

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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reports on
new york and
los angeles
smc conferences

POST OFFICE STRIKE SWEEPS THE NATION



STRIKING POSTAL WORKERS MARCH IN BRONX ON FIRST DAY OF STRIKE

LEADERSHIP SELLS OUT SF GENERAL STRIKE

*Our reply to Daily World's
Slanders of Trotskyism*

**TROTSKYISM, REVISIONISM
AND THE NDP IN CANADA**

**tugboat
strikers
fight on**

leaders bury sf general strike

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO, March 17-- The labor bureaucracy last night betrayed the strike by city workers' Local 400 which had virtually brought San Francisco to a standstill. Labor solidarity behind the 7,500 member Local 400 closed down transportation, schools, hospitals, welfare centers, offices, stores and City Hall. Such a powerful action has not been seen here since the historic San Francisco general strike of 1934.

From Friday until Monday, Local 400 members in the hospitals and municipal departments struck. Picket lines were honored by other unions including the teachers and bus drivers. On Monday morning though no picket lines appeared, no dockers showed up for work. They expected pickets and stayed away from the piers. The cargo had to be diverted to the East Bay.

SOLIDARITY

However, behind this tremendous solidarity of the ranks, the labor bureaucracy in the city was maneuvering in a vicious backroom attempt to sell the strike out. Forced into a battle by the rank and file, the leadership was issuing ultimatums to the city and making militant threats. Behind these threats the labor leadership was preparing their betrayal.

On Monday morning the newspapers and radio began announcing the end of the strike, although there had been no votes taken and the picket lines were being manned. The bureaucracy began pulling out the pickets at the docks and the bus barns. Obviously they had agreed with the mayor to let the buses run before the workers even voted on a settlement. There was a tremendous struggle on the part of the ranks to prevent this. Although they were isolated, many pickets refused to move. At one bus barn the tactical police squad was sent down to disperse the pickets. When they started to move on the pickets the bus drivers who were there defended the pickets and the buses there remained out of service.

The settlement obtained is a complete sellout. Clearly the only thing the leadership was prepared to fight for was the return of the increments. These increments the workers had in the past and the City was preparing to take them away. The leadership even gave up the demand for the 7.5% which they claimed they would get. A settlement was made on the 5% the City had offered. Several sections of city workers will get no raise, setting a dangerous precedent. Absolutely no guarantee was gotten on the right of city workers to collective bargaining.

There was tremendous sentiment among the workers for a No vote. It was clear there had been a betrayal. Faced with a situation in which the workers saw the buses running, knew the dockers were going back and the strike was crumbling, many voted in despair because they knew the bureaucracy was going to break the strike. When the ranks voted for the settlement on Monday night, the leadership had essentially gotten this vote through a form of blackmail, by dissipating the strike, by pulling out the pickets before the vote.

LEADERSHIP

What was expressed during this struggle was the tremendous contradiction between the power, solidarity and determination of the ranks to fight, and the policies of betrayal of the leadership. What is required is the building of a new leadership in the labor movement in San Francisco. The way forward for this was shown by the Rank and File Caucus of Local 400. The Rank and File Caucus fought from the beginning of the strike to warn the workers of the real nature of the attack on city workers through wage cuts, attrition, lay offs and speedup in all city departments. The Caucus campaigned in every section of city labor, among teachers, firemen, welfare workers, to bring out all sections in the strike for their demands and to fight for union recognition. The Rank and File Caucus fought for a massive labor rally at City Hall and warned and fought against the sellout by the leadership.



BULLETIN REPORTER INTERVIEWS STRIKING POSTAL WORKER

POSTAL STRIKERS VOW TO WIN DEMANDS

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, March 18-- A postal strike beginning here this morning among the letter carriers and honored by more than 90% of all postal clerks shows every sign of engulfing the entire country and totally shutting down the U.S. Postal Service. Latest reports are that the New York postal clerks, who already have refused to cross the picket lines, will make the strike official at a meeting to be held tonight at Manhattan's Hotel New Yorker. Late reports also indicate that the strike has hit Fresno, California and other cities on the West coast.

The strike has been brewing for more than a year as postal employees have watched Nixon and Congress continue to stall on their basic demand for a salary scale of an \$8000 minimum with increases up to \$12,000 to be reached after 3 years of consecutive service, retroactive through January 1, 1970. (Now it takes 20 years to reach the maximum.) Up to now postal workers have been offered a ridiculous 5.4%, which will hardly get them very far above the piddling minimum of \$6,000 a year they now earn. In addition, the letter carriers are making another 23 demands which they consider absolutely essential. Top on the list of these demands is the "guaranteed right to strike."

"The way I look at it," said one striking letter carrier interviewed outside Manhattan's Cooper Station, "this is something we have to go all the way with. I'm laying 22 years on the line for a better way of living. I'm a married man with three children. My family has suf-

fered long enough."

"This strike may be 'illegal' said another picket, but the question is, is it immoral. Nothing like this has ever occurred before. It's an historic occasion, that's all. It's like one of the guys up at the GPO said--the President and the Congress can vote themselves 50 and 100% increases and we've been looking for our increase for the last two years and haven't got beans."

The deplorable salaries and conditions are at the heart of the strike. As one worker put it: "In the Post Office we make from about \$6,000 to \$7,500. About 5 months ago in our station more than 30 men had to go on welfare. In the past all workers that had a union that backed them up to the hilt got what they wanted. We have a union, but so far we haven't gotten anything. The only workers that are more depressed than the postal workers are the agricultural workers--the migrant farm workers. We're next."

"As far as our local leaders, they are behind us, but our National Association leaders are not behind us," explained one of the men.

"President Rademacher and the other national leaders are selling us down the river. He said 'We will expell any union members that take part in a wildcat strike.' But if he tries it now, he's out of a job. He's going to have to change his tune, because the workers are solid. But if they jail the leaders we'll stay out until they release them--absolutely. If any action of any kind is taken against any carriers we will stay out until all charges are dropped, and if there's an injunction, we'll still be out."

what the editors think...

WHY THE SWP-YSA LIES ABOUT WORKERS LEAGUE'S ROLE IN SMC

The Socialist Workers Party continues its slander campaign against the Workers League with the article by James Farrelly in the March 2, 1970 Intercontinental Press. We state that the SWP is deliberately and consciously distorting the position and political role of the Workers League in the SMC because to do otherwise would reveal the class collaborationist and unprincipled character of the SWP and YSA's own role in the anti-war movement.

In the February 27th Militant, Harry Ring sought to amalgamate the Workers League with the Stalinist and liberal-dominated opposition to the YSA at the Cleveland Conference. The editorial in the March 2nd Bulletin proved this to be a complete slander and falsehood, as the Workers League fought openly and sharply against Stalinism at the conference

(which the YSA did not do) and completely disassociated itself from every organizational maneuver of this opposition.

Now comes Farrelly's report on the very same Cleveland Conference obviously written after our reply to Ring. Farrelly not only carries forward Ring's amalgam technique but goes further to completely fuse our position with that of the IS group without so much as once referring to what exactly we proposed to the conference, what the IS proposed and how we voted at the conference.

First Farrelly catalogs the various tendencies at the conference, combining the Workers League with such groups as left elements of the Democratic Party, the Yippies and YAWF. Then he states: "The left social democratic IS and the Workers League, an ultraleft affiliate of the Healyite Socialist Labour League in Britain, put forward somewhat similar proposals. They urged the SMC to mobilize anti-war forces, as if it were some sort of labor party, around what IS in their conference proposal called '...a full program of pro-working class demands.'" And

in conclusion: "All these counter-proposals had a common element. They sought to undermine the proposed mass action or change the SMC from an action-oriented anti-war organization to a more general political formation committed to various issues."

The truth of the matter is, as is clear to any reader of the Bulletin or participant at the Cleveland Conference, the Workers League neither proposed that the SMC become a labor party nor adopt a "full program of pro-working class demands." We not only supported mass action against the war, but accused the YSA of retreating from such action under pressure from the liberals and Stalinists and in order to maintain a bloc with the New Mobe and Moratorium committees.

At the conference we neither voted for the IS proposal nor did the IS vote for our proposal. At the conference and in the Bulletin we have made clear our position that the IS, like other groups, was despite all their working class talk, actually attacking the YSA from the RIGHT because they opposed mass action over Vietnam, seeking to bury Vietnam in a host of liberal reformist demands like black libera-

tion, women's liberation and now rent control.

The Workers League proposed at the conference and since then that the labor movement take the lead in the struggle against the war in Vietnam, that a mass labor march on Washington be held, and that this march raise independent class demands linking immediate withdrawal from Vietnam with conditions facing American workers and the need for a labor party. No, we did not propose the SMC act like a labor party. Yes, we did insist that the SMC call for a labor party and thus break its collaboration with the liberals.

Farrelly is forced to lie and slander and distort the position of the Workers League because to state it correctly would reveal that the position of the YSA and SWP is to use the question of a single issue peace movement as a cover for constructing a popular front formation with the Stalinists and the liberal capitalist parties and their spokesmen.

The Workers League plans to do everything in its power to build the demonstrations proposed for April 13-18th on a class basis and to take this struggle not only among students but into the labor movement.

Workers League Supporter Beaten By Patriot And Panther Thugs

BY MARK ROSENZWEIG

STONYBROOK, N.Y., March 15-- After participation in a Workers League intervention at a local Black Panther defense rally, a comrade sympathetic to the Workers League was threatened and physically attacked by two members of the Rainbow Coalition.

The two attackers, one a Young Patriot, a member of the white section of the Rainbow Coalition, and the other a supporter of the Black Panther Party, in their assault exposed the real basis of unity between the various sections of their coalition-- hostility to the unity of the working class and those who fight for it.

Within the radical movement as a whole the increased prevalence of such physical attacks represents the political crisis of middle class radicalism, whose hostility to the working class grows with the growing panic of the whole bourgeoisie. At every point the Panthers and their co-thinkers try to deny the primacy of the class struggle.

The representative of the Panthers at the aforementioned rally told the audience that the real struggle was a racial one and that the Panthers were fighting for the liberation of the black colony from the mother country of white America. As far as he was concerned the white workers were part of the "mother country" and therefore the enemy of black people. But if he was really concerned with racial oppression he would see that only the united struggle of black and white workers can destroy the material basis of racism and fight against the racist poison of the Nixon Administration. It is their very fragmentation which fosters racism and serves the interests only of the ruling class.

The racial division of labor within the Rainbow Coalition, to which the Panthers belong, exposes the inherent danger of a movement based on "the people." Each section of the Coalition necessarily fights for a completely reformist program. One fights for it among the white people, one among Puerto Rican people, the other among black people. But it is impossible for them to pose a real struggle against the repressive measures of American capitalism, against racism and against the imperialist war in Vietnam because such a struggle presupposes class unity and a class fight. The politics of such a movement culminate in attacks on the working class and on working class political parties, rather than in the fight against the real enemy, the capitalist class.

THUGGERY

The assault on the comrade here at Stonybrook is indicative of the kind of thuggery which the Rainbow Coalition substitutes for principled political struggle. It is in part symptomatic of the demoralization of the elements on which the Coalition bases itself. However, such violence perpetrated by supposed "revolutionaries" reveals deep-seated anti working class tendencies.

The Nixon Administration has launched vicious attacks on black and anti-war militants and is using openly racist demagoguery in its strategy to divide and attack the working class. The tendencies of the Rainbow Coalition aid and abet these attacks with their violence against working class tendencies. We call on the members of this coalition to repudiate these actions and we call on all working class tendencies at Stonybrook to unite against this thuggery.

Behind the Dynamite-- Middle Class Frenzy

BY PAT CONNOLLY

Last week a dynamite explosion blew apart an expensive townhouse in Greenwich Village, in New York City. At least three bodies were buried in the rubble, and witnesses reported seeing two young women running from the exploding building. The girls, later identified as members of Weatherman SDS, disappeared, and one of the corpses was identified as Ted Gold, a leader of the 1968 Columbia University revolt, and a member of Weatherman. Two other bodies were decapitated by the explosion and could not be identified.

Police discovered 57 more sticks of dynamite in the rubble that had not gone off, and have theorized that the townhouse (owned by the father of one of the girls) was a "New Left Bomb Factory" and that the dynamite was intended for spring bombing raids and had been mishandled, causing the explosion.

We do not discount the possibility that the police themselves may have had a hand in the bombings, as they had in the case earlier this year, when one of four "New Left" bomb suspects was a police informer and provocateur.

It is notable that the so-called bomb factory was in one of the most expensive sections of the city, and that all those thought to be involved so far come from the middle and upper class and are completely divorced from the working class and from the working class movement.

Soon after the townhouse exploded, there were bombings at Socony Mobil, IBM, and General Telephone and Electronics midtown offices, by the "Revolutionary Force 9" who sent letters to the UPI press service as well as to their targets.



11TH STREET: BOMBED OUT TOWNHOUSE

"This way of life is a way of death. To know the torments America inflicts on the third world, but not to sympathize and identify is to deny our humanity. It is to deny our right to love--and not to love is to die."

LIBERAL

This letter expresses a completely liberal point of view--to identify, sympathize and love. It is no different than the announcement by the Yippies in Chicago that they were "choosing life over death." It is complete idealism because there is no understanding whatsoever of how society can be changed. These people are so removed from the working class, the only class that can change society, that they are driven into a frenzy.

Terrorism and bombing are the frustrated acts of the middle class that can only do harm to the struggle to reach the working class on a revolutionary program of struggle against capitalism, at a time when they are under attack by unemployment, anti-strike legislation, inflation and racism.

