

Bulletin

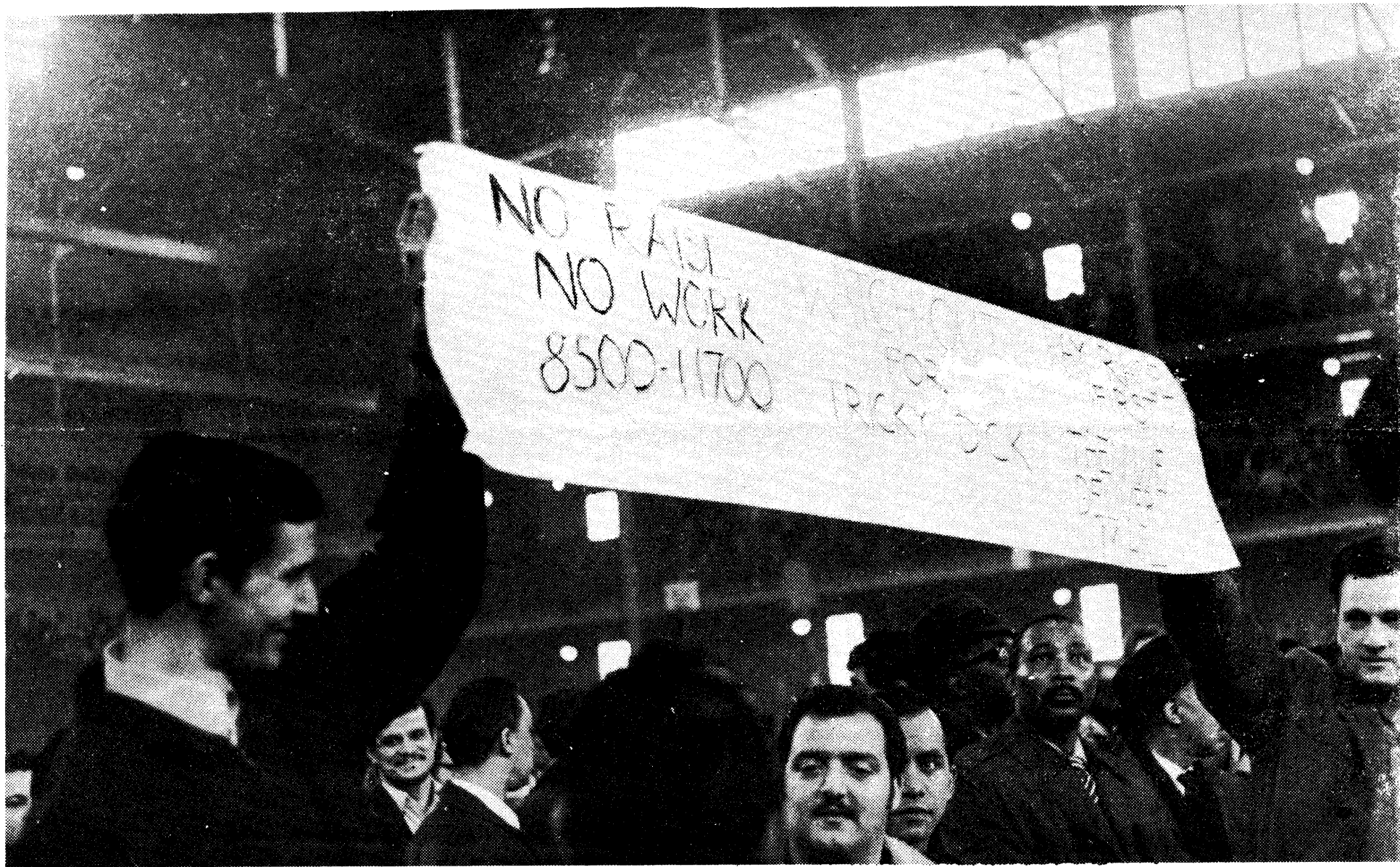
weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 6, NO. 25-139 MARCH 30, 1970 103 TEN CENTS

OTTO BAUER, LENIN
AND BREZHNEV

APR 23 1970
TROTSKY'S BODYGUARD
TO SUPERMARKET OWNER

ARMY, LEADERS BREAK POST OFFICE STRIKE



IT TOOK THE POWER OF THE U.S. ARMY AND BETRAYAL OF LABOR BUREAUCRATS TO BEAT BACK THESE NEW YORK LETTER CARRIERS

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK-- The leaders of the last holdouts in the historic 7 day national postal strike have surrendered to President Nixon's strikebreaking use of U.S. troops to occupy New York Post Offices. With absolutely no program or strategy to fight Nixon and his chief agent, NALC President James Rademacher, New York leaders Johnson and Biller capitulated to the back to work movement.

When the striking New York Branch 36 letter carriers voted unanimously to continue their strike on Saturday, March 21st, they made it clear that they intended to "clean out Rademacher" who they saw as the number one scab in the ranks of the labor movement. It should now be clear that a lot more housecleaning has to be done--not only to "clean out" the sell-out leaders in the postal unions but all those other

labor leaders from George Meany on down who openly stabbed the postal strikers in the back or simply disappeared when it came to mobilizing support for the strikers. The rank and file now have to draw the lessons about these leaders and about men like Gus Johnson who was reportedly opposed to a strike from the beginning but did not dare to stand up to the militant membership of the Branch 36 letter carriers.

ISOLATE

The use of troops by Nixon to break the strike by isolating New York from the rest of the country was not only a blow to the postal workers but to the entire trade union movement. The labor leaders who stood by and "deplored" the use of troops while refusing to demand a general strike or any mass demonstrations by the rest of the labor movement have betrayed the trade unions as Nixon moves toward his goal

of putting the unions under lock and key.

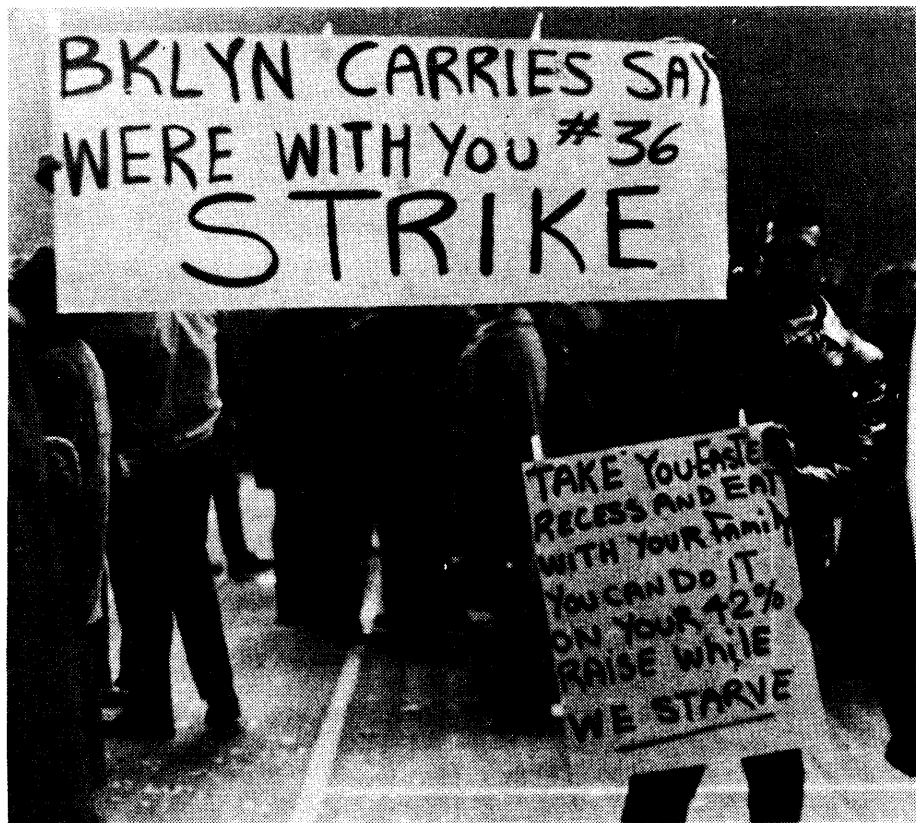
Harry Van Arsdale, head of the New York Central Labor Council, sat tight in his office and ignored pleas from postal workers to call a general strike of all New York unions. At a meeting on Tuesday, March 24th, of Local 10 Branch 1 of the United Federation of Postal Clerks, Local 10 Vice President, Karl Savio told the membership that on the previous day he had called on the New York Central Labor Council as well as the New York State AFL-CIO to organize a general strike of all unions in New York City and New York State. The overwhelming decision of that meeting was to reject the plea of the national leadership to return to work immediately, and to stick it out with Branch 36. In response to the proposal that they go back to work and then strike later if there is no satisfactory agreement,

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 3)

NEW YORK POSTMEN TAKE



NALC PRESIDENT JAMES RADEMACHER IS HUNG IN EFFIGY AT MEETING OF MILITANT NEW YORK BRANCH 36 LETTER CARRIERS



BROOKLYN CARRIERS CAME DOWN TO SUPPORT BRANCH 36 AT ARMORY MEETING



FOR STRIKING POSTAL WORKERS, RADEMACHER WAS NUMBER ONE SCAB OF THE DAY

BY DAN FRIED

New York, Sat. March 21-- A packed meeting of several thousand New York and Bronx letter carriers voted unanimously today to defy NALC President James Rademacher, President Nixon and a court injunction and to continue their strike. They were joined in their determination to stay out "until hell freezes over if necessary" by the New York mail handlers and clerks who voted during the day in secret ballot, 8,322 to 940 to join the strike officially.

The mood at the armory where the meeting took place was one of unbridled militancy. The mere mention of the names of Nixon and Postmaster General Blount brought a loud chorus of boos. But by far the most unpopular man of the day among the letter carriers was Rademacher. An effigy of the International President with the inscription "RAT-emacher" hung from the gallery and bobbed up and down throughout the meeting as postal workers paraded on the floor with signs such as "Impeach RAT-emacher." After the reading of the court order enjoining the workers from striking and compelling them to return to work, a tremendous wave of booing spread through the armory. When NALC Branch 36 President Gus Johnson explained the proposition offer by Rademacher, "The Administration has agreed to sit down and negotiate only after all people have returned to work," a prolonged, deafening roar of boos and rhythmic chanting of "strike, strike," shook the hall. Amidst the turmoil during the reading of the proposition, Johnson was forced to say, "my brothers, these are not my words." When the vote on the proposition to return to work was finally taken, the most earsplitting roars of "No," and chants of "strike"

filled the armory for nearly a full minute.

CHILDREN

One of the strikers explained why he felt the strike was going to continue: "We are not children," he said. "When I raised my kids and I wanted them to do something, I said, 'If you do this for daddy, daddy's going to give you something.' We're through with that stuff. We're men." Another striker said, "Why must my wife have to work to support our family. My kids are at the age where they could go to dope like that. My wife shouldn't have to work, she should be able to watch the kids. I've had a heart attack. Why should I have to work two jobs to support my family. As far as Rademacher is concerned, we want to get rid of him. He wants to dump 36? We'll dump him. If he wants a sellout let him go up to the ivory tower and play with the man who's playing God and sell HLM a thing or two. We will not go back to work until they tell us what we're going to get and show it on the delivery line with the President's signature! It didn't take them months and years to vote themselves a \$41,000 increase but its taken years to give us a lousy few dollars."

Another striker said, "They say that the mail is the lifeblood of the nation. Doctors say it takes terminal cancer six months to do its job. They created this cancer. We were very patient for 18 months. Now they are responsible for the condition of this country. They say they will call out the army to deliver the mail--" At this point he was interrupted by shouts of "Let Javits deliver the mail, let Javits deliver the mail." (It was Senator Javits, supposed friend of labor who first



NEW YORK LETTER CARRIERS UNANIMOUSLY VOTE "NO" TO GOVERNMENT BACK TO WORK ORDER

THE LEAD

proposed using the army to break the strike) He continued, "And I voted for Javits but no more. But let me tell you something, if they call out the Army to move the mail, we will NEED an Army to HELP us deliver the backlog. But they'll try to make us break our backs to catch up on the backlog."

TROOPS

Since the meeting was held in an armory, National Guard troops were on duty both inside and outside of the building. Many of the soldiers seemed to be conspicuously friendly

to the strikers. A captain, when asked what he thought would happen if they called out the Army to move the mail, responded, "If that happens they'll NEVER get the mail delivered." As the throngs of strikers moved out of the armory, a group of soldiers stood on the steps and unfurled their own homemade sign which read: "The 39th New York Armory Guard invites you to return April 17, 1970 to a REVIEW, 7:30pm." That was their way of showing the solidarity with the strikers that runs deep through all sections of the working class.

