

Bulletin

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TEN CENTS

Progressive Labor Series:

**TROTSKYISM VS
STALINISM**

JAN 10 1970

Cliff Slaughter Writes:

**PABLOITES GROVEL
BEFORE STALINISM**

NIXON PLANS MORE VIETNAM SLAUGHTER



NIXON GIVES SPEECH ON "SECRET PLANS" FOR PEACE

MARCH NOVEMBER 15 WITH WORKING CLASS DEMANDS

- All U.S. Troops Out Of Vietnam Now!
- Beat Back Inflation With Wage Gains!
- Fight Unemployment With 4 Day Week!
- Break With Two Parties Of War, Inflation, Unemployment--
Build A Labor Party!

Strike Waves Grip Italy

Bolivian Trotskyist Assassinated

Nasser Stifles Palestine Guerillas



50,000 Workers Pack Turin Square
as Strike Wave Sweeps Italy

GE STRIKERS FIGHT TO WIN

U.S., ISRAEL CHEER AS NASSER SELLS OUT PALESTINE GUERRILLAS



EL FATAH
LEADER ARAFAT
WITH NASSER OF EGYPT

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

To the relief of the United States, Israel and the tottering regimes in many Arab countries, President Nasser has worked out a cease fire between the Palestinian guerillas and the Lebanese army and government.

The crisis had been brought on when the Palestinian guerillas sought to open a new front against Israel along the Lebanese border, and the Lebanese army moved in to restrict their movements close to the border and to threaten their supply routes from Syria. The danger now is that, under an agreement to "coordinate" their activity with the Lebanese army, the guerilla struggle against Israel will be inhibited.

More is at stake than the struggle to regain the occupied territories, a struggle which workers of all lands must unconditionally support. The Lebanese crisis exposes the perfidious nature of the ruling oligarchies in the Arab countries, as well as their extreme weakness. Not only did these capitalist rulers show their complete bankruptcy in the 1967 Israeli War, but since 1967 they have done their very best to prevent any continued struggle against Israel.

NASSER

President Nasser has emerged as the most perfidious of the lot, openly working in the interests of American imperialism seeking to "mediate" between the masses and such reactionary regimes as Helou's in Lebanon and Hussein's in Jordan.

If it had not been for the initiative of the guerilla movement, Israel would be able to peacefully stabilize its control over the spoils of its 1967 imperialist adventure. It is becoming increasingly clear to millions of Arab workers and peasants that capitalist regimes tied to imperialism cannot be relied upon to struggle against

imperialist-backed Israel.

At the same time millions of the Arab masses live in complete misery and the youth in particular are searching for a revolutionary road forward against the ruling classes within their own countries as well as against the foreign imperialists and their Israeli stooges. It is this factor especially which creates such fear in the hearts of the Arab rulers as well as in the American imperialists. No wonder the New York Times headlines

Trotskyist Militant Slain In Bolivia

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

Information recently received from Bolivia exposes the kind of repression Trotskyist militants have faced in that country under the previous Barrientos regime, repression which continues under the new military rulers.

In July, 1967 Isaac Comacho, a mine leader from the Siglo XX area and a member of the Workers Revolutionary Party of Bolivia (Trotskyist) was arrested by military elements under the jurisdiction of Antonia Arguedas, then minister of Interior, who now claims to be a 'leftist'. Arguedas stated on August 9, 1967 that Comacho had gone into exile. Isaac Comacho was an eyewitness to the assassination of Cesar Lora, brother of Guillermo Lora, General Secretary of the Trotskyist group.

After extensive investigation Hugo Camachi has issued a statement: "At this point it is my duty to say publicly that Isaac Comacho died under torture, in a special CIA prison outside the city of La Paz." This statement was contained in a letter written to Arguedas prior to his leaving Bolivia, and forwarded to

an article "Conflict in Lebanon Poses Grave Threat to Entire Area".

So far the Arab rulers seek a temporary solution by seeking to buy off the guerillas with some money and military support and at least a little freedom of movement within their countries. Even the openly reactionary regimes of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, so completely tied to America, are sending substantial sums to El Fatah in the hopes of placating the masses at home, while after a struggle similar to the Lebanese one, King Hussein is forced to give the guerillas a freer hand on the Jordan border.

The great weakness in the situation throughout the Middle East is the absence of a mass revolutionary party in any of the countries. While the Palestinian guerillas must be supported against Israel and the Arab rulers, they do not constitute such a party. Still seeing the struggle in national rather than class terms the guerillas are forced time and again to compromise with these very ruling oligarchies which are linked by class ties with the same imperialists who stand behind Israel.

Meanwhile the Knesset election in

Israel shows another swing to the right, pointing out to Jewish workers the great danger of lining up with the bourgeoisie and American imperialism against the Arabs. The Labor bloc, headed by Golda Meir, lost its parliamentary majority while the right wing Gahal party gained 4 seats and a lot more than 4 seats as far as political influence in Israel is concerned. While the Labor bloc will continue to dominate the "national" coalition government, it is expected that Gahal will double its cabinet posts and that other new appointments will give a more right wing militarist cast to the government.

In the meantime the top age for army reserve duty has been raised from 49 to 55, almost daily police and army raids are held on Arab communities in Israel, thousands of Arabs are in jail, and, as reported in the last issue of the Bulletin, four leaders of the Israeli Socialist Organization have been jailed.

The trend is in the direction of military rule. Even limited parliamentary democracy and certainly the kind of reformist labor establishment that exists today in Israel cannot survive for long under conditions of an alliance with imperialism against the Arab masses--especially under conditions of deepening capitalist crisis internationally.

Not only is the urgent task of today the construction of strong sections of the Fourth International throughout the Middle East uniting Arab and Jewish workers in a common socialist struggle, but the new revolutionary conditions in this region offer an excellent opportunity for the development of such sections. Such parties will be built in the coming period.

Barrientos by Guillermo Lora.

The new Bolivian military regime, like its counterpart in Peru, plans some limited nationalizations as a cover for the maintenance of capitalist rule and imperialist domination over Bolivia. The Bolivian miners and their Trotskyist leaders can expect nothing but more attempts at murder in collaboration with the CIA from this "new" crew.

Scottish Women Strike to Organize Union

WOMEN WORKERS
ON STRIKE
AT SCOTTISH
FACTORY READ
WORKERS PRESS.
THEY ARE STRIKING
B.S.R. FACTORY
FOR EQUAL PAY AND
UNION RECOGNITION.
AT THE
SAME TIME HUNDREDS
OF FOUNDRY,
ENGINEERING AND
TOOLROOM WORKERS
AT B.S.R. ARE
STRIKING ON
SPEED UP, LOW PAY
AND BAD WORKING
CONDITIONS.



Weekly Bulletin Fund Goes Over the Top

We went over the top in the Weekly Bulletin fund drive goal of \$7,000 by November 1st. After every penny had been counted from the Workers League branches and Bulletin readers and supporters across the country, we had received a grand total of \$7,294.02. We especially want to thank the many Bulletin readers and friends of the Workers League in the trade unions and schools who made contributions. Without your help we couldn't have made it.

The weekly Bulletin is now a reality. The response to the first issue is even beyond what we expected. New subscriptions and bundle orders are coming in from all parts of the country at an unprecedented rate.

We plan to continually improve and develop the Bulletin as the organizer and educator of the revolutionary

socialist party in the United States. As we have said before, we also plan to make the Bulletin the best looking, best technically produced socialist paper in the U.S. In line with this, we hope to complete the purchase and installation of the new photo-composition equipment which is the most advanced equipment available, by the end of this year.

In order to insure the purchase of this equipment, we are extending the Weekly Fund Drive to January 31 and setting a new goal of \$10,000. Additional pledges and contributions have already been made toward this goal, but we are once again going to need the help of all our readers. Please send in contributions or pledges to Bulletin, 243 E. 10th St., New York, N.Y. 10003

EDITORIAL

Nixon Plans More Vietnam Slaughter

BY THE EDITOR

Nixon's long awaited major policy statement on Vietnam last Monday makes it absolutely clear that U.S. imperialism is as determined as ever to continue its brutal aggression against the Vietnamese people and will settle only on the grounds of complete capitulation by the workers and peasants to the reactionary rule of the Thieus and to the domination of imperialist rule. This is what lies behind Nixon's talk of a secret plan. Taking his tactics from his old friend Joe McCarthy who conducted his vicious campaigns on the basis of "secret lists", Nixon is pursuing the war against the working class behind his talk of a secret timetable for complete withdrawal.

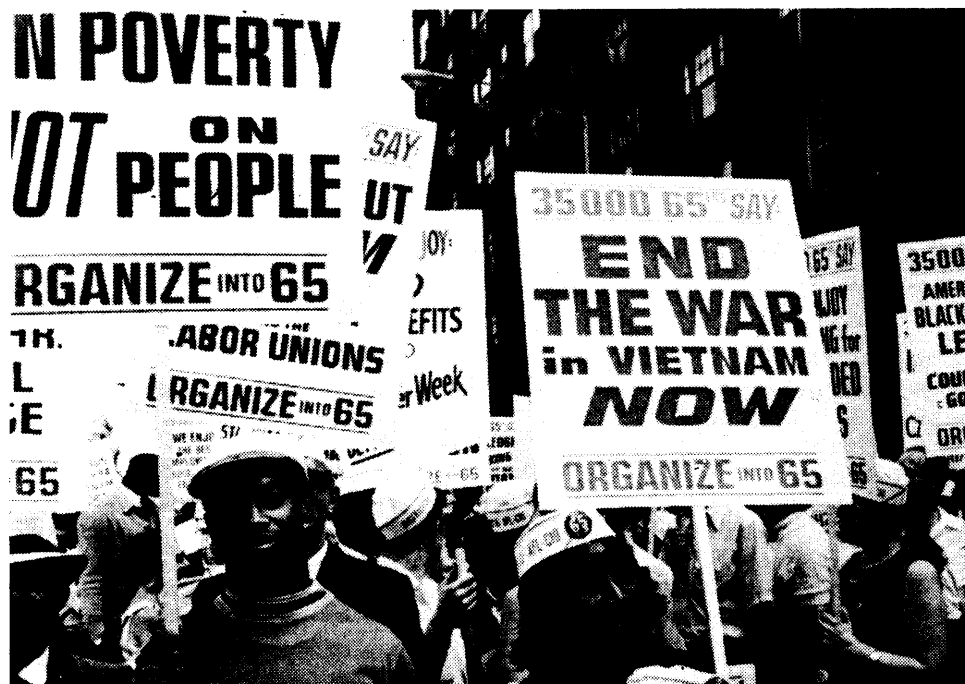
This secret diplomacy was summed up by Nixon as follows: "I have not, and do not, intend to announce the timetable for our program and there are obvious reasons for this decision, which I'm sure you will understand." This private timetable, according to Nixon, will allow the American government "flexibility". Flexibility means a blank check to pursue the war with whatever means necessary. Nixon made this clear when he warned that if the Vietcong should step up its fight, the secret timetable would be thrown right out the window and the U.S., in Nixon's words, "would not hesitate to take strong and effective measures to deal with the situation."

PRIVATE

Nixon is keeping his plans private because he has no intention of being pressured into ending the war by his fellow "critics". He made it clear to his capitalist opponents in Congress and to the American people that he alone intends to make the decision of what is in the best interests of American capitalism.

In speaking for the "nation", Nixon speaks for American imperialism, in whose interests at this point he is prepared to snub the growing resistance to the war. The interests of American capitalism in fact stand above and against the interests of the "silent majority"--the working class in the U.S. as well as in Vietnam. Nixon's patriotism is not to the vast majority in the U.S. but to the corrupt military clique that rules in South Vietnam and represents the interests of imperialism in Asia.

