of the investigation and judiciary debates.

I will only point out that an appearance of legality was given to the verdict when, on July 17, 1964, the military college of the Supreme Court of the USSR aligned itself with expert opinion on my psychological irresponsibility, shelved my case and decided that I must undergo treatment.

According to the law, the shelving of a case is as good as an acquittal. But the authorities did not look at it this way and from the time of the pronouncement of the verdict I was subjected to harsh administrative reprisals.

Shut up in the psychiatric hospital adjoining the prison, I learned by hearsay that, by decision of the Council of Ministers, I had been reduced from General to second-class soldier, then struck off the army lists and deprived of all my pension rights.

I never received official confirmation of this news at the time, but everything led me to believe that such a decision had been taken at the insistence of Khrushchev.

The illegality of such proceedings is so flagrant that the government, without wanting to rescind the decision, prefers to keep quiet about it. This is no doubt because of the absurd idea that nothing should 'tarnish the honour of the uniform'.

But if I wasn't officially informed of the sanctions against me, I suffered their consequences. From the day of my arrest I haven't received a kopeck.

Nevertheless, according to the law I should receive the pay due to me up to the day I was struck off the army list, not to mention the service pay.

I was refused the pension legally due to me. I received no document attesting that I'd left the military, and deprived of such a document I could not find work. Accordingly, my family, which includes two invalids, and I were condemned to need.

As I could not accept such arbitrary action I protested as soon as I regained my freedom.

At the end of December 1965, almost two years after my arrest and after long months of waiting, I received a pension book in the mail indicating that I would be paid a third of the sum the law gives me a right to.

I therefore protested again.

In February 1966, after a long silence, I was answered with the threat of depriving me of my pension, sending me out of Moscow and shutting me up in a psychiatric hospital for a second time.

Faced with these threats, I wrote directly to Kosygin. I asked him in my letter to tell me at least if the Council of Ministers had actually decided upon my dismissal from the army.

The head of the government didn't answer me. I concluded from this that he himself was an accomplice in this arbitrary action against me and that he was perfectly aware of the threats of which I was the object.

A man guilty of such conduct does not deserve the confidence of the electors. Therefore I will vote against Kosygin and I call on the electors to do the same.

June 3, 1966

The trial of Ginsburg and Galanskov



DANIEL AND SINYAVSKY IN COURT ROOM

THIS COLLECTION of documents records part of the struggle of the anti-Stalinist opposition in the period from the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial to the middle of this year.

The young writers, Ginzburg and Galanskov, known for their critical views, were put on trial in Moscow in January, 1968.

They had been arrested in the previous year following the circulation by them of a 'White Book' opposing the condemnation of Sinyavsky and Daniel.

The prosecution tried to prove that they had been acting on behalf of anti-Soviet agencies financed from abroad, notably the Russian émigré organization the NTS.

As arranged by the KGB (state security police) the trial was intended to discredit the courageous young intellectuals who had, no doubt in a confused way, been opposing the rehabilitation of Stalin and calling for the recognition in practice of the

rights to free expression written into Soviet law.

What could be better than to link the oppositionists with the NTS, the émigré organization in Germany, tainted as it was with collaboration with Nazism during the war and backed by the Central Intelligence Agency?

Thus one of the co-accused, Dobrovolski, made a 'confession' pointing to the collusion of his fellow prisoners with NTS.

A student of Venezuelan nationality and Russian origin was also produced at the trial as an NTS agent who had come to Russia with a fantastic espionage kit to make contact expressly with Ginsburg and Galanskov.

WHO BENEFITS?

All through the struggle of the intellectual opposition the organs of the NTS, capitalist publishing houses and journals have had no difficulty in obtaining the clandestine material circulating in Russia, including whole books.

One has to ask: who could benefit from such activity?

Not the oppositionists, who thereby tended to become

'L'AFFAIRE GUINZBOURG-GALANSKOV'
Presented by Jean-Jacques Marie and Carol Head
Translated from the Russian by Jean-Jacques
and Nadine Marie.
Paris. Editions du Seuil.

discredited in the eyes of Russian opinion.

It has been well known since the 1930s that émigré Russian organizations such as the NTS have been penetrated by the KGB.

Agents like Brooke, the British teacher who visited Russia, have easily been detected.

But it is also probable that opposition material is fed to the NTS and similar organization by the Russian state security apparatus in order to discredit the opposition.

It is with these questions in mind that the trial has to be understood, as the preface to this volume shows.

The method of provocation used by the prosecution runs parallel to that employed in the Moscow Trials of the 1930s.

In this case, there was no question that Ginsburg had circulated documents against the imprisonment of Sinyavsky and Daniel.

In fact, the 'Letter to an Old Friend' which subjects the case to detailed analysis had been sent to the KGB itself.

There is no doubt that he understood the risks that he was running and that he was committing a political act.

But it was aimed against Stalinist-type repression of opinion and had nothing in common with the pro-West-

ern, anti-Soviet NTS politics.

DEFAMATION CAMPAIGN

A veritable campaign of defamation was waged in the Soviet press against the accused and their friends, as extracts given in this volume showed.

Their relatives and friends were excluded from the courtroom, which was packed with KGB supporters.

Although the court was unable to establish any connection between Ginsburg and Galanskov and the NTS, they were condemned to five and seven years deprivation of liberty respectively under a clause of the penal code relating to 'anti-Soviet activity'.

The harshness of the sentence unleashed a wave of protest from the ranks of Soviet intellectuals associated with the opposition.

The texts of some of the open letters and appeals which were circulated are reproduced in this volume. A number of them take up the discreditable way in which the press handled the case—particularly in trying to make an amalgam between the accused and the NTS through the medium of the KGB tools, Dobrovolski and the 'Venezuelan', Brocks-Sokolov.

