

MOSCOW TRIALS AND REVISIONISM

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HOOVER
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LBJ THREATENS TRADE UNIONS

EDITORIAL - LBJ PLANS ANTI-STRIKE LEGISLATION

page 2

DOLLAR CRISIS - PRELUDE TO ANTI-LABOR DRIVE

page 7

**vietnam--
prepare
invasion** page 6

FACES OF THE SOUTH

page 8

**TULP Intervenes
In SSEU, 1199**

page 2

Transit Sell-out

page 3

**Cincinnati Union
Strikes Formica**

page 3

Eshkol and LBJ

page 6

**Greece Plays
Two-act farce**

page 8



EDITORIAL-- LBJ Plans New Anti-labor Curbs

Perhaps Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz was taking his cue from the New York Times editors when he recently let slip the statement that we will have to face up to the necessity of wage-price controls if Congress does not enact the tax hike. At the very same moment, the Times editorial room was grinding out a New Years Day editorial demanding that the administration and Congress halt the inflationary 'wage-price' spiral caused by 'powerful unions'. Voluntary restraints and appeals must be replaced by 'standby controls on a selective basis so the country will not be defenseless if cost-push inflation takes on runaway dimensions.'

In plain language, a wage freeze. That's what you are left with if you toss aside all the baloney thrown in about balancing corporate profits, price controls, etc.

But the administration cannot afford to be as candid as the Times and LBJ had to try to disown the Wirtz statement. When questioned about it he said that 'wages or price controls are not imminent at all' and that the Wirtz statement was 'made without my knowledge.' Mind you, LBJ did not say that we would not have these controls but simply that they were not 'imminent'. Wirtz then rang down the curtain on Act 1 of this farce by acknowledging that his statement was a 'mistake'.

No matter how he tries to camouflage it, no matter how many half-way house gimmicks his 'labor-management experts' come up with, no matter how devious his maneuverings--Johnson's program and goal is clear: freeze wages and destroy the power of the trade unions. True to form the administration's scrapping of the 'voluntary' restraints of the wage-price guidelines is to be followed by any number of anti-labor controls. Currently there are over 50 bills pending in Congress which provide some scheme or other including compulsory arbitration for outlawing strikes and curbing unions.

What all this means for the working class is that the bosses acting through Johnson and the Democratic Party will no longer tolerate the unions' attempts to fight back against galloping inflation and tax increases.

Do workers have to take this lying down? No, a thousand times, NO. We say fight for the unions to organize a labor party which will run candidates against the Democratic and Republican thieves and establish a workers government. Answer the political power of the bosses with the political power of the unions.

This is the aim of Trade Unionists for a Labor Party which is leading the fight for a labor party which will: Repeal all anti-strike legislation; Provide jobs for all; Wipe out inflation; Establish trade union control of working conditions in the shops; Nationalize all companies which claim they cannot provide decent wages or working conditions.

UNIONISTS TO FIGHT IN 1199 AND SSEU

by Lucy St. John

NEW YORK-- Trade Unionists for a Labor Party is moving forward in the struggle to build a political alternative to the bosses' parties, to build a labor party. The task facing TULP is to take the fight for the Labor Party, contained in the motion passed at the December 3rd meeting of TULP into the unions and relate it to the struggles in each union. At the last meeting on January 7th TULP outlined its work for the coming period. A discussion was begun on perspectives for work in the SSEU (welfare workers) and 1199 (hospital workers).

SSEU

A report on the situation in the SSEU was given by Dennis Cribben, a grievance chairman in the SSEU. The SSEU, he said, is facing a critical juncture. The SSEU suffered a major defeat this summer in a 7 week strike, in which gains made over the past 2 years were rolled back. Welfare workers are bearing the full brunt of Lindsay's crackdown on city labor. The 60 caseload limit is completely violated, in fact, in some centers caseloads are almost double that. Workers are facing departmental reorganization which means more speed-up, job freezes and the threat of replacement of higher paid workers with low paid workers.

The defeat of the SSEU this summer has made it quite clear that the independent SSEU is no longer a viable force to protect the workers. The Mge leadership, as a result, has been forced to take up the fight for the entry of the SSEU into DC 37. The Mage leadership under heavy fire from the ranks looks to entry

as a way to get the blame for the inability of the union to fight the rapidly deteriorating working conditions transferred from it to the Gotbaum bureaucracy.

CAUCUS

The perspective of TULP is to build a caucus in the SSEU with a program, the only program, which can bring victory to city workers. This means uniting the workers in the Department of Social Services in DC 37 in order to wage a political strike. Only a political strike, threatening Lindsay's job, can turn back the offensive. The existence of the Taylor anti-strike law makes this all the more necessary.

TULP will be launching a campaign in the SSEU April elections. A major demand will be that the SSEU take the lead in the fight for the city labor movement to run its own independent candidates against Lindsay. Entry into DC 37 is meaningful only within the context of this program, the only program which can bring victory.

hospital

Fred Mazelis, delegate in 1199 (hospital workers) reported that the citywide contract covering about 20 hospitals comes up in July. This contract is crucial as it will set the pattern for other hospitals in the city. Workers in 1199 are faced with poverty wages and the lack of benefits such as a pension. A major demand in this contract will be for a minimum salary for all workers of \$100 (the average wage is now about \$70/week). A second important demand will be for a pension. These demands take on importance also outside of 1199, because if won they could establish a pre-

cedent for other low paid workers in this city.

TULP will launch an uncompromising fight for these demands, that not one inch be given. This requires a real struggle against the 1199 bureaucracy which has no program or intention of waging the kind of fight necessary to win these demands. The bureaucracy shows its colors when it sings praise of those enemies of all workers, Lindsay and Rockefeller. Lindsay and Rockefeller will fight tooth and nail the demand for the \$100 wage for they represent the moneyed interests, the bosses, in this city. TULP must wage a struggle in 1199 against these bosses politicians and for a labor party to run candidates who will legislate in the interests of the workers. TULP must fight the bureaucrats who collaborate with these anti-labor hacks. TULP will be launching a campaign around the elections in April in 1199.

newsletter

The meeting on Jan. 7 also discussed TULP intervention in District 65, Taxi Union, UFT, TWU, and other unions. TULP will begin publishing a monthly newsletter beginning in February dealing with trade union struggles in New York City.

TULP is holding meetings next month in Minneapolis, Cincinnati, and San Francisco. TULP has the only alternative for American workers. JOIN TULP IN THE FIGHT BACK AGAINST THE BOSSES! JOIN TULP TO BUILD THE LABOR PARTY-- A PARTY OF THE WORKERS! Trade Unionists for a Labor Party meets every Sunday night at 8:00 at 243 E. 10th St., Room 7. For further information call 473-9948. To write TULP, 243 E. 10th St.,

TRADE UNIONISTS FOR A LABOR PARTY MEETINGS

new york

FUTURE OF THE SSEU

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TWU LEADERS SELL OUT RANKS

by Fred Mueller

NEW YORK—A transit strike on New Year's Day was averted this year. Among all the smiling faces, the mutual congratulations among mediators and Transit Authority and union negotiators, no one bothered to check on what the transit workers themselves thought of the contract.