Army Rolls In To Bust Strike

BY JAY AARON

EXCHANGE #7, NEW JERSEY TURNPIKE, March 23, 6:45 P.M.-- This is the entrance to the highway going north to New York City and the route used by the U.S. Army to ship truckloads of G.I.s into New York's General Post Office to break the strike of postal workers. As we pulled off the highway at Exit 7 we came upon a convoy of army trucks on their way to New York. They were stopped along the highway to change a blown tire on one of the trucks.

QUESTIONS

In answer to questions, a number of G.I.s said that they were in no position to say anything. When asked if they had been ordered not to speak to representatives of the press, they again repeated that they were in no position to say anything. Upon being accosted with the same question, Lt. King, commanding officer of the group said that they were not ordered to refuse comment to the press. In answer to the question, "Are you refusing to say anything on your own hook alone?" his answer was "Yes...and my men are too."

Regardless of what were clearly orders from their commanders, some of the soldiers, when the Lieutenant was around the other side of the truck supervising the tire change, indicated they would like to talk. One soldier who indicated he was a draftee was asked, "How do you feel about being sent to scab on the postal strike?" His answer was, "About the same as I felt about being drafted into the army." When pressed these soldiers refused to say more, clearly afraid to come up against their commanders. What this fear poses is the futility of organizing soldiers in isolation from the working class.

BUSLOADS

In conversation with a service station attendant we found that the army had been moving busloads of soldiers from early morning, that is from before President Nixon's announcement to send troops into New York. This same attendant also commented: "Nixon is asking for trouble sending troops to move the mail. If I was a postal worker I would refuse to go back until all the troops were removed."

ARMY BREAKS STRIKE

(CONTINUED FROM COVER)

one of the militants at the meeting said, "You can't turn a strike on and off like an electric appliance. Once we go back, the strike is over and we have no recourse but to accept the deal worked out in Washington."

Leading the retreat along with Van Arsdale was AFSCME District Council 37 head Victor Gotbaum, who, at a delegates assembly of DC 37 refused to support a motion calling for a general strike and a mass demonstration of New York labor to support the strikers. The motion, offered by SSEU Local 371 President Martin Morgenstern on behalf of the SSEU Executive Board followed a campaign by the Workers League and the Committee for New Leadership for a general strike. As a result of this campaign on Monday, March 23, the East End, Fulton and Kingsbridge chapters of the SSEU overwhelmingly passed motions to send telegrams calling for a general strike to Morgenstern, Gotbaum and Van Arsdale. This was followed up on Tuesday with the passage of a motion for a general strike and mass rally by the Bureau of Child Welfare and Waverly chapters, the sending of telegrams supporting this motion signed by 55 workers at the Franklin Welfare Center, and the signing of a petition supporting the motion by 56 workers at the Bay Ridge Center.

The Workers League also took the campaign for a general strike in New York directly to the postal workers, dockworkers and hospital workers of Local 1199. As a result, telegrams calling on 1199 President Leon Davis to demand that the Central Labor Council organize a general strike and mass rally were sent and endorsed by 68 workers at Beth Israel hospital in Manhattan and 160 workers at Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center in Brooklyn. The hospital workers, like many workers throughout the city, responded with tremendous support for the postal strikers.

The deal cooked up in Washington which reportedly offers an immediate wage increase of 12% with the maximum salary after 8 years, if it goes through Congress, was characterized by one Bronx letter carrier as "another sellout." He said that "by tomorrow night it's going to be about the last nail." The strikers had demanded close to a 40% increase with the maximum attained after 3 years in order to bring them up above the poverty level. At the same time, the only reason they got even the offer of an immediate 12% increase was due to the tremendous militancy of the postal workers in the major cities and the fear that despite the leadership the workers might reject the wage offers contained in the old House and Senate bills.

What the postal strike showed is that the workers had the power to win their demands in full if their leaders and the rest of the union bureaucrats had not sold them out. The power was there to force the withdrawal of the troops and the backing down of the courts-- only the leadership based on the interests of the ranks with a program and strategy to unite the workers was lacking. While black and white, young and old, and postal workers from 7 different unions were talking to each other about the need to "stick together" and to organize one big postal union, leaders like Rademacher were using redbaiting and every other possible means to weaken and divide the workers.

Throughout, all the "friends of labor" led by Senator Javits gave the fullest support to Nixon and his use of troops even as they said it was "unfortunate." As the Workers League pointed out in its leaflet demanding that Van Arsdale call a general strike, Nixon's action "poses the absolute bankruptcy and viciousness of the entire Republican Administration and Democratic Congress...the fight must be taken up for a political break by labor with the Democrats and Republicans through the creation of a labor party based on the power of the trade unions."

leaders try to trick philly postmen

BY JACK ARNOLD

PHILADELPHIA--Two union meetings held here on March 22, two days after the letter carriers, supported by the rest of the postal employees, went on strike against the advice of their leadership, expressed the militancy of the workers. In both these meetings the temper was obvious merely upon entering the hall. The votes to stay on strike were simply formal acts necessary to demonstrate their intent to fight. The workers of these unions had gone on strike two days before without meetings or strike votes.

At the letter carriers meeting any one who spoke against staying out was loudly booed. Upon a division of the house, the vote for staying out was five to one. The rotten role of the local leadership was clearly shown when Joseph Kelly, President of the National Association of Letter Carriers, Local 157, said that the court order made it necessary for him to urge the men to stay on the job. Of course under the impact of the willingness of the rank and file to fight he also had to say that as a letter carrier he supported their action. There was no indication that in any way he was going to fight in the rest of the labor movement for support for the strike.

The next day his complete subservience to the bosses was most

obvious when on short notice Local 157 organized a secret ballot on the back to work question. There had been a great deal of false reporting on the part of the bosses' press, radio and TV that workers were

returning to work. With only a little more than one third of the members of the Local voting, a decision to return to work was taken --1,041 to 318. The announcement of the outcome was greeted by a

mixture of cheers and jeers from about 150 members and officials who had remained to hear the outcome.

UNITY

On the evening of the 22nd, the Postal Workers Union, an independent union, held a meeting to consider returning to work or continuing to support the Letter Carriers. What was most clear at this meeting was the fact that in the course of struggle all questions of race, sex and other questions divisive of the working class were simply shouldered aside by the workers, understanding that in order to win they had to stand and fight side by side. This puts the lie to all those revisionists who can only see the fight going forward on the basis of middle class movements such as the Panthers or the Women's Liberation Movement.

A young white worker speaking at this meeting said, "I'm tired of eating hot dogs. I'll only return when I can eat steak." A black woman worker said, "There is only one thing to do. As long as the carriers are out we must support them."

The way forward for the black working class, for working class women, for the white working class was clearly expressed here by all these workers' willingness to fight together. In the vote that ended the meeting, only a few dared to vote for return.



PHILADELPHIA POSTAL WORKERS MEET TO CONSIDER STRIKE ACTION

BEHIND THE COUP IN CAMBODIA

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

The overthrow of the Cambodian Government of Prince Sihanouk, far from being a move of strength on the part of the United States, is another indication of the hammer blows being directed against U.S. imperialism by the NLF, Pathet Lao, and the workers and peasants of the whole region.

The Cambodian military coup was clearly inspired by Nixon and carried through by the CIA. Barely had power changed hands than U.S. and South Vietnamese armies along the Cambodian border began co-operating with Cambodian troops in action against NLF forces in Cambodia.

To the United States the coup is seen as making it easier to cut off supplies and a sanctuary of NLF troops. The United States' concern with this at the cost of establishing a military regime which could be as difficult to maintain over the Cambodian people as the Thieu regime is over the Vietnamese people, is a sign of its deteriorating military and political position in Indochina as a whole.

LAOS

At the same time the United States admits flying Thai troops into the Plain of Jars area in a last ditch attempt to hold the besieged base at Long Tieng. It is also revealed that for some time Thai troops of Laotian ethnic extraction have been transferred to the Royal Laotian Army with the United States footing the bill. There is some question how many Laotians actually remain in the "Laotian" army.

So the war spreads with the United States flying Thai troops into Laos, while U.S. and South Vietnamese troops enter Cambodia under the cover of a new CIA-installed military regime. Nixon is as determined as Johnson to beat back the Vietnamese workers and peasants regardless of cost-- in lives of Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian, Thai and American workers.

inflation, recession shake u.s. economy

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

Arthur F. Burns' disclosure last week that the Federal Reserve Board, of which he is head, has switched to a policy of partial relaxation of the tight rein it has held on money and credit for the past year, marks in fact a new stage in the deterioration of the U.S. and world economic crisis.

The Federal Reserve Board and with it the Nixon Administration, faced with a situation where all leading economic indicators are pointing decisively to a major recession, not the least of which was the jump last month to 4.2% unemployment, is now forced to beat a partial retreat from their deflationary course.

This is true in spite of the fact that none of the objectives of the deflationary drive, above all the halting of inflation, has been achieved.

Burns and Nixon fear that the recessionary trend may get out of hand and plunge the economy into a collapse on the order of 1929. While this in the long run would restore profitability, in the costly short run it would also destroy huge amounts of the capitalists' precious capital. And so the deflationary zig is now being followed by an inflationary zag-- before the zig had any serious effect on the economic difficulties which required it to begin with.

Nixon and Burns are being forced into a course of action that is virtually guaranteed to aggravate the economic crisis from the standpoint of inflation and the monetary crisis,

At the same time Nixon moves troops into the New York Post Offices to break the strike of American workers brought about by the refusal of either the Democrats or Republicans in Congress to grant them a living wage. Can there be any question that Nixon is involved in a war against both the Vietnamese and American workers? Can there be any question that Nixon is willing to use in this war "any means necessary" and that his favorite means is military might?

APRIL

What is now required is a renewed struggle against the Vietnam War by the American working class. As the postal strike acts like a gi-

top brass knew of songmy massacre

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The Pentagon investigation of the Song My massacre has resulted in charges being brought against 14 officers for suppressing information about the massacre.

The massacre, in which from 300 to 500 civilians were herded together and murdered, took place over two years ago, and just a few months ago came to public light.

The officers involved include Major General Samuel W. Koster, commander of the Americal Division at the time of the massacre; Brig. General George H. Young, who was Assistant Commander of the Division, and five colonels, three majors, and four captains.

The charges brought against them by the investigation are dereliction of duty, failure to report the killing of civilians, and false swearing to the investigative body.

Most of the "explanations" of Song My have centered on the G.I.s involved, blaming the massacre on their "frustration" and "exhaustion." But what this latest disclosure makes clear is that the highest

gantic school for American workers it opens up an entirely new situation for building massive labor participation in the upcoming April 13-18 demonstrations.

The American working class is now on the move and the post-office struggle is only the beginning. The fight to bring Vietnam into the American labor movement will now take on a new urgency as through this fight the beginnings of an international class understanding can be developed among broad layers of workers. This way the kind of movement can be built which can break American workers from political support to the two capitalist parties and open up a new socialist chapter of American history.

ranking officers of the army are involved right up to their necks.

At least two generals were aware of the massacre, and didn't think it important enough to report; many other high ranking officers either ordered the massacre or looked the other way as it took place.

SLAUGHTER

With every new piece of information it becomes clearer that murdering civilians is commonplace in this imperialist slaughter, and that far from resting with the soldiers, the responsibility lies with the highest ranking officers and the government which is prosecuting this war.

The fight against the war, now escalating into Laos and Thailand, must be a fight to smash imperialism, which carries out bloody massacres against the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia. The American working class must turn out in full force on April 15th in solidarity with their class brothers in Vietnam, and against the ruling class which attacks the working class internationally.



NEW CAMBODIAN DICTATOR, LON NOL

Gary's Mayor Hatcher Moonlights as Slumlord

BY THE EDITORS

Mayor Richard Hatcher, the black mayor of Gary, Indiana, has just been revealed to be the part-owner of a slum tenement in the ghetto. He owns the building, which does not even meet his own housing code, along with his campaign manager. Both are members of the Democratic Party.

The tenement was originally designed for three families but has been subdivided to cram in five. Also a junked car and garbage have been found on his property. Hatcher has recently been campaigning against building code violations as well as junked cars and unkempt lots.