The letter from A. Jacobson to the Union of Journalists even shows that the news-

papers gave contradictory accounts of the activities of Brocks.

It is no longer possible for the bureaucracy to get away with the crude falsifications employed in the Moscow Trials of the 1930s.

A small but growing second is ready to take the risk of publicly denouncing them.

Of the protests against the trial and demanding its revision, one was signed by 121 writers and scientists, another by 78, including some workers and one by 24 writers and artists.

The most representative list contained 170 names from a wide range of occupations in various parts of the Soviet Union.

All these letters of protest were sent openly to the press and to the government, though, needless to say, the papers did not publish them!

No doubt the position of Ginsburg, and still more of Galanskov—who is a pacifist and anti-militarist—does not have the sharpness of the new communist opposition which is coming forward in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe.

Those who signed the letters and petitions of protest were no doubt still more confused. The important thing is that the resistance to Stalinist methods is gaining ground.

The repressive character of the regime and the real face of the bureaucracy are being revealed.

The documents in this book indicate the presence of the advance signs of the coming political revolution.

Ginsburg and Galanskov, like Daniel and Sinyavsky, are now in a corrective labour camp.

They can write two letters a month, receive a visit every four months and a personal

visit once a year.

In a letter written from the camp to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Ginsburg, Galanskov and other prisoners speak of lack of food and particularly of vitamins, extreme cold in the sleeping quarters and the confiscation of their warm clothing and innumerable humiliations inflicted illegally by the prison staff, including confiscation of toilet paper, beatings, disappearance of letters sent to or from the prisoners and so on.

KOLYMA STAFF

They end their letter by admitting that conditions do not reach the depths of those imposed at Kolyma, Vorkuta and Taichet—the notorious camps of the 1940s.

But still they are bad enough and staff from these camps are still in command.

As a result the regime in the corrective labour camps falls far below what is supposed to be established by Soviet law.

Some of the documents in this volume have appeared in English, but there does not appear to be a comparable collection which brings them together.

In any case, the introduction to this volume is valuable because it brings out the politics behind the ferment now going on among Soviet intellectuals and exposes the role of both the western agencies and the KGB in misrepresenting the character of this opposition to Stalinism.

A declaration

By Zinaida Grigorenko

To Comrade L. Brezhnev, Central Committee of the CPSU.

To Comrade Gorkin, Supreme Court of the USSR.

To Comrade Rudenko, Procurer General of the USSR.

To Comrade Blokhin, President of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR.

From Zinaida Grigorenko, Party member. 2 Pereulok Komsomol'sky, Apt. 94, telephone G-6-27-37.

DURING the Ginsburg-Galanskov trial my husband, Piotr Grigorenko, was called as a witness by lawyer Kaminskaya. Judge Mironov, president of the tribunal, refused this request and based this refusal on a certificate from psychiatric dispensary number 1 in the Lenin district stating that Grigorenko was mentally irresponsible.

This certification is not genuine.

In December, 1965, by decision of the medical commission, my husband was declared psychologically normal, taken off the psychiatric hospital list and never called back to the hospital.

A certificate proving his good health was moreover presented to the tribunal.

In perfectly good health, Piotr Grigorenko works as a foreman in the SU-2 assembly workshop and leads Party discussions as a Propagandist. The circle he is in includes 20 people; 13 communists and seven non-Party people.

On the one hand my husband leads a political circle and on the other hand it appears he is mentally ill. Could that be a mistake? Not at all, because it is a violation of the law that has lasted for five years.

On February 1, 1964, Major-General Grigorenko, master of sciences, was arrested on suspicion of anti-communist activity. Instead of proceeding with an investigation of his case however, it was referred to the Serbsky Institute, where he was declared irresponsible and sent to Leningrad Prison Hospital for treatment.

When I asked when my husband had lost his reason, as I myself hadn't noticed, the military judges, Lieutenant-Colonels Kuznetsov and Kantorov, explained to me that his political points of view and his persistent dissemination of these views, made him a socially dangerous individual.

They also told me that my husband would be retired as an ill man and keep his rank and his pension.

In Party circles, I learned that a directive ordered the temporary expulsion of the mentally ill, but allowed them to be reinstated in the Party after their cure. What has happened since then?

By Khrushchev's decision of August 29, 1964, my husband was reduced to the rank of private and expelled from the Party as mentally ill.

All the people hospitalized with my husband, except him, received their pensions. The law was strictly observed for murderers; Lieutenant-Colonel Chevchenko, who killed his own daughter, and Lieutenant-Colonel Burkovsky, who shot three people, were retired but kept their ranks and pensions.

On April 29, 1965, my husband left hospital with a second category infirmity. Although provided with this certification and wounded in the war, he could not get his pension or work for ten months. He therefore had to take a job as a stevedore.

In December, 1965, by decision of the medical commission of dispensary number 1 in the Lenin district, my husband was declared sane and taken off the psychiatric hospital list.

He was not, however, reintegrated into the Party, his rank was not restored and the pension he had earned after 34 years of faithful military service was not given to him. Wounded several times, he could not even get a certificate stating he is a war invalid. . . .

The story I have told here is a grotesque parody of justice. I think it is only a prelude to new reprisals against my husband.

It fills me with horror—even more so as during the years of the cult of the individual, I lost my first husband, my sister and my brother-in-law, not to mention the repression I myself was subjected to.

As a communist and citizen of the Soviet Union I demand an end to the illegal acts of which my husband and family are victims.

I demand an end to the persecution unleashed against my children and myself. I demand the complete restoration of my husband's rights as a Party member and citizen, and that the rank that was his in the army be returned to him.

