

INSTITUTION
AUG 23 1971
HOOPER

As Mass Layoffs Begin

STEEL RANKS MUST FIGHT ABEL SELLOUT

What we think

An Open Letter To The SWP

The working class is the only revolutionary class in modern society. The capitalist system is today in its death agony, laying the basis for the sharpest struggle between the working class and the capitalist class. The victory of the working class through the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism requires the construction in all countries of mass Trotskyist parties rooted in the working class.

Today when the capitalist crisis compels the working class and capitalist class into the sharpest conflict, preparing the basis for a new revolutionary situation, there must be a turn to the working class. All who avoid this are not Trotskyists, are not Marxists. Such a turn, however, is above all a theoretical task requiring a development of Marxist philosophy in order to train cadres for the new period in the very course of constructing a leadership in the class.

These are the basic principles of Trotskyism developed in a life-and-death struggle against Stalinism. These are the principles which motivated us when we intervened in the NPAC Conference against the disruptive attacks of Progressive Labor, which expresses the hostility of Stalinism to Trotskyism and the working class. These are the principles which have motivated us since our origins inside the Socialist Workers Party as part of a common struggle with other sections of the International Committee.

Pabloism represents a revisionist tendency which must bear the criminal responsibility for the abandonment of every one of these principles, of the destruction of large sections of the cadres of the Trotskyist movement in this way—on the very eve of the new situation when Trotskyism can become what Trotsky wished it to be—the leadership of masses in revolutionary struggle.

Pabloism abandoned the Marxist method in favor of impressions of surface movements. It denied the revolutionary role of the working class, reflecting the pressure of the capitalist class through the petty bourgeoisie. It denied the fundamental crisis of capitalism and the perspective of constructing mass Trotskyist parties. That is the way it was in 1951 with Pablo and that is the way it is today with the United Secretariat.

The question of Ceylon not only makes this clear. It illustrates the great price the working class has already had to pay for revisionism.

In 1961-63 the Socialist Workers Party prepared a reunification with Pabloism. The basis of this reunification was common agreement on the "practical" question of Cuba and no discussion whatsoever of the principled questions involved in the struggle against Pabloism. Particularly there was no discussion of the question of Ceylon. The LSSP participated fully in this reunification and backed it completely. In fact Colvin de Silva himself met with the Political Committee

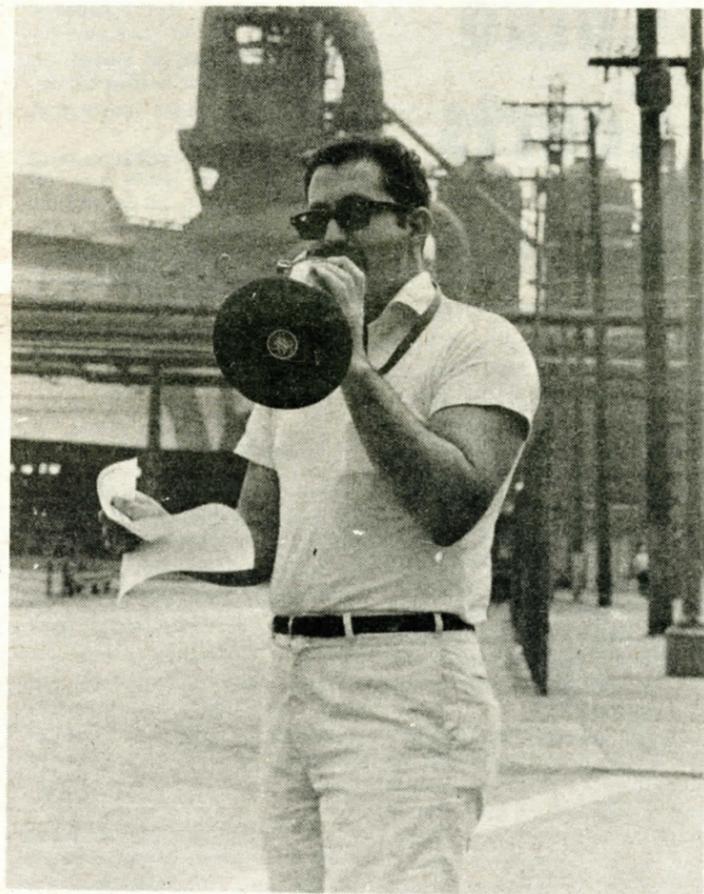
of the SWP prior to reunification and there was common agreement on how to approach these matters.

Even after the reunification, there was a refusal to discuss the LSSP on the grounds it would disrupt unity. In fact the United Secretariat opposed such a discussion stating: "A decisive policy of this kind would put in jeopardy, if not destroy, fraternal relations between the United Secretariat and the leadership of the LSSP." This was stated within months of the entrance of this party into a bourgeois coalition government.

In 1964 when the LSSP entered the coalition government it was carrying out in life the actual political basis of that reunification. The expulsion of the Perera section of the LSSP in no way absolved Pabloism of its responsibilities for an action prepared in over two decades of collaboration between Pablo, Mandel and the leadership of the LSSP.

In actual fact even when this section was expelled the United Secretariat held back from expelling the center section around Colvin de Silva who went along with the coalition government. Now de Silva emerges in personal charge of the butchery in Ceylon. In 1963 de Silva collaborated with the leadership of the SWP in bringing about reunification. In 1971 de Silva collaborates with world imperialism and Stalinism in butchery in the Ceylonese countryside.

The question of revisionism is, (Continued On Page 6)



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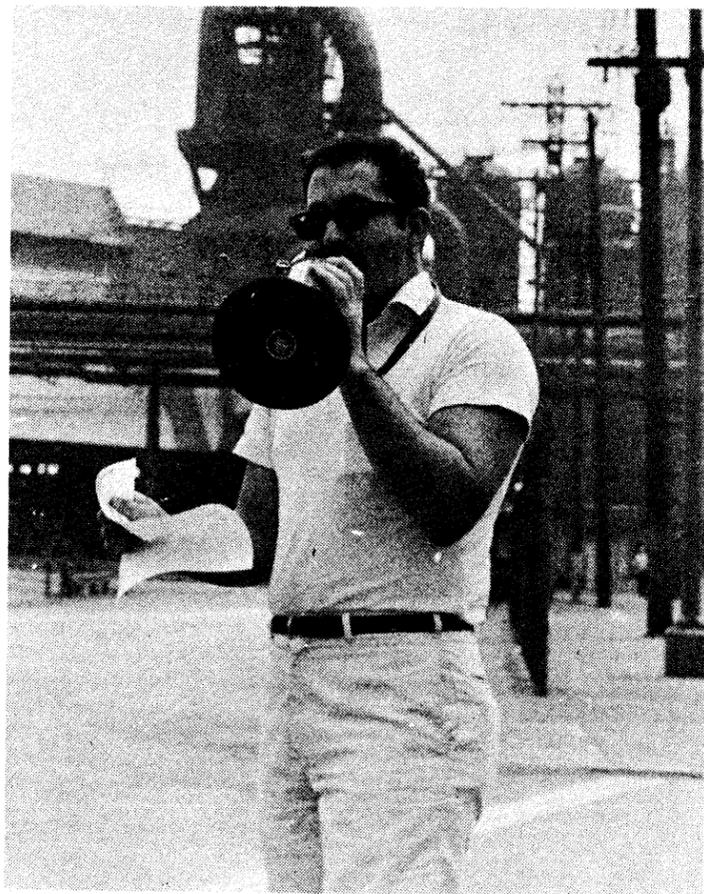
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Scottish Workers Occupy Shipyards

Workers Take Over Shipyards

BY PAT CONNOLLY

On Friday July 31 after a mass meeting of thousands, workers at the Upper Clyde Shipyards in Scotland occupied the yards and announced the formation of the Upper Clyde Shipyard Workers Unlimited to continue production by the workers.

On the previous day the Tory government announced the destruction of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilding Consortium, which is bankrupt. They planned to shut down two major shipyards, and operate a third with a reduced and highly disciplined work force.

The closures would mean layoffs of close to 8,500 workers as well as the destruction of 30,000 jobs in Western Scotland, which already has high unemployment.

At the same mass meeting Friday, a shop steward's representative answered that "Nothing and

nobody will come in or go out of the yards without our permission."

Workers stood guard around the yards and enforced their own code of conduct for the occupation.

The workforce at the yards has been cut from 27,000 to less than 12,000 in the past decade. The closures planned by the Tories would mean cutting the number of workers down to 4,000. The response of the workers was made clear in the statement by a shop steward at Friday's meeting: "We are not going on strike, not even a sit-in strike. We are taking over the yards..."

This action is the response of the workers to the Tory government which is out to smash the trade unions with anti-union legislation and mass unemployment.

As the closures were announced Prime Minister Heath was off sailing as captain of the British yachting team competing in the Admiral Cup races. His Minister of Industry, John Davis, stated at that time that concessions on wages and working conditions would have to be made by those who would still be employed.

GENERAL STRIKE

This exposes the complete futility and bankruptcy of the "Save the UCS" campaign carried out by the Stalinists and reformists, holding that pressure could move the Tories to be kinder to the workers.

Heath and Co. are out for blood. The Stalinists attempts to use the occupation of the yards as "pressure" poses very sharp dangers to the working class.

The occupation of the yards must be coupled with the political struggle to bring down the Tory government with a general strike and bring in a Labor government pledged to socialist policies.



Two thousand workers in mass meeting prepare to occupy Clyde shipyards in Scotland.

Numeiry Launches Sudan Blood Purge

BY MARTY JONAS

A blood purge is taking place in the Sudan which has already claimed the lives of twelve leaders of the abortive left-wing coup, as well as the leader of the Sudan Communist Party, Abdel Khalek Mahgoub, and Communist trade union leader Ahmed El Sheikh.

Many more Communists and trade unionists are under arrest and waiting trial by the Numeiry regime for taking part in the recent coup.

To this day, the Soviet Union has not broken off relations with the military government nor has it officially called back its hundreds of military advisers and technicians.

The Kremlin could have intervened to save Mahgoub and Sheikh, but nothing has been heard outside of unofficial articles in the Soviet papers and unofficial demonstrations.

The purge threatens to extend much wider, and may assume the proportions of the massacre in Indonesia in 1965, when over one million Communists and supporters perished at the hands of the Suharto clique after an abortive coup.

As in Indonesia the Stalinists have heavy responsibility for the deaths in the Sudan now and in weeks to come. They are the result of their policy of "peaceful

coexistence."

The past few years have seen the Stalinists--Soviet and Chinese--drawing closer to the forces of reaction, both in the imperialist and the semi-colonial countries.

This had led to the Stalinists and their parties merging in many countries with the most reactionary military regimes.

The Soviet Union has been the major supplier of arms, military aide, and advisors to the Numeiry regime since 1969 when it came to power.

COMPLICIT

From the very beginning of the Numeiry regime, the Stalinists have not only had a hand in running the government, but have been complicit in the framing of reactionary anti-working class laws that are now being used against them.

After Numeiry's "Revolutionary Council" overthrew the right wing regime of Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub on May 25, 1969,

one of its first edicts--issued on May 26--was to make striking a capital offense. This vicious law was approved by a cabinet which included a leading member of the Sudanese Communist Party, Joseph Garang.

Despite the fact that he was avowedly anti-communist and had in fact banned the Communist Party on the first day of his coup, Numeiry was able in October, 1969, to bring two more Stalinists into his cabinet.

Numeiry's use of the Sudanese CP was designed not only to widen his base and give the army-based regime a "socialist" front but to head off a genuine left-wing opposition which developed in the first six months after the coup.

At the same time Numeiry sought allies in the Soviet bloc. One of the first foreign policy moves was to recognize the German Democratic Republic. This was noted with approval in the Kremlin.

CHINA

At the same time Numeiry chased after revolutionary credentials from China and got them. In August, 1970, Numeiry visited China. This is how the New China News Agency, journalistic arm of the Stalinist supporters of the butcher of Bengal, described the visit of the future butcher of the Sudan:

"Peking was filled with rejoicing today, with the beating of drums, and gongs and singing of militant songs..."

"With profound friendship of the Chinese people for the Sudanese people, workers, commune members, commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, militiamen and Red Guards of the Chinese capital converged and lined the route in wait for the arrival of President Jaafar Numeiry and other distinguished guests from the Sudan..."

This alliance of the Stalinists with Numeiry reached its height with the seating of a delegation from the Numeiry regime at the recent 24th Congress of the CPSU as "honorary guests", while hundreds of communists and trade unionists were imprisoned and un-

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China Courts Nixon

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

Last week Chou En-lai told a group of American students that one of the first questions he intended to discuss with Nixon during his upcoming visit was the war in Vietnam.

The Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has opened the door to the butchers of the Vietnamese people. The plans for Nixon's visit and the visit itself will take place while US imperialism continues its war against the Vietnamese revolution.

Chou En-lai's call for a new Geneva make clear what he and the Maoist leaders in China have in mind. On July 20, 1954 Vietnam was divided, robbing the Vietnamese people of their victory at Dienbienphu. Chou En-lai played the critical role in getting the Viet Minh to accept this betrayal. Now, seventeen years later, with US imperialism facing a rout, the Chinese bureaucracy invites Nixon for a visit.

The invitation is the product of two years of secret negotiations between the US government and the Chinese leadership beginning with Nixon's visit to Rumania in 1969. It has been the Maoist leadership's growing support to anti-communist regimes in Southeast Asia and above all its support to Yahya Khan and the massacre of the Bengali people which set the stage for its open overtures to Nixon.

KHAN

Khan played a big role in arranging Kissinger's secret trip to Peking while he was allegedly laid up in Pakistan with stomach flu. The Chinese leaders have exposed their real Stalinist colors. No sooner had Mao bloodied his hands in Pakistan, and extended a hand

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Gerry Caughey, (right) leader of victimized Pilkington glassworkers speaks with actress Vanessa Redgrave at Young Socialist Summer Fair in London July 10th. Also in photo are Corin Redgrave (left) and Socialist Labour League National Secretary Gerry Healy (center). YS Fair raised \$3,000 for the fighting fund of glass worker militants who were fired and blacklisted by Pilkington Monopoly and deserted by reformist trade union leaders. Their fight for the right to strike and the right to work is in defense of trade union rights and against Tory governments attacks.



Steve Cherkoss speaking at Workers League meeting in Bethlehem, Pa. as part of drive to build caucus.

WL Fights For Steel Caucus

BY DAN FRIED

The struggle to stop a sellout by the Abel leadership of the USWA in the current steel negotiations and to construct a revolutionary leadership in the U.S. labor movement was taken forward with the holding of two very important Workers League meetings in Baltimore, Md. and Bethlehem, Pa. over the July 17-18 weekend.

The meetings, aimed particularly at steelworkers at Bethlehem Steel Company's Sparrows Point Baltimore plant and Bethlehem, Pa. plant, were on the topic, STEEL: Lessons of the Past—Program for Victory, 1971. The speaker was Steve Cherkoss, a Workers League member and the chairman of the newly formed rank and file caucus at the Vernon, California Bethlehem plant, the Committee for a Decent Contract of USWA Local 1845. At both meetings, Cherkoss outlined the program of the Committee around which a successful struggle to unify the ranks against the collusion of Abel, Nixon and the bosses could be waged.

Cherkoss pointed out that this program, which highlights the demand for a \$2.00 an hour wage increase, the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, the right to strike over grievances, an end to racism on the job and the \$500 per month pension after 30 years regardless of age, was at heart a political program which came up sharply against the opposition of Nixon and the entire Democratic and Republican Parties.

The demand for nationalization of Steel without compensation and under workers control, and the urgent need for the formation of an independent labor party was seen as flowing from the refusal of the Corporations and the capitalist parties to meet these needs of the workers. On the contrary, it was pointed out that the Corporations and the government are preparing a civil war against the unions in an attempt to bolster its profits as the current international crisis of the capitalist system deepens.

While labor leaders like Abel capitulate completely to these attacks, the so-called opposition by the Communist Party refuses to conduct any struggle against Abel or the other labor bureaucrats and attempts to "sell" the Democratic Party or some other "third" capitalist party to the working class, most criminally at a time when the working class was moving forward against the labor bureaucracy and for a labor party.

The speaker explained that the struggle for this program against



Mark Pilder, USWA Local 2175.

the Stalinists and the labor party must begin with a struggle for the formation of rank and file caucuses throughout the USWA.

