

Bulletin

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lessons
of the
postal strike
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INSTITUTE 1

as nixon escalates war

UNIONS ACROSS NATION JOIN APRIL PROTEST



Soldiers patrol the streets of Kompong Cham, Cambodia following demonstrations against CIA-inspired military coup(right). Contingent of trade unionists from Minnesota during last November's Washington March(left). This group and many other trade unionists plan to participate in April actions.



STALINISM & TROTSKYISM IN U.S.

by
**Fred
Mueller**

A NEW SERIES

An Answer to
Hyman Lumer
and Others



EDITORIAL

LABOR MOVES INTO APRIL PROTESTS

BY THE EDITORS

From coast to coast, the participation of the organized labor movement in the April 15th demonstrations against the Vietnam war is growing. Behind these developments is a growing awareness among rank and file trade union members that the war in Vietnam is not their war at all—that indeed the same war against the people of Vietnam is now being conducted with increased ferociousness against the unions by the U.S. employers and the government.

The participation of thousands of trade unionists in the Nov. 15th demonstration of 800,000 in Washington against the war is being extended in cities throughout the country despite the attempts to diffuse the anti-war movement by not calling any central Washington demonstration. In San Francisco, there is widespread support among the longshoremen and the warehousemen of the ILWU for the anti-war demonstrations of April 13-18th. The April 15th demonstrations have been endorsed by Local 6 and Local 10 of the ILWU. The leaders are encouraging union members to participate as individuals. While not calling it a work stoppage, they have pledged that no union members will be permitted to lose their jobs as a result.

In Minneapolis, a group of trade unionists organized as Labor Against the War will hold a rally in opposition to the war, calling on trade unionists throughout the Twin Cities to attend. The main speaker at the rally will be Sam Pollock of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union in Cleveland.

In Detroit, as is reported elsewhere in this issue of the Bulletin, a number of UAW locals as well as the Tool and Die units of Ford Local 600 have endorsed the April 15th rally against the war.

The growing opposition to the war among rank and file teamsters is now

reflected in the opening up of a discussion of the war in the Teamsters' paper by Vice President Harold Gibbons. Many Teamsters have written in to the paper expressing their hostility to the war. Gibbons himself has submitted a statement to a press conference held recently by the New Mobilization Committee, expressing his support to the anti-war demonstrations.

Undoubtedly, the demonstrations in New York City on the 15th will not only be the largest in the country, but many thousands of workers from a number of unions will participate. As the Bulletin reported earlier, Martin Morgenstern, President of SSEU Local 371 of District Council 37, AFSCME has expressed himself strongly in opposition to the war. Morgenstern will be one of the co-chairmen of a demonstration at the New York office of the Internal Revenue Service at Church and Murray Streets at 12:30 on the 15th.

According to Al Evanoff, Vice-President of New York's District 65, RWDSU, a meeting will be held shortly of a number of New York trade union leaders for a discussion of plans for trade union participation in the demonstrations. This will include leaders from unions which were previously involved in the Labor Peace Assembly—Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers, District 65, Furniture Workers, UAW, as well as people from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, District Council 37 and Teamsters.

There is no doubt that all the conditions for the mass participation of the U.S. labor movement are being intensified as Nixon heats up the imperialist war against the workers and peasants of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia at the same time as the most vicious war is being carried out against the postal workers, the railroad unions and next the Teamsters.

This is only the beginning. The

workers are being hit with a still skyrocketing inflation and mounting unemployment at the same time and the power of the government backed by the entire Democratic and Republican parties is being mobilized to try to keep the workers from fighting back. Vietnam ties it all together and the growing trade union participation against the war on April 15th is a real step in the direction of an independent political struggle by the U.S. labor movement.

We think that a really tremendous movement of masses of unionists can be brought into the April 15th demonstrations. By all means let us take the participation and endorsements of those labor leaders already mentioned further by organizing labor's own rally and feeder march in cities such as New York! Those labor leaders who have endorsed the April 15th actions in New York and elsewhere now have a responsibility to bring the rank and file of their unions into a struggle to demand that the Central Labor Council back the April 15th demonstrations and urge the members of the organized labor movement to all take the day off in order to attend these demonstrations.

The Workers League pledges an all out campaign to bring out on April 15th the most decisive power of all that can stop the imperialist war against our brothers in Vietnam—the American working class. The center of our campaign is the fight for the trade union movement to participate in the April 15th demonstration on a program that raises the independent power of the working class:

- Immediate Withdrawal of All U.S. Troops From Vietnam!
- Against Inflation and Unemployment—For the Escalator Clause in Every Contract and the 30 Hour Week at 40 Hours Pay!
- Against Racism—Jobs for All!
- Break with the Democrats and Republicans—Build a Labor Party!

CNL Faces Morgenstern in SSEU Election Campaign

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The first SSEU-371 general election in two years and the first since merger is now scheduled to take place April 17th. What this election poses to the SSEU rank and file is the first opportunity in two years to throw out the bankrupt Morgenstern leadership. Unless this is done, this leadership is virtually guaranteed to continue its retreat before the City's job cutting reorganization scheme and bring the membership face to face with layoffs in a few short months.

The real loathing and disgust of the ranks towards the Morgenstern leadership found expression in the March 25th general membership meeting where over 100 nominations for 16 officerships were made from the floor.

Out of this huge mass of nominations, however, four basic slates clearly emerge: the incumbent Morgenstern slate, the black caucus slate headed by Stan Hill, the Progressive Labor-backed Worker Client Alliance slate headed by Ray Agostini, and the Committee for New Leadership slate headed by Dennis Cribben.

Although it may appear that there is a four way race, in reality there are only two sides in this fight.

On the one side stand together Morgenstern, Agostini and Hill, as they have stood together on every issue before the union in the past 18 months. All three of these candidates stand 100% for the City's reorganization drive. All voted to a man for the 1969 contract. On the two occasions since the signing of the contract, when the ranks pushed forward in struggles that threatened to go beyond the leadership to the repudiation of the '69 contract, in the October case dumping and the

February strike referendum, all three of these candidates voted together to sabotage these initiatives.

OPPOSED

On the other side stands the SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership or the Cribben slate. The CNL has completely opposed reorganization from the outset, seeking to bring forward the struggle of the ranks against this scheme at every point. It was the CNL who mobilized 1200 votes both against the '69 contract and in favor of strike action in the February strike referendum. It is the CNL which now alone if elected is prepared to mobilize the kind of battle with the City that will lead to the eradication of reorganization from the Department of Social Services once and for all.

The Hill and Agostini slates function in fact as reactionary diversions thrown up at election time for no other purpose than to head off the kind of united rebellion against Morgenstern that is developing behind the Committee for New Leadership. The openly racist anti-union black nationalist poison being spewed out by Hill and Co. is deliberately calculated to channel the legitimate hostility of thousands of black SSEU members especially in auxiliary titles into the blind alley of the black caucus slate. Hill and Company, in order to advance their personal interests by perhaps grabbing a few more posts in the bureaucracy, tell black workers that the solutions to their problems lie not through the struggle of the union as a whole but outside the union through struggles based on the community and on race.

While the black caucus tries to di-

vert one section of the SSEU membership from the real fight that has to be made, the PL-backed Agostini-led WCA slate attempts to divert another. The role of Stalinism within the labor movement historically has been that of a left cover, of wooing militants back into the fold of the union bureaucracy, and the WCA is no exception. The WCA tells SSEU members that the main task before union militants is not the fight against Morgenstern or the City on wages and conditions or reorganization, but one of following behind client demonstrations on the budget cuts. In this way the WCA dissolves the class struggle of the union against the City into a classless bloc of social workers and the poor begging crumbs from city hall, eliminating altogether the question of mobilizing the ranks against the City and the Morgenstern leadership.

The main thing is that the positions of the black caucus and the WCA combined are only variations upon the program and practice of the Morgenstern leadership itself. That is why the differences only come to the point of open opposition for two weeks before election day and are submerged for the rest of the year.

CNL

The CNL is the only fundamental opponent of the Morgenstern leadership, not only from the standpoint of its fight against reorganization but equally as important from the standpoint of the struggle it projects within the SSEU and the labor movement as a whole on all questions facing the American and international working class from the war in Vietnam to the four day week.

The postal strike poses the necessity for the sharpest fight in the labor movement to replace the Meanys, Gotbaums, and Rademachers who betrayed this strike, with new rank and file based leadership. It poses likewise as never before the absolute necessity for labor to break with its Democratic and Republican enemies and create a labor party based on the power of the trade unions.

VIETNAM

But in the April 17th election only the CNL is raising this fight. It is likewise the CNL and only the CNL which has taken up the fight on the most critical of all questions before the American and international working class, the war in Vietnam.

While the Morgenstern leadership turns over union facilities to the Democratic and Republican "Senators for Peace and New Priorities" so that they can defeat the Vietnamese workers and peasants in the same way they fought together with Nixon for the defeat of the Postal strike, the CNL is fighting for an independent fight by labor against Nixon and the liberals of both parties for the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

The CNL is in fact the only slate in the SSEU election prepared to take up a class defense of the workers and peasants in Vietnam and to demand that the labor movement as a whole come into the fight on April 15th with work stoppages and independent contingents under slogans linking the fight for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam to the fight against inflation and unemployment and for a labor party.

Center-Left in Crisis As Mass Strikes Sweep Italy



Workers strike in Verbania. Class struggle is behind continuing government crisis

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

While politicians of the center-left parties quarrelled over the division of portfolios in Rome, Turin's 300,000 metalworkers struck for two hours on March 27th--a working day in Italy--against the "state of subordination of workers in the factory and in society."

Following the replacement of Agostino Novella by Luciano Lama as Secretary-General of the CGIL (Italy's largest, Communist and Socialist national trade union), the three major unions have announced a series of "staggered" strikes for a total of 16 hours during April for reforms

in housing, health, and social security and against the increase in the cost of living.

Neither the strikes--which will be organized at different times by region and by industry-- nor the reshuffling of personnel indicate any determination on the part of the Stalinist leadership to fight the center-left to the full.

Novella's resignation, which will leave him as a full-time member of the Communist Party's "direzione" (the leading body within the Central Committee) is part of the agreement with the Socialists, Catholics, and Social-Democrats on the "political autonomy"

of the trade unions as a move towards possible unification.