CP

The Communist Party has been one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Hatcher. In fact Donna Ristorucci, New York Educational Secretary of the Young Workers' Liberation League, wrote in the March 12th Daily World an attack on the YSA which stated: "They have called black political representatives elected by black people and their allies 'handkerchief heads.' They apply this label to such people as Mayor Richard Hatcher, the first black mayor of a major industrial city in the country..."

The point is that the real question is not color but class. Hatcher not only represents the capitalist class but is a part of that class. Therefore he can no more fight against slumlords and for the Negro people than a Mayor Lindsay. The only way forward is the construction of a working class party, a labor party based on the trade unions which will represent all workers regardless of color and smash racism through the unity of the working class.

Bulletin

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THE BULLETIN, Weekly Organ of the Workers League is published by Bulletin of International Socialism, Rm. 8, 243 E. 10th St. New York, N.Y. 10003. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and business office: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10th St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone: 754-7120. Subscription rates: U.S.A.-1 year: \$3.00; Foreign-1 year: \$4.00. APPLICATION TO MAIL AT SECOND CLASS POSTAGE RATES IS PENDING AT NEW YORK, N.Y.

printed in the U.S.A.

30 YEARS AFTER



LESSONS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

PART FOUR: THE SPANISH REVOLUTION BETRAYED

THE first response of the government to the revolt in North Africa was an attempt to come to terms with Franco and Mola. It feared the revolution as much as the fascists did.

To this end, all news of the uprising was suppressed by President Azaña until the morning of July 18, a full 24 hours after the first fascist shots were fired in Morocco.

And when the government did speak, it was solely in order to buy time for its dealings with the rebels: 'The movement is exclusively limited to certain cities of the protectorate zone...' ('Protectorate zone' was the Popular Front's euphemism for the colonial areas of North Africa held in subjection by the Spanish armed forces. It was a mark of Azaña's 'anti-fascism' that the man he selected to carry on this work of 'protection' was none other than General Franco.)

The lying statement concluded with the assurance, which it already knew to be

false, that 'nobody, absolutely nobody on the Peninsula [i.e. mainland Spain] has added to such an absurd undertaking'.

Later that day, when the mainland cities of Seville and Saragossa had fallen to the fascists, and the whole province of Navarre was in the hands of the Carlists, the government spoke again in an attempt to hold back the mounting anger of the masses: 'The government speaks again in order to confirm the absolute tranquillity of the whole Peninsula...'

Even as the Popular Front boasted of the 'absurdity' of the fascist coup, and attempted to lull the workers with talk of 'tranquillity', trade unionists and peasants were being slaughtered in their thousands in the areas already seized by the fascists.

It was at this very moment that the Stalinist formula 'the government commands, the "Popular Front" obeys' played such a central part in immobilizing the masses in the face of the fascist rising.

By the evening of July 18, roused by the news that the fascists were on the march, masses of workers besieged the local and central government offices, demanding arms to fight back.

In each and every case, they were turned away empty-handed. The fascist columns marched on unhindered.

The 'Republicans' refused to arm the workers because they feared the armed workers' revolution far more than the armed fascist counter-revolution.

In despair, Azaña sacked his 'left' premier, Quiroga, and re-

placed him with the ultra-conservative Barrio. This declaration of conciliation to the fascists could only have one result.

As always in war and politics, the first signs of compromise encourage the enemy to press home his advantage.

Franco responded to Azaña's peace overtures with increased military pressure. And within the ranks of the government forces, demoralization set in.

The middle and lower sections of the state personnel, seeing that their leaders had already given up the fight, moved rapidly over to the fascists. Sections of the army and the Civil Guard deserted *en masse* to the rebels.

Lack of decisive leadership in those first few hours of the revolt cost the Republic thousands of lives and much valuable territory. It also proved the best recruiting agent for Franco.

The Stalinists, firmly wedded to the post-1934 line of support for the 'liberal' bourgeoisie, had done their best to lull the masses to sleep after the election of the 'Popular Front'.

Even when armed with 30 years' hindsight, the Spanish Stalinist Dolores Ibaruri ('La Passionaria') insists that after February 1936 'there existed the possibility of restoring a democratic situation by pacific, electoral means. There was a possibility of creating a solid block of workers and democrats [i.e. workers and employers—R.B.]. Republicans, socialists and communists directed all their activities to these ends.' ('They Shall Not Pass', page 161.)

If everything had been left to the 'Popular Front' of 'Republicans, socialists and communists'

The last of a series of articles BY ROBERT BLACK



Fearing workers' revolution as much as the fascists, the republican government attempted to come to terms with Franco and Mola (above, Mola wearing glasses). President Azaña suppressed news of the opening shots of the generals' revolt in Morocco, where he had sent Franco as 'protector'!

then the whole of Spain would have been in Franco's hands within a week.

Trapped between the fascists, whom it longed to serve, and the workers and peasants, on whose reformist leadership it partly rested, the government coalition was completely paralyzed.

Even its own state machine no longer responded to its command as units of the armed forces defected to the rebels.

In the fight against Franco, these professional 'anti-fascists', later to be touted round the world by Stalinism as courageous fighters for democracy, proved to be nothing more than ineffectual cowards.

It fell to the traditional vanguard of the Spanish masses, the

workers of Barcelona, to deal the first blows against the fascists.

Significantly, the counter-attack began and went the furthest in an area which had remained almost free from the corroding influences of Stalinism and social democracy.

The storming of the army barracks and the smashing of the fascist revolt in the whole of Catalonia must rank as the greatest achievement of anarcho-syndicalism.

Combining revolutionary agitation with incredible heroism, the practically unarmed workers broke the ranks of the rank-and-file troops under General Goded, driving a class wedge between the landlord officer caste and the

sons of workers and peasants in the ranks.

Had similar revolutionary tactics been used all over Spain, instead of the 'serenity' advocated by Azaña and the Stalinists, the revolt would have been crushed within hours.

Hitler and Mussolini would have written off the whole enterprise as a total failure and abandoned Franco to his fate.

But having won the battle for Barcelona and with it control of Spain's most industrialized region (over half of all Spain's workers lived in the Catalan area around Barcelona), the CNT leaders were now as paralyzed as the Republicans who had nearly betrayed them to the fascists.

They had won a tremendous victory—but they did not know what to do with it.

Their anarchist rejection of politics, their so-called 'denial of the state', prepared the way for the return of the old bourgeois state, suitably refurbished of course by the Stalinists and social democrats.

Theory, in this case the lack of it, became the most decisive force in enabling capitalism, through its 'radical' spokesmen in the middle class and the bureaucratic leadership of the workers' organizations, to regain its hold in a situation where all had seemed lost.

The CNT leaders undoubtedly had the masses behind them. Their prestige in the first few days was colossal. But the power of the masses could only become decisive if harnessed to the struggle for state power.

Anarchism—which rejects out of hand the necessity to construct organs of workers' power—could only turn its back on such a perspective.

In the more advanced areas of Spain, workers' councils sprang up once again as they had done in the 1934 Asturias revolt.

But, in Spain, there was no party or tendency able to transform these 'juntas' from spontaneous organs of anti-fascist struggle into the groundwork of a revolutionary workers' and peasants' government.

used by the liberals to capture control of the revolutionary movement in both town and countryside, re-establishing as they went the power of the state machine that was almost shattered in the first days of the Civil War.

But at first, the situation demanded a very cautious approach. The peasants and rural labourers had seized the land, the workers held the factories and had kicked out the old owners. These conquests could not be attacked head on.

The approach had to be oblique, the first phase of which involved 'taming' the CNT-FAI leaders by bringing them into a revamped 'Popular Front' government under a much more 'left'

parties for support—in the case of the richer peasantry, even the monarchists. After July 17, it was obvious that these parties were unable to protect anyone or anything.

After recovering from the shock of the workers' uprising in the towns and the land seizures in the countryside, these conservative layers rallied to the only party which could possibly defend their privileges against the revolutionary tide that lapped round them. They literally poured into the ranks of the Communist Party.

Within a few months of the outbreak of the Civil War, 76,600 rich peasants had joined the party, as had 15,485 members of the urban middle class (CP

Franco as the defenders of the capitalist constitution:

'The government of Spain is a government that emerged from the electoral triumph of February 12, and we support it and we defend it, because it is the legal representative of the people fighting for democracy and liberty. . .'

This was nothing less than a declaration of war on the 'juntas' that had already formed themselves in Catalonia after the defeat of the fascists. Sooner or later, there would have to be a showdown between these embryonic organs of workers' power and the forces of 'the legal representatives of the people'.

In 1917, Lenin mobilized the Bolshevik Party for the overthrow of the Kerensky 'popular

'left' a character as possible, had ditched all but four of its bourgeois republicans. The problem of how to reach the anarchist workers, and with them, those behind the leadership of the POUM, still remained.

Until they could be entangled in the web of the capitalists coalition, and the workers put off guard by the illusion that they held the power by virtue of their leaders' participation in such a cabinet, the main work of the counter-revolution could not begin.

Changed principle

The entire history of both the anarchists and the POUM seemed to be against such a strategy. And yet we have already noted that in the elections of February 1936 the anarchists had for the first time called on their supporters to vote—true with clearly stated reservations.

No Marxist would attack the anarchists on these grounds. Parliaments should only be boycotted as a rule when the working class is strong enough and in a position to overthrow them and replace them by organs of workers' power.

But for the anarchists, support for the elections was not a change of tactics, but the negation of a principle. It proved that under the stress of great events, the CNT-FAI leadership were finding their old Bakuninist doctrine inadequate. The question remained however: What would they put in its place?

On November 5, 1936, they gave their answer. Four leading members of the FAI, 'anti-statists' to a man and woman, entered the cabinet of Caballero.

In their search for an answer to the problem of the state, they had flipped over from ultra-radicalism and ballot-burning to sitting cheek-by-jowl with such highly respectable bourgeois republicans as José Giral and Manuel de Irujo, not to speak of the Stalinists and right-wing socialists.

Spokesmen for the FAI-CNT went through contortions explaining this even more radical departure from previous libertarian practice:

'The CNT is ready to make the maximum concession compatible with its anti-authoritarian spirit; that of entering the government.'

But for people making concessions, they were a little too eager to be credible. They demanded five seats in the cabinet and only after long wrangling did they accede to one less. It is worth the space to spell out the names of these four. They, as much as the Stalinists, were responsible for the demoralization of the Spanish working class after its first victories. Their years of 'revolutionary' propaganda were now over.

Just when the time came to transform words into deeds, the anarchists crawled into the very state apparatus they had taught generations of workers to despise.

The four were Juan Lopez, commerce, Frederica Montseny, health, Juan Peiro, industry, and, crowning irony, Garcia Oliver, Minister for Republican 'justice'. An anarchist in charge of the police, law courts and prisons!

The humiliations of the anarchists did not end with their entry into the cabinet. They were now forcibly reminded of their ludicrous position every time they acted on behalf of the government against the interests of their own rank and file.

'The entry of the CNT into the government is one of the most important events in the political history of our country. Both as a matter of principle and by conviction, the CNT has been anti-statist and an enemy of every form of government. But circumstances have transformed the nature of the Spanish government and the Spanish state.

'At the present time, the government, as the instrument that controls the organs of the state, has ceased to be a force of repression against the working class, just as the state no longer represents a body that divides society into classes. And both will oppress the people even less now that the CNT has intervened.'

This new line on the role of the state as a force standing above classes is the classic theory of right-wing social democracy. And after the 7th Congress of the Communist International, it was taken over by the Stalinists.

Indeed, Stalin, together with Molotov and Voroshilov, sent



La Pasionaria (Stalinist Dolores Ibarruri, seen in the crowd above), even after 30 years during which she could draw the lessons of 1936, still claims that in the February, just five months before the civil war began, 'there existed the possibility of restoring a democratic situation by pacific, electoral means'.

leadership than those of the previous cabinets.

While the discussion began between the left parties on the exact composition of the new cabinet, the Stalinists were already building a base for themselves in preparation for the planned counter-revolution.

Defended property

Early in August, the French CP journal 'L'Humanité' issued the following statement:

'The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain requests us to inform the public, in reply to the fantastic and tendentious reports published by certain newspapers, that the Spanish people are not striving for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but know only one aim: the defence of the Republican order, while respecting property. . .'

In the eyes of the Stalinists, the fight for the Republic was also the fight to defend private property. Fascism was no longer an instrument of capitalist counter-revolution, as the Stalinists had previously correctly argued was the case with Italy and Germany, but rather an attempt at feudal restoration.