The discussion at the Baltimore meeting which included about 10 rank and file steelworkers out of more than 30 in attendance raised some of the fundamental questions when some of the steelworkers asked how the apathy and the feeling of helplessness that existed as the result of the betrayals of the union bureaucracy could be overcome. It was pointed out that the working class goes into this current struggle under different conditions than in 1968 when the leadership was able to overcome a massive wildcat movement. Today, the working class is in the midst of an aggressive wage offensive which has developed internationally since the May-June 1968 revolution in France which nearly toppled capitalism.

It was pointed out that the "apathy" of American workers was being exploded in such developments as the national postal strike, the Teamsters wildcat strike which overturned the leadership's sellout contract and the widespread opposition to the sellouts in the General Electric and General Motors strikes.

Following the meeting, the steelworkers all agreed to set up a meeting later in the week to plan the formation of a caucus which could take the struggle forward against the threat of a contract sellout.

At the Bethlehem, Pa. meeting a very lively discussion with the 10 or more rank and file steel-

workers present took place. A group of young workers who have been involved in rank and file action at the plant said that while they were willing to fight the sellouts, the older workers who make up the majority at the plant, have seniority based on their years in the shops since World War II and are scared to "stick their necks out" to back up the struggle of young militant workers.

The discussion pointed out that only on the basis of a program, as posed by the Workers League at the meeting, could they win over the older workers to a struggle against the bosses and leadership. This was based on the understanding that the "relative" privileges of the older workers, just as those of the white workers, are being wiped out today by the attacks of the wages and job security of all workers.

Today with inflation and the mass layoffs and increasing plant closures hitting steelworkers the prospect even of a pitiful \$195 monthly pension for retirees in steel is threatened with obliteration. Indeed, the employers are trying to wipe out the unions entirely, and put everyone on the breadline, and are encouraging all the divisions in the working class to accomplish this end.

Throughout the discussion it was pointed out that the older workers represent a link with the past, with the great organizing battles of the CIO in the '30s and the great postwar strike wave.

As the discussion proceeded, the key younger workers at the meeting expressed their belief the obstacles could be overcome—that the only thing to do was to organize a caucus around this program and fight to bring older workers to it. Following the discussion all the steelworkers present agreed to the setting up of a caucus meeting and to fight to bring at least two other workers to the meeting.

Mark Pilder, member of USWA Local 2175, also spoke at meetings attended by steelworkers in Gary, Duluth and Detroit.

The Workers League plans now to go forward from these meetings to the construction of a national rank and file caucus in the steel industry and to develop new branches of the Workers League and leaders in the working class in steel as well as the other major industries in the U.S.

USW Ranks Must Fight Sellout

BY MICHAEL ROSS

GARY, IND. August 3—Anger swept the steel ranks here and across the country over the rotten sellout contract negotiated Sunday night by United Steelworkers head I.W.W. Abel.

This sellout engineered by Abel, the steel barons and Nixon, and patterned after the can and aluminum pacts means a big setback for the living standards of the steel workers and has given the green light to the employers to begin massive layoffs.

At Sparrows Point in Baltimore the ranks termed the agreement a "stone sellout." In Bethlehem, Pa. a young worker with two children told a *Bulletin* reporter: "This contract is really rotten especially when you compare it to what everyone else is getting, and to the way prices are going up."

Abel, like the steel bosses and Nixon, feared a strike which could give a lead to the wage offensive of the entire labor movement.

On the eve of the deadline, as the locals prepared to strike Abel called a 24 hour extension of the contract deadline in order to work out his rotten agreement.

In Gary at a joint meeting of the locals in the area the ranks prepared to strike and to begin a mass march to the gates of the plant. When the leadership announced the extension, an uproar broke out in the meeting as rank and file members attacked the leadership. Fearing this movement, the Vice President of Local 1014 read a letter from the International threatening reprisals against anyone who wildcatted.

The ranks must now use their power to throw this agreement back in Abel's face. On every major issue the leadership has capitulated.

WAGES: Instead of the \$1.00 an hour increase the first year, plus 50¢ additional in the second and third years of the contract required by steelworkers to make a gain in wages, Abel held the line at the can and aluminum sellout on wages.

This includes a pittance of 50¢ the first year and 12.5¢ each year for the next two years.

Instead of a full cost of living clause effective the first day of the contract, steelworkers under this agreement will get a minimum of 12.5¢ each year in the second and third year of the contract and will be shortchanged, getting only one cent an hour increase for each 0.4% rise in the consumer price index.

This settlement is well below the wage gains won by the Teamsters last year. For steelworkers who have suffered a cut in real wages over the last 12 years, it means they will not even make up for what they have lost in the past.

JOB SECURITY: The agreement provides for absolutely no job security against layoffs. Abel completely dropped the demand for a four day week at five days pay precisely at a time when steelworkers are facing mass

unemployment.

Using the threat of a strike, the steel bosses shut down the plants. They now intend to recall on their own terms, allowing the pre-contract stockpile to be used up. At the same time they will be installing more basic oxygen furnaces and similar processes which will put thousands out of work permanently.

In Bethlehem, Pa., 527 workers were laid off right before the contract deadline, including many with years of seniority. In the Chicago-Gary area all the steel companies have announced layoffs. Inland which employs 16,500 workers will lay off 8,000. U.S. Steel in the Chicago area will lay off close to 25,000. Workers will be called back according to orders the steel companies receive.

PENSIONS: The pension provision is completely inadequate. It means that steelworkers would have to work 50 years in the plant to get a \$500 monthly pension. The settlement provides for an increase to \$10/month for every year of service after 30 years. After 15-30 years service it provides for \$9.00 per month for every year, and \$8.00 for less than 15 years.

GRIEVANCES: The no-strike clause prohibiting strikes over grievances is to be maintained in this contract.

RACISM: There is no provision to fight the open racist policies of the steel bosses which relegate Black workers to the worst and lowest paying jobs.

SPEED UP: It is known that Abel has agreed to cooperate with the steel corporations in increasing productivity.

The ranks of the USWA must now open up a battle against this sellout. The Teamsters last year wildcatted against the national settlement reached by their leadership and overturned it. This is the fight that must be taken up.

The steel bosses with the aid of Abel have tried to prevent such a fight by layoffs, including many militants in the plants before the deadline and now after the contract settlement. The ranks are denied the right to ratification. The leadership is now purposely keeping the members in the dark about the terms of the settlement.

But the battle is far from over. This is clear from the widespread opposition within the ranks to the contract. The ranks must force their local presidents to call emergency meetings to prepare action to overturn this sellout. The fight must be taken up now for \$2.00 an hour increase, a full cost of living clause, \$500 pension at 30 years, a thirty hour week at forty hours pay, and an end to all forms of racial discrimination in the mills.

At the center of this fight must be the building of a national rank and file caucus.

Africa-Balance Sheet Of 'Independence'

The following is a declaration of African militants given at the recent Essen International Youth Conference.

Why are we, young Africans, present at this Assembly? We are with you today because Africa is not a separate continent, it is part of the world system subject to the laws of capital. It is where imperialism, directly as in Chad, or through the intermediary of the native bourgeoisie, plunders the natural riches, superexploits the laboring masses, foments wars, forces the deportation of huge numbers of immigrants to the slums of the advanced capitalist countries where they are forced into inhuman working and living conditions.

The meaning of our presence in Essen is that the socialist revolution is on the agenda, in Africa as in Europe, as it is all over the planet. May-June 1968 in France, in Czechoslovakia, Argentina, and in Senegal was the beginning of the present stage of the class struggle, of a direct and generalized confrontation between the international proletariat and imperialism. The struggle of the African proletariat must be seen in this world framework.

Today in Senegal, in the Ivory Coast, workers and youth in strikes and demonstrations defend their right to organize independently. In Senegal, Morocco, Tunisia, and the Congo the students are fighting the selective exams, are fighting the attacks of the government against their organizations. In Morocco, young workers are mobilizing following the strike of students and high school youth. In Morocco and Madagascar the peasants are rising up against the landowners. In Senegal, Tunisia and Kenya, the proletariat through its strikes is affirming its hegemony in the class struggle.

Sylveire-No To Entry In Market

The following are extracts from the greetings of Dany Sylveire given on behalf of the British Young Socialists at the recent Essen International Youth Conference.

I bring the comrades of all countries gathered at Essen the greetings of the National Committee of the Young Socialists of Great Britain.

The fight for the United Socialist States of Europe is not a propaganda slogan, not a utopia, but a concrete necessity to prevent the working class from being destroyed as a class.

The aim of the Common Market and the entry of Britain is to bring together the vacillating capitalist states of Europe for a last desperate resistance to American imperialism whose own crisis is deepening.

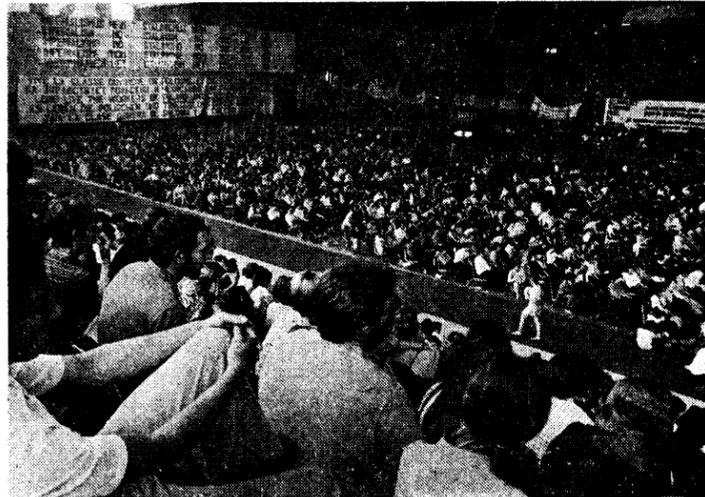
That means the destruction of the way of life of millions of workers; they will lose everything, their jobs, their housing, their living conditions.

Today capitalism destroys whole sections of the working

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Everywhere in Africa the proletariat is struggling, everywhere this struggle develops as a struggle against the bourgeois African governments because the proletariat is drawing the balance sheet of these governments, a balance sheet of so-called "independence" which is a total failure.

This is why we, young Africans present at Essen, believe that the concrete proposals for action in the resolution unanimously adopted at the July 3rd meeting are a solid base to continue the fight for the Revolutionary Youth International.



Over 5,000 youth gather in Essen for International Rally.

E. Europe: Fight For Revolution

The following declaration of the Liaison Committee of Students of East Europe was presented to the Essen International Youth Conference.

If this rally represents a decisive step in the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International it is because, among other reasons, for the first time the organized unity between the youth of the advanced capitalist countries and the youth of Eastern Europe has been carried out.

By our presence here we affirm the determined will of the students and youth of our countries to unite their struggles with youth the world over, and to organize together to defeat bureaucracy and imperialism.

Six thousand tanks, three years of normalization, infamous trials like the one against Peter Uhl and his comrades have not succeeded in crushing the youth of Czechoslovakia.

The Polish youth, the student fighters of March 1968 who today, side by side with the Polish working class, make the bureaucracy tremble with fear.

The Yugoslav youth, who, savagely repressed by the Tito bureaucracy, as in Belgrade where the paper Student was "normalized" no less than three times, are seeking their place beside the working class in preparation for the civil war ahead.

The Hungarian youth, who 15 years after the crushing of the revolutionary workers councils are seeking together with the working class a way towards political revolution.

Despite normalization, the political revolution is advancing. In Poland, the workers and youth

chased Gomulka out and covered the country with Councils.

The Liaison Committee is the fruit of this process and it could not be otherwise. But an organism like our Committee could not come forward as the simple reflection of the struggle.

The Liaison Committee of students of Eastern Europe was born from the unity of the analysis and the political framework offered by the comrades of the Organizing Committee of Trotskyists of East Europe, fighting to reconstruct the Fourth International and the student militants who participated and led the big movements in Eastern Europe since 1968 and are seeking a perspective to take this struggle forward.

The Liaison Committee was born because the students, in assessing their experience, recognized the necessity to link their struggle with youth from other countries.

That is why we have fought untiringly since our inception for the Revolutionary Youth International.

But also the Liaison Committee was able to come about because many of the student militants saw the necessity to build authentic revolutionary parties in these countries, to build the Fourth International.

Comrades,

We were and are in the fight for political revolution. But today we are a thousand times stronger because we are organized.

Long live the unity of revolutionary youth of the capitalist countries and the countries under the domination of the bureaucracy.

Bolivia- POR & Popular Assembly

The following is an interview with Sossa, a leader of the youth of the POR of Bolivia. Sossa headed the Bolivian delegation at the Essen International Youth Conference.

Question: Can you tell us to what extent the decisions of the Popular Assembly have been carried out?

Sossa: Among the miners, the leaders of the Federation of Miners, under the initiative of our comrade Filemon Escobar, immediately took up a systematic campaign of explanation and mobilization around the Popular As-

sembly and went in person to different centers and different pits. There local committees were created and held meetings which elected 18 delegates representing the miners to the Popular Assembly. The results of these elections reflected a beginning movement of conscious radicalization of the miners and were quite different from the union elections held a few weeks before. Among the 18 miner delegates, five are members of POR and several other militants are very close to us.

In other sectors, the union leaders tried to proceed in a totally bureaucratic way by assigning delegates. This happened with teachers, the functionaries and also among the students where the coalition of petty bourgeois centrist, Maoist ultra lefts and Catholics refused to hold elections for student delegates to the Popular Assembly.

The Assembly adopted the proposal of the POR to invalidate assigned delegates and will demand that democratic laws be

respected.

There is no doubt however that the degree of mobilization around the Popular Assembly is still very uneven. The miners are very much ahead of the other layers of the proletariat and it is essentially because of their weight that the POR was able to win support in the first phase of the Assembly.

Question: What is your estimation of the initial work of the Assembly and of the present
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Comrade Sossa

SLL - Theory Central

The following are excerpts from the greetings of the Socialist Labour League of Great Britain to the Essen Revolutionary Youth Conference as given by Cliff Slaughter.

"...Today a great step is being made in the fight for internationalism. The resolution voted on yesterday correctly said that this gathering was only a beginning. But it is also the result of a long struggle by Trotsky, the Left Opposition and the founders of the Fourth International. This is why only the International Committee could prepare this rally."

This is because the forces of the International Committee resisted revisionism. The speaker recalled that the Stalinist bureaucracy was an agent of imperialism that could not be reformed, and that the productive forces and the fundamental productive force, man himself, were in insoluble conflict with private property.

Cliff Slaughter was convinced that the potential for the Revolutionary International of Youth to grow was greater today than at any time since the 1920s.

"Today, the crisis of imperialism is so great that the bourgeoisie is forced to take back from the working class all its rights and gains. But we will not let the Stalinists, once again, as they did in the 1920s and 1930s betray the revolution and lead it to defeat. Yes, Trotsky was right to say that between us and the Stalinists flows a river of blood.

"Without a revolutionary party the working class entering into struggle will be defeated. And yet this party will not be built mechanically. It takes a ruthless struggle against revisionism without which the revolutionary movement of youth would not be possible today.

"The political situation shows that the fusion between the social and political revolution is taking place. The problem still remains to bring together and educate the militant force necessary to enable the working class to take power."

Emphasizing the importance of the choice of Germany in the fight for the Revolutionary Youth International, the speaker affirmed that the rebirth of the revolutionary workers movement in Germany was one of the principal tasks today. Hitler wanted to be the butcher of Marxism but he didn't succeed. All those who distort Marxism have not been able to destroy it either. This is why young revolutionaries of the whole world must take up questions which deal first of all with the theoretical renewal of the working class movement.

In conclusion, Cliff Slaughter affirmed that it: "Was time to make a qualitative leap forward. Despite its isolation maintained by forces hostile to the workers movement, Trotskyism has shown its strength. There have not been any major defeats of the working class for 10 years and there is a great danger that we will be hit with counterrevolutionary repression in the near future. But no one else but us gathered here, will build the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat."

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CWA strikers are causing 'labor pains' for Ma Bell nationally in campaign for 25% now.

Hill Delivers SSEU Package—Sellout On Jobs And Wages

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK — President Stanley Hill has brought to the membership of the Social Services Employees Union-Local 371 a settlement that is not only a sellout on wages, but completely hands over the job security of every member to Welfare Commissioner Sugarman and to Nixon.

The package is scheduled to go before a membership meeting on

August 3rd and then to a ratification referendum on August 6th.

The wage package is less than 9% to a little more than 10% a year for three years. This fails even to keep up with the ravaging inflation which long ago wiped out the SSEU's last settlement. When put beside the 7.6% rise in cost of living plus rise in taxes last year, this raise comes to nothing.