It was to this regime that Nixon pledged his support. It is this "stable government" or the dictatorial oppression of the working class under capitalism that the American ruling class is dedicated to uphold.



DISTRICT 65 TRADE UNIONISTS MARCH AGAINST VIETNAM WAR

It is no wonder that Nixon's most enthusiastic supporter has been Mr. Thieu who called Nixon's address the "greatest speech" by an American president.

Nixon knows full well that a defeat in Vietnam and the victory of the workers and peasants will pose the collapse of imperialism not only in Asia but in the U.S. as well. Nixon put it this way: "We are not going to withdraw from that effort (support to South Vietnam). In my opinion, for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam but Southeast Asia. So we're going to stay there."

INTRANSIGENCE

Nixon's intransigence can only deepen the crisis within the American ruling class. But those sections of the capitalist class who openly call for an end to the war can pose absolutely no alternative, for they along with Nixon represent the very system which perpetuates these wars--imperialism. The leaders of the Moratorium and their supporters in the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party have no intention of challenging the capitalist system.

The perspective of these anti-war leaders in response to Nixon's remarks was summed up by Sam Brown, the chief spokesman of the

Vietnam Moratorium: "It is clear that the word has not gotten through to the President, and we've just got to work harder." But Mr. Brown is living in a dream world. Nixon has "gotten the word" and his answer is that he is not going to be pressured by liberal-led protests to give up the vital interests of U.S. imperialism.

SILENT

But Nixon is making a big mistake when he thinks that he has the support of the "silent majority" for his policies. It is precisely this majority, the working class, that is no longer remaining silent and which in the coming period will undermine imperialism's strategy.

The mass outpouring on Moratorium Day as well as the support for the November 15th demonstration within the labor movement represent the growing hostility and the end to silence on the part of the American working class to the war in Vietnam. This hostility to the war is an expression of the deepening antagonism on the part of whole sections of labor to the attacks they are facing by the same government at home.

It is not accidental that Nixon's major statement on Vietnam follows by two weeks his major address on domestic policies. The content of the

two are the same--the intention of American capitalism to preserve its economic and political hegemony worldwide at the expense of the workers and peasants in Vietnam as well as the workers at home.

While Nixon extends his full support to imperialism's lackey, Thieu, in South Vietnam and to his brutal repression of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, he and the entire capitalist class in the U.S. stand four square behind the GE bosses who are trying to deal the entire labor movement a vicious blow by defeating the strike by GE workers.

The only way to end the war in Vietnam and the war at home against the working class is through the independent fight by the working class against the real roots of the problem--capitalism

PROGRAM

The workers in the U.S. must take the first step to support their brothers in Vietnam by mobilizing in Washington on November 15th on a program which fights for their interests and their needs, a class program which raises the demand to end the war in Vietnam and the war against wages and jobs at home. Above all the labor movement must march on Washington next week with the call for a political alternative to the capitalist politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties who stand opposed to the interests of the working class, raising the banner for a labor party.

This is the only answer to Nixon's policies. We call on all trade unionists to raise this program within their unions. We urge all students and individual workers to march on November 15th with the Workers League. For information on transportation to Washington, contact the Workers League in your area.

We agree with Mr. Nixon when he says that this war is not the war to end all wars; the end to all wars will come only through the struggle by the working class internationally against capitalism and the establishment of world socialism.

DOWN WITH SECRET DIPLOMACY!

DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM!

FORWARD TO THE VICTORY OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS IN VIETNAM THROUGH A FIGHT FOR VICTORY AT HOME!

swp allies with liberals in washington

BY FRED MUELLER

The mass demonstrations planned for November 15 against the war in Vietnam present a crucial opportunity to deepen the class struggle in the U.S., to fight for a working class leadership in the struggle against the war as the only effective means of struggle.

The response of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance to this crisis has been the exact opposite--to turn away even further from this task of leading the working class. They have pushed ahead with their popular front-type alliance on the basis of a minimum program. They have broadened this bloc to include not only the Communist Party and various pacifists but the liberal capitalist forces running the Moratorium Committee.

The Young Socialist Alliance is working to build the November 15th demonstrations through the Student

Mobilization Committee, which it leads. This organization is based not on a working class program but on the single minimum demand of immediate withdrawal of the U.S. from Vietnam.

COLLABORATION

The YSA membership is told that the policies of their organization have nothing to do with the popular front policies followed by the Communist Party in the 1930's and since. After years of struggle against these policies of class collaboration the SWP and YSA have gone over to them. The explanation is that since the anti-war coalition is on the basis of a single issue instead of a full program, it is a united front instead of a popular front.

This is complete nonsense. A popular front is an alliance with a section of the bourgeoisie which ties the working class to the bourgeoisie

on the basis of a reformist program acceptable to the liberals.

A united front is a working class policy designed to break the working class from reformist leadership by posing and fighting for the unity of the class in struggle against the capitalists. This is exactly what the YSA is not doing. It is fighting for class collaboration within the anti-war movement.

INDEPENDENT

The Workers League is fighting for an INDEPENDENT working class struggle on November 15 and afterwards. The economic fight against inflation and unemployment must be linked to a political fight against the bosses and their filthy war in Vietnam. More and more workers are coming to see the nature of the war. The Workers League is fighting, especially in the trade unions, to achieve the maximum participation by work-

ers in the November 15th demonstrations. We base our fight on an independent working class program, a program which can help to expose the reformists and break the working class from its present bureaucratic leadership.

We call on all trade unionists and youth to mobilize in a real confrontation with the "warmakers" on the basis of a program that poses the end to all imperialist wars.

-ALL OUT NOVEMBER 15th!
-IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. TROOPS FROM VIETNAM!
-BEAT INFLATION WITH ESCALATOR CLAUSES IN EVERY CONTRACT!
-FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT WITH THE SHORTER WORK WEEK AND JOBS FOR ALL!
-BREAK WITH THE PARTIES OF WAR, UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE BOSSES-BUILD A LABOR PARTY!



HAYNSWORTH

DIXIE RACISTS SMILE AS COURT PASSES MEANINGLESS INTEGRATION ORDER

tion to serious moves towards desegregation flows from the decline of the reformist-led civil rights movement and the growth of black nationalism. Nixon blatantly uses the rhetoric of the black power advocates to continue racism. The nationalists have made the fight against racial discrimination and for equality passe; they have encouraged the divisions between black and white workers with their separatist proposals and their glorification of the ghetto. The ruling class now makes ready use of these reactionary programs.

The Supreme Court's decision is meaningless. The Southern bourgeoisie, outside of a few remarks from Maddox, is going along with it. While the Court's order may amount to the end of the legalized dual school system, racism and segregation will be continued in the form it is maintained elsewhere--de facto segregation through racial discrimination in housing, employment, education.

EIGHT

All the Supreme Court decisions are not going to change this. The only way to fight racism, to fight against every form of racial discrimination is to outlaw it, to make

it a crime. It is this struggle that neither the capitalists nor the black nationalists can pose because it means getting to the real heart of racial discrimination in the capitalist system itself. Racism is an inherent part of a system based on class oppression. The fight for equality of all races requires a fight for a classless society, a socialist society.

The key to Nixon's "Southern Strategy" is the strengthening of the American ruling class, and particularly those forces within it which most vocally express their open hatred of the working class, in preparation for opening up the offensive against the American working class. Nixon has made it clear that there are not going to be any reforms in the next period--wages are to be cut, jobs eliminated, and all services cut back. Racism will be used not only to force a disproportionate share of these attacks on the black workers but also to divide the workers, black and white, and prevent them from launching a united struggle.

CLEAR

It has been over a hundred years since the Civil War. It is clear that capitalism today cannot even guarantee basic democratic rights

and equality to a whole section of society. These reforms can only be won by the united struggle by the working class on a common program for political power. The fight against racial discrimination must begin now in the struggle to unite all workers of all races against capitalism and for the creation of a socialist society.

NY SCHOOL BOARDS MAP UNION BUSTING

BY TOM GORDON

SYRACUSE-- "With the new salaries, the teacher should be compelled to produce." These were the words of one school board member at the 50th annual meeting of the New York State School Boards Association held on October 27th. The meeting, attended by members from 760 school boards in New York State, voted to ask the State legislature to repeal laws providing tenure for teachers.

Most New York State school boards are united in an attempt to break the American Federation of Teachers. The only debate is over how to do it.

BREAK

School boards are trying to break the AFT because New York State and many localities are cutting education budgets drastically. The experimental decentralized school districts in New York City show that the State is planning to replace teachers with "paraprofessionals" at lower salaries. Overall reductions in teaching staff are also in store. Teachers are supposed to be "flexible" and "professional" enough to help "produce" by giving up job security. The State School Boards Association plan will mean teachers can be fired or shifted from one teaching assignment or school to another at the will of the school boards alone.

In response to this threat the United Federation of Teachers in New York City issued a statement supporting tenure.

But the Shanker leadership of the UFT has already given up union control over jobs in its latest contract. Statements given to the press are little comfort to teachers who may find themselves brought up on charges by joint UFT-school board inquiries for being "unprofessional" enough to resist arbitrary transfer, erosion of seniority rights, etc.

Teachers must insist that their union regain full control over hiring, tenure, class size, and teaching load.

BY LUCY ST. JOHN
In a rather belated gesture the Supreme Court has ordered an immediate end to the "separate but equal" facilities for school segregation in the South. It has been fifteen years now since the Brown decision and the Court's recommendation of "all deliberate speed" for implementing desegregation. This careful phrasing by the Court has meant for the last fifteen years the continuation of segregation.

This decision represents an anticlimax to the years of legal struggle by the civil rights movement. It comes at a time when whole sections of the government have made it clear that the full implementation of this order is at its best dubious.

While Nixon has voiced his intention to support the order, he is using the decision to cover his more reactionary intentions. Nixon's political strategy is to create a new ruling group based on the most right wing sections of the ruling class. Nixon has found the soil on which to construct this leadership in the South. It is here that the capitalist politicians openly proclaim their racist and vicious anti-labor policies. While Nixon gives his blessing to the recent decision he continues to push the appointment of Haynsworth who is key in his "Southern Strategy."

BLACK POWER

The openness with which Nixon and his cohorts in the Administration, and particularly in the Justice Department, can voice their opposi-

NIXON'S "SOUTHERN STRATEGY" PROVES IT (ABOVE) AGAIN



SSEU RANKS FIGHT HCI LIQUIDATION

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

NEW YORK-- The City is going ahead in its attempts to dissolve an entire civil service title--Hospital Care Investigator--and transfer everyone in that title into another Bureau in the Department of Social Services.

This is the City's "answer" to the mounting overwork problem in the Department. This is, as one HCI militant put it to us, "Phase One."

"Phase Two," he continued, "is when they do it in the Bureau of Public Assistance."

The City, with the complicity of the Social Service Employees Union leadership, is pushing ahead on Phase One.

They have gone so far recently as to have HCI's secretly engaged in writing procedures for training lower-paid clerks to take over their jobs. These HCI's were lied to and told that it was a union-endorsed project.

TAMPERING

The union leadership put its foot down on this. But the docr has been opened to the City as a result of the leadership's agreement to negotiate on this title at all instead of giving a firm NO to any tampering with jobs.

At this point the fight to win rehiring in the Department centers on the fight to push back the City on the dissolution of HCI's.