The Transport Workers Union officials still deny their members the right to pass on contract recommendations in open meetings. Of course the mail ballot machinery almost guarantees ratification. It takes place some time after settlement is proposed, when rank and file militancy is bound to have ebbed. Any opposition elements have no chance to convince the rest of the workers to try to buck the leadership.

This year the bureaucrats are probably happier than ever to fall back on the mail ballot. Thousands of transit workers know that practically all of their demands were dropped in exchange for a compromise pension provision that doesn't even cover 5,000 bus drivers who are employed by the TA subsidiary, the Manhattan and Bronx Surface Transit Operating Authority.

dissatisfaction

Several bus drivers questioned by this reporter didn't waste words in expressing their dissatisfaction with the new contract. It was almost as hard to find any subway conductors or motorman who approved of the way all of their demands were exchanged for a much weaker pension provision than they had demanded.

The bulk of the workers (not counting the 5,000 bus drivers) got the pension at half pay, but only at age 50. In exchange for this improvement, which will only cost the city about 1/3 as much as the straight pension at half pay after 20 years which the workers were asking for, bureaucrats gave up practically every single other demand. Working conditions are

bound to continue to deteriorate.

As usual, the shorter work week demand was dropped immediately by the union negotiators. This demand is always treated as a little window dressing meant to placate the rank and file. Yet 15,000 jobs have been eliminated in the last 15 years by the TA, and some progress on the shorter work week demand could reverse this trend.

cut

As for wages, the workers will have to be content with 5% for the next 18 months, with another 6% which will be held back until July 1969. This really means a pay cut for transit workers, at least over the next year and a half. Even if inflation stays at its present rate it will add up to more than the measly 5% the workers have been given. Adding the new state and federal taxes which are almost certain this year, it is obvious that the workers face a definite cut in living standards now.

The pension improvement doesn't cost more than \$10 million by the city's own estimates. The really expensive items would have been a sizable wage increase and a shorter work week. This is just what the bureaucrats agreed from the very beginning not to fight for. To top it all off, the new contract provides for setting up a so-called Human Relations Committee, composed of the TA and TWU officials, which will meet periodically to discuss 'problems relating to working conditions.' Transit workers had better not look for anything but trouble from this cozy little arrangement.

warned

The Trade Unionists for a Labor Party warned transit workers in a leaflet issued before the strike deadline that the union bureaucrats would try to settle for a two bit compromise which would let their living standards be

chewed to bits by inflation and their working conditions go to the devil. THIS IS GO TO THE DEVIL. This is what happened. It happened because the TWU bureaucrats absolutely refuse to fight the city on behalf of their members.

The New York Times re-

by Mayor Lindsay, is a part owner of this exclusive restaurant. He invited Lindsay and other top city officials; Ralph Gross and Harry Van Arsdale, co-chairmen of the new Labor Management Council of New York; Lane Kirkland, executive assistant to AFL-CIO President George

be "a disaster". It might even interrupt their expensive dinners for a couple of days. They all agreed to meet again on Saturday and to move into the Americana Hotel, where the bargaining was going on, "to assist and provide support in the final push for a settlement."

Under this kind of pressure the transit settlement was finally arrived at, after a postponement of several hours in the strike deadline.

rough

The bosses and bureaucrats will not be laughing for long, however. The way in which the settlement was achieved itself shows how rough things are getting. And Lindsay and the bankers who directly dictate TA policy didn't get everything they wanted. The city's financial crisis is so great that even a lousy settlement for the workers adds up to more than the bosses and their government can afford to shell out.

Thus, while the settlement represents a real defeat for transit workers, neither they nor the rest of the city workers have been routed yet. The transit contract fits into the pattern of the teachers' settlement in New York and many others as well. Without new weapons, without a political struggle, the workers are pushed back or at the very best hold their own. But the capitalists are not yet able to solve their crisis on the backs of the workers. They make the workers pay as much as possible and the workers fight back. The crisis continues to deepen and the stage is set for much more explosive battles in the near future.

This fight requires the building of a political alternative to the parties of the bosses. Transit workers must begin to fight for a labor party now as the only way to achieve their demands. This is the most basic lesson of the transit settlement.



Lindsay & Guinan collaborate in defeat of transit workers

vealed the way the bureaucrats and their friends in government and industry work together. On Wed., December 27th, at the very same time as the transit workers were taking their strike vote, the strategy for the transit sell-out was being discussed and agreed upon at a 'gourmet's dinner' at The Pavilion Restaurant on East 57th Street.

dinner

It seems that Theodore Kheel, one of the key mediators who had been appointed

Meany; and others to the dinner.

While the transit workers met at the other side of town to express their determination to fight for decent wages and working conditions, these bosses, their political representatives and their highly paid agents in the labor movement wined and dined at a cost per bloated bureaucrat of as much or more than a transit worker's daily pay.

Lindsay, Kheel and the bureaucrats agreed that another transit strike would

electrical workers strike formica

by Mike Ross

CINCINNATI—A rotten wage scale, pitiful fringe benefits, company refusal to negotiate and a mile-long grievance list have brought 1400 members of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE) Local 757 on to the picket lines at Cincinnati's Formica plants.

Since December 10, 1967, the 1400 IUE workers have picketed Formica's parent Spring Grove plant and its Evendale plant. Scabbing on the strikers are those unorganized: salesmen, office workers, supervisors and research and development workers; heading the list is General Manager Eldon Fender, now known as 'superscab.'

Just what is going on inside the struck plants is unknown, but unconfirmed reports have filtered out of supervisors losing fingers, breaking arms

and one having a heart attack while trying to operate the plant's machinery.

As things presently stand, the bosses have refused to negotiate a decent contract some 20 times. The previous contract had expired six months ago, in July, and was extended on a weekly basis for those 20-odd fruitless meetings.

issues

What are the issues? The workers are demanding parity with the wage scale at Formica's Riverdale, California plant. The Riverdale workers receive higher pay than those in Cincinnati, but without a union. This indicates that the bosses are making far more profit from the Cincinnati workers than was previously suspected.

Fringe benefits and overtime pay are also at stake.

At present, there is no overtime pay on Saturdays and Sundays unless at least 40 hours have been worked on the preceding Monday through Friday. And the grievance list is something else. How many grievances are there? The general reaction of IUE members interviewed on this point was 'I lost count a long time ago.'

Can the electrical workers win this strike? Not just 'win' in the sense of getting a contract which keeps the workers even with the rising cost of living, but inflicting a solid defeat on the bosses. All the militancy displayed so far has not been enough; something more is needed.

demands

What the electrical workers need to do is to raise certain demands which will link their struggles with those of the entire working class and en-

able them to break out of the isolation the capitalist press is feverishly trying to put them into.