Individual terrorism and bombing of large corporations or banks will not make a revolution. It stems from a completely individualistic and idealistic approach to changing society. Unable to see the power of the working class and its ability when mobilized around a revolutionary program to smash capitalism, the middle class in its frenzy turns to anarchy and terrorism.

PARTY

As we pointed out at the time of the Kennedy and King assassinations, these acts of violence reflect the violence of the class struggle which is erupting in capitalism and the class battles to come. The bombings express a reaction in fact to the violence of the capitalist class. This class seeks to maintain its rule, its oppression of the working class through the violent suppression of militants and all acts of opposition to its system. From the war in Vietnam against the workers and peasants, to the murder of the Panthers in Chicago, this is the way in which capitalism rules, particularly in periods of crisis and class struggle. Only through the building of a disciplined Marxist party of the working class can capitalism be defeated.

NY TUG MEN REJECT SELL-OUT DEAL



STRIKING TUGBOATMEN OF LOCAL 333 BEFORE MEETING AT WHICH THEY VOTED TO REJECT CONTRACT OFFER.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, March 15--Thousands of members of the United Marine Division, Local 333 of the NMU, voted 2 to 1 in a tumultuous meeting to continue their strike against New York harbor tug and barge companies. This vote decisively turned down the companies' offer of a 32% wage increase spread over three years, along with minor improvements in pensions, at the expense of a cutback in the time each man would be allowed to work, and the continued use of non-union southern and foreign boats and crews.

One worker told this reporter at the meeting: "They want to take

the increase and spread it over a long period of time. We want the increase right now--this year." In relation to the cuts in hours, one Local 333 member said: "We used to have sixteen hours work and now they want to take back four. We want 16 hours pay for 12 hours work." The opinion of the settlement was summed up as "a garbage contract."

What was clear above all was the mistrust the men have for Captain O'Hare and the other Local 333 bureaucrats, who have called only infrequent membership meetings and who have obeyed a thirteen year old permanent injunction against picketing by refusing to set up a single

picket anywhere in the port. O'Hare and his crew have also undermined the strike by allowing garbage scows to be worked by the members during the strike.

The ranks rejected the "best offer we could get" strategy of the bureaucrats. Now they must go forward with a fight for the original demands: for 100% wage hikes, for all men; no more non-union tugs in New York harbor, and no crew cuts!

The ranks must fight against the attempts of the leadership to isolate the strike. They must demand that picket lines be put up and that the leadership call on the ILA and NMU to support the strike.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK--The regional conference of SMC, held at Hunter College on March 14th, was an exercise in unprincipled maneuvering and futility. It succeeded, after lengthy deliberations, in defeating all proposals put before it.

The confusion of the proceedings was in direct ratio to the seriousness of the situation. As the Pathet Lao drive ahead, shaking the capitalist system to its very core, the various factions of middle class radicalism are thrown into crisis, confusion and hostility toward the independent struggle of the working class. Only the Workers League fought at the conference for the American working class taking the lead in the Vietnam struggle and thus joining in common struggle with its Vietnamese and Laotian brothers and sisters.

From the very opening of the session, the conference was dominated by Stalinist attempts to divert the struggle against the war into liberal channels and diffuse it among a number of liberal reform demands. A division of labor took place between different Stalinist factions, with the YSA adapting to one only in order to organizationally fight the other.

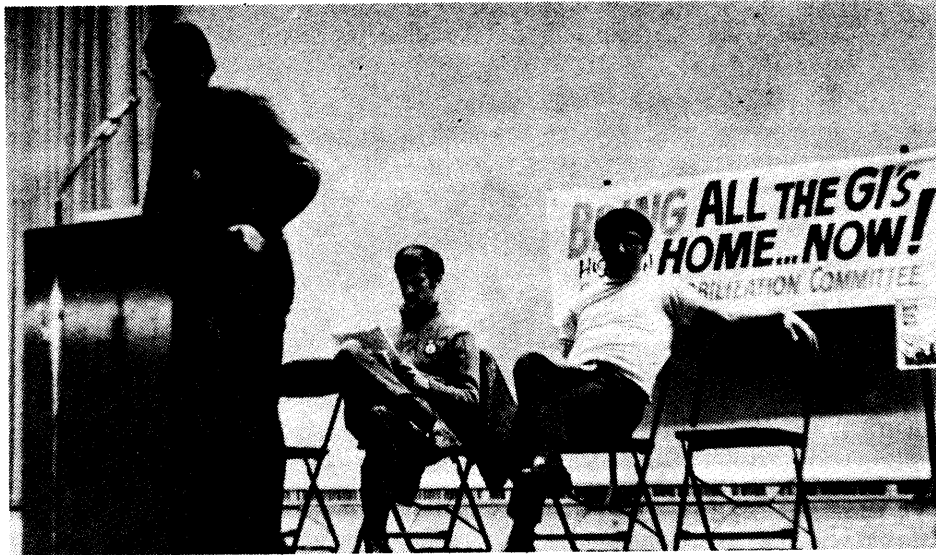
First the Young Workers Liberation League, fraternal youth group of the Communist Party, proposed a series of four demands on the question of racism for the SMC to take up. It distributed at the conference vicious material accusing the YSA of racism for not taking up these demands. The YSA leadership of SMC simply moved to incorporate these demands into the main motion in order to avoid an open fight with the CP oriented Stalinists. From that point on the logic of the common position of the YWLL and the YSA that the peace movement should contain the liberal section of the capi-

nyc smc--ysa blocs with ywll

talist class forced these two forces into a common bloc.

PL

The opposition was led by the PL-dominated SDS which proposed that liberals be barred from the platform of future peace demonstrations. This perfectly correct proposal was combined with demands for no ne-



RON WOLIN OF 5TH AVENUE PEACE PARADE COMMITTEE GIVES REPORT TO SMC

gotiations and with a whole series of liberal reform demands including major emphasis on the demand that rent control be kept, a minimal demand also supported by most Democratic Party politicians. In other words the proposal to bar liberals was combined with liberal politics. Liberals no, but liberalism, yes, was the position of PL. Like the Communist Party, it also sought to dissolve the class fight against the

war into a mass of multi-issue reformism.

Even the "anti-imperialist" negotiations demand was exposed as a fraud by the adept opportunist maneuvering of the YSA. The YSA accepted this demand on the grounds that since the U.S. had no right to be in Vietnam, it has no right to negotiate. By so formulating it,

the YSA avoided the question of Stalinism, for obviously the danger in negotiations lies in the fact that rather than the workers and peasants of Vietnam being represented in the negotiations, a Stalinist party was present, a party committed to compromise with capitalism.

UNPRINCIPLED

When it came to a vote all but the Workers League displayed their

completely unprincipled character. The YWLL and the YSA voted together out of fear of a break with liberal politicians, not, as they made abundantly clear, out of any fear of the specific reform proposals of the PL-SDS. SDS Labor and the Spartacists voted with PL-SDS, that is, blocked with the "left" Stalinists against the YSA. As a result of this maneuver all proposals put forward were defeated. Clearly the PL-SDS forces could not care less, as they are not seriously interested in building a struggle against the Vietnam war. The YWLL also could not care less as they are seeking to build their Vietnam demonstrations through the liberals in New Mobe and especially the Moratorium Committee.

What was absolutely clear from this conference is that Stalinism has been forced by the deepening crisis and class struggle into an offensive against Trotskyism, so that a popular front type movement can cut off the independent political development of the working class. The YSA and SWP, because they have broken with the Transitional Program and pragmatically and opportunistically adapt to surface movements in the middle class, not only cannot fight this Stalinist offensive but openly collaborate with it.

First in Boston and now in New York we find the YSA and the YWLL forced to stand together in defense of--LIBERALS. Thus they leave unexposed the PL and RYM types who practice reformism with radical "anti-imperialist" demagoguery.

The only road forward is the fight for the trade union movement to take the leadership of the fight against the war and to struggle in its own interests, breaking from the two parties in the only way this is possible, by taking up the struggle for a labor party.

los angeles smc rejects class line

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES, March 7-- The Southern California regional SMC meeting took place today at California State here, with about 70 persons present, including at least 25 from the Cal. State campus. Considering the size of the region and the vast amount of anti-war sentiment in the area the turnout was exceedingly small. A similar conference held last October before the Moratorium drew about the same number with far better representation than this time.

Groups having members attending besides the Workers League, were WSA-SDS, IS, the L.A. Moratorium Committee, and the YSA. The YSA with some 15 members present completely dominated the conference, though the YSA members never spoke as representatives of the YSA.

The conference started with a report on the Cleveland SMC conference, claiming that "there was an

overwhelming consensus to build mass action around the central demand of immediate withdrawal from Vietnam."

Pete Seidman of the YSA announced that the Los Angeles Peace Action Council (an "adult" anti-war coalition group dominated by Stalinists and pacifists) had called a demonstration for April 15th. He proposed that the SMC support and build this demonstration around immediate withdrawal and supplemental demands for women's liberation, black liberation, chicano liberation, and ending the draft. Four other resolutions were presented in the form of amendments to the SMC-YSA resolution. The Moratorium Committee representative proposed that the SMC make the tax issue the major focus of the April 15th demonstration. The WSA-SDS representative, who did not identify himself as such, proposed substituting the slogan "No draft for an imperialist war" in place of "End the Draft." The IS representative proposed the addition of several "pro-working class" demands to the SMC-YSA resolution.

WL

The representative of the Workers League introduced the following resolutions, in opposition to the SMC-YSA resolution, in the name of the Workers League:

That the SMC have as its central objective for the April 15th anti-war demonstrations the mobilization of the labor movement around the following working class demands:

1. Immediate, unconditional with-

drawal of all US forces from Vietnam.

2. Build a labor party--break with the capitalist parties.

3. Fight unemployment by fighting for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

4. Fight inflation with an escalator clause in every contract.

5. Fight racism by demanding jobs for all.

That the SMC call for the week of April 13-18th to be used to build massive labor marches on Washington and San Francisco.

That the SMC oppose Democrat and Republican Party spokesmen and all other agents of the ruling class being allowed to speak at Los Angeles area anti-war rallies.

In the few minutes allowed to motivate these resolutions, the Workers League representative pointed out that the working class is the only force capable of stopping imperialist war and that to understand how to defeat the imperialists one had first to understand that Vietnam was the most critical point in the international class struggle today.

RANGE

The response of the YSA to the Workers League proposals showed the anti working class and completely empirical view of the international class struggle held by the YSA. Pete Seidman argued that the SMC should fight for a range of speakers that represented all points of view in the movement; and then proceeded to say that since 99% of the people who vote for Democrat and Republican candidates, the SMC should support the right of Democrats and Republican officials to speak. Just a few

weeks ago at a meeting of the L.A. Liberation Union, Dorothy Healy of the Communist Party used a similar argument for supporting Democrat and Republican candidates in elections.

Arguments against the orientation proposal of the Workers League, all made by YSA members, were that a working class orientation was tactically wrong, that there is no move towards a labor party now, and that in any case students should not raise working class demands. The representative of the Workers League was not given time to refute these absurdities.

None of the "pro-working class" members of IS and WSA-SDS voted for the working class perspective put forward by the Workers League. The Workers League will continue its fight here for a working class program and the mobilization of labor on the April 15th march.

Bulletin

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30 YEARS AFTER



LESSONS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

THE FATE of the Spanish working class, after Franco's coup of the morning of July 17, 1936, lay in the hands of the leaderships of its main political parties: the Socialists, the Stalinists, the anarchists and the centrists of the POUM (Party of Workers' Marxist Unity). The failure of any one of these parties to measure up to the challenge of the general's coup by mobilizing the workers for power cannot be explained simply by the tremendous pressure of the crisis that exploded into Civil War.

After all, revolutionary parties exist and prepare themselves for these very situations. It is a strange revolutionary who explains his failures by claiming that his policies were upset by the arrival of a revolutionary crisis. And yet that is the very fate that overtook the left wing of the Spanish workers' movement, that is to say, the anarchists of the FAI (Iberian Anarchists' Federation) and POUM.

As far as the social democrats and the Stalinists were concerned, their struggle against the revolution was conscious. It did not flow from a series of errors or tactical false turns made by a party honestly struggling to give revolutionary leadership but finding itself unequipped for the task. We can say that of many of the anarchists and POUM leaders, who were dedicated and heroic men,

genuine martyrs to the proletarian cause.

It is necessary to reject emphatically the myth, perpetuated not only by the Stalinists, but all manner of liberals ranging from the gullible and stupid to the mendacious, that the Spanish Communists and the Soviet government were the only forces fighting all out for Franco's defeat. In the next article, which will deal with the political developments of the Civil War itself, we shall prove this to be a lie.

In this section, we shall show how the situation came about that on the eve of the Civil War, the Spanish Stalinists stood on the extreme right of the workers' movement, and were held in even greater contempt by the mass of the working class than were some of the leaders of the Left Republican parties (Luis Companys of the Catalan Esquerra) or of the Socialist Party, such as Largo Caballero.

But the first question we have to answer is, how did the anarchists become the dominant tendency within the Spanish working class?

First struggles

To a certain extent, this can be explained by the economic conditions which precipitated the first workers' and peasants' struggles against the ruling oligarchy.

Even before the growth of the labour movement in the towns,

the Spanish peasantry and rural labourers had a long record of struggle against their oppressive living and working conditions. As we have already pointed out, the bourgeoisie was totally unable to make the least inroad into the central problem of land reform.