A successful fight now to push back the City's attacks on the HCI's will open up a situation for case-dumpings and a fight against the forthcoming reorganization of three welfare centers. Once the City knows that the union membership will not allow them to solve overwork at the expense of 1200 workers, then a real fight will open on the agenda to force rehiring, and

roll back the increasing attacks on the working conditions in the Department.

It has just been learned that Hospital Care Investigators in at least 8 city hospitals have submitted petitions to the leadership of SSEU-371 and the City protesting the liquidation of their title and demanding of the union leadership mail ballot voting so as to prevent any decisions from being railroaded through the upcoming HCI chapter meeting. Initiators of the petition plan steps to obtain a court injunction barring liquidation of their title on the basis of its violation of Civil Service regulations.

At the same time the formation of an Ad Hoc Committee of workers in SSEU-371 as well as B99 and DC 37 aims to make the fight for the HCIs a union-wide issue and to prepare support should a strike in the hospitals be required.

Meanwhile the union leadership is waging a vicious campaign of lies and falsification, doing everything in its power to hush up this opposition and to segregate it not only from HCI's in other locations but particularly from the 12,000 fellow union members in the welfare centers and other Departmental bureaus.

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WHERE PROGRESSIVE LABOR REALLY STANDS



PROGRESSIVE LABOR
PARTY LEADERS
(FROM LEFT):
FRED JEROME,
BILLEPTON,
MILTON ROSEN, AND
MORTIMER SCHEER

Progressive Labor claims to be a "Marxist-Leninist" party, and claims to fight for the working class but underneath this phrasemongering is a movement that subordinates the struggle for a proletarian revolution to middle class protest politics. Its program is based on Stalinism and the Popular Front, the policies that led millions of workers to bloody defeat in this century, in China in 1927, in Spain, in Germany and in Indonesia. PL's road to revolution is the road to betrayal of the coming revolutionary struggles.

A SERIES OF ARTICLES BY LUCY ST JOHN



PART ONE-- STALINISM VERSUS TROTSKYISM (CONTINUED)

on 'socialism in one country' (continued)

TESTAMENT

It was these two incidents which convinced Lenin that Stalin was politically unfit for the position of General Secretary. In January, 1923 he wrote his letter to the party which became known as his 'Testament.' As long as Lenin remained alive, his wife Krupskaya kept this document under lock and key. In 1924 after his death she handed it over to the Secretariat of the Central Committee with the request that it should be placed before the party Congress. This was not done and after the reading of it to a selected few party leaders, the publication of the document was forbidden. Later its existence was made known by Trotsky. Parts of it were also used by Stalin himself, particularly Lenin's remarks about Bukharin.

In his 'Testament' Lenin wrote: "Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution." Lenin further called for the removal of Stalin from his post: "Stalin is too rude, and this fact, entirely supportable in relations a-

mong us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority--namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc."

WARNING

Lenin's 'Testament' was just a warning. By the time Stalin had finished he had used his position as General Secretary not only to threaten the existence of the workers' state in the Soviet Union internally but also under his leadership the Comintern led the working class into a whole series of bloody defeats. In 1943 Stalin dissolved the Third International, the instrument which Lenin had spent most of his life building to lead the working class to victory internationally. This was the price Stalin paid for the "Grand Alliance" with Churchill and Eisenhower.

It was Trotsky with the Left Opposition who continued the struggle that Lenin had begun and who drew the

lessons of the defeats, who developed the strategy worked out in the first five years of the Communist International in order to build a party which could lead the working class to victory.



MAO TSE TUNG
HAS YET TO CONFRONT
THE QUESTION OF
STALIN AND STALINISM

stalin the man stalinism and idealism

Progressive Labor today uses all the language of "Marxism-Leninism", but behind this facade lies its counter-revolutionary, anti-working class perspective. PL is a centrist tendency attempting to ride the middle of the road between reformism and a revolutionary strategy, between Stalinism and Trotskyism, to develop a new ideology. But there is no third ideology—there is only the ideology of reformism, of change within the confines of capitalism without the international destruction of capitalist power or the revolutionary strategy of the struggle for power of the working class internationally.

The roots of PL's revisionism lie in Stalinism. PL, like its mentor Mao, represents an empirical break from Stalinism, a break from the logic of its collaborationist policies without confronting the origins of these policies. Mao broke from Stalin's suicidal line of support of Chiang Kai-shek much as PL split from the Communist Party. But neither Mao nor PL have ever repudiated Stalin and today PL continues to maintain that Stalin was a "great proletarian revolutionary". Without confronting the roots of Stalin's errors, both Mao and PL continue the basic outlook of Stalinism—of socialism in one country.

The zigs and zags of PL's line and the ideological mumbo-jumbo which changes from month to month are a reflection of its inability to come to grips with Stalinism, its attempts to create a halfway house.

STALIN THE MAN

In its original document "Road to Revolution I" which PL still publishes as a basis for "strategic ideas for revolutionary struggle in the U.S." PL separates into distinct and unrelated parts the "errors" of Stalin on the one hand and his "good deeds" on the other. PL concludes of course that his merits outweigh his demerits. This is a maneuver. Stalin is completely separated out of Stalinism. He is removed from his policies and their historical and material roots. This method is subjective idealism. Stalin's errors become merely a question of personal idiosyncracies, of confusion in Stalin's head.

PL refuses to grapple with Stalin as a representative of the growth of bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. It considers the "bureaucratic practices" a minor question. As we have shown in the last article Stalin became the spokesman for the rising bureaucracy that grew up in the Soviet Union after October, a stratum that sought privileges within a backward economy and a situation of scarcity and within the context of the defeat of the European revolution.

This bureaucracy rested and still rests in the Soviet Union on the basis of the Soviet social system of the nationalization of the land, the means of production, transport and exchange together with the monopoly of foreign trade. At the same time the bureaucracy usurped the political power of the proletariat in order to preserve its existence and its privileges. This, as Trotsky pointed out in his extensive analysis of the degeneration of the Soviet Union in the "Revolution Betrayed", is at the basis of the contradictory role of the ruling bureaucracy. It is forced to defend the material

basis of its rule, the gains of October while at the same time threatening these gains by defending them not through the reliance on the struggles of the working class internationally but through collaboration and capitulation to forces hostile to the working class. The theory of socialism in one country is justification for the rule of the bureaucracy.

IDEALISM

Unable to face these questions PL is reduced to the most ridiculous absurdities and to idealism in approaching Stalin and the degeneration of the Soviet Union. PL sees this degeneration now as a question of nationalism and culture. Without probing to the political and economic roots of culture and nationalism PL must conclude that the problem lies not in material reality but in peoples' heads. Both culture and nationalism are a reflection of a system of social relations.

Nationalism and the inability to develop a high cultural level flowed from the preservation of the bureaucracy through collaboration with capitalism, through the policy of merely defending the borders of the Soviet Union as opposed to the fight for international revolution and the inability to develop a socialist economy within a world capitalist system.

But to understand this, PL would have to go back to the theory of socialism in one country, not just to the individual Stalin but to Stalinism.

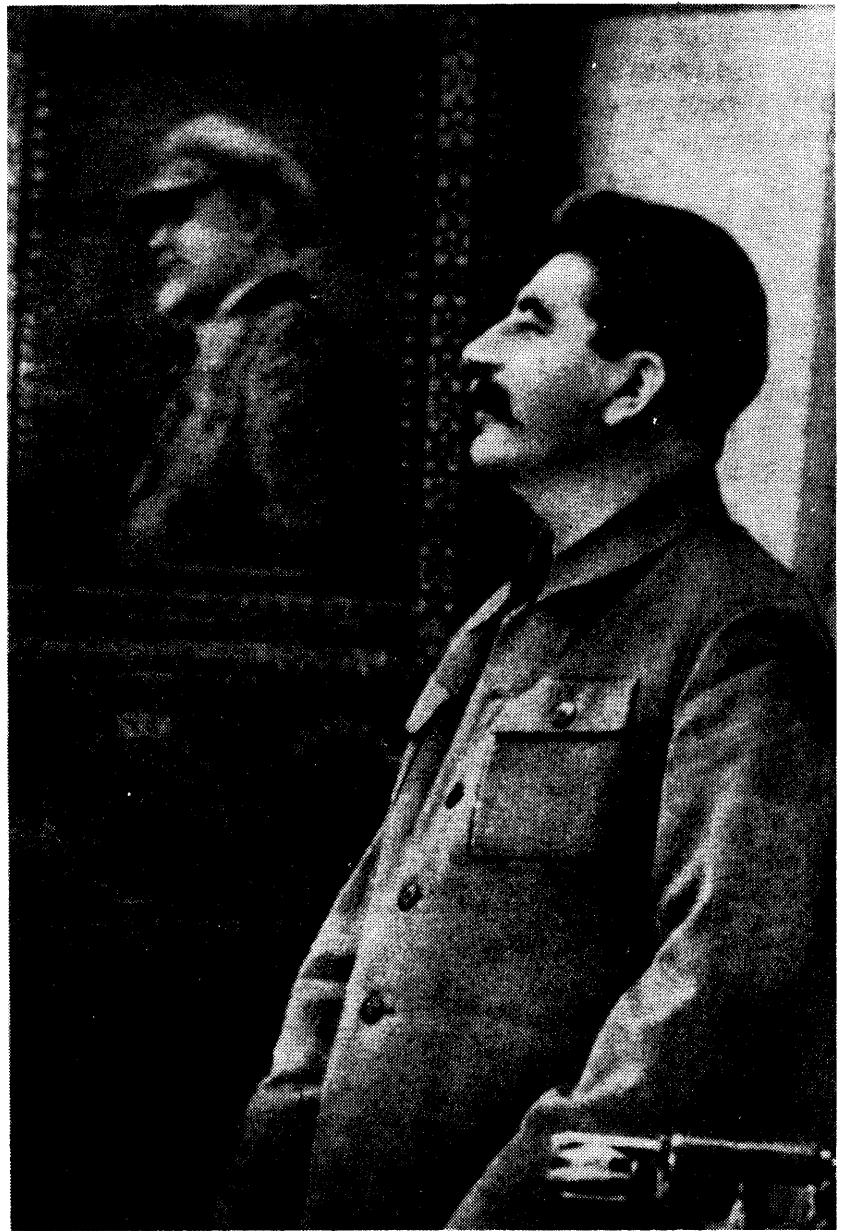
A real independent, objective Marxist analysis would mean that PL would have to confront the only tendency which has historically fought Stalinism and that is Trotskyism.

TROTSKY

It is becoming more and more difficult for PL to get away from Trotsky and the movement he built through the fight against the betrayals of Stalinism. We are living in a different period today with the perspective and program of Trotskyism being confirmed every day. This is the epoch of imperialist decay, the working class is moving to the offensive from the highly industrial countries to the colonial world, from France to Argentina. The question of capitalist restoration in the Soviet bloc countries has not been settled. As Trotsky pointed out, the working class will have something to say about it—this is the meaning of the struggles in Czechoslovakia, Soviet Union, and China. The end to the isolation of the Soviet Union and China is an immediate task of today.

The international victory of the proletariat is on the agenda. Trotskyism is no longer an isolated tendency, forced into a propaganda existence by the defeat of the working class at the hands of the Stalinists. The Stalinist bureaucracy fed on these defeats while Trotskyism fought to analyze these defeats in order to strengthen the working class for its historical task. Basing himself on the strength of the working class Trotsky continued the fight for the international socialist revolution and an International capable of leading it. He continued the fight against bureaucracy within the Soviet Union that Lenin had begun and provided the theoretical understanding of the complex nature of Stalinism and the degeneration of the Soviet Union.