Lama resigns his position on the "direzione" and at the same time the three CGIL confederation secretaries, Scheda (also of the Communist Party) and Guerra and Foa (of the left-wing Socialist Party, PSIUP) have also resigned their posts in the party leaderships.

CONCESSION

The employers in the textile industry--whose 350,000 workers are claiming a 13¢ an hour increase and the 40 hour week--have offered 9¢ an hour and the shorter week within two years.

This concession, approximately the same as that obtained in the settlement already agreed by union leaders for the industry's 40,000 artificial fiber workers, has been forced by the widespread factory and area strikes of the past month.

Union leaders have split the struggle of Italy's 100,000 electricity generating workers.

The CGIL and UIL (Social Democratic Union) have recommended acceptance of the offer, involving an approximately 25 percent wage increase, forced from the "left-wing" Minister of Labor Donat Cattin, while the CISL (Catholic Union) has urged rejection.

Rank and file meetings held so far have been divided, with the CISL claiming a majority for rejection.

There is strong opposition to the three year duration of the proposed contract, which threatens to tie down workers' wages in a period when vast price increases can be expected.

AMBITIONS

Almost a week after the center-left parties (Christian Democrats, Socialists, Social Democrats and Republicans) agreed in principle to form a government, Prime Minister-designate Rumor is still grappling with the problem of more ambitious politicians than ministerial posts.

The outstanding bone of contention

is over the Foreign Office.

The Christian Democrats insist on this post (which will carry responsibility for negotiations with the Vatican over divorce) for Moro, while veteran Socialist leader Pietro Nenni demands it for himself.

Thus, in essence, the Pope is demanding that he negotiate direct with his own fifth column in the "secular" state, while Nenni is determined not to relinquish the opportunity to give full service to international imperialism.

STALINIST PURGE HITS DUBCEK GROUP IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BY ROBERT BLACK

The Czech purge continues to move towards a climax with the suspension of Alexander Dubcek from membership of the Czech Communist Party and the expulsion of several of his leading supporters over the weekend.

Among the 11 expelled members was Jozek Smrkovksy, until the beginning of last year Chairman of the Federal Assembly.

Hard-line Stalinist Vassil Bilak, in announcing the suspensions and expulsions, stated that while changes were necessary in 1968 after the removal of Novotny, a grave mistake was committed in allowing a "weak man to come to the head of the Party."

CLEAR

This is a clear reference to Dubcek, who became Czech Communist Party secretary at the beginning of 1968.

In April 1969, when he was removed from office to be replaced by the pro-Kremlin Husak, Dubcek was still praised for his devotion to the Party, and was described by those who had fired him as an "honest communist" and a "convinced internationalist."

Over recent months the pace of the Stalinist purge has quickened, and now Dubcek's name is being linked with talk of "counter-revolution" and "capitalist restoration."

Dubcek is at the moment Czech Ambassador in Turkey, but it is thought highly unlikely that he will be allowed to continue in this post in view of the latest disciplinary measures being taken against him.

CRISIS

These new moves are, of course, the visible aspects of the crisis in Czech and international Stalinism.

At the base of its regimes and parties, the tensions are much deeper and potentially far more explosive.

Expulsions today--show trials tomorrow.

That is the agenda of the Stalinist bureaucrats. The working class in Czechoslovakia may well disrupt this counter-revolutionary schedule.

showcase trial hides real vietnam crimes

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The U.S. Army conducted a showcase trial in Vietnam last week, convicting an American officer of involuntary manslaughter in the murder of an unarmed Vietnamese civilian.

Lieutenant James B. Duffy was originally charged with, and convicted of premeditated murder, but the conviction was reversed and the charge changed to involuntary manslaughter, in order to rule out the life imprisonment sentence mandatory for premeditated murder.

During the trial, the lieutenant admitted that he had told a sergeant in his platoon to kill an unarmed prisoner, a civilian farmer.

Four other infantry officers, all from the Second Battalion, 47th Infantry, testified under oath that U.S.

policy as they understood it was to take no prisoners in combat operations in Vietnam.

First Lieut. John Kruger said, "Our policy was that once contact was made we kept firing until everything in the kill zone was killed. We did not take prisoners." The officers also testified that their commanders placed a great deal of stress on "body count," that is, the number of Vietnamese killed in operations.

The Assistant Trial Counsel, the army equivalent of prosecutor, said of this defense testimony: They are... "confusing the fact that Lt. Duffy is on trial, and not the U.S. Army."

ORDERED

But the murder of civilians and prisoners is commonplace, expected, and ORDERED by the U.S. Command at

the highest levels. It is not enough to prosecute an individual officer in a showcase trial for the crimes ordered by the entire imperialist government. This will not get the policy-makers--the U.S. government itself--off the hook. It is they more than a single lieutenant who should be on trial for their brutal aggression against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The massacre and murder of Vietnamese civilians and prisoners flows directly out of the policy of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. The Army tries to shift the responsibility for massacre and murder to individual soldiers or officers as "exceptional cases" or "isolated incidents." But in fact, the massacre at Song My was known to at least two generals, who did not bother to report it, and to officers in the infantry, murdering prisoners is U.S. Army policy.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

TORONTO
The Vietnam War and the American Working Class
Speaker: Dan Fried, Labor Editor, Bulletin
Also: Charles Henry, Workers League (Canada)
Two Films: "The Workers Press", "British Young Socialists"
Friday, April 10th 8:00 PM
Lord Simcoe Hotel Rm. Salon C

STATE COLLEGE, PA.
The Vietnam War and the American Working Class
Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League
Film: "The Workers Press"
Saturday, April 18th 8:00 PM

UAW Local 600 Votes to Support April Anti-War Demonstration

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT--The Tool and Die Unit of Ford Local 600 passed a resolution at its March membership meeting "demanding the withdrawal of all American troops from Vietnam." The resolution also called for support of the April 15th Rally.

Two other Detroit UAW Locals, 306 and 51 have passed a similar resolution in the past two weeks.

The Detroit Coalition to End the War Now is sending student and worker speakers to local unions urging the workers to participate in the April rally in Kennedy Square.

Tom Turner, President of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO Council, is slated to speak at the rally.

The Detroit Coalition is making a turn to the workers. It is a tactical rather than a strategic turn. It is part of the numbers game. Workers are seen merely as a means to increase the size. They see it as a quantitative rather than a qualitative

change. The YSA and their liberal allies view the anti-war movement essentially as middle class. The workers are seen merely as auxiliary.

This issue arose at the March 14th Regional Conference of SMC. Progressive Labor offered a motion to exclude liberal speakers from the April 15th rally. The YSA furiously fought this proposal and were responsible for it being defeated. Except for a few students, the main support for the proposal to exclude liberal speakers came from SDS and the Workers League.

This movement of UAW locals against the war is just the beginning. As the class struggle continues to intensify, more and more workers will move into class action against the bosses and the war in Vietnam. The Workers League will continue to carry out a fight in the anti-war movement and in the trade unions for a working class program for the fight against the war.

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Cambodia, 'Asianization', and the Vietnam War

BY ED SMITH

Prey Voa, an outpost on the South Vietnamese - Cambodian border, saw the first high-level conference between the Cambodian, South Vietnamese, and U. S. military on March 29th.

Col. Ernest Terrell, the "advisor" who led the American delegation, stated that his orders were to "encourage meetings between Vietnamese and Cambodians."



Col. Ernest P. Terrell, a U.S. "advisor" in Cambodia.

WISCONSIN TAA STRIKE AT CRITICAL STAGE

BY A TAA MEMBER

MADISON, WIS., March 30-- The teaching assistants' strike against the University of Wisconsin now in its twelfth day, will soon enter its most critical period. The union has based its strategy on the student boycott of classes, and the boycott shows every sign of collapse when the students return from spring recess. The union must turn decisively toward the city labor movement or face demoralization in the ranks and possible defeat.

The TAA leadership has won limited labor support from the Teamsters, who are generally honoring picket lines. Much more is needed though, than can be gained through private conferences with labor bureaucrats.

The ranks of the TAA must demand that the campus workers union, AFSCME, be publicly called upon to honor picket lines. So far the leadership of this union has refused to support the TAA strike. This union has the power to shut down the entire university. No amount of student support is comparable in effectiveness.

The university and the state showed their determination to defeat this strike on March 25th when three leaders of the TAA were arrested. The ranks must demand that the TAA call upon the city labor movement to prepare a mass labor rally in support of the strike. The attack on the TAA is an attack on the working class as a whole and must be answered as such. The whole force of the city and state labor movement must be brought to bear against the state.

Above all the union must not compromise on its original demands. As pressure mounts, the TAA leadership will seek an accord with the University. The ranks must be prepared for this and remain firm.

The New York Times notes that he did not comment on why these negotiations were ordered. The answer is very clear: to help build a united capitalist front against the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia.

The Cambodians, representing the regime that overthrew Prince Sihanouk on March 18th, were chased to the meeting with a fire under their tails. The very day of the conference, North Vietnamese and Khmer Rouge rebel troops advanced to within forty miles of the Cambodian capital of Phnompenh, and anti-regime demonstrations continued throughout the country.

While the American imperialists at home were faced with the anger of hundreds of thousands of U.S. postal workers, they had to deal with a fresh onslaught of workers and peasants in Southeast Asia.

ASIANIZATION

The course they will have to take is clear. At home, Nixon immediately responded with injunctions and strike-breaking troops in order to try to smash the postal strike. In Southeast Asia it is clear that only U.S. military might stands between imperialist interests and a takeover of the whole area by the workers and peasants. So already the trial balloons are going up to replace the discredited "Vietnamization" fraud with "Asianization"! Can anyone doubt that this means not only a maintenance of the present level of U.S. military power, but a massive expansion of it?

Under Secretary of State, Elliot Richardson, recently asserted that the Nixon Administration has no need of legislative approval for sending troops abroad, as into Laos; "consultations with Congressional leaders" will do. Nixon and his friends are not going to have their hands tied for a moment by the "norms" of bourgeois-democratic society when the survival of capitalist class rule is at stake.

EXPULSION

This is the meaning of the fall of Prince Sihanouk, the advances of the NLF in Laos and Cambodia, and Nixon's new plans for escalation. The workers and peasants of Southeast



Premier Chou En-lai (left) greets Prince Sihanouk who was recently deposed by CIA.