The "job security" package opens the door to the elimination of jobs under Nixon's Family Assistance Plan (FAP). In this package, social service staff is to go into clerical positions "temporarily." Staff thus stands to lose their jobs when Nixon's FAP comes along and federalizes all clerical jobs, making them redundant.

This "lateral transfer" into clerical positions designed by Sugarman and agreed to by Hill would affect over 3,000 social service workers. As for the rest, they would be dispersed into storefronts, housing projects, and other niches, thus effectively atomizing the power of the union in a wide area.

Hill has been meeting stiff resistance from the membership on this settlement and has been going

overboard in naked defiance of the ranks in order to push it through.

At the July 21st membership meeting, the membership mandated Hill not to return with a package unless it contained a definite date that the City promised to transfer staff back from clerical positions. Hill returned to the July 28th Delegates Assembly with the package he is now presenting, a package containing no such date.

He then ruled out of order a motion by a member of the Committee for a New Leadership that the Assembly reject the package on both wages and job security and that the negotiating committee be sent back. An appeal of that ruling was narrowly defeated, 40 to 38.

Hill has seen from the July 21 meeting the hostility of the ranks on any settlement that would deal them out of their jobs. But, rather than preparing a fight with the City on this, he just goes ahead and cynically dumps the mandate of the ranks.

The Committee for a New Leadership is fighting to mobilize a most massive rejection vote to this sellout.

Luna Halts Rail Strike

CHICAGO, Aug. 2—Thousands of railway workers face permanent layoffs and unemployment as a result of the surrender by their leaders to the rail industry bosses and the federal government on the crucial issue of work rules.

United Transportation Union president Charles Luna negotiated the new agreement, which provides for increasing the productivity and "efficiency" of railway workers.

Luna ended the 18 day strike involving 180,000 workers on ten lines, and agreed to scrap the requirements on work rules.

The work rules require a new crew after 100 miles, even if the original crew has not worked an 8 hour day. The scrapping of this rule means the loss of thousands of jobs, and speed-up for every railworker who keeps his job.

All of this was in exchange for a measly wage hike averaging \$1.25 over 42 months (almost 4 years). This wage "increase" will be eaten up right away by rampaging inflation, and the workers will have nothing to show for it except less jobs and more work.

The arrogance of the railway bosses, in the closest collaboration with Nixon, knew no bounds. Huge ads in all the major papers, combined with all the pressure the White House could muster was brought out against the fight of workers for job protection and decent wages. The collaboration of the trade union bureaucracy, and of Luna in particular, with the rail bosses and Nixon, allowed the rail bosses to prepare for the decimation of the work force and unemployment.

Gleason Opposes ILA Strike

BY TOM GORDON

Instead of preparing for the life and death struggle facing the dockers this fall, the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) convention held last month in Miami Beach was turned into a forum for the most labor-hating representatives of government and the shippers.

Helen Bentley, Maritime Administration head, started off by preaching that the ILA must "face reality" and stop strikes and "high labor costs". Trying to get Gleason and his crew to tie the ILA to the fates of the shippers, she stated, "we must have the cargoes moving through our ports if the shipping industry is to be able to pay your wages, guaranteed annual income, and fringe benefits." She then accused ILA wage demands of forcing Prudential-Grace Lines into bankruptcy.

Alexander Chopin, president of the New York Shippers Association (NYSA), followed Mrs. Bentley with more of the same theme, stating that both industry and labor "must be welded together in

good faith and the recognition that our future lies in our dependency on one another."

As the NYSA has made clear, what this "mutual dependency" means is that the ILA must give up the wage guarantee for the shippers to make a profit.

Gleason's only reply to these attacks is to repeat once more that the ILA leadership is completely opposed to any strike in the fall, and to dispute Helen Bentley's figures when she claimed longshore costs were too high. These tactics by the ILA leaders, if they are not fought by the ranks, can endanger the fight to preserve the wage guarantee and extend it to all men and all ports:

Preserving the guaranteed annual income and extending it to all locals and all men is the central fight for the ILA this fall. Hirlings for the Port of New York, where containerization has gone the farthest, is at an all time low, and is still dropping. This is due not only to the recession but to containerization.

Right now the ILA bureaucrats are weakening dockers on both coasts by refusing to boycott car-

CWA Ranks Nix Offer, Ask 25%

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, N.Y., Thursday July 29—At a mass membership meeting of Local 1101 Communications Workers of America at Manhattan Center this morning, thousands of militant telephone workers shouted "Reject! Reject!" against the proposed contract.

The contract brought back by CWA President Joseph Beirne was rejected overwhelmingly.

Local 1101 has already been out for two weeks honoring the picket lines of other striking CWA locals whose contracts expired earlier and who are staying out despite Bierne's back to work order. More than 40,000 phone workers are now on strike in New York State alone.

PRESSURE

At the meeting, attended by presidents from downstate locals as well as New York City, the union leaders, under tremendous pressure from the ranks on the issues of wages and benefits, called for rejection of the offer.

The contract met none of the demands of the union. In place of the immediate 25% increase demanded by the ranks, the contract offered 16% the first year, with 7% and 8% the following year. With inflation going up almost 8% a year, the offer was an insult. The proposed contract met none of the other demands—for a union shop, paid sick leave, dental and medical plans, holiday and vacation time, night differentials and the five day work week.

REJECTION

While the union leadership called for rejection of the contract at today's meeting, the rank and file must be prepared to fight for their demands against their local leaders as well as against Beirne.

Only last week Carnivale, head of Local 1101, said in a radio in-

terview that the wage package was good, it was only the benefits which were not adequate!

WAGES

Under the pressure of the ranks he has changed his tune on the question of wages, but he has absolutely no perspective for fighting to win 25% the first year, plus all the benefits.

The Presidents of Local 1103 (Westchester), 1108 (Suffolk) and 1106 (Queens) all spoke out against Beirne.

Daniel Keenan, president of Local 1103, co-ordinator for New York State CWA local presidents said in a press conference Monday that there is a movement towards calling a special convention of the CWA to review the international executive board's negotiation procedures.

RESPONSIBILITY

All of this is being used as a distraction. In the face of the militancy and determination of the rank and file, none of the local leaders wants to take responsibility for the rotten contract negotiated by Beirne. But neither do they have a perspective for fighting against it.

A campaign must be taken up to force the leadership to call for a nationwide rejection, to extend the strike to all CWA Locals, to organize mass picketing to shut down the Bell System until all the demands are won—25% increase now, full cost of living clause, 30 and out and fringe benefits.

Dockers Boycott Khan's Ship

BALTIMORE, July 20—Members of the International Longshoremen's Association last week refused to load the Pakistani freighter, the Padma, which is carrying arms to Yahya Khan for his brutal war against the Bangla Desh.

The action was called by the union after a demonstration at the docks by the Friends of East Bengal and longshoremen.

After US agents of the Padma demanded intervention by the Federal Maritime Commission, the union leadership called off the two days old boycott.

The action by the Baltimore dockers shows the way forward through the fight of the international working class to defeat the butcher Khan and aid the liberation of the Bangla Desh. This action must now be taken up by the ranks of the ILA.

For a labor party to nationalize the companies under rank and file control and without compensation to the owners!

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

What we think

Abel, CP Combine Against Steelworkers

The greatest danger to the fight of the American workers against the employers and government's attack to drive back wages and create massive unemployment is raised by the treacherous role of the leadership of the steelworkers union.

Nixon stood over the steel talks with a club, guarding the fate of the steel bosses and American capitalism. McGovern and the other major spokesmen for the Democratic Party used the steel talks to revive demands for a wage freeze. In this situation, I.W. Abel offered vital and necessary assistance to their plans to beat back the wage offensive of the American labor movement as capitalism faces its deepest crisis.

Abel, the steel barons and Nixon fear the movement of the American working class which now challenges the very existence of capitalism. This is why all these forces were so anxious for a quick settlement.

Such a strike by 550,000 steelworkers would break the wage pattern of the auto and can settlements and advance the fight opened by the Teamster ranks last year. It would also mean a direct confrontation with the government and a political battle against both the Democratic and Republican parties. This is what the Abel leadership fears.

Sitting in Washington with Nixon and the steel bosses, Abel began first of all with the fate of the "national economy," with the fate of the capitalists and their profits, not with the needs of the steel workers.

The price the steelworkers will pay is the continued decline in their living standard combined now with growing unemployment. The steel corporations have taken advantage of the capitulation by Abel by beginning massive layoffs. Thousands of steelworkers will now spend weeks and months on the unemployment lines and thousands more will be permanently thrown into the streets. The new contract further contains a provision giving the employers a blank check for speedup. As Secretary of Labor Hodgson put it: "We are pleased that the new contract contains a special provision to encourage productivity."

It is clear that key in Nixon's strategy for war against the unions is the role of the trade union bureaucracy. While Nixon prepares for direct confrontation with labor, he uses the capitulation of the labor leaders to weaken the unions.

Aiding the trade union bureaucracy in this betrayal is the American Communist Party. The CP has been instrumental in giving Abel a left cover. The CP as well as the USWA leadership had its dirty hand in the deal worked out in Washington.

The CP from the beginning has given Abel a big boost in pushing the sellout can pact. On the eve of the strike deadline, the CP played Abel's game by saying that the steel bosses were intransigent and making it appear that the can settlement would be trying to make it appear that the can settlement would be a big victory.

On Tuesday August 3 the Daily World was forced to admit that there was "no great enthusiasm for the settlement" but was silent about the fight against Abel.

While aiding Abel's capitulation to Nixon, the CP together with the trade union bureaucracy backs a coalition with the very same "liberals" who are crying for a wage freeze.

What stands against the employers, against Nixon, the Democratic and Republican parties, against Abel and his Stalinist allies is the powerful wage offensive of the American working class and its determination not to be driven back to the conditions of the 1930s.

At the center of this offensive must be the fight to construct a Marxist leadership in the unions which does not accept the limits of capitalism.

If the needs of the bosses conflicts with the needs of the workers for decent wages and conditions then the steel corporations should be nationalized without compensation and run in the sole interests of the working people.

The struggle in steel shows the absolute urgency of the independent political mobilization of the working class in defense of its wages and jobs. This means the fight to construct a labor party based on the strength of the trade unions now.

(Continued From Page 1)

like Stalinism which it supports, a life and death question for the working class. Proceeding from an abandonment of the Marxist method, such tendencies are forced into collaboration with the bourgeoisie. But today the crisis of the bourgeoisie requires not simply support from such forces but actual participation in the butchery of the working class.

In the summer of 1964 the tendency which today constitutes the Workers League proposed that this matter of the LSSP's entry into the bourgeois government required a discussion inside the SWP. We circulated an appeal for such a discussion within the party only. The SWP leadership not only refused such an appeal but immediately suspended from membership those who made the appeal. Its reaction to the coalition government in Ceylon was to expel those who considered the question critical enough for a party discussion. The truth is there never was before this date nor since a discussion of Ceylon inside the SWP.

Now the United Secretariat is in the grips of a new crisis with a majority supporting complete liquidation and guerrilla adventures in colonial and advanced countries, the SWP finding itself in a minority. The "practical" issue of Cuba and guerrillaism, the purported basis for unity, is now the basis for the preparation of new splits, new disintegration. Once again Pabloism is shown as the destroyer of the cadres of the Trotskyist movement.

The discussion now proceeding within the United Secretariat evades the central issues. Mandel's guerrillaism is nothing more than a preparation for a new and deep swing to the right. All the ingredients for such a development are there in the theories of structural reform and neo-capitalism, which deny the crisis of capital and the necessity for socialist revolution itself. Since the SWP leadership refuses to confront the historical development of Pabloism and learn the lessons of Ceylon it is incapable of politically and theoretically opposing Mandel.

We warn the delegates to the SWP convention that Joseph Hansen will engage in a completely dishonest and hollow polemic against Mandel whose aim is to cover up the SWP's own political record. He will isolate out of the whole of Mandel's development and positions his present support to adventures. This in turn will be used to cover an opportunist course in the United States.

The truth is this. Hansen and the SWP leadership collaborated hand in hand with Mandel in every step of betrayal in Ceylon. Hansen and the SWP leadership brought about the unprincipled unification which covered up precisely the issue of Mandel's own political history as an expression of Pabloite revisionism. The SWP to this day bases its present line on Mandel's revisions of Marx—neo-capitalism and structural reform.

The product of this collaboration has been Hansen's maneuvers on the one side and Mandel's pamphlet on ultra-leftism on the other. This pamphlet, published by the SWP, is devoted to a complete cover up precisely for the disastrous Cuba line and the betrayal in Ceylon. The object of this collaboration has been

the unprincipled attempt to slander and destroy the Trotskyists gathered in the International Committee.

Now that the question of Mandel is raised within the United Secretariat itself the members of the SWP must demand a full accounting of the whole history of the Fourth International since the death of Trotsky. Nothing less than this will suffice.

For some years now the international situation has been marked by an uneven development of the crisis in the colonial and advanced countries. Pabloism based itself on this unevenness, obscuring the underlying development of the capitalist crisis which was preparing the conditions of the reemergence of the working class on an international scale. Thus it played a central role in the betrayal in Ceylon and the disorientation and destruction of virtually a whole generation of revolutionaries in colonial as well as advanced countries.

Now the international situation is marked by the coming together of the colonial workers and peasants with the massive class offensive of workers in the advanced countries. What has brought this about has been the deepening crisis of world capitalism as the arrangements laid down at Bretton Woods break down under the impact of the falling rate of profit and the continuing wage offensive of the working class. This in turn has led to major bankruptcies like Rolls Royce and the one facing Lockheed, widescale unemployment as well as inflation in the industrial countries and a deterioration of the conditions facing the colonial countries as well.

The heart of this economic crisis is right here in the United States. It is the crisis of American capitalism and its world imperialist system. So today the American bourgeoisie must face the revolutionary movement of workers and peasants in Vietnam, Bangla Desh, the Middle East, Latin America and at the same time a tremendous wage offensive of the American working class and in Europe. Over a million workers have been involved in strike actions which must take on a more and more political character as each advance in wages pushes the capitalists and their system to the brink.

This creates a situation in which revolutionary leadership will be decisive. We face a new period of great potentialities for constructing a mass revolutionary party and the greatest danger if we fail. There will be no more peaceful development in the United States. The ghetto rebellions of a few years back and now the mass strike movement of the working class is one side and the other is Agnew, Wallace, the butchery in Vietnam, the conspiracy on this question against the working class, the preparation for open dictatorship, fascism. There is no room for complacency. Every movement must be used to prepare the leadership, the Trotskyist leadership now.

Under these conditions the central task must be the preparation of the movement for the revolutionary crisis in all countries including the United States. This preparation requires an intervention in the actual struggles of the working class to construct a new Marxist leadership. This is not a practical matter of placing

people in the unions but a theoretical question requiring a struggle to absorb the rich lessons of the struggle with Pabloism and enrich this with a renewed study of philosophy as Trotsky urged in 1940.

The Socialist Workers Party refused to take up this struggle. It did not listen to Trotsky. It did not draw the lessons from the 1940 fight and seek to steel the party through a struggle for dialectics, through an implacable battle against pragmatism. As a result the SWP today adapts to every petty bourgeois movement from women's liberation to gay liberation, speaks of a "new radicalization" separated from and replacing the movement of the working class, complacently chatters of the crisis of leadership being resolved just at the moment when it is most critically posed.

We cannot prepare for this new period in any other way than a turn to philosophy, a taking up now of what Trotsky urged upon us in 1940. Such a struggle must proceed as part of a turn to the American working class, its struggles, its movement. But there is no road to the American working class outside of this theoretical turn.

At the same time our enemies are preparing. Stalinism is playing a most treacherous role internationally and in the United States. In Bangla Desh it openly assists imperialism in the wholesale murder of a people. In the Sudan it aided a government which now butchers its own party. Now China embraces the United States and aids the conspiracy in Paris to try to strangle the Vietnam War.

Pabloism prepared for this. The SWP and its allies have been chattering about the changing character of Stalinism, its reformability and the rest for years. At the very moment when Stalinism does its dirty work in Bangla Desh and prepares the same for Vietnam, the SWP works out a new agreement within the "peace" movement with the American Communist Party. This, as the PL attack proves, will not prevent Stalinism, including the Communist Party itself from knifing the SWP in the back. But it means the SWP serves to prop up a tottering Stalinist party at a moment when the changing situation in the United States could offer it new opportunities for betrayal through "radical" coalitions, "progressive" parties and the like.