Formica says it can't afford to increase the workers' pay scale. If this be so, it's time the boss proves this by opening up company books to a workers committee.

The workers should also link their struggles with those of the unemployed and of the black community. Demands for retirement after 30 years and 30 hours work, 40 hours pay would create new job openings and provide this link.

But these demands alone are still not enough. It is foolish to allow the bosses to fight with two arms while the workers use only one. What is this second arm? It is political action. Not the running back and forth between the two bosses parties, but the creation of a labor party, based

on the trade unions.

control

The bosses presently control all political life and hold all the offices, from village council to the White House. No matter how much they proclaim themselves "friends of labor," when the moment of truth comes, these capitalist politicians always show up on the side of the boss. Workers have got to begin a political struggle to take all instruments of repression away from the bosses.

Who's going to build this labor party? George Meany? Walter Reuther? Joseph Curran? Forget it! Only when all workers, in transit, hospitals, steel, mines, electrical and all other industries team up will a labor party be built. And the only organization which fights for building a Labor Party is the Workers League.



THE MOSCO

the historical roots

by Jeff Sebastian

The deepening crisis of imperialism threatens the world with barbarism. Only Leninist parties capable of smashing the capitalist state and leading the working class to power can provide an alternative to this. The fundamental crisis of our epoch is one of revolutionary leadership. This central idea of the 'Transitional Program', main document of the founding conference of the Fourth International, is as true today as when it was written in 1938. The major obstacle to this task is Stalinism which fights to prevent the working class from achieving consciousness of its historic task.

'Peaceful co-existence' is the policy the Kremlin bureaucracy employs in its desperate efforts to defend its privileges and political power from the Russian working class. To carry out this policy of international class collaboration and counter-revolution the Kremlin depends on its vast apparatus of loyal Communist Parties. In every country of the world the CP's fight to tie the working class to alien class interests and to destroy all attempts to build independent expressions of working class political power. Everywhere the

story is the same. Workers are used as pawns to pressure the imperialists to come to an agreement with the Russian bureaucracy.

In England the CP supports uncritically the Labor 'lefts' while these same lefts give Wilson the go ahead to destroy the trade unions. In France the CP contains millions of unionists with policies designed not to threaten French Capitalists or embarrass Russian diplomacy. In Vietnam the Russian bureaucrats cynically bargain over the interests of the Vietnamese while taking steps to insure that the revolution remains isolated. In China they call for the ouster of Mao. In Greece the workers are handed over to the military junta by the failure of the CP to provide any alternative to the capitalist policies of the Center Union. Millions of Arabs have had their eyes opened to the real politics of Stalinism as it acted to deliver them bound hand and foot to imperialism. The list of betrayals is endless.

Identical

In the U.S. the role of the CP is identical to that it plays in other countries. We should not be fooled into thinking that because of its small

size it is unimportant. In a period of rising class militancy its potential for misleadership and betrayal is enormous. The CP in the U.S. represents in organized form the politics of the Russian bureaucracy and for American workers that can only mean a policy of collaboration with the bosses and their government. It should be remembered that the present union bureaucracy which so cravenly offered its support to Johnson at the recent AFL-CIO convention was built and strengthened through the policies of the Stalinists in the '30's and during the war. Today the CP looks to the left wing of the Democratic Party for its alternative. They fight to keep the working class tied to this party by creating illusory alternatives such as McCarthy. They will fight just as hard to keep the workers tied to the friends of the Democratic party in the labor bureaucracy. That this is their policy can be seen in the support that they offer to the labor bureaucrats who met recently in Chicago to disguise their failure to wage the class struggle by assuming a somewhat left posture on the war. Precisely the same role is played by the 'lefts' in England who deliver Wilson a rebuff on his Vietnam policy and at the same time fight to keep him in power. Wherever workers are being betrayed the CP will be found providing a left cover to the betrayers.

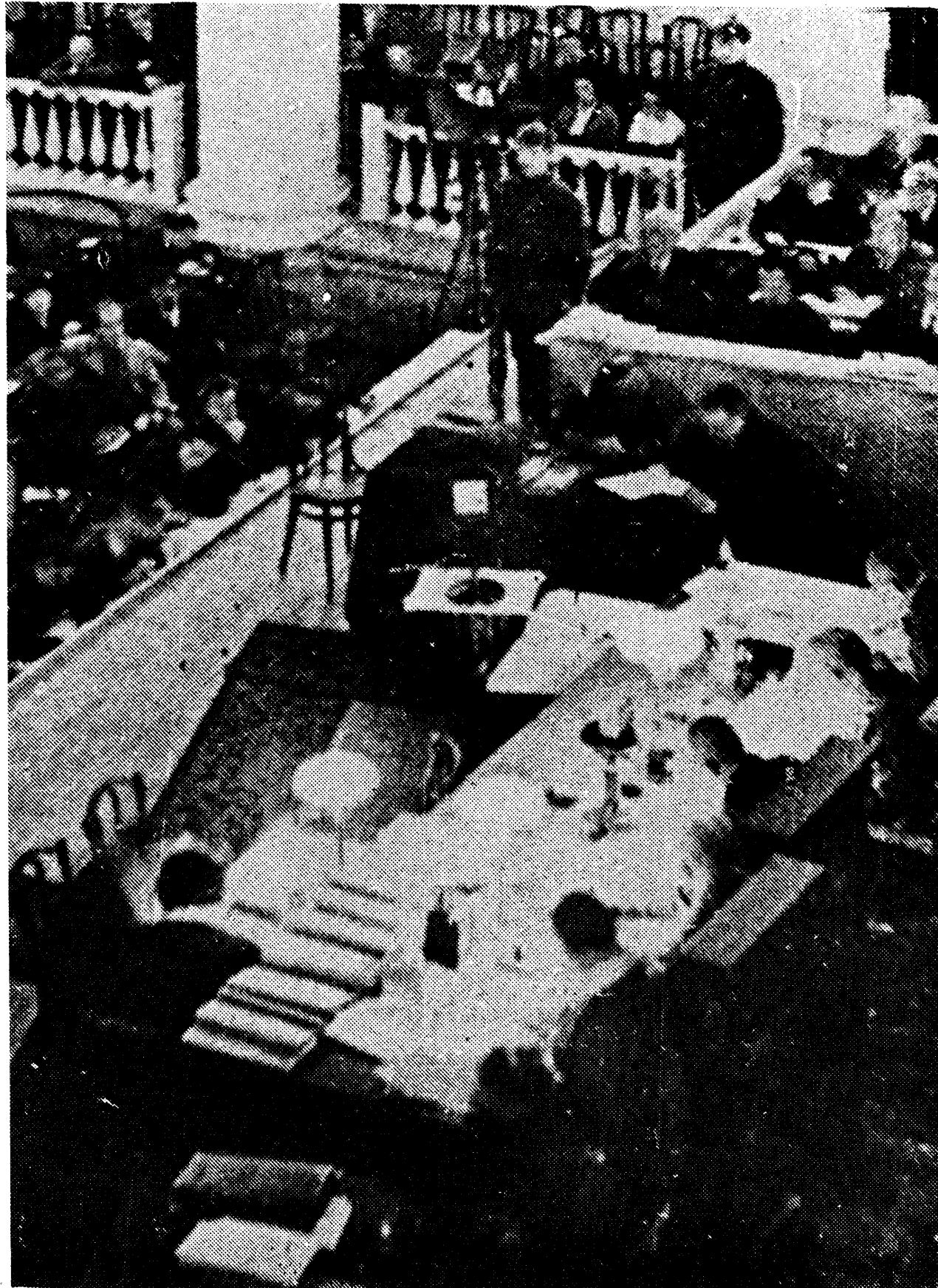
It could not be otherwise. The present CP is not the CP of Lenin. The rotten deformed policies of the present CP and traitors who lead it are the politics of Stalinism. The CP is the end product of Stalin's successful struggle to destroy the Bolshevik party, its leaders and everything it stood for.