PL does not DARE confront Trot-



A PHOTO FROM THE DAYS WHEN THE SLOGAN WAS "STALIN IS LENIN TODAY!" PROGRESSIVE LABOR ATTRIBUTES STALIN'S "ERRORS" TO HIS PERSONALITY NOT TO THE BUREAUCRACY WHICH HE REPRESENTED

sky. Its superficial dealings with the Socialist Workers Party in articles such as "FBI-CP-SWP Combo Tries Baiting Panther Trap" is merely a way to get off the hook. The SWP today does not speak for Trotskyism.

At the same time PL has had to hack away at Stalin. This comes not from a Marxist analysis of Stalin's role but from a pragmatic reaction to the logic of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and in Dimitrov's rehabilitation by the Black Panthers. Stalin just "does not work" these days among increasing numbers of workers and students.

ADMISSION

In the November, 1969 issue of Progressive Labor PL makes the following admission: "Revisionism did not magically appear after the death of Stalin. Revisionism is always preceded by a series of opportunistic policies and practices. The slow growth of uncorrected opportunistic errors inevitably leads to the apparently sudden appearance of counterrevolutionary revisionism. . .

"After the historic October Revolution, Stalin defeated the counter-revolutionary line of Trotsky, who said it was impossible to build socialism in the Soviet Union unless there was a proletarian revolution in western Europe. . .

"As long as the CPSU was committed to building socialism as a base to advance the world revolution, its national tasks merged with its international tasks. But this correct position was short-lived; Stalin deviated toward nationalism and great power chauvinism. In the nineteen-thirties the official line was that Soviet socialism had become irreversible."

In other words Stalin's position was correct as long as he was fighting Trotsky within the Soviet Union, his theory of socialism in one country was correct and then somehow or other in the 1930's Stalin "deviated." We agree with PL that

revisionism does not "magically appear". It did not magically appear any more in the 1930's than it did with PL's earlier contention that it appeared with Khrushchev in the 1950's. The roots of Stalin's policies in the '30s, and in particular the Popular Front, lay in the development of the bureaucracy and its cover-socialism in one country.

In the period after Lenin's death to the expulsion of the Left Opposition, the bureaucracy threatened the dictatorship of the proletariat within the Soviet Union through its adaptation to the Kulaks and its refusal to take up seriously the measures of a planned economy and industrialization. In Britain Stalin urged on the British Communist Party an alliance with the left wing of the trade union bureaucracy in the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee which prevented the CP from giving independent leadership to the workers, tying the party and the working class to the bureaucracy and paving the way for the sellout by these same bureaucrats and the defeat of the British General Strike. This alliance not with the working class but with the reformist forces within the working class was a precursor to the Popular Front.

SUPPORTS STALIN

PL, however, must maintain Stalin against Trotsky. To bolster Stalin they attempt to enlist Lenin in his behalf. In an article "Don't Be a Sucker for the Bosses, Nationalism Divides Workers" PL states:

"Stalin upheld Lenin's belief that socialism could be built in a single country. Lenin believed that uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even one capitalist country taken separately. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and having organized socialist production, would stand up

against the rest of the world, the capitalist world attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries raising revolts in those countries against the capitalists, and in the event of necessity coming out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states" ("The United States of Europe Slogan")

Now this is one quote from Lenin. It is not as if PL studied Lenin and developed this understanding. This is precisely the quote which Stalin used against Trotsky. Obviously Mort Scheer, the author of this article, dragged it up from Stalin.

The use of this quote is specious in other ways however. It is used to defend Stalin's position that socialism could be built in Russia. In the first place Lenin was not talking about Russia at all but about advanced capitalist Western Europe. At the time he wrote it in 1915 he was not even talking about the socialist revolution in Russia but about a democratic revolution.

Secondly, Lenin was not writing here on the thesis of socialism in one country but was discussing a tactic--a slogan. He was concerned that the slogan of the United States of Europe might have given rise to the idea that the proletarian revolution must begin simultaneously, emphasizing that not a single country must wait for the other countries in its struggle. Surely if as Stalin contended this was the first time Lenin advanced the thesis, he would have spent more than a paragraph on it. Above all Lenin was a very thorough man.

Thirdly, Lenin was saying something quite different in this quote--that the working class in each country ought to win the power and enter upon the socialist construction without waiting. When he said the "victory of socialism" he was using this loosely meaning the victory of the socialist revolution or the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "victorious proletariat then, he says, organizes "socialist production." He meant here the dictatorship of the proletariat organizes the operation of the factories taken from the capitalists and that is all.

To give any other interpretation is to literally deny everything Lenin said, wrote and did, the program of the Bolshevik Party, the program of the Third International in its Leninist period, the program of the Young Communist League which Lenin approved not to mention Marx and Engels.

POSITIVE?

PL is not in the least concerned

with a serious, consistent analysis --Stalin must be maintained against Trotsky. The strategy of Stalinism must be kept intact even if it means discrediting Stalin himself a bit. Actually despite PL's attacks on Khrushchev's Revelations on Stalin at the 22nd Party Congress, PL is following Khrushchev's road. While Khrushchev attacked Stalin, he recognized some of his merits and in particular saw Stalin's fight against Trotsky as a "positive" contribution. Khrushchev's condemnation of the "Cult of Stalin" in no way represented a break from the outlook of Stalinism but was conducted in order to reinforce that bureaucracy's (which Stalin built) hold over a working class which had become increasingly hostile after its sufferings at the hands of Stalin.



LEFT OPPOSITION FOUGHT STALIN'S BREAK WITH LENINISM FROM THE VERY BEGINNING

We stand behind the protest of the surviving children of the Bolsheviks whose parents were brutally murdered by Stalin and who in 1967 on the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution addressed a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union condemning the attempts by the Breshnev-Kosygin leadership to rehabilitate the "merits" of Stalin.

"All the attempts to whiten the black deeds of Stalin raise the danger of a repetition of the hideous tragedy that struck our party, our people and the whole communist movement.

"How can one praise Stalin after all that our people and the international communist movement have suffered because of him?

"This adulatory praise shackles our movement, weakens our ranks, destroys our power and makes the triumph of communism impossible.

"It is impossible to forget and to justify the crimes of Stalin in the name of any of his services."

To whiten his black deeds, to raise a single merit for Stalin, is to apologize for the policies which led thou-

sands of workers to defeat, which liquidated literally the entire Bolshevik Party.

PL wants its cake and wants to eat it too. While being critical of Stalin, it also whitens his deeds. It is this ambiguity that haunts this tendency. Fully facing up to Stalinism would mean facing up to Trotskyism and this would mean the dissolution of PL as a party and surely it is not about to dissolve. PL bases itself not on principled politics and a consistent revolutionary strategy, not on the objective needs of the working class, but on opportunism and maintaining the "movement." Thus it criticizes Stalin and pretends to put forward a third alternative.

This involves PL in the most dis-

honest theoretical games. Nothing is beyond these people. They attempt to enlist Lenin in support of Stalin. They even use some of Trotsky's theoretical formulations against Stalin's Popular Front tactics. This is embodied in their more recent attacks on the "stage" theory and "all class unity." Despite all their red book waving, when it becomes efficacious they are quite willing to throw even Mao to the winds. "We are not batonists," PL says, "the old C.P. always awaited Stalin's baton before they would adopt a new policy." PL uses this baton business in order to justify a completely eclectic method. History, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and even Trotsky make up a stockpile from which PL can pick and choose this or that line depending on what suits their purposes at any particular time.

While Marxism is not a dogma nor a matter of batoning, it is a method and a very consistent method. Lenin did not just pick and choose from Marx and Engels but based his development of Marxism on the entirety of their work. Where there

were new developments which Marx had not foreseen, Lenin explained these in detail relating them at all times to the basic theses laid down by Marx and Engels.

This continuity is a crucial question because it is an expression of the Marxist method, seeing reality and history in its totality in all its sides and its development not as isolated moments and facts. To ignore this continuity is to ignore the history of the working class and its development.

Pragmatically PL realizes the importance of this continuity and this explains not only why they have not totally rejected Stalin but also how a man like Arne Swabeck in joining PL can completely erase over 30 years of bitter struggle. Swabeck was one of the founding members not only of the Communist Party in the U.S. but also of the Trotskyist movement. In 1967 he was expelled from the party he spent most of his life building, the Socialist Workers Party. His expulsion was in fact a symptom of the degeneration of the SWP and its bureaucratic handling of all opposition within it. Swabeck writing to Gerry Healy, Secretary of the Socialist Labor League, shortly after his expulsion said the following:

"The revolutionary origin of the American Trotskyist movement CANNOT BE QUESTIONED. During the early years it was able to combat the increasing Stalinist degeneration and at the same time participate on a modest scale in the class struggle and build up its working class contacts--a development that reached its highest stage during the Minneapolis strikes and the subsequent events." (Our emphasis) A year later in an article in Progressive Labor on James Weinstein and the history of the Socialist Party (May, 1969), Swabeck attempts to establish PL's continuity with "Marxism-Leninism" by completely ignoring the "Stalinist degeneration" and the "revolutionary origin of the American Trotskyist movement." He skips over 40 years of history to declare that Progressive Labor represents the continuity of the Marxist movement.

A year after that Swabeck in the November, 1969 issue of "Progressive Labor" writes a whole article on the history of the trade union movement without mentioning the role of the SWP in those very important struggles in the 1930's.

This is the logic of PL's refusal to confront history and Stalinism, of its seeking continuity not in Trotskyism and in the working class but in Stalinism and the betrayals of the working class.

popular front or united front?

Without getting to the roots of Stalinism, PL is incapable of developing a revolutionary strategy, a strategy that has its continuity in history from Marx and Engels and the First International, Lenin and the Bolshevik Party to the only force capable of drawing the lessons of the defeat of the working class in this century--the Trotskyist movement. Instead of a revolutionary strategy PL like other centrists attempts to substitute all sorts of "coalitions", "blocs", "fronts" and "alliances" which lack any kind of theoretical foundation, revolutionary tradition, or finished program and which are by nature ephemeral. The purpose of these alliances is to confine the program and the struggles of the working class within the limits of capitalism and bourgeois democracy.

"Alliances" of various classes on a reformist program sprinkled with

revolutionary propaganda and rhetoric do not equal a revolutionary strategy. This is the program of Stalinism and the Popular Front. In "Road to Revolution II" PL states the following on Stalin's policies during the thirties:

"The point is that there have been instances, and there will be more instances, in which different class forces work together in temporary and unstable alliances. But if each case is examined, it will be seen that a progressive aspect dominated the partial unity purpose. For example, during World War II the Soviet Union was in an alliance with the U.S. Both wanted the defeat of Hitler but each for a different reason. Since the defeat of Hitler was critical for mankind's progress to socialism, there was a basis for partial and temporary unity. And the result was that the socialist revolution did ad-

vance." (Progressive Labor, February-March, 1966)

DIMITROV

Here in one of PL's basic documents is a defense of the Popular Front policies of Stalin during the thirties. Lately, however, PL has had to do a little backtracking as a result of the Panthers' revival of Dimitrov. In the August, 1969 issue of Progressive Labor in an article entitled "FBI-CP-SWP Combo Tries Baiting Panther Trap," they attack Dimitrov: "In calling this conference BPP leaders have relied heavily on material from Georgi Dimitrov. Dimitrov's strategy of the Thirties is the C.P. strategy now. He said fascism was open terror against the people by the most ruthless section of the ruling class. Therefore communists must decide which are the 'progressive' capitalists and unite

with them. . We thought this old chestnut had died. We were wrong; it is being offered again by the BPP leaders. They would like to obscure things with quotes from Dimitrov."