We call upon the members of the SWP to confront these questions, to go back to the history of the movement, to break with the pragmatism and opportunism of the SWP leadership and begin the preparation for this new period. Return to the principled struggle of Trotsky against Stalinism and draw from this in preparation for a new struggle against Stalinism. Return to Trotsky's 1940 fight against pragmatism, to Lenin's Philosophical Notebooks, to the methodological basis of the Marxist movement from the beginning. Learn the lessons of the 20 year struggle against revisionism within the Fourth International.

We face a critical period, a period of maximum opportunity but of maximum danger as well. We must take up this struggle because we understand that if we do not we will be crushed. These are the real issues which face the SWP at its convention this year.

KHRUSHCHEV has claimed — since his secret speech of 1956—that he was powerless to prevent the crimes committed under Stalin's rule.

His statements and speeches of the period prove that he was one of the most fanatical supporters of Stalin's purges.

In January 1937 (just before the opening of the Second Moscow Trial) Khrushchev addressed a rally in Red Square:

'The Trotskyites wanted to destroy our seven-hour working day, to destroy our great right to labour, rest, education; to recreate the horrors of unemployment. . . . [Their aim was] to turn the Soviet Union into a colony of German and Japanese imperialism . . .

'Raising their hand against Stalin, they raised it against all the best that mankind has, because Stalin is the hope, the longing, the lighthouse of all forward and progressive humanity...'

Having proved his worth with such speeches as a loyal Stalinist and anti-Trotskyist, Khrushchev was dispatched to the Ukraine a year later as First Secretary of its Communist Party Central Committee.

Now it was no longer just a matter of Stalin worship and slander, but action.

Ironically, the man he replaced, Pavel P. Postyshev (shot soon after as a fascist agent) was mentioned in glowing terms by Khrushchev in his 1956 secret speech:

'Attempts to oppose groundless suspicions and charges resulted in the opponent falling victim of the repression.

'This characterized the fall of Comrade Postyshev. In one of his speeches, Stalin expressed dissatisfaction with Postyshev and asked him: "What are you actually?"

'Postyshev answered clearly, "I am a Bolshevik, Comrade Stalin, a Bolshevik."

'This assertion was at first considered to show a lack of respect for Stalin; later it was considered a harmful act and consequently resulted in Postyshev's annihilation and branding without any reason as a "people's enemy".'

Purged leader

So Khrushchev knew all about the circumstances surrounding Postyshev's fall. Yet he willingly participated in his destruction, taking over the post Postyshev had held into the bargain!

Once ensconced in Kiev as the new boss of the Ukraine, Khrushchev wasted no time in heaping slander on Postyshev and his purged comrades.

Addressing the 14th Ukrainian CP congress in June 1938, he accused the former leadership of the party of serving as the agents of Poland and Nazi Germany—a charge he knew was absurd:

'The enemies of the people who sat in the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and in the Kiev Provincial Party Committee knew very well that the stronger the Party organization, the more dangerous it is to the enemies of the working class and, first of all, to the Polish landlords and the German barons.

'And therefore they—the Polish agent, the Pilsudchiks—did everything in order to weaken the Bolshevik discipline, to corrupt the Party organization.'

The real reasons behind Postyshev's removal rapidly became clear after Khrushchev's arrival—the purged leader had been reluctant to extend Stalin's reign of terror into his own territory. The improvement was noted in the journal 'Bilshovik Ukrainy' (No. 7, 1938):

'The merciless uprooting of the enemies of the people—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists, and all other spying filth—began only after the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party sent the unswerving Bolshevik and Stalinist, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, to the Ukraine to lead the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party . . .'

Cringed before Stalin

This theme was constantly being plugged by all Khrushchev's underlings in the Ukraine.

For example, the secret police boss in Kiev, A. I. Uspensky (himself purged later that year) declared at one meeting in 1938 that 'only after the faithful Stalinist, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, arrived in the Ukraine did the smashing of the enemies of the people begin in earnest . . .

'[He] asked me to transmit to you his regards and to ask you to prepare yourselves in a Bolshevik manner for the collection of a rich Stalinist harvest.'

Whether 1938 was a good year for Ukrainian wheat we do not know, but there was most certainly a 'rich Stalinist harvest' of murdered Party leaders, specialists, workers, intellectuals and youth.

And it was carried through under the direct supervision of Khrushchev. We should not be taken in by his claims that he was a passive observer of Stalin's crimes.

Even before the end of the war, his name was being linked with Stalin's in all manner of ways—including the following verse from a 'poem' dedicated 'To the Great Stalin from the Ukrainian People':

'We're united and solid, and no one will dare
To touch our young land—clean as first love,
As fresh and as young with his silver-grey hair
Is Stalin's companion, Nikita Khrushchev.'

Khrushchev cringed before the Stalin cult right up to the end. On Stalin's 70th birthday (December 21, 1949) he ended a eulogy with the lines:

' . . . our dear father, wise teacher, and genius leading the Party, the Soviet people and the working people of the whole world—Comrade Stalin!'

So we must warn against any tendency to see Khrushchev as some sort of anti-Stalinist crusader.

While the tyranny lived, he was ready to enjoy all the privileges guarded by Stalin's iron rule.

It was only under enormous pressure from the Soviet masses, and especially the youth, that Khrushchev made his famous attack on Stalin at the end of the 20th Congress in 1956.

That speech, itself a product of the Stalinist crisis, rapidly became an active factor in deepening it still further, as Trotskyists in Britain and elsewhere took the offensive against Stalinism, armed not only with Khrushchev's exposures, but the whole theoretical arsenal of Trotskyism.

The appearance of this book in the West must surely be linked to even more profound convulsions inside the Kremlin bureau-



Khrushchev Remembers

by Robert Black

cracy, and to the development of an opposition that reaches right down through the intellectuals into the youth and the working class.

It is these gathering forces for the political revolution against the bureaucracy and for socialist democracy that will finally write the whole truth about Stalin and the counter-revolutionary movement that bears his name.

THE PROBLEMS facing a reviewer of Khrushchev's book are multiplied by the doubts surrounding its authenticity.

Accounts of how the manuscript came into the hands of its American publishers vary. But they all have one common denominator—a certain Mr Victor Louis.

Louis, a self-styled 'journalist' employed by the KGB (the Kremlin's secret police), has carried out numerous important missions for the Soviet government, especially in cases where it would rather not be directly involved.

He has recently been attacked by members of the Soviet literary opposition for 'leaking' copies of their works to western publishers, thus immediately compromising all attempts to get their works published inside the Soviet Union.

Louis was, almost certainly, the man who handed over the materials which have since been 'worked up' into 'Khrushchev Remembers'.

(The contact was made at a Copenhagen Hotel some time in 1969.)

But the problem remains. How genuine are they?

Much of the material reads like a greatly expanded version

observed the norms of Leninist party democracy.

For it is vital to the bureaucracy that its political lineage should appear to be traced back to Lenin.

Leninist

If it can be shown that Stalin was fighting for a Leninist line and with Leninist methods against the Left Opposition while consolidating the political foundations on which the present Kremlin leaders rule, then criticism of Stalin's later crimes can be tolerated.

What the bureaucracy must preserve at all costs is its political programme of 'socialism in one country'.

Here, Khrushchev was entirely at one with the future gravedigger of the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International, Joseph Stalin.

'At the time of the 15th Party Congress [Khrushchev was a delegate to it] we had no doubt in our minds that Stalin and his supporters were right, and that the opposition was wrong.

'I still think that Stalin's ideological position was basically correct . . .'

However, Khrushchev is quite candid about the nature of the political line-up against the opposition at the 1927 15th Congress:

'Stalin, Rykov and Bukharin spoke for the Central Committee line—that is, Stalin's line.'

Until Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin in 1956, it had been obligatory to speak of these two old Bolsheviks as agents of fascism, the charge that was foisted on them at the last of Stalin's infamous 'Show Trials' in 1938.

Here they are depicted—quite

of Khrushchev's famous 'Secret Speech' to the 1956 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

This remarkable documentation of Stalin's post-1934 repressions (reproduced in 'Moscow Trials Anthology', New Park Publications, 161p) has the double virtue of conciseness and authenticity.

'Khrushchev Remembers' has neither.

What remains to be explained is, if Khrushchev did not have anything to do with these 'memoirs', who in Moscow is behind their release to the West, and what are his—or their—political motives?

Of course, if they are genuine, then their release also has political motives.

In both cases the intervention of Louis points to a political, and not literary campaign on the part of a dissident grouping either in or close to the present Soviet leadership.

Part at least of the clue to these riddles lies in the book itself.

The initial autobiographical material has little or no value. Its most interesting part deals with Khrushchev's rise to power as a highly vocal supporter of Stalin's faction within the Bolshevik Party.

Khrushchev — and this is consistent with the theme of his 'Secret Speech'—goes out of his way to say that during his fight against Trotsky, Stalin strictly

correctly—as Stalin's main allies and spokesmen in his fight against Trotsky.

Probably for this reason, Khrushchev feels obliged to speak well of them:

'A word about Bukharin. He was much respected and very popular. . . . He had a pleasing personality and a strong democratic spirit. . . . He was the Party's chief theoretician. Lenin always spoke affectionately of him as "Our Bukharchik".'

Ten years later, Khrushchev was to use other epithets to describe Lenin's 'favourite'.

Khrushchev is equally frank in describing his progress up the Party ladder.

As a 35-year-old student at the Moscow Industrial Academy, he organized the faction fight against Stalin's various opponents.

His account of the episode is most revealing:

'The Old Guard at the academy consisted of Old Bolsheviks. . . . There was a group of us at the academy who stood for the General Line [i.e., Stalin's 'socialism in one country'] and who opposed the rightists: Rykov, Bukharin and Uglanov, the Zinovievites, the Trotskyites and the right-left bloc of Syrtsov and Lominnadze . . .

. . . these people were all moving in basically the same political direction, and our group was against them.'

Then Khrushchev adds, almost as an after-thought, a remark that speaks volumes:

'We all came from the South, from the Donbas, from Dnepropetrovsk, and from Kharkov. Furthermore, we had all joined the Party after the Revolution.' (Emphasis added.)

Stalin's faction in the leadership of the Bolshevik Party rested for much of its political and social support on thousands of Khrushchevs, nearly all of whom had 'joined the party after the Revolution'.

IN THE PERIOD of world counter-revolution that followed Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin's supporters elbowed the founders of Bolshevism aside in their rude scramble for power.
Khrushchev, like so many

of his ilk, sensed that Stalin was the man to back. In return for his patronage, they gave him total support against all his political opponents — real and imaginary.

Khrushchev claims he was 'recruited' to Stalin's inner circle by Alliluyeva, Stalin's second wife (she is known to have either been killed by Stalin or to have committed suicide after a bitter argument about Stalin's brutal collectivization policy).

In fact, his first patron was Lazar Kaganovich, Stalin's henchman in the Ukraine.

But as one of Khrushchev's main aims in the book is to blame many of Stalin's crimes — and his own failure to oppose them — on Kaganovich's brutal rule, he has very little to say about this side of his early career.

There is no shortage of material to back up Khrushchev's case, and he makes good use of it. For example:

'His behaviour disgusted me, and it disgusted others, too. He was nothing but a lackey. All Stalin had to do was scratch Kaganovich behind the ears to send him snarling at the Party.'

'Kaganovich used to throw back his chair, bring himself up to his full height, and bellow:

"Comrades! It's time for us to tell the people the truth. Everyone in the Party keeps talking about Lenin and Leninism."

"We've got to be honest with ourselves. Lenin died in 1924. How many years did he work in the Party? What was accomplished under him? Compare it with what has been accomplished under Stalin!"

"The time has come to replace the slogan 'Long Live Leninism' with the slogan 'Long Live Stalinism'."

The downgrading of Lenin which took place after his death was reflected in Stalin's vicious campaign against his widow, N a d e z h d a Konstantinovna Krupskaya, who for a short time sided with the Left Opposition (its Zinoviev-Kamenev 'Old Bolshevik' wing) in the struggle against Stalin.

Khrushchev revealed in his 'secret speech' how Lenin broke off all relations with Stalin after he had insulted Lenin's wife over the telephone.

Here, we learn of other examples of what Lenin called Stalin's 'rudeness, spite and disloyalty' towards the Party and its leaders:

'Stalin had very little respect for Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya and Maria Ilinichna [Lenin's sister].

'He used to say that he didn't think either of these women was making a positive contribution to the Party's struggle for victory.' (In so far as Stalin identified himself with 'the Party', this was undoubtedly true.)

Khrushchev then reveals that Krupskaya supported Bukharin after he broke with Stalin in collectivization of the peasantry:

'She made a speech defending Bukharin and Rykov at the Bauman District Party Conference in 1930. As a result, she came under attack from most of the delegates at the Conference; and afterwards, without any publicity, the word went out to Party cells to give her a working over.'

Khrushchev was nevertheless able to reconcile his support for Stalin with this brutal treatment of one of the Party's most devoted comrades. And as he readily admits:

'It was a bitter thing for me to watch her at these sessions of the Bauman District Conference when everyone started coming out against her.'

'I remember her as a broken old woman. People avoided her like the plague. On Stalin's instructions, she was kept under close surveillance because she had strayed from the Party line.'

In the upper ranks of the Party leadership, the baiting of Lenin's widow was quite unbridled, as Khrushchev reveals:

'Stalin used to tell his inner circle that there was some doubt as to whether Nadezhda Konstantinovna was really Lenin's widow at all, and that if the situation continued much longer of her backing Stalin's opponents in the Party we would begin to express our doubts in public.'

'He said, if necessary, we would declare that another woman was Lenin's widow, and he named a solid and respected Party member.'



Khrushchev inspects a farm while pushing forced collectivization.

And Stalin was perfectly capable of such a move. For a man who re-wrote Bolshevik Party history 'proving' that its founders were in league with imperialism from the first days of the Russian Revolution, this was a simple undertaking.

Stalin's whispering campaign in fact had as its main target not Krupskaya, but Lenin, as Khrushchev now readily admits:

'He wasn't just indulging in frivolous gossip, either. He wanted to influence us psychologically, to undermine our limitless love for Lenin, and to increase his own stature as the uncontested leader and great thinker of our era. (Khrushchev was one of the most fanatical advocates of the Stalin 'cult' while the 'great thinker' lived.)

deliberately sprinkled into the consciousness of those around him the idea that privately he wasn't of the same opinion about Lenin that he professed publicly. . . .' (It is in this context that Khrushchev relates his story about Kaganovich.)

But did Stalin's anti-Lenin campaign prevent Khrushchev from joining in the onslaught on Lenin's old comrades?

On the contrary!:

'To be able to sit with the Politbureau [this was in 1934, just after Khrushchev had been 'elected' to the leading party body], to be able to work side by side with the leaders of the Party, and to be close with Stalin — this seemed like the crowning opportunity of my career.



After Lenin died (shown in right photo with Krupskaya near end of life) Stalin's supporters, including Khrushchev, elbowed the founders of Bolshevism aside in their rude scramble for power. After consolidating their bureaucratic power it became necessary to remove the Old Bolsheviks entirely. This was done in the Moscow Trials period which began with the assassination of Kirov. Shown above are the ashes of Kirov being taken to the Kremlin Wall with pallbearers (from left), Molotov, Marshal Voroshilov, Stalin and Kalinin. Khrushchev was forced to expose the Trials as a complete hoax seeking to absolve himself from the blame for them.

'For years I had been devoted with all my soul to the Central Committee and to Stalin. Ever since first coming to Moscow . . . I had admired Stalin for his clearness of mind and the conciseness of his formulations.

'My admiration for him continued to grow. I was spellbound by the patience and sympathy for others that he showed at Politbureau meetings in the middle 1930s . . .'

And as Khrushchev sat in spellbound admiration at the feet of Stalin, this man of 'patience and sympathy' was already preparing the murder of Lenin's closest comrades.

THE STALINIST purges of the 1930s were not the result of defects in Stalin's 'personality'.

This official Soviet version of the purges, was in fact, first propounded by Khrushchev in his 1956 'Secret Speech'.

'Khrushchev Remembers' gives, at least, a glimpse of the eco-

nomie and political crisis behind the Moscow Trials.

Khrushchev saw with his own eyes some of the terrible sufferings visited on the Soviet peasantry by Stalin's sudden switch of policy in 1929.

With his former allies, the rich peasants (Kulaks) in revolt and pressing hard for the complete restoration of capitalism in farming and trade, Stalin swung to the extreme left and launched his campaign for the collectivization of privately run farms.

The Kulaks were to be 'liquidated as a class'—a line that contrasted starkly with Stalin's earlier insistence that Trotsky had been exaggerating the dangers of Kulak pressure on the Soviet regime.

