

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 6, NO. 28-142 APRIL 20, 1970 103 TEN CENTS

YSA

APR 20 1970

ABANDONS

YOUNG SOCIALIST

CAMBODIAN RIGHTISTS SLAY VIET VILLAGERS



Workers League Marches for Class Action Against the War

stalinism and trotskyism in the u.s.a. --part ii

**AMERICAN
COMMUNIST
PARTY**

*War on USSR by Japan,
Nazis Goal of Trotskyists*

Accused Prepare to Aid Tokio War on U. S. Evidence Proves—Would Have Parcelled Soviet Lands to Foreign Conspirator Nation



AND THE CRIMES OF STALIN

Article from the Daily Worker (left) supports Moscow Trials (shown at right).

**TEAMSTER WILDCAT
STRIKES CONTINUE**

**TEACHERS OUT IN
L.A. AND MINN.**

Editorial

Nixon Steps Up The Witchhunt

The recent report by the New York Times that the Nixon Administration is stepping up its surveillance of radicals and other militants should come as no surprise. This has been the aim of the Administration since it came to power. This is why it was put in power by the big trusts. The bomb scares are just the excuse.

It is significant that one Nixon aide stated: "We are facing the most severe internal security threat this country has seen since the Depression." This lets the cat out of the bag for surely the "internal security" problem of the Depression was not the homemade bombs of some middle class youth. The real threat in the Depression, as it is today, is that capitalism became revealed to millions as a system of misery, and the danger was that these millions might seek to overthrow capitalism and the big trusts.

The same point is hinted at in another way when the Times summarizes: "The official view is that extreme radicals cannot be won over with welfare, electoral or draft reforms or by White House appeals."

Nixon has made it very clear that he has no intention of "reforming" anything that in any way will change the lives of the masses of people and in fact his

policy is one of more war, more poverty and more racism. It is precisely the frustration of youth with the collapse of reformism even before Nixon came to power which has led some to individualistic terrorist acts. It is not a matter of whether these youth could be won over by reforms but that their whole political outlook has been produced by the inability of capitalism to make reforms in this period.

So Nixon reveals his real policy—attacks on the workers and the poor, the open encouragement of racial conflict, and repression of socialists who could give a revolutionary expression to the resentment of the masses. Surely "surveillance" is for the purpose of preparing repression. Otherwise it is a waste of effort to have the surveillance in the first place.

One interesting aspect of the Times report is the admission by a Nixon aide that "We knew of the New York bomb factory" in the 11th Street townhouse, but "only just before it exploded on March 6th." Can we be absolutely certain that the "we" in question had no hand in the explosion, an explosion which killed only radicals and has been used as the excuse for stepping up preparations for repression? It is difficult to believe that an operation obviously involving a

group of six or more quite prominent Weathermen conducted right in the residence of one of the Weathermen was not directly infiltrated and considerably prior to March 6th.

When one deals with government "surveillance" of radicals on the suspicion of possible overt acts at some future date one is open to provocations of all sorts.

GUARD

At a time when the United States unleashes daily terror against the people of South Vietnam, where it has been revealed that the official policy was to shoot prisoners, where recently American-backed Cambodian forces butchered in cold blood close to 100 Vietnamese civilians, where precisely does the real danger of terror lie? One of Nixon's brilliant advisors states: "We're dealing with the criminal mind..." True, but the problem is that the real criminals are the ones inside the White House.

The working class must be on its guard against this new threat. There must be no concessions whatsoever to redbaiting and witchhunting aimed at breaking the political resistance of the working class to these new attacks. We must develop the widest possible working class unity in defense of all victims of police and witchhunting attacks.

Cambodian Rightists Massacre Viet Civilians



Part of the 80 Villagers massacred in cold blood during Anti-Vietnamese pogrom

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The real sickness and reactionary character of U.S. imperialism is being revealed in the first actions of the U.S. supported military regime in Cambodia.

Only days after the coup that deposed Prince Sihanouk, the new regime began a pogrom against the thousands of Vietnamese who live in Cambodia.

Last Friday ninety Vietnamese civilians, men, women and children, were gunned down by Cambodian soldiers in the village of Prasot. The official sources in Cambodia claimed that the villagers had been caught in crossfire between Cambodian forces and the Vietcong. But survivors of the mass killing have clearly laid the killing to the Cambodian Army. The New York Times reported on April 11th that Steve Bell, an ABC correspondent, "said some refugees had told him that the Cambodian soldiers told them to run when the Vietcong approached, and then opened fire on them."

This incident has been followed by a fever pitch hatred campaign organized by the government against the Vietnamese. Vietnamese civilians have been thrown into detention camps and many have "disappeared."

While the U.S. government was proudly proclaiming the coup in Cambodia and the establishment of a democratic "republic," this so-called "democratic" government was brutally gunning down Vietnamese civilians. It is clear that the only way the corrupt military clique of General Lon Nol, who rules for U.S.

imperialism, can hold power is through hysterically whipping up nationalist hatreds, inflaming old divisions among races and peoples who have lived together for hundreds of years.

POGROM

The pogrom against the Vietnamese people in Cambodia has been combined with army attacks on Cambodian workers and peasants who have opposed the new

regime. Last week over 100 workers and peasants were killed as they travelled by truckloads to Pnompenh to demonstrate against the new government.

The actions of the Lon Nol regime expose the real class character of imperialism's rule throughout Southeast Asia. On the one side stand the small native capitalist class and its henchmen in the military who rule in the interests of U.S. imperialism. On the other side stand the masses of Cambodian and Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The coup in Cambodia was bought and paid for by U.S. imperialism. It was master-minded by the CIA. The political, economic and military control of Cambodia has been central to the strategy of the U.S. in Southeast Asia, to cut off NLF supply lines and gain control of the Mekong Valley.

The coup in Cambodia engineered by the U.S. was the product of the U.S.'s attempt to recoup from the defeat it has suffered in Vietnam and Laos by the offensive of the workers and peasants. The coup and the measures it has taken to hold power only reveal the weakness of the military regime in Cambodia and the position of U.S. imperialism.

OFFENSIVE

It is clear that it is the National Liberation Front and the liberation army in Laos which has the support of the masses of workers and peasants of Southeast Asia. This is at the heart of the successful offensive of the Vietcong and Pathet Lao in Vietnam, Laos, and now in Cambodia.

Vietnamese Vets Battle Police

Last week several hundred 000 students in Saigon who have been on strike against government repression. The students have received the support of the dock workers and bus drivers.