January 23, 1968



WHY STALINISTS AND PABLOITES BACKED GE SELLOUT

BY DAN FRIED

The most vehement and enthusiastic supporters of the sell-out settlement of the 14 week General Electric strike are to be found among the revisionist organizations on the American 'left', in particular the Stalinist Communist Party and the Pabloite Socialist Workers Party. Without doubt, the Communist Party sets the tone for the all-out support to the contract terms that the U.E. and I.U.E. leaders were able to impose on the 110,000 striking members of those two unions, which established the pattern for the other unions in the coalition. The Daily World, the newspaper of the C.P., greeted the announcement of the contract terms by the top union bureaucrats with a blazing, banner headline: 'Thirteen Union Bloc Wins G.E. Strike.'

For their part, the Socialist Workers Party expressed the identical view as the C.P., but buried its article on page 13 of its paper, the Militant. In the Feb. 13th issue, Militant staff writer Marvel Scholl says, 'The 12-union coalition that held out for 14 long weeks against one of America's most powerful corporations emerged victorious. For the first time in years, General Electric was unable to force contract settlements on its terms.' Scholl concludes with a statement that is even more enthusiastic about the 'victory' than the CP's: 'In the face of contract negotiations during 1970 affecting more than 5 million workers in every basic industry except Big Steel, the victory of the G.E. workers must be sending chills down the backs of government and industry.'

FAILED

While there is no doubt at all that the leaders of government and industry are apprehensive about the upcoming negotiations with 5 million workers, they in fact have breathed an audible sigh of relief over the settlement. The settlement got the workers off the picket line on a basis which G.E. itself hails as 'fair to all concerned,' as NOT 'super-inflationary' or as a G.E. spokesman said, 'We stayed in the ball park; we just moved the fences a little.' The notorious anti-union 'labor expert' of the New York Times points out that not only was the wage package considerably below those negotiated last year in the maritime, airline longshore, and construction industries, let alone the demands now raised by the New York tugboatmen and the Teamsters, but that the agreement 'still leaves the company with lines unbent in all its prized areas of managerial authority, including union security.'

When we consider that the agreement was hammered out behind closed doors under the personal supervision of Department of Labor mediator George Counts, on terms that were

most likely dictated by the White House, we begin to see that the Militant is trying to cover up its craven support to the bureaucrat's sell-out with empty bluster. In reality, the ruling class has been able to use this settlement to isolate the GE strikers from the railroad workers who face government strike-breaking action, from the striking tugboatmen and from the other workers who may shortly be on strike. With the GE strike out of the way, the government has de-fused a powder keg and can enter into the confrontation with the teamsters, auto workers and the millions of other workers whose contracts are coming up, in a far stronger position.

In their enthusiasm to support the settlement the Militant cannot even get its facts straight on the opposition to the contract from the ranks of the strikers. Scholl's article reports, 'So far the only local union reported turning down the settlement is the IUE local at Schenectady, N.Y. Leaders of that local said the 2,500 workers who voted turned down the pact by a huge majority.' In fact, the 5,000 member Syracuse local of the IUE had rejected the contract by a 3-1 vote some two days earlier, setting the example for the Schenectady local which represents G.E.'s largest plant. The Militant did not look very hard for opposition to the contract which it clearly finds embarrassing.

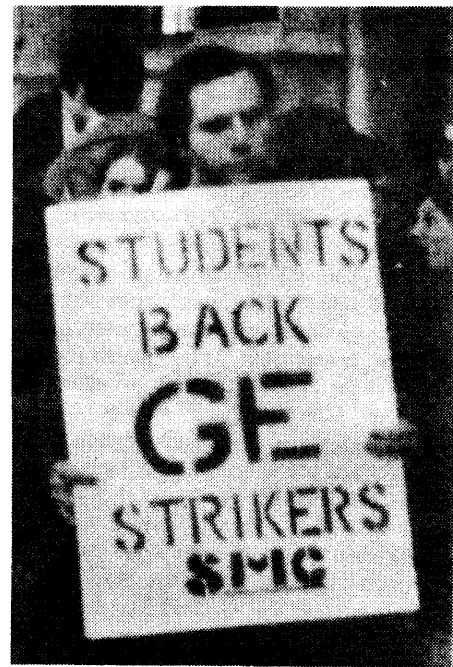
STALINISM

The Daily World reported that even in locals where the contract was approved, the vote was in many cases only a little more than 50% in favor. In addition to these reports on the widespread dissatisfaction with the contract, the World also went so far as to run a lengthy article by George Morris presenting the facts and figures which completely contradict his early reports that the settlement 'set a higher collective bargaining level.' He even admits that with the present inflation, the workers will be worse off after the 40 month contract. Underlying this contradiction is the contradiction of Stalinism itself, the attempt by the Communist Party to maintain a base of support among militant workers in the trade unions while at the same time fighting to keep these workers under the thumb of the labor bureaucrats and capitalism.

The C.P. leaders say to the militants in the U.E. very much what the French C.P. said to the workers who looked to the leadership of the French C.P. for a socialist struggle during May-June '68: Yes, capitalism is rotten but we must avoid civil war by returning to work and settling our grievances by a vote against DeGaulle in the referendum next month. This is the best we can do under the circumstances. That is what George Morris is talking about



WORKERS MAN THE PICKET LINES IN SCHENECTADY DURING G.E. STRIKE ABOVE LEFT). SMC PICKETS G.E. OFFICE (ABOVE) PAUL JENNINGS, PRESIDENT OF IUE (LEFT)



when he says that 'experienced observers generally agree that...a point had been reached in this struggle beyond which further gains were not in the cards when the UE and IUE agreed to the terms offered through a federal mediator.'

