

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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starting in this issue

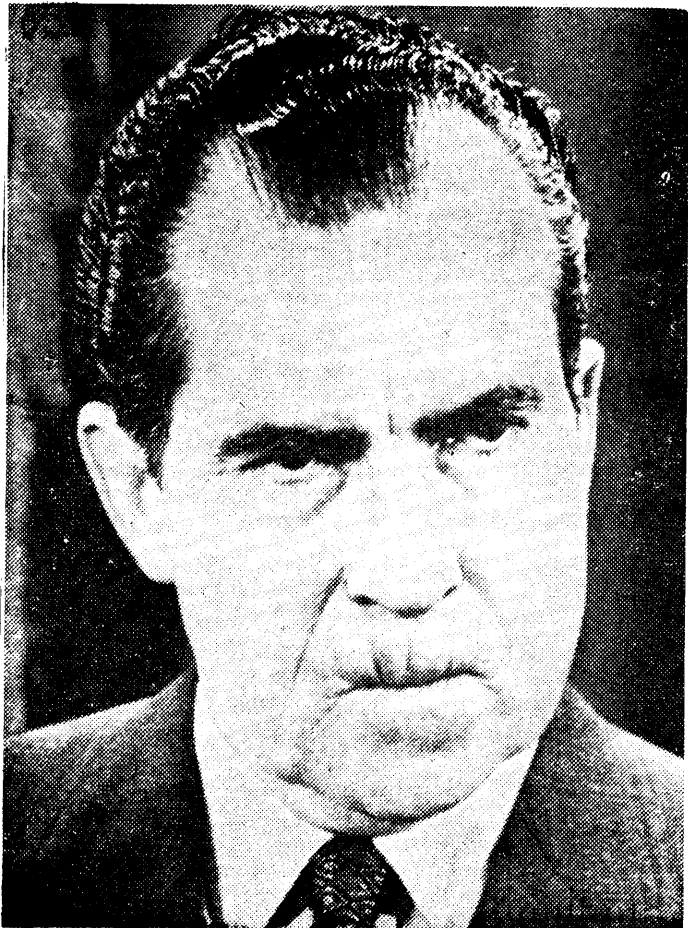
HOOVER

DOCUMENTS
FROM THE
SOVIET
OPPOSITION



BANKERS CALL TUNE

NIXON DRAWS BLOOD WITH HEW CUTS



DANGER AHEAD!

Late reports reveal the danger that a G.E. strike settlement is near which would seriously compromise the original union demands for \$.90 an hour over a 30 month contract, full cost of living escalator and uniform national bargaining and grievance procedures. Labor has the power to win all these demands. The strikers must demand that there be no backing down now!

Stop GE Sell-out!

*No Secrecy- Open
Negotiations to Ranks!
No Compromise on
Original Demands!*

**LABOR MUST
CALL ONE DAY
GENERAL STRIKE
TO WIN G.E.
STRIKERS
FULL DEMANDS!**

ARMY REVOLT BREWS AS NLF MOUNTS OFFENSIVE



WOUNDED GI'S AT DAKTO AFTER A VICTORIOUS NLF OFFENSIVE.

GI'S IN VIETNAM BOO BOB HOPE AND GIVE PEACE SIGN

EDITORIAL

Nixon Signs HEW Veto With The Blood Of American Workers

Last Monday night on nationwide television, President Nixon, with all the vengeance and arrogance of the bankers and big corporation for whom he acts, signed his first veto, brutally slashing funds for health, education, and welfare. The veto was signed with the blood of the American working class.

"This action," said Nixon, "is in the vital interests of all Americans in stopping the rise in the cost of living." American workers, the unemployed and poor are being blamed for and asked to bleed for the inflation caused by the crisis in the capitalist system. This action is for the benefit and the interests of ONLY the capitalist class, the real culprits--the bankers and big industrialists--to preserve their profits and their system.

Nothing could reveal more the absolute rotteness and bankruptcy of this system than these attacks on vital services. Despite Nixon's talk of the U.S. being the "richest nation," his veto makes clear that those riches are the sole property of the few in the employing class and denied to the vast majority in the working class.

CUT

It should be clear that the \$1.3 billion cut by Nixon is not going to make a dent in the rising cost of

living. This is actually a very small amount in a budget of \$200 billion and in a trillion dollar economy. But the cut hits hard where Nixon wants it--smack in the face of the working class. Nixon is spelling it out loud and clear that there will be no more concessions; American workers must pay. The days of the "welfare state" are over. All the gains that American workers have won in decades of struggle not only in wages and working conditions but in education, health and welfare are to be taken back.

These cuts are part and parcel of Nixon's recessionary measures of wage cuts and unemployment, demanded by the international bankers to deal with the deepening crisis of the capitalist system. Nixon's veto is inextricably tied to the government's strategy to stop the wage offensive of American workers. Nixon together with the GE bosses, the big corporations and the Demo-

cratic and Republican parties have lined up against the GE workers to defeat this strike and deal a blow to the entire labor movement.

It is now clear that the employers and the government are prepared not only to shut down whole sections of industry, to bring the economy to a standstill and into a serious recession, throwing millions of workers into the streets, but also to shut down schools and hospitals and to let masses of people starve in the streets. This is the price this class is prepared to exact to save its system.

It is this war against the working class that Nixon was groomed for by the ruling class and this war is just beginning. The Nixon Administration together with its supporters and critics in Congress are gearing for full battle in the struggles ahead. The arsenal of weapons to crush any opposition to these policies is being built. This is the meaning of

Agnew, of Carswell and the murder of the Black Panthers in Chicago. While Nixon cut the funds for education he announced in his State of the Union address that federal spending for "local law enforcement" would be doubled. When Nixon talks about "law enforcement" he is talking about strikebreaking and attacks on all militants fighting in the unions, in the working class and minorities struggles. Meanwhile Nixon and Congress are preparing new laws against the unions.

Nixon's announcement last Monday was that he is bringing the war U.S. imperialism is conducting in Vietnam against the workers and peasants home to the American working class with all the brutality and consequences of Song My.

ACT

We say the labor movement must act! Nixon must be answered by the mobilization of millions of workers and unemployed in Washington to demand an end to the war in Vietnam and an end to the war at home, to demand an end to inflation, unemployment, anti-strike legislation and an end to the cuts in health, education and welfare. It is only this independent mobilization with the full force and power of the trade union movement that can spell the doom of the strategy of Nixon, the bankers and the Democratic and Republican parties.

G.I. REVOLT SHAKES U.S. ARMY



COMBAT TROOPS WEARING BLACK ARMBANDS MORATORIUM DAY

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

U.S. imperialism is confronted today not only by an increasingly determined and hostile working class within the U.S. but also with growing opposition from its fighting forces in Vietnam. More and more GI's are seeing that the Vietnam war is not their war. This is being reflected in the fact that the anti-war forces within the army are swelling and the military is faced with open defiance, a "morale problem," and a breakdown in discipline. "Newsweek" in its Feb. 2nd issue reports the reaction of "one senior CIA official" who returning from Vietnam was "more fearful of a 'breakdown' in the U.S. Army than of a new Tet offensive by the enemy." The point is that the resistance by the GI's is increasing precisely at the time that the National Liberation Front is stepping up its fight against U.S. imperialism.

Within the last year, the GI's in Vietnam have openly opposed the war, making it more and more difficult

for the U.S. government to hide the dissent in the army, much as the mobilization of almost a million people on November 15th in Washington belied the claims by Nixon and Agnew that U.S. imperialism has the support of the "silent majority." On Moratorium Day soldiers in Vietnam wore black armbands and held seminars expressing their opposition to the war. When Nixon's court jester, Bob Hope, ended his Christmas Show in Vietnam with the statement that Nixon was going to end the war, at least a third of the 10,000 troops in the audience answered Hope and Nixon with boos and by raising their hands in the anti-war "V" sign. On Christmas Eve MP's brutally attacked an anti-war demonstration of GI's and civilians in the center of Saigon.

When Agnew was in Vietnam a few weeks ago he stopped to assure some GI's with the statement: "Don't be misled by what you read in various publications. That doesn't represent the feelings of the Ameri-

can people about the job you are doing in Vietnam." But it is obviously Mr. Agnew and his fellow press censors in the military that are doing the misleading. This was sharply revealed in the crackdown on SP/5 Lawrence who was disciplined when he made clear to his audience over the Armed Forces radio station in Saigon that he was prevented military censorship from "telling it like it is."

The disciplining of Lawrence shows clearly the fear the U.S. military has of the growing revolt and their intention to crack down. One of Nixon's spokesmen has reportedly said that "the present ripple of dissent in the services could grow into a tidal wave." The coffeehouses around the bases that have been the center for opposition to the war are under attack by the military; the one near Fort Jackson has been closed. At present the military stockades are overflowing with dissenters.

Most recently four GI's at Fort Gordon, Georgia are being tried by court martial for promoting "disloyalty and disaffection among the troops" and impairing "the loyalty, morale and discipline of the United States Army." These GI's were protesting the Songmy massacre and calling for a "War Crimes Commission" to have GI's investigate the atrocities. One of their leaflets for which they were arrested stated one of the purposes of this commission: "To get across the fact that Songmy wasn't an isolated incident and that genocide against the Vietnamese people by the United States Armed Forces is an every day occurrence."

This trial comes at a time when the Vietcong are charging that Korean and South Vietnamese troops under American command massacred over 700 villagers this last November in the coastal district of Quangnam Province. U.S. and South Vietnamese spokesmen have dismissed these charges as "propaganda." Of course this is precisely what they called the reports published by North Vietnam on Songmy only a few months after

the attack occurred. Nothing could expose this war more than GI's revealing its real character and the real culprits in the atrocities--the rulers of the U.S.

The breakdown in discipline and hostility to the Vietnam war within the ranks of the Army is also being expressed in the Army's report of growing "racial tension" in the army. The racism that has been an inherent part of the military setup, as it has been of the system it defends--capitalism, to divide the working class and keep it disciplined in and out of the Army--is now blowing up in imperialism's face. The greatest concern of the military is that the black soldiers' fight is being directed

against the officers, the military police, the army and the war. The survey the army has done on the question reports that the "most significant and dangerous trend" is reflected in the growing number of incidents of attacks by black soldiers on military police. The survey also admits that the complaints by black soldiers are in many cases the same as those of whites.