These struggles indicate a further turning against the corrupt military clique and against its American masters by the Vietnamese working class and youth.

The veterans joined over 30,

In the first week of April, the U.S. suffered the worst losses in the war since last September. The Vietcong have stepped up attacks in South Vietnam at the Cambodian border battering the Special Forces camp at Dakesang with artillery. On April 14th the NLF sent rockets into the heart of Saigon which barely missed the residence of Saigon's ruler Thieu.

Last week the Cambodian army was forced to give up the area known as the Parrots Beak to the Vietcong. It was in support of the liberation forces that Cambodian workers and peasants staged their rallies against the "Government of Salvation" and hung pictures in the villages of Prince Sihanouk in open defiance of the new regime.

American workers must join in solidarity with their brothers in Southeast Asia. The American labor movement must call a mass march in Washington on Memorial Day on a class program for the complete defeat of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia.

U.S. UNEMPLOYMENT SOARS TO 4.4%

April 10—Today the Labor Department announced a new increase in unemployment bringing the rate of unemployment up to 4.4% for March. There are now one million more men and women out of work than at this time last year.

Unemployment has hit hardest in basic industry and construction. Also affected are skilled workers in the defense and space industries.

While unemployment remains high among black workers, there has been a big increase in the last period among white workers reflecting the fact that no section of the working class today is immune from the attacks of the employers and the government.

Over 7,000 "hard core" unemployed workers who were on the job only a few months have been laid off in the Detroit auto industry. Most of these workers have been unable to find other jobs. As one worker put it: "Everywhere you go there are guys looking for work."

The Nixon Administration is attempting to whip up racism to keep the workers divided, employed against unemployed, black against white, to prevent a united struggle against the attacks on jobs. The unions must fight back to unite all workers by raising as a central demand in their struggle the demand for full employment through the thirty hour week at forty hours pay.

WORKERS LEAGUE IN ACTION APRIL 15th



The Workers League fought throughout the country to build massive demonstrations against the war on April 15th despite the diffusion of the struggle by the Stalinists and the revisionist leadership of the SMC. It fought for the participation of the trade unions on an independent political basis. Despite the difficulties imposed by the leaderships of the anti-war movement and of the trade unions the Workers League succeeded in making an effective class political intervention. On this page are photos from the New York City demonstrations only. Next week's issue will carry reports on the rest of the country. At top the Workers League contingent marches up Sixth Avenue to Bryant Park from the IRS demonstration in downtown Manhattan. At right Pat Connelly of the Workers League speaks to outdoor rally at CCNY. Left center Workers League supporter from New York Community College holds banner against strong wind. Right center CCNY Workers League banner stands in background as students listen to speeches at rally. While SSEU-371 President Morgenstern chairs IRS rally (bottom right) with Dave Dellinger speaking only the Committee for a New Leadership, supported by the Workers League, brought SSEU-371 members to the rally. These were the only union banners at the rally (bottom left). The Workers League proposes that now an all out fight must be waged to hold a mass labor march on Washington on Memorial Day to stop the war.



WISCONSIN T.A. STRIKE SOLD OUT!

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Teaching Assistants Association of the University of Wisconsin has voted to accept the latest University contract offer and end its strike in its 24th day. The contract represents not simply a defeat but a complete rout for the union and poses the need for a new leadership in the TAA.

The contract is in many respects worse than that originally offered by the University. The demands for a health plan, for guaranteed 4 year appointments without probation, for half-time \$3600 appointments for all TAs and for a voice in educational planning were not met. In return for some reduction in class size and a grievance procedure, the union signed a no-strike pledge more stringent than previously demanded by the University. The no-strike clause excludes not only strikes called by the union but any work stoppages by union members.

At the same time half of the "non-negotiable" no reprisals clause which

the union had been demanding was negotiated away. No reprisals were to be taken against striking teaching assistants but there was no protection for other supporters of the strike in the contract. This includes research and project assistants, who are in the union. These strikers were to rely on the good will of the Chancellor.

INJUNCTION

Several days before the strike ended an injunction against the strike was obtained by the University, and the union voted to ignore it. On the injunction were the names of nineteen rank and file union

members rather than leaders. These union members are still subject to arrest. That the strike was ended with the injunction still out, leaving these members with no protection indicates the magnitude of the defeat.

Although the motion to end the strike came from the ranks, the defeat was the responsibility of the union leadership. The leadership's only strategy was that of a student class boycott. After several weeks the students, having completed their middle class protest action, returned to class, and the leadership was left without a strategy. Demoralization swept the union.

At the last meeting during the strike, the leadership made no recommendation as to what needed to be done, but merely stated that the possibilities were an escalation of tactics, appointment of a recommender, or acceptance of the latest contract. This ultra-democracy was just a cover for a lack of strategic perspec-

tive. What was really necessary was a turn toward the city and state labor movement and a fight to bring the campus workers' union behind the strike.