Hence, the true place of the Spanish bourgeoisie was on the Republican side of the barricades.

But unfortunately, the bourgeoisie laboured under the strange delusion that Franco's pledge to smash the workers' parties and unions was of some advantage to them, and so felt unable to place their services at the disposal of the Republic—despite all its undertakings to defend private property.

The Stalinists were considerably embarrassed by their inability to win over any big capitalists to their side. After all, it was to this class that much of their propaganda was directed.

Journalist Louis Fischer (at that time a pro-Stalinist) wrote that 'strangely enough (sic) Spain's small industrialist class supported the reactionary position taken by the landlords'.

Unable to land any big bourgeois fish, the Stalinists rallied instead the far more numerous ranks of the urban and rural middle class.

Prior to July 1936 they had turned to the more conservative

figures).

This new influx into the ranks of Stalinism had enormous significance for the future. It provided the counter-revolution with a certain mass basis which it could harness in the struggle to push back and finally smash the conquests of the workers and rural poor, particularly in the most advanced region of Catalonia and adjoining Aragon.

The Stalinists had to do the crudest violence to Marxism in order to justify this unheard-of turn towards the middle classes and medium employers:

'We therefore strongly urge the members of our party and the militia in general to demand, and if need be, enforce, respect for these middle-class citizens, all of whom are workers, and who therefore should not be molested. . .'

These workers were in fact nothing of the sort. They were described by the CNT as 'intransigent employers, ferociously anti-labour'. This did not prevent the Stalinists from organizing them into a trade union (the GEPCI) and awarding them the same voting rights in the UGT as bona fide trade unionists.

No revolution

Working as fast as they dared, the Stalinists and the Republicans built up their counter-revolutionary bloc. Adhering strictly to the line given out at the 7th Congress of the Communist International, the Spanish Stalinist Ibarruri made it clear as early as July 30 that there would be no workers' revolution if her party had any say in the matter:

'The revolution that is taking place in our country is the bourgeois-democratic revolution which was achieved over a century ago in other countries, such as France, and we Communists are front-line fighters in this struggle against the obscurantist forces of the past. . .'

The only snag in this analysis was, of course, that in this bourgeois revolution, the bourgeoisie were on the other side.

And that being so, what were the workers and peasants to do when they had defeated them? Presumably, they would be invited to resume their property and political posts, their error of judgement forgiven.

The Stalinists marched the workers into battle against

front' by winning the leadership in the Soviets. Less than 20 years later, Stalin rallied his forces for the crushing of the Spanish Soviets on behalf of the Spanish Kerenskys.

That perhaps indicates better than anything else the extent and depth of the degeneration that had taken hold of the Communist International after 1923.

In the areas where the workers had been able to act, Franco had been repulsed. In the more backward areas, the scattered forces of the peasantry had been unable to organize effectively, except where they were rallied by the workers.

Military assistance from Hitler and Mussolini was not the decisive factor in turning the scales in these opening weeks and months. They only committed themselves once they saw the inability (or refusal) of the government to mobilize the masses against Franco.

This first series of military reverses was the signal for a swing to the left by the government. It sensed that without direct links to the masses, all was lost.

There could be no hope of rallying the workers and peasants to fight unless the government was given a far more radical character than it possessed in the first month of the war.

Neither was it enough to lean on the Stalinists. They were too discredited a force to be used for a base in the working class. Their big moment was to come later.

The left wing of the Socialist Party, led by Largo Caballero, was now brought into play. Caballero was asked by Azaña to form a cabinet which was to lean more on the leaders of the workers' parties than on the old republican formations. For the time being they had to take a back seat.

The Stalinists were awarded two seats in the new cabinet, one of which, that of Agriculture (Vicente Uribe) was of vital importance.

Six posts went to the Socialists, split between Left and Right factions (the Rights, under Prieto, were to unite with the Stalinists when the time came to dump Caballero for being reluctant to outlaw the 'Trotskyist' POUM).

But even now the bulk of the Spanish working class lay outside the grasp of the new cabinet, which in order to give itself as

Caballero a letter underlining their rejection of the Leninist theory of the state:

'The Spanish Revolution follows its own road, distinct in many ways from that followed by Russia. [Yes—there was no Bolshevik Party!] This is determined by the difference in social conditions, history and geography, and by the necessities of the international situation. . . . It is quite possible that the parliamentary road will prove in Spain a more effective method of revolutionary development than was possible in Russia. . . .'

The parliamentary road while Civil War raged across the whole of Spain!

The CNT leaders rapidly moved over to the right, despite the protests of their rank and file. Their much-vaunted concern for democracy and opposition to autocratic methods of leadership now melted away.

Rapidly they made their peace with Stalin, who at that very moment, in a series of purges and mock 'trials', was wiping out practically the entire Leninist old guard of the Bolshevik Party:

'Lenin was not the true builder of Russia but rather Stalin with his practical realism.'

Clear account

Those were the words of Montseny, who explained her entry into the cabinet as 'an act compelled by circumstances'. Even so, years later, this same 'anarchist' was able to give a much clearer account of her conduct:

'The arguments of the Communists, the Socialists and the Republicans were always the same: It was essential to give an appearance of legality to the Spanish Republic, to calm the fears of the British, French and Americans. As a consequence, the state recovered the positions it had lost, while we revolutionaries, who formed part of the state, helped it to do so. That was why we were brought into the government. . . .'

And lest there be anyone who still thinks these four anarchists acted without the agreement of the CNT, and the FAI, let Montseny have the last word:

'We defended our ground inch by inch and never voted for anything that curbed the conquests of the revolution without first being authorised by the National Committee of the CNT, on which there was a permanent representative of the FAI. . . .'

A fitting epitaph for the would-be smashers of the state: We betrayed (inch by inch, of course)—but we did so with the permission of our party.

The failure of POUM in the Spanish Revolution was not simply the collapse of a Spanish party. It proved for all time that centrism, even of the most left variety (and within the POUM there were many who were heroic fighters, subscribing even to the theory of the Permanent Revolution) was totally unable to mobilize the working class in a struggle for state power.

Trotsky did not castigate the leaders of the POUM (Party of Workers' Marxist Unity) for not seizing power in the early days of the Civil War.

That first turbulent period had to be one of careful preparation, of politically arming the advanced workers and preparing them for the inevitable betrayal of the anarcho-syndicalist leaders.

On the basis of that preparation, and steeled by an implacable hostility to Stalinism and social democracy, the POUM would rapidly have become a mass party of the working class and rural poor, capable within a few months of organizing the masses for the overturn of the Republican traitors and the launching of a revolutionary Civil War against Franco.

But the whole history of POUM was against such a turn. POUM was the product of a basically unprincipled fusion of the old Left Opposition (Trotskyists) within the Spanish Communist Party, and the Workers' and Peasants' Alliance, a rightward-drifting centrist group that drew its theoretical inspiration from the Bukharin-led Right Opposition in the Bolshevik Party that emerged after Stalin's ultra-left turn in 1928-1929.

Fusion in POUM

The result of this unification of right and left tendencies was a party based on theoretical and programmatic confusion and compromise.

On all essentials, it was the rightist, Bukharinite tendency led by Maurin that dominated the line of the party. The party's 'Trotskyist' residue had only one function after 1936—to provide a left cover for the Stalinist counter-revolution and the anarchist scramble for ministerial portfolios.

We have already noted in Part Three of this series that POUM, along with all the other parties of the Republican camp, put its name to the 'programme' of the Popular Front.

Committed to the defence of the Republic, and not to the preparation of the revolution, it found itself driven inexorably to the right, only to be cynically discarded by the Stalinists and their Republican allies once it had done its job.

Trotsky reserved his most bitter scorn for those who flaunted the phrases of revolution only to disintegrate when action was required:

'The revolution is not satisfied with theoretical avowals. Instead of mobilizing the masses against the reformist leaders, including the anarchists, the POUM tried to convince these gentlemen of the superiorities of socialism over capitalism. . . .'

In order not to quarrel with the anarchist leaders they did not form their own nuclei and in general did not conduct any kind of work inside the CNT. Evading sharp conflicts, they did not carry on revolutionary work inside the Republican army. . . .'

'By isolating the revolutionary vanguard from the class, the POUM rendered the vanguard impotent and left the class without leadership. Politically the POUM remained throughout far closer to the "People's Front", for whose left wing it provided the cover, than to Bolshevism.

'That the POUM nevertheless fell victim to base and bloody repressions was due to the fact that the "People's Front" could not fulfil its mission, namely, to stifle the socialist revolution—except by cutting off, piece by piece, its own left flank.'

Bloody work

The cutting edge of the "People's Front" was Stalin's secret police, the GPU. Already it had begun its bloody work in the Soviet Union following the assassination of the Leningrad Stalinist leader Sergei Kirov (a murder later revealed by Khrushchev to have been carried out with the complicity of the GPU).

This assassination was made the pretext for a wholesale onslaught on the last remnants of Bolshevism within the Soviet Union.

It was no accident that Stalin's giant frame-up of the men who prepared and led the October Revolution moved towards its climax step-by-step with his crushing of the Spanish Revolution.

The GPU's plans for the first trial were barely complete when the Franco revolt broke out. For three months, the Stalinist bureaucracy remained neutral in the struggle. Stalin had only one aim in those three months—the elimination of the Leninist old guard, a brutal massacre that began in August with the trial of Zinoviev, Kamenev and the rest of the 'Sixteen'.

At once, the Kremlin made it plain that it adhered to the principle of 'non-intervention':

'Had the Soviet government not agreed to the French proposal for neutrality, it would have seriously embarrassed that government. . . . If the Soviet government took any step which added further fuel to the present inflammable situation in Europe, it would be welcomed by fascists of all countries and would split the democratic forces. . . .'

(*'Daily Worker'*, September 9, 1936.)

Stalin, by refusing to give material aid to the embattled republic against a fascist army already backed by Hitler and Mussolini, hoped to make clear to his imperialist allies in France, Britain and the USA that he could be trusted to throw the weight of the bureaucracy behind the forces of law and order.

It was not until November 2, 1936, three-and-a-half months after the outbreak of the Civil War, that the first material aid reached Spain from the Soviet Union.

By then, Stalin could be sure that the first flood of the revolutionary tide had begun to ebb, and the anarchists and other left tendencies tamed.

Such arms as were sent did not reach the workers' militias, which were at that moment being closed down by the Stalinists, but fell directly into the hands of the reconstituted central army, staffed by bourgeois officers under the direct control of the capitalist government.

German and Italian intervention poured in on the scale that it did only because Hitler and Mussolini were confident that Stalin had no interest in the victory of the workers.

If the First Moscow Trial left any lingering doubts as to the depth of the Stalinist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, Stalin's policy of neutrality in the first three-and-a-half months of the Spanish Civil War should have removed them.

Stalinist propaganda became openly nationalist, in an attempt to prove that they, and not the fascists, were the true Spanish patriots:

'In the beginning, it was possible to describe the struggle simply as one between democracy and fascism, between progress and reaction.'

Even this formulation, liberal and opportunist though it was, proved to be too 'revolutionary' for the Stalinists:

'But now it has broken through these bounds and become transformed into a holy war, into a national war, into a defensive war of the people. . . .'

This language was stolen directly from the national and religious demagoguery of the fascists, and proved how far the Stalinists were opposed even to the maintenance of the forms of bourgeois freedoms in the Republican zone. This denial of even the democratic aspects of the struggle against fascism should have served as a warning to all those political groups that stood to the left of the Stalinists.

Unless they mobilized the working class in a struggle for power, the coalition of the Republicans with the GPU would smash them to pulp.



Today's Spanish Stalinists have gone far to the right, even presenting the Church as an ally. But the picture above shows Franco as an equally strong ally of the Church.

THE WAR against Trotskyism was not only conducted in the slave camps of the Soviet North and East and in the torture chambers and death cells of Moscow's Lubyanka jail.

Stalin's decision to intervene in Spain had one purpose only—to carry on the war against Trotskyism that he had begun with such bloody effect in the Soviet Union.

This intention was made clear by the resolution of the Presidium of the Communist International of December 28, 1936:

'The Presidium regards as correct the struggle waged by the Communist Party and supported by the other organizations of the Popular Front against the Trotskyists as fascist agents who, in the interests of Hitler and General Franco, are trying to break up the Popular Front, waging a campaign of calumny against the USSR [i.e. against the Moscow Trials], and using every means, every kind of intrigue and demagogic trick, to prevent the defeat of fascism in Spain.'