The racial tension within the army is a reaction not only to the racism in the services but also to the real causes of the problems in capitalism. This tension is also growing within the working class high schools in New Jersey, Philadelphia, and Long Island, in which the frustrations of the youth, both black and white with the deplorable situation that exists in these schools--overcrowding and a future of deadend jobs and unemployment--is being expressed in conflicts between black and white youth.

ENEMY

The real enemy in Vietnam and at home is U.S. imperialism. The real class character of this war is being exposed as the offensive of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, and of the workers of Europe is joined with the fight by the American workers and youth in the factories, the high schools, the campuses and the army. The task posed today is the unity of these struggles on a class basis against capitalism. The labor movement must now take up the lead in this battle.



RACIST
JUDGE
CARSWELL,
NIXON'S
NEWEST
NOMINEE

BY PAT CONNOLLY

President Nixon's nominee for the vacant Supreme Court seat is, it is a matter of public record, a self-avowed racist and white supremacist.

It is becoming obvious that Nixon is determined to have a hidebound Southern conservative on the Supreme Court, in order to carry out more thoroughly attacks on the working class. The attacks on the Black Panthers nationally by the police, and the new anti-strike legislation Nixon is planning, are only the beginning steps of the capitalist class

U.S. Inflation Soars To New Heights

For all Nixon's efforts to stomp on the economic brakes, the year 1969 became a banner year for inflation in every way and American workers are the ones who paid. The Labor Department announced on January 16th that consumer prices rose .6% in January. Price rise for the year 1969 totaled 6.1% compared with 4.8% in 1968, the biggest rise in fact since 1951. Leading the list of items hit by inflation in 1969 were household services up 9.5%, transportation up 8.5%, food up 7.2%, medical care up 7.1% and clothing up 5.3%.

For American workers the effect was devastating. There has been no overall gain in real wages since 1965. In 1969 real take home pay for the average American worker actually fell back 1.1% in spite of substantial wage increases won in industry after industry.

Nixon and the employers are demanding that workers pay more in 1970. The mass layoffs in auto, defense, airlines, and other industries now make it clear that the U.S. economy is already into a serious recession. Nixon's State of the Union speech last week with its insistence on balanced budgets reveals that he is prepared to take the U.S. economy even deeper into recessionary territory.

The trade union movement must answer Nixon and his banker friends with an all out wage offensive and the fight for a four day week.

CARSWELL'S RACIST RECORD REVEALED

in trying to tame militants and workers.

G. Harrold Carswell, Nixon's newest nominee after Southern conservative Haynesworth was defeated, is, by his own admission a racist.

Carswell ran for the Georgia State Legislature in 1948 on a platform of racism. One of his campaign statements, which he published in the newspaper he owns was: "I yield to no man, as a fellow candidate or as a fellow citizen, in the principles of white supremacy, and I shall always be so governed."

WORD

We take Carswell at his word. Now, some years later, he and Attorney General John Mitchell and even his "fellow candidate's" son are busy scurrying around like cats covering their dung to cover up the clear meaning of that statement. They try to re-interpret that statement to the public--"I yield to no man...in the principles of white supremacy"--to assert that Carswell has had a "change of heart," that he was just trying to steal his racist opponent's thunder, that he didn't really mean it.

Now Attorney General Mitchell has the gall to say: "All of the available evidence indicates that Judge Carswell is firmly committed to the constitutional and moral philosophy of racial equality."

This new attempt to pack the Court with right-wing racists and labor-hating elements is one more step by Nixon in his attacks on working people. It is not simply that Nixon is trying to curry favor with the South with the so-called "Southern Strategy." Nixon already has favor with the Southern conservatives--George Wallace is accusing Nixon and Agnew of stealing HIS thunder. And so they have.

The nomination of racist Judge Carswell is part and parcel of Nixon's strategic preparations to beat back the offensive of the American working class.

Arrests in Yablonski Case Raise Many Questions

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

The arrest of Aubran Martin, Claude Vealey and Paul Gilly for the murder of Joseph Yablonski and his family raises more questions than it answers. First is, of course, the question of who paid for the killings?

There is already some evidence that the killings might have been paid for by someone connected with UMW district 19, which covers some of the poorest mining areas in the country. This area, with only 3,810 out of 126,487 eligibles voting, went for Boyle in the last election by a ratio of 43 to 1. It is also here that Yablonski charged that an excessive sum of \$3.7 million was borrowed by the District from the national office of the union.

But there is more involved than this. Even if it should be shortly announced that this or that official of the District put up the money, the question then must be asked if Boyle was aware of the transaction? The District is part of Boyle's political machine.

At the same time there is the question of possible complicity of the mine owners themselves, not only in District 19 but in Pennsylvania itself. It is well known that the UMW under Lewis as well as



ARAB GUERRILLA FIGHTERS IN CYR, LEBANON HEADQUARTERS.

israel steps up imperialist war

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

In the wake of bombings on the outskirts of Cairo and the major military operations on the Egyptian island of Shadwan, Israeli Defense Minister Dayan has declared "All of Egypt is the field of battle."

A state of war already exists in the Middle East today. Thus the logic of Israel's imperialist sponsored 1967 war is the launching of this new aggressive war against the Arab peoples.

Israel has launched this new offensive precisely because it finds itself facing the hostility of the

millions of workers and peasants in the Middle East. These masses will not accept Israel's domination of the conquered territories nor its imposing of a Zionist state over the peoples and lands of the Palestinian Arabs.

Thus the guerilla operations of El Fatah and other groups continue, the opposition of Arabs within Israeli-controlled territories continues, the Arab governments, much as they would like to put a stop to the guerilla operations, cannot do so without fear of being overthrown by the masses.

It is this situation which has led the Dayan militarists to get the upper hand in the Israeli government, and to consciously seek to precipitate a new war against the Arab peoples. It is only the absolute bankruptcy and rottenness of the Arab bourgeois governments that allow Dayan to get away unpunished with outrageous acts like the Shadwan occupation and theft of equipment.

Meanwhile, Nasser hopes to influence the very imperialists who stand behind Israel, to keep Israel under toe. Thus he substitutes the "platonic" concern of David Rockefeller and other American oil barons for the independent mobilization of the Arab workers and peasants against Israel and the foreign imperialists who not only stand behind Israel but directly exploit the wealth of the Arab countries for their own profit.

Dayan will soon find out that he has bitten off a little more than he can chew. The more he seeks to bludgeon the Nassers into policing the Arab masses and the guerillas, the more he exposes Nasser to the wrath of the Arab masses and opens up the potential of revolutions which can bring forward forces really capable of beating back the Zionist aggressor.

The hope for Israeli and Arab worker alike lies in the independent struggles of the working class for socialism and against the bourgeoisies in Israel and Arab countries, for a socialist Middle East based on self-determination for all peoples and no determination whatsoever for the oil barons and their governments.

Bulletin

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g.e. strike is solid in philadelphia

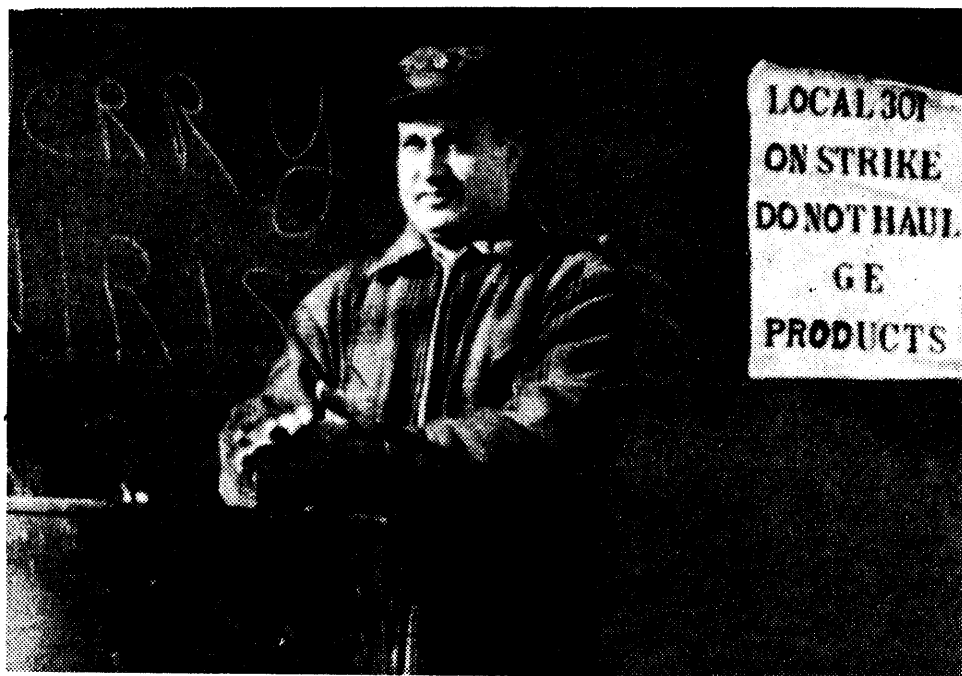
BY JOHN ELLIOTT

PHILADELPHIA--Last week's issue of the Bulletin headlining the call for a one day general strike by all of labor to smash General Electric, was extremely well received here. A total of 33 copies of the issue were sold to striking G.E. workers at a single sale at the union headquarters next to the giant plant. While selling the paper, we observed that the morale of the strikers remained high. Most of the strikers made it clear that they would stay on strike until their contract demands are met.

Some of the workers were angry because they felt that the union leadership was not putting forward a real struggle on their behalf. We asked one striker if more scabs were being employed and he answered that there were only a few scabs at the plant. "A complete sell-out," said one union rank and filer about the union bureaucrat's call for a "fact finding board" to end the strike. This call, initiated by Senator Javits was seen as nothing but a maneuver to take the responsibility fog waging a real struggle out of the hands of the workers.