Naturally, Khrushchev does not go into the political background to the 1930 grain crisis, but his description of what he saw is frank enough:

'We spent only a few days at the collective farm and were appalled at the conditions we found there.

'The farmers were starving to death. . . . They literally begged us to give them food. . . . I'd no

idea that things were this bad.

'At the Industrial Academy we'd been living under the illusion promoted by "Pravda" that collectivization was proceeding smoothly and everything was fine in the countryside.'

Aghast at the havoc wrought by Stalin's rural policy, which drove millions of poor and middle as well as rich peasants to rebel against the regime, many former oppositionists such as Zinoviev and Kamenev again began to discuss the removal of Stalin from the Party leadership.

But not Khrushchev. Commenting on Stalin's famous speech 'Dizzy with Success', which laid the blame for the sufferings caused by his policy on minor bureaucrats, he admits:

'I remember being bothered by the thought: if everything has been going as well on the collective farms as Stalin has been telling us up until now, then what's the reason for the "Dizzy with Success" speech all of a sudden?'

And he was dumbfounded by the news that the famine had reached the Ukraine, the 'breadbasket of Europe':

'I couldn't believe it. I'd left the Ukraine in 1929, only three years before, when the Ukraine had pulled itself up to pre-war living standards.

'Food had been plentiful and cheap. Yet now, we were told people were starving. It was incredible.'

Corpses

And according to Kiev party chief Demchenko, says Khrushchev: 'A train . . . pulled into Kiev loaded with corpses of people who had starved to death. It had picked up corpses all the way from Poltava to Kiev . . .'

Khrushchev swallowed whatever criticisms he may have had of Stalin's line, and joined in the attacks on those who came out for a change of leadership and policy.

But what he has to say on this period is nevertheless very interesting, because it points directly to one of the main motives behind Stalin's frame-up trials a few years later.

One of the hallmarks of a Bonapartist regime is the infallibility of its leader.

His underlings, even his closest associates, may make mistakes, even be found guilty of treason when the situation calls for the sacrifice of scapegoats, but the 'leader' himself must be spotless, even to the extent of blotting out all his past blunders from the history books.

This was clearly understood by Khrushchev, as can be seen from his comments on Stalin's 'Dizzy with Success' speech, as well as the following passage:

'The conditions that existed under collectivization have been described by Sholokhov in "Virgin Soil Upturned".'

'Sholokhov wrote his book while Stalin was still alive, so he had no choice but to describe collectivization according to the Stalinist interpretation [indicating how Stalinist Bonapartism even determined the style and content of literary works.]

'When the failure of the collectivization became widely known, we were all taught to blame scheming Kulaks, rightists, Trotskyists and Zinovievites for what was happening. There was always the handy explanation of counter-revolutionary sabotage.' (Emphasis added.)

' . . . Perhaps we'll never know how many people perished directly as a result of collectivization, or indirectly as a result of Stalin's eagerness to blame its failure on others.

'But two things are certain: first, the Stalin brand of collectivization brought us nothing but misery and brutality; and second, Stalin played the decisive role in the leadership of our country at the time.

'Rykov [shot with Bukharin in 1938 after the third Moscow 'trial'], Zinoviev and Kamenev [both shot in 1936 after the first] had already been removed from their posts, and Trotsky was in exile.

'Therefore, if we were looking for someone to hold responsible, we could lay the blame squarely on Stalin's own shoulders . . .'

Khrushchev demolishes here the frame-up technique employed by Stalin and his allies at the infamous Moscow Trials of 1936-1937-1938.

Terrorism

In fact the main charges at the first (the Zinoviev-Kamenev 'trial') had been those of wrecking, sabotage and terrorism.

By using the closest comrades of Lenin as the bureaucracy's scapegoats, Stalin killed two birds with one stone.

Not only were the half-starving, underclad over-worked and poorly-housed Soviet masses given an official explanation for all the ills of the Soviet economy (every set-back had been the work of Trotskyist 'wreckers') the same trumped-up charges enabled Stalin to eliminate in



Khrushchev has some friendly words to say about Bukharin (shown above center with Stalin in days when the two were in a bloc) but none, of course, for Trotsky. Khrushchev owed his career to Kaganovich (shown below second from left). Also below are: (L to r) Kalinin, Ordzhonikidze, Stalin and Voroshilov.





Khrushchev asks where were men like Molotov or Kaganovich when Kamenev (left) and Zinoviev (right) as well as Trotsky, Bukharin and Rykov were running the country with Lenin.

four batches all real or potential alternative leadership to his own clique.

Into the highest posts of party and state swaggered opportunists and yes-men, drenched with the blood of Lenin's central committee and the General Staff of the Red Army.

And here, too, Khrushchev (or somebody using his name) is surprisingly frank.

'The flower of the Party was stamped out in the savage violence. . . . Many of the original leaders of our Party and our country were wiped out.

'Where were men like Molotov or Kaganovich or Voroshilov or Mikoyan when Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky, Bukharin and Rykov were running the country?' (Emphasis added.)

IN HIS 1956 Secret Speech, Khrushchev makes no direct reference to the Moscow Trials and the murder of Lenin's Central Committee.

He explains why: 'Just before the 20th Party Congress I summoned the State Prosecutor, Comrade Rudenko, who had been involved in many of the cases during the purges of the 1930s.

I asked him: "Comrade Rudenko, I'm interested in the open trials. Tell me, how much basis in actual fact was there for the accusations made against Bukharin, Rykov, Syrtsov, Lominadze, Krestinsky and many, many other people well known to the Central Committee...?"

'Comrade Rudenko answered that, from the standpoint of judicial norms, there was no evidence whatsoever for condemning or even trying those men.

'The case for prosecuting them had been based on personal confessions, beaten out of them under physical and psychological torture [these were the 'judicial norms' observed by Stalin during the great purges]...

'Nevertheless, we decided not to say anything about the open trials in my speech to the 20th Party Congress...'

What was Khrushchev's reason for maintaining a slander on

honest communists, unprejudiced in the entire history of the international workers' movement?

It is here that Khrushchev touches on a very sensitive nerve for the leaders of the British Communist Party. For he goes on:

'... there had been representatives of the fraternal communist parties present when Rykov, Bukharin and the other leaders of the people were tried and sentenced.

'These representatives had then gone home and testified in their own countries to the justice of the sentences...'

This was most certainly the case with the leaders of the British Party. After each massacre, they jubilantly trumpeted their praise for the butcher Stalin and heaped slander on his tortured, defenceless victims.

The pro-Stalinist D. N. Pritt, KC churned out a whole book on the Zinoviev trial proving that Lenin's closest comrades had been in league with the counter-revolution nearly all their political lives.

A considerable proportion of the British Stalinist press was devoted to articles and resolutions upholding the trumped-up charges at the three Moscow trials as shining examples of Soviet justice.

To this very day, not one of these slanderous attacks on the pioneers of Bolshevism and the leaders of the Russian Revolution has been withdrawn.

Everything still stands as far as Gollan, Pritt and company are concerned.

As Khrushchev himself says: 'We didn't want to discredit the fraternal Party representatives who had attended the open

trials, so we indefinitely postponed the rehabilitation of Bukharin, Zinoviev, Rykov and the rest.

'I can see now that our decision was a mistake. It would have been better to tell everything. Murder will always out...'

And so will historical truth, as the Stalinist leaders of the British Communist Party, many of whom actively engaged in the anti-Trotsky slander campaigns of the 1930s and 1940s, are discovering.

Khrushchev's insistence on a partial rehabilitation of those Bolshevik leaders killed under Stalin jars harshly with the official version of Party history being promoted in the Soviet Union by its present rulers.

This suggests that if the work is genuine, it is being used to back up those arguing for such a policy in the Soviet Union.

For example, this is what Khrushchev has to say about some of Stalin's main victims:

'Almost the whole Politbureau which had been in office at the time of Lenin's death was purged... At Lenin's side, Zinoviev and Kamenev gave worthy guidance to the Party.

'When the government moved to Moscow, Zinoviev stayed in Leningrad... And Moscow had been entrusted to Kamenev.

'Yet now these men were in the dock as criminals and were soon to be eliminated as enemies of the people!

'Stalin's purge of the Party swept from the oppositionists in 1936 to the rightists in 1938, when Rykov, Bukharin and other leaders of the people and the Party [note—not enemies, but leaders, of the people!] were brought to trial.

'It is fitting that these men should be called leaders. Take Rykov, for example. He became chairman of the Council of People's Commissars [Soviet 'Prime Minister'] after Lenin's death.

'He was a man of merit in the eyes of the Party and a worthy representative of Soviet power. Yet he was shot.

'As for Bukharin, Lenin had called him "our Bukharchik", his "ABC of Communism" was a primer of Marxist-Leninist wisdom for the entire old generation. He, too, was brought to trial and eliminated...'

Khrushchev aptly calls this period the era of the 'meat mincer'.

Not so the latest official Soviet account of Stalin's rule, which can be found in 'A Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union', published in Moscow in 1970, and now on sale in an English language version in British Communist Party bookshops.

One would have thought that even the shortest of short histories could find room for an account of how Lenin's Party was destroyed.

Instead, we discover the following:

'Socialism created favourable conditions for the development of democracy in the country as a whole and within the Party.' (This passage is dealing specifically with the years of the great purge.)

'The introduction of the 1936 Constitution signified further democratization of the Soviet social and state system.

'In December 1937, elections were held to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR... The elections demonstrated the strength and vitality of socialist democracy and the Soviet people's support for the Party.' (p. 238.)

It is of this very year, so 'strong and vital' in its 'socialist democracy' that Khrushchev bitterly comments:

'In the late 1930s Hitler was preparing his attack and doing everything he could to undermine our military leadership.

'We helped him along considerably by destroying the cream of our executive personnel, our Party leadership and our scientific intelligentsia.

'The blood bath reached a red-hot frenzy in 1937.' (Emphasis added.)

1937—the year of the 'Stalin Constitution', the 'most democratic in the world'—was also the year of the second Moscow trial and military purges, which served as open invitation for Hitler to invade the Soviet Union once



Rykov

Poland had been put out of the way.

Unlike the leaders of British Stalinism, Khrushchev recognizes that the Stalin purges are not a purely Soviet affair, but that they had a profound impact on the whole course of the world class struggle in the 1930s.

It is high time therefore that we considered Stalin's role on the world political scene, and how much Khrushchev, despite his 'anti-Stalinism', was to follow in his footsteps as an exponent of class-collaboration, on a scale undreamed of by the opportunists of the Second International and the English Fabians.

Continued



Voroshilov shown with Beria who later attempted to oust Khrushchev.



Molotov, Khrushchev, and Stalin on the Lenin Mausoleum during a May Day Parade around 1934.

BOOKS

TIM WOHLFORTH

Ernest Mandel The Fraud Of Neo-Capitalism

ERNEST MANDEL: THE FRAUD OF NEO-CAPITALISM. By Dennis O'Casey. Bulletin Pamphlet Series Seven. Labor Publications. July, 1971. 50 Cents.

Ernest Mandel, together with Michel Pablo played a key role in the development of the Fourth International in the postwar years. His theoretical positions cannot be understood separated from this.

In the immediate postwar period, Ernest Mandel emerged as a key theoretician of the Fourth International in Europe. With little or no experience in the actual construction of a party in the working class, he was entrusted with the task of developing a Marxist understanding of the complex postwar developments of the workers movement, particularly the social transformations of the East European countries.

Separated from the workers movement Mandel developed the "Trotskyist" assessment of Stalinism as a formal exercise. As such Mandel's schema came into an absolute clash with the actual development of East Europe. Mandel simply denied the social transformations actually taking place because these transformations proceeded in a contradictory and dialectical fashion. This, in turn, left him prostrate before Michel Pablo, who abstracted these transformations from the whole world counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism, seeing them as a new non-working class road to power.

The turning point for Mandel came in 1951 when he brought into the Third World Congress of the Fourth International his "Theses" which actually conceded to Pablo on the central question of the reformability of Stalinism. Having gotten all to agree with this, he then supported Pablo when the latter moved to expel the French section for refusing to liquidate themselves in the Stalinist movement.

Mandel never was able to find a road to the working class, always kept his distance from the day to day problems of constructing a movement within the labor movement, and by 1952 found himself in a position of supporting a petty bourgeois onslaught on the proletarian wing of the Fourth International.

ORTHODOXY

And so he sought to resolve the problems of Marxist theory in a formal and therefore idealist manner. His crime was not so much that he deviated from "orthodoxy" but that, separating himself from the actual life of the working class as an intellectual, he and his formulas came into sharp collision with the development of the class as also happened with "orthodox" men like Kautsky and the Austro-Marxists.

Mandel was and is the other side of Cannon. Cannon sought to construct the party through intervention in the working class but he did not see the task of intervening in the class as a theoretical one. No wonder Cannon and others in the SWP at various times looked to Mandel for theoretical leadership only to be betrayed. No wonder today they both end up together having travelled to the same spot by different routes but with the same method.

Mandel has emerged today as the central theoretician of the revision of Marxism, of Trotskyism. The theoretical rationale of the adaptation of the SWP to the movement of the petty bourgeoisie has been provided by Mandel and his theory of neo-capitalism.

The strength of Dennis O'Casey's pamphlet lies in the painstakingly detailed analysis of Mandel's theoretical revisions of Marx's Capital and how these revisions lead to a complete abandonment of the struggle for the Transitional Program and the revolutionary party itself.

The weakness in the pamphlet lies in its too sketchy treatment of Mandel's actual historical development and its failure to root his method in this back-

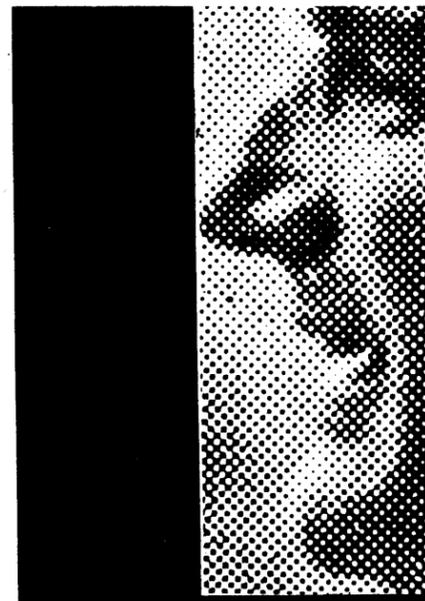
ground. After all it is significant that Mandel's major work, *Marxist Economic Theory* is seen by its author as an attempt to defend Marx's Capital. O'Casey proves beyond a doubt that in "defending" Capital with the formal and empirical method of the petty bourgeoisie Mandel must and does overthrow all the basics of Marxism.

Today the actual movement of the working class in all countries comes into the sharpest collision with Mandel's revisionist neo-capitalist schema. But the Mandel of 1946 is not the Mandel of 1971. Then his weakness could be attributed at least in part to inexperience and the main responsibility placed on the shoulders of those who let him be rather than fighting him tooth and nail—Cannon and the other SWP leaders. Today they have become encrusted and systematized and he has rooted himself definitively in the petty bourgeoisie. And so, with the old formulas or new, Mandel seeks to turn the new movement of the working class

away from its socialist goal, to tie it to the petty bourgeoisie, to smother it in this class. From distance from the class to open hostility to it, from a separation from the tasks of constructing parties to the open liquidation of the movement, from a formal defense of orthodoxy to the most systematic development of revisionism since Kautsky's day. That is the movement of Mandel.

Mandel, like all revisionists before him, reflect, develop and seek to perpetuate a level of consciousness not exclusive to themselves, but which reflects in one fashion or degree or another sections of the middle classes and penetrates directly into the working class.

These theories of Mandel will be refuted only by revolutionaries who become part of the new movement of the working class constructing a party out of the new forces coming forward in the class. If one notes its weakness, then O'Casey's pamphlet can be extremely valuable in this task.



FILMS

MARTY JONAS

Johnny Got His Gun

JOHNNY GOT HIS GUN, Novel, Screenplay and Direction by Dalton Trumbo. Produced by Bruce Campbell. Starring Timothy Bottoms as Joe Bonham. Photography by Jules Brenner.

This movie has been eagerly awaited for several decades. *Johnny Got His Gun* first appeared as a novel in 1938, on the eve of World War II. Its author, close to the Communist Party at the time, and later to be victimized as one of the Hollywood Ten, wrote it following a period when the CP took a pacifist line.