Consequently, unlike France and Germany, the vast mass of the rural population remained in a constant state of ferment which repeatedly broke out into open, and often very violent, revolts against the rule of the landlords and church.

What characterized all these peasant insurrections (and this is what becomes important for an understanding of anarchism in backward countries such as Spain) was their total lack of co-ordination, of leadership, and most important of all, their inability to grasp the political nature of the struggle for agrarian reform.

After each revolt had spent itself in a series of blind assaults upon the landlords' property and the institutions of the state, the defeated rural masses would lapse back into a sullen, but still smouldering, discontent.

The first seeds of anarchism were sown in this highly fertile soil. With its total rejection of political action and discipline, its denial of leadership as the extension into their own ranks of the very tyranny that anarchists fought, its hostility to organization as being itself the source of corruption, anarchism merged very easily with all the backward features of the Spanish rural masses (as it had done slightly earlier in Italy).

It was against this background

A series of articles BY ROBERT BLACK

that the early battle between Spanish anarchism and Marxism was fought.

In fact, the Spanish section of the First International was established not by Marx and Engels at all, but by Giuseppe Fanelli, a close collaborator of Bakunin, leader of the anarchist faction in the International.

that is any state, whether it be a republic, a monarchy or anything else—alive. Hence, complete abstention from all politics. To commit a political act, especially to take part in an election, would be a betrayal of principle. . . All this sounds extremely radical and is so simple that it can be learned by heart in five minutes, that is why the Bakuninist theory has speedily found favour also in Italy and Spain among young lawyers, doctors and other doctrinaires. . . To preach to the workers that they should in all circumstances abstain from politics is to drive them into the arms of the priests or the bourgeois republicans. . . (Letter to Cuno, 1872.)

Engels here anticipates the role of anarchism as it unfolded in the early phase of the Civil War. If we substitute Stalinists for priests (which today, of course, is not such a prodigious leap) we have exactly the combination of events that Engels warned against in the fight against Bakunin.

But Lafargue's successors were not equal to their task. In fighting against the anti-politicism of the anarchists, they drifted over into opportunism, turning participation in elections into a fetish.

Faced with the choice between a reformist Socialist Party and the revolutionary fervour of the anarchists, who said many correct things about the rigged elections, the facade of the Cortes (the Spanish parliament) and, indeed, the opportunism of the Socialist Party, the mass of the workers and rural labourers opted for the libertarian movement.

Prevented by their very philosophy from developing a struggle for power (power, by its very nature, the anarchists said, corrupted; the worker should have none of it) the Bakuninists began in their frustration to turn towards acts of individual terror.

Endorsed by their international conferences of 1878 and 1879, they began a series of terrorist acts, particularly in Barcelona, that threatened to undermine the whole workers' movement.

Naturally enough, the police were delighted at this new turn in anarchist tactics and took the opportunity to flood the movement with *agents provocateurs*. But an even more sinister side to the anarchist philosophy of individual terror was the emergence of the 'pistoleros'; criminals in the pay both of the anarchists and the employers, who, if the fee were right, would work as hired gunmen for either side.

The anarchist philosophy of blind acts of violence now linked up with the lumpenproletariat of the Barcelona underworld.

Despite the high social ideals professed by the leaders of anarchism, their reactionary methods drove them to rely more on elements totally hostile to the working class. That is the relent-

logic of the 'denial of the state'—as the anarchist somer-
nights of 1936 were to underline
more dramatically.

Syndicalism and the Comintern

The anarchist movement was
only saved from total disaster by
the growth of trade unionism
amongst the working class, a de-
velopment which gave anarchism
some stable basis outside the
rootless intellectuals and bandits
worshipped by Bakunin.

The reformists had already
established their trade union, the
UGT, under Pablo Iglesias,
though, like their Socialist Party,
had a following only among
the upper crust of the most
highly skilled workers.

The anarchists were even split
on the question as to whether to
work inside trade unions. Some
argued that they would become
instruments of reform and cor-
ruption and should therefore be
boycotted along with elections.

Disregarding these sectarians
the workers and agricultural
labourers proceeded independ-
ently of the anarchists to build
their first trade unions. Rather
than be left isolated from this
new upsurge, a section of the
anarchist leadership now tailed
long behind them.

A new trend emerged inside
the libertarian movement which
rapidly sunk deep roots into the
vicinities—'anarcho-syndicalism.'

By 1911, anarchist resistance
to a national trade union net-
work had been overcome, and
the CNT was founded as the
trade union wing of the liber-
arian movement.

It rapidly outdistanced the
reformist UGT in popularity
amongst the working masses and
led many big class actions in the
period up to 1917. Its great test
came with the Russian Revolu-
tion and the subsequent founda-
tion of the Communist Intern-
ational at the beginning of 1919.

Already within the ranks of
the social democrats there was a
split. In 1919, the membership of
the Spanish Socialist Party voted
10,000-5,000 to adhere to the new
international, while the more
heavily bureaucratized UGT de-
clared itself for the reformist
trade union International based
at Amsterdam.

All eyes were now on the
CNT. Would it respond to the

similar backsliding in the Socialist
Party ranks.

Under pressure from the
majority of its leadership, the
Socialist Party reversed its
original vote and now rejected
the famous '21 points' and with
them, membership of the Com-
munist International. The left
wing split and formed the Span-
ish Communist Party in April
1921.

Within a year, the CNT leader-
ship had tail-ended this retreat
of the reformists by also voting to
remain outside the new Inter-
national, affiliating instead with
the Anarcho-Syndicalist Inter-
national that had just been estab-
lished in Berlin under the leader-
ship of Rudolf Rocker.

The CNT leadership, except
for the Communist group around
Andreas Nin and Joaquin Maurin
(both later to become POUM
leaders), bear a heavy responsi-
bility for the subsequent defeats
suffered by the Spanish working
class.

Their principles of autonomy,
which they upheld on a regional
as well as national scale, clashed
with the over-riding necessity to
subordinate national tasks to the
construction of a world revolu-
tionary leadership for the work-
ing class.

It became obvious after 1921
that their adoption of the 'com-
munist' label was little more than
a tactic forced upon the CNT
leadership under the pressure of
mass rank-and-file support for
communism.

After the ebbing of the revolu-
tionary wave, they were able to
make a turn back towards their
old insular methods. Affiliation
to the ghost of Bakunin in Berlin
was little more than a platonic
gesture towards the newly-
aroused internationalism of the
Spanish workers.

This opportunist turn was a
tremendous blow against the
Spanish working masses. It
walled them off, as did the de-
cision of the smaller UGT and
Socialist Party, from the theoret-
ical heritage that only the Com-
munist International in its Lenin-
ist period was able to bring to
bear on the problems of revolu-
tionary tactics and strategy.

And it would be wrong to
argue that the CNT, by rejecting
membership of the Communist
International, escaped the clutches
of Stalinism after 1924. In fact,

the most timid of reforms could
be expected of such a party.

It was no surprise that in 1936,
its Catalan section fused with the
equally reformist Stalinists there
to form the counter-revolutionary
bloc known as the PSUC (United
Socialist Party of Catalonia).

Those two tiny groups, spurned
by the Catalan workers and rural
poor, could only hope to fight
against the revolution by pooling
their meagre membership and re-
sources.

After July 1936, this new for-
mation, under the double patron-
age of the Stalinist bureaucracy
and the 'Republican' bourgeoisie,
was to become the spearhead of
the counter-revolution against
the vanguard of the Spanish re-
volution—the Catalan proletariat.

'Third Period' to 'Popular Front'

The Spanish Communist Party
evolved out of the unification
of the two pro-Third Inter-
national tendencies that split
from the Socialist Party and the
CNT.

But throughout the 1920s and
the early 1930s it had little or no
impact upon the Spanish working
class.

From the very beginning, it
was plagued by splits and in-
ternal squabbles, driving the
most class-conscious workers
back into the ranks of the
Anarcho-Syndicalists.

Like all other sections of the
Communist International, the
Spanish Party succumbed to the
virus of Stalinism, and after yet
more splits, followed whatever
policy was dictated from Mos-
cow.

The isolation of the Party in-
creased even more during the
ultra-left phase of the 'Third
Period' from 1928 to 1933.

The fall of the monarchy
could have provided a genuine
communist party with a very
fruitful period of work after
1931.

Not for the Stalinists, however.
Piatnitsky, one of the Comin-
tern leaders, later admitted that
the Spanish Party in many towns
followed incorrect tactics. When
the masses streamed into the
streets to celebrate the proclama-
tion of the republic, the Com-
munist Party together with the
Monarchists cried 'Down with
the republic', so isolating them-
selves from the masses.

But at the time, the only
criticism levelled by the Comin-
tern at the leaders of Spanish
Stalinism was that they 'had not
fought and are not fighting with
sufficient determination counter-
revolutionary Trotskyism . . .'

This was soon to be remedied
with a vengeance.

The ultra-leftism of the party
up to 1933 naturally caused it to
direct a great deal of verbal
abuse against the leaders of the
reformists, and in view of the
subsequent opportunist turn to-
wards unity with these same
men, it is revealing to check back
over the 'social fascist' diatribes
aimed against the founders of the
Spanish republic.

In February 1932, we find
references to the 'anti-national
butcher government of Caballero
and Azana' in the journal of the
Communist International.

In the November of the same
year, the same journal described
in some detail how 'on the in-
structions of the Azaña-Cab-
allero government, the civil guard
is shooting down proletarians and
peasants in the towns and vil-
lages of Spain'.

Less than four years later, the
leaders of Spanish Stalinism were
crawling on all fours before these
same two 'anti-national butchers'
for the privilege of accepting
cabinet posts in the 'Popular
Front' government after July
1936.

Even as late as the November
elections, which placed in power
the extreme right of the Republi-
can leaders, the Stalinists were
still trotting out the same ultra-
left rubbish which had paved the
way for the crushing of the
German proletariat:

'The social fascist leaders, in
particular Caballero and com-
pany, have kept the working
masses from coming over to our
party by left demagogu.'

This of course was an absurd
contention: the Stalinists owed
their isolation from the masses
throughout this period precisely
to the vice that they claimed
characterized the work of the
'social fascist' (two years later of
course 'comrade') Caballero.

The big turn towards the erst-
while 'social fascists' came with
consolidation of the Hitler
regime in Germany, and Stalin's



Right up until the coup, Azana (seen above right with
left by the Stalinists, attempted to appease the fascists
result of the Stalinists'

final realization that the Nazi
Party was no mere puppet of the
Army generals (who had tradi-
tionally followed a policy of
military co-operation with the
Red Army) but a movement out
to fight communism on an inter-
national scale.

The Soviet bureaucracy, after
a year's hesitation in which the
old line of 'social fascism' alter-
nated almost at random with
appeals for unity, swung hard
over to the right.

The French CP under Thorez
was the pioneer in this new turn,
passing over rapidly from a call
for unity within the ranks of the
workers' organizations (which
was of course the demand in-
sisted on by Trotsky throughout
the whole of the German crisis)
to approaches to the 'left' of the
bourgeoisie itself.

In this new 'Popular Front'
against fascism, the capitalist
class was to be invited to join
the battle against the very move-
ment which it had placed in
power in both Italy and Ger-
many.

Already in an uncritical bloc
with the leaders of social democ-
racy (something Lenin and Tro-
tsky would never have sanctioned
—see the early Comintern resolu-
tions on the limits of the
United Front) by October 1934
the French Party had invited the
leaders of the Radical Party to
join in common action in defence
of the Constitution.

Naturally, the most class-con-
scious leaders of the French
bourgeoisie jumped at the offer.
In doing so, they were able to
limit the workers' parties to
purely reformist activity and de-
mands, for in forming the 'Popu-
lar Front', the Stalinists under-
took not to introduce policies of
their own that would disrupt the
unity of the Front.

The 'People's Front' was there-
fore nothing less than the en-
forced unity of the working class
with the representatives of its
more 'enlightened' exploiters—in
the name of a largely mythical
struggle against the fascist men-
ace.

This too was rapidly converted
from a fight against such French
fascist groups as there were into
a campaign against Germany, to
which of course the anti-German
sections of the French ruling
class, full of fine phrases about
the 'defence of the republic',
rallied with genuine fervour.

It was this Stalinist, counter-
revolutionary strategy which
smothered the great sit-in strike
movement of June 1936, which
after considerable difficulty was
taken in hand and wound up by
the Stalinists in order to placate
their new allies in the bour-
geoisie.

The new line was officially
launched at the 7th (and last)
Congress of the Communist In-
ternational in the summer of
1935, but even before then, the
turn was producing some rather

amusing situations.

As late as November 1933 the
Stalinists were denouncing
Caballero as a social fascist, as a
butcher of the Spanish people.
But by April 1935, things had
changed.

The May Day manifesto of the
Comintern now issued a call 'for
the liberation of Largo Caballero
and all anti-fascists'!

From social fascist anti-national
butcher to anti-fascist in less
than two years!

But Caballero's elevation was
of course conditional on his loyal
collaboration with the Stalinists,
and great complications were
later to arise on this point.

The 7th Congress was decisive
in mapping out the political line
that Spanish Stalinism was to
follow during the whole course
of the Civil War.

Under the chairmanship of
Dimitrov, built up by the Stalin-
ist, social-democratic and liberal
press as a new-style, 'democratic'
and pro-western head of the
International, the liquidation of
Lenin's International was given
its final blessing:

'We launch our appeal to the
great masses who do not want
war: Let us unite our forces. Let
us fight together for peace. Let
us organize the united front of
all who want to defend and pre-
serve peace.'