Clearly PL would like to obscure things by merely dismissing Dimitrov as an "old chestnut". Not one word is said about Stalin and the record of Dimitrov's policies in the '30's. Dimitrov was only a spokesman for Stalinism.

In the same issue, in an editorial "Revolutionaries Must Fight Nationalism", the editors attack the conception of the two stage theory of the revolution and the conception of "all class unity", the two principles on which the Popular Front was based and which Stalin himself developed during the early Chinese Revolution. PL even alludes to this: "During the Chinese Revolution there were those who said that you couldn't

skip stages and go from feudalism to socialism." Still we have no mention of who those "those" were and no discussion of the Popular Front. PL in this article advocates "Marxists-Leninists working within nationalist movements" and terms this a "united front." It also continues to defend Stalin's "anti-fascist" front against Hitler: "Socialist leadership in the war against Hitler showed that socialism was not only powerful but was the most progressive force in the world."

In the August, 1969 issue of Challenge, PL again hits at Dimitrov - "The French Communists are hailed by Dimitrov. . . as 'setting an example to the whole world. . . of how to fight fascism. . . of how the tactics of the United Front should be conducted.' Yet within five years of Dimitrov's report, the Nazis controlled France without firing a shot! The 'anti-fascist united front' of France paved the road which Hitler took to Paris."

Two months later in the November 1969 issue of PL, PL finds that it just cannot completely separate Stalin from Dimitrov so we get a veiled attack on Stalin for his position during the '30's. Stalin we are told "deviated". "In the nineteen-thirties the official line was that Soviet socialism had become irreversible. Bourgeois nationalist culture then flourished. The great anti-fascist war became the Great Patriotic War in defense of the motherland. As part of a deal with the anti-Nazi imperialist powers, Stalin unilaterally dissolved the Comintern."

Still we have no analysis of the Popular Front. Does PL still hold the "socialist revolution did advance" through the alliance with U.S. imperialism? Clearly PL cannot come to grips with this question. In the same article that they denounce Stalin and two months after denouncing "all class unity", they proclaim the Popular Front policy: "A broad anti-imperialist united front based on the alliance of workers and peasants can and must be established. This alliance may include sections of the national bourgeoisie, but certainly not as a leading force. . ." PL's Trade Union Program proposes building the same kind of "front" - "an anti-fascist, anti-racist Left-Center coalition."

No wonder PL wanted Dimitrov to be an "old chestnut". Is PL's formulation really different from Dimitrov's. Dimitrov posed it this way: "In the mobilization of the toiling masses for the struggle against fascism, the formation of a broad people's anti-fascist front on the basis of the proletarian united front is a particularly important task. The success of the entire struggle of the proletariat is closely connected with the establishment of a fighting alliance between the proletariat on the one hand and the toiling peasantry and the basic mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie. . ."

UNITED FRONT

Despite all the squirming on this question and because PL cannot objectively confront the tactic of the united front - PL's conception of "a broad anti-imperialist united front" has a lot to do with both Stalin's and Dimitrov's Peoples Front but absolutely nothing to do with the united front tactic worked out at the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Communist International.

The tactic of the united front was developed in the context of the ebb in the revolutionary wave in Europe in a period of TEMPORARY retreat. The period was seen as one of preparation, of the Communists gaining the confidence of the masses by working for transitional demands and by assisting the working class to resist the attacks of the capitalists. This

definitely did not mean submerging the party in mass movements, concealing its identity or altering its organizational premises. The united front tactic was developed specifically for those countries in which important Communist Parties existed side by side with reformist parties and trade unions which held the leadership and loyalty of a large part or majority of the working class.

In other words the united front was a tactic developed for mass parties, and political organizations BASING THEMSELVES ON THE WORKING CLASS. It involved the relationship between the revolutionary party and the reformist parties within the working class. The tactic was an agree-



PROGRESSIVE LABOR SUPPORTS SOVIET UNION'S COLLABORATION WITH AMERICAN AND BRITISH IMPERIALISTS DURING WORLD WAR II AS A "UNITED FRONT" AGAINST FASCISM. ABOVE STALIN WITH CHURCHILL AT YALTA.

ment between these parties which have DIFFERENT programs for joint action on specific issues. In this agreement there is absolutely no question of a common political program. Above all the independence and freedom of action of the Communist Parties had to be maintained.

The united front did not at all mean that the party should cease to struggle to establish its leadership of the class or to make completely clear the difference between revolutionary Marxism and reformism. But this difference was not to be made merely through propaganda but through ACTION. The task was to create MASS pressure which would force the reformist leaders to take part in joint action or explain why they would not. Through this struggle the situation would be created to win over part of the rank and file of the reformist organizations from their existing leaders.

The purpose of the united front and the tactics worked out at the Third Congress was not a matter of simply recruiting a few workers to the party through propaganda in a united front. The goal was: "the formation not of small communist sects, trying by propaganda and agitation only to establish influence over the working masses, but participation in the struggle of the working masses, the direction of the struggle in a Communist spirit, and the creation in the course of experienced, large, revolutionary mass communist parties."

In the Theses on the United Front drafted by Trotsky for the enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1922, he made absolutely clear the difference between the united front and a "Left Bloc" (a precursor to the Popular

Front). "One of the most reliable methods of counteracting. . . ideas of the 'Left Bloc,' i.e., a bloc between the workers and a certain section of the bourgeoisie against another section of the bourgeoisie, is through promoting persistently and resolutely the idea of a BLOC BETWEEN ALL THE SECTIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST THE WHOLE BOURGEOISIE." In relation to those who "seek to use the idea of the united front for agitating in favor of unification with the reformists" Trotsky said they "must be mercilessly ejected from our party."

This is a far cry from the tactics of Stalinism. During the period when a united front was desperately re-

quired in Germany to mobilize a united working class against Hitler and prepare for the struggle for power, Stalin opposed a united front with the Social Democracy which held the leadership of the majority of workers in Germany. The Social Democracy was termed "social fascism" and the German C.P. at one point even formed a bloc with the fascists against it. This enabled the fascists to divide the working class, to defeat it and come to power (See our coming series by Robert Black "Fascism and the German Working Class")

It was only Trotsky in his extensive work on Germany in the period prior to the victory of Hitler that called for the united front, who said that without this struggle the Germany working class would go down to defeat.

POPULAR FRONT

From the suicidal policy of "social fascism" Stalin moved to the "Peoples Front." This front became not a united front of WORKING CLASS organizations for action against the bourgeoisie but a front of "people" of all classes including a section against another section of the bourgeoisie.

For Stalin this meant instead of mobilizing the working class against imperialism in all its forms including fascism through the struggle for political power by the working class, an "anti-fascist" struggle in defense of bourgeois democracy. Stalin formed an "alliance" with the "democracies", i.e., the U.S., England, France, against Germany. The price Stalin paid for these alliances was subservience of the Communist parties to capitalism and the agreement that the working class would be held in check.

The Popular Front took its toll in all the countries. In France the Popular Front Government of Blum composed of the Communist Party, Socialist Party and the Radical Party became the force with the full support of the French C.P. that put down the revolutionary strikes of 1936 and 1937. During the Spanish Civil War the Blum government, despite the fact that an overwhelming majority of the French workers supported the Spanish workers and peasants, refused to give aid to the Spanish Revolution, refused aid even to the Popular Front government in Spain. The French C.P. at the most carried on careful propaganda asking the Blum government to "lift the embargo."

In Spain the price the workers and peasants paid for Stalin's alliances with the bourgeoisie was in blood. In Spain the Stalinist leadership first prevented the revolutionary struggles of the workers and peasants from achieving victory through a socialist revolution by supporting the liberal bourgeoisie under the guise that the struggle was not for the "dictatorship of the proletariat" but was "to defend the democratic republic." But then even the latter was subordinated to the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy's foreign policy. When the French and British capitalists demanded a stable capitalist government based not only on the liberal bourgeoisie but also the big bourgeoisie behind Franco, the Stalinists went along. To this end the Stalinists conciliated with the fascists and became the most ruthless exterminators of the revolution. Thousands of working class militants were murdered not by the fascists but by the counterrevolutionary Stalinist thugs. (See our upcoming series by Robert Black, "Thirty Years After--Lessons of the Spanish Civil War")

The Popular Front was no accident. It was the logical consequence of socialism in one country and the defense of the privileges of the bureaucracy. It was a very conscious policy and required not just the subjugation of the working class internationally but also the complete liquidation of the Bolshevik party by tortures, concentration camps, frame up trials and executions. Stalin literally decapitated the leadership of the Red Army, destroyed almost the entire military cadre that had gained its experience in the Civil War. This is how Stalinism defended the dictatorship of the proletariat.

TO BE CONTINUED IN NEXT ISSUE OF BULLETIN

GE STRIKERS PREPARE LONG BATTLE

the struggle is political

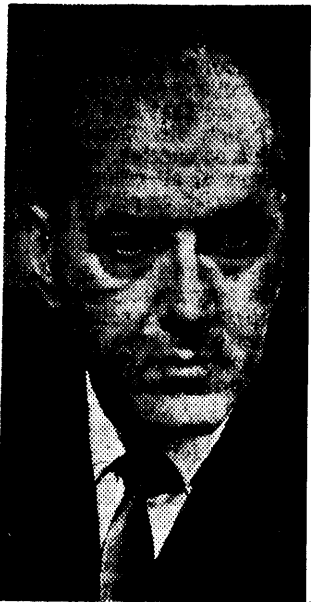
BY DAN FRIED

The 150,000 workers on strike against the General Electric Corporation are determined to battle to the end, "to sit tight 'till hell freezes over" to win their strike. And they mean to win it on THEIR terms, without budging an inch on the four demands that the union leaders have declared to be unconditional. These include a ninety cent an hour wage boost over a 30 month contract; re-introduction of the cost of living escalator clause; withdrawal of G.E.'s demands that each plant be a separate bargaining unit and that G.E. have the right to lock out workers in strikes over "local" grievances. The mood of the workers all over the country was pretty well summed up in the words of a UE official in Baltimore: "We're willing to stay out a year if we have to."

The Company, with Nixon's blessing, wanted a war, and they're getting it. G.E. made a concerted effort from the very beginning to keep its plants open and to bring thousands of strikebreaking salaried office and supervisory personnel through the picket lines. Many of these scabs won't try this again. They were met by mass picket lines which successfully kept the scabs out of the major G.E. plants.

At the huge Schenectady plant--G.E.'s largest--where 6,000 angry workers kept thousands of salaried personnel out, the city police chief, recognizing the mood and power of the picket line, refused to try to break the line, saying, "What do you think we want, a riot?" One of the cops said, "I know too many of these guys. I don't want to bust any heads."

POLICE PLAN UNION LINK WITH AFL-CIO



JOHN CASSESE

The first steps have been taken by a group of influential police organizations headed by New York's John Cassese to set up a national policemen's union affiliated with the AFL-CIO. Behind this move, unprecedented in the history of America's 400,000 strong police force, is the impact of inflation and other economic factors on all city employees.

The police now find themselves pulled in two directions. On the one hand they are emerging as a major rightist political force as symbolized by the victory of an ex-policeman as mayor in Minneapolis, the growth of the John Birch Society and open racism within police departments, and continued brutality against minority people and youth. On the other hand they are forced to seek links with the trade union

It's like hitting members of your own family."

SMARTING

The G.E. workers are still smarting from the setbacks of the past. One of the workers at Schenectady recalls: "In 1964 when the company went from piece work to day work, I lost \$40 a week." Along the way, G.E. took away the cost of living escalator the unions had won previously. In Schenectady, the workers went out for 13 weeks in 1966 in a fight against G.E.'s "make Schenectady competitive" wage slashing scheme, but returned without any gains. Now they mean to make up for these setbacks. The 13 unions are united as never before. George Meany has pledged the full support of the AFL-CIO, vowing that it "is a strike we will not lose". The UAW and the Teamsters have likewise pledged full support.