The admission by the Daily World of the widespread discontent with the contract, especially from among the younger rank and filers, only makes more criminal their own support for this sell-out. After reporting on these feelings among the ranks in their Feb. 3rd edition, they say, 'But union leaders predicted that the final result will give a heavy margin in support of the agreement as the best possible under the circumstances.' The C.P. makes it clear they are the most ardent fighters to get the ranks to accept the time-honored excuse of every union bureaucrat, 'This is the best we can get.' The CP is trying to prove its effectiveness as a 'left cover' for the bureaucracy.

The SWP almost completely ignored the opposition to the contract and is therefore incapable of posing an alternative to the bureaucracy and exposing the Stalinist 'left cover' for the sell-out. Having liquidated itself into the pursuit of every middle class tendency from Castroism to pacifism, liberalism, women's liberation and black nationalism, the SWP reveals its removal from the working class and its adaptation to the labor bureaucracy. At the YSA convention they turned their backs on their own history as the leadership of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike by calling off the march to commemorate the Battle of Deputies Run. Now they embrace the labor bureaucracy in its sell-out of the G.E. strike with hardly even an attempt to apologize for the contract as 'the best that could be done under the circumstances.' This is the outcome of the SWP's abandonment of Marxism which was the basis for their split with the International Committee of the Fourth International in 1963.

As with the CP, the SWP's conduct throughout the strike and its uncritical support of the sell-out flowed from their totally opportunist support for the labor bureaucracy. Emulating the CP throughout the strike, the SWP endorsed every move of the IUE and UE bureaucracies and refused to

pose any program to mobilize class action by the labor movement to win victory for the strike. Like the bureaucracy, they were afraid to rely on the power of the workers, looking instead to the plans put forward by the liberal bourgeoisie such as the Mayors Committee proposal for arbitration and the Javits 'fact-finding' plan.

The Javits proposal for a three man 'impartial' fact-finding board to recommend a settlement was latched onto by the Militant. Militant staff writer Frank Lovell attacked G.E. for not accepting the 'impartial' arbitration 'in accordance with its opposition to third party settlements.' 'It is clear' says Lovell in the Jan. 23rd Militant, 'that the reason GE avoids fact-finders like the plague is that it fears the disclosure of facts about the real nature of its far flung empire.' According to Lovell it is not the power of the workers that could smash G.E. but the liberal, humanitarian 'airing of the facts' through the good will of Senator Javits that is decisive.

Above all, the SWP prided itself on the help and 'moral support' given to the strike by students under its leadership. The sum total of the SWP's program to win the G.E. strike is spelled out in the Jan. 23rd Militant by Columbia University SMC leader Paula Reimers. Reimers makes it clear that the leadership of the strike is the exclusive property of the bureaucrats and the role of socialists is to be their uncritical supporters. 'We are not trying to lead the strike in any way', says Miss Reimer, 'and we're not trying to organize anti-war groups among the workers. It is the task of the workers and their organizations, the unions, both to organize the strike and to organize worker participation in the anti-war movement.' With this approach, the bureaucracy, the liberal bourgeoisie, and, indeed, Mr. Nixon himself will all be pleased. Everyone is happy but the G.E. workers and the rest of the ranks of the unions who must now live with the sell-out settlement.

In carrying out this adaptation to the labor bureaucracy the SWP must necessarily follow the lead of the Stalinists who are the fundamental force in the working class movement for tying the workers to a popular front alliance of the labor bureaucrats and the Democratic Party.

As the American working class enters into renewed struggle the role of Stalinism in tying the workers to the liberal capitalists becomes the number one danger that the Marxist movement must confront in order to build an alternative leadership in the trade unions.



HUGH GALLAGHER, CENTRAX

BRITISH WORKERS PLAN FIGHT AGAINST SPEEDUP, WAGE FREEZE



ALAN WILKINS, COVENTRY

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SHEFFIELD, ENGLAND--Some 200 engineers from throughout Great Britain gathered here recently to organize the Engineering Sections of the All Trades Unions Alliance. Engineer is a British term meaning almost any worker connected with the metal working industry. Engineers encompass workers who in the United States are in the Machinists, Auto and Steelworkers unions. The organization of the engineers section follows shortly after the organization of a motor car worker section, while a meeting of teachers is in the planning stage.

The center of the discussion at the conference was the question of productivity deals and measured day work. The main resolution, passed unanimously at the conference, states clearly and unequivocally its "complete opposition to the wage freeze and the attempts of the union bureaucracy, the employers and the Labour government to introduce work-study, Measured-Day work and mobility and flexibility of labour and to abolish piecework in the engineering industry."

This issue is central to the struggle in the trade unions in England at this stage, and it is only the All Trades Unions Alliance together with the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists which have consistently fought these schemes since their introduction in 1966-1967.

What these schemes involve is a collaboration between the employers, the Wilson Government and the trade union bureaucracy, with the aid of the revisionists and Stalinists, to break the back of the shop stewards movement, increase speed up, increase unemployment and in this way actually to reduce the real wages of the workers.

WEAPON

Piece work was introduced into British industry in the 1930s to break down the unions and increase production. Over the years the British workers have transformed it into a powerful weapon against the bosses as through struggle they won the right for local shop stewards to negotiate wage rates for each change in pro-

duction. Particularly in the auto industry this has led to very sizable wage gains for workers backed up by an extremely powerful shop stewards network.

Measured day work and productivity schemes take power away from the stewards and put it in the hands of the bosses' productivity man with his stop watch. In return for certain wage concessions the bosses are able to level serious blows against the power of the local shop stewards, strengthen the labor bureaucracy over the workers and the shop stewards, and introduce the kind of speed-up found in much of American industry. Under conditions of world

to sell to the bosses. When unions get involved in anything else it is class collaboration. Thus the unions find themselves aiding the bosses in extracting the highest possible amount of surplus value out of the sweat of the workers through cooperation on productivity boards and the like.