This line pointed directly to-
wards the defence of the capital-
ist state in the name of 'defence
of peace' (always the catchword
of the chauvinist inside the work-
ers' movement).

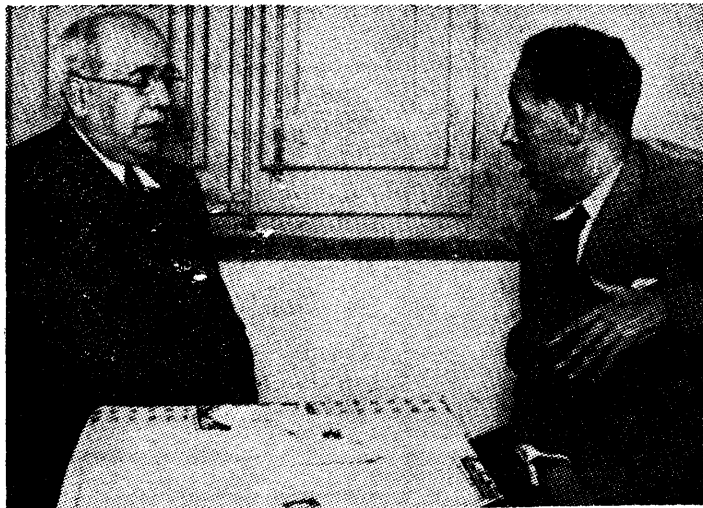
After the signing of the mili-
tary pact between Stalin and the
French government, Stalin issued
a statement in which he made it
clear that he 'understood and
supported unreservedly the policy
of national defence followed by
France so as to maintain her
armed forces on the level neces-
sary to maintain security'.

At once, the already very
feeble Stalinist agitation for self-
determination in the French
colonies ceased. From then on,
the call was for a policy of
'assimilation'.

Early in April 1935, the Presi-
dent and Secretary of the Soviet
Young Communist League came
to Paris to speak to a meeting of
Socialist Party youth, who, in-
fluenced by the activity of the
small Trotskyist group, were re-
belling against the chauvinist line
being forced on them by their
leaders' bloc with the Stalinists:

'If Hitlerite fascism wages war
against the USSR it will be a war
of fascism against communism
[when it did come, it was instead
dubbed the 'Great Patriotic War'
for democracy]. Your duty, com-
rades, is at the front. If in this
period you make your revolution
in France you are traitors.'

Here Stalinism spelt out its
total hostility to a revolutionary
defence of the Soviet Union.
Revolution in France would be
treason.



On the eve of the Civil War the Spanish Stalinists stood
on the extreme right of the workers who held them more
in contempt than even some left Republican leaders like
Luis Companys of the Catalan Esquerra, seen above
right with president of the republic Azana.

All made by the Communist In-
ternational to all revolutionary
trade unions to affiliate, or would
follow the example of its re-
formist rival and wall itself off
from the building of a world
revolutionary leadership that had
begun at the Moscow Congress
of 1919?

At first, it seemed as if the
peer pressure of the rank and
file, who to a man solidarized
themselves with the 1917 Revolu-
tion, would prove too great to
resist.

At its December 1919 Con-
gress, the CNT officially em-
braced yet another new version
of the old anarchist doctrine:
'anarcho-communism.'

The CNT leadership proved
once again its ability to adapt to
a wave of radicalization, but
what was involved now was
something deeper than a mere
change of name.

In 1920, a group of leaders
visited the Soviet Union to dis-
cuss entry into the Communist
International, and an official
delegation attended the Third
Congress in 1921. But now the
retreat began paralleled by a

non-membership of the Stalinist
International in 1937-1939 saved
the CNT as little from Stalinist
corrosion as it did those leaders
of the Socialist Party who opted
for the Second International in
1921.

But this is a question to which
we shall return in the next sec-
tion of the article.

There is little that need be
said about the right-wing social-
ists after 1921.

During the Primo de Rivera
régime, the UGT leader Francisco
Largo Caballero, with the agree-
ment of his party, served as a
Councillor of State under the
Military Directory, even while
the dictator was arresting the
CNT leaders and outlawing its
activities.

(In 1927, the anarchists formed
the FAI, the Iberian Anarchist
Federation, as a body distinct
from the underground CNT.)

When the fall of the régime
came, and with it, the 1931 re-
public, the Socialist Party had
proved itself an obedient tool of
the Spanish bourgeoisie, and was
at once brought into the first
Republican cabinet. Nothing but



is Interior Minister Miguel Maura), protected from the y offering to discipline the working class. This was a direct 'Popular Front' alliance.

Far better, thought Stalin, a bloc with the French military (heroes of so many campaigns in Indo-China and North Africa) and the bourgeoisie.

It was this line about a nationalist, pro-'democratic' bourgeoisie that became official policy for all parties of the Third International after August 1935.

If, in countries like Spain, there was no substantial democratic bourgeoisie, they either had to invent them, or, much as the Mensheviks did before 1917, do their job for them. Here then is the key to the role of Spanish Stalinism in the Spanish Revolution and Civil War.

The Kremlin had turned its diplomatic face towards an alliance with the Western imperialist powers against the threat of the reviving Nazi imperialist Germany.

Fearful of the consequences of a revolutionary upheaval in Western Europe (such as that which threatened in France after 1934), the bureaucracy sought to contain this powerful mass movement by tying the workers' parties to liberal or radical trends within the ruling class.

In this way, Stalin hoped to convince the rulers of Britain, France, etc., that more was to be gained in terms of class peace through an alliance with the Kremlin than through a turn to Nazi Germany for anti-Soviet crusade in the east.

In demoralizing the workers' movement in this way, Stalinism undoubtedly performed its part of the bargain.

In doing so, however, it also undermined the international and military position of the Soviet Union, for its defence outside the USSR rested not with the working class, who had been instructed not to take power or weaken the military capacity of the imperialist war machine, but with the ruling classes of the imperialist states, all of whom lived only for the day when the socialist property relations of the Soviet Union could be destroyed by military intervention and capitalism once more restored.

It suited these hardened anti-communist campaigners well to dress up in democratic clothing in order to conceal their real long-term plans.

Stalin's job was that of a political tailor, a task he performed with consummate skill.

Stalinism to the Coup

The Spanish Stalinists were, as we have already noted, a far weaker force numerically than their French counterparts. Progress towards the Spanish version of the 'Popular Front' was therefore correspondingly slower.

But on January 15, 1936, a joint programme was signed by the Republican parties, the Social Democrats, the Stalinists and—to their eternal shame—by Juan

Andrade on behalf of the POUM.

Viewed against the enormous crisis that was already welling up within Spain, the programme endorsed by the Stalinists was not merely timid or ultra-reformist.

It set the Communist Party, in alliance with all the bourgeois forces that still adhered to the Republican camp, completely against all the aspirations of the masses aroused by the prospect of a victory for the Left forces.

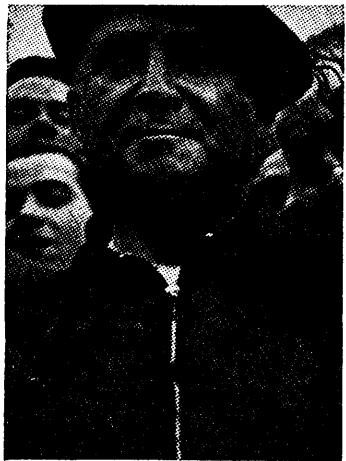
It placed the Communist Party definitively in the camp of counter-revolution.

It became the caretaker of capitalism within the Republican territory.

The main points from the 'programme' adhered to by the Stalinists indicate the real role of the 'Communist' International in the Spanish Revolution:

'The Republicans do not accept the principle of nationalization of land and its distribution gratis to the peasants.'

In the sphere of industry and finance, the programme declared that it would oppose 'the measures for nationalization of the banks [or their] control by the working man [as] sought by the representatives of the Socialist Party' (already the Left faction in the Socialist party led by Largo Caballero was deemed to be too revolutionary for the Republican-Stalinist bloc).



The contortions by the international Stalinist movement from the late 1920s until the coup elevated men like Socialist Party leader Largo Caballero from a shunned 'social fascist' to an embraced anti-fascist. This elevation was dependent on his loyal collaboration with the Stalinists.

The general line of Popular Front policy was seen as leading towards a 'Republic not directed by social or economic motives of class but by a plan for democratic freedom and public interest and social progress'.

If we ignore the references to 'democracy', this programme was identical in all essentials to that put forward by the 'radicals' with the Falange.

It certainly offered nothing to the worker or peasant that would mobilize him for the fight against the threatened counter-revolution.

In fact, just the opposite result was intended.

The leaders of the FAI were also bending to this immense opportunist pressure on the working class, mobilized mainly through the right-wing reformists and the Stalinists.

As late as November 1933, the anarchist leaders called upon the workers to boycott the general elections of that month:

'Workers! Do not vote! The vote is a negation of your personality.'

'As far as we are concerned, they are all the same; all politicians are our enemies whether they be Republicans, Monarchists, Communists, or Socialists. . . . We need neither a state nor a government. . . .'

'Our interests lie solely in our working conditions and to defend them we require no parliament. No one should vote. . . . Destroy the ballots! Destroy the ballot boxes! Crack the heads of the ballot supervisors as well as those of the candidates!'

But by late 1935, all this 'left' ranting had completely evaporated (indeed, at its core, this sloganeering is nothing better than the most mundane form of non-political trade union reformism: 'Our interests lie solely in our working conditions. . . .')

Faced with the *fait accompli* of the pact between all the other pro-Republican parties, the anarchists called upon their supporters, not to crack the heads of Left candidates, but . . . to vote for them!

As a cover for this clearly unprecedented departure from all previous libertarian practice, the FAI announced that this step had been taken 'in harmony with the revolutionary fever that Spain was sweating through her pores'.

Within nine months of this historic reversal of anarchist policy, the ballot burners had turned into bourgeois cabinet ministers.

As Trotsky pointed out time and again of the anarchists, they spend their entire lives denouncing the state, until it finally seizes them by the throat and harnesses them to the work of counter-revolution.

But to return to the Stalinists. After the Popular Front election victory of February 1936, the fascists and the military leaders intensified their preparations for counter-revolution.

Yet the Stalinists now snuggled up even closer to the government leaders, who either connived at or ignored these conspiracies.

Azaña, the new President of the Republic, was courted from the 'left' by the Stalinists and the right by the fascists.

Calvo Sotelo, a recent monarchist adherent to the Falange, praised a speech by Azaña attacking strikes and land seizures by the peasantry:

'It was the expression of a true conservative. His declaration of respect for the law and the constitution should make a good impression on public opinion.'

This was on April 3, barely two months before the coup. Yet still the Stalinists clung to their alliance with Azaña's Republican Party.

Any references to an attempted coup by the army in the left-wing press were hotly denied by the Popular Front government.

Republican officer, Martinez Barrio, exposed the plottings of the Generals in a well-documented pamphlet, proving that Azaña had full knowledge of it when on March 18 he gave the Army a clean bill of health against repeated charges of conspiracy.

Right up to the day of the coup on the morning of July 17, Azaña, protected on his left (as were the radical French bourgeoisie) by his pact with the Stalinists and the social democrats, attempted to appease the fascists by offering to discipline the working class on their behalf.

In 1932, the Stalinists had been only too eager (wrongly of course) to denounce Azaña as a fascist. Now, when his activities

lent at least a little substance to this false theory, they remained silent.

Yet even that is not quite correct. On July 18, that is a full day after the military rising in North Africa, the Stalinists, jointly with their reformist allies, issued the following scandalous statement:

'The moment is a difficult one, but by no means desperate. The government is certain that it has sufficient resources to overcome the criminal attempt. . . .'

(This was the same government that even while the fascist columns were heading for Madrid on the morning of the 18th, still refused to arm the workers for the defence of the republic. They feared the workers more than the fascists.)

'In the eventuality that the resources of the government be not sufficient, the republic has the solemn promise of the Popular Front, which gathers under its discipline the whole Spanish proletariat, resolved serenely and dispassionately to intervene in the struggle as quickly as its intervention is to be called for. . . . The government commands, and the Popular Front obeys.'

This treacherous statement of the Stalinists provided the political basis of their entire strategy throughout the Civil War. It most assuredly guaranteed victory, not to the Republic, but to Franco.

In fact, this document was nothing less than a blueprint for counter-revolution, supplementing the bloody work of the fascists in the territory already conquered by Franco and Mola.

First of all, the Stalinists expressed the foolish (to be charitable) hope that Azaña's government were equal to the task of defeating the coup.

If that were the case, then no mobilization of the workers would be called for. It could be met simply by calling upon the loyal sections of the army and police to deal with the mutiny.

But the Stalinists knew that this was not the case, they knew that the vast bulk of the upper sections of the armed forces were directly involved in the coup, taking in tow a large body of the rank and file.

That is point number one. If possible, everything was to be left to the forces of law and order.

Point number two is the promise by the Stalinists to save the government in the event of it being unequal to the task of beating off the revolt.

No Marxist would of course be neutral in the struggle between such a government and a fascist coup (though this was the position of the Stalinists in Germany up to the victory of the Nazis), though he would fight at all times to maintain and develop the independence of the working class in the struggle against fascism, so that it would not serve as cannon fodder for a gang of liberal and radical politicians.

In the fight against fascism, which is the most extreme form of capitalist counter-revolution, the leadership of the movement must be torn away from the bourgeois democrats, and the struggle carried beyond the fight for the defence of democratic rights and workers' organizations through to the conquest of power.