The party that Stalin built was constructed on the ruins of the civil war and the exhaustion of the Russian working class. Every setback, every international defeat strengthened Stalin's politics of isolation and 'Socialism in One Country'. Stalin was the political head of all conservative, isolationist, non-revolutionary, nationalist tendencies in the country. He spoke for the bureaucracy, the managers, the technicians, the intelligentsia -- all those alien to the regime. By 1929 52% of the staffs of local government offices in Leningrad were former Tsarist officials. Tsarist officials contributed 37% of the Commissariat of Finance, 27% of the Commissariat of Labor and 26% of the Commissariat of Trade. These were the people Stalin represented. The party that Stalin led consisted of less than 2% people who had been Bolsheviks before the revolution. This was the party that expelled Trotsky and the Left Opposition.

destroy

Not even this was enough for Stalin. To consolidate his power he had to completely destroy the Bolshevik Party. And he had to do it in the name of the Bolshevik Party. In 1935 he banned the Society of Old Bolsheviks and in 1936-1938 he unleashed a series of purges to destroy most of the living history of Bolshevism and cut the Russian working class off from its entire revolutionary history. Of Lenin's 1917 Central Committee Trotsky was murdered in 1940, Joffe (ambassador to China) and Skrypnik (party leader in the Ukraine) were driven to suicide. Those who were executed or died in prison were Kamenev (Moscow party head), Zinoviev (leader of the Comintern), Bukharin editor of Pravda), Sokolnikov (commissar of finance), Rykov (chairman of the Council of People's Commissars), Smilga, (economist), Preobrazhensky (economist), Krestinsky (ambassador to Germany), and Radek (leader of the Communist International). Others simply disappeared and nothing is known of their fate. While the Purge trials went on thousands of militants were jailed, executed or simply disappeared.

Stalin even used the enemies of Bolshevism to destroy the Bolsheviks. The Chief prosecutor at the Moscow Trials was Vishinsky, a former White Guard. In 1937 Marshall Tukhachevsky and the Red Army General staff were framed and executed. This so weakened the army that



MOSCOW TRIALS

Roots of revisionism

if was still weak and demoralized when Hitler invaded the USSR. The frame ups in these trials were so gross that today particularly after the Khrushchev revelations no one can believe them to be true. Not one shred of evidence was ever unearthed linking Trotsky's activities to the Fascists. Every piece of 'evidence' submitted by the prosecution was exposed by Trotsky to have been a lie. The men destroyed by Stalin had devoted their lives to the revolution. They 'confessed' after having been broken by Stalin. Those who refused to confess simply never came to trial. The history of the CP of the Soviet union was rewritten many times as each time it became necessary to deal with some leading personage who had been shot or even some author of an earlier history who had been done away with.

The White Guard press wrote poems to Stalin thanking him for the executions. The bourgeoisie breathed a sigh of relief. Here indeed was concrete proof that Stalin had no dreams of world revolution. Was he not destroying everyone who had ever fought for such a thing? Throughout all of this only the Trotskyists fought to maintain the traditions of the Bolshevik Party and the heritage of October.

slavish

As for the CP in the U.S. it slavishly followed every twist and turn of its Kremlin masters. It supported the Moscow Trials. It supported each and every execution of an old Bolshevik. It printed and reprinted every lie and slander put out in these trials. At the same time as it did this it obediently carried out the line of the Kremlin in the U.S. Stalin's policy before the Hitler-Stalin Pact was to gain the support of the U.S., Britain and France against the Nazis. The CP here was only too glad to aid this by supporting Roosevelt and even intervening where it had the strength to sell out strikes to show the government just what a loyal ally it could be. All this went hand in hand with the Popular Front policy carried on in France and Spain as part of Stalin's international policy.

Except for a brief interlude during the Hitler-Stalin Pact when the CP became anti-Roosevelt and even fooled around with supporting Wilkie they were loyal indeed. During the War they were the best strike-breakers. William Z. Foster toured the coalfields trying to get striking coal miners back to work and calling John L. Lewis a fascist agent. Their supporters in the labor bureaucracy fought hardest for the no strike pledge. Harry Bridges even went so far as to call for a continuation of this pledge after the war. The Stalinists were men whose politics were based not on the defense of the USSR but, on the defense of the bureaucracy. They helped to weaken the October Revolution by destroying its main defense, the international communist movement.

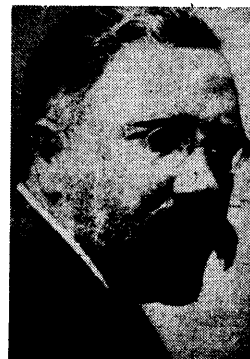
A history of lies, slander and cover-up for murder. This is the history of the Communist Party, a party which bases its history on the decapitation of the Bolshevik Party can lead the working class nowhere but under the knives of the capitalists.



The Progressive Labor Party was built after a split from the CP. Although its leaders were able to see the class collaborationist politics of the CP they could not see this as the logical development of Stalinist degeneration. Thus they seek to disguise their own history from their membership. They inform us in their document 'Road to Revolution' that Stalin made some mistakes, he was too centralist and not democratic enough and he may have killed a few innocent people, but he was a great Marxist. Which few innocent people? Surely the leadership must be aware that those innocent people they refer to were the entire leadership of the Bolshevik Party. They treat the CP as though its mistakes were due entirely to a revisionism which developed only in the U.S. and was totally unrelated to Stalin. Thus they start out with essentially the same world view as that of the CP, defense of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

By starting out with a defense of Stalinism rather than a re-examination of their entire history these people are doomed to one empirical blunder after another. Thus, the party that in 1964 could organize trips to Cuba and claims that Fidel was a model Marxist-Leninist are today second to none in their attacks against Fidel's bureaucracy when it is forced to break from the Chinese for its own tactical purposes. This same failure to deal with Stalinism leaves them totally incapable of doing anything else but, adapting to the national bourgeoisie in the colonial countries. How else explain their support to Boumediene the Algerian hangman or their support to Sukarno and the PKI under whose brilliant leadership a half million communists were slaughtered.