Asia are pressing forward as never before to expel imperialism. "Neutralists" like Sihanouk can no longer hold back the masses with anti-imperialist demagoguery, so he is disposed of for an openly pro-imperialist regime set up by the U.S.

Nixon is launching his attacks throughout Southeast Asia at the same time as he is forced to try to beat back the American workers' fight against the capitalists' double-barrelled offensive of recession and inflation. In both cases the underlying cause is the same--the deepening crisis of the capitalist system. The ruling class cannot give an inch and is forced to remove every disguise in its struggle to survive at the expense of the working class.

This situation makes it a necessity that the common source of the attacks on the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia and the United States be brought home to the American labor movement. The U.S. working class must take up the class fight against the employers and their government

that links them to the heroic workers and peasants of Southeast Asia.

Nixon's full intention to continue and escalate the war throughout Southeast Asia poses the urgency of class action against the war. All the "pressure" in the world is not going to force imperialism to give up its vital interests of driving back the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia.

The doom of imperialism and its wars can only be spelled by the massive mobilization of the American working class against the war on a program to defeat imperialism, raising the demands:

- Immediate Withdrawal of All U.S. Troops From Southeast Asia!
- Against Inflation and Unemployment--For the Wage Offensive and the 30 Hour Week at 40 Hours Pay!
- Against Racism--Jobs for All!
- Build a Labor Party!

The labor movement must take up this fight and enter the demonstrations on April 15th in full with the call for a massive labor march on Washington on Memorial Day.

ysa backs liberals at ny smc meet

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, March 30-- The New York City Regional Student Mobilization Committee meeting was held yesterday at Hunter College. The meeting, attended by about 150 persons, was a continuation of the one held two weeks ago, which ended in a deadlock between Progressive Labor Party-SDS forces and the YSA-SMC. PL did not attend the meeting held yesterday and only a few SDSers were present.

As the meeting opened with a report from the SMC office on the "scenario" for April 15th, it was at once obvious that the liberals in the Moratorium Committee had complete control of the Bryant Park Rally and had chosen the speakers who would address the demonstration. The SMC would have no control over who would speak April 15th, and probably would not even be allowed a speaker of its own. But, the SMC would not take "political responsibility" for the Bryant Park Rally. It would, instead, take responsibility for the campus rallies and the morning activities, including anti-tax rallies and a "Boston Tea Party"-type demonstration of throwing stuff into the river--like draft cards, clean water, money, junk.

In short, the SMC would be responsible for all the isolated actions and childish liberal gestures, and the liberals would be responsible for the mass rally and its political content.

The YSA contended, after questioning from the meeting, that it did not matter who spoke at the Bryant Park Rally, that the important thing was to get people into action against the war and for immediate withdrawal. They counterposed their own liberal program--a popular front around the minimum demand of immediate withdrawal--to the more right wing liberals of the Moratorium Committee.

But the only way to fight against liberal domination of the anti-war movement is by advancing and fighting for a revolutionary program for the struggle against the war. The Workers League proposed that the SMC repudiate the "Boston Tea Party" nonsense, and fight to build the April 15th Bryant Park rally on a working class basis:

- Immediate Withdrawal of All U.S. Troops from Vietnam and Laos!
- Against Inflation and Unemployment--For the Wage Offensive and the 30 Hour Week at 40 Hours Pay!
- Against Racism--Jobs for All!
- Build a Labor Party!

At the Cleveland Conference, the SMC, under the leadership of the YSA-SWP pulled back from calling a massive Washington-San Francisco demonstration because of pressure from the liberals and the Stalinists. Rather than calling for a massive demonstration on a working class program, they agreed to support the liberals' demonstrations called around Tax Day, April 15th. The YSA-SWP start with their relationship to the liberals, rather than the objective needs of the working class, and they end in political subservience to the liberals.

From the Cleveland Conference to yesterday's meeting, the YSA has fought tooth and nail against a working class program for the struggle against the war, against bringing the American working class into the fight against the war. They hold the door wide open for the liberals, who then refuse to allow the SMC or YSA to speak at Bryant Park.

POLITICS

No other political tendency had an alternative for the anti-war movement. PL-SDS which had earlier proposed excluding liberals, had presented a liberal-reformist program, whose

"working class" demand was for the maintenance of rent control. The Labor Committee and International Socialists played completely rotten roles. At the start of yesterday's meeting they had a joint proposal for the conference, but midway through, that broke up. IS spoke about the working class, and the need for a working class orientation for the SMC, but they considered their proposal merely as an amendment to the SMC's middle class program, not as anything fundamentally different from it. They had nothing to propose for April 15th, and actually said that if the SMC's proposal for April 15th were divided from SMC's politics, they would vote for it. As if actions could be considered aside from politics, or politics aside from action.

The Labor Committee refused to deal with the question of April 15th or mass working class mobilization against the war. They proposed that SMC "support all future strikes of workers," and propagandize to students about restructuring the economy.

CONSCIOUS

The Workers League will carry forward the fight for a working class program for the struggle against the war and for the massive participation of the trade unions on April 15th on this program. The tremendous militancy of American workers shown in the nationwide Post Office strike, and the beginnings of a tremendous change in consciousness show the way forward for the fight against the war.

It is not enough to say that strikes like the Post Office strike are "objectively anti-war." The fight before the anti-war movement now is for the conscious struggle of the American working class against the imperialist war in Vietnam and the capitalist class internationally.

Bulletin

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STALINISM

& TROTSKYISM IN USA

an answer to hyman lumer and others

by FRED MUELLER



OVER 40 YEARS have passed since the expulsion of Trotsky from the Soviet Union. It has been more than 30 years since the bloody Moscow Trials and the brutal purges of the late 1930s during which thousands upon thousands of Communists met their deaths at the hands of Stalin and his police regime. This year marks the thirtieth anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky by a Stalinist agent in Mexico. Yet Trotskyism haunts the Stalinist bureaucracy more than ever before.

Stalinism is the theory and practice of the Soviet bureaucracy. This bureaucracy developed after the October Revolution, reflecting the pressure of imperialism on the isolated workers' state. Its ascendancy coincided with grave defeats of the working class internationally. Small privileged sections of the proletariat and peasantry within the Soviet Union combined with sections of the urban middle class and the government apparatus to form a bureaucratic caste which made Stalin its chief spokesman. This bureaucracy based itself above all on the theory and practice of socialism in one country expounded by Stalin after 1924. It rejected the perspective of

world socialist revolution. It rejected the struggle for power everywhere

Stalinism moved from revisionism to conscious betrayal and to the murder of an entire generation of revolutionists. Theory is not abstracted from the class struggle, but is in fact its most developed expression. There is not a corner of the globe where Stalinism has not resulted in the strengthening of the forces of capitalism and reaction and the defeat

conscious expression of the working class in struggle.

CONTRADICTION

Now with the deepening crisis of imperialism Stalinism is also forced into an intolerable crisis. Trotskyism gains renewed strength from the new movement of the working class, especially in Europe and North America. This is the meaning of Trotskyism today and this is precisely what haunts the Stalinist gravediggers of revolution as never before.

further defeats if it is not replaced. That is what the struggle against Stalinism is all about. The penalty for false leadership will become, as it was in 1930s, the rise of fascism in the advanced countries. This time it will mean not only the destruction of the organized working class movement but probable nuclear annihilation as well. The fight against Stalinism is a life and death struggle for the working class and, in the imperialist epoch, for all of humanity.

The fight against Stalinism is an international question which must be taken up in every country. There must be a relentless exposure of the so-called Communist Parties. The history of Stalinism and its current role are the most vital questions facing the world working class. In the U.S. the working class will pay dearly for any complacency in relation to Stalinism. It would be fatal to minimize the importance of the U.S. Communist Party because of its small size or present discredited position in the labor movement.

As agents of the Kremlin bureaucracy the American Stalinists play a very dangerous role within the working class movement. Stalinism can continue to fulfill its counterrevolu-

I. HYMAN LUMER FALSIFIES HISTORY

of millions of workers, peasants and communists.

Yet the world working class has recovered from the most devastating defeats of the 1920s and 1930s. Capitalism was given a new lease on life by the Stalinist bureaucracy after the Second World War. But capitalism cannot expand without also strengthening its own opposite, the working class. The working class has emerged from this boom period undefeated, with important economic gains and the confidence and determination to defend these gains. This is already leading to tremendous class confrontations and revolutionary and pre-revolutionary struggles in the advanced countries.

Trotskyism is contemporary Marxism. It originated in struggle against the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union. What was first a term of abuse heaped upon the genuine Bolsheviks by the Stalin faction became the expression of the fight for the continuity of Bolshevism in the darkest days of reaction. Marxist theory is developed in periods of reaction as well as advance. In the most difficult circumstances, reduced to a few hounded adherents, Trotskyism upheld the banner of Bolshevism, of the international proletarian revolution. The historical and theoretical continuity of the working class movement was maintained. Stalin was not able to destroy Trotskyism, the

The working class faces a tremendous contradiction, between the tasks confronting it on the one hand and its counterrevolutionary leadership on the other. This leadership arose in a period of defeats and will lead only to

France 1968--Trotskyism has gained renewed strength from the movement of the working class internationally



PHOTOS AT TOP OF PAGE: Upper left: "For Victory and a Secure Peace" Daily Worker, May 14, 1944; Upper center: CP rally in 1936 celebrates "Spirit of '76"; Upper right: Stalin; Lower center: Trotsky; Lower right: Battle of Deputies Run during Trotskyist led teamsters strike in 1934

tionary role only to the extent that it continues to dominate the working class internationally. In order to continue to dominate the working class it must talk the language of the class struggle and engage in the struggle itself in order to derail it.

Of course the power of the American CP can not be compared to that of the Kremlin or to the mass CPs in Western Europe. But the decisive question is the class role it seeks to play, and we see it playing more and more of a role in response to new developments in the class struggle. In the U.S. as all over the world, Stalinism seeks to tie the working class to capitalism, to foster illusions in bourgeois democracy and betray the struggle for socialism.

The U.S. Communist Party recently celebrated its 50th anniversary. To commemorate this event a special number of *Political Affairs* was published last Fall, "50 Years of the Communist Party USA 1919-1969" Sept.-Oct. 1969. This issue contains a number of articles which attempt to deal with CP history from the early days up to and including the dark days of the McCarthy period and the witch-hunt.