'Since the Trotskyists, in the interests of fascism, are carrying on subversive work in the rear of the Republican troops, the presidium approves the policy of the party aimed at the complete and final destruction of Trotskyism in Spain as essential to the victory over fascism.'

At last the issues were clear.

Only when Spain had been cleansed of 'Trotskyism', in other words, when the revolution had been crushed, could the fight against Franco begin.

In the meantime, all the best war material, the crack regular units and publicity, were turned against the 'enemy in the rear'—the workers of Catalonia, and first of all, Barcelona.

Slowly but surely the dual power was eroded by the retreats of POUM and the anarchists, who covered their retreats with talk about unity in the face

of the fascist enemy.

Energies exhausted

The colossal class energies that were released on July 19 were allowed to exhaust themselves in leaderless or misled struggles and internal squabbles that had little or nothing to do with revolutionary principles and strategy.

The counter-revolution, when it came to Catalonia, was brutal and effective. The gangs of right-wing thugs who rallied to Stalinism after July 17 were set loose on the workers' and peasants' collectives, restoring to their capitalist owners the factories and land socialized with such burning revolutionary conviction in the first weeks of the workers' counter-attacks.

Instinctively the workers knew that the only guarantee against fascism was the control of the means of production.

Control of the land and the factories provided the working class and the poor peasantry with a tremendous moral as well as economic strength in their civil war against the fascists.

Seizing the property of Franco's backers (not to speak of the property of the 'Republican' capitalists who, trapped in the anti-fascist zone, longed for the day of Franco's arrival) was the most powerful of class weapons in the war against fascism.

And just for that reason, the Stalinists had to strike back in defence of that same private property.

Stalin's foreign policy, which after 1934 temporarily turned from seeking an alliance with Hitler (the end of the 'Third Period') to a wooing of the 'democratic' imperialists, demanded that such a defence of private property be undertaken.

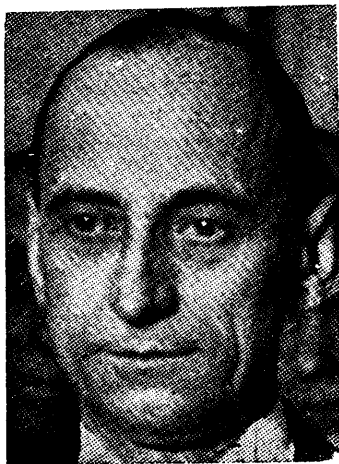
Graphic description

The counter-revolution in Catalonia, described so graphically by Orwell in 'Homage to Catalonia' and with far more political depth by Morrow in 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain', flowed inexorably from the Bonapartist nature of Stalinist rule in the Soviet Union and its international policy of veering between and balancing upon various groups of imperialist powers.

Much more could be said of the Civil War, of Stalin's cynical use of the heroism of the International Brigades, many of whom



As a final conciliation to the fascists hours after their revolt began, Azana (left) sacked his 'left' Prime Minister, Quiroga (right) and appointed the ultra-conservative Barrio.





Stalin misused the heroism of men like those above in the XVth International Brigade who were thrown into suicide missions purley to give a propaganda boost to Spanish Stalinists against their political rivals.

were thrown into suicide missions purely in order to give a propaganda advantage to the Stalinists against their political rivals, all of which were used to stiffen the counter-revolutionary dregs hastily pulled together by the Spanish Communist Party in its war against the working class.

And much could also be said of the Stalinist influence on the Republic's foreign and colonial policy.

Sufficient here to point out that it was the Stalinists who were the most fervent opponents of granting the most modest of freedoms to the tribesmen and peasants of Spanish Morocco.

Afraid lest the granting of freedom to Spanish Morocco spark off a movement throughout the whole of the Arab peoples against imperialism, the Stalinists made it very clear that French and British imperialist interests would not be harmed by a Republican victory:

'The Spanish government wishes Spain's future foreign policy, so far as Western Europe is concerned, to assume the form of active collaboration with France and the United Kingdom. . . .'

This could only mean one thing—a joint policing of the Arab people. Spanish, British and French interests only merged around that one single question.

Best weapon

Denying themselves the opportunity of revolutionary agitation in the colonial territories held by Franco, the Republican army had to fight against not only regular army units, the Falange militias, the Carlists and the German and Italian forces, but a large army composed of Moors.

The best weapon of any revolutionary army, the guarantee of land and freedom to those in the enemy ranks dragooned or deluded into fighting their own class, was torn out of the hands of the workers by the pro-imperialist course of the Kremlin.

From every side, Stalinism rained blows on the Spanish working class and its best leaders.

POUM was banned, its leaders framed and done to death, like Andreas Nin, by the GPU.

Hundreds, thousands of working-class militants met their deaths, not at Franco's hands, for this was a death they would all have chosen, but in the private cells of Stalin's counter-revolutionary thugs.

Franco marched to power, through Catalonia and finally to Madrid, over the body of a labour movement long politically exhausted and demoralized.

There was no fighting when the fascists entered Barcelona on January 26, 1939. The counter-revolution had already done its bloody work over the previous two-and-a-half years.

Not fascism, but Stalinism, had ripped the guts out of the Spanish proletariat.

A new generation of workers, free from the demoralization of the defeat of 1939, has now come on the scene of battle in Spain.

Stalinism Prepares New Betrayals

All the more important therefore that they must be on their guard against the treachery of Stalinism past and present.

For today, the Communist Party of Spain, despite the undoubted heroism and devotion of its rank and file, is charting a new course of betrayal that can only lead to defeats even more bloody and costly than those of 1936-1939.

The propaganda material of Spanish Stalinism has only one theme: 'National Reconciliation'. It is nothing more than a re-vamping of the old Popular Front, though on a far more right-wing basis:

'The policy of national accord remains a policy of national unity, of alliance of all anti-monopoly and anti-feudal forces. The policy of national accord can

be considered a "failure" only by those who visualize it as a reconciliation between Francoism and the people, between the oppressors and the exploited. . . .'

Which of course is just what it is.

The Catholic church and the army are even presented as allies in the struggle:

'The intensity of this movement has won it the support of various circles of the Catholic church. . . . It is also having an effect on the army, where doubts and criticism of the present state of affairs have begun to be voiced.'

This is from a statement by the Spanish CP in 1964. Since that date, huge struggles have broken out that have left not a single region of Spain untouched.

This has had the effect of driving the Stalinists even further to the right.

Britain and France must still be wooed, as in the days of the Popular Front. As in 1936-1939, the Kremlin calls the counter-revolutionary tune in Spain.

'There are increasing signs of discord in the ruling circles them-

selves: the Falange is breaking up and wide sections of the national bourgeoisie are taking up democratic positions. Even the big bourgeoisie is beginning to support "evolution". In a word, the Franco regime is "eating itself away". . . .'

'Although various forces are participating in the anti-Franco movement, the Communist Party believes that there is an actual possibility of a temporary coincidence of aims. . . .'

New blood-bath

Thus Spanish Stalinism, forgetting nothing and learning nothing from its historic betrayals after 1936, prepares a new blood-bath in the name of 'peaceful reform'.

As in 1936, the working class is to serve as cannon fodder for the 'democratic' bourgeoisie, only to be ruthlessly crushed once it begins to struggle for its own historic class goals.

But Spanish capitalism (which may well be preparing to ditch Franco if other methods of disciplining the workers prove more attractive), has stronger allies than its home-bred Stalinists. Over the last few years, the Kremlin has begun a careful turn towards economic, diplomatic and military links with the Franco regime, disregarding all the revulsion that such a policy undoubtedly provokes within the ranks of the world's communist parties.

First it was only the visit of Soviet football teams, 'cultural' groups and the like. The important thing was that contacts were being established.

Then some time in late 1966 or early 1967, the Soviet journalist N. Shishlin visited Spain, writing on his return of forces that were working for a betterment of relations with the Soviet government:

'Dozens of newspapers reported our group's arrival. They wrote many things and generally in a friendly vein, about the Soviet Union. Good relations with the Soviet Union are now seen by various sections of Spanish society as valuable capital. The present authorities are also taking this into account to a certain extent.'

The next two years are a record of how the Stalinist bureaucracy has traded that capital with Franco in exchange for some worthless guarantees, probably in connection with the US bases in Spain, Spanish entry into the Common Market and Spain's relations with NATO.

Cracks in the diplomatic ice soon followed.

Rumania and Spain exchanged consuls, while the 'cultural' visits were stepped up ('Soviet News', July 22, 1969, announced that 'A Ukrainian dance company is to visit Spain for a three months' tour during which it will appear in Madrid and 14 other towns').

Naturally, this turn meets with the full approval of the British Communist Party.

Sam Russell, who fought with the Attlee Brigade in the Civil War, and doubtless has a few stories to tell, never misses the opportunity to display his solidarity with the people of Spain. He wrote very much in this vein in the 'Morning Star' on March 29, 1969, on the 30th anniversary of Franco's victory:

Rumanian model

'Those of us who had the privilege to fight alongside the Spanish people in those days in defence of that common cause will never forget the heroism of that people. . . .'

But the same Sam Russell, writing on the foreign policy of the Rumanian government (which he takes as a model for British Stalinists to emulate) has this to say in the 'Morning Star' of July 7, 1969:

'While maintaining normal relations with Israel, Rumania has maintained normal and friendly relations with the Arab States. . . . Rumania is also the only socialist state which has consular and commercial relations with Spain. . . .'

Bravo Rumania!

So much for British Stalinism's 'solidarity' with the anti-Franco struggle in Spain. It is worth about as much as their 'solidarity' with the Vietnamese or any people fighting for national and social liberation.

Behind the brave (and often not so brave) words, all manner of cynical deals are constantly being concocted to strangle the working class in its bid for power.

So it was in 1936, so it is today.

Only there are important differences that aspiring emulators of the Spanish counter-revolution would be well advised to consider. The working class of the entire metropolitan capitalist world is fresh, confident and undefeated.

It proves its ability and willingness to fight, not only in the titanic battles of May-June in France, but in every partial or local struggle: in Britain, the USA, and in Spain itself.

Resurgent theory

And, bound up with this revitalized working class, is the resurgence of revolutionary theory and organization, the Fourth International, which in Britain stands on the threshold of its greatest triumph, the launching of its daily press.

We serve notice on the Stalinists that the days when they could mobilize the forces of counter-revolution with impunity are over, as are the days of anarchist confusion-mongers.

They proved in France last year that the legacy of Bakunin is as useless to workers in struggle today as it was in the heyday of the First International.

But we must end on a note of warning. While all the forces to defeat Stalinism and carry through the revolution are maturing inside the European working class (including its Soviet bloc detachments), we must never forget that Stalinism still retains its deadly powers of betrayal.

This survives not through any inner strength, but because Stalinism meets the requirements of important sections of the international capitalist classes. Spain proved that Stalinism can be transformed from a small sect into a virulent counter-revolutionary force when the interests of imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy temporarily merge in a struggle against the threat of revolution.

Only powerful revolutionary leadership, grounded in a real grasp of the whole history of Stalinism and Trotskyism's struggle against it can provide a real guarantee for victory.

That is the real lesson of Spain. We must never forget it.



The political retreat by the working-class leaders in Catalonia, perhaps the most stubborn and least Stalinist-influenced resistance to the fascist advance, led to the generals' victory over Barcelona, seen above after vicious bombing raids.

ILWU WAREHOUSEMEN FACE CONTRACT FIGHT

BY RAYMOND FRYE

SAN FRANCISCO-- On March 7th almost 900 ILWU warehousemen jammed the international headquarters to launch "Warehouse Year-1970." The rank and file needed no reminders as to what three years of inflation, run-away shops and deteriorating conditions had done to their last contract. They were also keenly aware of the past betrayals of the bureaucrats and determined to see to it that it doesn't happen again.