Written within the perspective of the CP which had attracted liberals on a sentimental no-more-war basis, the book sunk to the depths of middle class morality. At the same time its content could not help but have a nightmarish effect on the reader.

The plot is simple. A young soldier in the First World War is wounded in action. He awakens to find—gradually, by self discovery—that he has no arms, legs, eyes, nose, mouth, ears. He is, as he puts it, the living dead. He can only lie there and sense through his skin what is happening to him and try to communicate with the nurses and doctors who think him to be "decerebrated", without consciousness.

Half of the book, and the movie as well, take up his flashbacks and fantasies—they are often mixed together. Usually they focus on the senses and limbs he has lost or on his being fated to lose them. Thus, his father says, "put your arms around me to keep away the chill of death."

STRONG

Now all of this was very strong stuff at one time when the only place you could find this infamous book was in a forgotten corner of the college library fifteen years ago.

But now seeing it on film, and the film is very close to the book, you can see that the power of the book when you read it fifteen years ago was the power of the content of that basic idea—the complete basket case—and that that was the hook for the liberals back in the 1930s.

Certain images—the slit eyeball in Bunuel's *Andalusian Dog*, the shock effects in numerous horror movies—have an emotional impact that remains no matter what the filmmaker puts around them. Such effects are cheap. Trumbo, in the book and the film, is unable to build anything viable around the basic idea, which is admittedly strong stuff.

The film sinks into mawkishness. Its

flashbacks are warmed over Hemingway's *Adventures of a Young Man*. Its fantasies are inept imitations of Fellini, even down to a carnival with clowns and a side-show saying "Joe Bonham, World's Only Self-Supporting Basket Case."

Its scenes in the "present", in the hospital with Joe discovering what has happened to him, become strident and sobbing. The resolution of Joe's (and Trumbo's) discovery of what war really does to young men is that he should be put on exhibit in a carnival or be killed. It ends on that note.

The shocker of having a basket case living through the hell of still being alive is no substitute for the revelations of a movie such as Kubrick's *Paths of Glory*, that within the ranks of the French Army in World War I were class divisions and that while the masses died in combat the officers wine and dined in splendid palaces.

HOOK

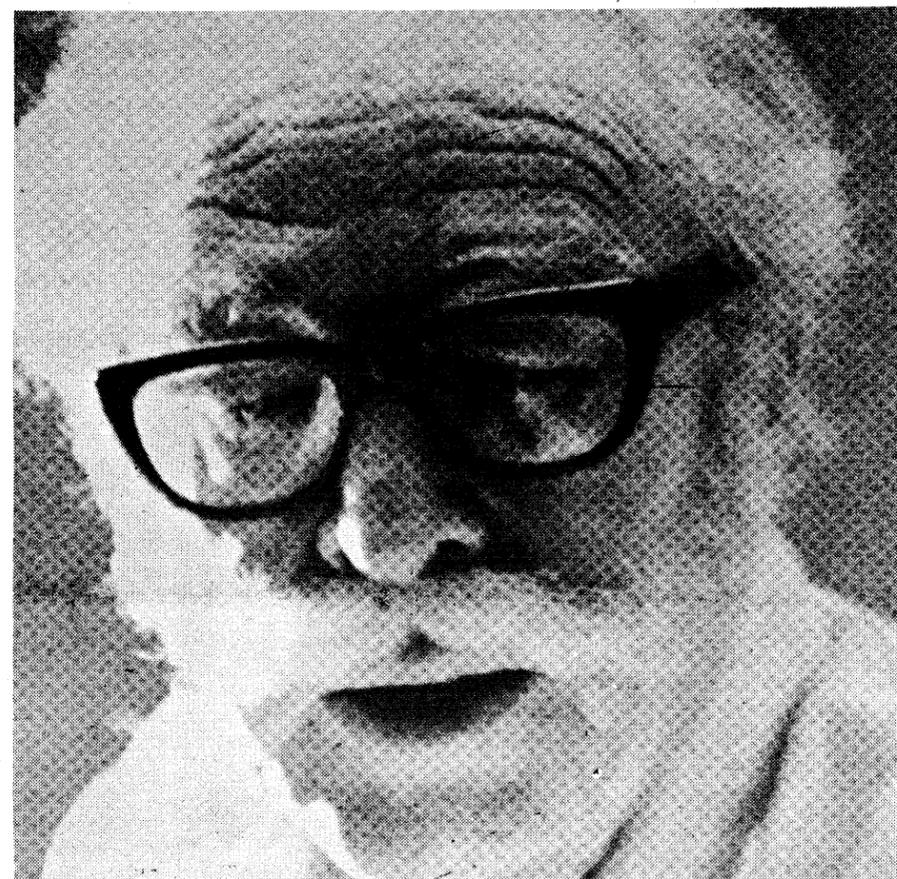
The basket case shocker backed by pacifist sobbing is still meant by Trumbo as a good hook for the liberals of today as it was meant in 1938. In the face of

sharpening war between the classes, especially in Indochina, Trumbo can do no better than resurrect his mawkish novel in film form. The effect of this is to try to fight against these great changes taking place in the class struggle. At a time when the NLF is winning it is to say that all war is bad, to fight back against imperialism is wrong because war is hell.

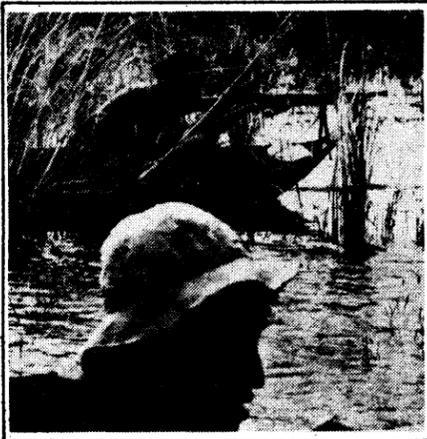
Trumbo says in the program notes to the film:

"Do we scream in the night when it touches our dreams? No. We don't dream about it because we don't care about it. We don't think about it because we don't care about it. We are much more interested in law and order, so that American streets may be made safe while we transform those of Vietnam into flowing sewers of blood which we replenish each year—by forcing our sons to choose between a prison cell here or a coffin there. 'Every time I look at the flag my eyes fill with tears.' Mine too."

Such a reactionary outlook, nurtured by the Stalinists in the 30s for the benefit of the Stalinist bureaucracy, deserves to be left on that forgotten shelf in the college library.



Dalton Trumbo, author and director of "Johnny Got His Gun"



(Nixon's announcement of his trip to China is the first move in what will be a series of moves aimed at bringing about a deal with Stalinism at the expense of the Vietnam Revolution. The recent publication of the Pentagon Papers offers much valuable background material of the efforts of Stalinism, including the Chinese, to break the back of the Vietnamese Revolution through collaboration with imperialism. Thus this article is particularly important at this time.)

BY FRED MUELLER

THE PUBLICATION OF THE Pentagon Papers on the Vietnam War represents an historic point in the deepening imperialist crisis. The uproar and scandal reflects the movement of the working class internationally.

Historically the exposure of secret diplomacy and documents of this kind has accompanied the greatest political upheavals. The Pentagon Papers could not possibly have been published if there were not the most profound crisis facing the American imperialists, a crisis which has led to extremely sharp quarrels within the ruling class.

It is the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants along with the upsurge of the working class in the metropolitan countries which has forced the imperialists into the open more than ever before. While they publicly argue over how to deal with their crisis in the face of the reverses they have suffered, the revolutionary movement must draw all the lessons of the situation.

The Pentagon Papers trace U.S. policy in Indochina over the past 25 years. After the First World War American imperialism emerged as the dominant power, but chose to follow an isolationist policy for as long as possible, picking up the pieces as its imperialist rivals declined. World War II shattered this relationship for American capitalism completely and forever. Washington could no longer sit back. Following its leading role in World War II it had to take responsibility for the preservation of capitalism on a world scale.

Now everything came onto the shoulders of the U.S. rulers. The revolutionary upheavals in the wake of the war led to the overthrow of capitalism in China and Eastern Europe. With the crucial aid of the Stalinist bureaucracy the capitalists were once again able to cut their losses and restabilize their system on the ashes of the war. But the U.S. now had to draw into itself all of the contradictions of world capitalism.

This is the meaning of U.S. policy in Indochina for the past 25 years. Five presidents have shared the responsibility for this policy—Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon. As the Pentagon Papers show quite clearly, there is a continuity in their policies. From the very beginning they have been occupied with the ways and means of crushing the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia as well as the rest of the world.

As the Pentagon Papers show, its spokesmen often considered themselves all-powerful. For several years they had a nuclear monopoly, and they have maintained a huge military and technological capacity to wreak destruction against their opponents.

All of this was to no avail. The dream of an American century seemed to have turned into a nightmare. No matter what they tried in Vietnam, the American policymakers seemed to come up only with a

Vietnam

Pentagon Papers Reveal

multiplication of problems. All the brilliant minds and experts, all the tremendous fund of knowledge and experience and technical and military capacity, was not enough. What is left out of the thinking of all the brilliant planners was the movement of the workers and peasants.

That is not at all to say that the imperialists had no understanding. The years and years of murderous destruction they have wrought in Indochina show that they certainly recognized their enemy in part. But they constantly underestimated this enemy, they constantly assumed that the masses could be turned on and off by their leaders, they constantly proceeded on the assumption that it would be possible to destroy the revolutionary movement of the masses with a few sharp blows.

As early as 1945 Washington worried that a "neutralized" Indochina was no solution. The masses could quickly break through any such settlement. It was too dangerous.

HO CHI MINH

The Pentagon Papers reveal that Ho Chi Minh wrote at least eight letters to Truman and the U.S. State Department in late 1945 and early 1946, appealing for U.S. support for Vietnamese independence. Washington ignored these letters and has not admitted receiving them to this day.

First Washington backed the French. When they were beaten and settled for a compromise in the 1954 Geneva Accords, the U.S. refused to sign this agreement and prepared secretly to destroy it.

The National Security Council met on August 8, 1954, just days after the Geneva Conference, and decided that the Conference had been a "disaster." From the minute the Conference closed, the Eisenhower Administration sent a team of agents to carry out clandestine warfare against North Vietnam.

According to the Pentagon Papers, these agents "spent the last days in Hanoi in contaminating the oil supply of the bus company for a gradual wreckage of engines in buses, in taking actions for delayed sabotage of the railroad, and in writing detailed notes of potential targets for future para-military operations."

The Geneva Accords provided for the temporary setting up of the two zones of North and South Vietnam, to be reunified following nationwide elections in 1956. South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem, at U.S. urging, refused to go along with the election provision because it was clear that Ho Chi Minh would have won. Yet this provision had been originally presented to the fighters of the Viet Minh as the guarantee of victory which made the Geneva Accords acceptable.

The Pentagon Papers completely explode the imperialist myth that the war was started by "aggression from Hanoi." Although Vietnam is one country and therefore Hanoi intervention could not possibly be termed "export of revolution," the fact is that the North was not involved in the early years of the insurgency against the U.S.-backed Diem regime from 1956 to 1959. Only in 1959 did Hanoi finally begin

to take a more active role, to try to bring the movement under its control before its own political rule was threatened by the masses.

A document captured by U.S. troops in 1966 and included in the Pentagon Papers reveals the situation in 1956-59. Referring to the scheduled date for the national elections, this document says:

"Particularly after 20 July 1956 the key cadres and party members in South Vietnam asked questions which demanded answers:

"Can we still continue the struggle to demand the implementation of the Geneva Agreement given the existing regime in South Vietnam? If not, what must be done? A mood of skepticism and nonconfidence in the orientation of the struggle began to seep into the party apparatus and among some of the masses.

"The situation was truly ripened for an armed movement against the enemy. But the leadership of the Nam Bo Regional Committee (then the Vietcong's headquarters for the southern part of Vietnam) at that time still hesitated for many reasons, but the principle reason was the fear of violating the party line.

"The majority of party members and cadres felt that it was necessary to immediately launch an armed struggle in order to preserve the movement and protect the forces. In several areas the party members on their own initiative had organized armed struggle against the enemy."

It was thus the growing realization that the Geneva Accords had been a defeat and not a victory that led to the taking up of arms again. And the leadership in Hanoi moved to exercise leadership and control over this movement after it found that it was not possible to restrain it any longer.

The Kennedy Administration inherited a worsening political and military situation from its predecessors. It proceeded with the same basic assumptions. These are clearly stated in the memorandum of then Vice President Johnson after a trip to Southeast Asia in May 1961:

"The battle against Communism must be joined in Southeast Asia with strength and determination to achieve success there—or the United States must, inevitably, surrender the Pacific and take up our defense on our own shores... There is no alternative to United States leadership in Southeast Asia. Leadership in the individual countries rests on the knowledge and faith in United States power, will and understanding..."

General Maxwell Taylor, at that time Kennedy's personal military advisor and later to be the Ambassador in Saigon, recommended the introduction of U.S. troops in significant numbers back in 1961. In a cablegram to Kennedy he minimized the disadvantage and offered the following prophetic words:

"As an area for the operations of U.S. troops, South Vietnam is not an excessively difficult or unpleasant place to operate. While the border areas are rugged and heavily forested, the terrain is comparable

to parts of Korea where U.S. troops learned to live and work without too much effort."

KENNEDY

Kennedy secretly sent 400 Special Forces troops and 100 other military advisors to Vietnam in the spring of 1961. He also ordered a clandestine campaign of "sabotage and light harassment" in the North.

Kennedy's intellectual advisors, including Walt Rostow and the Bundy brothers, William and McGeorge, began to advocate more and more insistently heavy U.S. intervention. William Bundy urged intervention with large numbers of troops on the grounds that the chances of success were about 70 per cent.

By the beginning of 1962, there were about 3,000 U.S. soldiers in Vietnam. This was to grow to 16,000 by October 1963. During this period the political and military situation continued to deteriorate. U.S. puppet Diem was faced by open rebellion and chose to brutally crack down on his Buddhist and other political opponents. U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge became the main proponent of a military coup backed by Washington to remove Diem before the complete collapse of his government and imperialist fortunes along with it.

According to the Pentagon Papers Lodge authorized CIA participation in planning the coup against Diem. The CIA provided the dissident South Vietnamese generals with vital intelligence information. Ambassador Lodge offered refuge to the families of the generals if their plot failed and he obtained the approval of Washington for this. Lodge also requested authority from Washington to put up money for bribes to win over officers still loyal to Diem.

After some months of confusion Diem was overthrown and assassinated on November 1, 1963. This desperate U.S.-backed move only led to fresh problems. Succeeding regimes were no more able to stem the tide of the NLF than Diem had been.

Following the assassination of Kennedy it fell to Lyndon Johnson to maneuver through the endless quagmire which Vietnam was becoming for U.S. capitalism.



Ambassador Bunker with President Thieu.

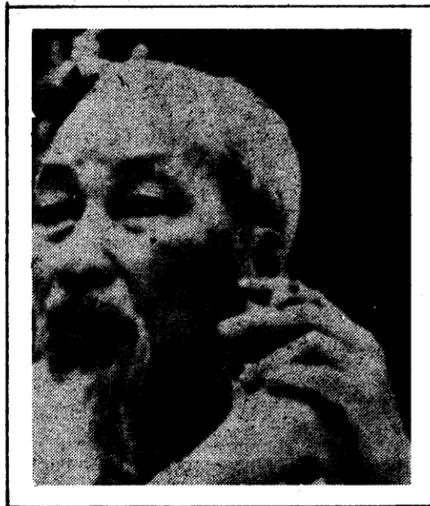
Bi-partisan warriors: (l to r) Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon.



Secret Role Of Stalinism



The plotters against the Vietnamese people: (L to r) Henry A. Kissinger, John N. Mitchell, Vice President Agnew, Adm. John S. McCain, Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Richard Helms, CIA, Philip C. Habib, Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, Secretary of State Rogers, President Nixon, Secretary of Defense Laird, Gen. Earle Wheeler.



Ho Chi Minh asked for American support.

Johnson's first moves were to step up the covert warfare against North Vietnam. These were known as Operation 34A, beginning on February 1, 1964. Johnson's hope was that Hanoi would end the NLF struggle in the South. He tried to achieve this by stepping up the pressure on the North, including U-2 spy plane flights, kidnapping of North Vietnamese for intelligence information, commando raids to blow up rail and highway bridges, and bombardment of coastal installations.

All these acts of war were directed at forcing Hanoi to do something it was incapable of doing at that time even if it had wished to—calling off the struggle in the South.

Rostow reasoned that the North Vietnamese would have to call off the rebellion rather than invite the destruction of their industrial gains they had slowly and painstakingly build up since the Geneva Accords.