HISTORY

Even as an introduction to the history of the Communist Party the special issue of *Political Affairs* is significant only as a reflection of the deepening and irreversible crisis of Stalinism. It simply ignores the Third Period and the purge trials, although even a brief glance at the *Daily Worker* from the late 1920s and the 1930s will show that these international developments within the Comintern and the Soviet Union had a very deep impact on the American party. Then it briefly skates over some of the excesses of the Popular Front period, the Nazi-Soviet Pact and the Second World War. All of this is of course no accident. The CPUSA can no more easily than the Kremlin itself confront its own past. Instead we get silence and evasions, and slanders and lies where evasions will not do. Just as the bourgeoisie and its historians are blinded by their inability to see the capitalist system as anything but eternal, the Stalinists must also ignore and falsify history because their role is to prop up this decaying system. The Stalinists have the task of reconciling their betrayals of the working class with the formulas of the class struggle and of Marxism.

One thing the American Stalinists feel they cannot ignore, however, is "The Fight Against Trotskyism", and they include an entire chapter in their little history devoted to this subject. This article is written by Hyman Lumer, an old hand at Stalinist falsification. He presents some of the tried and true slanders which have been leveled against the Trotskyists from the beginning of the Stalinist degeneration of the USSR.

Lumer is obviously making an attempt to refine his techniques of distortion and to avoid if possible outright slander. As we shall show, however, this distinction between distortion and slander becomes a fine one indeed.

MENSHEVISM

Lumer begins his analysis with a reference to Trotsky's Menshevik background. His position is as follows: Trotsky was a Menshevik. He joined the Bolsheviks in the heat of the moment, so to speak, in 1917. He played a leading role in the Revolution but his Menshevism came to the fore once again "some years later" and he moved quickly into the camp of counterrevolution.

For most of the period of his political activity before 1917, Leon Trotsky was a Menshevik, who made a career of attempting unprincipled reconciliation of Menshevik opportunism and Bolshevism in the name of "centrism" ...In late summer of 1917, Trotsky joined the Bolsheviks. An effective speaker and writer, he was given every opportunity to play a leading part in the events to come. He became chairman of the Petrograd Soviet and after the October Revolution he was made a member and later chairman of the Military Revolutionary Committee. He was thus an important figure during and after the period of the uprising.

However, he abandoned neither his old habits nor his old ideas. His super-revolutionism emerged some years later as a pretext for abandoning the socialist revolution, in the name of his pseudo-Marxist theory of "permanent revolution"...(1)

This analysis is a total falsification. Lumer strings together a series of lies



(Above) Troops fire on peaceful workers demonstration at start of 1905 Revolution. Trotsky (Shown left as he appeared in St. Petersburg in 1905) played a leading role in the Revolution.

and half-truths in order to falsify the history of the Bolshevik Party and the October Revolution. He does not and cannot examine the nature, the content of Lenin's differences with Trotsky and his struggle against Trotsky prior to 1917. This would require that he explain the fact that Trotsky overcame his opposition to Bolshevism through a struggle which enriched and further developed the Bolshevik Party itself. He would have to explain Lenin's statement, in November 1917, that after Trotsky joined the party in July of 1917, "there has been no better Bolshevik."(2)

As to Trotsky's role in 1917 and afterwards, we will discuss that later. But firstly, it is not true to say that Trotsky was a Menshevik for most of the period before 1917. We say this not to apologize for Trotsky's mistakes, but to show that Lumer must lie about every detail because he cannot give even a bit of the truth without raising too many questions which would expose the whole tissue of slanders upon which his so-called analysis rests.

FACTS

The lessons of Trotsky's petty bourgeois vacillations in this period can only be understood if we begin with a careful regard for matters of historical truth. The facts are that Trotsky joined the Mensheviks with the original split in 1903 but remained with the Menshevik faction for only a year. For most of the period up to 1917 he was independent of both factions. As we shall show, he was far closer to the Bolsheviks than to the Mensheviks on the fundamental questions of the perspective for revolution in Russia and the relationship of the workers movement to liberalism. But he held back from a principled struggle against Menshevism and sought to conciliate the two factions.

Isaac Deutscher shows in his biography of Trotsky the differences separating him from the Mensheviks as early as 1904:

(Trotsky) stuck to the anti-liberal attitude which had, on the whole, prevailed in the old Iskra. In long arguments with the Mensheviks he began to realize how much, in this crucial issue, divided him from them, and how little from Lenin.(3)

In 1905 Trotsky was the leader of the St. Petersburg Soviet during the Revolution and was one of the leaders arrested upon the dissolution of the Soviet. Deutscher describes the situation as the defendants prepared for

the trial in the Czarist court in 1906:

...At first there were differences over the line of conduct they were to adopt in the dock. On behalf of the Menshevik Central Committee Martov wrote to the prisoners urging them to plead their case with moderation... The Soviet should, in particular, refute the charge that it had aimed at armed insurrection. Trotsky indignantly rejected the advice...The men of the Soviet, Trotsky insisted, should state their principles, explain their motives, proclaim their objectives; they must use the dock as a political platform rather than defend themselves. In this the Bolshevik Central Committee supported Trotsky...(4)

Trotsky later fully acknowledged Lenin's correctness in the struggle against Menshevism. Not only did he acknowledge this, it was precisely his understanding of, his assimilation of Bolshevism which enabled him to lead the struggle in the 1920s against the new opportunism, the new Menshevism within the Bolshevik Party. The new opportunism was led, not by Trotsky, but by Stalin himself.

This question goes far, far deeper than one of personalities or of Trotsky's or anyone else's place in history. One of the most despicable lies of the Stalinists is their assertion that Trotskyism means a defense of Trotsky the individual and of his political role from the turn of the century until his death. In order to falsify history the Stalinists present a conception of political struggle which is completely lifeless and static. They cannot afford to actually trace the political development of individuals and tendencies within the working class movement. Lumer and his fellow Stalinists cannot begin to explain the nature of the Bolshevik Party itself. This is only logical in view of the fact that they have reached their present position by stepping over the corpses of the founders and leaders of the Bolshevik Party.

NEGATION

The Bolshevik Party was never simply a party of individual revolutionists, it was a fighting combat organization. Lumer's suggestion that there were simply Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, with Lenin equalling Bolshevik and Trotsky Menshevik, is a complete negation of Marxism. Lumer turns Bolshevism into its complete opposite; the actual living struggle which took place within the Bolshevik Party and between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks is ignored. Bolshevism becomes a formula, a set of dogmas and a matter of seniority.

We are concerned with Lumer's slanders not simply as slanders against Trotsky but as slanders against Bolshevism. For all of his talk about Bolshevism and Menshevism Lumer doesn't once explain what these tendencies represented. What contempt Lenin would have had for this method, this slavish orthodoxy, this avoidance of every concrete question!

Lenin's struggle which led to the split in 1903 and the formation of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was a battle against some if not most of the pioneer Russian Marxists. Against Axelrod, Zasulich, Martov, Lenin upheld the need for a disciplined centralized party, he fought against the circle spirit of the old propaganda groups out of which the Russian party was emerging. Trotsky drew back from this struggle, he was shocked at the harshness with which Lenin combatted some of his closest comrades in arms, who had made important contributions to Marxism.

Trotsky, as he himself later explained,(5) did not understand that a continuous struggle for theory was required regardless of prestige or individual considerations. He did not understand that the older generation in the party brought with it a tremendous weight of conservatism which was expressed as hostility to centralism and discipline. He did not see that without a constant struggle over the smallest differences opportunism would inevitably dominate the party. Precisely because of Lenin's struggle opportunism did not dominate the Russian party, unlike the rest of the Second International.

1903 was only the origin of Menshevism. Lenin's fight against opportunism on the question of organization was a major milestone in the theoretical struggle which was to lead to the successful October Revolution. Menshevism developed from opportunism on the question of organization to oppor-



tunism on all questions. It was here that Trotsky drew back. He was in complete opposition to the Mensheviks' adaptation to liberalism, but still attempted to occupy a center position between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

Menshevism became the loyal left wing of bourgeois democracy. As early as 1904-1905 the leading Mensheviks came out openly for a bloc with the liberals. This flowed from their conception, completely mechanical and alien to Marxism, that Russia was not ripe for socialism and had to go through a period of extended capitalist development. With this completely evolutionary and anti-Marxist theory the Mensheviks saw for themselves the role of left wing supporters of a bourgeoisie which could still play a progressive role.

COVER

Now what is Lumer's talk about Bolshevism and Menshevism all about? He is not interested in the content of the struggle, he only wants to demonstrate that Trotsky was on the wrong side for much of the period between 1903 and 1917. Thus he uses Bolshevism as a cover behind which he actually upholds the outlook of Menshevism. Behind the Stalinist talk about "old Bolshevism" lies precisely what the "old Marxists" of 1903 represented and became - Menshevism, opportunism cloaked in the formulas of Marxism, opportunism obscured by talk of the struggle against opportunism.

This was the role played by old Bolshevism both before and after Lenin's death, though it did not stop Stalin from exterminating almost the entire generation of old Bolsheviks when he sought to destroy forever any connection between his regime and the proletarian revolution.

Lumer is a defender and representative of Stalinism. This tendency shares with Menshevism a contempt for theory and hostility to dialectics, to revolutionary thought. It shares in addition the very same theoretical conceptions, the faith in capitalist stability, the nationalist prejudices, the mechanical stages theory applied to the international class struggle. Not only is Lumer's attack on Trotsky's "Menshevism" completely false, it is Lumer and his fellow Stalinists who carry on the traditions and outlook of Menshevism carried to their most counter-revolutionary expression. We will prove this to be so.

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

In discussing what he terms "the nature and roots of Trotskyism," Lumer advances one other major argument in addition to his comments about Trotsky's relationship to the Mensheviks. That is his attack on the theory of the permanent revolution. Here is Lumer's analysis:

In brief, the bourgeois-democratic revolution, even to solve its own problems, must lead directly to working class political power and this in turn to immediate steps toward abolition of capitalist property relations. Thereby the working class is brought, almost from the beginning, into direct conflict with the peasantry and other sections of the democratic forces, for these non-proletarian elements, in Trotsky's view, have no role in the socialist revolution. In this the working class

fights alone. And hence, particularly in a country where the working class is relatively small and the peasantry large, as in Tsarist Russia, socialism cannot be successfully established unless the socialist revolution is first victorious in other, more advanced countries.