MARXIST

Over and over it was stressed that the defense of the trade unions requires a Marxist understanding and political fight. The key was to fight to raise the consciousness of the

borationist concept of productivity deals, the sell-out is already in the works.

What is clear is that the IS accepts the backwardness of the class, its false bourgeois consciousness when workers are willin to go into productivity deals, instead of conducting a principled fight against the stream on this issue. Thus the IS and other such groups actually battle to maintain the present consciousness of the class instead of seeking a conscious development of the class. They worship backwardness in the class, do their best to maintain it, because it is on the basis of this backwardness that the middle class can maintain itself and dominate the labor movement through the bureaucracy and in the interests of capital.

It is important that a leading shop steward, who was on the National Committee of the IS group, broke with them over productivity deals and has joined the ATUA. At the conference he saluted the role of the Workers Press, stating: "The Stalinists can't live with it, International Socialism can't live with it; this is our most important weapon."

The conference also passed a resolution supporting David Maude, industrial correspondent for the Workers Press, who has been excluded from the Labour and Industrial Correspondents Group by a bloc of the correspondents from the Morning Star, paper of the Communist Party, with those from the bourgeois papers.

PRINCIPLED

As several delegates pointed out, there has been a real development of the working class in the period since the origins of the ATUA as the Oxford Liason Committee in 1967 until this moment. For several years the ATUA was forced back and placed in a minority as productivity deal after productivity deal was maneuvered through in factory after factory. But in the course of this, consciousness was growing among a key leading section of trade unionists who developed Marxism through the tough day-to-day battle for principles within the unions. Today this struggle is bearing fruit as the development of understanding spreads among broad layers of the class under the impact of actual experience with these deals, inflation, and the intervention of the ATUA together with the daily Workers Press.

It is precisely this kind of struggle which is today required in the American labor movement around the question of the labor party. It must be a consistent, firm, principled battle right within the trade unions, linked all the time with the day-to-day struggle of the workers, confronting theoretically at each stage the problems which come up in the battle to change the consciousness of the class.

For this we need Marxists in the unions, not just militants. This in turn requires the sharpest fight by the Workers League against all forms of revisionism on the university campus and elsewhere.

No compromise in battle on the shop floor

THIS ARTICLE is a contribution to the debate - that should be collective and continuous - about our industrial line.

Tactics and strategy in a marxist organisation should not simply be received uncritically from leading comrades and treated as Holy Writ.

Originally, socialist worker took a line of outright opposition to productivity deals. For example, issue no 97 (23 Nov 68) ran an editorial headed 'Engineers: say no to prod deals' and went on to argue for a straight increase, without strings.

Since then, wiser counsels have come to prevail. Many experienced comrades have been arguing that outright opposition would 'cut us off from the class' and that the stewards who turn down a 30s increase because of the attached speed-up would be dismissed or rejected by the workers.

Tactically wrong

These ideas were uppermost at the recent IS industrial conference and are liable to be adopted at the Easter conference this weekend.

Prod deals: will total opposition cut socialists off from militant workers?

by NIGEL COWARD



List of demands should be put forward only if workers vote to accept a prod deal.

STATE CAPITALISTS PULL BACK FROM FIGHT ON PRODUCTIVITY

capitalist crisis this in turn leads to unemployment which is then used also as a weapon against organized workers.

As was pointed out by many delegates, the workers give up something permanent--their working conditions and in return are given something transitory, wage increases which are wiped out by rising prices. At the same time delegates explained with Marxist theory why this was the case.

The purpose of unions is to fight for the highest possible price for the labor power workers are forced

workers in the trade unions so that they can understand the sharp class issue involved in such deals, the role the various political tendencies play in this fight and how such deals are linked through Wilson to the Tories whose whole policy is now openly based on splitting the workers through unemployment productivity deals and racism while it builds the power of the police against workers through talk of law and order. All of this is necessary to build the alternative revolutionary leadership in the course of these struggles.

The position of the Communist Party was to openly support the left labor bureaucrats like Scanlon, accepting productivity deals in principle and seeking within this context to get a good 'price' for the deal. As is clear from their retreat from the demand for a 10 pound raise for parity between Ford workers and the rest of the industry, they don't even succeed in getting a good price.

The state capitalist IS group then enters the scene to cover up for both the union bureaucrats and the CP. The oppose productivity deals in principle but support them in practice. Stating they do not want to isolate themselves from the workers --in reality it is the union bureaucracy and the CP they are afraid of being isolated from--if the workers want such deals then they propose to go ahead and negotiate such deals, seeking in the course of the negotiation "mutuality." But once the negotiations take place on the grounds of acceptance of the very class colla-

FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT WITH 4 DAY WEEK

(continued from cover)

the sidewalks in front of the unemployment offices, attesting to a slowdown that has left 84,000 workers in this major industrial city without jobs. Many of these workers are faced with having to support their families on \$63 per week and are wondering how they are going to make the payments on their homes and cars. Hundreds of young workers leaving high school have entered the auto plants and been thrown out of work after only a few months, facing the possibility of permanent unemployment in the future.

This is the crisis facing the working class. The labor bureaucracy is answering this crisis with policies and proposals that serve in every way to strengthen Nixon's strategy of making the workers pay. While Meany sounds the alarm on

unemployment, his alternative is to advocate a wage-price freeze, which will only mean that in addition to unemployment and high prices, workers will have to take a wage cut. Reuther, who is sitting in the middle of Detroit, watching the unemployment lines grow with UAW members, promises to make pollution a bargaining issue. But the only bargaining issue that can turn the tide on the plans of Nixon and the auto barons--the demand for a four day week at five days pay--is completely left out of the UAW's proposed bargaining program.