But here, in this Stalinist document, we have a pledge that the Popular Front (which, the Stalinists are quick to point out, commands the allegiance of the working class) will not dominate, but be led by the government.

To underline the point, the Stalinists insist that it will act 'serenely and dispassionately', in other words, will not press on the government the demands of the workers but work only for

the defence of the capitalist republic.

This is underlined by the final, and grovelling remark that 'the government commands and the Popular Front [i.e. the working class] obeys'.

But the government—and the Stalinists—were due for the shock of their lives.

The working class and peasantry were far from ready to await the call of a government that sought to make peace with the fascists while their own comrades were being slaughtered by the thousand in the areas taken by



Calvo Sotelo, a monarchist and Falange supporter (later shot by the Republicans) praised the new president of the republic for attacking strikes and seizing peasants' land. This was just two months before the coup when the Stalinists were still clinging to their alliance with Azana.

the Army.

As a counter-blow to the rising of the generals, the treachery of the government and the political chloroform of the Stalinists, the workers rose with a revolutionary fervour unparalleled in the history of the workers' movement in Western Europe.

Fighting almost unarmed, they blocked the fascist revolt in almost every main industrial centre of Spain before the generals were able to mobilize their forces as they had been able to, practically unhindered, in North Africa.

The very development the government—and the Stalinists—most feared had taken place.

The working class, temporarily free of the stifling grip of the 'People's Front', moved as an independent force, not on behalf of the democratic politicians, but in a struggle for state power.

But that struggle could only be sustained beyond the first elemental clashes through the leadership of a revolutionary party.

Like the liberals, the Stalinists survived that first assault only because in Spain there was no such party.

As we shall prove in the next section of this article, neither the POUM nor the anarchists were a match for the counter-revolutionary bloc of Republicans and Stalinists.

Their victory was the defeat of the Republic and the triumph of Franco.

Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain

By Felix Morrow \$2.50

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Right up until the coup, Azana (seen above right with his Interior Minister Miguel Maura), protected from the left by the Stalinists, attempted to appease the fascists by offering to discipline the working class. This was a direct result of the Stalinists' 'Popular Front' alliance.

final realization that the Nazi Party was no mere puppet of the Army generals (who had traditionally followed a policy of military co-operation with the Red Army) but a movement out to fight communism on an international scale.

The Soviet bureaucracy, after a year's hesitation in which the old line of 'social fascism' alternated almost at random with appeals for unity, swung hard over to the right.

The French CP under Thorez was the pioneer in this new turn, passing over rapidly from a call for unity within the ranks of the workers' organizations (which was of course the demand insisted on by Trotsky throughout the whole of the German crisis) to approaches to the 'left' of the bourgeoisie itself.

In this new 'Popular Front' against fascism, the capitalist class was to be invited to join the battle against the very movement which it had placed in power in both Italy and Germany.

Already in an uncritical bloc with the leaders of social democracy (something Lenin and Trotsky would never have sanctioned—see the early Comintern resolutions on the limits of the United Front) by October 1934 the French Party had invited the leaders of the Radical Party to join in common action in defence of the Constitution.

Naturally, the most class-conscious leaders of the French bourgeoisie jumped at the offer. In doing so, they were able to limit the workers' parties to purely reformist activity and demands, for in forming the 'Popular Front', the Stalinists undertook not to introduce policies of their own that would disrupt the unity of the Front.

The 'People's Front' was therefore nothing less than the enforced unity of the working class with the representatives of its more 'enlightened' exploiters—in the name of a largely mythical struggle against the fascist menace.

This too was rapidly converted from a fight against such French fascist groups as there were into a campaign against Germany, to which of course the anti-German sections of the French ruling class, full of fine phrases about the 'defence of the republic', rallied with genuine fervour.

It was this Stalinist, counter-revolutionary strategy which smothered the great sit-in strike movement of June 1936, which after considerable difficulty was taken in hand and wound up by the Stalinists in order to placate their new allies in the bourgeoisie.

The new line was officially launched at the 7th (and last) Congress of the Communist International in the summer of 1935, but even before then, the turn was producing some rather

amusing situations.

As late as November 1933 the Stalinists were denouncing Caballero as a social fascist, as a butcher of the Spanish people. But by April 1935, things had changed.

The May Day manifesto of the Comintern now issued a call 'for the liberation of Largo Caballero and all anti-fascists'!

From social fascist anti-national butcher to anti-fascist in less than two years!

But Caballero's elevation was of course conditional on his loyal collaboration with the Stalinists, and great complications were later to arise on this point.

The 7th Congress was decisive in mapping out the political line that Spanish Stalinism was to follow during the whole course of the Civil War.

Under the chairmanship of Dimitrov, built up by the Stalinist, social-democratic and liberal press as a new-style, 'democratic' and pro-western head of the International, the liquidation of Lenin's International was given its final blessing:

'We launch our appeal to the great masses who do not want war: Let us unite our forces. Let us fight together for peace. Let us organize the united front of all who want to defend and preserve peace.'

This line pointed directly towards the defence of the capitalist state in the name of 'defence of peace' (always the catchword of the chauvinist inside the workers' movement).

After the signing of the military pact between Stalin and the French government, Stalin issued a statement in which he made it clear that he 'understood and supported unreservedly the policy of national defence followed by France so as to maintain her armed forces on the level necessary to maintain security'.

At once, the already very feeble Stalinist agitation for self-determination in the French colonies ceased. From then on, the call was for a policy of 'assimilation'.

Early in April 1935, the President and Secretary of the Soviet Young Communist League came to Paris to speak to a meeting of Socialist Party youth, who, influenced by the activity of the small Trotskyist group, were rebelling against the chauvinist line being forced on them by their leaders' bloc with the Stalinists:

'If Hitlerite fascism wages war against the USSR it will be a war of fascism against communism [when it did come, it was instead dubbed the 'Great Patriotic War' for democracy]. Your duty, comrades, is at the front. If in this period you make your revolution in France you are traitors.'

Here Stalinism spelt out its total hostility to a revolutionary defence of the Soviet Union. Revolution in France would be treason.

Far better, thought Stalin, a bloc with the French military (heroes of so many campaigns in Indo-China and North Africa) and the bourgeoisie.

It was this line about a nationalist, pro-'democratic' bourgeoisie that became official policy for all parties of the Third International after August 1935.

If, in countries like Spain, there was no substantial democratic bourgeoisie, they either had to invent them, or, much as the Mensheviks did before 1917, do their job for them. Here then is the key to the role of Spanish Stalinism in the Spanish Revolution and Civil War.

The Kremlin had turned its diplomatic face towards an alliance with the Western imperialist powers against the threat of the reviving Nazi imperialist Germany.

Fearful of the consequences of a revolutionary upheaval in Western Europe (such as that which threatened in France after 1934), the bureaucracy sought to contain this powerful mass movement by tying the workers' parties to liberal or radical trends within the ruling class.

In this way, Stalin hoped to convince the rulers of Britain, France, etc., that more was to be gained in terms of class peace through an alliance with the Kremlin than through a turn to Nazi Germany for anti-Soviet crusade in the east.

In demoralizing the workers' movement in this way, Stalinism undoubtedly performed its part of the bargain.

In doing so, however, it also undermined the international and military position of the Soviet Union, for its defence outside the USSR rested not with the working class, who had been instructed not to take power or weaken the military capacity of the imperialist war machine, but with the ruling classes of the imperialist states, all of whom lived only for the day when the socialist property relations of the Soviet Union could be destroyed by military intervention and capitalism once more restored.

It suited these hardened anti-communist campaigners well to dress up in democratic clothing in order to conceal their real long-term plans.

Stalin's job was that of a political tailor, a task he performed with consummate skill.

Stalinism to the Coup

The Spanish Stalinists were, as we have already noted, a far weaker force numerically than their French counterparts. Progress towards the Spanish version of the 'Popular Front' was therefore correspondingly slower.

But on January 15, 1936, a joint programme was signed by the Republican parties, the Social Democrats, the Stalinists and—to their eternal shame—by Juan

Andrade on behalf of the POUM.

Viewed against the enormous crisis that was already welling up within Spain, the programme endorsed by the Stalinists was not merely timid or ultra-reformist.

It set the Communist Party, in alliance with all the bourgeois forces that still adhered to the Republican camp, completely against all the aspirations of the masses aroused by the prospect of a victory for the Left forces.

It placed the Communist Party definitively in the camp of counter-revolution.

It became the caretaker of capitalism within the Republican territory.

The main points from the 'programme' adhered to by the Stalinists indicate the real role of the 'Communist' International in the Spanish Revolution:

'The Republicans do not accept the principle of nationalization of land and its distribution gratis to the peasants.'

In the sphere of industry and finance, the programme declared that it would oppose 'the measures for nationalization of the banks [or their] control by the working man [as] sought by the representatives of the Socialist Party' (already the Left faction in the Socialist party led by Largo Caballero was deemed to be too revolutionary for the Republican-Stalinist bloc).



The contortions by the international Stalinist movement from the late 1920s until the coup elevated men like Socialist Party leader Largo Caballero from a shunned 'social fascist' to an embraced anti-fascist. This elevation was dependent on his loyal collaboration with the Stalinists.

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Part Two Concluded

rise of italian fascism

The first big trial of strength between the socialists and the fascists followed the municipal elections in Bologna. The events proved once again that in a decisive clash the socialist leadership had feet of clay.

Though the Socialists had been overwhelmingly elected in a three-cornered fight (Socialist votes: 18,170; national bloc: 7,985; Catholic party: 4,694), a gang of fascists opened fire on a celebrating crowd in the main square and caused havoc, killing nine and wounding 100. The fascists escaped scot-free.

Simultaneously, the fascists began to advance in the countryside. A veritable civil war was unleashed in the Po valley, where fascist troops, supported by local landowners, began systematic wrecking of the Red Leagues—the agricultural workers' associations.

The Red Leagues, by means of tight organization and political education, had gained control over the hiring of farm labour and were able to exact high wages during the four-month work period. But by the nature of the work they were very vulnerable to a breach in their unity.

In the Po valley, the fascists set out to wage a veritable civil war. Armed squads in motor lorries, frequently backed up by police, drove from place to place terrorizing the villagers and burning and looting the Chambers of Labour (offices of the Leagues).

The fascists' military experience was used to the full in these battles, and with the assistance of the state they were able to subdue the Red Leagues and open the way for the landowners to impose a regime of starvation wages.

The same pattern was seen in Venetia Julia, where the fascists were given a free hand to 'Italianize' the Slav population of the villages. In both areas, the towns, which were mainly administrative rather than industrial centres, provided the human raw material for the fascist squads. These squads mounted punitive expeditions, always with some definite object—the destruction of a Chamber of Labour, a co-operative, a culture club, the banishing or murder of mayors, councillors and Labour leaders.

In Venetia Julia, the fascists fought pitched battles with the peasants and miners of the district. Once the miners had been subdued, the working-class organizations were systematically destroyed.

A Trieste socialist paper reported in April 1921: 'Out of dozens and dozens of Chambers of Labour and Peoples' Houses, only three or four still exist, of which two, at Trieste and Pola, are carrying on in temporary premises or even in the ruins of their buildings. Of 100 culture clubs not one survives'.

Where there was resistance to the fascist forces, regular forces were used to break it down. In Tuscany, field guns of the regular artillery were brought in to smash barricades erected by desperate workers in Scandicci and at Oema. The same tactics were used at Siena, where police, fascists and regular troops besieged the Peoples' House.

Shock tactics

The fascists of Siena, Florence and Pisa were soon able to overwhelm the whole district, thanks to their shock tactics and their ability to concentrate their forces. Though in many areas the workers fought back with desperate heroism, the workers' leadership was unable to organize any concerted fight back.

There are a number of reasons for this. After the betrayal of the factory occupations a split in the Socialist Party became inevitable. The Communist International insisted that the reformists around Turati be expelled from the Party, but the centrist 'maximalist' group, which controlled the majority of the Party, wanted to continue in the same Party as Turati and his co-thinkers.

The Leghorn congress, in January 1921, made the split complete. The centre faction around Serrati refused to break with the reformists, and on the sixth day of the congress, the majority refused to accept the Comintern's 21 Conditions; the Communist Party walked out of the congress.

The new Communist Party elected a leadership dominated

by the ultra-left Bordiga tendency, which advocated a revolutionary élite and in practice rejected the need for the conquest, or rather reconquest, of the masses to prepare for a new revolutionary wave.

Bordiga did not recognize that the defeats of 1920 had greatly altered the thinking of broad masses of workers. No longer would they follow any party as trustingly as they had followed the Socialist Party. Having played with revolution once and betrayed the working class, the Socialist Party had tarnished the idea of the Communist International in the eyes of many workers.

The new Communist Party would have to patiently win the masses, exposing the reformist leaders by going through a continuous experience with the working class. Bordiga, on the other hand, opposed his own sectarian conceptions to the policy of the united front.

Lenin and the Comintern leadership recommended that the Italian Party work for a Socialist Party government, in order to expose Turati and the reformists and win the Socialist workers, but Bordiga rejected the very idea of collaboration with reformism in the electoral or any other field.

None of the leaders of the new Party appreciated to the full the fascist threat, although Gramsci did not overlook the possibility that the fascists might ally with other right-wing groups in a reactionary coup d'état. The combination of Bordiga's sectarianism and the opportunism of the reformists effectively prevented the development of a fighting force against fascism.

The Socialist Party leaders confined themselves to invoking the liberal government against the fascists—the same government whose troops were helping the fascists to smash workers' organizations all over Italy.

The Communist Party policy proved unable to expose the craven attitude of the Socialist leaders.