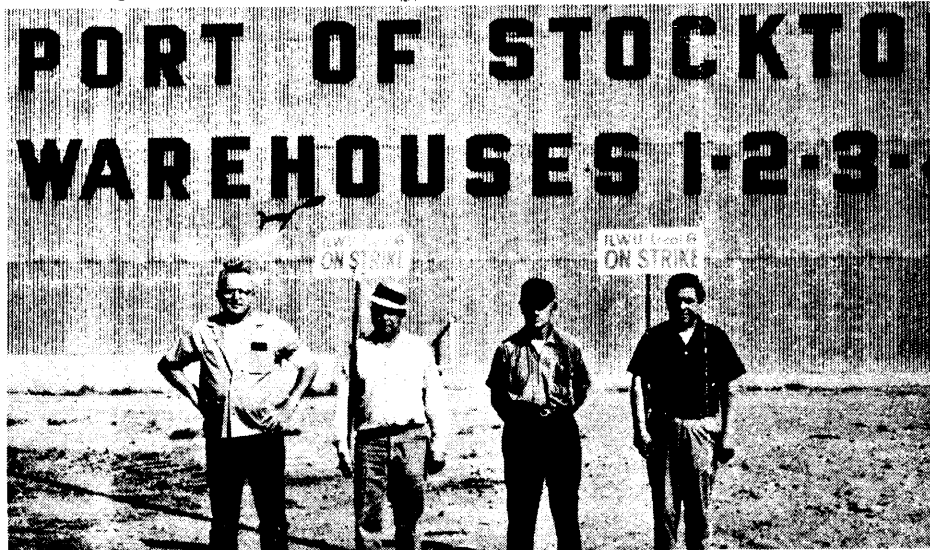
The 1967 sellout was on everybody's mind. In 1967 the warehouse stewards spurred on and watched by the rank and file, came together at the contract convention in San Francisco determined to make their leaders fight for pay increases and decent fringes. When the bureaucrats proposed a money package of 35¢-35¢-35¢ as their first negotiating position, the stewards screamed bloody murder. The proposal was fiercely rejected and a package calling for 60¢-50¢-40¢, a cost of living clause, strong fringe benefits and job security demands was passed.

Given their marching orders, the bureaucrats went to the table. Despite an absolutely solid strike with total unity of Teamster and ILWU warehousemen they returned with a miserable money package and with almost all of the other demands including the cost of living clause

casually laid to rest under the bosses' table. The "great victory" leaves them today taking home less real wages than they were getting three years ago.

FIGHT

This year the warehousemen sent their delegates to the convention de-



STRIKING WAREHOUSEMEN GOT FULL SUPPORT FROM LONGSHOREMEN AND TEAMSTERS

termined to fight bureaucrats, bosses, government, all if necessary in order to come out of the struggle with a living wage. Seeing another "great victory" threatening in the leadership's proposal for 50¢-50¢-50¢,

the delegates immediately rejected it and overwhelmingly voted for \$1-\$1-\$1, thus matching the present demands of the Teamster truck drivers.

Consternation on the part of the bureaucrats. The lunch bell rings. The labor leaders busily caucus, if not to reverse it today, at least to get a second chance to beat down

"You'll be damned lucky to get 50¢," says Bridges. "What about 20¢, Harry?" replies a voice from the floor, obviously recalling 1967. "It might be" says Bridges. "We could come back for a strike vote and you'll be crying for 20¢."

After Bridges had spoken in favor and the motion for reconvening had passed, a large number of militant workers walked out. "Are you trying to tell us it's time to go home by walking out?" they were asked from the podium. "Damn right, you're going to have another meeting so why the hell should we stay?"

It was crystal clear from this struggle that a real base exists for building a militant opposition to the ILWU leadership. But militancy, calls for more money, and walkouts are no substitute for a strategy and a fighting program for victory.

The warehouse negotiations come at a critical time. The employers will be looking to deal the ILWU some big setbacks with the 1971 waterfront negotiations in mind.

POTENTIAL

This struggle has enormous potential for victory however. During the 1967 strike a real rank and file fight was conducted by ILWU and IBT workers--joint negotiations, joint picket lines and united action in tracking down and stopping scab shipments. Despite the blows Bridges and Teamster bureaucrats have dealt

unity with their reactionary jurisdictional dispute over containers, a united fight is more necessary than ever. Warehousemen must fight for joint rank and file meetings to prepare for this struggle. The ILWU leadership would like nothing better than to cooperate at the top with the Teamsters while keeping the ranks separated, playing them off against each other. This is why Goldblatt tried to tell the conference that IBT warehousemen would never go for a big wage struggle.

Warehousemen must not be isolated from dockers and truckers as they were in 1967. The whole strength of the IBT and the ILWU must be thrown into this fight. This means that warehousemen must fight for the assurance that whatever solidarity action is needed to win their demands will be provided.

There must be no repetition of the device used in 1967 of allowing the strike to be weakened with separate settlements and a return to work by some sections while thousands were still on strike. Northern California warehouses must be kept shut until a common contract is signed.

AN AUTO WORKER SPEAKS OUT ON THE 1970 CONTRACT

(The following is an interview with a worker in the General Motors truck factory in Pontiac, Michigan.)

Q. Is there much talk in the plant about the forthcoming negotiations?

A. Not a lot, I don't think. People in skilled trades hang together and, because they will be there until they retire, they are going to care about the contract. People who work on the line tend to come and go. They don't think they will be there long, and most of them won't. The average security of a worker on the line is a year or two. These men haven't been there long and eventually go back home. They don't have too much interest because they don't think they will be there long.

Q. What should the union demand?

A. The average guy on the assembly line is 23. The skilled workers, maintenance and stockhandling workers stay together and talk about early retirement. The average guy cares just about his base wage going up, because they don't expect to be there long.

Q. Do you expect a fair settlement?

A. I expect it to be as fair as its been in the past. With a recession I expect the auto companies will fight to give as little as possible. They're used to that anyways.

Q. Will there be a strike?

A. I don't know. I don't know about nationally, but I know that my local took a strike vote 4 or 5 months ago and authorized a strike. Seventy percent of those that voted wanted a strike mostly over grievances.

Q. Do you feel that we're in a recession?

A. It seems so. I am not an

economist. Since last year things have slowed down, at least where I work. I think unemployment in Michigan is 10% or at least is expected to be 10% very shortly. That's common knowledge.

Q. Do you expect to be fully employed this year?

A. I do myself, because I have enough seniority. With the Guaranteed Annual Income or SUB pay, anyone with over a year's time will be employed. Workers with less than a year will probably be laid off.

Q. What effect will small cars have on speedup: more or less?

A. I work in a truck plant. There may be speedup because there will be a simpler design with less operations and then they can time the motions. They know how long it takes to build one. Every little thing can be timed. Every one is the same and it will be easier. The efficiency is better. They will get more work out of the men.

Q. What is the attitude of the workers toward the union?

A. Most guys don't give a damn about it unless it saves their neck. This is the average guy. We know that as long as the company pays the committeemen, they will be crummy. Some of them aren't that bad, but that is the general opinion of the workers. The workers know that the foreman is buying the committeeman a cup of coffee and drinking with him. This is a complaint you hear quite a bit.

What I want to represent me is a committeeman who hates the foreman when he sees him. With that kind of committeeman the union would be radical. Now it's different. Many committeemen think the same way as management. They make deals. I don't know if this is intentional but it's the way it comes out.

the demand in the future.

If a final settlement of, say, 20¢-20¢-20¢ looks like pretty small cookies against 50¢-50¢-50¢, how would it measure up against \$1-\$1-\$1?

WEAKNESS

Immediately after lunch Goldblatt got up to propose that the convention reconvene in four to eight weeks, after the leadership has time to present the proposals to the Teamsters in order to "bang it around a bit" with them. This motion was strongly endorsed by Harry Bridges. It was all too clear that the ILWU leadership intends not only to "bang around" the proposals of the membership, but to beat them into a bloody pulp in order to leave their hands free for a sellout.

All the efforts of the bureaucracy were devoted to giving the ranks the feeling of isolation and weakness. Goldblatt really hit away at this theme. "You're not ready for a long strike...you won't be prepared to hit the bricks for perhaps months...There's a hostile administration in Washington. The members will fire you tomorrow if you go back with a strike vote around \$1-\$1-\$1. The bosses would know we're not serious. They would walk out as soon as we put it on the table. You will drive more houses out of the state. The Teamsters warehousemen won't go along. Let's bang it around a bit and see what we come up with when our heads are cool."

Mass Layoffs To Hit White Motors

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

MINNEAPOLIS--White Motors has now announced that it will shut the foundry of its Lake St., Minneapolis-Moline Plant on April 3rd. This date was moved up from an earlier announcement of May 1st, to prevent the union, UAW Local 932 from taking effective steps to block this.

Some 239 workers are scheduled to be permanently laid off. The leadership of Local 932 has shown that it has absolutely no idea how to fight this. Its proposal is to change over from departmental to plant-wide seniority, allowing the high seniority members in the foundry to throw the low seniority workers on the line and the rest of the plant into the streets. Either way, 239 workers are out of a job.

The Local 932 leadership pushed through its proposal at a meeting

on March 18th by a 286 to 166 margin, but this is now being challenged because no check of union cards was made at the voting. As one assembler put it, "I could have worked at the Schneider drug store around the block, and they would have let me vote."

What White Motors has done is to build a \$15 million addition to its foundry in Charles City, Iowa. If the Minneapolis closing is not stopped then Local 932's members working in assembly may find themselves thrown out when White's new engine assembly plant in Canton, Ohio goes into full production.

The Charles City and Canton facilities will be equipped with the latest and most automated equipment, enabling White Motors to increase productivity and force the growing economic crisis on its workers through unemployment.

FROM TROTSKY'S BODYGUARD TO SUPERMARKET OWNER



ABOVE: JAKE COOPER (THIRD FROM RIGHT) MARCHES TO PRISON WITH TROTSKYIST LEADERS IN 1941



AT LEFT: COOPER TODAY

BY J. RENEE

At first glance, the facts seem simple enough, and hardly worth space in the Bulletin; Jake Cooper, one-time Trotskyist turned petty bourgeois businessman, clings nostalgically to the memory of his revolutionary past and agrees to attend the December 1969 convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. News of his attendance appears in the Minneapolis papers and word spreads throughout Chaska, a small town of 3,900, 27 miles southwest of Minneapolis and rapidly undergoing transformation into a bedroom suburb. Cooper is one of the most successful businessmen in Chaska. He owns and runs a supermarket, is president of the Minnesota River Watershed Association and the Chaska Jobs and Industrial Development Corporation. In other words, Cooper has long since made his peace with capitalism and eases his conscience by trying to find solutions to the problems of pollution and unemployment within the confines of capitalism; in fact, within the confines of a tiny, backward Minnesota town.

So what happens when the story breaks and old residents recall, while new ones find out, that the grocer in their midst had a revolutionary past which he refused to deny? A boycott of his store was rapidly organized. Then gradually business returned to normal after a time and a few feature articles in the Minneapolis Star and Tribune made it clear that Jake was merely the ghost of revolutions past.

Let there be no mistake. This attack, like all red baiting attacks, is basically part and parcel of the Nixon-Agnew-Big Business attack on the working class. On a smaller scale it is part of the attack against the Fanthers, of the Chicago Trial, of the Yablonski murders. It is part of an attempt to split, disorient and disorganize the workers in the face of an all out drive against their living standards. In their drive to solve the crisis of their capitalist system by crushing the workers' organizations, not only the working class itself but any potential middle class

allies must be intimidated. Not out of sentimental, liberal sympathy, but out of objective class interests the Workers League condemns the red baiting attack on Jake Cooper.

This is the surface story. But underneath lies another story with lessons for the workers in their struggles to form a revolutionary party in this country. For Jake Cooper stands forth as a living illustration of the failure of the Socialist Workers Party.

Like many other young Minneapolis workers, Jake Cooper came to Trotskyism in the thirties through his experiences in the General Drivers Local 544. From the very beginning there was never any doubt about his loyalty, his courage, or his devotion to the struggle for a new society. He served as organizer for the unemployed youth section of the truck drivers and as such helped to organize countless young workers. Twice he went to jail for union activities in the early period. In 1940 he was a guard in the home of Leon Trotsky and was present during the May, 1940 attack on Trotsky's life. More than once the party made use of Jake's good right arm in its defense guards.

In 1944 he was one of the 18 Trotskyists who were sent to prison in the Smith Act Trials. Upon his release he again took his place as an active party worker. Later he participated in the 1948 packinghouse strike that was part of the working class upsurge after World War II. As a result of that strike, he, along with other comrades and several dozen other militants from the South St. Paul plants, was fired. It was almost a year before these workers went back to work. But by that time Jake's militancy was gone. His parents retired from their small general store in Chaska, and Jake retired as an active Trotskyist to become an active storekeeper.