Essentially PL has taken over that narrow nationalism that so characterizes Stalinism. In breaking from the Kremlin bureaucracy and attaching themselves to the Maoist bureaucracy they maintain the old convenient relationship. China frees them from having to do any independent international study and frees them for work at home. All that is necessary is an occasional reprint of Chinese analysis. Nothing could be farther from their politics than any conception of an international party. This conception was so much a part of Leninism that Lenin launched the struggle for the International in the middle of the civil war. So far have the descendants



of Stalinism come from Leninism.

nothing

In their party work these people have learned absolutely nothing from the CP. Their model for working class struggle remains William Z. Foster, a good organizer and a toadying follower of the Kremlin bureaucracy. They therefore can offer the working class nothing more than a program of militant rank and file struggle around bread and butter issues. They remain absolutely incapable of raising the question of power to the working class. In practice they can only join with their opponents in the CP in adapting to the trade union bureaucracy because they can offer no political alternative to the political collaboration of those bureaucrats with the Democratic Party. So deeply imbued with Stalinist politics, they are incapable of understanding the transitional program as struggled for in the first four congresses of the Communist International and as outlined in the 'Transitional Program' of the Fourth International. Thus they are doomed to either the third period kind of politics developed by Stalin in the thirties of rousing the masses to revolt by ceaseless demonstrations and party activity, or they pursue a Stalinist type popular front reformist approach by liquidating themselves into organizations like RAMAs they are presently pursuing.

The PLP will go through many twists and turns as it tries to adapt to the reality it sees through its Stalinist lens. Until militants in the PLP begin to cope with their own history they can lead nothing but confusion and defeat.

Only the Trotskyists have struggled continuously and from the beginning to expose the dangers of Stalinist degeneration. The fight launched by the Left Opposition for Leninist Internationalism and continued to the present day in the struggle for the Fourth International has preserved for the working class the precious heritage of Bolshevism. Only the Fourth International has continued the struggle to build a Leninist international and the theory necessary to give leadership to the class. Only the F.I. has been able through this struggle to develop the program and perspective to lead the working class to power. The Bolshevik Party is our party. The revolutionaries slaughtered by Stalin are our comrades. Our fight to arm the working class with a program for power is identical with the fight to build Lenin's party. In the process of building this party we will clear the name of every slandered Bolshevik. We are the mortal enemy of those who seek to build a party on the corpses of Stalin's victims.

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INTERNATIONAL VIETNAM

U.S. Prepares North Invasion

by Lucy St. John

What is becoming clearer each day is that US imperialism cannot win the Vietnam war by gradual escalation. What it is preparing now is a full scale invasion of North Vietnam. This is the logic of US imperialism. The Capitalists cannot afford to lose this one for with it lies the future of the world capitalist system.

Johnson's strategy over the past two years has been one of gradual escalation. Johnson is "cautious" and very adept at speaking out of both sides of his mouth, as he increases the onslaught. One day he talks of "peace" and visits the Pope; the next day he gives his henchman, Westmoreland, a "freer hand" to escalate the war.

attrition

There are now a half million US troops in Vietnam and Westmoreland is asking for more. But the military is being forced to admit that a quarter million more men "might not even bring the war under control, much less guarantee victory." The "war of attrition" cannot break the fighting spirit of the Vietcong. They are now on the offensive. The truth is that the US is suffering greater and greater defeats such as the recent slaughter at Dakto and Lochninh Casualties are high.

negotiations

This situation has forced Johnson to seek another alternative--one he thinks can win. He knows that negotiations now cannot bring the kind of settlement imperialism requires to hold its reins over the world. At this point US imperialism cannot settle for a coalition government with the NLF, sections of which are tied with North Vietnam and China, es-

pecially since the NLF is ahead militarily. Only a military victory for the US can insure an edge for US imperialist control in future negotiations. Military victory, as has been shown in the last two years, cannot be secured by the "war of attrition" and "holding action". The future existence of world capitalism depends on its ability to roll back the gains of the struggles for national liberation from imperialism and the gains of the workers states.

Johnson's opponents in both the Democratic and Republican parties are aware of this. That is why Kennedy must support Johnson and why McCarthy can neither offer an alternative nor mount a serious campaign. That the logic of Johnson's strategy --a possible third world war --is producing eruptions within the ruling class is not surprising, and is behind McNamara's removal. These politicians cannot pose an alternative as they are representatives of the capitalists' parties in whose interest the war is being fought.

victory

While the fake politicians give speeches, Johnson is going ahead with his plans for a military victory. As one government source in Vietnam has so appropriately put it, "North Vietnam is ripe for an Inchon-type landing." Inchon is where General MacArthur landed troops in Korea behind enemy lines to change the pattern of the war and bring the necessary military victory.

The US recent expression of intention to press for the "hot pursuit" of the Viet Cong into Cambodia is another indication of Johnson's strategy to extend the war to new fronts, moving towards North Vietnam. While Prince Sihanok's



GIs file past the bodies of u.s. soldiers killed at dakto. u.s. is losing the war of attrition

statements have been somewhat contradictory, he has made it clear that he is aware of Johnson's intentions. Last week the Cambodian government accepted planes from China with the statement that they would use them in case of US aggression. Invasion into Cambodia will also mean the spreading of the war to Laos and Thailand. There is already talk of this in Washington.

china

This stepped up campaign by the U.S. imperialists is launched not only against North Vietnam but also against China. Bombing raids by the US have been moving closer and closer to the Chinese border; the last one only 15 miles from the border. Johnson is aware that a "hot pursuit" into Cambodia is a dangerous threat to China. This is only another indication of the onslaught planned not only on the Vietnamese but also the Chinese revolution. The US imperialists watch like vultures over the internal struggle in China.

North Vietnam, clearly understanding the intentions of US imperialists, has recently confronted the US with an offer for negotiations if the US stops the bombing. This has put Johnson on the spot at a time when he has absolutely no intention of entering negotiations but is planning a bigger attack. Johnson answers by mouthing some garbage about "productive talks" proceed-

ing any cessation in bombing and sends Chester Bowles to Cambodia to make sure no one puts a stop to his invasion plans.