The union leaders clearly have both a mandate from the ranks and the power of the entire labor movement behind them for a fight to the finish. They have the necessary support and power to win the four demands and to go one better--to demand and win the shorter work week as well. But IUE President Paul Jennings is opening the door for a sell-out compromise when he says that the fundamental question is "an acceptance of unions and an end to Boulwarism. They're going to have to improve that offer and the minute they do they've killed Boulwarism." Does that mean, Mr. Jennings, that if G.E. simply "improves" its offer (from pennies to nickels) the unions should say "we've won" and go back to work? That's not what the workers have in

movement in their bread and butter struggles over wages and working conditions with the government.

VIOLATED

Nothing could express this contradiction better than Law and Order Man Cassese who explained last year's sick call job action: "We broke the law here last October to a degree. It was a form of a strike contrary to the Taylor Act. So if you want to say we violated the law we did. We were fighting for our bread and butter. This we believe in."

Within the last week the newspapers have been filled with photos of cops battling with GE pickets who were fighting for what they believed in by seeking to prevent scabs from entering struck plants. If the police expect labor support in their own wage and working condition struggles they had better consider whether or not they will still do the dirty work for the governments which seek to break the strike struggles of other trade unionists.

LENIN

A series of six classes on the meaning of Lenin for today

FRIDAYS 7:30 PM

1333A STEVENSON ST.
(BETWEEN VALENCIA & MISSION
OFF DUBOCE)

AUSPICES:
SAN FRANCISCO WORKERS LEAGUE



COPS ATTACK WORKER ON GENERAL ELECTRIC PICKET LINE

mind. The question is not one of "improvements"--of the company backing down on its "take it or leave it" attitude which they may well do--but of winning the workers' just demands. If G.E. has to be made to crawl, then let it crawl!

POLITICAL

The issues are clear. This is a strike of class against class--of workers against bosses in every industry. The outcome will have a direct impact on contract negotiations in a number of industries including auto and trucking in 1970. It is a strike against Nixon's call for a wage freeze. It is a strike against Nixon's unemployment policy which he and the employers have started in order to force down wages and conditions and which G.E. is counting on to avoid wage gains in the second and third years of its proposed contract.

To the Daily World, the paper of the Communist Party, this is merely an "economic" strike against the "conglomerate", General Electric. But behind G.E. is every other rotten profit-hungry, monopoly, conglomerate and corporation in the country--the entire capitalist class. And behind them stand all the politicians of the Republican and Democratic parties and the Nixon government. If there ever was a strike that was POLITICAL, this is it.

The solidarity and support of the entire labor movement is vital. But every workers ought to realize that G.E. has a big inventory and in a period of rising unemployment and shrinking markets is prepared to withstand a long, long strike. G.E. has to be told that it can't just get away with refusing to settle indefinitely as the copper corporations did two years ago when the copper workers struck for nine months.

It's time this little group of arrogant millionaires which sits on the board of directors of General Electric and thumbs its nose at millions of workers is brought to its knees. They are only doing the dirty work for the rest of the bosses and the Nixon-Republican-Democratic government. It is a strike for ALL workers and the 18 million strong labor movement should shut down the whole country, if necessary, to win.

The American workers can follow the example of the French workers who staged a general strike of 10 million strong in May 1968 and showed the French bosses that they were ready to run all the industries and the whole country to boot.

The union leaders have recognized that this is a political strike. I.U.E.

President Paul Jennings has called for the resignation of Secretary of Labor Schultz for siding with G.E. But what we need is not a new Secretary of Labor, but a LABOR government.

San Jose Workers Close Down GE

BY PATRICK QUIGLEY

SAN JOSE, CALIF., Oct. 31--3500 Electrical workers of IUE Local 1507 and 500 machinists of the IAM Local clearly reflect the same determination to win their strike against General Electric that is the sentiment of G.E. workers across the nation.

Despite local injunctions limiting the number of pickets per gate (which has allowed scabs to enter and leave), G.E. production in San Jose plants as well as all the lesser plants in the Bay Area has ground to a halt. "The strike has been 98 or 99% effective," one worker remarked. "The few scabs who show up for work can do almost nothing as long as the plant as a whole is shut down."

There have been several incidents of violence between strikers and scabs, but so far no serious injuries have resulted. A union member told of one scab who "tried to use his car as a battering ram...we made him feel real sorry about that one."

The growing support of this strike on a national level is an important development. The AFL-CIO executive council has called it "a strike of the trade union movement." Given the fact of a direct stand by organized labor against what amounts to the shifting of the burden of the economic crisis onto the working class, the determination and militancy of G.E. workers is a significant development. It is an indication that workers will be on the offensive in a period of increasingly sharp class struggle.

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GERMANY UNDER HERR BRANDT

BY V. BARAT

For the first time since its catastrophic defeat in 1933, the industrial proletariat of capitalist West Germany has shaken its angry fist in the faces of all its adversaries. The massive wildcat strikes in the areas of heavy industry during the last weeks of the national election were as much a conscious political protest by these workers against the betrayals of the SPD (German Social Democrats) as an impatient demand for economic justice in direct defiance of their union misleaders.

The thrust into politics by this decisive sector of the working class has terrorized the profit-bloated industrialists and bankers in Germany and abroad. And it has struck no less fear into the hearts of Stalinists, Social Democrats, and trade union bureaucrats everywhere.

Indeed this display of workers' power did more to turn Catholic workers away from the capitalist parties and toward support of the "workers' party" than years of vapid SPD electioneering was ever able to accomplish. Even a sizeable strata of the middle class, far from being repelled by trade union militancy, were attracted to the SPD as the party of the proletariat. In other words the mass strikes changed the very character of the German national elections.

RELIEVED

No one was more relieved than the heads of the SPD at their failure to win an out-and-out majority of seats in the Reichstag. In truth, no one had worked harder to keep from winning the elections than the SPD itself. A clear victory would have compelled them to rule alone and be directly responsible to the working class for all their policies.

W.L. FIGHTS RIGHTISTS AT STONY BROOK

BY A STONY BROOK STUDENT

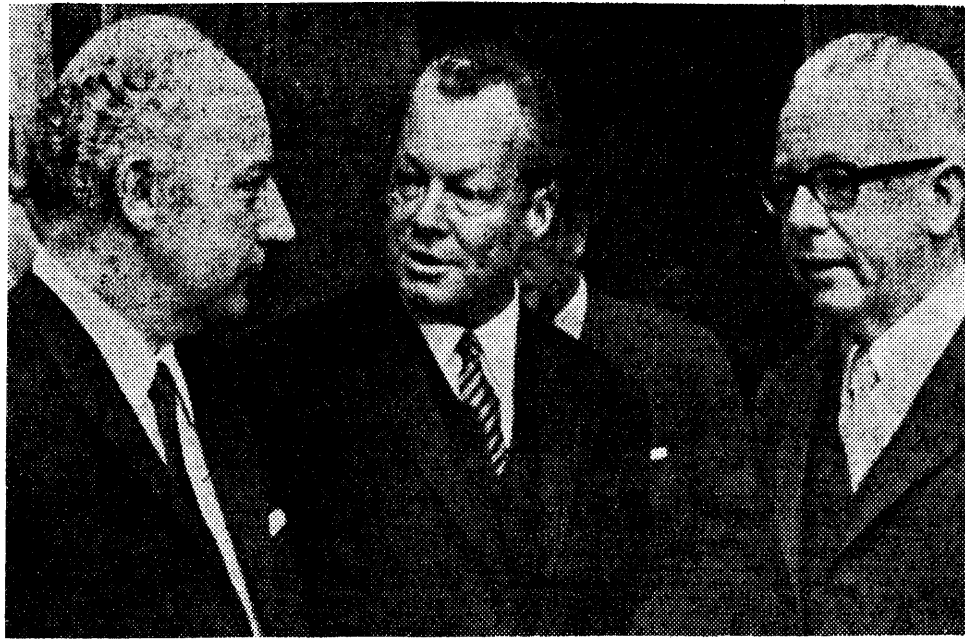
STONY BROOK, N.Y.-- The State University at Stony Brook is experiencing a tremendous growth of reactionary forces within the student population reflecting the deepening of the class struggle nationally as well as internationally. The first two months have seen the emergence of two right-wing student groups. The first to surface, the Moderate Student Organization, tries to give its counter-revolutionary politics a thin liberal veneer. They rely mostly on moralistic and legalistic arguments to cover the political basis of their opposition to leftist groups. A new group forming on campus calls itself the Association For A Strong America and is sponsoring the publication of a right wing newspaper. Their advertisements come right out and say "Only solid students who have no time or desire to destroy...need apply."

At the same time those in the camp of reaction with a more philosophical bent have been pushing active participation in Buddhist ritual chanting, asking students to place belief in some "force" existing in the universe which will alleviate human suffering and bring about world peace.

SOVEREIGNTY

These two tendencies must be fought on campus. They represent an attempt on the part of the capitalists to maintain absolute sovereignty over their universities in the face of the deepening crisis. The first and most obvious way for the ruling class to do this is politically, rallying the politi-

Wildcat Strikes Shake Germany



NEW WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR WILLY BRANDT (ABOVE, CENTER)

All the actions and pronouncements of the Social Democrats in the Grand Coalition testify to this unquestioning commitment to the maintenance and strengthening of the bourgeois state.

But the growing power of the working class has now forced them to adopt more subtle ways of betrayal and has limited their area of maneuvering. They simply can no longer remain in an alliance with the direct and most hated representatives of big capital, the CDU (Christian Democratic Union).

Thus it is chiefly the fear of their own workers that is responsible for the SPD's raising out of limbo this gloomy spectre from the 19th century, the liberal FDP. Even though it means holding them up with their own hands, Brandt and Company need

cally reactionary segment of the student body to their program for the abolition of revolutionary organizations on the campus. The second and more insidious way is to carefully culture the plague of idealism among youth whatever the form it appears in, be it transcendental meditation, Woodstock rock-dope festivals, or Buddhist chanting.

Stony Brook has seen proto-fascist violence before, with last year's brutal beating of a student radical by a band of uniformed hooligans. This year's organizations are less out in the open about their intentions but no less dangerous.

HEAD-OFF

As the working class moves into struggle, the capitalists will more and more seek the support of these reactionary forces on the campuses to head off the struggles by the youth and attempt to prevent them from moving towards revolutionary leadership.

The Stony Brook Workers League calls upon all groups on the left and the student body as a whole to join us in waging an uncompromising struggle against those who seek to destroy the democratic rights of the students to organize politically.

This also requires a fight against those who advocate turning inward. The rightists join hands with the mystic chanters in their attempts to divert the students from taking up the political struggle of the working class against capitalism.

them as some kind of makeshift buffer against the working class. It is with this corpse that the SPD has formed its "mini"-Coalition.

What can the German workers expect of this SPD-FDP government which is being foisted upon them? An extreme right-wing voice of the bourgeoisie, the Springer press, expressed certain misgivings about the new government and its policies. In their Hamburg organ, Die Welt, they wondered whether Willy Brandt could be relied on to push military hardware and military strategy vigorously enough to maintain their threat to the Eastern bloc.