There is only one answer to Nixon and his economists and their supporters in the union bureaucracy, and that is the all out fight by the ranks of the unions to force their leaders to make the four day week the center of the fight in 1970.

fight to defend fired hospital workers!

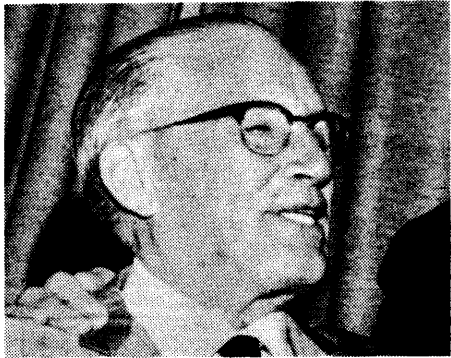
BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK-- The refusal of the 1199 leadership to defend five workers who were fired from the Gouverneur clinic sharply poses to the ranks the inability of these leaders to defend the job security of the members at a time when it is under attack.

The real role of these leaders is coming more and more out in the open with every attack on hospital workers by the bosses and the Nixon Administration. This is the meaning of the sharp debate at the February Guild Delegates Assembly over the Executive Council's position on Gouverneur.

The leadership tried to win the support of the delegates on the basis of the tactics of the fired workers, who intimidated and unsuited anyone who did not support their program for community control. It was the isolation of these workers from the rest of the Gouverneur workers and the threat of the bosses to close the clinic which was used by the union leaders to join with the bosses in deserting the fired workers.

MARITIME MEETING PROTESTS JOB LOSS



ILA PRESIDENT TEDDY GLEASON

BY TOM GORDON

The annual winter meeting of the Maritime Trades Department of the AFL-CIO in Bal Harbor, Florida expressed the growing pressure on the maritime unions by the employers and the Nixon Administration to cut back on jobs and wages throughout the industry. The leadership of these unions faces an uncompromising bloc of the employers and the government and an increasingly restless rank and file within the unions.

A resolution was passed at the conference against the loss of American jobs through cheap imports. Joe Curran of the National Maritime Union and Teddy Gleason of

Many delegates took the floor to oppose the leadership. When one delegate said that other members did not have a right to decide on what happened at Gouverneur, many delegates angrily called out that we are all members of the same union. Another delegate said, "We are not here to judge these workers but to defend them." Another delegate demanded to know why the leadership had not intervened in the situation before things blew up. The leadership's report was passed 107 to 37 against, with 18 abstentions and about 20 staff members included in the yes vote. It was anything but a resounding victory for the leadership.

AVOID

The real issue, as explained by a member of the 1199 Rank and File Committee, was the crisis created by the job freeze and speed up in the hospitals. It is the drive by the bosses to push back the workers' wage gains and working conditions, the government's plan to force any strike in July into arbitration which is leading to attacks by the bosses on militants of any kind. Rather

the ILA sent a joint telegram to the government threatening a boycott of cargoes carried by foreign-flag ships from Brazil, Peru and Chile.

Another resolution was passed stating that "anti-labor forces are again threatening to repeal the doctrine of free collective bargaining by manipulating the Federal Government and the Presidency itself," and calling on Nixon and Congress to protect the unions by knocking out the "back to work" provisions in Taft-Hartley and the Railway Labor Act.

C.L. Dennis of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks complained of the purchase of United States Lines by the Walter Kidde conglomerate, while Joe Curran had earlier proposed a demonstration against that company's laying up the SS United States.

These leaders are attempting to defend the maritime unions through a policy of blocking with the traditional American shipping companies against the conglomerates and the foreign shipowners. They view the government in this as an independent third force subject to "pressure" and "manipulation" from labor and management alike. This is why, while protesting against the most openly strikebreaking features of the Taft-Hartley and the Railway Labor Act, they can back the Nixon Maritime Plan which contains wage-cutting and no-strike schemes as dangerous as anything in Taft-Hartley--and try to pressure the government into improving it.

Defense of the unions requires more than the study group set up at the conference. Fious appeals to Nixon and Congress are worthless. What is needed is the mobilization of the ranks against the Nixon Plan.

The ranks of the NMU in particular must take up Curran's call for a demonstration in Washington but this demonstration must center on complete opposition to the Nixon Plan and the government's proposed changes in Taft-Hartley. The ranks must raise the demands that all the passenger liners be taken out of layup with full manning and full pay, and that the jobs of all maritime workers be guaranteed through the four day week and the four watch system.

than mobilizing the hospital workers to meet these attacks head on by organizing a work action to protest the freeze and demand rehiring, the union leaders have covered up for the bosses in an attempt to avoid a real confrontation.

One official put it quite plainly at the Feb. 12th meeting: "To defend these workers (at Gouverneur) it would mean we would have to call a strike there." This is precisely what they are afraid of.

At the same February meeting, a motion was reaffirmed to call a demonstration by the union in defense of the Panthers. Such a motion had been proposed at the December meeting, but the leadership tried to bury it and did not present it to the Hospital and Drug Division meetings. The leadership claimed that the most important thing was for the black community to unite behind the Panthers and they did not want a demonstration of "90% whites." One black delegate got up and accused the speaker of "introducing an atmosphere of racialism into the meeting." A proposal was added to the motion by the delegates to request that a group of Guild delegates be invited to present the motion to the other divisions since the leadership could not be trusted.

The union leaders' refusal to organize a real defense of the Panthers is no different from its re-

fusal to defend the Gouverneur workers. The attacks on hospital workers and on the Panthers is part of the strategy of the ruling class to step up repression on the growing militancy of the working class to defend its standard of living and organizations against attacks. For all the empty phrases about defending the Panthers, the union leaders let the Panthers remain isolated and pose it as a black problem, just as they isolate the Gouverneur workers.