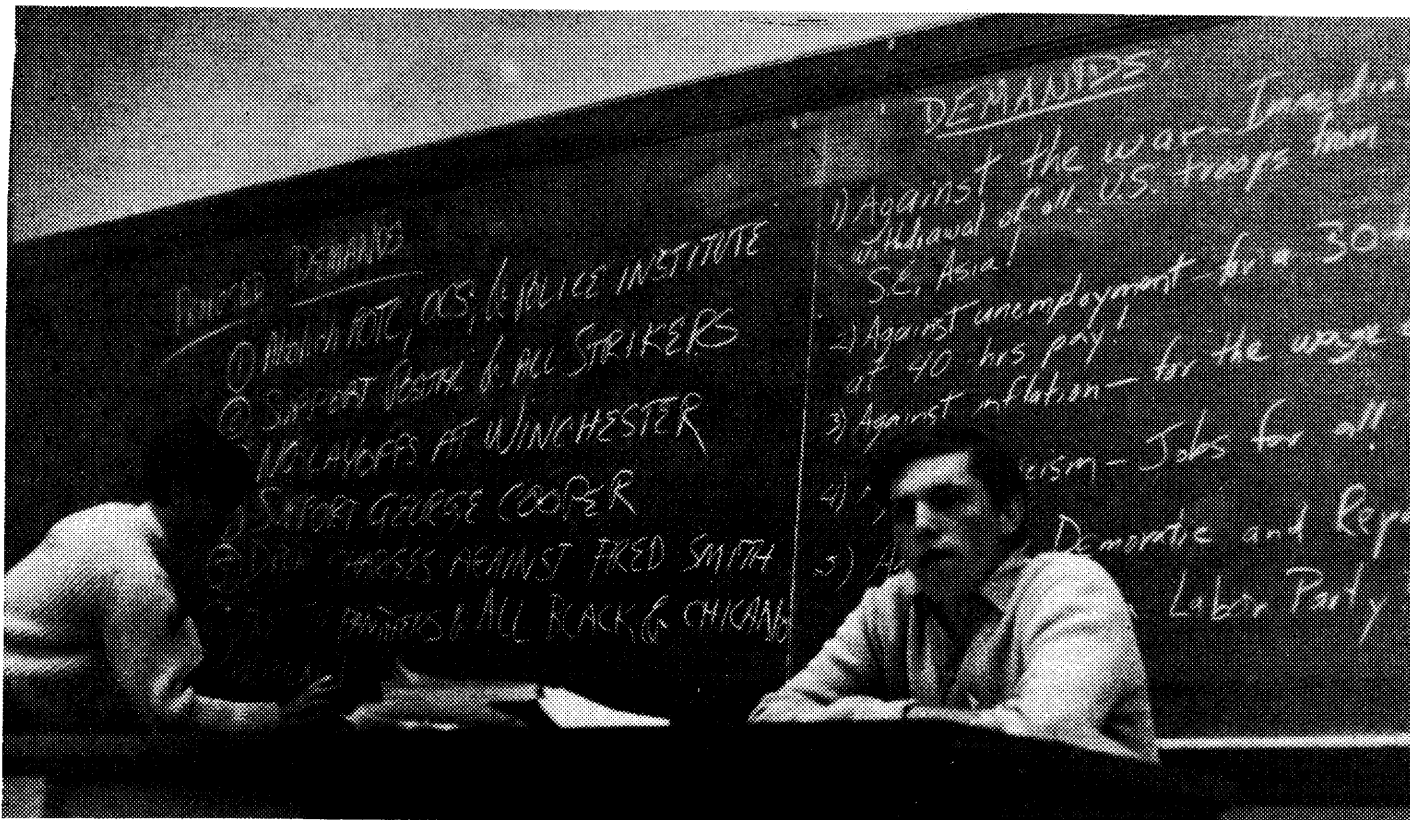
YSA

Sharing in the responsibility for defeat were the revisionist groups who were the prime advocates of the disastrous student power strategy. The YSA distributed two leaflets during the strike. The first was a reprint of the YSA's campus perspective from the *Young Socialist*. The distribution of this student power document during the strike showed that the YSA saw the strike as essentially a student struggle. The second leaflet was an excerpt from an article by revisionist Ernest Mandel on the significance of strikes by public employees. The article mechanically separated the crisis in the public sector from the general upsurge in labor. Translated into practice it means the isolation of public employees from the rest of labor, the perspective which led to the defeat of the TAA.

In general the YSA and the other revisionist groups provided no leadership to the strike. In the place of such leadership they substituted platitude-mongering about the significance of the strike and why they, other radicals, and students should support the strike. The only real support for the strike was to fight for a winning strategy.

But the betrayal of the YSA did not stop here. When the strike vote was taken the YSA, just like the TAA leadership, took no position on acceptance of the contract. At least one of the two YSAers in the TAA, however, voted to accept the contract, and this seems to be the prevailing sentiment within the YSA. Since the YSA saw the support of students as central it could see no way out when the students deserted the strike.

Other radicals in the union also voted for the settlement. What all of these revisionist betrayers have in common is a profound pessimism. They start from the strength of the class enemy and the weakness and subjective backwardness of the working class. They reason that since many TAs are demoralized and will want to return to work, they too must vote to end the strike. Rather than struggling against the demoralization and posing the objective tasks of the union, they accept the demoralization as a given and adapt to it.



The Workers League took the initiative in the fight for a demonstration against the war in New Haven. Among those to respond, but only after we began the work, was the PL-oriented SDS at Yale. Here SDSer at left lists their many

demands for the April 15th action. He forgot to list anyone pertaining to Vietnam and had to come to the blackboard later. The meeting of over 50 endorsed the Workers League class demands over SDS's at which point SDS walked out of room.

SWP Surrenders To CP's Pop Front Against War

BY JOSE REYES

In the March 21st issue of the *Daily World* there is a "report" on the March 14th, New York regional conference of the Student Mobilization Committee. It is actually a defense of the Communist Party-Young Workers Liberation League antiwar line.

Furthermore, it also reveals the total inability of the YSA to fight such a line. Both the CP-YWLL and the SWP-YSA intend to maintain the "united front," which is only a euphemism for the popular front of anybody and everybody under liberal leadership. This will be made much clearer if we examine in detail the article in the *Daily World*.

The *Daily World*, in its desire to defend the liberals, is forced to attack the SDS proposal, specifically the demands to exclude liberals and "corporate industrialists" from the antiwar rallies, and "no negotiations." The exclusion demand is attacked on the basis that "it shows the lack of understanding that a united front of all whose interests are objectively against the war in the U.S. is the only way to end the war." Liberals and capitalists are part of this "united front", since "the war affects many sections of the population, including some capitalists who are being swallowed up by the giant monopolies which benefit from the war."

This is precisely the kind of reasoning that led to the establishment of the popular fronts in Europe in the late 1930s which tied the working class to the liberal bourgeoisie on the basis of a reformist program and subordinated the struggle for socialism to a struggle for "peace and democracy."

ALLIANCES

We can shed more light on this if we examine what role the CP-YWLL sees

for "Marxists" in this popular front. "It is the role of the most advanced forces within the peace movement to expose the imperialist nature of U.S. involvement, and to explain why certain liberal politicians come out against the war." This is the same role consigned to "socialists" by the SWP. In the November 17th *Intercontinental Press*, in an article attacking the Workers League, the SWP author advocates alliances with liberals by tearing quotes from Lenin out of context. According to the SWP: "The one condition Lenin placed on such an alliance for limited aims is that the socialists have full opportunity to reveal to the working class that its interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of the bourgeoisie."