LOYALTY

Their fear is allayed by no less than the publisher herself of a rival newspaper from the same city, Marion von Doenhoff. On page 1 of Die Zeit for October 14, 1969, this spokesman of liberal German imperialism makes it clear that all the leading figures from Brandt on have demonstrated their undying loyalty to NATO and its military policies. She reminds the Springer editors that not only as Foreign Minister in the past government did Brandt prove his loyalties to the German bourgeoisie, but he successfully defeated all attempts in the various national conventions of his party to oppose NATO and other military commitments. Even more important for the future of capitalist Germany is Brandt's "constructive policy towards the East."

What is the nature of the "constructive policy"? She doesn't leave much to the imagination. It has the advantage of being so much more economical and effective than any purely military adventure. The plan she expects the new SPD government to pursue involves the use of massive outlays of marks and credits to the capital starved nations of East Germany, Rumania, Poland, Soviet Union. The Social Democratic traitors are even prepared, apparently, to make certain minor concessions to the

Stalinist bureaucrats in these countries, such as acknowledgement or even diplomatic recognition of East Germany as an independent state and of the Oder-Neisse boundary with Poland.

In return for such purely formal gestures, the Stalinists are allowing their nationalized economies to become even more integrated into the capitalist world market and subject to a division of labor completely disadvantageous to them. The result is a horrible blow to state ownership of the means of production, to planned economy, and to monopoly of foreign trade. It is evident why influential forces in the German bourgeoisie prefer at this stage to have Social Democrats rather than the CDU set foreign policy.

MANTLE

Yet even on the domestic front only the SPD can be expected to have any chance of keeping the workers in check. This party, wearing the mantle of labor, is undertaking to attack the living standards of working people, to hold them back from efforts to defend their conditions on the job, to weaken the unions by integrating them into the state.

The entire German press from "left" to right has been amazed at the record time--only 6 days--it required Brandt to whip together his mini-cabinet of SPD-FDP. The fastest previous time was 36 days, back in 1949 by Adenauer. The explanation for the lack of friction is that the policies of the SPD are recognized for what they are: imperialist. Die Zeit of October 14 reports that satisfaction with the policies of the new government is even admitted by broad ranks within Kiesinger's own CDU. One of these is quoted as saying: "We couldn't have done much differently. There is scarcely a programmatic point which the Union (CDU) could not subscribe to in its entirety."

BLOWS

It is obvious that if the SPD is permitted to remain in office by the capitalists of Germany it is with the definite understanding that this is so it can deal blows against the working class. It follows that a return of any capitalist party to the government would only be of a bonapartist type, one intent on using violence against the proletariat. This in turn would signal the preparation of the bourgeoisie for acceptance of a new, bloody, fascist regime. For this reason it becomes an historical necessity to prevent the return of the bourgeoisie to full power!

Hence the working class of Germany must have a program that assures its independence from the capitalist state. This struggle for the independence of the proletariat and for a program that will lead to victory is being waged by the German Trotskyists around their press, IAK (International Workers' Correspondence).

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SEND TO BULLETIN-- 243 E. 10th ST. NEW YORK N.Y. 10003

At the time of the recent SWP convention we stated, and reiterated again in our Nov. 3rd Editorial, that a discussion must take place on the question of Pabloism. As this article reveals, sections of the Pabloites are going over openly to Stalinism. Meanwhile the SWP is back with the CP in the peace movement. As the YSA convention approaches it is becoming clear that this discussion simply WILL take place.

By Cliff Slaughter

Within the Trotskyist Fourth International, revisionists have constantly tried to turn the movement away from the struggle against Stalinism and to provide it with a left cover. Michel Pablo founded this revisionist tendency and this led to the split in the Fourth International in 1953.

This led to the leader of his tendency at the time, John Lawrence, eventually joining the Communist Party after Khrushchev's speech.

Now the latest representative of this Pabloite tendency, which has several times tried unsuccessfully to get a footing in this country against the Socialist Labour League, after Lawrence deserted, is the International Marxist Group, publishing a monthly paper, 'International'.

It was among those forming the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and has as one of its members Mr. Tariq Ali.

'International', particularly in the persons of Pat Jordan and Bob Purdie, is now openly turning towards Monty Johnstone and those like him in the Communist Party.

This service to Stalinism is entirely in line with the international perspective adopted by the 'Unified Secretariat' of which International Marxist Group is part.

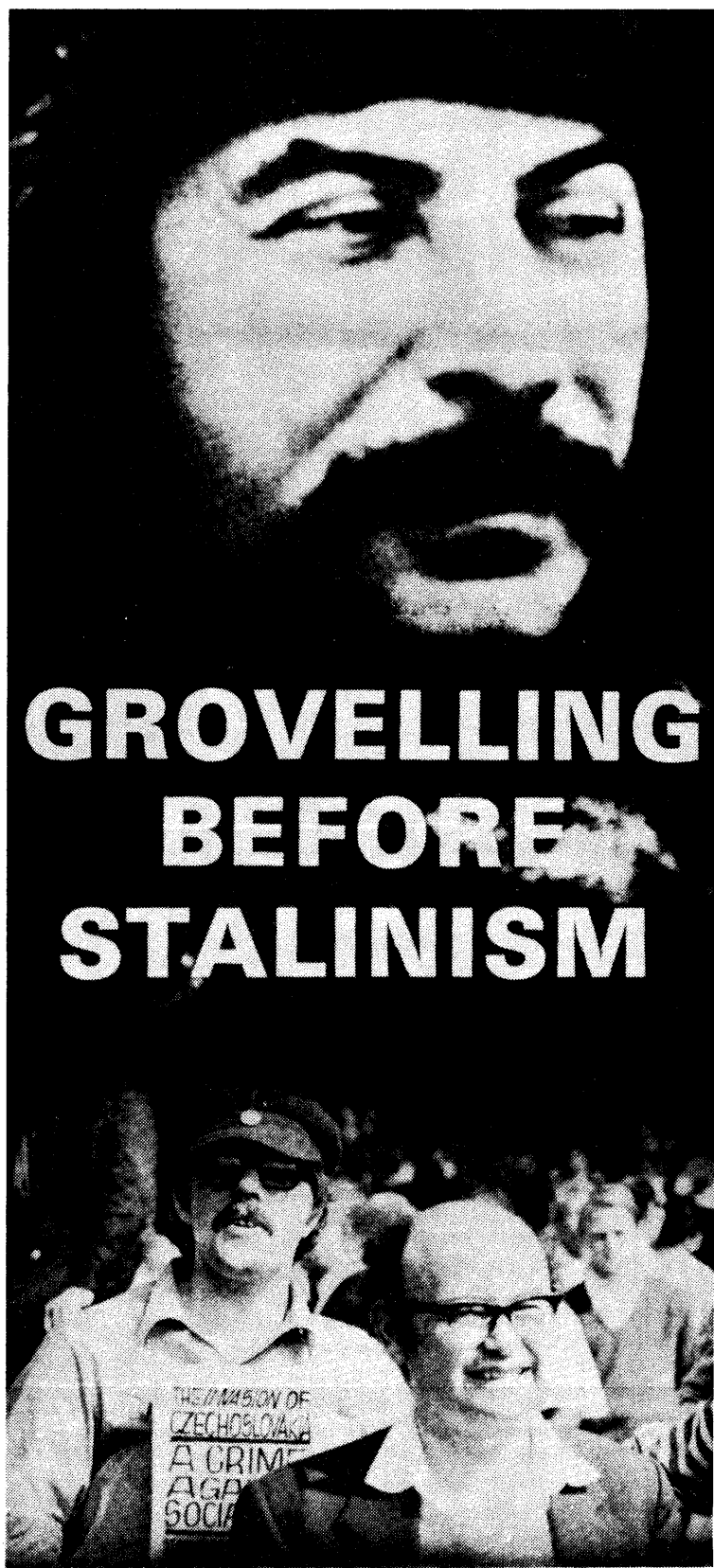
Purdie's latest article ('International', October 1969: 'For A Debate On Trotskyism and "Revisionism"') goes even further than before. There is no doubt that the great fighting capacity of the working class in Europe is growing at such a pace that it pushes middle-class 'socialists' frightened to death, into the arms of the bureaucracy and of the bourgeoisie which stand behind it: Purdie presents the miserable spectacle of a so-called 'Trotskyist' grovelling on his belly before the Stalinists.

Tim Wohlforth in an earlier article in 'The Newsletter' showed that Purdie and the Pabloites were dropping the term 'Stalinist' in order to get away from Trotskyism and close to the Stalinists, precisely at a time when the Stalinists must attempt their greatest betrayals and when the responsibilities facing Trotskyists for actual leadership are far more urgent than ever before.

Purdie says:

'It is here that we will admit a deep theoretical gulf between ourselves [the Pabloites] and the Socialist Labour League. . . .'

He claims that by omitting the terms 'Stalinist' and 'counter-revolutionary' when referring to the Communist Parties and the bureaucracy, his group does not change any of the principles of Trotskyism: condemnation of 'peaceful co-existence', definition of USSR as a workers' state, programme of political revolution in the workers' states, workers' democracy.



ENGLISH PABLOITES GIVE LEFT COVER TO STALINISM

The difference, he claims, is in estimation of the crisis reached by the Stalinist bureaucracy. In this, he says, quoting the resolution of the Pabloite International Conference, are four main factors.

. . . a slowing down of economic growth coupled with the detrimental effects which the "economic reforms" of recent years have had for the masses; the crisis in the "world socialist camp", that is, the crisis in the relationship between the workers' states and the Communist Parties; the bureaucracy's inability to develop a consistent ideological line to take the place of the Stalinist doctrine; the impact on the workers' states of American imperialism's aggressive escalation, of the victorious resistance of the Vietnamese working masses, and of the revival of revolutionary agitation and struggles in western Europe.'

Purdie adds: '. . . The two factors which are of most relevance to this discussion are the ideological crisis, and the crisis of the relationships between the bureaucracies.'

All this he says '. . . contrasts so sharply with the monolithic bloc (sic) which Trotsky fought and analysed during his lifetime, that it would be a betrayal of the Marxist method to coast along with the ideas and attitudes formed 20 years ago.'

The political questions which Trotskyists have to raise in relation to these

parties have altered, the opportunities for Trotskyists to influence and win elements within these parties has altered decisively in our favour, and the attitude of the bureaucracies towards the Trotskyists has of necessity altered.' (Our emphasis.) In this long quotation Purdie's politics are crystal-clear.

He echoes the Unified Secretariat in ignoring the struggle of the working class and Marxist intellectuals as the principal 'factor' in the crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The 'four factors' are all of them seen through the eyes of the bureaucracy itself and its petty-bourgeois horizons: how to regain 'consistency', how to react to imperialism, how to maintain 'economic' growth without disturbing bureaucratic privilege, how to get back to the homogeneity of Stalin's day!

All of these are, of course, problems, but they all arise from the pressure of the revolutionary force in Soviet society, the working class.

Elements of the bureaucracy and the Communist Parties, in order to try and stabilize their position in relation to the struggle of the masses in East and West alike, adopt 'new' attitudes which they hope will endear them to the middle class, reformist and trade union bureaucratic forces everywhere.

And so Purdie asks that we should all help them. Instead of exposing them with the weapons forged in Trotsky's struggle, Purdie says 'drop the ideas developed by Trotsky'

who was writing in a 'contrasting' situation.

The claim to 'new thinking', 'not coasting along with ideas of 20 years ago', has arisen in all past revisionisms, under slogans like, 'junk the old Trotskyism', 'face the new reality'.

According to Purdie, we must interpret the anti-Trotskyism of Johnstone, not as a Stalinist reaction to the pressure of the working class and its demand for revolutionary leadership, but as a symptom of these 'new' opportunities and the 'changing attitudes of the bureaucracies towards Trotskyists.