...In his book *The Year 1917*, which appeared in 1924, Trotsky argues that the victory of socialism is possible only in several of the European countries simultaneously. The task in Russia after the October Revolution, therefore, was not to engage in futile efforts to build socialism but rather to hold this in abeyance while working to 'propel' the revolution abroad. Thus, under the banner of his 'revolutionary'-sounding theory of 'permanent revolution,' Trotsky counseled retreat and abandonment of the socialist revolution in Russia.(6)

Here Lumer is forced to indulge in the crudest distortion and slander in order to strengthen his arguments. Where does Trotsky say that the peasantry has no role in the socialist revolution? When did he characterize efforts to build socialism as "futile"? Lumer also uses the term 'simultaneously' so as to suggest that Trotsky advocated simultaneous uprisings. All of these statements are false. Lumer cannot produce a single quote, a single piece of evidence to back them up. He simply asserts them. The whole basis of Lumer's attack on Trotskyism is made up of lies which cannot meet the most elementary test of historical verification.

Let us examine a definition of the theory of permanent revolution as presented by Trotsky himself. To clarify this question we shall quote at length from Trotsky's concluding summary of his book *The Permanent Revolution*:

With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses.

Not only the agrarian, but also the national question assigns to the peasantry - the overwhelming majority of the population in backward countries - an exceptional place in the democratic revolution. Without an alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry the tasks of the democratic revolution cannot be solved, nor even seriously posed. But the alliance of these two classes can be realized in no other way than through an irreconcilable struggle against the influence of the national-liberal bourgeoisie.

No matter what the first episodic stages of the revolution may be in the individual countries, the realization of the revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry is conceivable only under the political leadership of the proletarian vanguard, organized in the Communist Party. This in turn means that the victory of the democratic revolution is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat which bases itself upon the alliance with the peasantry and solves first of all the tasks of the democratic revolution...

Trotsky in 1919 in Red Square--Lenin said: "After 1917 there never was a better Bolshevik"



The dictatorship of the proletariat which has risen to power as the leader of the democratic revolution is inevitably and very quickly confronted with tasks, the fulfillment of which is bound up with deep inroads into the rights of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution grows over directly into the socialist revolution and thereby becomes a permanent revolution.

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not complete the revolution, but only opens it. Socialist construction is conceivable only on the foundation of the class struggle, on a national and international scale...

The completion of the socialist revolution within national limits is unthinkable. One of the basic reasons for the crisis in bourgeois society is the fact that the productive forces created by it can no longer be reconciled with the framework of the national state. From this follows, on the one hand, imperialist wars, on the other, the utopia of a bourgeois United States of Europe. The socialist revolution begins on the national arena,



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it unfolds on the international arena, and is completed on the world arena. Thus, the socialist revolution becomes a permanent revolution in a newer and broader sense of the word; it attains completion only in the final victory of the new society on our entire planet.(7)

In his own exposition Trotsky answers all the slanders which Lumer now brings forward more than 40 years later. On the question of the role of the peasantry, not only does Trotsky not say that it has "no role", he speaks of its "exceptional place". Trotsky insists that the revolutionary alliance of the proletariat and peasantry can be realized only under the leadership of the proletarian vanguard. He insists that the proletariat cannot subordinate itself to other classes, but that a revolutionary alliance is not only necessary but essential. Lumer turns this around entirely to say that Trotsky sees no role for the peasantry.

LIE

When Lumer says that Trotsky held that socialist construction must be held "in abeyance" he is lying. Trotsky and the Left Opposition answer this in the 1927 Platform:

When we say, in the words of Lenin, that for the construction of a socialist society in our country, a victory of the proletarian revolution is necessary in one or more of the advanced capitalist countries, that the final victory of socialism in one country, and above all a backward country, is impossible,

as Marx, Engels and Lenin have all proved, the Stalin group makes the wholly false assertion that we "do not believe" in socialism and in socialist construction in the Soviet Union. (8)

Does this sound like "retreat and abandonment of the socialist revolution in Russia"?:

Resting our hope upon an isolated development of socialism and upon a rate of economic development independent of world economy distorts the whole outlook. It puts our planning leadership off the track, and offers no guiding threads for a correct regulation of our relations with world economy. We have no way of deciding what to manufacture ourselves and what to bring in from outside. A definite renunciation of the theory of an isolated socialist economy will mean, in the course of a few years, an incomparably more rational use of our resources, a swifter industrialization, a more planful and powerful growth of our own machine construction. It will mean

a swifter increase in the number of employed workers and a real lowering of prices - in a word, a genuine strengthening of the Soviet Union in the capitalist environment.(9)

It was Trotsky who first proposed the beginning steps towards industrialization, when Stalin mocked and ridiculed any suggestion of socialist construction. Trotsky consistently advocated measures to preserve and strengthen the first workers state within the framework of a world revolutionary strategy. The permanent revolution did not mean suicide for the USSR - precisely the opposite. It was Stalin who insisted that an international strategy contradicted the building of socialism in the USSR. When Stalin later embarked on a panicky campaign of industrialization and collectivization of the land, he proceeded with the same nationalist perspective, turning his back on the world revolution.

ONE COUNTRY

Lumer is not simply slandering the theory of permanent revolution. His attacks serve the purpose of defending the theory of socialism in one country. Since he cannot defend this theory against Trotsky's criticism he brings in the slanderous accusations that Trotsky ignores the peasantry and counsels retreat and defeatism. Trotsky was not alone in rejecting the perspective of building socialism in a single country. This was the position of the entire Bolshevik Party up to Lenin's death.

Here is what Stalin himself said in April 1924:

Can this task be accomplished, can the victory of socialism in one country be attained, without the joint efforts of the proletariat of several advanced countries? No, this is impossible... For the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, particularly of such a peasant country as Russia, are insufficient...(10)

Just a few months later this same speech in a later edition was edited so as to read:

But the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country does not yet mean that the complete victory of socialism has been assured. After consolidating its power and leading the peasantry in its wake the proletariat of the victorious country can and must build a socialist society...(11)

One of the greatest campaigns of falsification waged by the Stalinists has been on this question of building socialism in one country. They have dragged quotations out of context and mauled them to pieces so as to make it appear that Lenin agreed with this conception, whereas in reality his en-



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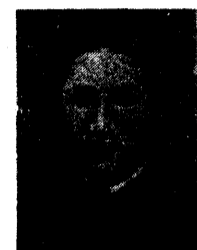
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Trotsky in 1919 in Red Square--Lenin said: "After 1917 there never was a better Bolshevik"



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NIGHT STUDENTS STRIKE AT BROOKLYN COLLEGE

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BROOKLYN, N.Y.-- On March 17 and 18, evening session (SGS) students on most City University campuses in New York struck for equality with the day session (CLAS) students.

The key "equal rights" demand is that all SGS students become fully matriculated with free tuition--like CLAS students--under the Open Admissions policy in September. Many SGS students meet the Open Admission requirements for matriculation but they are presently excluded from the program.

At Brooklyn College striking students also demanded that SGS teachers recently fired be rehired, that firings cease, and that more full time teachers be hired with tenure on the same basis as CLAS teachers. They further demanded that no SGS classes be eliminated.

The strike on the Brooklyn campus was 100% effective on the 17th and 500 students attended the rally that evening. The next day the strike was about 95% effective. At the rally on the 18th, the President of the United Federation of College Teachers (UFTC), Dr. Israel Kugler, pledged



Student speaks at rally.

support to the striking students and urged them not to pay their tuition bills in September. The strike was also backed by the CLAS student government at Brooklyn.

At Queens College classes were cancelled and 1500 rallied. Strike actions and rallies were also held at City College, Hunter, Staten Island Community College, Bronx Community College and Baruch School. The previous week, Lehman College held a mass rally, and at Hunter College on Friday, March 20th, a sit-in by 1,000 students forced the school to close.

MILITANT

The widespread support that has been generated around these demands reveals a militant mood among broad sections of students. The task now is to carry the struggle forward and win.

This means the fight for equality must be conducted as a fight for all students against Lindsay, Rockefeller, and the Democratic and Republican Parties who control the funds for CUNY and who are currently attacking the very concept of free higher education. CUNY has something in store for everyone. Tuition and unequal treatment for SGS students, plans for higher fees and even tuition for CLAS students, and the possible elimination of the entire SGS division, and firings for teachers.

The fight must not be allowed to become a pawn of the SGS administration in an internal CUNY power play, or be allowed to oppose Open Admissions in the false hope of getting a few of their crumbs.

The rally at Brooklyn on Wednesday night also made it clear that this is not just a student struggle. The UFTC whose President said to the students, "We are with you 100%" is already involved in the struggle. Currently



Brooklyn SGS pickets warm themselves around bonfire during recent strike to demand free tuition and full matriculation.

the UFTC is appealing the summary dismissal of some 15 teachers last semester.

UNION-BUSTING

Dr. Oscar Gottlieb, who had taught physics at Brooklyn College full time for 15 years until he was fired last semester called the firings, "the worst case of union-busting I've ever seen." The union is also fighting for full-time lecturers to be paid on an annual basis instead of the current hourly one.

What is necessary for victory is the call to the entire labor movement in this city to demand:

- No cuts in the City and State budgets for education.
- Free tuition and matriculation for all students.
- Layoffs of teachers cease immediately and rehiring of all fired teachers.
- For the full expansion of education.

Last year Harry Van Arsdale, President of the Central Labor Council, came out in support of Open Admissions. This year we must demand that the Central Labor Council support the extension of Open Admissions to all students and mobilize the city labor movement against the cutbacks in education.

Behind the Super-profits at Con Ed

BY A UTILITY WORKER

NEW YORK-- To a large number of utility workers the last contract signed with Consolidated Edison Company after the December 1968 strike, is finally taking on its real colors. The money package and the working conditions clauses in this contract are becoming extremely dangerous threats to the standard of living and the job security of all utility workers.

An example of the complete sellout by the Utility Workers of America, Locals 1 and 2 leadership was felt recently in the meter operations department. The men in this section were forced to sign a statement agreeing to do any work assigned to them, above or below their present title. Out the window went seniority and control over working conditions.