How did this happen? How did the fighting militant become the worried storekeeper? Why did the SWP prove incapable of developing and educating Jake theoretically and politically? He joined the party as a militant, class conscious youth. He remained a militant for 13 years, but his socialist idealism was never given any scientific foundation. Jake was not educated about the need to develop as a political and theoretical leader, or the need to take his place in the revolutionary cadre. On the contrary, he was systematically taught to accept leadership from others--from Ray Dunne, from Carl Skoglund, from his brother-in-law Max Goldman, and even from his younger brother. Jake was taught to be just an activist and to leave the theory to those with theoretical ability.

This cannot be seen as an individual question, the neglect or incorrect training of one person. On the contrary it flowed from and reflected the inability of the entire party to confront and understand dialectical materialism. There was a complete failure to understand the dialectical relationship of theory and action--that there can be no revolutionary Marxist activity apart from the development of theory, and no development of theory apart from the daily fight to test it in action.

Thus Jake's inability to maintain his previous devotion to party work flowed from his lack of theoretical understanding. That lack of understanding itself reflected and was part of the general weakness in the party. This showed itself in the late forties in the party's inability to develop a perspective for the postwar period. (See Wohlforth: *Struggle For Marxism in the United States*; pp47-57). The Minnesota movement in this period showed all the strengths and weaknesses of the national movement, but some in exaggerated form. A tremendous gap had developed in the local between the great leaders like Carl Skoglund and Ray Dunne, pioneers of American Trotskyism, and the ranks. Because of their own failure to grasp the importance of an understanding of the dialectical method to the construction of a revolutionary party, the leadership was completely unable to narrow this gap by raising the political level of the party as a whole. Cooper was not the only militant who was allowed, nay encouraged, to remain a professional rank and filer. Evidence for the lack of political development of the Twin Cities branches lies in the party press from 1940 onward. Not a single party document of any significance came out of Minnesota.

Cannon's "American Theses" of 1946 was based on the perspective that a prerevolutionary situation was coming in the United States within the next two years. By 1948 it was clear that this perspective had ignored the post-war stabilization of world capitalism, and that in fact capitalism had secured a breathing spell. The ten week packing house strike in early 1948 in fact marked the end of the post World War II upsurge of militancy. It was one of the last strikes to be fought on an industry-wide, national basis. Hereafter the bureaucrats pushed their one-at-a-time policy. In Minnesota as elsewhere the "Progressive" caucuses were turning to the right under pressure of the cold war and the Marshall Plan era. The Catholic Church was playing a more and more open and reactionary role in the CIO. Its influence was especially strong in St. Paul and South St. Paul, where large numbers of Catholic workers lived.

CP

Red baiting attacks were launched against the C.F. trade unionists within local unions as well as in the city and state councils. The SWP trade unionists reacted empirically and erratically to these attacks, opposing any red baiting, but still maintaining their bloc with the former "progressives" against the hated Stalinists. Hatred of the Stalinists for their treachery was deepgoing in the Minnesota movement. It was only a few years since the Stalinists had openly supported the government in the Smith Act Trials, and had prevented the Minnesota CIO from coming to the aid of the 18 convicted comrades. But this hatred was to a large extent subjective. Missing was any political comprehension of the need to reach and win C.F. workers, or any program to counterpose the

need for class unity in the face of the cold war red baiting drive. The party acted as if the CP would disintegrate unaided because of its Stalinist betrayals. Hence there was no need to deepen the crisis within the CP by an active intervention on the part of the Trotskyists. In sum, the party position in the trade unions was confused and little political leadership was provided to the trade union fractions.

In addition, no analysis was made of the basis for the postwar stabilization of capitalism, nor the reasons for the rightward turn in the trade unions. Thus the objective conditions of the class struggle, together with the lack of a party perspective based on an understanding of the needs of the period contributed to a growing demoralization in the party. This was manifested in the loss of the new trade unionists recruited in the postwar upsurge. It was also reflected in the effective "retirement" from active party work of many veterans of the thirties.

Cooper never saw and still does not see his retreat to Chaska as a desertion of the working class. But more significantly, neither does the SWP. He did not become a storekeeper against the wishes of the Minnesota party leaders, but with their support and encouragement. Nor was he the only militant who made an individual retreat and yet remained, in the eyes of the stagnating SWP, a good loyal party member. Thus it was not only the Jake Coopers who failed the party, but the party itself which made a steady retreat from Trotskyism by its failure to develop either Marxist theory or method.

LIQUIDATION

Today this stagnation has advanced to outright liquidationism of which the case of the Chaska businessman is an outstanding example. Instead of a heroic working class figure leading trade unionists in their struggle to build a better society, Cooper is a pathetic small town grocer remembering his past glories as he pragmatically conducts his business. And so it is with the SWP. Instead of a revolutionary Marxist party, basing itself on the independent strength of the international working class, the SWP has degenerated into a pragmatic petty bourgeois tendency, liquidating the struggle for an international party into middle class protest movements in an impressionistic reaction to the crises of capitalism and an opportunistic desire to be where the action is.

Workers League

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

Los Angeles: 11260 Missouri Ave. No. 1.

Phone: 473-0464

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

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

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

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

MISSOURI: St. Louis: Phone: 863-7951 P.O. Box 3174, St. Louis, Mo. 63130

NEW YORK: Brooklyn: Phone: 624-7179 Manhattan: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St. NYC. Phone: 254-7120

Columbia: Phone: 866-6384 Cornell: Ed Smith, Rm. 1305, Class of 1917 Hall. Phone: 256-1377

Stony Brook: Phone: 246-5493

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

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

CANADA: Toronto: P.O. Box 5756, Postal Station 11

Montreal: Phone: 925-5373

WISCONSIN: Madison: Phone: 257-7558

BERKELEY: U.C. Phone: 841-6313 Ext. Room 214 Deutsch Hall

Russian Stalinists Try To Turn Lenin Into A Reformist

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

It has just been revealed that the central theses of the Russian Communist Party on the 100th birthday of Lenin attributes to Lenin a revisionist statement by Otto Bauer. The Russian Communist Party celebrates the birthday of Lenin by displaying its inability to distinguish even historically between the program of Lenin and the program of the Menshevik opponents of Leninism.

The quote in question was a statement by Otto Bauer quoted by Lenin in his speech "Report on the International Situation and the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International" to the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920. The speech is quite well known and is included in the three volume Moscow edition of the "Selected Works."

MENSHEVISM

It occurs in the context of a section dealing with the revisionist opponents of the Third International, a section in which Lenin urges the sharpest theoretical fight against these international Mensheviks. "The task of involving the working class, all its thinking elements, in the struggle between international Menshevism (the McDonalds, Otto Bauers and Co.) and Bolshevism is highly useful and very urgent to Europe and America."

Referring specifically to Otto

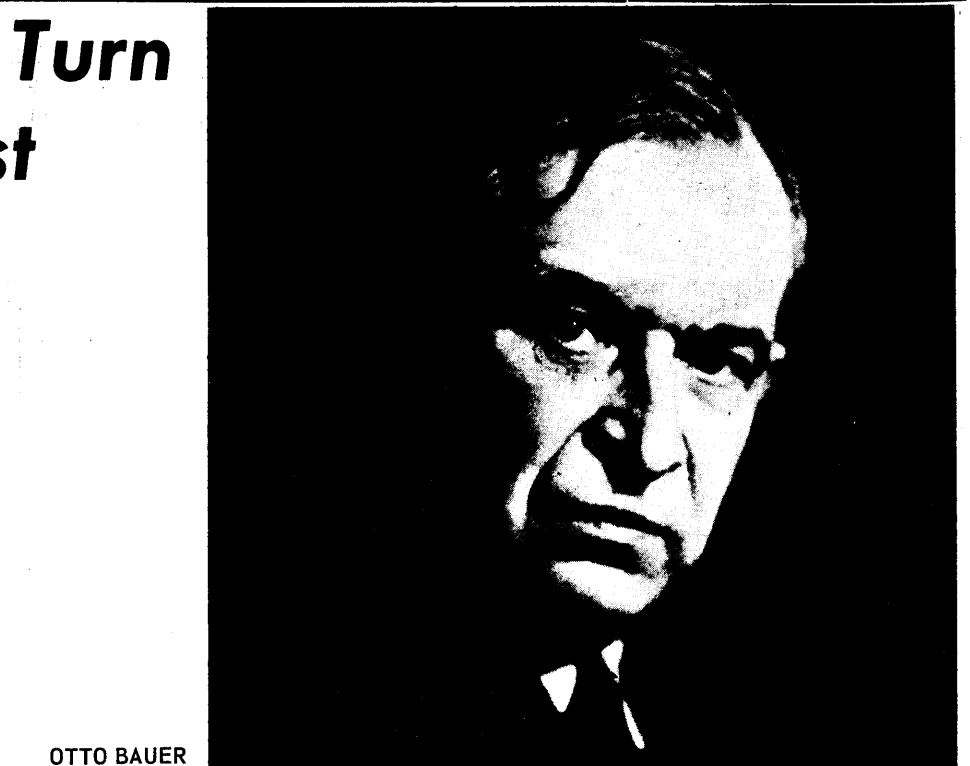
Bauer's book "Bolshevism or Social-Democracy?", Lenin states: "Take any paragraph, any argument in Otto Bauer's book and indicate the Menshevism in it, where the roots lie of views that lead up to the actions of the traitors to socialism, of the friends of Kerensky, Scheidemann, etc.--this is a question that could be very usefully and successfully set in 'examinations' designed to test whether communism has been properly assimilated. If you cannot answer this question, you are not yet a Communist, and should not join the Communist Party. (Applause)"

Then Lenin quotes Bauer to the effect that the use of force in the class struggle in a "democracy" would actually be "violence exercised against the social factors of force." He then quotes Bauer to the effect that these factors of force are: "number; the degree of organization; the place held in the process of production and distribution; activity and education."

FORCE

What Bauer does is set up this schematic description of the "force" or strength of the working class movement so that he can say that any violent insurrectionary activity of the working class is violence not against the capitalists but against this force or strength of the working class. It is simply a more complicated way of saying that the socialist revolution disrupts the peaceful development of the party and the trade unions under capitalism.

The Stalinist editors of the Russian CP theses take Bauer's five social factors of force, attribute them to



OTTO BAUER

Lenin, and conclude: "At the present time, just as Lenin expressed this thought, the strength of the working class has sharply increased, inevitably heightening its organization and political activity, its educational and professional preparation." They are not only attributing the quote to the wrong man, but they use the Bauer theory for the same purpose as did Bauer--to counterpose the peaceful development of the working class movement under capitalism to class violence and the preparation for the forceful overthrow of the capitalist system itself.

Once this matter of a misquote was brought to the attention of the Kremlin--reportedly by Herr Ulbricht himself--while the quote was removed from the pamphlet form of the theses, the very same concept was kept in but this time paraphrased. This makes it absolutely clear that the editorial "error" was in fact a reflection that the Russian Communist

Party no longer in any way represents the policy of Lenin. Rather as open advocates of the "peaceful road to socialism" and "peaceful co-existence" it stands politically with Menshevism and with Otto Bauer. The only Leninism today is Trotskyism and only the International Committee of the Fourth International takes forward the struggle for Trotskyism.

SERIES

In the next issue of the Bulletin we will start publishing a critically important series by Fred Mueller on "Stalinism and Trotskyism in the USA." This series will expose each slander of the Stalinists and in this way make clear what the program which led to the victory of the October Revolution really was.

This will be part of our contribution to the 100th birthday of Lenin. It will be more; it will be part of our contribution to the preparation for an American October.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

MONTREAL

The Fourth International Today
Speaker: Tim Wohlforth,
National Secretary, Workers League
Two Films: "The Workers Press" (English),
"May-June 1968" (French)
Friday, April 3rd 8 PM
Rm. 123-124 University Center
McGill University

DETROIT

The Vietnam War
and the American Working Class
Speaker: Dan Fried, Labor Editor, Bulletin
Two Films: "The Workers Press",
"British Young Socialists"
Wed. April 8, 7:00 PM
Rm. 277 University Center,
Wayne State University

ROCHESTER, MICH.

The Vietnam War
and the American Working Class
Speaker: Dan Fried, Labor Editor, Bulletin
Two Films: "The Workers Press",
"British Young Socialists"
Thurs., April 9, 7:30 PM
126-127 Oakland Center, Oakland University

TORONTO

The Vietnam War
and the American Working Class
Speaker: Dan Fried, Labor Editor, Bulletin
Also: Charles Henry,
Workers League (Canada)
Two Films: "The Workers Press",
"British Young Socialists"
Friday, April 10th 8:00 PM
Lord Simcoe Hotel Rm. Salon C

STATE COLLEGE, PA.