"The entire labor movement is on trial. If we lose then all of labor loses," said another rank and file striker. All of the gains so dearly bought by past union struggle could be lost if the ruling class achieves a victory over the G.E. workers. The only way for labor to protect its gains and to make more gains is for the G.E. workers to win a victory over the ruling class, to unite in a common struggle, against the common enemy of all workers, the ruling class.

G.E. WORKER WARMS UP ON SCHENECTADY PICKET LINE (RIGHT). STRIKERS LINE UP (BELOW) FOR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS.



Oakland Rally for G.E. Strikers

BY STEVE ZELTZER

SAN FRANCISCO--The first breakthrough in the mobilization of the trade union movement in support of the General Electric strikers is being planned for February 2nd at the Oakland Labor Council Headquarters.

The Labor Council and U.E. bureaucrats were forced to call the rally under the mounting pressure of a militant caucus within Local 1412 of U.E.

More and more of the striking

workers are seeing though, that General Electric is planning to starve them out and that the only way General Electric will meet their just demands is UNITED ACTION of the labor movement.

Only the action of the ranks will really build this rally. The fight for this rally by every trade unionist in the Bay Area must be combined with the fight in every union for resolutions to call a one day general strike of the entire labor movement in support of the GE workers.

1199ers BACK GE STRIKE

BY AN 1199 DELEGATE

NEW YORK-- In Local 1199 (hospital workers) support for the struggle of the G.E. workers has been in evidence since the beginning of the strike 14 weeks ago. A report on the strike has been given in the Delegate Assemblies by John Haynes of the I.U.E. Local 1199 has pledged \$3,000 to the strike, is making further collections among its members, and supports the boycott of G.E.

products. Now the ranks must take this further.

Nixon and the bosses have been forced to make the G.E. strike the test case to set the pattern of coming strike settlements. As Haynes stated in his report, this is a struggle not only against G.E. but also against Washington; there is collusion between Nixon, Labor Secretary Shultz, and G.E. to prevent a fair settlement. Nixon's plan to solve the crisis is mass unemployment and wage cuts. Already thousands of auto and defense plant jobs are being eliminated. A 4 or 5 % wage gain in this period of inflation is a real wage cut.

Faced with this opposition, the leadership of the striking unions has no program for victory. Although the fight is correctly assessed as one of the bosses and the government united against labor, there has been no call for meaningful united labor action to repulse this attack.

1199 members are acutely aware of this struggle as their own contract expires in July. The hospital bosses are preparing for the contract fight with the job freeze, time studies and increased harassment in the hospitals, and a proposed commission with powers to prevent action by the union. Should Nixon and the G.E. bosses succeed, the hospital bosses will be doubly prepared to take on the hospital workers in July.

Only the determination of the ranks of the G.E. workers not to settle for less than their demands has kept the strike strong for 14 weeks. The support from the ranks of other unions in the form of financial aid, demonstrations, and the boycott attest to the vital stake of workers around the country in a victory for the G.E. strikers.

The fight must now be carried forward with a one day general strike by all organized labor in support of the G.E. strikers.

The delegates and ranks of 1199 must fight to pass a resolution in the union for a one day general strike to support G.E. We must demand that the leadership of the union take this fight into the AFL-CIO.

mass layoffs hit auto workers

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

It is now no longer a question of "when" the recession is going to hit the U.S. economy, but of how deep it is going to be and how long it is going to last.

While bank economists, heads of Federal Reserve Banks, U.S. government economic specialists are all throwing this question around in the comfort of their offices--this recession has hit the auto workers with full force. The recent cutback in auto production which began Thanksgiving week has already affected more than 100,000 workers who have either been permanently furloughed or put on short hours. The most recent casualties are the 2,000 workers at the Metuchen Ford Plant which is being shut down for three weeks and the almost 8,000 Dodge and Chrysler workers in Detroit whose plants have been shut down for one week, along with another 4,500 at Chrysler's St. Louis plant.

In addition to those workers getting short hours or temporary layoffs there are more than 10,000 who have been given "indefinite" layoff slips. There is absolutely no guarantee that thousands of Ford and GM workers now on "temporary" layoff will not end up in the same boat with the 6,400 Chrysler employees who have been put on the "indefinite" list. This amounts to 7% of the Chrysler payroll.

The layoffs and production cutbacks reflect a 17% drop in car sales as compared with the same period one year ago. Nixon's war on inflation

has not made a dent in prices which continue to skyrocket, but it is certainly putting the skids under industrial production, personal income and raising the spectre of snowballing mass unemployment. Nixon's war on inflation is more clearly than ever a war on labor and on the General Electric strikers and the auto workers who face the frontal assault of the attack. Nixon's lackey, Secretary of Labor Shultz, leads the way when he explains how unemployment will be used as a club against wages and conditions: "If there are abnormally high wage settlements now," he said, "it's going to be hard to pay these wages when demand slackens and this, in turn, will mean less overtime, more business failure and cutback, and more unemployment in the future. I hope the bargainers will therefore take present government policy into account in both price and wage decisions." In other words the workers are being asked to take wage cuts in order to save their jobs.

FUND DRIVE STRUGGLE STILL AHEAD

Another \$304.50 has been received in the last week toward the Weekly Bulletin Fund Goal of \$12,000. The total now stands at \$10,498.59. In order to allow the maximum possible time, the deadline for the drive has been extended through the end of the first week of February. The Fund Scoreboard total will appear in the February 16 issue.

The real response among G.E.

In the same way, General Motors is trying to use the threat of unemployment to force the striking Flint, Michigan Fisher Body workers to accept a drastic production speed-up. All the auto producers are planning to use the layoffs to rationalize workers out of jobs permanently and to raise production standards in preparation for the production of the new mini-cars in 1970-71.

We say auto workers don't have to take unemployment lying down! There is a mighty power in the UAW which can be mobilized in a fight to RE-OPEN THE CONTRACT NOW AROUND THE DEMAND FOR THE THIRTY HOUR WEEK AT FORTY HOURS PAY. To wait until the upcoming contract negotiations to raise this demand while the auto companies proceed with thousands more layoffs is to fight with one hand tied behind your back. UAW militants can and should take this fight for the thirty hour week into every local.

workers to our program for victory in that strike points the way forward for the Weekly Bulletin as the indispensable weapon for the building of a revolutionary working class leadership in this country. We ask every reader to stand behind the weekly Bulletin in this effort by sending in a contribution, no matter how small, TODAY. Send to Bulletin, 243 East 10th St., New York, N.Y. 10003.

DOCUMENTS FROM THE SOVIET OPPOSITION



We are publishing in this and the following four issues of the Bulletin a series of important documents from the Communist Opposition within the Soviet Union. This material was written by old Bolsheviks or the children of old Bolsheviks. These voices are speaking up against the Soviet bureaucracy's refusal to really break from Stalinism. At the same time these oppositionists speak as communists, as Leninists basing themselves on the new property forms thrown up by the October Revolution. At a time when Progressive Labor still claims Stalin had a "good" side, these victims of Stalin's terror demand the full truth. At a time when the SWP and its international allies no longer use the term "Stalinism" these men defy the secret police to expose the present rulers of the USSR as the continuators of Stalin. The Fourth International will carry forward the struggle in the workers states as well as the capitalist nations!

PIOTR YAKIR & 41 OTHERS

Surviving Children of Murdered Bolsheviks Protest

I.A. YAKHIMOVITCH

A Spectre Is Haunting Europe

PROFESSOR GUERLINE

I Am Ashamed For You Comrades

ALEXIS KOSTERIN

Take Up The Struggle Against Stalinism

PIOTR YAKIR

Funeral Oration At The Grave Of Alexis Kosterin

PIOTR GRIGORENKO

The Debate On Nekritch's Book

A Declaration

Why I Will Not Vote For Kosygin

A Letter To A.L. Rudenko, Prosecutor General

Speech To Crimean Tartars On Alexi Kosterin's Birthday

Long Live The Heroic Czechoslovak People

Appeal To The Citizens Of The Soviet Union



Growing opposition to Stalinism in the Soviet Union



Karl Radek



N. I. Bukharin



A. Shlyapnikov



Yenukidze



N. I. Muralov

Surviving children of murdered Bolsheviks protest

STALINISM was built in the USSR by completely liquidating the Bolshevik Party, by massacring its militants from top to bottom, including the supporters of Stalin. From 1935 to 1938, for example, one million Russian militants were arrested, 600,000 were executed and 400,000 were deported.

Stalin and the bureaucracy had to liquidate almost the whole of the Bolshevik Party, from the Party branches to the Politburo, in order to consolidate its domination and exclude the proletariat from power.

The political revolution in the USSR requires, in particular, the renewal of this link with the past of Bolshevism that Stalinism tried to erase forever. That is why this document written in 1967 and published in 'Samizdat I' ('The Voice of the Communist Opposition in the USSR'), which evaded the Stalinist political police, is so important.

The signatories to this letter, all sons and daughters of the Bolshevik cadres assassinated by Stalin and the bureaucracy, represent by their names and by the contents of the letter a direct link with Bolshevism. Reflected in their names is the diversity and richness of the past.

Bukharin, member of the Politburo, leader of the Right Opposition; Antonov-Ovseyenko, responsible for the political leadership of the Red Army, member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1927; Radek, member of the Central Committee, advisor to the German Communist Party, member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1929; Petrovsky, People's Commissar for home affairs, member of the Central Committee, half-hearted supporter of Stalin at first; Shlyapnikov, member of the Central Committee, leader of the workers' opposition; Muralov, one of the leaders of the Moscow Soviet in October 1917; member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1931; Sapronov, leader of the so-called Democratic Centralism group, member of the Left Opposition in 1923; Piatnitsky, president of the railwaymen's union, member of the Central Committee, supporter of Stalin; Serebriakov, one of the three secretaries of the Central Committee in 1919, member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1928; Yenukidze, secretary of the executive committee of the Soviets, half-hearted supporter of Stalin; Berzin, colonel, commander of the Latvian regiment in 1917; Kalinin, member of the Politburo, president of the executive committee of Soviets, etc.