The role of the Soviet bureaucracy has cleared the way for Johnson's new onslaught. Washington has stated openly that its plans for opening a second front in Cambodia are based on the understanding that the Soviet bureaucracy will not intervene. While the Soviet bureaucracy gives lip service to attacks on the US and warns against further escalation of the war, at the same time it collaborates with the US in the defeat of the Vietnamese revolution and the isolation of China.

attack

While Johnson plots this onslaught against the Vietnamese people, he is at the same time preparing a major attack on the US working class. The economic crisis of US capitalism is deepening; measures are being taken to measure the dollar. The voluntary wage restraints Johnson talks about today will become involuntary wage freeze tomorrow. More labor disputes are predicted for this year with major contracts coming up and we can be sure that Johnson will use the war as a major reason for government intervention and anti-strike legislation.

The crisis of US imperialism requires that Johnson fight the war in Vietnam to victory, stepping up the on-

slaught on the Vietnamese people as well as North Vietnam and China, and at the same time launch a full scale attack on the wages and working conditions of American workers. These struggles are the same struggle; the enemy is the same.

Johnson tries to keep these struggles separate to divide the world working class through his talk of patriotism and his American chauvinism. Those who oppose the war, such as the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, collaborate with Johnson by separating the struggle against the war from the struggles of the working class in the trade unions. But the latest polls by the bourgeois press show that Johnson and his allies have been unsuccessful--it has been found that 45% of the trade unionists oppose the war.

unite

The task now is to unite the struggles of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism with the militant struggles of American workers against the attack on their living standards and trade unions by the bosses and their government.

We must begin this struggle here, now, by building a political alternative to the bosses and their parties, the Republicans and Democrats.

The Workers League has begun this fight. Join us now to build the labor party!

Victory for the Vietcong! Defend China!

Ibj and eshkol say shalom



oppressors shake hands

'Shalom', said President Johnson in his Texan drawl as Premier Eshkol stepped off the plane in San Antonio for a visit at the LBJ ranch. 'Shalom', responded Eshkol. And Shalom, believe it or not, means 'peace'. Then the butcher of the Vietnamese masses warmly shook the hand of the butcher of the Arab masses.

Off they drove to the ranch for two days of friendly chats about--jet fighters and other instruments of war. Such is the grotesque nature of world politics today.

Eshkol has only recently completed a war of conquest against his Arab neighbors in the Middle East. Every inch of Arab territory seized in this war to this day is under the military control of Israel. Everyday new arrests of Arab freedom fighters are announced as the Israeli 'democrats' rule over the conquered peoples as once the Naziered over many of them. Eshkol came to the United States to get more arms to defend his booty from any possible renewed attack from the Arabs. Johnson willingly

agreed to give the Israelis what they needed. So much for Johnson's pious statements on peace in the Middle East. The only peace that Johnson ever wants in Vietnam or in the Middle East is the peace of conquerors, the peace of slavery, of oppression. The Israelis, once the greatest victims of oppression, now serve the mighty American oppressor. Eshkol made this clear by saying a few kind words to cover Johnson's genocidal Vietnam war. After all oppressors must stick together--even

junior with senior partner.

The International Committee of the Fourth International stands for the return of the conquered territories to the Arab nations. The Fourth International stated from the very birth of Israel that a Jewish nation could only be a tool of the imperialists endangering not only the Arab workers as well. We fight for a socialist middle eastern state which will throw out the imperialists and their vassals and guarantee full liberties to Arab and Jew alike.

by Dennis O'Casey

Johnson's New Years Day decision to impose mandatory curbs on US foreign investment and travel, following closely on the heels of the devaluation of the British pound add up to a crushing defeat for the US dollar. Suddenly the weakness of the dollar has come to such a head that not only is it unable to prop up a buffer currency like the pound but for the first time in 20 years it can no longer stand up as the supreme world currency that can be used when and as desired without major national restraints. Nor can it any longer even withstand foreign travel by US citizens except for the most urgent and necessary reasons.

Johnson's controls are stop gap panic measures dictated by the threat that in their absence the 1967 balance of payments figures when announced in February would have been so poor as to spur a renewed speculative attack on the dollar that could have brought it and the whole world capitalist system into a virtual collapse on the order of 1929.

WARN

The working class must be warned that such stop gap measures, useful as they may be to the capitalists in cushioning the shock of a sudden deepening of the liquidity crisis, provide no overall or long term solution. For the US and world capitalism the only alternative to bankruptcy lies in the smashing of the trade unions and the rolling back of all the gains made by the working class through decades of struggle.

LBJ PLANS TO ATTACK LABOR TO AID DOLLAR

The basis of the present crisis of world capitalism currently convulsing every capitalist government with fears and uncertainty as to its continued stability is not itself the so called 'liquidity crisis'. The basis of the present crisis lies deeper in the contradiction of capital accumulation in the form of the falling rate of profit. This contradiction which already begins to reassert itself in the US, was temporarily overcome in the postwar boom period by the massive export of US capital abroad to restabilize Europe.

Even today the continued expansion of world capitalism and the need to check the contradictions of domestic accumulation require the export of billions of US dollars abroad in the form of investments, military and aid programs. Since 1949 the dollars flowing out of the US through these channels has exceeded those earned abroad by US exports and other transactions resulting in a balance of payments deficit in the form of an accumulation of dollars in foreign hands.

This has produced its own specific contradiction in the form of the liquidity crisis. The necessary gold to back up what are today 30.5 billion US greenbacks in foreign hands has dwindled to 12 billion dollars. In fact only 1.4 billion or 1/20 is legally available to meet these staggering foreign claims. It is this that has called into question the ability of the US to redeem the dollar for gold at \$35 per ounce upon which its dominance depends. This has led to France and other nations and more recently private speculators exchanging dollars for gold.

afford

The liquidity crisis reached an initial breaking point on Nov. 18 when it became clear that the US simply could not afford the continued dollar and gold drain connected with the massive loans involved in propping up the British pound and the pound fell. This show of weakness on the part of the dollar led to tremendous speculation against the dollar in the pre-Christmas weeks involving the outflow of nearly a billion dollars in gold from US shores in these weeks alone. The depth of the crisis was further revealed in the desperate US efforts to beg enough gold in foreign money markets to bolster the seven nation London Gold Pool against these pre-Christmas speculative attacks.

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Though by Jan. 1 these speculative attacks had subsided it had become clear to the Johnson Administration that a serious deterioration in the payment situation for the fourth quarter had occurred and that the '67 deficit would now hit 3.5 to 4 billion dollars as compared to the 1.4 billion that had been achieved with voluntary investment controls in '65 and '66.

This worsening is attributable to massive increases in military spending; increases in foreign travel and bank loans to foreigners, increases in dollar outflows for corporate direct investment and diminution of dollar inflows from past investment, less than expected growth in the balance of trade surplus, and sales by Britain of her US stocks and bonds in the fight to save the pound. The really alarming factor was that the rate of the payments deficit hit in the fourth quarter of this year is estimated to be between 7 and 9 billion annually, the highest in history. This when announced in February in the absence of controls would have been enough to revive such a massive speculative attack against the dollar as to threaten its collapse on the spot. It was this that forced Johnson's hand.