The Vietnam War
and the American Working Class
Speaker: Tim Wohlforth,
National Secretary, Workers League
Film: "The Workers Press"
Saturday, April 18th 8:00 PM



Reviewed by
TOM GORDON

BY TOM GORDON

Michelangelo Antonioni claims to be a Marxist. He has expressed sympathy for the Communist Party of Italy, which has more than any other Communist party set out upon the "parliamentary road to socialism."

Several years ago when the class struggle began wracking his native Italy in an increasingly aggravated form, Antonioni left first for England, and then for the United States. Antonioni's films have dealt not with the working class but with the aristocrats and lately in Blowup and in Zabriskie Point, with the middle class. It is no accident that he has come to the United States, where the untold wealth of imperialism has allowed the middle class to flower as never before in all its idealism and individualism. It is the middle class and the reflection it gives to the sharpening class struggles internationally that is the subject of Zabriskie Point.

ADVENTURES

The film deals with the adventures of a handsome student and Doria, his girlfriend, in relationship with the student's attempts to kill a cop and Doria's rendezvous with a capitalist. No objective connection is ever made between the cops, who break a student strike and who eventually kill the hero, and the capitalist, who is engaged in large land deals throughout most of the

film. The student hero and his girlfriend relate only subjectively to each other, and the student enters into a personal relationship with the police.

The student first sees cops as visored brutes in blue, and tries to kill one. He fails, but is spotted as the killer of a cop, steals a plane and flees into the Mojave Desert. There he buzzes Doria's old Buick. The two young people meet, they make love. Later a policeman drives up. This one is not hiding behind a visor. He has an open and friendly face. Doria stops the hero's half-hearted attempt to kill him. The hero paints up the stolen plane hippie-style, and flies back to Los Angeles to face the music. The police kill him.

The point of this sequence, and of the whole film, is that Antonioni sees the middle class, and its "alienation" as the center of the class struggles. The hero feels alienated from all policemen, then finds subjective fulfillment with Doria. One cop then appears as friendly and human, so the hero gives himself up, as if the class struggle were on a purely one to one personal basis, and as if, since he himself has been purged of his hateful feelings, the police should have no reason to kill him. The only connection between the capitalist and the hero who claims to be fighting capitalism, is through

Doria, whom they both admire.

Antonioni's "Marxism" stands revealed not as Marxism but as Herbert Marcuse's revision of Marx. Marcuse is another "Marxist" whom the immigration authorities allow into this country and who in fact was sent by the State Department to France after the May-June events in 1968, in order to cool off the student rioters. The basic thesis put forward by Marcuse and accepted implicitly by Antonioni, is that capitalism is invincible, and that the working class has no place in any struggle. The only logical outcome is to accept capitalism fully, or to sink into the subjectivism which the middle classes can afford. This is what Antonioni has done.

After hearing of her lover's death, Doria's reaction is only to break off her rendezvous with the capitalist. The house they were to meet in then explodes in awesome beauty. Even when she breaks off friendly relations with the capitalists, Doria can see no political struggle, no role for the working class. Her answer, and Antonioni's answer, is terrorism.

When the swift increase in bombings is being used as an excuse for a police crackdown on all militants and on the working class, this can not be overlooked. There is no substitute for the political struggle and the construction of the revolutionary party, all of which Antonioni rejects.

a page from the history of canadian trotskyism

BY CHARLES HENRY

In order to understand the role that the LSA, Canadian supporters of the SWP, is presently playing in the New Democratic Party, it is helpful to understand the history of this group, particularly of its leader, Ross Dowson.

We will return to 1951, when internationally a liquidationist tendency led by Michel Pablo emerged in the Fourth International, to see what position Dowson actually took and how he approached at the time the question of the CCF, the predecessor of the NDP.

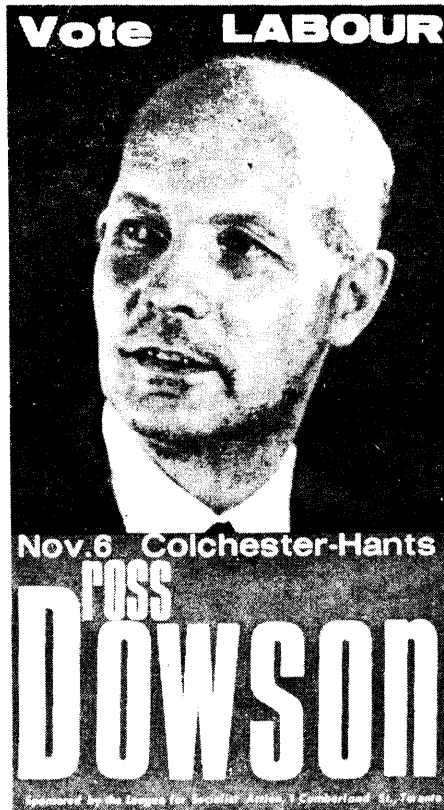
ENTRISM

In an internal bulletin dated 1951, Dowson, present leader of the LSA, states correctly that the CCF marked a major step forward for the Canadian working class. The conclusion he draws, however, is one of liquidation of the Fourth International. On page 17 of the internal bulletin he states:

"It is no longer sufficient for

of the whole Pabloite liquidationist past of the LSA. The argument Dowson uses for dissolving the Canadian Trotskyist movement doesn't differ in the least from Pablo's "leftward moving bureaucracies." What Pablo was saying in Paris at the same time as Dowson wrote this internal bulletin was that because of the assimilation of the Eastern European countries into the Russian economy and the Chinese Revolution, the balance of forces had definitely tipped in favor of socialism.

As a result of this, Pablo foresaw a third world war in which Stalinism would finally destroy imperialism and that for centuries deformed workers states would exist throughout the world. Pablo also refused to see any role for the Fourth International in his schema of things; like Dowson he was overawed by his surface impressions of events and the weakness and isolation of the revolutionary party--the essence of liquidationism.



**End Canada's VIETNAM
Complicity in VIETNAM
Break From the Aggressive
NATO-NORAD Military Pacts
For a Policy Independent
Of the U.S. Power Structure
For Peace Trade and Aid**

**Vote LABOUR Vote
ROSS
DOWSON
Nov. 6 Colchester-Hants**

TWO LSA CAMPAIGN POSTERS FOR ELECTION OF PABLOITE LEADER ROSS DOWSON

our party to have merely a CCF orientation, the fundamental orientation of the party since 1946. The question of entry--the dissolution of the independent party and the integration of its forces knit together as a fraction in the CCF--stands posed before us. For us, this matter is settled on the basis of: (1) the present weaknesses and isolation of the independent party, (2) recognition that the course of the development of the masses is through the CCF."

This statement by Dowson is classic

Dowson's method is exactly the same as Pablo's, impressionism. Pablo was adapting to the cold war feeling. At the time he saw the Fourth International hemmed in between what he considered a monolithic Stalinism on the one hand, and imperialism on the other. What he failed to understand was Trotsky's analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a counter-revolutionary force, with its contradiction of resting on the nationalized property relations in the Soviet Union and at the same time through its policies of "socialism in one country" making deals with imperialism to thwart any revolutionary attempts by the international working class to seize power. Pablo did not start with a class analysis, but with a surface impression of Stalinism as a progressive force; consequently he inevitably ended up by adapting to Stalinism.

This is exactly the same method as Dowson used to analyse the CCF in Canada, the same absence of any sort of class analysis, thus seeing the bureaucracy of the CCF in advance of the working class rather than as a counter-revolutionary force. On page 10 of the same internal bulletin he writes: "The CCF, right now; its present revised program and all, doesn't just reflect the present

level of consciousness of the worker. THE CCF IS IN ADVANCE OF THE THINKING OF THE CANADIAN WORKING CLASS." (original emphasis). Dowson thus doesn't start with the understanding that the CCF was a reflection of the level of development of the Canadian working class, not of the bureaucracy and its policies. With such ideas it is no wonder that he argues in favor of dissolving the revolutionary party within the CCF in a broad left faction.

TROTSKY

Dowson backs his arguments for dissolving the independent party by basing his position on Trotsky's French Turn, which is where Trotsky proposed the tactic of entry into the Socialist Party of France. Trotsky saw this tactic as a means by which the small Trotskyist forces could reach the masses in the larger reformist party. He did not see this in any way as a principle for the Fourth International, but merely as a tactic. He saw it as a means by which the revolutionary party could take a sizeable section of workers through a struggle against the bureaucratic leadership of the reformist party and thus bring them to the Fourth International. He did not see the Socialist Party as being in any way in advance of the French workers, but as the opposite, as a brake. But he saw that the workers within the Socialist Party were some of the most advanced of the French workers. Here is the difference.

Dowson didn't see his entry into the CCF as a means of reaching the most advanced elements of the Canadian working class, taking them through a struggle with the reformist leadership and towards the Fourth International, but as entering into a party which was in advance of the Canadian working class. Thus he prepares the revolutionary party for a bloc with the bureaucracy. In order not to in any way endanger this bloc, Dowson goes even further and proposes that the Trotskyist forces not form a fraction within the CCF, but a loose left wing, or as Dowson puts it, "...starting from the present level of political consciousness of the CCF, which is most likely very low, where we will have to organize (starting from scratch) a left wing (as broad as possible as the beginning)."

Thus Dowson refuses to start with the present consciousness of the revolutionary party, its whole world outlook, and through the tactic of entry to build the revolutionary party. Dowson's policy could only end up in the destruction of the revolutionary vanguard, leaving the leadership of the most advanced sections of the working class within the bounds of Social Democracy and its bureaucratic leadership.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

It also shows that Dowson never fully understood why Trotsky formed the Fourth International in the first place. Trotsky did not start with the present consciousness of the working class and the weakness of his own followers but from the objective tasks of revolutionary Marxism. The Fourth International was formed to keep alive the whole continuity of Marxism after the betrayals of Stalinism. Trotsky said when he formed the new International that we were now living in the epoch



ROSS DOWSON

of the crisis of working class leadership and that the only way this could be resolved in favor of the working class is by the victory of the Fourth International. Dowson, when he talks of the "leftward progressive CCF" stands with Deutscher and Pablo, not with Trotsky, and in fact he adds to that crisis of working class leadership by giving the CCF then and the NDP leadership now its left cover.

In 1953 Dowson joined with the Socialist Workers Party in a split from Pablo which formed the International Committee. But Dowson, unlike the British and French sections of the International Committee, followed the SWP in not searching to the roots of Pablo's revisionism. Thus in 1961, the LSA and Dowson played a very important role in the struggle within the IC which finally in 1963 led to the break away of a section of the IC and its reunification with the former Pabloite forces.

LIQUIDATION

Dowson's formula is to maintain the LSA as an independent organization in form while actually liquidating it politically. Until recently Dowson actually was almost totally uninterested in the NDP or developments in the labor movement generally. His preoccupation was with the movements of the radical middle class--first in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and then in the anti-war movement, and French nationalism. In all cases the LSA completely liquidated any Trotskyist program into middle class reformism.

Now the class struggle sharpens in Canada, throwing this middle class milieu into the sharpest crisis, while the working class is forced to turn more and more to the NDP for leadership against the capitalist attacks. A section of the middle class radicals become active in the NDP, not to take the working class forward but precisely for the opposite reason--to wed it firmly to the bourgeoisie through nationalist concepts. At this point the LSA follows the middle class into the NDP, politically liquidates into the Watkins caucus, and acts as its major theoretical defenders.

TENDENCY

So all the old Pabloite concepts of the Ross Dowson of 1951 are dredged up for the entry of 1970. Even the independent form of the LSA is to be whittled down. John Riddell, Toronto organizer of the LSA, reassures the bureaucrats of the NDP leadership as follows: "Not only is the LSA not a political party by any ordinary definition, as claimed by NDP leaders, it is the only radical tendency with a record of consistent strong support of the NDP."

So there you have it--the LSA is not a party but a "tendency" distinguished by its support of the NDP--PERIOD.

The Workers League in Canada as part of the International Committee of the Fourth International, bases itself completely on Trotsky's decision to form the Fourth International. As a direct result of this it takes as its first task the defense of revolutionary Marxism, of which Trotskyism is the only expression, against those who seek to destroy it. Against revisionists like the LSA it is our aim to build a cadre in Canada that will have as its aim a mass revolutionary party to lead the Canadian working class to power and to a United Socialist North America.

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