The handing over of the Gouverneur workers to the bosses by the 1199 leadership is not only a fear of a confrontation but the beginning of an attempt to strangle any section of the union which criticizes the leadership's retreat. They are stepping up their slanders of the Rank and File Committee as "wreckers" of the union and seek to intimidate anyone who associates themselves with the committee. The Rank and File Committee intends to intensify its struggle against the job freeze by fighting for a noon hour job rally to demand immediate rehiring and an end to speed up. The leadership, unable to answer this attack, is now hysterically claiming that there is no job freeze. What this means is that the leadership will further retreat from a real fight for a new contract in July. The Rank and File Committee will run in the union wide elections in April to bring its fight to hospital workers all over the City.

ysa backs 'good' dope at wisconsin

BY STEPHEN DIAMOND

MADISON, WIS.--For those who had any doubts about the infinite ability of the YSA to adapt to whatever is current in student radicalism, an article co-signed by the YSA in the Madison Kaleidoscope, the local hippy newspaper should have dispelled them completely. The article, entitled "Manifesto: Bad Dope Pushers Beware," was an attack on the pushing of addictive and impure drugs in the name of the drug community and "youth culture." While extolling drugs such as marijuana and LSD as a "creative force in this community because their consciousness-expanding powers excite the imagination to topple the narrow repressive attitudes which are necessary for the continuation of plastic America," the article warns dealers of addictive drugs to "get out and stay out, or be destroyed by physical force."

The YSA asked that a rejoinder stating that it could not condone the use of psychedelics be printed as a condition for its signing the article, but the rejoinder did not appear. Whether it had appeared is irrelevant since stripped of its glorification of psychedelics, the article is simply an attack on peddlers of addictive drugs, a position every member of the ruling class could support. However conditional the support of the YSA for this article, its support is a testimony to the willingness of the YSA to unite with anyone, even the most degenerate reactionary exponents of "youth culture."

"Youth culture" is an idealistic reaction to the crisis of capitalism. Its essence is the belief that the crisis can be resolved subjectively by changing people's attitudes, particularly through drugs, rather than by a working class fight against capitalism. Marxists can give no support whatsoever to this attempt

manifesto:
Bad-Dope Pushers
BEWARE!

To those who would destroy our community, may this serve final notice whether you are the pig government or the pig shit dealer. You are no longer welcome among us. If you come to imprison us because we use harmless psychedelics, you

Manifesto Signers

ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOL
DRUG EDUCATION COMMITTEE
ELECTRIC EYE
JONATHAN LEPIE
MADISON BOOK CO-OP
MADISON KALEIDOSCOPE
MAYAD SMELT PUBLISHERS
MIFFLIN CO-OP GROCERY
GENE PARKS
SDS WOMEN'S LIBERATION
DENNIS SANDAGE
PAUL SOGLIN
WHITE PANTHERS
WHOLE EARTH CO-OP
YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

to turn the youth away from the fight for socialism, to turn them away from building a revolutionary party.

The YSA does not proceed from a strategy for a revolutionary struggle for power. In place of such a strategy, in place of the party, it substitutes alliances on partial issues with anyone who agrees on those issues. The basis for unity depends not on the real needs of the working class, but on whatever is for the moment salient in middle class radicalism. Its support of drug culture is the logical outcome of this policy.

Workers League

CALIFORNIA: San Francisco: 1333A Stevenson St. Phone: 626-7019
Los Angeles: 11260 Missouri Ave. Nq. 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: 366-6384
Cornell: Ed Smith, Rm. 1305, Class of 1977 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: 257-7558



CHARLES DENNER IN SCENE FROM "Z" FILM ON GREEK COUP.

BY LOU BELKIN

The announcement recently by Washington of the resumption of full diplomatic relations with the Greek military junta (after lifting the "economic blockade") makes it quite clear that at this time, the ruling clique has been able to temporarily "normalize" class relations. The April 1967 coup, on the eve of Parliamentary elections, was successful only because of the whole history of betrayals by the Stalinist and liberal leaderships. The coup was itself a response by the Greek ruling class to the relationship of class forces brought about by the deepening crisis in Greece and internationally. The coup rests then on a real fear of the Greek working class and peasantry.

The movie, "Z" which is playing to large numbers of people, was directed by Costa-Gavras and photographed by the great Raoul Coutard. It was adapted from an "historical novel" by Semprun (who is also the scenarist of the film) based on the assassination in 1965, of Dr. Lambrakis, pacifist leader and professor of medicine. While the film purports to present an objective account of the assassination, trial and subsequent coup ("all reference to names, places, etc., is purely intentional...") what comes forth, camera-lens clear, is a well-photographed, crisply edited melodrama, which leaves out the roles of the Greek ruling class and masses, and

the perfidious role of the Communist Party.

The director, Costa-Gavras, who reflects the pressures of the petty-bourgeoisie, particularly in its liberal intellectual wing, serves up the usual great-men-of-history rubbish with super-duper portraits of lawyers, pacifist leaders and followers, prosecutors, state investigators, fascist thugs, avaricious police chiefs, and army big-wigs.

MYOPIC

In "Strike" (1924-5) Eisenstein utilizes the bosses' petty-bourgeois spies, flunkies and politicians as comical animal-symbols, mere facets of the great network of middle-men who fluctuated between the two major class antagonists--the ruling class and the workers. In "Z" Costa-Gavras misses the boat entirely. He concentrates his myopic attention on the middle classes, as good guys and bad guys. The pacifist leader, Lambrakis, and his forces are unable to outwit or overcome the generals, police chiefs and their fascist hirelings. "Democracy" caves in. At the film's end even the "impartial" prosecutors and investigators are dispensed with. The whole element of struggle between class forces is missing.