At the present time the next stop gap line of defense for the dollar may well be the Congressional lifting of the 25% gold cover requirement for the 42.5 billion in Federal reserve notes now in circulation.

The key thing to be understood is that none of these stop gap dollar control measures can in anyway solve the liquidity crisis. Johnson's measures will not cut the '68 deficit by 3 billion as

he so optimistically forecasts-nor does Johnson himself believe that they can. Most bourgeois economists would agree (and many bankers and Congressmen are already demanding) that the only way Johnson can stop the dollar drain is with a strong dose of domestic deflation. Only by attacking the US working class through stiff taxation, speed up in the factories, expanded unemployment and finally by adopting a wage freezing incomes policy coupled with far ranging anti-strike legislation can Johnson lower the cost of US labor. Only by severely depressing the wages of US workers and increasing their productivity can Johnson achieve what US capitalism really requires: the end to domestic inflation which by lowering prices of US exports can expand their volume and repatriate the billions of dollars lost through other channels.

fight

It is in fact the fighting capacity of US workers, fighting desperately if unsuccessfully to maintain a standard of living won through bitter struggle, in the context of an otherwise declining, stagnating US economy that accounts almost as much as Federal deficit war spending for the inflationary rampage now underway in this country. Just like striking British dockers refusing to subsidize decaying British capitalism played no small role in bringing down the pound so American workers as they did in the Ford strike and are doing in 1968 in the copper strike will fight in 1968 in steel, in cans, in aluminum, in aerospace, rail, telephone coal mining and longshore making no concessions to a gangrenous US capitalism no matter how close to collapse it may be teetering.

It is the recognition of this fact in the Congress and industrial circles that is producing a growing outcry that Johnson abandon the so called 'new', Keynesian economics. In particular what is feared is that restraining the inflationary economy with new taxes will only add to the stagnation of real growth and squeeze on profits experienced in '67. What is demanded is that Johnson get down to the main business of beating back the working class with further cutbacks in non-defense spending programs and legislation against the unions. Whether Johnson moves from a call for voluntary to mandatory wage controls before the '68 elections will depend wholly on the tempo of the developing crisis.

international

Internationally Johnson's New Years measures together with further US efforts to cut its deficit will cut like a two edge sword.

The crux of the problem internationally lies in the fact that whatever gains the US achieves in righting its deficit and defending the world economy from sudden collapse will be achieved at the expense of further economic expansion

abroad. The tendency for the US to shut off its aid dollar to the colonial world and the specific crisis this engenders is now clearly at the periphery of the overall crisis. Nor will Johnson's measures substantially halt direct investment dollars to underdeveloped nations.

At the center is the impact of the American measures on Europe. In the past it has been precisely the balance of payments deficits of Britain and the US that have provided the dollar and gold reserves upon which economic expansion in Europe has taken place. The British devaluation and now American investment curbs will have the effect of shutting off the two major reserve sources, producing severe repercussions.

In every foreign money market interest rates can be expected to push upwards as competition for the Eurodollar sharpens, dampening European expansion. The end to US investments will also have the effect by reducing foreign surpluses, of pushing many countries in the direction of developing their own balance of payments surpluses. Even as DeGaulle chides US on her balance of payments, the president's measures to curb them are already weakening the franc and raising the likelihood of a French payments deficit in the next period. Higher interest rates will be a



Lbj strikes out at u.s. working class

blow to French industry whose narrow profit margins will not permit borrowing at higher rates. The gains of the British devaluation are threatened. In every country the travel industry is hard hit. In every country balance of payments difficulties as they rear their heads will force foreign governments to take deflationary measures chiefly in the form of deepening attacks on native working classes like those already underway in Britain, France, Spain, Israel and Greece.

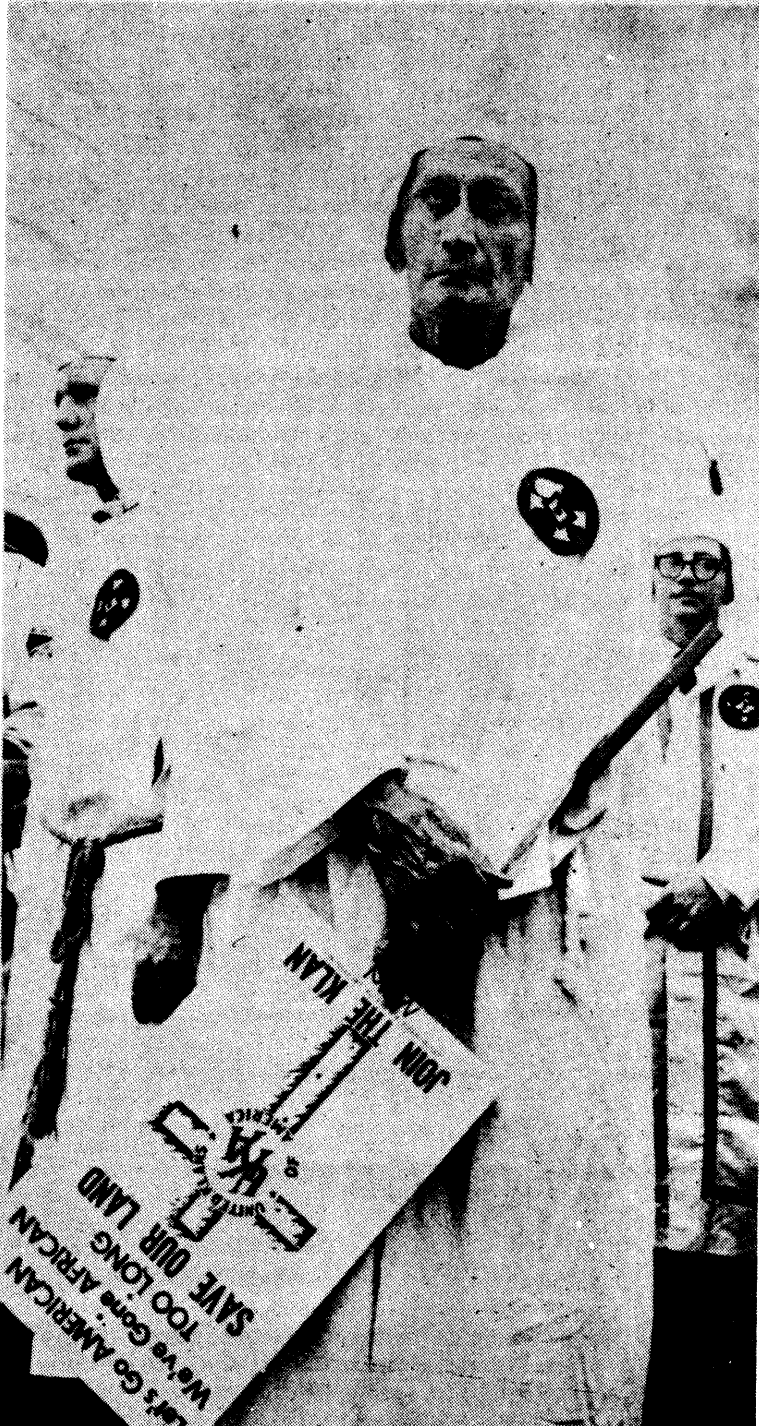
Spanish capitalism in particular is hardest hit. The fact that 70% of Spain's external financing originates in the US has led dismayed Spanish officials to predict that the projected annual growth rate for Spain will have to be revised downward from 6% to a stagnate 2.5%. Though the ruling financial circles in each country approach the US measures in a spirit of cooperation this is only because they view the fight to lower the living standards for their respective working classes as preferable to a sudden collapse in the world monetary system.