The actions of the YWLL-YSA bloc expose even this as a fraud. At the March 30th meeting of the SMC in New York the YSA announced that there would be no SMC speakers at the Bryant Park rally on April 15th. What was posed was that the "most advanced forces" or as the YSA puts it, "the left wing of the antiwar movement" would "expose imperialism" and "expose inconsistent liberals" without even getting on the podium! In fact when these "socialists" have shared the platform with the liberals such as on November 15th in Washington, they welcomed, not exposed the liberals. Carol Lipman speaking for SMC made this quite clear when she said, "Everyone is welcome, Democrats, Re-

publicans..."

It is the Communist Party and Stalinism which are the authors of the SWP-YSA's perspective of the "united front" in the antiwar movement. In fact the *Daily World* article is quite aware of this. The YWLL authors state point-blank: "The acceptance of such a (the YWLL) program came after a long struggle by the YWLL and the DuBois Clubs before it, to include the fight against racism and repression as essential to a broad and effective antiwar movement. In the past, the Trotskyite (sic) SMC leadership had seen this struggle as one which would 'dilute' the movement."

ADMISSION

The YWLL can well afford to gloat over this. The first demand of the five accepted by the YSA states: "The struggle against racism and repression at home is the key to ending the war in Vietnam (and all of Southeast Asia)." That the YSA could uncritically graft it onto the main resolution is a tacit admission on the part of the YSA that the antiwar movement is not a "single issue" one at all. This blows the lid off the YSA's contention that the movement is a "united front" because it is "single issue."

The convergence of a common political perspective can also be seen when the "no negotiations" demand raised by SDS was attacked by both the YSA and YWLL for essentially the same reasons. Both organizations oppose any demands that could be construed as criticism of the NLF leadership. The YWLL openly defends the NLF program. The YSA tries to remain neutral on the question, preferring to pose the struggle simply as one for "self-determination." Both the SWP and CP have justified popular front

policies on the basis that "this (the present antiwar movement) is what the NLF leadership wants us to do." This statement made by Peter Camejo at the February SMC Conference, exemplifies the close political ties that exist between the YWLL and the YSA.

It is because of the convergence of the positions of the YWLL and the YSA on the questions of "building" the antiwar movement, on the question of the popular front, that the YSA can make concessions to the Stalinists.

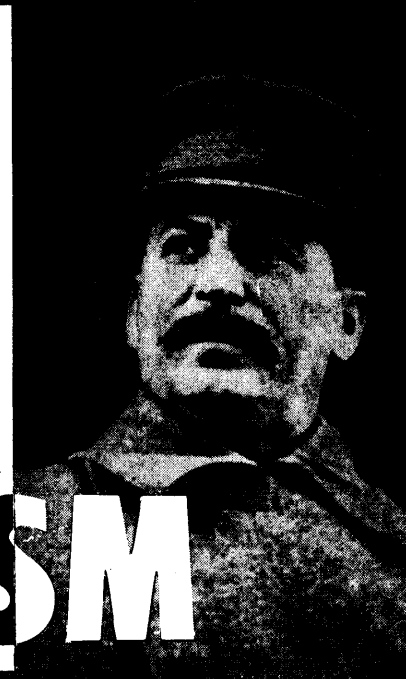
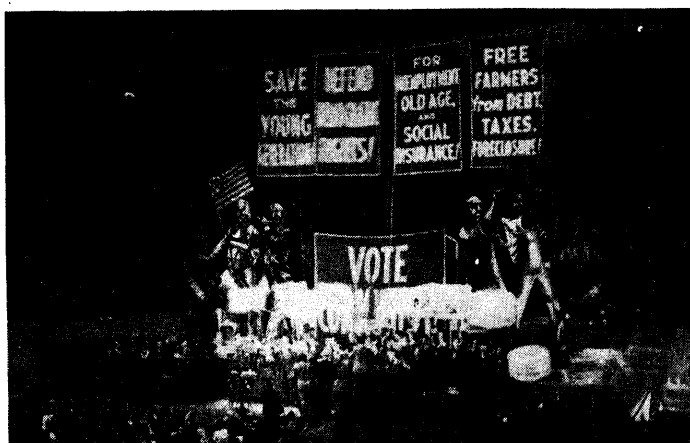
It is the policies of Stalinism and those who capitulate to it which now become the greatest impediment to the struggle against imperialism. The intervention of the trade unions on April 15th poses the potential for a break from the popular front of the CP-SWP.

Bulletin

EDITOR: Lucy St. John

ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

THE BULLETIN, Weekly Organ of the Workers League, is published by Bulletin of International Socialism, Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 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 offices: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St. New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone: 254-7120. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$3.00; Foreign—1 year: \$4.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.



STALINISM & TROTSKYISM IN USA

an answer to Hyman Lumer and others
 by **FRED MUELLER**



AN ENTIRE CHAPTER is devoted to "The Fight Against Trotskyism" in the special issue of Political Affairs on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the U.S. Communist Party. Yet in this chapter, written by Hyman Lumer, absolutely no mention is made of the leader in the fight to crush Trotskyism. Indeed not only Lumer but all the other contributors as well do their very best to ignore Stalin. However while Stalin the person is missing, the politics, the ideology of Stalinism permeate the entire magazine.

Lumer steals all of his arguments from Stalin without giving any credit. He attempts to defend the Soviet bureaucracy without so much as mentioning its chief spokesman. The bureaucracy today attempts to pick and choose from among the "aspects" of Stalinism. The fact that Lumer refuses to touch this subject directly itself reveals the depth of Stalinism's crisis, the bureaucracy's need to falsify all history, including its own.

Lumer's diatribe is aimed at the growth of Trotskyism all over the world. He must use any and all means to discredit this tendency which represents the continuity of Bolshevism.

He uses the same methods as Stalin, the same slanders and amalgams, only he dishonestly refrains from discussing the logical outcome of the campaign against Trotskyism, the Trials and purges of the 1930s.

LOVESTONE

First Lumer brings in Lovestone. As a matter of fact he quite consciously begins his article on Trotskyism with a long reference to the struggle supposedly waged by the American CP against the opportunism of the Lovestone faction.

Lumer does not tell us that either. Lovestone defended the Moscow Trials. Only later did he go over from defense of the bureaucracy into the direct service of imperialism, ending up as George Meany's international advisor in carrying through the intrigues of the CIA in the international labor movement.