The union leadership prides itself on being the great promoter of the individual's rights, and freedom of choice. In this case the individual has a choice, but what a choice-- those who refuse to sign the statement will have to do work below their title anyway. By refusing to sign and agree to do work above his title, a worker will not be eligible for pay raises, and will be by-passed at promotion time for someone who has signed the statement. To make matters worse, last October workers on the job for a year found out that newly hired men were making \$10 more than they were presently making. Needless to say, this and other completely criminal sellout deals were prepared by the leadership.

Confusion is running rampant among the ranks of the union. Job insecurity, mistrust of fellow workers and racial tensions are running high. In general, signs of demoralization are setting in and there is a lack of trust in the union's leadership.

SPEED-UP

Con Ed is preparing to eliminate jobs and it intends to do this by eliminating all those workers who can not keep up with the speedup which is now being introduced in all departments. Naturally this will affect the older workers first. But in order for Con Edison to put this new speedup

pace over successfully it must take from all utility workers, young and old, the gains they have won in the past twenty years, and this is the real significance of signing that productivity statement. The Con Edison Company is presently moving to modernize its antiquated plants with newly introduced automated atomic power generating plants.

To the Security Party, the "opposition" within the utility workers union, Con Ed deserves to exist and continue to make its super-profit as long as it shares a little of it with those who do all the work. This is what

they literally say in their publication. It hasn't happened yet, and from all indications the Board of Directors of Con Ed is not listening to this proposal. In fact it plans to do the reverse.

DEMAND

Rank and File workers must demand that the Security Party take up the struggle against the attacks by Con Ed. While the Security Party has taken up the struggle to make shop level grievances company wide issues, it has ignored the fight around the

very thing that has given Con Ed the green light for harrasing and intimidating workers, that is, the last contract.

This contract, which is barely different from the one rejected by the ranks originally and over which they went out on strike, is not seen by the Security Party as the central issue.

Utility workers must begin a struggle to re-open the contract, reverse the speed up, introduce an escalator clause to keep wages abreast of inflation, and the immediate scrapping of the productivity statement.

A RAILROAD WORKER SPEAKS

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The following is an interview with an 18 year veteran of the railroads, in the United Transportation Union (U.T.U.).

Q. What are the union demands?

A. A 15% wage increase, our cost of living clause back, sick days, etc.

Q. What should the demands be?

A. We want also, differentiated equitable pay rates. At least \$5.00 an hour.

Q. What is the attitude of the workers towards government intervention?

A. The government somehow always prevents strikes from materializing. The intervention generally amounts to compulsory arbitration. Workers believe that they would get better settlements if they could strike, either against individual, or all rail-ways.

Q. Do they see a connection between the railway strike movement and the General Electric strike?

A. The workers don't know too much about the G.E. strike, they're not too well informed. Railway workers tend to be conservative, not too interested in politics. There are many rural types.

Q. What about the war?

A. Most of them deplore it, it's such an unpopular war. Very few workers think it is necessary, even though they are somewhat conserva-

tive. Most think we should get the hell out. We have no business over there.

Q. How about inflation and layoffs?

A. This hits pretty hard. We bargained away our cost of living clause five years ago. The economic downturn has cut overtime and earnings when inflation still hasn't been stemmed much.

Q. Do the workers see a connection between the inflation, layoffs and the war?

A. There is not too much awareness of that. I can't recall any discussions on it. Although they're against the war and inflation, most don't see a connection.

Q. Is there much confidence in the union and in the leadership?

A. The workers complain. But the unions are pretty well tied by the Railway Labor Act. There hasn't been any big challenge to the leadership since the early 50s with the move for the UROC (United Railway Operating Crafts). The workers complain, but they feel they can't do much about it. Also, the unions started by selling insurance and still do. This is a big factor for conservatism in the unions.

Q. Do the workers see a recession?

A. They're pretty well aware that they're in one right now, the biggest once since 1961. This means less overtime and fewer extra jobs called.

Q. What about unemployment?

A. There are some on "furlough." There must be quite a few laid off but I'm not sure how many.

Q. Will there be a change in the employment trends?

A. I think we are going to lose one brakeman out of three off most of the jobs in return for pay increases for the remaining men. Railroad employment is pretty close to rockbottom anyway. The total railway employment is down to about 600,000.

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LESSONS OF THE GREAT

BY TIM WOHLFORTH
THE RECENT POSTAL strike, together with the General Electric strike, mark a whole new stage in the struggles of the American and international working class. Only by absorbing the full meaning of these events can we prepare ourselves for the struggles ahead.

Since 1961 the International Committee of the Fourth International, with which the Workers League is in political solidarity, has main-

tained that we have entered a new period of capitalist crisis. In this period the founding document of the Fourth International, the Transitional Program, can become the program to mobilize millions in the fight for the socialist revolution.

We have fought for this understanding against a revisionist breakaway from the Fourth International, the Socialist Workers Party, and its international collaborators in the United Secretariat. The SWP abandoned the struggle for the Transitional Program and in effect liquidated the independent role of the revolutionary party,

chasing after movements in the middle classes. The SWP apologized for this abandonment on the grounds that capitalism was not in crisis and that thus one must make do with existing struggles outside the working class in the colonial countries, among the blacks and among the students.

MAY-JUNE

During May and June of 1968 the French working class carried through a massive general strike of ten million strong, occupying factories and placing by their actions the question of socialist revolution on the agenda of the day. The May-June events were not only a confirmation of the perspective of the International Committee of capitalist crisis and socialist revolution, but they indicated the

absolute urgency of the international situation. The lesson which had to be drawn from May-June 1968 in France was that the struggle to construct revolutionary parties in all countries must proceed immediately and could not proceed with old propaganda methods. The sharpest internal and external struggle needed to be waged to break the cadres of the Trotskyist movement from all the conservatism imposed upon it from the middle classes in the boom period.

The penetration of the working class had now to take place immediately. The key in France was not who dominated the Sorbonne, but who in the course of struggle could assume leadership in the factories against the betrayers of the French Communist Party. But penetration of the working class is above all a theoretical task, requiring

FILMS

molly maguires : idealist view of class violence

BY LOU BELKIN
THE RECENT ASSASSINATION of Jock Yablonski and his family following the bitterly contested United Mine Workers Union election, and the subsequent government investigation of Tony Boyle, President of the UMW on charges of bribery and corruption, throw into sharp relief the whole history of struggle and violence which etched itself into the turbulence of the coal mining industry. The importation of the industrial revolution in England into the United States saw mass technological achievements and equally massive battles between workers and employers. These developments put coal mining and its valuable commodity, anthracite coal, at the very center of capitalist development, alongside steel and iron.

The early decades of coal mining are marked most conspicuously by the most sordid working conditions for miners and their families, the amassing of huge profits by mine owners, such as Gowen, who singly controlled 300 mines. Anarchic battles took place between savagely exploited miners and the bosses and their lackeys—the mine superintendents and cops. Working in the mines were immigrants from Ireland, Scotland, Germany and Wales, who came to the U.S. in the early 1850s and 1860s; and later immigrants from East Europe, most notably Lithuania, Russia and Serbia. The absence of any organized trade union movement capable of welding together these workers enabled the mine owners to pit sections of workers against one another. This situation also gave rise to a secret organization known as the Molly Maguires—an organization of terrorists, arsonists and executioners.

Martin Ritt's color film, "Molly

Maguires", which stars Sean Connery, Richard Harris, Frank Finlay, and Samantha Eggar, is based on the book, "Lament for the Molly Maguires" (Harcourt, Brace and World) by Arthur Lewis. Photographed by the distinguished James Wong Howe, it seeks to recreate the rise and fall of this movement within the years 1872-1876, as the central focus of mining conflict. The film distorts the actual events (although some historians like the Stalinist, Foner believe the organization did not exist) of the period. It completely omits the early organizing attempts by labor leaders, the furious strikes, particularly those of 1862 and 1874-1875, and the real re-

wages were less than \$3.00 per week after deductions for goods bought at the company store, small children were used for ten-hour duty as coal sifters. The miners and their families lived in shacks (consisting of two rooms, walled by one-inch planks, one window without glass but sealed with cardboard, and earthen floors.)

The film conveys compassion for the violence perpetrated by the miners against the greedy bosses. Everything, however, is divorced from the general social and economic conditions of the period, notably the bitter strike of 1874-1875 motivated by the monetary panic of 1873. This period saw unemployment in the mines at 70%, with the bosses seeking to pit Irish and Welsh miners against the Germans

religious.

Ritt portrays the Archdiocese as the bitter foe of the anarchist Mollies. In one sequence the parish priest and mine boss, Gowen, ride on a carriage together. The role of the church in the film becomes ambiguous. The church in fact was a powerful force in the backwoods mining areas where illiteracy was rampant and newspapers few and far between. During the long strike of 1874-1875 both the archdiocese and Gowen, a North Irish Protestant, tried to blame the Mollies for organizing the unions and chastised the miners for becoming involved in the "Socialist evil of the union." As always the miner was to accept his faith, unchallenged, drudge the 12 hour day, look an old man at 40 and await the better life thereafter.

IDEALISM

Ritt's method is idealism. All social phenomena and events are seen as unrelated or as isolated aspects of an incomprehensible reality, interconnected in some mystical way. The film concludes that the anarchism of the Mollies, the glorification of individual acts of terror and violence resulting from the crushing drudgery of the mines, the escape from the 12 hour inhalation of noxious fumes by vindictive acts against powerful forces, otherwise unstoppable, is somehow incorrect. If only the Mollies would have adapted some "humane" approach to effect class peace.

Yet the Mollies' anarchism, despite individual heroism, remained a fetter on the development of even trade union consciousness among the miners for many years, and in fact provided a suitable excuse for the mine owners to isolate Irish workers from other sections and beat each section separately. Anarchism found its way into the early history of the trade unions. Anarcho-syndicalism was characterized by contempt for politics. It became a substitute for organized political class action and resulted in the fragmentation of the great miners strikes of the 1870s and continued right up to the early twentieth century with the beginnings of mass organizations of trade unions which began to break down the old craft barriers and incorporate industrial workers.

Right through the film, Ritt sympathizes with Kehoe and the Mollies' violence, yet concludes that a peaceful road to solving the problem is necessary.

This is the perspective of the middle class idealist. It is much like the outlook behind a section of SDS, such as the Weathermen, in which the heroism of Guevarrism and the peaceful reformist road of the Stalinists is all wrapped up together. This outlook serves to strangle the working class as it now moves into the sharpest class battles in thirty years. What is required is the forging of a Marxist leadership in the unions that politically prepares the workers for the struggle against the employers and the government, and their agents in the trade union bureaucracy.