Giolitti, the 'liberal' premier, still hoped to use the fascist movement for his own ends. By supporting the punitive raids on workers' organizations, he hoped to reduce the power of the working class and create a situation where he could balance between the working class and the extreme right wing.

Giolitti's regime was more and more taking on the character of a Bonapartist government; one which was moving steadily to the right. Every assistance was given to the fascists, their crimes were 'shelved' and the municipalities they attacked were dissolved by government decree.

Hoping to profit from the situation caused by the fascist violence and the disarray of the left, Giolitti held a general election in May 1921. The total vote for the workers' parties increased despite the fascist reaction, although in the Po valley the fascists were able to terrorize the workers and prevent them from voting. 123 Socialists and 16 Communists were elected and faced 35 fascists. But the net effect was a swing to the right.

The fascists were still a long way from power and the working class was by no means defeated.

Mussolini therefore decided that a period of parliamentary struggle would be less dangerous than a continuation of open warfare. He hoped to disarm the Socialists with a 'peace pact'—which was duly signed on August 2, 1921.

'Peace pact'

But the rank-and-file fascists favoured a continuation of the direct tactics to which they had grown accustomed. Their radicalism led them to hate the parliamentary system, which they aimed to destroy. Mussolini eventually had to accede to their demands.

The plebian radicals of the fascist movement, led by Italo Balbo and Dino Grandi, presented their demands to Mussolini: they wanted the trade unions destroyed completely and the punitive expeditions continued. The fascists broke the 'peace pact' and resumed their punitive expeditions.

The Socialists on the other

hand took the pact seriously. Turati's reaction in the parliament was to turn to the fascists, saying: 'I shall say only this to you; let us really disarm'.

'Avanti!', the socialist paper, made fun of efforts by sections of workers to establish a militia, the *Arditi del Popolo*.

The *Arditi del Popolo*, said the Socialist paper, 'perhaps has the illusion that it can dam up the armed movement of the reaction.'

In fact, although the Socialist Party was quick to repudiate the workers' militia in its pact with the fascists, the *Arditi del Popolo* could, given leadership, have become the basis for smashing the fascist gangs. In the few areas where the workers' militia was well organized, the fascist punitive expeditions were driven back with heavy losses.

The Communist Party attitude to this potential fighting force epitomized the weakness of the Bordiga strategy. It ordered its members to withdraw from the *Arditi del Popolo* because it included people of 'doubtful class-consciousness'. The Communist Party formed its own militia where it had large numbers of members, but proved unable to draw the mass of workers into this 'pure' organization.

Big business was growing more and more discontented with the endless parliamentary manoeuvres. It wanted a final settlement with the working class so that it could proceed to refloat business on the basis of state loans and break once and for all the remaining power of the trade unions and the workers' organizations.

The economic crisis seriously threatened not only the profits

local general strikes, which were put down by the military and the fascists together.

The Socialist Party continued to rely on constitutional means, appealing for government action against the fascists.

By the end of July, even the reformist Socialists felt constrained to call belatedly for working-class action to stem the black tide.

A general strike, which Turati called a 'legalitarian action', was called for July 31 in protest against the latest fascist excesses in the town of Ravenna.

The fascists were already well-prepared for the general strike and were able to take advantage of it to smash into the workers' strongholds of Genoa and Milan. In Genoa, backed by a million and a half lira from port employers, the fascists crushed the dockers' trade union organization and opened the way to scab labour.

In Milan, they burned down the offices of 'Avanti!' and smashed many of the workers' clubs. The Socialist Party's response to the crisis had been utterly inadequate. Placing its trust in parliamentary democracy, it had gone down with it when it was finally discredited.

The fall of the Facta cabinet in July, one of a succession of increasingly right-wing governments which followed each other throughout the first part of 1922, only confirmed the impotence of the democrats in the face of the fascist threat, now grown to massive proportions.

But even after the defeat of the general strike, fascism remained, as Angelo Tasca has described it, 'only an army of occupation'. It could still have

come, after a month of comings and goings between the bourgeois parties and Mussolini, was a farce. Directed by four 'quadrumvirs', General Emilio de Bono, representing the regular army, Cesare Maria de Vecchi, Italo Balbo, leader of the plebian, lumpen wing of the fascists and Michele Bianchi, four columns of fascist troops waited outside Rome to the accompaniment of considerable bombast.

Meanwhile Mussolini was invited by the king to form part of a coalition government with the nationalist Salandra as premier.

Mussolini refused—he wanted the premiership himself. The king agreed and Mussolini took the night sleeper to Rome. The next day (October 30), having ordered his followers once more to destroy the Milan offices of 'Avanti!', he arrived in Rome, and his followers came after him on special trains. There was no opposition.

On November 16 the new government presented itself to parliament. Italian fascism had arrived, but it was not until 1926 that Mussolini felt strong enough to do away with the last vestiges of democracy.

As Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and Minister of the Interior, Mussolini had very wide powers, powers that were increased substantially by the Enabling Act which allowed him to issue decrees on taxation, reorganization of the state machine and budgetary economies.

His powers were still limited and opposition parties were still officially legal, but the hegemony of fascism had been decisively established. Once the fascists had taken the power they would



With the rush of leaders of the Socialist International to support their own bourgeoisies in the First World War, Mussolini moved over to nationalism. Funds supplied by nationalists gave him the opportunity to start the paper 'Il Popolo d'Italia', which called for war with Austria.

but the very existence of large sections of heavy industry. Drastic measures were required to 'put Italy back on its feet'. The fascist gangs were no longer to play the part merely of auxiliaries.

At the National Council meeting in Florence on December 20 1921, Mussolini, after consultations with the leaders of heavy industry, gave the Fascist Party its marching orders: Forward to the conquest of power!

The resumption of hostilities let loose the fascist violence on a vastly increased scale. From the end of 1921, money for the fascist campaign poured into the party's coffers, providing arms and equipment for huge punitive expeditions and concerted campaigns over whole areas.

One after another working-class strongholds succumbed to this violence.

In February, a new parliamentary crisis broke out. Mussolini was able, by astute manoeuvring, to prevent the formation of a definite majority government. He himself would not be pinned down in a coalition which would leave him nothing but obligations. If he were to take part in a coalition, the power should be in his hands.

All the forces of bourgeois law and order began to swing more and more behind the fascists as parliament's weakness and indecision became clearer.

The Vatican, in the face of opposition from the rank-and-file of its own political party, became more friendly to the idea of a fascist government and put out feelers towards the fascists. Despite Mussolini's own paganism, he recognized a powerful ally.

Simultaneously, the fascists extended the field of their operations from the Po valley and Tuscany so as to encircle Rome. The workers responded with

been defeated by a mass mobilization of the working class.

But the workers' parties and the trade unions continued to trifle while Mussolini's march on Rome was being prepared.

The fascists and their industrialist friends continued to harass the workers. In many towns lock-outs were declared, backed up by blackshirt marches through the workers' districts. The fascists were making the most of their gains from the defeated general strike.

Meanwhile, the reformist parties began to disintegrate in mutual recriminations. In August, the anarcho-syndicalists split from the Labour Alliance and declared their right to call political strikes if they felt so inclined.

The Socialist Party, too, began to break up. At its October National Congress in Rome, Serrati and the 'maximalist' majority proposed the right wing's expulsion.

Serrati had very belatedly come to recognize the validity of the Comintern's demand for their expulsion at the beginning of 1921. It was too late. The 'maximalists', who took about half the Party membership with them, had no proposals to stop the fascists, any more than the reformists had.

The fascists meanwhile had dropped their demagogic demands of 1919 for nationalization of banks and department stores and for 'the land to the tiller'. They intended to show a 'thoroughly responsible' face to their big business backers.

Everybody was talking of an imminent 'march on Rome'. The king and the army were reassured of Mussolini's loyalty, while the Vatican, in secret conferences, was able to get reassurances that Mussolini would not interfere with the church.

The march itself, when it

make sure there was no going back.

Bourgeois historians frequently represent the victory of fascism in Italy as an inevitable process and take no account of the all-important factor of the leadership of the working class.

But the workers' leadership played a decisive role in allowing fascism to come to power in Italy. Having talked about revolution for so long, leaders like Serrati were utterly unable to proceed when the revolutionary situation came.

The philosophy of the Italian 'maximalist' majority took no account of the role of leadership; capitalist society would decay automatically and the socialists could merely wait until the time came to walk into power.

This false theory found its other side in the policy of the ultra-left Bordiga, the Italian Communist Party leader from 1921 to 1924. While Bordiga quite correctly recognized the need for a revolutionary leadership, he was incapable of elaborating any strategy which could turn this leadership from a sectarian élite into the mass revolutionary party.

Bordiga's attitude to the *Arditi del Popolo* sums up the sterility of his approach. The Italian communists applied the International's 21 Conditions to purge the Party of reformism, but were unable to give any perspective to the reformist workers.

The Italian working-class demonstrated time and again its readiness to fight. Wherever a lead was given, as at Parma, where the *Arditi del Popolo* were well organized, they were able to beat back the fascists on a local scale. There was only one force which could have defeated fascism—the armed working class with a revolutionary leadership at its head.

REUTHER RETREATS FROM CONTRACT FIGHT

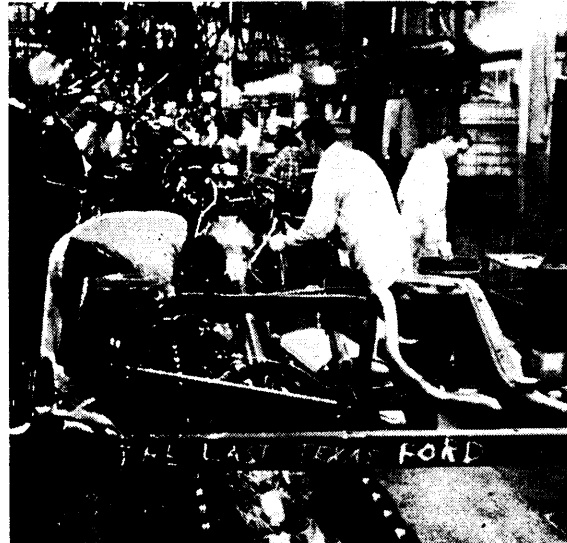
BY DAN FRIED

At the convention of the UAW skilled trades division held in Atlantic City last week, the UAW leadership outlined its demands for the contract negotiations set to begin in July. UAW President Walter Reuther, reflecting the tremendous dissatisfaction among auto workers over their losses caused by inflation during the last three year contract, tried to present a militant and fighting appearance. He admitted that the UAW leadership had made a "mistake" in the 1967 contract by underestimating the inflation and agreeing to a ceiling of 8¢ an hour cost of living adjustment each year of the contract. He pledged a fight for a "big" wage increase as the central demand along with a fight for a \$500 a month pension upon retirement after 30 years, regardless of age, for pollution control by the

But now the employers are going to use that "mistake" to their advantage. Even though the workers could only receive a limit of 8¢ an hour on the escalator according to the 1967 contract, they are entitled to the rest of the money lost through inflation at the end of the contract period. This amounts to around 25¢ an hour which the companies want to count as part of the total wage package for the 1970 contract. This way the wage increase they agree to will look much bigger than it really is. Needless to say, the companies will not offer to pay any interest on the money that has been held back from the workers over the past three years.

POLLUTION

Reuther, although saying that this money should not be counted as part of the new contract, is not demanding



THE END OF THE LINE FOR DALLAS AUTO PLANT

a diversion from the central questions facing the workers--inflation, unemployment, and speedup. But more than anything else Reuther's attitude on the question of "absenteeism" revealed that he is covering up for the employers rather than preparing a real battle. In preparation for the confrontation, G.M. President James Roche has raised a hue and cry over employee absenteeism, which he ranks along with productivity lags and local plant strikes as the main evils perpetrated by the workers.

Reuther only adds insult to injury when he said at the convention that the extent of absenteeism was "rather shocking" and that the auto companies should ask "why?" Instead of really confronting the questions behind absenteeism--the back-breaking speedup in the shops and the long hours often worked in order to make ends meet--Reuther suggested among his "answers" that workers are able to skip work so often because of their high earnings. At



WALTER REUTHER, U.A.W.

this rate Reuther ought to be writing the copy for Mr. Roche's press releases!

Not only has Reuther continued to side-step the issue of speedup, but he has buried the demand for the shorter work week under a mountain of demands he has no intention of fighting for. Reuther warned the companies that they cannot "hide behind President Nixon's recession" in the coming negotiations. Yet he refuses to raise as a central demand the fight for the 4 day week at 5 days pay which I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers raised as the number one demand for labor earlier this year, in order to fight the growing unemployment.

MESSAGE

It is clear that General Motors is prepared to give a total wage package of 10% the first year, which includes the cost of living adjustment for the last three years, at the same time as they try to maintain the LIMITED escalator clause. For the auto workers this is not acceptable. As a minimum there must be a 10% increase the first year IN ADDITION TO THE PAST DUE MONEY, the \$500 pension after 30 years, restoration of the FULL cost of living, the four day week, and the roll back of speedup as the central demands for the contract. These demands must be nailed down at the special UAW convention next month and not left floating up in the air as "flexible" demands which Reuther can flexibly bargain down the river.

This is the message that the UAW ranks should bring into the convention next month.



UNSOLD CARS PILE UP IN DETROIT

companies, and for the restoration of the full cost of living escalator.