If the number of signatures isn't greater, it is because entire families, like that of Trotsky were assassinated. By this protest against the rehabilitation of Stalin, carried out today in the official organ of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the descendants of the assassinated Bolsheviks express the refusal of millions of workers and intellectuals to yield before the escalation of the rule of force, an escalation which follows naturally from the rehabilitation of the father of concentration camps and counter-revolutionary terror who the bold thinker, Roger Garaudy, in 1952 still called, 'Papa Stalin'.

Jean Jacques Marie.

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR (CPSU) on behalf of the surviving children of the innocent communist victims of Stalin.

TODAY, in speeches, in the press, on television, the 'merits' of Stalin are praised. This represents a political revision of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU.

This troubles us deeply. And not only because our parents and ourselves were, like millions of others, victims of the criminal machine of Stalin. It saddens us to think that the betrayed masses were forced to consent to this arbitrary despotism.

This must not be repeated. The rebirth of the past brings communist ideas into question, discredits our system and legalizes the assassination of millions of innocent people.

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.

The tragedy of the Chinese events obliges all of us to outline necessary safeguards to prevent a repetition of similar catastrophes. Only revealing totally the crimes of Stalin and his supporters can gener-



G. I. Boki



A. Gastev

ate movement, consciousness and indignation in all of society needed to destroy all the results of the Stalin cult and make the return of new cults and new despotisms impossible.

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.

We must celebrate the 50th anniversary of the great October revolution under the flags of the Party, bearing like a torch the immortal name of Lenin, the greatest democracy, collective control of society, control of society by society itself.

To unfurl these flags is the best homage we can pay to the men crushed by the diabolical cult of the individual.

On some of us today there

is still an unjustified stigma. Others are doomed to oblivion.

History will bring them back into the heart of the Party, into the heart of the people.

The monument to the victims of Stalin's despotism promised by the 22nd Congress of the Party must be erected to mark the existence of the Soviet state for 50 years.

In these days of celebration, those who fought for a world October will be with us.

Their number cannot be counted: from the eminent leaders of the Party to the soldiers in the ranks of the revolution.

There is no place for the name of a despot on the flags of the Party.

We ask you to take notice of all that is written here and to see our letter as part of the struggle for communism. We hope this letter will allow an irreparable error to be avoided.



LENINISM YES! STALINISM NO!

THE following article was written by Ivan A. Yakhimovitch, former chairman of a collective farm in Latvia called 'the Young Guard' and a member of the Communist Party. In 1964 he became well known through the publication of excerpts from his diary in the youth paper 'Komsomolskaya Pravda'.

Early in 1968 he addressed a letter of protest to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union following the trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel which drew attention to discontent among the youth.

'It is stupid to see in them [the rebels and protesters] the enemies of the Soviet power', he wrote, 'and more than stupid to let them rot in prisons and

mock them. For the Party, such a line is equivalent to self-strangulation. Too bad for us if we are not capable of reaching an understanding with these young people. They will create inevitably a new party. Ideas cannot be murdered with bullets, prisons or exile. He who does not understand this is no politician, no Marxist.'

In June 1968 Yakhimovitch was dismissed from his post and condemned to unemployment. He took a stand against the intervention in Czechoslovakia and, in February 1969, he drew up and distributed with Grigorenko a leaflet concerning the suicide of the Czech student Jan Palach.

In March 1969 he was arrested and has not yet been brought to trial.

Letter signed by

PIOTR YAKIR, son of E. A. Yakir.
L. PETROVSKY, son of P. G. Petrovsky and grandson of G. I. Petrovsky.
A. BOKI, daughter of G. I. Boki.
A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO, son of V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko.
G. TROITSKAYA, daughter of Livchitz.
G. AKOULOV, son of I. A. Akoulov.
S. V. STANKOVA (Ossinskaya-Obolevskaya), daughter of communists.
G. POLECHTCHOUK, daughter of N. I. Muralov.
YU JIVLIOUK, son of communists.
V. TERLIN, daughter of M. S. Gorb.
Z. SEREBRIAKOVA, daughter of G. Serebriakova.

The serious crimes of Stalin make all positive judgement of his activity immoral. I am signing precisely this point:

YU AIKHENWALD, son of a communist.

S. FEDOROVA, daughter of G. F. Fedorova.
J. KRIAPIVIANSKY, son of N. G. Kriapiviansky.
V. SCHMIDT, son of V. V. Schmidt.
YU LARIN (Bukharin), son of N. I. Bukharin and grandson of Yuri Larin.
S. K. RADEK, daughter of Karl Radek.
A. VSEVIATSKAYA, daughter of communists.
A. GASTEV, son of A. Gastev.
LARISSA BOGORAZ, daughter of a communist.
I. YAKIR, grand-daughter of I. E. Yakir and daughter of P. I. Yakir.
N. NETCHINGTOHIKOV, son of a communist.
N. N. POPOV, son of N. Popov.
N. N. DEMTCHENKO, son of N. Demtchenko.

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

V. SCHVARTZSTEIN, son of a communist.

I. PIATNITSKY, son of O. A. Piatnitsky.
T. BAEVA, daughter of a communist.
R. IANSON, daughter of a communist.
YU SAPRONOV, son of T. V. Sapronov.
K. ZONBERG, son of a communist.
YU N. VAVILOV, son of the academician Nicolas Vavilov, president of the Vaskhnil.
V. BLUMFELD (Svitchis), son of a communist.
M. IVANOV (Kalinin), grandson of M. I. Kalinin.
I. A. SHLYAPNIKOVA, daughter of the friend of Lenin, A. Shlyapnikov.
V. YENUKIDZE, in the name of eight people of the family of Bolsheviks.
A. and T. YENUKIDZE, crushed by Stalin.
ARIA REINGOLDOVNA DIMZE-BERZIN, daughter of R. I. Berzin.
T. SMILGA-POLOUIAN, daughter of communists.
L. ZAVADSKI, son of a communist.
YU KIM, son of a communist.
S. GUENKIN, son of a communist.

A spectre is haunting Europe: That of catastrophe

By I. A. Yakhimovitch

SINCE THE END of the Great Patriotic War our people has not known such an uncomfortable situation as that into which it was plunged by the events of August 21, 1968.

To occupy an allied socialist country solely because of a supposed counter-revolution, to occupy a country in which the leading role is played by the Communist Party, without its consent, with contempt for its wishes, is something which runs counter to all the moral conceptions of the Soviet people.

They desire peace and know how to appreciate the friendship and confidence of other peoples.

An old illness: fear, a stupor similar to paralysis, has gripped the souls of millions of men like a rebirth of the servile and degrading fear of the bloody night of Stalinism.

All that gang of Stalinists who have not and never had anything to do with Marxism-Leninism, but who, on the contrary, tended towards fascism, and who often used the methods of fascism, these

Stalinists who Khrushchev relegated to the storehouses and corridors of history, considered that the time had come to take their revenge.

How much they resemble those thirsty for revenge in West Germany. They also camouflage themselves behind phoney slogans. They also hope to take revenge!

Can such brutal acts of interference in the affairs of a socialist state strengthen the communist movement? No!

Can they strengthen the authority of the Soviet Union? No! Stalinism has become the principal danger which threatens the unity and solidarity of all countries, the principal danger which threatens peace and progress.

It is undoubted that all Marxist-Leninists must unite their efforts to destroy Stalinism, to destroy this leftist deviation, this revisionism, this non-socialism, before the danger which it represents leads to catastrophe.

Whether the Stalinists are conscious of it or not, they fear their own people more than they fear the imperialists.

It is this fear alone which can explain the continuous brain-washing of large sections of the population, the use of methods of intimidation and blackmail, the rude violation of the Constitution, the extreme bureaucratization of the state, the immense network of spying, of informing, of prisons and concentration camps.

Young Soviet historian questions Stalin's rehabilitation

Review by Tom Kemp

THE STEADY return, under Brehznev and Kosygin, to approval of Stalin, has found expression in many spheres of Soviet life and necessarily in the writing of history.

Medvedev, one of the younger generation of Soviet historians, who thus never had to pay obeisance to the cult, is one of those who has fought courageously against this trend.

The main text of this book, to which the French editor gives the title 'Must Stalin be Rehabilitated?', consists of an article which Medvedev sent to the editorial board of 'Kommunist', the official theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In it he strongly criticizes two articles in this review which had depicted Stalin as a great military leader during the war against Nazi Germany and as 'a fighter for the emancipation of the working class'.

HIS STAND

Medvedev takes his stand on the basis of the speeches and statements made during the 20th, 22nd and 23rd congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regarding Stalin's role.

In the main, then, he repeats what had formerly been officially admitted and does not go beyond that.

It is difficult to know, from the article, which was not published by 'Kommunist' but has been circulated by the communist opposition, whether this was done for tactical reasons or because Medvedev has not yet grasped the full meaning of Stalinism.

All the reliable evidence published since Khrushchev's 'secret speech' bears out his account of Stalin's conduct during the war.

Stalin ignored warnings and signs of the coming Nazi attack. Troops were not deployed to meet it. Whole armies, like that in the South West, were cut off and anni-

'FAUT-IL REHABILITER STALINE?'

By Roy Medvedev

Translated and annotated by Francois Olivier.
Paris. Editions du Seuil.

hilated in the opening stages of the attack.

During the first day or two of the war Stalin hid himself away in his villa, seeing and speaking to no one. His influence on the conduct of operations can be shown, as Medvedev does, to have been harmful and positively disastrous for the Red Army.

A notable example was the winter offensive of January and February 1942 which Stalin proceeded with in the teeth of expert opinion, military and economic.

This resulted in the exhaustion of the troops and the using up of strategic reserves. It left the field clear for a German counter-offensive in the spring.

By glossing over and excusing such mistakes, Medvedev claims, 'Kommunist' is deliberately preparing to undermine the decision of the 20th and 22nd congresses. By opening the way for the 'rehabilitation' of Stalin, it was inspired by 'persons in high places'.

Medvedev replies to the claim that Stalin had been 'a fighter for the emancipation of the working class' by calling attention to the extent of the purges.