Lumer is lying when, after his description of Lovestone, he says:

But Lovestone's expulsion followed only by several months that of a Trotskyite faction headed by James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman and M. Abern... The political ideas espoused by this grouping, though clothed in revolu-

attempt to follow it to the very end, in the hope that Stalin would succeed in his violation of public opinion. In their hearts they hoped that for this service the Kremlin would finally "recognize" them and call them to "office". Only when they saw that the Moscow super-falsifier had failed ignominiously did they step aside and recognize in a half-voice their "slight" mistake.(2)

This is a fitting answer to Lumer's attempt to smear the principled opposition to Stalinism with the counter-revolutionary brush. It is Lovestone and Lumer who are brothers under the skin, not Lovestone and Trotsky.

"FACTIONALISM"

To back up his effort to smear Trotskyism as the enemy of the revolution Lumer mentions the history of the decisions taken against Trotsky and the Left Opposition. Trotsky was guilty of "factional activities" because he sought a discussion in the party. Lumer says: "...in discussions preceding the Fifteenth Congress, 724,000 Party members voted for the policy of the Central Committee and 4,000 - less than one per cent - for the Trotsky-Zinoviev line. Such was the accomplishment of the Trotskyites in the endless debates which diverted the Party from its most urgent tasks over a period of years."(3)

Only with the rise of Stalin to power did debate in the Party become a "diversion from urgent tasks". All the contempt for theory on the part of the Stalinist bureaucracy is summed up in this comment. While Lenin was alive discussion and debate within the party were utilized to achieve theoretical clarity in order to deal as Marxists with all the "urgent tasks".

As Lumer knows, Lenin before his death was seeking a struggle within the party. Only his final illness and death prevented him from launching this debate himself. He wanted to launch an all out struggle against Stalin and Dzerzhinsky on the national question, he wanted to have Stalin removed as General Secretary, and he wanted to initiate a struggle together with Trotsky against the bureaucracy in the state apparatus and the party. Some of this the bureaucracy itself was forced to admit under Khrushchev. Lumer knows it is true. Lenin as well as Trotsky was "guilty" of seeking a discussion in the tradition of the Bolshevik Party. In fact it was Lenin before his death

II. AMERICAN CP & STALIN'S CRIMES

But Lumer does not inform us how Lovestone achieved his high position in the party. He does not explain that Lovestone was the leading American follower of the right wing of the Soviet Communist Party, led by Bukharin. This was the tendency upon which Stalin and the bureaucracy rested in the USSR and internationally from 1926 to 1928. During this period the Lovestone faction developed its theory of American exceptionalism.

When Stalin moved against Bukharin in 1929 Lovestone wound up outside the CP. For years Stalin manipulated amongst the factions of the American party. His aim was never political clarification, as it had been with Lenin and Trotsky. Stalin aimed to use each faction against the other so as to select those individuals who could be relied upon to reflect faithfully the current needs of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

LIABILITY

Lovestone's misfortune in 1929 was that the outlook he was so closely associated with had become a liability for Stalin. But Lovestone continued to maintain fundamental loyalty to the Stalinists for 10 years after his expul-

tionary-sounding language, were, as we shall see, no less opportunist, no less a surrender of the struggle for socialism than was the Right-wing revisionism of Lovestone. Indeed, the two groups found common ground after their expulsion, not least in their bitter hatred of the Communist Party.(1)

As we have shown it was Stalin who rested upon the Bukharin right wing. Stalin installed Lovestone in power in the first place. At this time it was the Left Opposition which was waging a principled struggle against the right wing and the bureaucracy. In the 1930s Lovestone continued to defend Stalin. When he went over to Meany and the CIA, Lovestone was only carrying his training in the service of the bureaucracy to its logical conclusion. But Lumer crudely tries to make Trotsky responsible for Lovestone! This is what Trotsky had to say about Lovestone in 1938:

Lovestone and Company are good for nothing as Marxists, but no one considers them idiots. They knew very well that we were confronted with a gigantic frame-up. But since in their petty-bourgeois, cowardly and conservative policy they had firmly bound their reputation with that of the Thermidorian bureaucracy, they made an

PHOTOS AT TOP OF PAGE: Upper left: "For Victory and a Secure Peace" Daily Worker, May 14, 1944; Upper center: CP rally in 1936 celebrates "Spirit of '76"; Upper right: Stalin; Lower center: Trotsky; Lower right: Battle of Deputies Run during Trotskyist led teamsters strike in 1934

who wished to take the initiative on this.

CYNICISM

The reference to the overwhelming vote of 724,000 to 4,000 against the opposition is so cynical that it deserves some mention. This vote followed four years of incessant slanders and bureaucratic measures taken against all opponents of the Stalinists. As early as 1923 Stalin initiated an illegal faction, a secret group consisting of all the members of the Politbureau with the exception of Trotsky. This group met secretly and was bound by its own discipline, so great was its fear of Trotsky and the struggle which Lenin was waiting to launch as soon as his health permitted.(4)

While Trotsky scrupulously followed Party rules and brought his views openly before the proper bodies of the party, Stalin formed a secret faction whose sole purpose was to isolate and slander Trotsky while evading all the principled political questions facing the Revolution. Stalin went so far as to trick Trotsky about the date set for Lenin's funeral, so that Trotsky was unable to attend the funeral, which in turn was later used against him.(5)

In 1924 and afterwards an endless stream of slanders and fictitious accounts of Trotsky's allegedly permanent struggle against Lenin was circulated openly and in the pages of Pravda. This kind of campaign was only possible with Lenin gone. Trotsky was powerless to answer any of these slanders at that time. The opposition refrained from any provocative measures. Trotsky disavowed Lenin's Testament when Max Eastman reported on it in 1925. Meanwhile Stalin and the bureaucracy indulged in every kind of provocation and bureaucratic maneuver imaginable. Physical violence was used against the opposition, meetings were broken up, a constant stream of slander and abuse was rained down upon the party. All the power at the disposal of the bureaucracy was employed to insure that the ideas of the Opposition did not receive an objective hearing.(6) These are the real facts, yet Lumer says nothing at all about them, he pretends that the discussion, the struggle in the Party took place in a vacuum - and after all the arguments were weighed the vote happened to come out 724,000 in favor of the bureaucracy and 4,000 for the Opposition!

EXPULSION

Lumer goes on to mention Trotsky's expulsion from the party and then from the country. But even he does not accuse Trotsky of any alliance with counterrevolution until after these events. Why then was Trotsky expelled from the party and from the Soviet Union itself? What crimes was he guilty of to warrant such extreme action? Here too Lumer shows the role of the bureaucracy and his complete solidarity with it. To the bureaucracy the struggle to defend the method and the practice of Bolshevism was the greatest crime in the book. The bureaucracy was incapable of a political struggle, it could only respond with organizational measures and physical violence.