Police seize Sean Connery in a scene in liberal picture about an early period of class struggle.

lationship of anarchy, as exemplified by the Mollies, to syndicalism and socialist consciousness that began to grow during the 1870s.

FOCUS

While Ritt, the director, seems sympathetic to the plight of miners, their wives and children (most of whom worked in the mines) he is unable to resolve the character of MacParland, hired by the mine owners and Pinkerton to infiltrate the Mollies and provide suitable evidence to hang the ringleaders, Jack Kehoe and James Doyle. MacParland, adroitly played by Richard Harris is portrayed as roguish, tender, loving, well-meaning, though ultimately sinister. In actual fact this "fink" subsequently went on to bigger and better things, such as the frame-up of Big Bill Haywood and other leaders of the Western Federation of Miners in the dynamiting of the Governor of Idaho in 1906. By that time he had risen to manager of the Pinkerton Agency.

Ritt manages to convey in the opening sequence, slowly paced, hesitantly edited, the atmosphere of the atrocious conditions in the mines. The men worked from 6 AM to 7 PM,

and East Europeans. A strike was called by the Mineworkers Benevolent Association, which lasted nearly a year. The strike was solid, particularly among the Germans and Scots and violence exceeded anything the Mollies had up their sleeves. The mine owners, politicians, other sections of labor were hostile or indifferent to the strike.

INDIFFERENT

The Knights of Labor was made up of craft workers and was hostile to the miners. Trade union consciousness had not developed sufficiently at this point to maintain the strike. The union treasury was almost non-existent. The miners were beaten and thousands lost their jobs to newly arrived immigrants. The Mollies were indifferent towards unions, according to Lewis, but executed foremen and cops, and respected picket lines. During the film, Kehoe, the ringleader, brilliantly portrayed by Sean Connery, makes an arrant remark about disdain for politicians and unions. He feels neither will help the Irish Catholic miner, and as for the other miners of different origins, "let them form their own societies." A well-taken point, inasmuch as the Mollies were exclusively Irish Catholics, lawabiding and

U.S. POSTAL STRIKE

the sharpest theoretical and political struggle with revisionism not only of the SWP, but as it finds expression in one's own party, acting to stifle each attempt to break out of a circle idealist propaganda existence.

As we insisted in 1961, capitalism is an international system and its crisis takes on an international character requiring the construction of the working class party on an international scale. At the very heart of the international crisis stands American imperialism. The crisis is precisely a crisis of American capitalism. It shows that American capitalism took over world dominance from England only to inherit a system in stagnation, and that the current international economic crisis has as its central cause the stagnation of American capitalism itself.

While this crisis finds its first sharp class expression in Europe, and in another form in the Vietnam war in Asia, as the postal strike illustrates, it cannot be confined to these areas. The heart of the crisis is in America but it finds its sharpest expression in the weaker European capitalist countries and in the collision of American imperialism with the workers and peasants of Asia.

The central meaning of the postal strike—a meaning not lost on Nixon and the capitalist class itself—is that the American ruling class must now take on the American working class at the very same time as it comes into conflict with the working class in other countries. It is no longer capable of maintaining class peace at home and class war abroad. While the international class struggle will continue to develop unevenly, with the question of power posed more directly and consciously in Europe and Asia than in America, these international struggles will now proceed along with large class movements in the United States, thus creating the most favorable circumstances for the development of the revolutionary party in the United States.

Frank Lovell writes in the special four page issue of the Militant put out during the strike: "This does not mean that this postal strike is the beginning of the final showdown between capital and labor. What it does reveal is that the working class is disenchanted with the status quo." Herein we find expressed all the conservatism of the "old Trotskyist" generation of the 40s and 50s, who in the present period have abandoned the whole struggle for the Transitional Program.

When, pray tell, will the final showdown between capital and labor begin? If the only meaning of the postal strike is that the workers are disenchanted with the status quo, what differentiates this strike and this period from previous strikes in previous periods?

CONCLUSIONS

Even in the darkest days of McCarthyism, the cold war and the boom of the 1950s, workers demonstrated their disenchantment with the status quo through strike action time and time again. Lovell can not help but note the changes taking place in the class struggle but he holds back from drawing the necessary theoretical conclusions, fully aware that from such conclusions a course of action must follow which is in direct contradiction to everything the SWP today is doing.

If placed in the context of the international crisis, the May-June events, the strike wave in Italy, and intensification of the Vietnam war, then the postal strike does mean the BEGINNING of the final showdown between capital and labor, for it shows that from now on in the American capitalists must cope with their own working class simultaneously with the upsurge in the class struggle internationally.

The movement of tens of thousands of rank and file postal workers in defiance of the law, government and their own sellout leaders for the first time in the entire history of the United States must have roots in changes in material reality itself. Even Dick Roberts, writing in the April 3rd Militant sees the attack on postal workers as "part of the overall design of the capitalist ruling class to freeze the wages of American workers and drive down their living standards." It might be helpful if one writer in the Militant read the articles of another writer.

That this strike was met by Nixon with the sending in of troops is of the greatest significance. It marks an end to the era of class compromise and the beginning of the era of violent class conflict at home as well as abroad. That it was necessary to instruct the troops to have no contact with the strikers, that they were sent in unarmed, that there were widespread reports of support for the strikers among the troops, all indicate the depth of the capitalist crisis. When the armed forces of the capitalist state are not to be fully trusted in action against the working class at home—and just as clearly becoming less and less trustworthy abroad—then we are definitely at the beginning of the



Militant Branch 36, representing Manhattan and Bronx letter carriers, votes to strike. The postal strike represents the beginning of the final struggle between labor and capital when seen in its international class and economic context.

final showdown between capital and labor.

The spontaneous movement of the class through the trade unions is of the greatest importance in the experience and development of the working class. Through this movement class comes into conflict with class and the bureaucratic leadership of the working class together with the capitalist rulers and their two parties become objectively exposed.

So in the postal strike the working class went through a tremendous school of experience. The complete bankruptcy of the union leadership and the hostility of both the Democratic and Republican ruling parties was revealed. The power of the class in action was exposed. The role of the army against workers at home helped to make clear its role against workers and peasants in Vietnam and against the black ghettos.

But it would be the gravest error to conclude from this that the working class comes spontaneously to a socialist consciousness and thus the independent intervention into the working class of the revolutionary party is unnecessary. It is true that the postal strike was a great school for American workers and that only under conditions of actual experience in struggle can large sections of the class learn. But it is the revolutionary party which is the indispensable ingredient in bringing a socialist content directly into these struggles and providing real leadership for victory in the course of this.

It is therefore of the greatest interest that the Socialist Workers Party, after years of ignoring the trade union movement, turns to the postal strike precisely with conceptions of spontaneity. That is, under conditions of heightened class struggle it plays the same liquidationist role in relation to union struggles as it plays in the anti-war and student movements.

The approach to the postal strike of the Workers League and the SWP stand in the sharpest contrast. The Bulletin went to press the very day of the beginning of the postal strike

in New York. However we remade the cover and the second page to feature the strike, seeing it as national in character: "Post Office Strike Sweeps the Nation."

By Sunday it became clear that Nixon was preparing to move troops in to break the strike. The Committee for New Leadership, which is supported by the Workers League, issued a leaflet Monday morning within the SSEU-371, urging a general strike if troops were used. By midday telegrams to this effect were flowing out of centers to DC 37 head Gotbaum and the Central Labor Council.

By Monday night the Workers League issued its own leaflet demanding an immediate general strike and

what isn't shall not be. After all, what we have here are only disgruntled workers—certainly not the beginning of the final showdown.

The same special issue of the Militant contains an article by Frank Lovell, previously quoted, entitled "Meaning of Postal Workers' Strike." Lovell concludes his article on the question of a labor party: "Much has happened during the past four years, most importantly the change in mood of the working class. The recognition of the need for a labor party is now a natural development from the circumstances of the postal workers strike, pitted as they are against the politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties and that institution, the government, with which they are identified and which they represent as a strikebreaking agency." Earlier he states workers "turn as if by instinct to the idea of a labor party."

As Lenin makes clear in *What Is To Be Done?* the working class comes on its own only to trade union consciousness, the recognition of the need to organize in unions. But the creation of a labor party in the United States requires a fundamental leap in consciousness beyond the trade union level. In this lies its revolutionary significance. Precisely because the American working class has waited so long in breaking from the capitalists politically, such a break—occurring at a time of deepest capitalist crisis—will have the most profound revolutionary significance.

It will not develop spontaneously or by instinct. It must be fought for consciously now within the labor movement. The SWP does not fight for a labor party but rather waits for it to develop. It did not prepare for the postal strike through a struggle to develop forces in the labor movement and through a constant struggle to bring the question of the labor party into the labor movement. It did not expect the postal strike. Once the postal strike took place, it reacted to it by putting out a special issue, but in that issue it could put forward no lead in the struggle.

Now that the strike is over—at least for the moment—the Militant headlines its April 3rd issue "Postal Workers' Fight Was Gain for All Labor." As with the GE strike, the settlement upon which the return took place is seen as a victory and no warnings are voiced of the danger of returning to work under conditions where even this settlement is dependent on the action of the very politicians whose inaction caused the walkout.

"The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party," Lovell notes, "now campaigning in all sections of this country, are the only candidates for public office who unconditionally support the striking postal workers and who urge the formation of a labor party based on the trade union movement." Will these candidates, we ask Lovell, in the light of the postal strike, now make the fight for the labor party the center of their election campaigns instead of popular front multi-class black power, Chicano power and women's liberation demands? Will the SWP and YSA support the efforts of the Workers League in the SMC and other anti-war groups to make labor the center of the struggle against the Vietnam war, raising the labor party in this context instead of fighting the Workers League down the line?

Yes, we are now at the beginning of the final showdown and there is precious little time to waste. Above all what is now required is the greatest theoretical clarity so that Trotskyists can penetrate deep into the American labor movement as the sharpened class conflict here and internationally makes this possible and necessary. Trotskyism is the only road forward for workers in all countries. This places a special urgency on seeking to understand Trotskyism through understanding its history and the struggle for the Transitional Program against revisionism from within the Fourth International.