As the war in the South went from bad to worse as far as Washington was concerned, with the vast majority of the country under NLF control, the Johnson Administration began to prepare for air war against the North. This was conceived of from the beginning as a substitute for the lagging drive against the NLF in the South.

Assistant Secretary of Defense John McNaughton developed what was openly called a "provocation strategy." Various "scenarios" leading up to full-scale bombing of the North were developed in the year before it began in February 1965. The Senate's passage of the Tonkin Gulf resolution in August 1964 set the stage for "virtually any action."

The Johnson Administration decided at a September 7, 1964 White House meeting that sustained air attacks on the North would be necessary.

CYNICISM

The policymakers debated the advantages of air war. Some insisted that it would force Hanoi to force the NLF capitulate. Others, including William Bundy, were

not nearly so sanguine. Bundy's comments underline the enormous cynicism and viciousness of these so-called defenders of democracy:

Bundy agreed that the bombing might not work, "yet measured against the costs of defeat in Vietnam this program seems cheap. And even if it fails to turn the tide—as it may—the value of the effort seems to us to exceed the cost."

So the imperialists serenely decided on a policy which was to lead to a greater aerial bombardment than in all of World War II, vast destruction of innocent civilians, hospitals, schools and everything that the Vietnamese people had struggled to build.

The bombing decision was kept secret while Johnson proceeded to win the 1964 election by a landslide as the "peace candidate" against the bellicose Barry Goldwater. Within weeks after the election victory the Administration was planning the exact steps by which the previously agreed upon escalation would be carried out.

No sooner had the bombing begun than the Johnson Administration flailed about "or another "solution." It quickly became clear that the air war could not and would not improve the situation in the South. This set the stage for the massive introduction of U.S. troops. Meanwhile the air war was widened simply because there was no other policy available.

Each buildup of U.S. forces was advanced as a means of putting the NLF at a crushing disadvantage. When the NLF simply mobilized ever larger sections of the population against the invaders, more U.S. troops were requested and sent. In this period it began to become clear to some of the planners that the U.S. government was in a fight against what was termed the "Vietnamese birth rate." In other words, the imperialists could not win a victory without the virtual extermination of the entire population.

As this became clearer a section of the Administration, including Defense Secretary McNamara, became deeply demoralized and began to urge cutbacks in bombing and no new troop commitments. McNamara urged this by October 1966.

The Tet offensive of February 1968 forced a new major decision on the Administration. Johnson was urged by the military staff to mobilize the reserves, put the country on war footing and continue to try for victory. The so-called de-escalation policy followed a long debate within the Administration. Johnson was forced out of the race for President and talks with the NLF and North Vietnamese began in Paris.

The political and military defeat suffered by the imperialists in the Tet offensive had forced a limited retreat upon them. The Nixon Administration tried to adapt to the situation through the so-called Vietnamization program. This was and is a hoax from start to finish. The aim of Nixon's policy is to combine a certain level of

military pressure with diplomatic pressure for a settlement acceptable to the imperialists. The invasions of Cambodia and Laos are part of this policy. Nixon has attempted to lower the casualties and create the illusion of the "winding down" of the war without being able to deal with any of the fundamental issues facing the imperialists.

BIPARTISAN

U.S. policy in Indochina has been a bipartisan imperialist policy all along. The Democrats are now heavily represented in that section of the ruling class which seeks some sort of compromise rather than continue the war indefinitely. But of course it was the Democrats, including the "liberal" Kennedy and all of his advisors, who were largely responsible for the policy and planning of the war in its early and middle stages.

A look at some of the top policymakers, other than the different U.S. presidents shows just how bipartisan Vietnam policy has been.

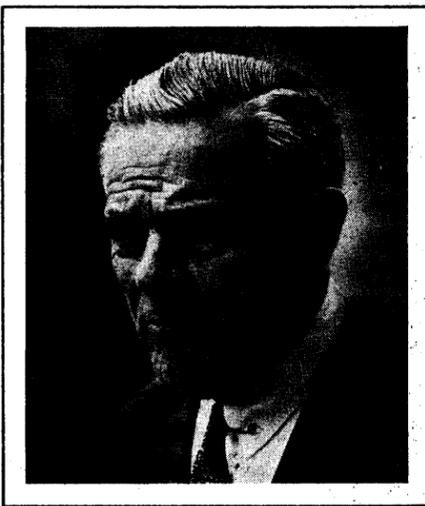
Lodge was Nixon's Vice-Presidential candidate in the 1960 election campaign. He had served as Eisenhower's UN Ambassador in the 1950s. He was one of the leading Eastern Republicans, yet he served as Kennedy's and Johnson's Ambassador in Saigon in 1963-64 and in 1965-67. He was of course consciously chosen by Kennedy as a move towards a united imperialist policy.

McGeorge Bundy is now head of the Ford Foundation. Back in 1948 he was a Republican candidate and Dewey's foreign policy advisor. He was special assistant to Kennedy and Johnson for national security affairs, 1961-66. William Bundy is a Democrat, while his brother has maintained links to the Republicans. William Bundy was with the CIA from 1951 to 1961. He held various high posts under the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

What emerges clearly from the Pentagon Papers is a policy of aggression and deceit. Above all, the imperialists cannot openly present their aims and their policies before the people. At every stage of this struggle, from the sabotage of the Geneva Accords and covert war against North Vietnam, to the stepping up of this covert war under Kennedy, to the provocations for escalation under Johnson and the plans for bombing, to the introduction of U.S. ground troops in massive numbers, to the invasions of Laos and Cambodia, the government in Washington has systematically and consciously lied to the American working class and the entire world.

But this is only part of the story. We must go further. All the lies of the imperialists would not have allowed them to maintain even their present precarious position were it not for the lack of a revolutionary leadership.

In spite of all their reverses, the situation is still not an impossible one for the imperialists. As Maxwell Taylor himself stated in reference to one of the many



Lodge backed CIA plot against Diem.

tactical plans of Washington: "If this course of action is inadequate and the government falls then we must start over again or try a new approach." The imperialists can always "start over" unless they are actually defeated and ultimately overthrown.

STALINISTS

Rather than fighting for such a defeat, the Stalinist leadership of the Vietnamese workers and peasants has always offered to compromise. This was the meaning of Ho Chi Minh's repeated calls for U.S. support in 1945-46, at the very same time as he was exterminating the Vietnamese Trotskyists, who fought against the Stalinist policies of compromise with the imperialists.

The Geneva Accords were a betrayal of the Vietnamese precisely because they relied upon the promises of the imperialists for elections in the future and allowed them meanwhile to reestablish their power over one half of the country although they had been routed throughout Vietnam.

No diplomatic deals could crush the struggle of the Vietnamese against imperialism and for socialism. The Hanoi leadership was forced to take up the struggle in order to attempt to control it and rather than lose its position entirely. Now, after years of heroic struggle by the workers and peasants of Vietnam, the same leaders are now coming dangerously close to a new betrayal.

This is the danger posed by the diplomatic posture of the North Vietnamese and NLF delegations at the Paris negotiations.

The dilemma for Nixon is the same as that faced by his predecessors. Though he may push for a diplomatic deal he runs the extremely great risk that the North Vietnamese and NLF leadership would not be able to hold the masses back in any case. But a deal with the Stalinists remains his only hope. So he continues to push for this while attempting to maintain his military position.

SUDAN. . .

(Continued From Page 2)

calls in the *Daily World* for clemency for the Sudanese Communists, the CP has refused to call for a conclusive break by the Soviet Union with the Sudan government or for the Soviet Union to intervene on behalf of the condemned Communists and trade unionists.

This recalls Stalin's seating Chiang Kai-Shek and his Kuomintang as honorary members of the Communist International only months before Chiang was to carry out bloody repression and terror against the Chinese Communist Party in 1927.

Rather, what we get in the July 31 *Daily World* is a wholesale endorsement of the Stalinist policy which led up to these events. In an article, "Progressive: a relative term", Tom Foley writes: "Many people are now asking: 'Why did we ever say the Sudan and Libya had 'progressive' governments?' The answer to this is simple. Compared with what existed in Libya and the Sudan before, these governments were indeed progressive."

All of this is part of the Kremlin's attempt to keep an equilibrium in the Middle East at the expense of the Arab workers and peasants. To this end a "peaceful settlement" with Zionism is being pushed by the Stalinists in the Middle East, the current means for that being the Arab Federation, a right-wing formation consisting of Egypt, Libya, Syria, and the Sudan.

He then goes on to describe nationalization and various reforms carried out in the Sudan and Libya (much like the reforms under the Peruvian junta). He continues: "In all these actions, Libya and the Sudan were truly progressive and no one today need apologize for using that term."

The left-wing officers who staged the coup against Numeiry were against the Sudan entering the Federation. The coup was crushed only after a council of war in Cairo on July 21, where Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, deputy premier Riad, the foreign and interior ministers and members of the Libyan government conferred with Vladimir Vinogradov, Soviet ambassador in Cairo.

Within 24 hours, the Libyans had kidnapped the coup leaders, and Numeiry was able to report his restoration to power and begin his purge of the left.

What has the CP in the United States to say about all this?

Despite protests by the CP outside the Sudanese embassies and

separable from the construction of the revolutionary party. It is precisely in the construction of a youth movement over the past ten years that the leadership was built that published the first Trotskyist daily paper in the world and which makes the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into a party possible today.

In Britain today, the tremendous movement forward of the working class against the Tory government throws reformism into a complete crisis. All the reformist leaders of the Labor Party and the unions have constantly collaborated with the Tory government, helping it to pass

anti-union laws due to go into effect this month, which will modify the class relations in Britain to an extent never seen before.

But the Chinese leadership which for so many years has stood behind the left cover of denuncia-

tion of US imperialism cannot execute its rightward turn without a tremendous crisis and opposition developing within China itself.

The North Vietnamese have not taken well to the growing friendliness between the US and the Chinese bureaucracy and to the threat that their 26 year old struggle against imperialism will be sacrificed. The official Hanoi paper has denounced the "Nixon doctrine" for attempting to "divide" the socialist countries, winning over one section and pitting it against another in order to oppose the national liberation movement."

At the same time the seven point proposal put forward by the

NLF in Paris which includes a coalition government with the Saigon government is a dangerous concession towards a Geneva type settlement.

The great betrayal which the Chinese leadership is seeking to engineer for the benefit of US imperialism is a danger not only to the Vietnamese struggle but the fight of the American working class. It can only help to extricate Nixon and the US rulers from their very difficult situation and strengthen its hand for the class war at home.

This deadly conspiracy will only be defeated by the construction of the international Trotskyist movement.

Today the youth are faced with the necessity of a big theoretical leap forward to be in step with the leap taken in the crisis.

The qualitative change which is now the starting point of all our work in Britain also confronts us in the construction of a Revolutionary International of Youth for the crisis of imperialism and Stalinism is international.

This is why the Young Socialists have always taken the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International very seriously and will do everything in their power to construct this International of Youth on the basis of Marxist theory.

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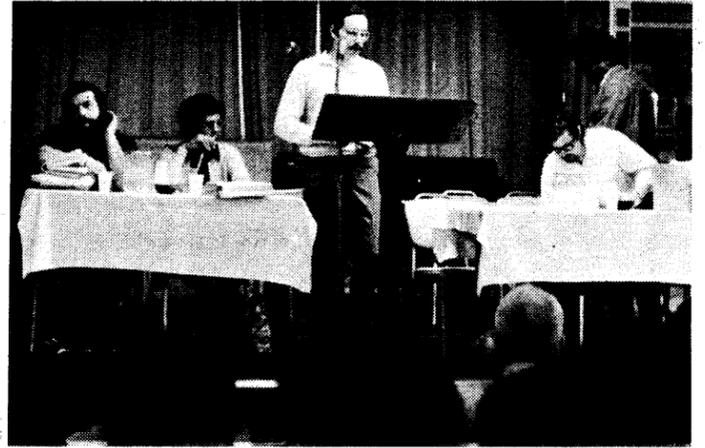
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Juan Farinas, whose case is now in appeal, speaking before SSEU -Local 371 meeting, calling for support in fight against government frameup. Campaign in Farinas' defense is being brought into the trade union movement and among youth.

CHINA. . .

(Continued From Page 2)

to Nixon than he gave tacit support to the repression in Sudan, denouncing the executed left wing officers and communists.

Preparing for Nixon's visit the Maoist leadership has opened up a purge of "leftists". Under attack is a member of the Chinese Communist Party Politburo Chen Po-ta, a leading spokesman for the Cultural Revolution which Mao now admits went beyond his control. Another CCP member who led the Red Guards in a thirteen day occupation of the Chinese Foreign Ministry in 1967 has been expelled.

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SYLVEIRE. . .

(Continued From Page 4)

class and the productive forces in order to survive. It is prepared to massacre the Bengali people in order to crush the Bengali revolution.

The revolution that threatens to sweep all of Southeast Asia has brought the Stalinist bureaucracy still closer to imperialism and precisely at a time when the Stalinist bureaucracies face an upsurge of the masses in Eastern Europe and China on unprecedented scale.

INSEPARABLE

Our conception has always been that the construction of a revolutionary youth movement is in-

BOLIVIA. . .

(Continued From Page 4)

influence of the POR? Sossa: The situation can be characterized in the following way. On the one hand, there are the proposals of the POR, the documents and resolutions prepared by us which formed the heart of the Assembly's work and which were adopted with few changes and usually unanimously.

On the other hand, however, as soon as it came to the election

of a leadership of the Assembly the POR proposals came up against a very strong opposition and when the votes were counted, the POR represented only around 20% of the delegates, perhaps a little more.

We are thus faced with a contradictory situation. The proposals of the POR find a very broad response and no tendency—whether it is the Stalinists or Lechin and the mouthpiece of

what remains of bourgeois nationalism or the ultra left adventurist petty bourgeois groups can provide a coherent alternative or politically fight the POR's arguments.

But the POR is still a minority in organization. It has still not organized a sufficiently wide layer of militants, intervening in all sectors of the working class, and thus we only can count on a minority of delegates which unconditionally fight with us in the Assembly. There is an exception and fortunately it carries weight, that is the miners. We were constantly able to get the majority of their delegates to support us.

To get back to the decisions of the Assembly, the most important was the one to accelerate the organization of armed and trained workers militias. A beginning in this direction took place in the days preceding the meeting of the Assembly and made it possible, together with the mobilization of the masses to momentarily counter the threat of a military coup.

In case of a coup the Popular Assembly will call a general

strike, will assume the military and political command of the masses. The decision to go over to the systematic organization of militias is geared to this perspective and prepares the working class for the inevitable confrontation, the fight to fully install its own government, the workers and peasants government.

In the immediate period ahead, we face two dangers. The first, is that the Assembly will capitulate to Torres and become what the pro-Moscow Stalinists as well as Lechin want—an institution integrated into the other bourgeois institutions...

In my opinion, I think that the pro-Moscow Stalinists represent a serious threat that no one must underestimate. The present face of the Stalinists is very different in Bolivia than it is in France. The Bolivian CP sticks as close as it can to the line of the POR and follows the masses in their evolution to the left. It voted with the POR for the election of the Assembly President and had to distinguish itself from Lechin. But its politics are still counter-revolutionary. As soon as it can it will attempt to turn the As-

sembly into a bourgeois institution.

The Maoists and the ultra-lefts of the "Christian Rebel Democracy" would like to precipitate the movement and take the Assembly down the road of adventure before the political process of the maturing of the consciousness of the masses has been completed. For these groups the "problem of revolution" just has to be worked out in their heads in order to take place in reality.

Their answer to everything, no matter what the conditions, at every moment, is armed struggle. They organize "occupations" (like the one in La Paz to put an end, so they said, to the prostitution at a motel). At the same time they vote for Lechin in the Assembly.

The POR is engaged in the most violent struggle against these tendencies and is tightening up its ranks and prepare for this offensive. In this context, the Essen rally clearly has the greatest importance and everything must be done so that its lessons are brought to Bolivia and contribute to the political strengthening of POR without which the Bolivian proletariat cannot win.

Bulletin

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West Coast News

Nixon's Board Attacks Roofers Wage Increase

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The West Coast has recently been a area of sharp struggle over wages in the construction industry, reaching explosive proportions in Northern California with the lockout and strikes of thousands of workers.

But it is important to realize that this movement has been dealt a blow that, if not reversed with an all-out fight, means the beginning of the end for collective bargaining in construction.

Roofers of Local 45 in San Diego, who won a 25% first-year increase, have had that contract rejected by Nixon's wage review board.