He claims that one million Communist Party members were arrested between 1935 and 1941.

Of 139 members and alter-

nates elected to the Central Committee in 1934, 110 were victims of the purges. Most of the national and regional leadership of the Young Communist League also perished.

Over three million people were sent to the camps.

PURGES CONTINUE

After the victory in 1945 the purges continued. The leadership of the Leningrad party, which had carried the burden of the city's defence, was liquidated.

Some 60 per cent of the apparatus of the Comintern was killed on Stalin's orders.

The leaders of many foreign communist parties in exile in Russia were also victims. Many eminent leaders of the Party, the state and the army, since rehabilitated, were among Stalin's victims.

All this, of course, is well known and, since 1956, has been admitted in the Soviet Union. So-called 'de-Stalinization' proved to be an extremely lengthy business.

There were too many 'people in high places'—and still are—who were not anxious to see inquiries into the past.

For some years now they have not only arrested the process, they have been able to put it into reverse.

In a limited way, as yet, Medvedev and many other

supporters of the opposition, are fighting against this trend. They are asking for all the documents and material on the past to be made available for research in order that historians can make an honest reckoning.

PAST DECISIONS

Medvedev fights as a Communist Party member who demands that its own past decisions should be respected.

He continues 'the fight against 'the Stalin cult'. Perhaps he does not yet grasp what Stalin represented.

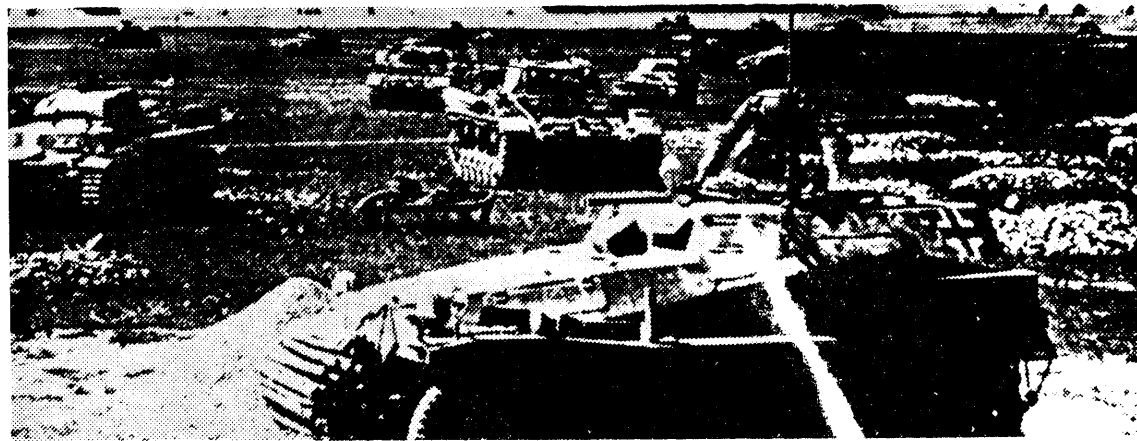
There is no sign in his article that he has penetrated to the social roots of Stalinism in the growth of the bureaucratic canker.

There is no sign that he recognizes that this degeneration was fought every inch of the way by the Left Opposition, who were Stalin's first victims.

Medvedev's call is as symptomatic of the currents stirring in the Soviet Union amongst the young intellectuals and workers as is the Stalinist hardening taking place at the top.

We can be sure that as the archives are opened, if not Medvedev then thousands like him will link their cause to that of the Left Opposition and will set themselves to accomplish that political revolution which Trotsky called for from 1933.

In this sense, his fight is linked to that of the many other statements from the Russian opposition which the Workers' Press is publishing.



Stalin ignored warnings of the Nazi attack and this resulted in German tanks making big inroads into Soviet territory.

asked me why I had been so long without working (since April 1 this year). I was sacked while on holiday (for the letter

written to Suslov and addressed to the Central Committee).

Besides, I have not been

given a registration permit to allow me to join my family.² Everybody knows that without this in the USSR one cannot obtain work even as a porter or be admitted to hospital.

What sort of hypocrisy is it to ask someone unemployed under these conditions: 'Why are you not working?' when it is obvious on whose orders the things just mentioned have been decided!

☆

When a torrent of calumnies floods all our papers, when the fraternal Communist Party of the socialist republic of Czechoslovakia is also slandered, what does a further slander against the former chairman of a collective farm matter?

Those Communist Parties which support the CPSU in its

crude mistakes render it, whether they want to or not, the worst of services: they contribute to deceiving the Soviet people, they weaken our country in practice, because they strengthen the adventurist elements within the leadership of the party and weaken the healthy and progressive elements.

We repeat: Come to your senses!

We repeat: Hands off Czechoslovakia!

We repeat: Free the political prisoners!

We repeat: LENINISM YES! STALINISM NO!

1 Yakhimovitch was indeed arrested in March, 1969.

2 This permit, the *propiska*, is required by anyone settling in a Soviet town and it is illegal not to possess one. Without it a worker cannot hope to get a job.

MOSCOW



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REVISIONISTS STICK TOGETHER AT WISCONSIN UNIV.

BY STEPHEN DIAMOND

MADISON, WIS.-- Radical students here have just formed a "United Front to Support GE Workers" and are planning a mass picket line against GE recruiters in support of the GE strike and against the war in Vietnam. The "united front" signals a temporary turn away from the adventurist policies of the last month toward the more orthodox forms of middle class protest. Besides confirming the prognosis that the student movement, unless subordinated to the working class, will continuously vacillate between adventure and protest, the "united front" demonstrated the total prostration of all of the revisionist groupings on campus before middle class pressures.

One of the components of the "united front" was the Student-Labor Committee, politically dominated by the International Socialists. At a meeting of the Student-Labor Committee, a member of the Workers League proposed that Student-Labor demand the other organizations call for a labor party at the GE demonstration. He argued that any student demonstration not calling for working class action would simply reinforce a campus protest-confrontation orientation. The Workers League perspective was overwhelmingly endorsed.

When the representatives of the various organizations met, the I.S. representatives of Student-Labor completely capitulated to the other organizations and agreed to withdraw the labor party and other transitional demands. At first it seems strange that the members of I.S., who refuse to defend the nationalized property in the USSR because of lack of democracy there, so readily show their scorn for the mandate of the organization they represent. But is the same impressionism which prevents them from properly analyzing the Soviet Union which produces their unprincipled politics on all questions.

At the joint meeting the only thing which these members of I.S. could see was the need to produce an agreement on some sort of "pro-working class" set of demands. To these hopeless pragmatists the organizational needs of an unprincipled coalition come before the objective needs of the working class-- yes, and even before their sacred democratic principles.

A still more insidious role was played by the YSA, which now sees itself more and more as a mediator between the "left" and the Democratic Party. The vulgar form that their pragmatism now takes is illustrated by the one YSA'er who argued that the demonstration must be made palatable to the New Democratic Coalition so that more people will be present for the other groups to leaflet.

The only "pro-working class" perspective is the program of the working class in a battle against capitalism. This requires above all the independent political struggle against all capitalist politicians and the fight for a labor party. The first step in this struggle must be the action of the labor movement in support of the GE workers together in the fight to take the struggle on wages and jobs which the GE workers have taken up and the fight against the war and the threatened anti-labor legislation down to Washington.

BY MELODY FARROW

A new clash of students and workers with the Mexican government is rapidly developing as protests mount over the continued imprisonment of students jailed during the demonstrations of October, 1968. The 80 students in the Lecumberri Prison in Mexico City have staged a 40 day hunger strike to demand that either their cases be brought to trial or they be released on bail. There are 173 political prisoners in the jail, some of whom have been there for over 10 years without any trial.

At universities throughout the country students are organizing protests and are seeking the support of the Mexican labor movement. Last week a large student demonstration was held in Durango.

INCITED

It is now learned that on New Years Day of last year the prison officials incited the criminals in the jail to attack the students. On this day the relatives of the prisoners, mostly women and children, were prevented from leaving the jail and were locked in. At this point the block where the criminals are kept was opened and the political prisoners were attacked with knives and pipes. Bullets were fired across the hall where the women and children were but none were hurt. Fifteen political prisoners are in the hospital as a result of this brutal attack, many with knife and gunshot wounds. Many who were severely beaten have received no medical care.

Immediately following this the political prisoners released a statement which concludes as follows:

"We the political prisoners of Mexico address the workers, the students, peasants and housewives of Mexico and the workers of all the world in denunciation of these criminal procedures.

"We state that it was organized by the government and by the Presidency of the Republic.

"We state that because imprisonment and legal trickery have failed, the government is preparing mass

PROTESTS SHAKE MEXICAN REGIME



MEXICAN STUDENTS PROTEST MURDER OF DOZENS IN '68 OLYMPIC DEMONSTRATIONS (ABOVE) PHOTO AT LEFT SHOWS ARREST OF STUDENTS IN '68 WHO ARE STILL HELD WITHOUT CHARGES



assassination in order to produce intimidation by terror in Mexico."

The so-called "progressive" and "democratic" nature of the Mexican regime is being stripped away as the government goes over to open repression and dictatorship to suppress the growing revolutionary upsurge in Mexico. The morale and courage of the political prisoners remains very high.

The Workers League is in complete solidarity with the political prisoners and calls on all unions and working class organizations to send protests to the Mexican embassy demanding the immediate release of all the political prisoners.

Student Radicals 'Do Their Thing' At M.I.T. Protest

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CAMBRIDGE-- Forcing their way through a door with a specially constructed battering ram, identities concealed behind ski masks and long white iab coats, nearly 70 demonstrators--members and supporters of the school's so-called Rosa Luxemburg chapter of SDS--broke into the M.I.T. President's office shortly after noon on Thursday, January 15, and occupied the Institute's three room executive suite. On Friday they left voluntarily before they could be served with an injunction that permanently prohibits occupation of M.I.T. offices.

The trespassers left, one student demonstrator said, "because there was no further point in holding the building and because we thought it was more important to make plans to increase student support." However, they were unaware that M.I.T. officials were making "preliminary arrangements" to serve the injunction which was granted Friday evening by Middlesex Superior Court. The university statement issued Saturday said "The judge's order is still outstanding and can be used in the case of any future occupation at M.I.T."