The central lesson of the postal strike is the necessity for the members of the SWP and YSA to go back and study the split with Pabloism in 1953, the reunification in 1963 and the theoretical questions raised in this period by the International Committee of the Fourth International.

during Tuesday supporters of the League were able to mobilize wide support for this within hospital Local 1199, as well as among other sections of the New York labor movement. At the same time the leaflet drew the political lessons of the need to build a labor party against these two party fakers who bring down troops on strikers.

The March 30th Bulletin, which went to press the night the strike was over, assessed the role not only of the troops but of the union leaders in selling out the workers, getting them back to work on only the faintest promise of a wage settlement—a promise which it is now clear will not be lived up to by the capitalist politicians.

The March 27th issue of the Militant mentions the postal strike only in a short article dated March 18th, "Strike Interrupts Sub Drive." "While the Militant wholeheartedly supports this action by postal employees," Flax Hermes magnanimously writes, "the strike does make it difficult to get an accurate idea of how the subscription drive is progressing this week." No doubt an insurrection would require the rescheduling of the Friday night Militant Labor Forum.

Faced with the movement of the class and having absolutely nothing to put forward to the postal employees, the SWP was forced to get out a "Postal Strike Special" which came out after the troops were brought into the New York City post offices. In an editorial which called for labor support for the postmen, the following was stated: "If the situation should reach the point of demanding a general strike against government union-busting, that should be demanded too."

In other words the SWP is not calling for a general strike itself—that would be seeking to give leadership to the working class—but should such a demand spontaneously flow out of the "situation" then that would be a good thing. If it is demanded then it should be demanded—that is the essence of the SWP's pragmatism. What is, is and

Anti- ROTC Protests Hit Washington University

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

ST. LOUIS, MO.—Washington University here has been the scene of massive student demonstrations against ROTC. Last month a ROTC building on campus was destroyed by fire. In the early hours of Monday, March 23rd, students occupied the South Brookings building chanting, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, NLF is going to win." As the demonstrators began setting up barricades, the police were gathering outside. The students then marched to the parking lot surrounding the ROTC buildings and here they became open targets for the cops who moved in with their clubs, bloodied heads and arrested a number of students.

Demonstrations have continued on the campus, centering on disrupting ROTC classes. On Thursday, March 26th, the head of the university asked that the cops remain off the campus until called in, and on Friday the school was shut down.

At the heart of these seemingly "radical" and heroic actions is a reformist perspective based on middle class protest. A leaflet put out by the St. Louis Committee of Returned Volunteers, which has played a role

French Canadian Workers Under Attack

BY DAVID GODDARD

MONTREAL—The response of the nationalists as unemployment rises (now 6.3%), as the attacks of the Federal, Provincial, and Municipal governments upon the working class increase in intensity and viciousness has been deathly silence.

All these middle class radicals can offer to the French Canadian working class is capitalists who speak their own language.

But as a French worker quoted in the capitalist press put it: "I don't see much difference between an English capitalist and a French capitalist; they both steal from you."

In Ste. Therese, Quebec, General Motors lays off workers; on the Montreal docks, jobs continue to disappear; the Provincial government hits the construction unions. Meanwhile the Parti Quebecois wraps itself in the Fleur de Lys while extending a friendly hand to American capitalism.

Postmaster General Kiernans has engaged in union-busting, hiring scabs in place of unionized Postal truck drivers; Mayor Drapeau and his chief henchman, Lucien Sauliner, step up repression aimed at all those who dare to oppose the autocratic Montreal regime—and unilingualist Raymond Lemieux informs us that, at present, the political situation in Quebec does not express itself in class terms.

Lying prostrate at the feet of the separatists (and in particular Lemieux) is La Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (Pabloite).

NARROW

What is required in Quebec is not the narrow outlook of middle class philistines, incapable of seeing beyond their own provincial borders, but the program of Marxists, international in outlook, capable of leading the Canadian working class into a political struggle against English and French Canadian capitalism.

Central to this program is the building of the New Democratic Party in Quebec and throughout Canada to unite the working class. There must be a struggle in the NDP against the reformist Social Democrats on the basis of an independent working class program. It is precisely over this question that we part company with all the rest of the so-called socialist movements (separatist or non-separatist). They refuse to recognize the necessity of political action on the part of the working class independent of all other classes. We stand against all fronts, alliances and blocs which tie the working class to its enemies.

We do not wish to be "pro-working class" or "friends of the proletariat." Rather the Workers League seeks to build a party capable of leading the working class to power. It is necessary to prepare the working class in every sphere of activity for that struggle today.

in these struggles, states: "Missiles, Bombs, Napalm, Defoliants, Death and ROTC are all products of the academic workshop." The leaflet ends with the proposal that the ROTC buildings be used for Day Care Centers. This outlook was put forward again at the mass rally held on the campus on Friday, when one speaker said that the police should be removed from the campus so they could get back to the business of "protecting" the people.

The point is that war and all its accoutrements—missiles, bombs, etc., are products not of the university but of imperialism. These weapons as well as ROTC and the local police, are arms of the capitalist class to maintain the oppression of the working class. The main enemy is not on the campus but in the White House and Congress, the political forts for the capitalist class. ROTC can be removed from the campus and replaced with day care centers—and imperialism and its war against the workers and peasants in Vietnam and the American workers at home will continue. So while ROTC classes were indeed being interrupted on the campus of Washington University, Nixon was spreading the war throughout Southeast Asia against the workers and peasants and was stepping up the war against the American workers by moving the military into New York to break the postal strike.

In fact the only way the "NLF is going to win," is going to drive imperialism out of Vietnam, is with the support of the American working class taking up the fight against the enemy at home. But it is precisely the question of the working class that the SDS leadership seeks to avoid. All its talk about "Victory to the NLF" and "anti-imperialist" struggle merely becomes a left cover for student power antics. When the real program for "Victory for the NLF", the mobilization of the working class against the war, was raised at the St. Louis Peace



Police handcuff student demonstrator at Washington University.

Action Committee on March 16th, the leaders of the adventures at Washington University fought it tooth and nail, denouncing the workers as "conservative."

The leadership of the anti-war movement in St. Louis, the liberals together with the CP and YSA, agreed last week to dissipate the actions on April 15th and even questioned the possibility of a march and rally.

While this leadership is turning away from the struggle here, Harold Gibbons, head of the Teamsters, has

opened up a discussion within the union on the war. It is the labor movement that must take up the leadership of this struggle on a class program linking the struggles of the American workers to the fight of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. It is this program that the youth at Washington University and other campuses must fight for to end the war in Vietnam. It is on this basis that a strike on the campuses and a massive demonstration in St. Louis must be prepared for April 15th.

postal sell-out shaping up

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK—More than five days after they voted overwhelmingly to return to work, the postal workers are waiting—still waiting for their national leaders to make the agreement they said the government had promised, and for the Congress to sign it into law. The workers are becoming restive as their awareness grows that once more they are being sold out.

As part of his strategy to break the strike, worked out jointly with the Administration, NALC President James Rademacher promised that after the men returned to work, if a "satisfactory" agreement was not reached within 5 days, he would recommend the calling of a nationwide strike and ask George Meany of the AFL-CIO to call a general strike of all unions in support of the strike. Yes, that is what Rademacher, the man who New York Letter Carriers hung in effigy as a "rat", actually said. He obviously has no intention of ever carrying out that threat. The 5 days are up, and while Rademacher had already moved the deadline up to 6 days, the national union leaders show not the slightest sign of calling another strike.

AUTOMATION

Latest reports are that Nixon is prepared to give only an immediate 6% wage hike retroactive to October with an additional 6% in July, and has conceded that these increases will be divorced from the postal reorganization bill. But behind this apparent concession it is clear that an agreement is being worked out with the union leaders on the latter's acceptance of postal reorganization, which will not only strike a blow at the power of the postal unions but is intended to lead to widespread job-cutting through automation and rationalization.

Are the union leaders now doing a switch on their previous opposition to the reorganization scheme? Are they angling for a deal with the govern-

ment by demanding that they have a "say" in the appointment of some of the directors of Nixon's proposed postal corporation—a deal that might give Rademacher or other leaders a directorship? These are questions now on the minds of all postal workers.

What happened to the original agreement with Nixon that Rademacher, Johnson, Biller and all the other leaders announced on Wednesday, March 25th as "in the bag" and sold to the workers as the basis on which they should end the strike? It has vanished into thin air. The terms of this

"agreement" which have gone down the drain were: an immediate 12% wage increase retroactive to October, all health insurance to be paid for by the government, maximum salary to be reached after 8 years (instead of the present 21), and perhaps most important, guaranteed amnesty for all strikers.

FIRE

Instead of relying on the power of the hundreds of thousands of postal workers and the millions of workers who stand behind them, the leaders are instead talking about by-passing Nixon and going directly to Congress for the enactment of the original bill for an 11.1% increase in two stages. What bankruptcy! It is clear that these leaders whose sole policy is to beg for favors from the Republican and Democratic politicians want to take the workers from out of the frying pan into the fire.

Behind all the wheeling and dealing of the government and the union bureaucrats, are the nations 210,000 postal workers who went out during the strike which spread across 14 states. One of the lessons which is being driven home to these workers once again is that you cannot trust the promises of the Democrats and Republicans, but can only rely on the one thing the workers have—their power based on a united struggle. In agreeing to go back to work on the basis of a promise, they gave up that power which had struck fear in to the hearts of the labor bureaucrats, the government and the entire capitalist class. But the battle is not finished.

Preparations must now be made to create a national rank and file strike committee of representatives from all postal unions to lead and coordinate on a national level any wildcat strikes which may erupt as the patience of the postal workers wears thin. Such a leadership will take seriously Rademacher's empty threat to demand that the AFL-CIO call a general strike in support of the postal workers.

St. Louis Teamsters Jump the gun with wildcat

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

ST. LOUIS, April 1—Thousands of truck drivers here walked off their jobs today in a wildcat strike as the multi-state Teamsters' contract expired at midnight. The strike is spreading in St. Louis and could affect all 400,000 workers in this key industry. The Teamsters are following the examples of their brothers in the Post Office, as well as the St. Louis drivers that began the strike.

St. Louis is the central state headquarters for the Teamsters and was the scene of a militant wildcat Teamsters strike in 1967. This strike must now be spread throughout the country and all trucks stopped until the contract demands are met.