To date, the leadership of Local 45 has not mobilized the ranks for a strike. They are doing exactly the opposite by persuading the membership to accept the board's wage recommendations in place of the negotiated contract.

AGENTS

These leaders are acting as the agents of the government in the union to clear the way for greater federal control. If board recommendations are accepted, that means that negotiations are use-

less in the first place because the federal government now has the final word.

The point, however, is that the final word speaks in favor of the contractors. That is why the contractors negotiated a settlement and then immediately asked the wage board to quash it. The union leaders go along with it because supposedly "you can't fight City Hall."

NAIL

This situation is serious because the unions remain isolated, and can be picked off one by one. Roofers Local 45 is the first construction union in California to have a contract rejected—but only the first.

This must be stopped NOW. No unions must be crushed under the Federal thumb. Union leaders must lead a common struggle to nail this wage board with a strike of every construction union in the country.

There is no time to lose. West Coast contractors, using the ILWU strike as a cover, are preparing a massive assault on construction workers with layoffs and site closures in the near future.

Strike action to fight this is the first step. The government's wage freezing must be fought with the construction of a labor party.



Striking Sawmill and Lumber workers picket demanding #1.30 increase. Sacramento Lifeline Company has brought in scabs to break strike which is now in eighth week.

UFWOC Opens Drive For Countywide Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO—United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has announced that it is beginning the drive to shut down all of San Diego County agriculture in a mass organizing effort.

This strike call is very significant because it comes at a time of sharpening strike struggles all across the country, and in the midst of government preparations to deepen its attack on the work-

ing class. In fact, the strike call is a response to government intervention in agriculture that threatens to break the strike in San Diego and deliver blows to agricultural unionization in California.

It is clear that the UFWOC leadership has acted under pressure. The leaders themselves indicated by their statements that a massive strike was not part of any strategy for Southern California agriculture.

They said that the move was a direct result of a very recent court decision in San Diego wherein the court refused to block scabs from working in struck fields, even though that is part of federal law on labor disputes in agriculture.

RANKS

But the real pressure comes from the ranks of the strikers themselves. They are fighting back scabs and cops and a government attempt to break the strike

through "decertification". The initial strike effort, limited to a single company, was forced to the brink of disaster by the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee leadership that consistently allowed strikers to remain isolated through refusal to mobilize workers and broaden the movement.

These "leaders" parade around with their retinue of liberals, boycotters, and roving priests while the growers and their agents prepare to smash striking farm workers. Now they must execute a sharp left in order to avoid losing control of the ranks who must FIGHT for their union and their safety while the leaders preach non-violence and hunger protests from serene conference rooms.

The federal government has shown that it is ready to act as a direct strikebreaking agent. The State of California is considering legislation to outlaw boycotts and exert its control over agricultural union recognition elections.

These attacks must be answered by a strike movement that covers the entire country. San Diego is only the beginning.

Pacific Rail Strike Spreads To SPRR

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PITTSBURGH, CA.—The railroad strike has now shut down the Southern Pacific Railroad. The railroad workers are striking against efficiency measures which will introduce speedup and eliminate a great many jobs.

They face incredible opposition from the combined forces of the capitalist class, including a federal injunction, vicious anti-union ads in the newspapers, and demands by agricultural corpora-

tions like scab lettuce grower Bud Antler for "more direct" government intervention.

The railroads have threatened "punitive" layoffs and pay cuts if the strike continues. A United Transportation Union member picketing a Southern Pacific station told the Bulletin:

"The government got an injunction to keep us from a mass strike, but we're having selective strikes. If we work it right we can still shut down most of the railroads. Probably they'll try to stop the selective strikes, too.

"Some of the men are saying

we should call a mass strike, but the leadership won't have it. I remember reading about Harry Bridges and the dock strike of 1934 when they called in the troops. Our leadership is just scared that it will happen to us this time and that's all they're worried about. You can't budge these guys."

In relation to the longshore strike and the fact that the ports in Canada and Mexico have been left open, he said, "Harry Bridges must know what he's doing, but it seems to me they should close it all down and that's what we'll have to do with the railroads."

Stalinist Betrayal . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

ciently, change methods of work, utilize labor saving devices and direct work through employers representatives while explicitly observing the provisions and conditions of the agreements."

In other words the union gave up the principle of control over work methods and loads and protection from "labor saving devices." Job and pay guarantees were to be paid from a five million dollar per year slush fund doled out by the employers.

The pact was ratified by all the locals, except Local 13 in Los Angeles. Los Angeles' rejection of the pact is not so mysterious in view of the fact that in September of 1960 Bridges had rushed down here to squelch a two-week walk-out over grievances. An indication of Bridges' cozy relationship with management at that time is given by the fact that together with St. Sure, director of PMA, he outlawed grievance work stoppages as well as stopwork meetings in L.A.

In its article of September 10, 1960 entitled "L.A. Pier Pact

Streamlines 'Beef' Handling" the People's World jeered at would-be hecklers of Bridges who were stunned into silence when St. Sure announced that his choice for impartial arbiter to head a compulsory dispute board was none other than ILWU Vice President Germain Bulcke. Such was the "confidence" of the bosses in the union leadership. Such was the outright treachery of that leadership. Such was the sickening pandering of the Stalinists to that leadership.

In Los Angeles, Bridges took the opportunity to bemoan with his chum from the PMA, St. Sure, the rise of mechanization. The People's World of September 10 quotes Bridges as saying: "I dare say we and the employers in this industry have gone further than any in trying to work out this problem. What's the solution?"

The solution of Bridges, St. Sure and the CP came several months later—"Mechanization and Modernization".

The M and M agreements of 1961 did not result in an immediate crisis for dockers. However,

they did represent, in principle, a capitulation by the Bridges leadership to the PMA on the crucial question of automation. The crisis that exists today was prepared by the deepening crisis of capitalism itself along with Bridges' out and out betrayal of the union in the M and M agreement of 1966.

In the 1966 pact Bridges carried out the logic of the 1961 agreements. In return for a bigger dole from the PMA (\$13,000 per registered worker after twenty five years service) plus 90¢ over five years, the union gave up outright the no layoff guarantee and the guarantee on minimum weekly wages. In addition the employers were given greater latitude in work assignments and in the elimination of "unnecessary" men in favor of machines.

This time there was a full scales rank and file revolt. Of the big longshore locals only San Francisco voted in favor. Only a big "yes" vote in San Francisco and in the clerks locals overcame the decisive "no" registered up and down the coast. A fight against Bridges in Local 10 could have

made the difference!

It was this fight the Stalinists refused to take up. Pursuing a policy of the rankest opportunism the CP attempted to back Bridges without openly endorsing the pact. Between April 23, 1966 when the People's World carried an article reporting Bridges' demands in the upcoming talks, namely an improved M and M, and July 16 when it reported the tentative agreement between the ILWU negotiating committee and the PMA, the Stalinists maintained complete silence in their press on the fundamental fight taking place inside the union.

In the article of July 16th they simply reported the widespread dissatisfaction with the negotiated settlement and attempted to counterpose to the sellout of decades of hard won rights and guarantees the "attractive" money package. They effectively pushed for swift ratification by concluding the article with the statement that the wage increase would only be retroactive if the pact were approved by August 1st.

In an August 6th article report-

ing the ratification of the new pact, the People's World again emphasized the "big money provisions." On the fundamental threat posed to jobs and to the union itself by the mechanization and work rules provisions, it offered nothing but the question: "...will the displacement (by automation) attain a faster rate than the attrition effected by skimming off the top (by retirement?)"

In 1966 the Stalinists valued their ties to Bridges more than the interests of the dockers. That is why they failed to carry out the necessary fight against Bridges to protect the union from the employers' plans to weaken and eventually smash it. Today the Stalinists carry out the same policies of class collaboration and capitulation.

Dockers must learn the lessons of their own history and repudiate the Stalinist traitors once and for all. The Stalinists will do anything to prevent the independent political mobilization of the working class and the building of a true Marxist leadership, a Trotskyist leadership, in the unions.

West Coast News

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Hacks Use Goons On CWA Ranks

BY A CWA MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—At a special union meeting, Tuesday July 27, Communications Workers of America Local 9410 unanimously supported the Executive Board's decision to override CWA International's order to the local to go back to work, crossing the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1269 picket lines.

A virtual revolt by the ranks had forced the president of the local, G.G. Kirkpatrick to declare that the local would continue to honor the lines although this decision places his job and the entire local on the line. The rank and file angrily booed down the CWA International representative as he lamely tried to explain why they would continue to order us back although IBEW's strike is clearly sanctioned by the AFL-CIO, as well as its own International.

Ever since CWA national president Joseph A. Beirne ordered strikers back to work before contract ratification ballots were even mailed out, the rank and file has been demanding that they get back to acting "like a union".

It becomes clear as the meeting proceeded and more and more people took the floor to continue on the subject of the CWA's own contract offer (which was received with overwhelming hostility when presented at a meeting the previous week) that the leadership could in no way afford to answer any questions about the struggle for wages and benefits or why this struggle had been purposely dissipated as a nationwide movement.

HOOLIGAN

The bureaucracy at this meeting did not limit itself to merely red-baiting or shouting down the speakers. The rank and file was clearly fuming at the gaping holes that the leadership had left in the struggle for wages. The Work-

ers League supporter who put forward a motion for the local to declare itself ready to stay out indefinitely for 25% the first year was dragged away by his neck in mid-sentence amidst the protest of the membership.

All further speakers attempting to clarify the contract offer or in any way deal with anything beyond the IBEW's strike was not only insinuated to be a Communist, by the President, but also pushed roughly away from the microphone or otherwise terrorized by the goon squad.

Subsequently, the rank and file no longer took the microphone but a steady stream of criticisms was levied at the chair from the seated members. At this point, the meeting was declared adjourned for the subject of the IBEW was over. However, the rank and file largely remained seated and yelled "NO" back at the chair. The sweeping arm of the goon squad quickly emptied most of the room.

President Kirkpatrick proceeded then to beat up one of his critics, while protected within a ring of goons from those members trying to stop the fight. One member who had managed to snap a few pictures of the leadership's fist-fighting had her camera grabbed and smashed by the goons and was forcibly removed from the room.

It is clear from the leadership's desperate attempt to clam a lid on boiling rage of the CWA rank and file, that they are terribly threatened by a program which calls for the winning of 25%, for the winning

of all CWA demands. Under the guidelines of Nixon's "incomes policy" as spoken through Secretary of Labor Hodgson to the CWA, the national CWA leadership and the International have acted to call off the strike to force this local to become scabs on the IBEW.

The local leadership was forced to immediately falsify the entire proceedings at the meeting. The San Francisco Examiner published an article the following day characterizing the meeting as a hooligan attack on the president by the Progressive Labor Party, which certainly did not occur. But this is the sort of "truth" that the leadership must give out in order to confuse and terrorize its membership.

Local 9410 must stay out and vote NO on the contract.



As IBEW picketed Bell (above) CWA Local 9410 President Kirkpatrick tried unsuccessfully to force CWA ranks to cross IBEW line.

Bridges Endangers 5 Week Dock Strike

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SAN FRANCISCO—As the Longshoremen's strike which has shut down 24 ports on the west coast enters its second month, the greatest danger is raised by the moves of the Bridges leadership.

Bridges has agreed to reopen negotiations, the first since the strike began, not only with the Pacific Maritime Association but also with Governor Reagan. Last week US Secretary of State Stans stepped in calling for a settlement. Reagan and other west coast governors followed by demanding to be present at negotiations.

The government is now moving into open intervention into the strike to break the back of the

fight on wages and jobs.

CAPITULATE

Bridges is entering into these negotiations by already beginning to capitulate on the demand for a 40 hour guarantee. Lately he has said that the battle is one for "jurisdiction." In other words it is not a fight for full employment against the employers' plans to smash jobs on the docks, but a battle between the ILWU and the Teamsters for a dwindling num-

ber of jobs.

The ranks of the ILWU must mobilize now to make sure that there is absolutely no retreat from the wage demands and the 40 hour guarantee and against any attempt by Bridges to compromise.

Bridges has continued to permit cargo to move through ports in British Columbia and Mexico, as well as the shipment of perishables and war goods. The ranks must demand that these ports be closed and that all goods be stopped. This must be combined with a massive campaign for support from the entire labor movement.

STALINIST BETRAYAL ON THE WATERFRONT

BY BARRY ZVERKOV

AS THE DOCK strike that has closed down the entire West Coast enters into its sixth week, the impasse between the ILWU and the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) sharply poses the fundamental political nature of the shutdown.

Under the pressure of the deepening economic crisis with its developing trade wars and profit squeeze, the PMA is committed to carrying out the logic of the "Mechanization and Modernization" agreements signed by ILWU President Harry Bridges in 1961 and 1968. These agreements paved the way for the PMA to institute its massive program of automation and rationalization which today threatens to shut down all but a few container ports and throw thousands of dockers out of work.

The union's demands of \$1.60 over two years and a 40 hour gua-

rantee are totally irreconcilable with these plans. They are totally irreconcilable with the government's policies of recession, unemployment, and wage freezing. They can only be won by forcing Bridges to bring the entire labor movement into the fight for a general strike and building a labor party to oust the capitalist parties in 1972.

The working class is in the midst of a massive strike wave. This tremendous offensive of the working class nationally is today expressed sharply on the West Coast. Victory for the dockers can only come from a conscious program to direct this movement politically in a class fight against the employers.

It is this political struggle on the docks which the American Communist Party consciously seeks to obscure. Consistent with its whole history of backing up or covering for Bridges' betrayals, it seeks today to reinforce the ranks' illusions, allowing Bridges

to sell out the life and death fight against attrition, speedup and layoffs.

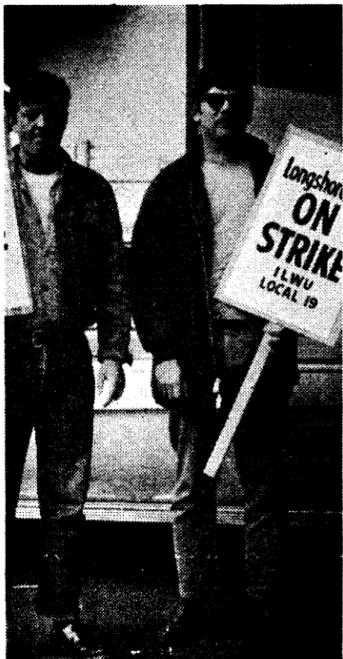
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Of what, exactly, did this "great achievement" consist? In return for assurances from the PMA against layoffs, a guarantee of minimum weekly earnings, and a pledge against speedups and infringements of safety rules, the bosses were "...relieved from restrictions in contract and working rules dealing with sling loads, first place of rest, multiple hand-gang sizes and manning scales so as to permit them to operate effi-

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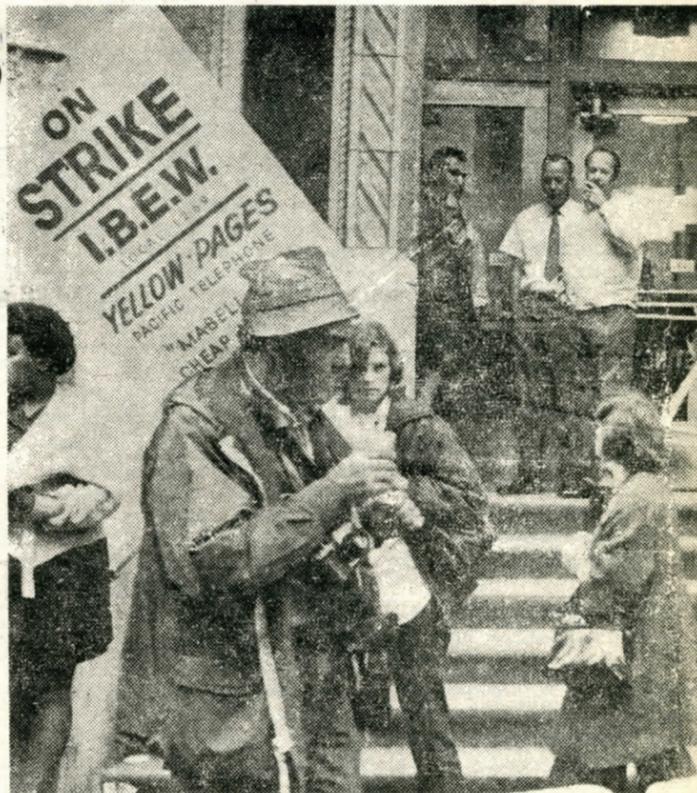
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