Despite acknowledging that Johnstone accepts 'socialism in a single country' and 'nowhere goes further than a liberal rejection of the more distasteful aspects of the Stalin era', Purdie accepts Johnstone's rejection of the Moscow Trials as a great opening, because it concerns '. . . precisely those aspects which had prevented any real political discussion between partisans of the Communist Parties and of Trotskyism'.

We therefore cannot denounce him as an 'apologist for Stalinism'!

We have shown that the apologist for Stalinism today must adopt the 'liberal' stance and further he must devote his attention to a more and more 'presentable' attack on Trotskyism as the main enemy.

Purdie still cannot explain why Johnstone is the chosen advocate of the British Communist Party against Trotsky, along with the old-line servant of the bureaucracy, Betty Reid.

Broker

Even though he claims the Unified Secretariat has not revised the Trotskyist theory of Stalinism, Purdie is in fact throwing it overboard and acting as the 'theoretical' broker for a new middle-of-the-road, pseudo-Communist grouping, helping the Stalinists out of their crisis.

After saying that Stalinism is 'a precise scientific' term denoting the political line of the Soviet bureaucracy, Purdie goes on to reject the whole Trotskyist idea of Stalinism.

He says in passing that the Communist Parties have not 'as yet' broken from the Stalinist theoretical heritage, thus implying that they are on the road to doing so.

Indeed he says later that: '. . . the (Communist) Party as a whole could be moved towards co-operating with the Trotskyists and other tendencies in work of immediate value to the British workers or the world revolution'.

Here is the crux of the matter! Purdie will say: 'co-operation on particular issues does not contradict the view that they are tied theoretically to Stalinism'.

But what is this 'theory'? Can it be that without abandoning the Stalinist 'theoretical heritage' the Stalinists will carry out actions 'of immediate value to the British workers or the world revolution'?

Here the worst kind of double talk is used to express counter-revolutionary revisionism.

'We are not revising our Trotskyist estimate of Stalinism, you understand. . . . BUT, Stalinism can be made to carry out 'work of immediate value to. . . the world revolution'!

Most certainly the split in the Fourth International was absolutely necessary in order to break from the revisionism of Pablo and Germain, who told us that Stalinism would be forced against its nature to carry out the world revolution. Purdie is the latest and rottest fruit of that revisionism, coming to the aid of Stalinism in its most desperate crisis.

According to Purdie:

. . . in order to express the new dominant features of these (Communist) Parties, their organizational fragmentation and political diversification, the term "Stalinist" has lost its usefulness. . . . (Our emphasis.)

Because of this 'diversity', he says, '. . . such terms as "the Khrushchev apparatus" and "the communist movement" are not only legitimate but scientifically necessary'.

A further, 'secondary' reason for dropping the term 'Stalinist' is that:

'Amongst wide layers of new forces on the left, dissident elements in the CPs, the "New Left", and other non-Trotskyist Marxists [?], this term has taken on quite a different meaning from that traditionally used by the Trotskyists; for them it refers solely to the period in the CPSU from the triumph of Stalin over the opposition, to the 20th Congress.'

Purdie gives the game away. The 'diversification' and 'fragmentation' are now for him 'the new dominant feature' of the Communist Parties.

Stalinism, the characterization of these parties as counter-revolutionary, now recedes into the background or out of existence altogether, and they can once again, together with the Stalinist bureaucracy, be called—in the interests of 'scientific' necessity—the communist movement!

Can revisionism of Trotskyism go any further?

The Pabloites, when they erected the theory that Stalinist parties could be forced to take power on behalf of the working class, called in question in effect the whole founding of the Fourth International.

After all, if the Stalinist parties were going to do the job before a revolutionary leadership, a new International, was built, why was it not correct in the 1930s to abandon the idea of a Fourth International and continue to fight, as the Left Opposition did, for reform of the USSR and the Communist International?

As we have pointed out, on all the other issues Purdie goes much further, Stalinism is not, for him, the essence of the politics of the Soviet bureaucracy and the Communist Parties, but only one phase of their development, to be replaced by another, in which 'diversification and fragmentation' are the 'dominant' factors.

If this was the case, the whole fight of the Left Opposition, let alone of the Fourth International, was abortive.

The defeats for which Stalin and Stalinism were responsible from 1926 onwards were simply the mistakes of a 'communist movement' to be corrected within it, in response to pressure.

We in the Socialist Labour League and the Fourth International know where we are going.

We are building the kind of Party—a Bolshevik-Leninist Party—in all our national sections in order to smash the Stalinists, to counter and to defeat every move by those like Johnstone who cook up a mixture of Stalinism and liberalism in order to confuse and divide the advanced workers.

We are training young Marxists and revolutionary cadres in the trade unions to start from the continuity of the whole struggle of Trotsky against Stalinism and of Lenin against Menshevism.

We know that Stalinism is in crisis because it is counter-revolutionary and clashes with the resurgent working-class movement all over the world.

We will continue to oppose with all our strength all those, like Purdie and his mentors, Pablo and Mandel, who want to wipe out the past struggles of Trotskyism in order to whitewash the present.

MASSIVE STRIKE WAVES GRIP ITALY

Workers Make 'Red October'

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

Italy's "Red October" is now promising to give way to a "Red November" as the unprecedented strike wave and political convulsions it has produced show no signs of slackening.

Even before the floodgates of labor militancy were breached at the beginning of October, some 92 million man hours had already been lost in strikes for the first seven months of 1969 as compared to 33 million for the same period in 1968. Since then there has been virtually a continual round of half day and one day protest strikes in industry after industry all across Italy involving hundreds of thousands of workers at any given time.

On October 7th some 100,000 striking engineering workers employed by Pirelli and other firms marched in support of wage demands in nine columns from nine different locations on the outskirts of Milan to a mass meeting held in the center of the city. 200,000 chemical and pharmaceutical workers have struck no less than 3 different times in the last month in support of their demands for a new pay contract. In the province of Terni, a heavily industrialized region north of Rome, workers have gone on a general strike. In Turin striking metal workers seized a local railroad station in the course of their fight. In Naples striking public service workers ejected 100 scabs from buses which they subsequently burned. In Genoa some 70,000 striking metal workers paraded through the city, which has also been the scene of big dock strikes.

WAVE

The scope of the strike wave can be measured in part by the many new layers it has brought into struggle against Italian capitalism. The science faculty at Rome University refused to reopen until measures were taken against the overcrowding that jams nearly 90,000 students into facilities designed for 15,000. State education officials as well as teachers have struck over conditions reflected especially in the shortage of 150,000

canadian cwa to strike

BY A CWA MEMBER

TORONTO-- At the third set of negotiations between Northern Electric and the CWA local C6 on October 14th-16th the company refused point blank any of the union's demands. In previous contracts the union had made substantial gains by this time. The fact that the company not only refuses to concede any further benefits but plans to launch a major offensive against present working conditions must mean an eventual strike.

Not only is the Company demanding a number of concessions on vacations and working conditions but it continues to insist that it be allowed to employ up to 60% temporary help on all jobs. It is this demand above all else which is the most serious threat to the union. The company obviously aims at maintaining its high profits despite Trudeau's decision to allow only half the rate increase it wanted, by an attack on its employees--primarily through replacing present employees with low paid temporary help recruited from the growing unemployed.

DETERMINED

What is required now is a determined struggle on the part of the



THE DEMONSTRATIONS BY AUTO WORKERS OF ITALY ARE PART OF HUGE STRIKE WAVE IN EUROPE

classrooms in the Italian public school system.

The militant lead given by the Italian working class has likewise awakened the most oppressed layers of the Italian working class and lumpen proletariat to struggle. In Rome some 100,000 inhabitants of the shanty town of tin huts and caves beneath arches and viaducts just off the Appian Way (reminiscent of conditions in ancient Rome) burned their shanties and forced their way into vacant flats in luxury buildings in the center of Rome.

The most important outbreak, however, has been the actual occupation of the Fiat works in Turin by striking workers culminating a series of lightning strikes which have taken place in Fiat as well as Lancia. Here the militancy of the ranks came into the sharpest conflict with the Stalinist and Catholic trade union bureaucracy, who when they advocated the workers abandon their sitdown strike found themselves ejected from the plant by the workers.

The whole tactic of partial strikes has been imposed upon the October strike wave by the bureaucracy (Stalinist, Social Democratic, centrist and Catholic) precisely to dissipate its thrust, to prevent it from turning into an Italian May-June where the

question of the revolutionary overturn would be posed very sharply.

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY

The working class, nevertheless, is everywhere more and more coming to see through this counter-revolutionary ploy which can only lead to a devastating repetition of 1918-1921, when once before the working class was exhausted through endless protest actions, demoralized and thereby served up to fascist gangs.

Thus in Bologna, 30,000 striking workers marched on the local government which is completely controlled by the Italian Communist Party denouncing it for its neutrality in relation to the current wave of strike struggles. Though this had happened previously in Social Democratic strongholds, it was the first time it had happened to the C.P. When one realizes that thousands of these workers were C.P. members and thousands more were among the Party's 8.5 million loyal voters, the crisis of Stalinism and above all the potential for the building of a revolutionary alternative within the Italian working class is starkly posed.

There is not a great deal of time in which to carry out this task. The class struggle in Italy has now brought to the fore political convulsions which signal the break up of bourgeois democracy in Italy. The question in the very next period is going to be either socialism or a bonapartist dictatorship and fascism. This is the meaning of the latest split within the Christian Democratic Party.

MILITARY

The Christian Democrats cannot continue with their minority rule, they cannot necessarily weather a "Red November". Their inability to work out a strategy for fighting the working class more and more drives the capitalists to take seriously the idea of a solution like that achieved in Greece.

The military for its part stands ready to do the job. The Association of Fighting Officers has publically stated that: "The domestic situation leads us to think of the eventual possibility that the armed forces will have to go into action to defend democratic freedom and the constitution."

Behind the military stand the fascist gangs. In Pisa over 100 workers were injured by police while protesting earlier fascist attacks on students during a protest demonstration in opposition to the Greek military regime.

The working class clearly has not a moment to lose. Either the favor-

able situation that now exists for the building of a mass revolutionary party will be grasped or the Italian working class will face a repetition of the events of 1922.

Call for Defense Against Hooliganism at Thermo King

BY A BULLETIN SALESMAN

A threat of violence against a Bulletin salesman outside the Thermo King plant in Bloomington, Minnesota, at about 4:30 p.m. on Tuesday, October 28, must be seen as a direct attack against every union member of Local 2175, United Steel Workers. It comes at a time when the men in the plant are determined to win a decent wage increase and job security from a corporation that has made huge profits by underpaying them for 4 long, inflation-ridden years.

The three men who waited until there were no other workers around and then tore 24 papers out of the hands of a Bulletin salesman and burned them are trying to create an atmosphere of tension and fear, from which no one but the company bosses can gain anything.

ANTI-LABOR

The Bulletin is already known to Thermo King employees and is popular with many of them because of its unstinting support to the men in their just struggle for good working conditions. Many copies of this October 20th paper had been sold before the cowardly attack. This issue of the Bulletin had aroused keen interest because it contained an important article by a member of Local 2175. The Workers League will not be intimidated by anti-labor goons anywhere. The next morning a representative was back before the plant gates and sold an additional bundle of Bulletins and this time was not assaulted.

Since only the company can profit from such provocations, the Workers League calls upon the entire membership of Local 2175 to demand that all officers and negotiating committee members, no matter what their political beliefs, publicly condemn all hooligan acts and to defend the rights of all those who fight for the interests of the workers to publish and distribute their views free of harassment.