This "mistake" that Reuther admits in allowing a yearly ceiling on the cost of living adjustment was in fact a conscious deal that Reuther made with the corporations in order to demonstrate his reasonableness.

as he should, that this money be paid with interest in a lump sum. Like the companies he is hoping that the package will look bigger than it really is.

The fight against pollution is thrown in to enhance his own image as a "socially enlightened" liberal and as

workers march on thermo-king office

BY A STEELWORKER 2175 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS-- Several hundred Thermo-King (Westinghouse) workers marched on the company office on March 12th, after the company had given the most insulting reply to the union's contract demands.

Through their union, United Steelworkers Local 2175, Thermo-King workers had demanded: a 75¢ an hour wage hike for each year of the contract; a full cost of living clause; a 35 hour week with 40 hours pay; paid sick leave; and no compulsory overtime.

The company representatives had promised an answer on Wednesday, March 11th to the union's negotiating committee. The company's answer: We won't make an offer on fringe benefits, but we will on the money, but only if you agree to a news blackout. The negotiating committee refused and the next negotiations were set for March 23rd.

Anger over this insult built up in the plant, and by noon it was clear that a march on the office was being discussed. With full knowledge of this, the union's executive board and

day-shift members of the negotiating committee left the plant at noon. They wanted to throw cold water on the march, believing that with them gone, nothing would happen.

STORMED

At two o'clock sharp, workers poured out of welding, sheetmetal and grinding and headed for the office. A number came out from receiving, unit cleanup, small parts, paint shop, coil and tubing, as well as large sections of the lines.

Now several hundred strong, the marchers stormed past general foreman John Wroblewski, who was shouting "get back to work" repeatedly, without any effect.

Massing at the office entrance to the machine shop, speakers demanded of Wroblewski, personnel manager Elbert Clark, and industrial relations director Glenn Rausch an answer to the union's demands. They promised one later in the afternoon and the marchers dispersed.

The answer: the whole thing is none of your business--leave negotiations up to your negotiating committee. Even the negotiating committee was forced to put out a leaflet the next day accusing the company of entering negotiations in bad faith, and of "deliberate falsification" of what happened at the March 11th negotiating session.

The lessons of this march are clear. The union's ranks are willing to fight for their demands, and can be mobilized for this purpose, provided the leadership is forthcoming.

The Rank and File Committee repeats its earlier proposal: Only with the complete mobilization of the union's ranks can these demands be won.

PUBLIC MEETING

THE VIETNAM WAR AND THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

HEAR LUCY ST. JOHN, EDITOR OF THE BULLETIN

MADISON

Monday, March 23, 7:30PM
Plaza Room, Student Union
University of Wisconsin

ST. LOUIS

Thursday, March 26, 8:00PM
N.W. Bay Wohl Center
Washington University

also see film from Britain on the workers press, worlds first trotskyist daily paper

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The BULLETIN Replies to

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

The founding of the Young Workers Liberation League has been accompanied by a tremendous resurgence of Stalinism in a number of forms. A number of attacks, verbal and physical have been made on Trotskyism. On the West Coast, as reported in this issue, both the Panthers and the super-Maoist Revolutionary Union have resorted to physical violence. Shouts of "Trots Out" played an important role in the opposition amalgam at the Cleveland SMC conference and this kind of politics has been expressed at most of the local conferences since Cleveland.

Now we have the articles by Donna Ristorucci, New York Educational Secretary of YWLL, on the YSA, "Trotskyists as Counter-Revolutionaries" and "Trotskyist Youth Spurn Programs for the Masses." These articles represent an open defense of Stalinism and a direct attack on Trotskyism in the tradition of the Moscow Trials. Just as with the recent physical attacks, what is involved here is not an attack on the YSA as such but on Trotskyism itself. In fact the YSA is accused of holding positions it has long since abandoned and which today are only fought for by the Workers League and the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The re-emergence of Stalinism, not only in the relatively weak YWLL, but also in PL, the RU and within the RYM II-type SDSers and the Panthers plays an extremely important class role. We are now entering a new period not only internationally but also in the United States. We are entering a period of intensive class struggles in which the whole question of socialism or fascism will be raised. Under conditions of heightened class conflict the middle class is thrown into confusion and frenzy and the capitalist class becomes vulnerable before the independent movement of the working class.

DOMINATION

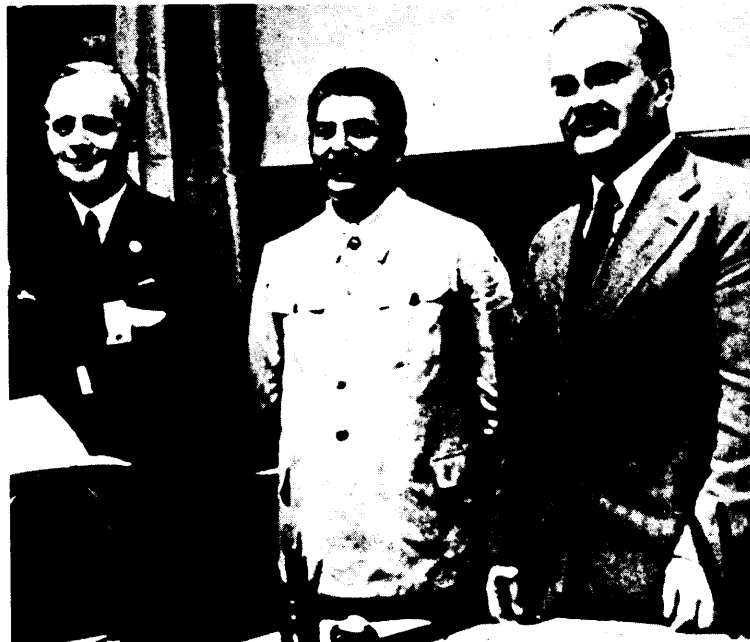
Under these conditions it is absolutely essential to capitalism that the working class remain under the domination of middle class politics, that its struggle not take an independent political form, that everything be compromised within the capitalist framework. This is where Stalinism comes in. Trotskyism represents the continuation of the program of Marx in the Communist Manifesto, which begins with the class struggle and insists on the independence of the working class and fights for its revolutionary victory. Trotskyism represents the victory of this Marxist program in Russia in October, 1917. Trotskyism represents the struggle to maintain this program despite the degeneration of the Russian Revolution.

This is why Trotskyism today is the only program which stands at every point on the basis of class struggle, which fights at all times for the political independence of the working class and which seeks through each experience of the class to develop the consciousness of the class, and build the revolutionary party in preparation for power. Stalinism on the other hand stands on the basis of the popular front collaboration of classes, of subordinating the struggle for socialism to liberalism, of maintaining capitalism at all costs.

Thus in this period we see a certain growth of both Stalinism and Trotskyism, with Stalinism seeking in every way to destroy and discredit Trotskyism in order to maintain the subordination of the working class to



the daily world on trotskyism



TOP: SOVIET TANKS ROLL INTO CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

BOTTOM: RIBBENTROP AND STALIN SIGN STALIN-HITLER PACT

the bourgeoisie through middle class movements. The SWP and YSA represent a break from Trotskyism in the direction of Stalinism. The Stalinists, however, direct their attack at the SWP and YSA because of its past history, while the SWP and YSA find themselves paralyzed in any effective fight back against Stalinism.

COEXISTENCE

Ristorucci begins her attacks with a defense of the "leadership of the Communist Parties" in the workers states. She defends uncritically their policies of peaceful coexistence with capitalism and seeks to justify these policies with, interestingly enough, a quote from Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, who is speaking in the name of Castro's Communist Party of Cuba.

She goes on to state that "The Trotskyists have never led a revolution." What she neglects to inform the readers of the Daily World is that the Russian Revolution was led precisely by Lenin and Trotsky and that the program today of the Trotskyist movement is precisely that of the Bolshevik Party which led to the victory in October. This program is the direct opposite of the program

of peaceful coexistence with capitalism, and socialism in one country which she defends.

Then we get to the heart of it: "This position of the Trotskyists is not new. Trotskyists first appeared soon after the Russian Revolution when, under the leadership of Trotsky, they attempted to overthrow the newly established revolution (sic) government because they failed to see the necessity and possibility of consolidating socialism in one country.

"More, all during the period before World War II, the Trotskyists, along with the Nazis, were predicting that the Soviet Union would be destroyed. In order to aid this 'downfall' they refused to build the united front against fascism. Even more recently, the Trotskyists supported the counter-revolutionary movement in Czechoslovakia as a 'movement for socialist democracy.'

"Thus the Trotskyists were born counter-revolutionaries and remain counter-revolutionaries today and traitors to the struggle of national liberation."

Such is what passes for "education" from the secretary placed in charge of that task in the New York

area for the Young Workers Liberation League.

FABRICATION

It is true that Trotskyism as a distinct tendency came into existence after the Russian Revolution. But outside of this one fact, the rest of Ristorucci's statement is complete fabrication and in fact fabrication stolen from Joseph Stalin himself, whom Miss Ristorucci does not see fit to acknowledge as her source.

Trotsky did not seek to overthrow the government but instead fought for many years within the Bolshevik Party to return that party to the policies of Lenin, policies which had nothing whatsoever to do with socialism in one country. During the 1930s contrary to what our Educational Secretary states, it was Trotsky and not the Soviet leadership under Stalin, which fought for the "united front against fascism." In Germany Trotsky alone fought for the unity of the working class against fascism and against the ultraleft position of Stalin that the social democrats were the same as the Nazis.

After Hitler came to power, Stalin changed his line to support—not a united front of working class parties and organizations—but a popular front which tied the working class parties to the liberal capitalists on the basis of a capitalist program.

It was not Trotskyists who supported "the counter-revolutionary movement in Czechoslovakia" but the American Communist Party, for the real counter-revolutionary movement was the movement of Soviet tanks into that country to prevent any workers' democracy from arising.

SLANDER

Can we let pass that sentence which reads "...the Trotskyists, along with the Nazis, were predicting that the Soviet Union would be destroyed."? It is then followed by: "In order to aid this 'downfall' they refused to build the united front against fascism." Why suddenly are the Nazis linked in the same sentence with the Trotskyists? Is Ristorucci seeking to revive the old Stalinist slander that Trotskyists are or were Nazi agents, the slander used to justify the whole Moscow Trials and purges of hundreds of thousands of Communists in the U.S.S.R. in the 1930s?

The Trotskyists have done absolutely nothing anywhere and at any time "along with the Nazis." The Trotskyists fought fascism even when Stalin signed a pact with Hitler and collaborated with the fascists. The Trotskyists have never at any time worked for the downfall of the Soviet Union and have stood for the defense of the Soviet Union and the other workers' states despite the leadership of these states and the bureaucracy this leadership represents.

The American Communist Party has never repudiated the Moscow Trials. The Progressive Labor Party has never repudiated the Moscow Trials. The Revolutionary Union openly embraces the Moscow Trials and all of Stalin's crimes against the working class. So it is no accident that today in 1970 the New York Educational Secretary of the CP's fraternal youth organization seeks to educate new youth in the theory that Trotskyists are Nazis, traitors and counter-revolutionaries.

Perhaps the most ludicrous aspect of the Ristorucci articles is her statement that "the Young Socialist Alliance persists in spreading the falsehood that the Communist Party gives 'backhanded support to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.'" She proceeds to answer this "deliberate slander" by pointing out that the CP carries on "work within the two party system" and that

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UE LEADERS PUSH WESTINGHOUSE SELLOUT



WESTINGHOUSE WORKERS, LOCAL 107, UE, LINE UP FOR CONTRACT SETTLEMENT VOTE

BY JACK ARNOLD

PHILADELPHIA-- After nearly two weeks had passed since the announcement of the agreement upon a contract between Westinghouse and union negotiators, a meeting was finally called of U.E. Local 107 to ratify the contract. The meeting itself served to illustrate why a struggle against the trade union bureaucracy must be waged.

Dissent at the meeting centered around two points. First was the question of skilled trades differential. Prior to the settlement, the leadership of Local 107 had promised that any money obtained for skilled trades would be spread across the board. This of course would mean that all fifteen labor grades in the Philadelphia plant would get some share of this money. Westinghouse negotiators refused to distribute the available "skilled trades" money over more than the top 30% of the trades "key sheet." This meant that these raises would go to grades 11 through 15. The leadership correctly pointed out that the Westinghouse negotiators insisted on this in order to divide the workers.

The effect of this tactic on the part of Westinghouse management was very obvious when one worker got up on the floor and said: "I am skilled. I can operate any machine in the country. This is a collective bargaining organization. If it can't represent me, I do not need it." This worker who is Labor Grade 8 in the key sheets is making a serious mistake--leaving the union would be doing just what management was trying to provoke. The real burden in this situation however lies with

the leadership which by accepting the settlement completely capitulated to Westinghouse's attempts to divide the union.

ROTTEN

The leadership made every attempt to justify this rotten contract. One member who had been in on the negotiations put it this way: "There are 140,000 Westinghouse workers. The U.E. represents only 8,200 of them. As a result U.E. has to sit and wait until the larger unions settle and then U.E. has to accept whatever they settle for. If U.E. rejects the contract and strikes, the

other unions will fight them." This of course was the most outspoken statement of what the leadership of the union presented as their excuse for the sellout. The general attitude of the bureaucracy was: "We tried, but the company wouldn't give. So we had to accept."

The truth is that the U.E. leadership locally as well as nationally refused to fight and in effect told management as much when it refused to go out on strike when the contract first expired. Their excuse at the time was that the G.E. strike was putting strain on the union's finances and it was not possible to strike. The G.E. strike as well as the struggle at Westinghouse would have been all the more powerful if the U.E. had struck Westinghouse. The G.E. workers received tremendous support from the labor movement and could have gotten much more if there had been a real struggle to mobilize the entire trade union movement. With this excuse the leadership was sized up by management as marshmallow soft.