M.I.T. President Howard W. Johnson announced that he would seek warrants on all non-M.I.T. students identified during the occupation. The Institute, he said, would charge various demonstrators with trespassing,

breaking and entering, and theft and publication of university files.

OCCUPATION

In another statement issued on Saturday, the demonstrators warned the administration that the occupation was "the first act of a coalition organized to counter M.I.T.'s violent and repressive political commitments."

Before a mass meeting on Sunday students drew up a list of 5 demands including: 1) An end to war-related research at the university; 2) prohibition of G.E. recruiters from campus until the end of the current strike; 3) An end to harassment of campus workers; 4) revocation of past punishments and amnesty for all those involved in the occupation. 5) Abolition of the M.I.T. faculty-student disciplinary committee.

At the end of the meeting a statement of solidarity with the Harvard OBU--The Organization For Black Unity--and their demand for 205 black workers on Harvard construction projects was endorsed.

MUDDLED

The completely muddled nature of this demonstration with battering ram and costumes was brazenly exhibited again at Sunday's (Jan. 18th) meeting of RL demonstrators held behind drawn curtains in the M.I.T. student union building. The problem of whether or not to omit the "pig press" reporters and cameramen

from this "open" meeting was kicked around the floor for almost an hour. "What we don't need at this meeting," sighed one of the demonstrators, "is political ideology." Before it was definitively decided that press people remain outside until a press conference at the meeting's termination, one student urged the others to "go out there and smash those cameras right now!" Discussion ranged from what extent of damage was done to the President's office, to emotional outpourings. "This may sound elitist," one student apologized, "but the Black Panthers have to do their own thing, women's liberation theirs, and right here at M.I.T. we've got ours."

Represented in their sensational, but absolutely ineffectual office occupation; their list of campus-isolated demands, and their meeting's subjective jumbled hodge-podge of opinions, the deficiency of RL is also the essential ingredient for revolutionary strategy: a working class perspective. The predominant radical student-action view point was best summed up by one student who explained that "once we change M.I.T. then we can go out and change the rest of the country." What must be recognized is that capitalism cannot be fought with battering rams, costumes, and student slogans. It's only as revolutionaries--as part of a disciplined Marxist organization that youth can join in preparing for the revolutionary struggles ahead in the 1970's.

SSEU Split Deepens as Morgenstern Seeks Deal

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK-- The January 21st general membership meeting of SSEU-371 saw the beginnings of a split in the Morgenstern leadership and the biggest vote of no confidence in the leadership's policies to date.

The Morgenstern leadership came into this meeting with an offer from the city of New York which meant the abandonment by the union of even the pretense of a fight to preserve jobs and working conditions in return for which the city was to pay a 1970 overwork bonus of \$720. Though the Morgenstern leadership's criminal refusal to prepare the union for strike action over the past 4 weeks enabled it to win a postponement of the strike referendum originally scheduled for Jan. 23rd, it was unable to quash the determination of the ranks to fight.

The real hostility of the ranks to the whole rotten deal broke through in the tremendous vote for a motion put forward by staff organizer Joe Sperling in the concluding minutes of the meeting. The Sperling motion demanded in effect that the Morgenstern leadership go back to the bargaining table and begin negotiating on the reorganization scheme from



SSEU PRESIDENT MORGENSTERN

the standpoint of the preservation of jobs and working conditions.

In spite of the confusion in which the motion was raised and the deliberate attempts by Morgenstern to

obstruct and suppress this motion, it was narrowly defeated by a margin of 151-127.

REORGANIZATION

We say that while it is completely illusory to believe that jobs and working conditions can in any way be preserved within the framework of reorganization, this is going to be made crystal clear to every last member of the SSEU only by pressing home the fight to force Morgenstern to throw these issues onto the bargaining table.

This is why the SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership is campaigning to force the convening of a new membership meeting prior to the new Feb. 6th referendum to reconsider this issue.

The CNL will fight at the meeting for a motion to place the issue of reorganization, job security, and working conditions at the very center of all negotiations from now on in. Concretely this fight for job security and working conditions must be raised on the following demands:

1. Return to 60 caseload, 15 in BCW and equivalent quotas elsewhere.
2. Every penny of the \$720, and provisions for upping the ante if the workload quotas are not met.

3. Full rehiring.
 4. Reopening of promotions and return to the supervision spans of the last contract.
 5. Elimination of "accountability procedures."
 6. Reinstatement of field days.
 7. No abolition of any existing titles, particularly HCI's and DER.
- It is a fight on this program that is now required to completely expose the vicious nature of Goldberg's reorganization, and weld together the entire SSEU membership for a rejection of the Morgenstern offer and a vote for strike action in the upcoming referendum.

vicious speedup plans made at thermo-king

BY A STEELWORKERS 2175 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS-- The possibilities of future speed-up at the Bloomington plant of Thermo-King (Westinghouse) came closer to reality when time-and-motion study men resumed operations at the plant during the first week in January.

These obnoxious people with their clipboards and stop watches have now been active in unit cleanup and the paint shop timing the arm, leg and body motions of workers as they perform their jobs. A set time is assigned to the various arm, leg and body motions used on a given job. Then the exact motions of a job are worked out in the company office, and the times added up. The company then presents workers with the exact time they are expected to do a given job in. The company can then try to enforce this time limit, speeding up the work and boosting productivity. If there is more than one worker doing a given job, the company will use the time of the fastest one as the "normal" speed and attempt to speed the others up accordingly.

SPEED-UP

When the men with the white shirts and stopwatches begin to speed up a worker's job, they are cutting down on his life--Westinghouse couldn't care less about this aspect of time-and-motion study--as long as the profits keep rolling in.

The leadership of Steelworkers Local 2175 has not lifted one finger to stop the time-and-motion study group from operating. "Can you name me one factory that you know of where this isn't allowed?" was the excuse given by one Executive Board member.

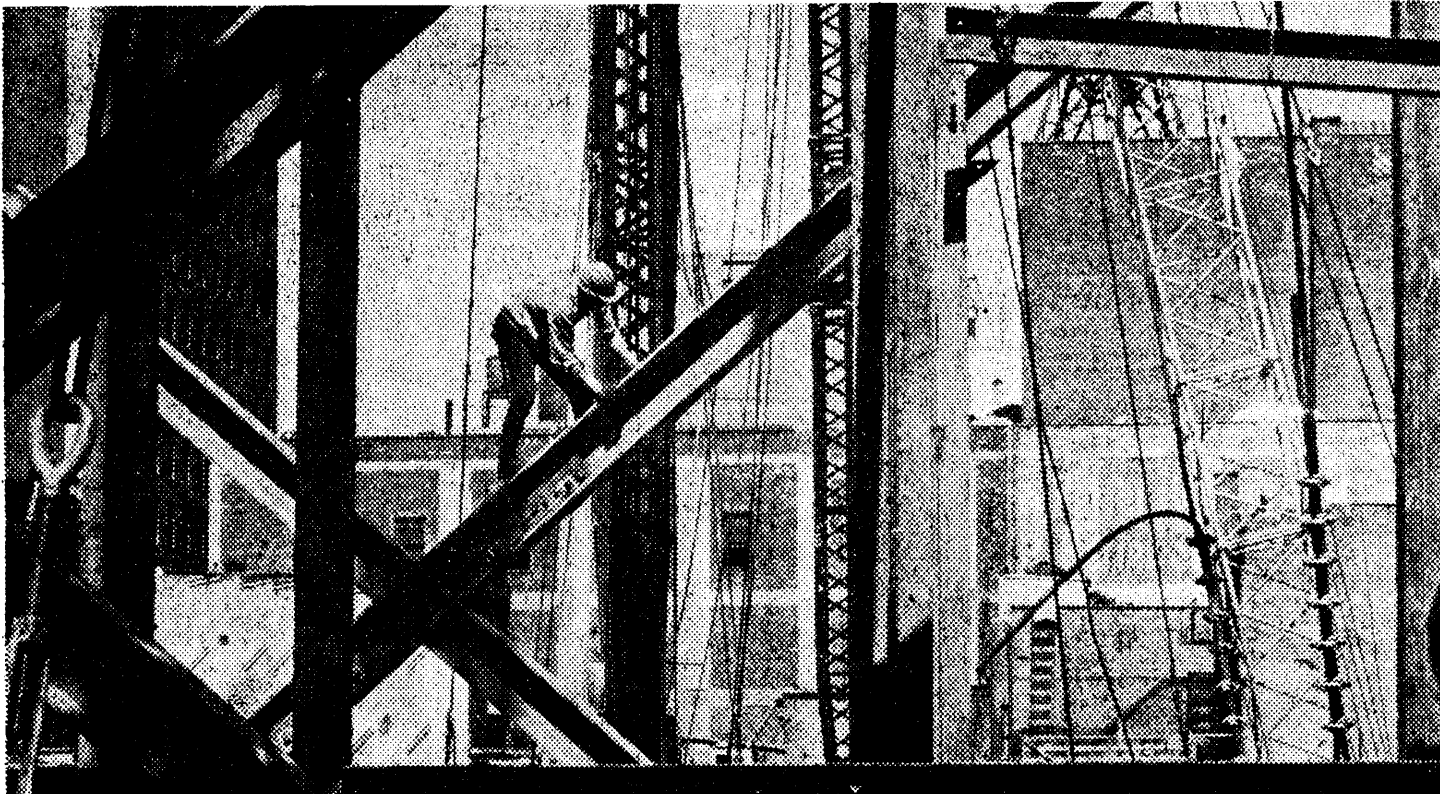
By their inaction on time-and-motion study, the top leadership of Local 2175 is opening the way for setting up a situation in which wage hikes will be tied to rises in productivity. With the rapidly increasing inflation, tying wages to productivity means a cut in the worker's living standards.

PRODUCTIVITY

Productivity at Thermo-King is also planned to be increased through the installation of new machinery, such as the new Warner and Swasey Wiedamatic punch-press in the sheet-metal department. All the dies are inside this machine and requires no hand setup, allowing the operator to cut at a much quicker rate.