This same outlook is expressed in Lumer's repeated comments, even boasts, on the expulsion from the American CP of various opposition groups for their ideas and their ideas alone. Thus in 1928, "Cannon and his associates were thrown out of the party." Over and over again Lumer makes his method quite clear: First of all get rid of the troublemakers who dare to raise political questions. There must be no struggle within the party. These comments sum up the outlook of the bureaucrat - in this case a petty bureaucrat and an agent for the powerful Stalinist bureaucracy.

TRIALS

Lumer does not so much as mention even in passing the Moscow Trials, in which Trotsky was the chief defendant. These trials and the purges which accompanied them were the high point of Stalin's struggle against Trotskyism. They followed and built upon all of the previous campaigns against the Opposition. All the measures against Trotsky about which Lumer boasts led right up to the bloody purges. Yet he thinks he can simply stop with 1927, as if the Moscow Trials never took place!

If Lumer thinks he is going to fool anyone with this he is in for a rude

awakening. We must finish the story he has begun. The meaning of all the slanders which he brings forth must be made very clear. When he says that Trotskyism made "alliances with enemies of the working class", became "counterrevolution", and sought the "overthrow of the Soviet regime", he is in every case repeating the frameup charges of the Moscow Trials, he is reaffirming and defending all the crimes of Stalinism including the Trials. And if he chooses not to mention the Trials and certain other unsavory matters, we will have to refresh his memory.

The leaders of the U.S. Communist Party are fully responsible for the crimes of Stalinism, from the purges and the assassinations to the beheading of the revolutionary workers in Spain, to the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution, the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the current stepped-up persecution of the new opposition within the Soviet Union itself. The U.S. CP leadership has defended every one of these crimes. It has been among the most servile of the agents of the bureaucracy.

STALIN

On the occasion of Stalin's death in March of 1953, the American CP joined the chorus of unrestrained worship for the dead tyrant. The Daily Worker proclaimed, "Stalin was a great humanist as well as the greatest political figure of our time." In a statement signed by CP leaders William Z. Foster and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Stalin was referred to as "the best loved man on earth...J. Stalin will live forever in the new world arising in the radiant tomorrow of a socialist life for all." Poet Walter Lowenfels contributed the following on March 10, 1953, under the title "My Friend Stalin":

Only yesterday he said to me-'down with the warmongers!.' Long live peace among nations... And today my friend is dead, my true dear friend, the friend of every soul who lives for peace. ...And may he rest forever as he lived in peace, and for peace, and for all the family of nations human to live in peace.

These words, oozing with pacifist gibberish, and so full of irony today, were written to conform to the tremendous pacifist campaign unleashed by the Stalinists in this period, even as the cold war exploded in Korea.

The Daily Worker headlined an article on March 9, 1953, "The Immortality of Stalinism." Yet only three years later the same people were writing more apologetics, this time on the cult of Stalin! And now "The Immortality of Stalinism" has dwindled so fast in less than two decades that Lumer cannot even mention the name of the "great

humanist" in an article the essence of which is a defense of his policies!

FOSTER

On April 2, 1956, the same Foster who had written that "Stalin will live forever" now wrote an article headed "What Was Done To Check Stalin?"

Workers everywhere agree that Stalin's cult of one man leadership was a harmful development - but in this general connection they ask insistently for an answer to one key question. They want to know what the present leadership for the most part who worked side by side with Stalin for many years, did to prevent the growth of Stalin's cult of the personality or to combat it as it manifested itself in the party practice.

We may rest assured that it will eventually get its full explanation. The men who have boldly and courageously gone ahead with the exposure of Stalin's weaknesses will not stop short.

The present leaders are not only highly developed Marxist-Leninists but they are also veterans of a thousand hard fights in the course of the epic Russian Revolution. We can be sure, therefore, that they did what they considered best under the circumstances.

This was written at the height of the furor in the American CP over the Khrushchev revelations at the 20th Congress. The Daily Worker was filled with letters expressing despair, cynicism, bewilderment, outrage and confusion. Within about a year more than three quarters of the party membership which had stuck it out through the darkest period of the witchhunt were to leave, and the Daily Worker was to cease publication. For a time the Gates faction, in control of the newspaper, utilized it in order to raise questions on Stalin's role and also on the role of the entire leadership. But the Gates group soon disintegrated without waging any kind of struggle against Stalinism, and the Fosterite group took full charge.

DESCENDANTS

The present party leadership is the direct descendant of that group, though Foster, Flynn, Davis and others have died in the last decade. The present leadership, including Lumer, was formed out of a struggle within the American CP to unconditionally defend the bureaucracy from attack by the masses. The loyalty of this group to the bureaucracy has thus been tested in struggle. And its outlook is fully expressed by Foster's statement quoted above. There are endless "adjustments" to the new line, to the new spokesmen for the

The Moscow Trials in session. Hyman Lumer and the rest of the American CP leadership still use its methods.



bureaucracy, to new revelations. These adjustments are quite simply made for the purpose of continuing with the policy of abject and total subservience to the bureaucracy which rules in the Kremlin.

Thus we have the reference to the men who have "boldly and courageously gone ahead" three years after the death of Stalin! Obviously what Foster means is that the bureaucracy took a great risk in unconverting a part of the truth. We should be grateful that it has revealed part of its crimes! What Foster cannot see, of course, is that this is due not to some mysterious and suddenly discovered reverence for truth, but on the contrary to a very real and well known instinct of self preservation which guides the bureaucracy just as it guides other ruling castes and classes.

The revelations were a desperate half-measure forced upon the bureaucracy by the tremendous crisis brought to a head by Stalin's death. Just how great was the risk involved was revealed more quickly than either Foster or Khrushchev expected in the Hungarian Revolution which broke over the heads of the bureaucracy just a few months later. And now we see the same bureaucracy desperately backtracking towards the complete rehabilitation of Stalin in order to close the Pandora's box which has been opened.

VETERANS

And again, since "the present leaders are...veterans of a thousand hard fights in the course of the epic Russian Revolution...they did what they considered best under the circumstances." We agree. The "present leaders" are veterans of fights in the course of the Russian Revolution - fights in which they fought against Bolshevism and the Revolution! This is the lesson of the 1930s. They achieved power only by liquidating the Bolshevik Party, and now they apologize for the "excesses".