RETROACTIVITY

This was proved by the leadership's caveat on the question of retroactivity. This was the second point around which the heat of the Local 107 meeting centered. The U.E. leadership had agreed to go on working after the contract expired without obtaining any agreement from the company that wages finally agreed upon would be retroactive to the

date of expiration of the old contract.

Consequently management was able to chisel to the point of making wages and conditions retroactive to Jan. 5, 1970 although the contract had expired at the beginning of November, 1969. The leadership could have forced a rejection at a national union level of this contract. As one speaker pointed out: "Because of the size of the Local's membership, over 5,000 of the 8,200 Westinghouse workers, Local 107 controls the National Conference Board." The vote against the contract by Local 107's leadership would have scuttled the agreement.

The leadership's answer to those who bitterly attacked it was, "you are doing what the company wants--dividing the union." But it was clearly the leadership who had divided the union when it agreed to this sellout contract. This was reflected sharply in the ratification vote. The contract was ratified by a vote of 1,117 for and 184 against. Clearly it was those in the top 30% of the trades who voted strongly for this contract. Less than half of the 5,000 member Local voted at all, revealing the demoralization and dissatisfaction of the ranks with this contract.

It is clear that the central task facing the ranks is the building of a new leadership in the union based on the interests of the ranks and uniting all workers in all grades on a common program.

Ultra-Stalinist Goons Assault SWP

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO-- A women's liberation rally held in Jolores Park here on International Women's Day was the scene of an extremely significant incident. A YSA-SWP literature table was overturned and repeatedly attacked by supporters of Los Siete De La Raza and the ultra-Stalinist Revolutionary Union.

Accusing the SWP-YSA of organizing a "scab" women's liberation rally in Berkeley to compete with the San Francisco happening, Stalinist speakers used the platform to urge their followers to drive the SWP-YSA from the grounds. A screaming mob of hysterical females joined the Revolutionary Union thugs in charging the table. Without the assistance of the Workers League and the supporters of the Spartacist League, which were the only groups that rallied to the defense, the SWP would

have been forced to withdraw.

This incident follows shortly after a similar incident involving the Black Panthers in Berkeley. On February 15th, during the Huey Newton Birthday Rally, members of the American Communist Movement, Spartacist League, Workers' Action and the United Irishmen were physically forced away from the entire area simply for distributing their literature outside the hall. Spartacist reports that two of its members were forced to the ground and beaten for resisting the shoving attacks of the Panther guards.

The Panthers are in a common bloc with the Communist Party favoring a "united front" which is in actuality a popular front with the liberal capitalists against fascism and repression.

These physical attacks on groups

which call themselves Trotskyist is but the other side of the coin from the popular front politics put forward by all these Stalinist and Stalinist-influenced organizations. While the Stalinists in the Communist Party carry on direct attacks in their press against Trotskyism, the Maoists and Panthers carry on physical attacks against organizations associated in their eyes with Trotskyism. All this is carried on to poison sections of militants against Trotskyism so that Trotskyist criticisms of Stalinism's role of tying the working class to the capitalist class will not be listened to.

The Workers League pledges its cooperation with all other working class tendencies for defense against hooligan attacks from the Stalinists. At the same time it intends to deepen the political and theoretical fight against Stalinism.

daily world slanders...

it supports black Democrats, naming as examples Mayor Hatcher, Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, and Congressman Diggs.

OPEN

We can only conclude that the "deliberate slander" involves the YSA's use of the word "backhanded" when actually the CP's support for the political representatives of the oppressing bourgeois class is quite open and above board.

Most interesting is that Ristorucci gives as an example of the traitorous role of Trotskyism: "Basically, YSA considers the National Liberation Front as revisionist because it does not include socialism in its immediate program." We have no doubt that the YSA will accuse Ristorucci of a slander on this score as well. They will be correct in so doing, because while it is true that TROTSKYISTS consider the NLF revisionist for not including

socialism in its program (immediate or not) it is not true that the YSA considers this an important issue.

At least this is the way they responded to a similar charge on the part of Ted Pearson in an article on the YSA conference in the January 7th Daily World. Pearson claimed that the YSA rejected the position of "Victory to the NLF" on the grounds that "the NLF was led by 'Stalinists,' that they disagreed with its policies, that the Paris negotiations were part of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. plot to sell out the Vietnamese Revolution."

"As Pearson knows," the Intercontinental Press of January 26th comments, "none of these criticisms--to say nothing of the distorted form in which he presents them--were given as reasons for accepting or rejecting the slogan 'Victory to the NLF.'" The question, of course, is not whether these criticisms should stand in the way

of calling for the victory of the NLF, --in our opinion they should not-- but that Intercontinental Press refuses to commit itself on these criticisms. Is the NLF or is it not Stalinist? Are or are not the Paris negotiations a plot to sell out the Vietnamese Revolution? On such questions, as well as the question of the socialist revolution itself in South Vietnam, the YSA and SWP prefer to remain neutral, using as a cover the slogan of "self-determination for Vietnam."

ANSWER

Recently key SWP spokesmen, like Peter Camejo, have justified their position for a classless liberal peace movement on the grounds that "this is what the NLF leadership wants us to build." Thus we see how the SWP and YSA actually support the kind of policies of class collaboration which Stalinism stands for. Thus it becomes clear that Ristorucci's attack is actually against Trotskyism and where the YSA and SWP openly

break from Trotskyist policies she is forced to put Trotskyism in their mouths.

We have only sketched an answer to Ristorucci's slanders. We are already in the midst of preparing a fundamental answer to the similar slanders of Trotskyism by Hyman Lumer and others which appeared this last fall in a special edition of the CP theoretical magazine "Political Affairs" devoted to the 50th anniversary of the founding of the American Communist Party. This new series will leave nothing unanswered. It will restore the whole history of the Trotskyist struggle for the policies of Lenin and expose the true role of Stalinism, in the United States.

This history is absolutely essential to the political development of a new generation of working class fighters. Only the Workers League will carry forward this struggle against Stalinism. This will carry forward the American working class to power.

TROTSKYISM IN CANADA

BY CHARLES HENRY

The most essential question facing the revolutionary party in Canada is the formation of the New Democratic Party; the development of a labor party in North America for the first time. To ignore the NDP or to bury oneself within it is to renounce any claim to the leadership of the working class. It is on the basis of the construction of the Fourth International in Canada, that we address this article in particular to the members of the League for Socialist Action (LSA) because of their refusal to raise any programmatic differences with the NDP leadership and their uncritical support for the Waffle group within the NDP, a petty bourgeois movement for Canadian nationalism.

In order to expose the true relationship between the LSA and the NDP leadership, via the Watkins (Waffle) group, it is necessary to go over together briefly the most essential points in the development of the NDP. This is necessary for two reasons: one, to understand the present composition of the NDP, and two, to make a prognosis of where it is

Revisionism And The Waffle Caucus

and away from supporting capitalist politicians. It is significant that the Labor Party in England was formed at a time when British imperialism was in decline and losing for all time its dominance over the world and had to take back gains from the working class. This holds true of the NDP. It is a manifestation of the weakness of Canadian capitalism, its threatened political disintegration and economic collapse, and, more important, the first step of the working class to resolve the contradiction of Canadian capitalism in its own favor.

However, because of the acceptance by the present leadership of the NDP of Canadian capitalism, the whole crisis of the development of capitalism within Canada is reflected within the party. This is expressed through the eyes of the petty bourgeoisie, personified by Watkins with his "Canadian Cultural Identity."

The NDP provides a crossroads at which two irreconcilable forces have come together. On the one hand is the working class, taking the first

scale unemployment to the rate of 6.1%, a wage freeze of 5%, and intervenes in a number of strikes such as the last strike by the Longshoremen in B.C. against containerization, threatening the ILA members with a return to work, Watkins says the main issue is not within Canada but is American domination.

What sort of movement is Watkins after in his fight for Canadian independence? Here too he does not waver one bit. In the same Manifesto he states:

"An independence movement based on substituting Canadian capitalists for American capitalists, or on public policy to make foreign corporations behave as if they were Canadian corporations, cannot be our final objective." Watkins is telling us that what he is planning to do is create a movement to achieve a strong, independent Canadian capitalism, a popular front of radicals, capitalists and trade union bureaucrats.

The LSA's job will be to pro-



WATKINS, CANADIAN NATIONALIST

Canadian nationalism have? Its role can only be to tie the working class politically to the capitalist state, laying the basis for Trudeau's attacks. This is the role of Watkins' group within the NDP and the left cover provided by the LSA.

The liquidationism of the LSA into the Watkins group, their refusal to fight for the Transitional Program and the building of the revolutionary party, is only the product of bringing the same method into Canada as they did by giving unqualified support to Castro and Ben Bella. This is the same method that led the LSSP when it was part of the United Secretariat, into the bourgeois government of Mrs. Bandaranaike in Ceylon.

LIQUIDATIONISM

The LSA has a long history of liquidationism in relation to the NDP and its predecessor, the old CCF. Its whole history points out clearly that the leadership of the LSA has never understood Trotsky on the American labor party and the relationship of the revolutionary party to that slogan.

Trotsky insisted that a revolutionary party does not subject itself to the backwardness of the working class but, on the contrary, starts with the objective conditions and once starting with the objective conditions tries to raise the existing consciousness of the masses through a program of transitional demands related to objective reality.

He further develops this point in his discussions with the leaders of the SWP, who saw the labor party slogan as being "practical politics" because of the then widespread sympathy of the American workers for such a party. Trotsky answered them in this way, "We claim to have Marxism or Scientific Socialism. What does Scientific Socialism signify in reality? It signifies that the party which represents this social science, departs, as every science, not from subjective wishes, tendencies, or moods, but from objective facts, from the material situation of the different classes and their relationships."

What Trotsky was insisting on was the importance of developing the revolutionary program. Trotsky's arguments were aimed against the pragmatism of the leadership of the SWP in relation to an American labor party, and the same arguments apply to the LSA. The LSA has turned the lessons of the discussions with Trotsky into their opposite by seeking to liquidate the Transitional Program and revolutionary party. The LSA has refused to pose the struggle against capitalism. It has refused to use the fight in the NDP to mobilize the working class independently, thereby driving a wedge between the working class and the capitalists. It has refused to expose the reformist leadership of the NDP and has sought, with the leaders like Watkins, to contain the struggle within capitalism.



FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1961, THE NDP IS CANADIAN LABOR PARTY.

going. Only after we have established these two points can we then seriously work out a program and tactics that will lay the basis for smashing social democracy in Canada once and for all and for the winning of the rank and file of the labor movement under the banner of the Fourth International.

The NDP was formed in 1961. It was essentially a coalition of old Canadian Commonwealth Federation radicals and trade union bureaucrats who were forced to form the NDP by rank and file pressure against the rising unemployment and introduction of a whole network of anti-union legislation. At the time the CCF radicals and the trade union bureaucracy hoped that in forming the NDP they could create a pressure group against the capitalist state, not to overthrow it, merely to threaten it. Similarly with the NDP, the trade union bureaucracy hoped to diffuse any rank and file militancy in the factories against the government.

IMPETUS

This development is not unlike that of the Labor Party in England that got its greatest impetus after "Taff Vale" in the early 1900s. The "Taff Vale" judgement by the courts forced the railwaymen's union to pay out enormous damages to a company which had incurred loss through a strike they had called. This decision finally swung many trade union leaders behind the Labor Party in England

step to overthrow capitalism and on the other is the middle class radicals who seek to turn the NDP into a party to resolve the crisis of Canadian capitalism through such issues as Canadian independence, Quebec separatism. These two forces have met in the present NDP, but they are certainly moving in two different directions. The essential question is the role of revolutionary leadership.

WATKINS

To stand with opportunists like Watkins, and his Waffle caucus, is to stand against the working class and with the Canadian capitalists. The LSA has been the main promoter of Watkins' ideas, giving him uncritical support at the Winnipeg convention. They are the main builders of the Waffle caucus. Even when Watkins voted for the expulsion of alleged supporters of the LSA from the NDP, the LSA refused to murmur one word of criticism. The LSA has to all intents and purposes completely liquidated itself into the Waffle group.

Watkins makes perfectly clear where he stands in his Manifesto to the Winnipeg convention, in which he states:

"The major issue of our times is not national unity but national survival, and the fundamental threat is external not internal." Thus while Trudeau, the representative of Canadian capitalism, creates large

vide the left cover for this movement by using Trotsky's name and a Marxist veneer. The Watkins movement states we must have a strong Canadian capitalism before we can fight for socialism. This "theory" of Watkins is completely compatible with the "theory" of the LSA, that the bourgeois revolution was never completed in Canada. The conclusion is that we are still living in semi-feudalism.

PRAGMATIC

The LSA's policies in relation to Watkins and Canadian nationalism cannot be described in any other way but as a pragmatic adaptation to the radicalism of the Canadian middle class. This nationalist tendency both within the NDP and outside of it is nothing more than a reflection of capitalism's inability in Canada, because of the present crisis of imperialism, to develop itself into a strong centralized unit. Rather than being strong and centralized, it is in decay and disintegration. The middle class solution to that crisis, of seeking to sidetrack the struggle, is completely in line with their social position--caught between the strong Canadian working class, which is organized in international unions and which is starting to move in a political way against the capitalist state and the large monopolies which are mainly controlled by American interests. What other meaning could