choice

What is clear is that a serious campaign by the US to correct its payments deficit can transform the liquidity crisis from a mere US dollar drain into a chain of recessions on the pattern of the 1930's. What is threatened is a deepening of the recent tendency towards economic nationalism as one country after another adopts protectionist and deflationary economic policies to build up its reserves from a dwindling world supply. We see the move towards protectionism already underway in the US Congress. Superficial adjustments like the Kennedy Round tariff negotiations or the IMF paper gold scheme will not reverse the deeper logic of the developing crisis in the world economy.

For the working class the choice will be between fascist dictatorships which alone can defend a decadent capitalism on the brink of disaster or preparation for socialist revolution which alone can resolve the capitalist crisis in a progressive fashion. Just as the US stands at the center of this crisis so the US working class and its vanguard must play a central role in its resolution.

FACES OF THE SOUTH



klansmen prepare for march into montgomery, ala.



wallace gathers his army together and prepares his poisonous invasion of the north

These are the faces of reaction in the South today. While the capitalist and radical press alike ignore the struggle in the South, the reactionary forces in the South prepare to invade the North with their poison in the form of the Wallace campaign.

Let there be no question about it. Little has changed in the South for all the struggles and civil rights legislation. A huge reservoir of reactionary racism reigns in the region. Shootings of black militants continue to be everyday events. The Klan marches openly through the streets of 'progressive' Southern cities like Montgomery, Alabama, (shown here) home of the bus boycott, the first stage of the contemporary Southern Negro struggle.

demagogues

The racist demagogues like Wallace and Maddox are well

aware of the crisis in this country and of the dangers to them and the bosses in general of a real political fight back by the working class. So they spew forth their racist demogogy at the more backward elements of the class seeking to pit white against black. Their aim is to keep the South as a low wage open shop area for super profits for the bosses. The white as well as black workers are forced to pay for racism with a lower standard of living than the rest of the nation. Now they want to use racism to extend these conditions to workers in the rest of the land at a time when the bosses are in crisis.

Labor must go on the offensive to break the reactionary threat. Every plant in the South must be organized. Every vestige of prejudice and discrimination must be wiped away. Labor, North and

South, black and white, young and old must be welded into a mighty political army of its own--a labor party to throw out the bosses' agents from Maddox and Wallace to Johnson and Romney.

eradicate

The fight within the trade union movement for a labor party cannot be separated for a moment from the fight to eradicate all forms of discrimination within the unions, open or hidden. The fight within the unions must include a struggle to organize the unorganized, wipe out poverty wages North and South and fight for the creation of new jobs for all. Unemployment and low wages threaten all--organized as well as unorganized. Only such a program can offer a real alternative to the reactionary fascist demogogy of the Wallaces, the Maddoxes and their Klan friends.

by Mike Banda
The curtain has at last come down on the two-act Byzantine farce which ended with King Constantine and the odious Queen Mother Frederika, seeking asylum in Rome. Any possibility of the King's return is now definitely precluded, unless US and British imperialism are able to reconcile their rivalries in the

to invade Cyprus for the second time in two years. US imperialism, which had actively supported the military dictatorship in Athens, now saw the prospect of the whole rickety structure collapsing in a war with Turkey. British imperialism--having already had its claws clipped in the Middle East by Israel and Egypt--was now faced with

Cyprus. The effect of this appeasement was too much for the pro-British King who saw the 'peace' agreement as an attempt to weaken the British in Cyprus and install a more reactionary regime than that of Archbishop Makarios which would carry out Enosis and bring the Cypriots under the heel of Patakos.

So long as Greece had a pseudo-parliament, the King was necessary as a counterweight - but the seizure of power by the colonels made parliament and monarchy superfluous. The King-whose machinations in the past had paved the way for the colonels--had only two options: either to lead a counter coup, with the support of sections of the armed forces, or flee.

The second act began on Wednesday, December 13, when Constantine made a purely token gesture of defiance to the Athens regime and then freaked out with the royal entourage.

Not a single peasant, worker or soldier responded to the King's call to arms. This wasn't because of apathy but because the people knew instinctively that they had nothing to gain by replacing gangsters with parasites.

The Greek capitalists and landowners supported the colonels because they have little confidence that the crowned nincompoop could hold down the working class and opposition parties as effectively as

the military dictatorship.

A civil war was a luxury which the Greek ruling class could not afford.

Predictably, therefore, the King lost.

The colonels are determined to consolidate their power and are going ahead ruthlessly to make Greece safe for foreign investment and to make the working class pay for the crisis of Greek economy.

In this scheme the junta are aided politically by Greek and international Stalinism, which puts up a little or no resistance to the dictatorship.

Despite the arrest of such people as Theodorakis, Giezos and Ambatielos, the Soviet government remains mute on the crimes of the Patakos regime.

Its only interest so far has been to exploit the Greco-Turkish quarrel to try and get Greece out of NATO, while privately assuring Turkey of its support.

The colonels' junta will continue until an illegal Marxist party in Greece is built which will expose the crimes and combat the misleadership and treachery of Stalinism.

greece -- two act farce played out

East Mediterranean - but an objective appraisal of the two-act comedy shows cogently why such an agreement is impossible.

Act one began with the tragedy of Aios Theodoros in Cyprus last November when a number of Turks were shot down by General Grivas supporters.

Within hours a war situation was created and the Turkish government began preparing

an even more grim prospect of losing altogether its vital strategic bases at Dhekelia and Akrotiri in Cyprus, if Turkey went to war.

A compromise was arranged by Cyrus Vance, Johnson's personal representative, and the Greek junta climbed down in the face of Turkish threats and accepted without cavil all the Turkish demands--including the withdrawal of the 7,000 Greek troops stationed in

The King--probably with the 'advice' of his mother-fired Grivas as head of the Greek Cypriot National Guard and privately attacked the agreement and the junta.

The colonels' reply to the King took the form of a new constitution which, when implemented, would severely curtail his power and responsibility as well as make him agree to all decrees since April 21.