Furthermore when Foster speaks of the "present leaders" he means none other than Khrushchev himself. But Khrushchev is himself in disgrace. He also can no longer be described in the glowing words used by Foster. While the words of the American Stalinists make no sense when applied to one spokesman or another, they are fully applicable to the bureaucracy as a whole. The current leaders, while too young to have played any role at the time of the revolution itself, were trained by those who either conciliated to the Mensheviks or were Mensheviks in that period, for that is what the Stalin faction largely consisted of. These men all came up through the hierarchy on the basis of unswerving agreement with Stalinism. These are the men who "did what they considered best under the circumstances." The question is—best for whom?

Foster's apology sums up the complicity of the American Stalinists in the crimes of the Kremlin. These are the people who have devoted a lifetime of faithful service to the bureaucracy. They have never wavered for a minute, and for this they shall be held accountable by the world working class.

PSYCHOLOGICAL

The official Stalinist line is that while Stalin murdered Bolsheviks he carried forward the struggle of Bolshevism. Both so-called liberal as well as die-hard Stalinists all try to separate the political basis of Stalinism from its bloody crimes. In order

Worker
MAKE IT GROW!
 Increased circulation to the
 1100,000 copies . . . \$ 1,200.00
 Total to date \$ 2,000.00

**TROTSKY ORDERED AIDES TO
 MAKE TERMS WITH FASCISM'
 RESTORE CAPITALISM IN USSR**

**Trotsky 'Theories' Lead
 Into the Fascist Camp**
 AN EDITORIAL
 The program of the Trotskyist agents of the fascist
 instigators is as reprehensible as the murders
 by which they hoped to achieve their goal.
 and in the opinion of every one

**Sought Violent Over-
 throw of Soviet Union,
 Accused Declares**
ACCUSED TESTIFY
 Roman Tells of Trotsky's
 Interest in Weakening
 Soviet-U.S. Relations
 MOSCOW, Jan. 26.—Karl
 Radek, Trotsky's

to do this, an objective evaluation of historical phenomena is completely thrown out the window and a psychological interpretation of history is substituted. The Stalinists cannot question the fight against Trotskyism without questioning the existence of the bureaucracy. Therefore the agents and apologists for the bureaucracy are forced into explanations which are completely meaningless from a scientific point of view.

Stalin's crimes, proved by Trotsky and subsequently confirmed at least in part by Khrushchev himself, are all blamed on "the cult of the personality." The Stalinists embrace the same psychological and great man theory of history advanced by the bourgeoisie. The only conclusion that can be drawn from the personality cult theory is that the Bolshevik Party, because of its centralism, led to a situation where 'excesses' like Stalin's could take place. The official Stalinist explanation thus leads straight to the right wing Social Democratic critique of Leninism. The Stalinists drag the names of Marx and Lenin into the mud. Only Trotskyism can explain the crimes of Stalinism objectively and scientifically.

CONSCIOUS

There is no other way to explain Stalin's terror except as flowing from a conscious policy of the bureaucracy. The crisis was so sharp that Stalin was thrown up not simply as the chief spokesman but later as the supreme Bonapartist ruler on behalf of the bureaucracy. No one but Stalin was secure. As Khrushchev reported, one never went to a meeting with Stalin without wondering whether the next destination would be prison. The fact that men faithful to the bureaucracy also fell in the purges does not only not contradict our analysis, but confirms it all the more. The logic of the crisis of the bureaucracy was such that it was forced to go all the way in destroying the Bolshevik Party and in the course of this Stalinists as well as honest communists met their deaths.

The Trials were needed to provide scapegoats for the international fiascos and domestic crises facing the bureaucracy. A British Stalinist writing at the time of the third trial, described how the Russian workers realized why "they waited long hours in the food queues only to find the food almost unfit to eat when they got it home... Now we knew why our wages had been held up, and the reasons for many other things that had made life so hard at the most difficult moments."(7)

The period of the purges was a period of growing internal crisis. At the same time as Stalin proclaimed the irrevocable triumph of socialism the masses saw the opposite in every aspect of daily life. This was a period of growing inequality, the growth of an aristocracy of labor in the cities and the collective farms, the reintroduction of reactionary customs and regulations in education and the army. This crisis is summed up in the reintroduction of the death penalty on April 17, 1935 for offenses committed by minors above the age of 12. (8)

The Trials were used by the bureaucracy to divert the masses away from the real enemies and the real cause of the crisis. The time had long since passed when the workers could be told the truth about the backwardness and isolation of the Soviet State and economy. All the problems had to be heaped on the shoulders of spies and saboteurs. The spies and saboteurs turned out to be the old Bolsheviks

Daily Worker
 PEOPLE CHAMPION OF LIBERTY, PROGRESS, PEACE AND PROSPERITY
 NEW YORK, MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1937
 (8 Pages) Price 3 Cents

**TRIAL BARES NEW TROTSKY LINK TO PLOT
 FOR NAZI-TOKIO WAR ON SOVIET UNION**

**ALL DEFENDANTS
 CONFESS MURDERS
 IN THE RED ARMY**

**Trotsky Plotted With Nazi
 Axmen to Behold the USSR**
 AN EDITORIAL
 It can only be with the utmost hatred of occupational Trotskyism that all honest workers will
 the disclosure of the hideous Trotskyite crimes and
 which are unfolded again in the trial of Karl
 Trotsky Courtier

Two front page headlines from 1937 featuring the Moscow Trials. The American Communist Party printed every fabrication as truth and ran a day in and day out campaign of vilification against Trotsky including even a mass rally at Madison Square Garden.

who might have been a rallying point for the growing discontent as long as they were alive. At the same time the main defendant was Trotsky. It was Trotskyism, the conscious opponent of Stalinism, which was the main enemy as far as Stalin was concerned. The unbelievable confessions delivered by men who had been politically and physically broken were desperate measures designed above all to discredit the alleged mastermind of the conspiracy, Trotsky himself.

DIPLOMACY

At the same time as Stalin sought scapegoats and exterminated political opponents or potential opponents, the trials were also used in furtherance of Kremlin diplomacy. Stalin tried to use the trials to pave the way for international class collaboration on a scale never practiced before. The trials became the means of demonstrating to the world bourgeoisie that it had a faithful ally in the Kremlin and urging upon it an alliance which would give the bureaucracy some breathing space.