The story concentrates, in zoom-in fashion, on the assassination of Lambrakis, famous physician and anti-

FILMS

'Z'

MISSES KEY ELEMENT -- GREEK CLASS STRUGGLE

bomb warrior, on the subsequent investigation of the murder and the impotence of either the liberal government or courts to solve the murder, prosecute the guilty parties and stem the tide of reactionary military coup. The episodes are pieced together in courtroom-action fashion, various personal relationships superficially explored, and cinematic tours-de-force wedged in. The cameo acting bits are a highlight, particularly those of R. Salvatore ("Rocco and His Brothers") and N. Manfredi ("The Organizer") as the lumpen prototypes.

PACIFISTS

The good doctor calls a demonstration (in 1965, near Crete) against American missile bases and "the bomb." The fascists' counter-violence ensues, the police are unwilling to maintain order, the pacifists turn the other cheek and Lambrakis is clubbed to death. Then follows a State Investigation, superbly and coolly presided over by J.L. Trintignant ("A Man and A Woman"). At this point, exposition presented in rather drawn-out fashion gives way to methodical and rapidly cut analytical investigation. The inquiry reveals guilt among the military and police, but before the culprits are brought to trial, the government topples "mysteriously," the coup accomplished by the very same guilty parties. The liberals and pacifists waver, negate the deployment of counter-violence, place great faith and hope in the "democratic process" and law-and-order, and ultimately meet banishment, jail or death.

Completely omitted from the film are the mass strikes in 1965 which climaxed on May Day with municipal

employees, agricultural workers and sanitation men demonstrating against rising prices and shrinking wages. Then on May 28 tens of thousands of building workers, spurred on by the Stalinists' call for a one day general strike, went out for 48 hours and put the police chief and officers in the hospital. Of course during this crucial period, the response of the Stalinists and Pravda was to isolate and contain the struggle on the level of economic reforms. The Lambrakis affair received considerable publicity abroad, but the mass demonstrations and strikes, the fierce determination of hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants to fight the government, brought real fear into the hearts of the rulers. All of this is missing in "Z". The masses in this film appear only as an adjunct to pacifist and student movements or to fascist youth and adult gangs.

Throughout, Coutard's subdued, though well-lit color, and documentary camera-eye provides the only respite to an otherwise cynical distortion of history. The only truthful moments arise when depicting the feeble, impotent blandishments of pacifism, and, by inference, lack of any revolutionary working class leadership, able consciously to lead and educate masses in struggle against repression, and raise the understanding to the level of a struggle for power.

What is missing is the role of the working class, the only force, together with the peasantry, capable of the struggle against the military dictatorship in Greece, and the role of Stalinist leadership in betraying this struggle. This is the central question posed in Greece today-- the struggle to construct a Trotskyist leadership against Stalinism and its petty-bourgeois cohorts to overthrow the military dictatorship.

U.S. RECESSION SLAMS CANADIAN WORKERS

BY CHARLES HENRY

TORONTO-- "Present indications are that the market for farm machinery will remain at a depressed level during 1970 and as a result of this condition we will make an adjustment in our production schedules."

With this statement Massey Ferguson announced that it was to lay-off for a period of weeks workers in its two plants in Toronto and Brantford. The layoffs will involve over 2,400 workers in addition to the 800 workers already laid off for an indefinite period prior to the announcement. In a statement put out by the local 439 UAW executive, it was revealed that none of those laid off are to receive any supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB) as the fund has already been exhausted by short working and temporary layoffs before November.

The layoffs at Massey Ferguson are the latest additions to those in auto and aircraft. General Motors,

Ford and Chrysler have announced that total layoffs will amount to 30,000 workers among them. Many of the workers involved were laid off just a few months before and the present layoffs will mean real hardship, especially with no SUB benefits. The layoffs are an integral part of the whole slowdown in industry on the North American continent. For the 4th consecutive report, the Nixon administration has announced a drop in the Gross National Product. The result of this has been that in auto alone there have been 133,000 layoffs and the US government plans, according to some reports, to layoff over a million civil servants by 1971.

NDP

In Canada the manifestations of unemployment and recessionary measures are even more apparent. Trudeau's elimination of 35,000 civil service jobs, 10% cut across the board, was the signal to industry to do likewise. The unemployment was designed and

led by the Trudeau government. More significantly, however, is that the union leadership and the leadership of the NDP have not uttered one word about the growing unemployment. Both know that the unemployment is a direct result of Trudeau's policies to push the cost of the present crisis of Canadian and world capitalism on the backs of the working people. Although it's clear that unemployment will be used as a threat over the working class when it strikes for better wages and conditions, the trade union and NDP leadership refuse to lead any strike or voice any opposition. They are in fact Trudeau's cover.

This could not be more dangerous than in 1970 with over half of all union contracts coming up for renewal including auto and Massey Ferguson. The government has shown its true hand in relation to the longshoremen's strike in B. C., where Bryce Mackessey with the leadership of the ILWU has threatened to impose the

contract of containerization on the workers against their will.

The union militants must face up to the fact that to fight in any purely syndicalist way over the expiring contracts, can only lead to defeat. It is necessary to aim the struggle at the cause, the federal government. Only by fighting on a program of nationalization of basic industry can any real gains be made. The NDP must be forced to fight on this policy as part of a whole program against unemployment, anti-union laws and wage freezes. To take this fight forward it is necessary to build a new political leadership within the trade union movement which will not keep silent over the government's measures, but will mobilize the rank and file of the labor movement to defeat Trudeau's capitalist government. In turn this struggle must be linked up with the struggle in the US within the internationals to defeat Nixon and to build an American labor party.