Thermo-King workers must insist that their leaders take action to stop time-and-motion study now, and fight for a ban on this sort of activity in their upcoming contract.

MINN. CONSTRUCTION BOSS ATTACKS UNIONS



ALONG WITH 75% CUT IN FEDERAL CONSTRUCTION, BOSSES PLAN NEW ATTACKS ON UNIONS.

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS--Associated General Contractors national President Carl Halvorson has publicly declared for mass unemployment in the building and construction trades. Speak-

ing to the state convention of the Minnesota AGC on January 17, Halvorson said that the industry is "saddled with old laws, old traditions created in the world of unemployment."

Halvorson was attacking the work of the unions in past periods of mass unemployment to seek some security for construction workers. Completely ignoring Nixon's plans for a 75% cut in federally-financed construction, Halvorson claimed that there was virtually full employment if not labor shortages in the industry. This he said, gave the building trades unions "excessive bargaining power" leading to average wage hikes of 15%.

Halvorson added that in the "good old days" of mass unemployment the construction employers had been able to hold the line with nickel and dime wage increases. Halvorson and company want to go back to this--to do this they propose mass unemployment again.

To fight the construction unions, Halvorson outlined a vicious program. He called for the construction employers to set up a strike insurance

fund, like the one Lloyd's of London has already set up with larger contractors. Present plans to halt inflation will not work, he noted, "UNLESS WE PUT A MILLION PEOPLE ON THE STREET."

WARNED

Construction workers have been clearly warned! The deepening economic crisis is now going to deal sharp blows to their living standards. The Meanys, Haggertys, Hutchesons are so completely tied up with capitalism that they are incapable of waging a serious fight against unemployment even in their own industry.

The building of a new leadership in the construction unions now becomes imperative. This is the only way forward. Construction workers will shortly find themselves in an enormous battle just to maintain their present standards of living.

The construction unions must now coordinate their bargaining and center it on the fight against unemployment, through the four day week with five days pay, together with the fight on wages.

Workers League

CALIFORNIA: San Francisco: 1333A Stevenson St. Phone: 626-7019

CONNECTICUT: P.O. Box 162 Shelton, Conn. 06484

ILLINOIS: Chicago: Box 6044, Main P.O. MICHIGAN: Detroit: P.O. Box 1057, Southfield, Mich. 48075

Oakland University: Phone: 377-2000, Ext. 3034

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: P.O. Box 14002 Univ. Sta. Phone: 336-4700

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Columbia: Phone: 866-6384

Cornell: Ed Smith, Rm. 1305, Class of 1917 Hall. Phone: 256-1377

Stony Brook: Phone: 246-5493

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: G.P.O. Box 7714

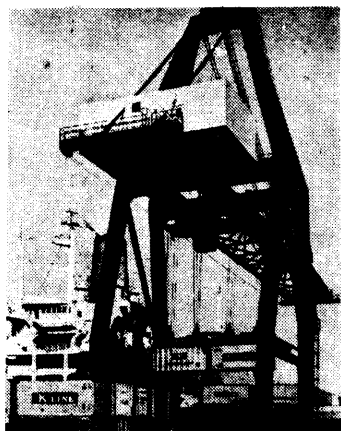
State College: 718 W. College Ave. Phone: 237-0739

CANADA: Toronto: P.O. Box 5758, Postal Station A

Montreal: Phone: 975-5373

WISCONSIN: Madison: Phone: 257-7558

CRISIS IN MARITIME



PART FIVE

BY DAN FRIED

In 1959 International Longshoremen's Association President Thomas (Teddy) Gleason admitted a small part of the bitter truth when he said: "We stand to lose 8,000 to 9,000 jobs in New York alone and a proportional amount in other ports, amounting to 30% of our membership" as a result of containerization. The truth is that Gleason, Scotto and the other leaders of the union chose collaboration with the bosses and politicians in this containerization process rather than a fight against it.

Gleason and Scotto emerged as the new, modern, supposedly uncorrupted ILA leaders following the demise of the old leaders who were charged by the New York State Crime Commission with underworld domination. But the aim of these investigations, expulsion of the ILA from the AFL-CIO and the establishment of the New York-New Jersey Waterfront Commission in 1953, was not aimed at any "housecleaning" in order to benefit the working longshoremen. On the contrary, the fundamental aim of these changes was to end rank and file revolts, to eliminate so-called restrictive practices and drastically reduce the number of working longshoremen on the East Coast through "decasualization" from an estimated 51,000 to 22,000 in 1965.

This is what Joseph Goldberg, writing in the U.S. Dept. of Labor's Monthly Labor Review, Jan. 1968 meant in saying that in the early period "the ILA was in a state of flux and uncertainty, a state hardly conducive to the establishment of a stable labor-management relation geared to the consideration of basic changes in the existing practices. With changed leadership, closer scrutiny by the international officers, the adoption of standards for local union activities, and success in representational elections," the ILA was readmitted to the AFL-CIO in 1959. This was just a way of saying that the longshoremen were being set up for the introduction of containerization, which as we have said, has as its goal the creation of a "small group of highly mobile men prepared to work shifts and keep the docks running 24 hours a day, preferably to be on call during this time," a work force where "there is no obstacle to shifting men from hatch to hatch, from one ship to another, from ship to shore and from job to job."

"STABILIZE"

All the efforts of federal and state governments, the Waterfront Commission, shipping associations, and ILA officials to "stabilize" the work force are aimed at attacking the tradition of rank and file militancy and resistance to outside control which is so strong in the ILA. Since World War II every new contract negotiation has led to a strike.

containerization hits the ila

At first the ILA leaders accepted containerization, agreeing in 1955 to work the first East Coast container operation of Sea-Land's roll-on roll-off ships. They went along with containerization without any concessions at all from the employers until November 1958 when they refused to continue to handle containers and went into a struggle with the employers, not against containerization as such, but on what the terms would be. The shipping bosses led by Sea-Land were now using two gangs on container operations rather than the 5 to 7 for conventional ships and wanted a reduction in the size of the gang. The ILA agreed to work containers and the bosses agreed, as we now know, only for a time, to maintain the size of the gang at 20 men.

Basically the employers had gotten their fundamental demand which would open the way for them to make the enormous changes and cost savings that containerization has brought them. The union leadership in addition agreed to arbitration to determine the terms of a fund which supposedly would compensate the dockers for containerization, the so-called container royalty fund. The arbitration award in 1960 determined the royalty that the employers would have to pay on each ton of cargo loaded or unloaded in containers by non-ILA labor away from the piers.

ARBITRATION

The introduction of containerization and its terms was accomplished in large part on the East Coast by "arbitration" awards which the union leaders could use as an excuse to the ranks that they "had no choice." As in the case of the G.E. strike today, so-called impartial "third party" arbitration or "fact-finding" panels are an instrument for the defeat of the workers and the weakening of the independence of the unions. These panels together with all forms of government intervention have been used against the union only with the agreement of the union leaders themselves.

For all their complaints about the Taft-Hartley Law and the role of government intervention, the ILA leaders and the other union bureaucrats have always cooperated and collaborated with the politicians of both Democratic and Republican parties who brought Taft-Hartley into being and who later were completely incapable of repealing this law. They have refused to take up the organization of the only kind of party that could struggle to smash Taft-Hartley, a labor party.

The avowed aim of the U.S. Labor Department following the 1962 agreement has been to end what it claimed was the union's maintenance of "redundant numbers of gang members" and "restrictive practices." The threat of special legislation providing for compulsory arbitration hung over the 1962 negotiations and such a bill was introduced into Congress following the contract. At the same time the long strike was followed by the setting up, in agreement with the ILA, of a series of "fact finding" and mediation panels empowered to make recommendations based on Labor Department studies, on container operations, "manpower utilization" and the structure of the labor force. The net result was the recommendations by Assistant Secretary of Labor Reynolds on income guarantees, and gang sizes.

These recommendations formed the basis of the April 1965 agreement which established a 1,600 hour yearly wage guarantee and a reduction of the basic gang size from 20 to 17 men.

The union agreed to the elimination of many of the "restrictive practices" which brought the shippers a big step closer to the complete "mobility and flexibility of labor" that they are aiming for. The employers now had a firm agreement on the acceptance of containerization on both coasts. The stage was being prepared for the further attacks on the conditions and gang size of longshoremen which East coast longshoremen face as the prospect for containerization of 75% of all general cargo by 1975 approaches. What the employers had gotten from the union was only the beginning as far as they are concerned.

It is not surprising that there was great difficulty in getting the ILA ranks to go along with this 1964 four year contract. It is not surprising that initially the Port of New York membership turned it down and it was approved only after "explanation of the terms" to the ranks by the ILA bureaucrats. After a wildcat strike the contract was ratified on Jan. 21, 1965. Commenting on the agreement in the government's Monthly Labor Review of Jan. 1968, Philip Ross wrote: "The 1965 contract was an exceptionally good one for the employers and its 4 year term was sufficiently long to enjoy new manpower flexibility..."

In 1969, the 1968 contract was finally ratified only after a long drawn out struggle, following the use of Taft-Hartley for an '80-day cooling-off period' and an 8 week strike which kept the dockers out even though New York had signed an agreement with the New York Shipping Association. But despite this agreement, the ILA refused to allow a ratification vote in New York until the outports had settled. Once again, the government, through the NLRB, stepped in to obtain an injunction forcing a ratification vote in the port of New York. President Gleason blustered, talking tough: "The only thing we can do if forced to it at this time is advise the men to vote against it." This was just so much hot air. Gleason had no intention of giving such advice, as he showed within two days when he bemoaned the fact that the unity of the ILA in all ports would be broken, supposedly yielding to the sentiments of the New York longshoremen: "They'll have to go back--if the men want the contract, there's nothing I can say about it. It was a good offer."

By the union's own official count, the contract was ratified in New York by a vote of only 9,377 to 3,498. Despite a campaign by Gleason and Scotto to "explain the contract," and despite Scotto's attempt to purchase time on New York radio stations to campaign for a "yes" vote on the contract, 35% of the membership did not agree with Gleason that this was a "good contract." The most outspoken dissidents in Brooklyn Local 1814 were bitter over the failure of the leadership to fight for the thirty hour week. More than anything else this reflected the resistance to containerization and the impending wholesale destruction of jobs that containerization posed.

There is a strong indication that the dissatisfaction with the contract was far more widespread among the ranks than the official vote indicated. Following the vote, longshoremen in Manhattan claimed that they "had been sold down the river by their leaders" and that "the vote was rigged." According to one Manhattan ILA member: "It was like school kids playing at election. I

could have voted 4 times. People were milling around, the managers were telling us how to vote and I didn't know half of the people casting ballots."

Scotto's own explanation as to why he and Gleason changed their minds on the threat to recommend a "no" vote on the contract ratification was revealed in the Jan.-Feb., 1969 "Brooklyn Longshoreman," organ of Brooklyn ILA Local 1814.

In an article Scotto said that the reason for the change was a statement by President Nixon which threatened "new legislation" to deal with developments such as the (then) current dock strike, because the Taft-Hartley Act is "outmoded" in its ability to deal effectively with such strikes. That was the gist of the Nixon statement which Scotto used as an excuse not to oppose the



LONGSHOREMAN VOTES ON ILA CONTRACT contract. Scotto's reasoning, to which all his fellow union bureaucrats also subscribe, is thus neatly summed up--when the government threatens repression against the labor movement, the unions have no choice but to dance to the government's tune rather than fight. Scotto and Gleason's ignominious capitulation to Nixon and the shippers over the '68 contract was this very policy carried out in practice.

The bureaucracy's argument for holding back the fight against the employers and the government was also spelled out by Scotto after the contract was signed. Scotto explained that the workers had to sacrifice a little, that they couldn't ask for too much because: "We don't want to kill the companies that employ us--we're hoping to keep them in business and still get our fair share." What we wrote in the Bulletin then in answer to Scotto still holds: "No. The job of a union is to fight for its members...the workers don't need private ownership! If the bosses plead that they are too 'poor', we say take the shipping companies (and the docks) out of the hands of the private profiteers and put the industry under public ownership. This is the only way for the workers to benefit from automation and containerization and not to be its victims."

(CONTINUED NEXT WEEK)

FASCISTS LAUNCH ATTACK ON CHICAGO YSA

BY THE EDITORS

In the last three months an openly fascist group has attacked several left wing organizations and individuals in Chicago and on the campus of the Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, Illinois. This series of provocative attacks is of very grave significance to the entire working class.

On November 1st of last year this group attacked the branch offices of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance in Chicago. This attack involved the use of a blackjack and a Mace-like chemical spray. Money and files were taken. On November 12th a lawyer by the name of S. Thomas Sutton held a press conference in Chicago at which he displayed "liberated" materials which he openly boasted had been taken from the SWP and YSA offices. When asked if this wasn't against the law, Sutton replied, "We find that there is no law that can protect a traitor."

On December 6th a gang attacked the apartment of several YSA members in DeKalb, Illinois. On December 14th, 30 police entered the SWP headquarters saying they had received reports of a gun battle. This was an obvious provocation which had been set up in the hopes that the SWP could be trapped into some kind of clash with the police.

The attacks have been carried out by a group calling itself the Legion of Justice, of which Sutton is the attorney. This group describes itself as composed of those who have served or will serve in the armed forces and calls for the "punishment of treason," the traitors being left wing organizations and those opposed to the imperialist war in Vietnam.

TERROR

The seriousness of these attacks must not be underestimated. They are not simply an isolated incident. Chicago is the location of the infamous Chicago 7 Trial, where Judge Julius Hoffman is gagging all defense witnesses and has already sent Bobby Seale, one of the original 8 defendants, to jail for four years for contempt of court. Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed by Chicago police as they slept in their beds on December 4th, and a coroner's jury has just ruled this justifiable homicide. While Chicago symbolizes the growing repression it is by no means limited to that city. The nationwide attacks on the Black Panthers, now followed by the murder of mine workers' opposition leader Yablonski, show the extent to which terror and violence are already being used against sections of the working class movement in preparation for their use against the entire working class.

The SWP in its reports of the attacks and its public appeals has confined itself to liberal outrage and bourgeois legality. It has initiated a Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks which includes the Young Americans for Freedom. We must warn the members of the SWP and the YSA that they are courting disaster by these policies. The call upon the capitalist government to prosecute the fascists, the demand for the disbaring of attorney Sutton, themselves for their role in the near future as the shock troops of the capitalists when they can no longer tolerate any organization or resistance whatsoever within the working class.

These forces can not be fought by appeals to law and order, bourgeois legality, sanity, and so forth.

One policy which has been confirmed over and over again, and which the call for a grand jury investigation of the fascists, all this has nothing to do with a revolutionary defense policy which begins with a political understanding of these attacks and the need for the working class to fight back against them.

The central lesson of the rise of fascism in the 1930's is precisely that reliance upon the bourgeois go-

not class, way.

Even more revealing is the fact that the YSA, with Halstead's approval, has formed a common defense organization at the DeKalb campus with the Young Americans for Freedom as well as the Young Democrats and Young Republicans. Thus it united not only with the two bourgeois parties but with the openly rightist wing of the bourgeoisie on the campuses--YAF.

fascist tendencies must develop out of rightist groups like YAF. This is the lesson that must be brought home. Instead the YSA blocs with one section of YAF against another. The Legion of Justice is the logic of YAF. It cannot be fought in an alliance with YAF.

At the same time the formulations like "spineless, degenerate", "emasculated appeasers," etc. show the close connection between these open fascists and the Vice President of the United States, Spiro Agnew. It is not that Agnew is a fascist. The point is that Agnew is openly encouraging fascistic trends in the United States. You cannot fight fascism in league with Agnew's party, the Republicans. But the YSA does.

CICERO

The development of the Legion of Justice in the city of Chicago and neighboring Cicero is no accident. For several years now, open fascists have been active in Chicago and Cicero, taking advantage of racial tension among black and white working class youths, seeking to pit the one against the other. Mayor Daley of the Democratic Party has openly encouraged this fascistic tendency through his racist policies, his flag waving over Vietnam, and his cynical use of police power during the Democratic convention.

Fascism is an expression of the capitalist class in crisis. That class is now entering a deep crisis. Even now the fascists are connected in a million ways with other sections of capitalism. You cannot fight fascism in an alliance with the Democratic Party, the party of Mayor Daley. But the YSA does.

This fascistic tendency illustrates once again that fascism will arise, is arising in the United States, through a combination of patriotism with white racism. It will seek to focus the frustrations of unemployed and poor white youths against the Negro and the "communist" instead of against the capitalist system itself.

CLASS

Thus the fight against fascism requires the putting forward of a program to UNITE on a class basis black and white youths in a common struggle for jobs, for socialism. Black nationalism, however, divides youths and aids the white racist fascists in building their movement on this racial division. But the YSA from the very beginning has supported and encouraged black nationalism.

What is needed now is the common action of all working class tendencies together with the labor movement and the minority peoples to fight back against fascist attacks.

We stand ready to collaborate with the SWP and YSA on such a basis. Regardless of what the SWP and YSA do we intend to take up their defense on a working class basis.

CALL TO ACTION
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS - CIRCLE CAMPUS
HEAR S. THOMAS SUTTON
PROMINENT ATTORNEY
AND DIRECTOR - LEGION OF JUSTICE
AND ESCORTED BY THE CICERO
BRIGADE OF THE LEGION
WILL SPEAK ON

HOW ELITE WHITE STUDENTS
CAN ORGANIZE AND TRAIN TO DEFEAT
S.D.S. "SCUM" AND BLACK RACISTS AT
THEIR OWN REVOLUTION--WITH THEIR TACTICS.
WE ARE TIRED OF SPINELESS, DEGENERATE
BASTARDS TURNING OUR CAMPUS OVER TO
INTELLECTUAL VOMIT.

IF YOU ARE TIRED OF ASSOCIATING WITH
EMASCULATED APPEASERS AND WANT TO JOIN A
COMPANY OF MEN - THE TRUE VANGUARD OF THE
FUTURE - THIS MEETING IS FOR YOU !!!

DATE MONDAY - MAY 5TH AT 2:00PM
Room F-4
ENTER AT YOUR OWN RISK YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM
AND
LEGION OF JUSTICE

* (This YAF chapter has been expelled from the national YAF -- P.H.)

LEAFLET PUT OUT BY FASCIST LEGION OF JUSTICE AND Y.A.F.(ABOVE). S.T. SUTTON (BELOW) HEAD OF FASCISTS DISPLAYS MATERIAL STOLEN FROM SWP OFFICES.



vernment to defend the working class from fascist attacks and combinations with bourgeois forces against fascism were precisely the policies which led to the victory of fascism. But these are the policies now carried out by the SWP.

Fascism must be understood in class terms. Fascism is THE policy of the bourgeoisie under conditions of deep capitalist crisis. Thus fascism cannot be fought through blocs with sections of the capitalist class itself, but rather through the independent mobilization of all working class organizations for common defense, combined with the fight of the revolutionary party for socialist policies.

Instead of this Leninist, this Trotskyist policy, SWP spokesman Fred Halstead has issued an "open letter" to "all sections of the movement for social progress in this country." Thus he openly blocs with liberals and poses the question in a liberal,

Appended to the Halstead letter is one of the leaflets issued by the fascists at the University of Illinois. It announces a meeting to hear S. Thomas Sutton on "How elite white students can organize and train to defeat SDS 'scum' and black racists at their own revolution--with their tactics. We are tired of spineless degenerate bastards turning over our campus to intellectual vomit. If you are tired of associating with emasculated appeasers and want to join a company of MEN--the true vanguard of the future--this meeting is for you... Enter at your own risk."

The leaflet is signed by "Young Americans for Freedom and Legion of Justice." An asterisk is placed after the YAF names and a note signed "Fred Halstead" is added: "This YAF chapter has been expelled from the national YAF."

But that is precisely the point. In this period of capitalist crisis

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