During this period the bourgeois press of both the Fascist and "democratic" variety was filled with absurd rumors and stories concerning a division of labor between the Third and Fourth Internationals. (9) It was suggested, and not without political motives on the part of those inspiring the suggestions, that Stalin had assigned to Trotsky the task of openly agitating for the proletarian revolution while he, Stalin, made a pretense of moderation. Of course even now the bourgeoisie continues to assert that the Kremlin is bent on revolution, at least part of the time. The Trials were Stalin's answers to these stories, his way of swearing eternal enmity to the cause of the world proletariat.

On March 1, 1936, just five months before the First Trial, Stalin gave an interview to Roy Howard of the Scripps - Howard newspaper chain. Trotsky explains and reports on this interview in his book, *The Revolution Betrayed*:

What is the state of affairs—he asked Stalin—as to plans and intentions in regard to world revolution? "We never had any such plans or intentions... This is the result of a misunderstanding." Howard: "a tragic misunderstanding?" Stalin: "no, comic, or, if you please, tragi-comic." The quotation is verbatim.

...Stalin would have made a more convincing impression upon his interviewer if he had openly contrasted the policy of Thermidor to the policy of October. "In the eyes of Lenin," he might have said, "the League of Nations was a machine for the preparation of a new imperialist war. We see in it an instrument of peace. Lenin spoke of the inevitability of revolutionary wars. We consider the idea of exporting revolution nonsense. Lenin denounced the union of the proletariat with the imperialist bourgeoisie as treason. We with all our power impel the international proletariat along this road. Lenin slashed the slogan of disarmament under capitalism as deceit of the workers. We build our whole policy upon this slogan. Your tragi-comic misunderstanding,"—Stalin might have concluded—"lies in your taking us for the continuers of Bolshevism, when we are in fact its

gravediggers."

French Stalinist Marcel Cachin also revealed Stalinist aims in his comment on the Second Trial in February, 1937. Cachin complimented the British reformists and Stalinist sympathizers D.N. Pritt and Dudley Collard, who had supported the trials. These men contributed their "socialist" reputations to help cover for Stalin's crimes. They were useful to the bureaucracy precisely because of their very moderate reputations. Collard's remarks are actually quite revealing, even if somewhat unintentionally. Of the defendants, he said, as reported in the Feb. 1937 *Daily Worker*, "They would certainly be convicted and sentenced to death in any country in the world." And Cachin wrote in the *Daily Worker* of the same date:

One would like to pay the same homage to all our socialist comrades, particularly under the present circumstances. For we should not forget that the international lesson which is to be drawn from the shocking revelations at this trial, is that Hitler and Japanese fascism are finding Trotskyite and other allies in all countries. This international fascism and its spies and accomplices who are preparing war together with it, does not menace the Soviet Union alone. Neither Europe nor the rest of this world is secure from this danger, against which all peace loving people, all democrats, all Socialists and all Communists should form ranks in close solidarity.

The message is very clear. When Collard speaks of any country in the world, we must assume he means imperialist Britain, France and the U.S. as well as Nazi Germany. The merit of the trials, accordingly, is that it is the same kind of justice that would be dispensed by Roosevelt, Chamberlain or Hitler! The enemies of Stalin are the enemies of world capitalism. And Cachin adds his analysis. The diplomatic purposes of the trials could not be stated more clearly. The *Popular Front and Moscow Trials* were two aspects of one policy, aimed at an alliance with the bourgeoisie and the crushing of the working class internationally.

KIROV

Each of the three show trials was bigger than the preceding one, as Stalin was forced to complete the job he had begun. The assassination of Kirov in December of 1934 was the foundation upon which all the later purges were based. About the assassination of Kirov, Khrushchev was forced to admit in 1956:

It must be asserted that to this day the circumstances surrounding Kirov's murder hide many things which are inexplicable and mysterious and demand a most careful examination. There are reasons for the suspicion that the killer of Kirov, Nikolayev, was assisted by someone from among the people whose duty it was to protect the person of Kirov. (11)

While the circumstances surrounding this event which was to lead to all the purges have still not been fully explained, it is clear that this assassination was used by the secret police to set the stage for what was to follow. In August 1936, Zinoviev, Kamenov, Smirnov and other old Bolsheviks went on trial in Moscow. The defendants confessed to the assassination

of Kirov and to plots against the lives of most of the Soviet leaders. All the defendants were found guilty and executed.

The second trial took place less than six months later, in early 1937. Radek, Piatakov, Serebriakov and Sokolnikov were among the defendants of the so-called parallel center. These defendants, just as the previous ones, were allegedly working under the instructions of Trotsky and his son Sedov. They confessed to plots to overthrow the Soviet regime in alliance with Japanese and German fascism. They confessed to acts of industrial sabotage and mass poisonings. Most of these defendants were executed, some were imprisoned.

The third trial, in 1938, concluded the extermination of the leading figures of the Bolshevik Party. Bukharin, Rykov, Krestinsky, and Rakovsky confessed to being German, British and Japanese spies as far back as 1921.

CONTRADICTIONS

The obviously rehearsed testimony of the trials was literally bulging with contradictions, apart from the inherent absurdity of the charges themselves. Literally all of Lenin's colleagues had turned to terrorism after a lifetime of struggle against anarchism and terrorism in all forms. They had concluded an open alliance with fascism after a generation or two generations of fighting for socialism. Stalin accused the defendants of the very crimes of which he himself was guilty.

The defendants contradicted one another and recited facts of hotel meetings and airplane trips which were proven to have been impossible. The crude staging of the trials was also expressed in the way none of the defendants implicated themselves in espionage for a foreign capitalist power with whom Stalin presently cultivated friendly relations. Although espionage was supposed to have dated back to the early 1920s, the defendants mysteriously avoided spying for French imperialism, with which Stalin during the period of the trials had a non-aggression pact.

The contradictions and lies were painstakingly exposed by Trotsky and his supporters. In September of 1937 the Dewey Commission, which had heard testimony and conducted an independent investigation, announced that it found the trials to be frameups and Trotsky and Sedov to be not guilty.

No evidence was ever presented other than the confessions which were recited by the defendants. These were boosted by the Stalinists as all the proof required of the charges. Now it has been revealed that the confessions were total fabrications. The defendants consented to play their part in this tragic farce after having been broken psychologically and morally as well as politically.

PRESSURE

The first trial took the longest to prepare and for good reason. The defendants, who had already capitulated and recanted their political views several times, nevertheless could not be persuaded to go along with their part of the script. Only after many months of tremendous pressure were they ready to agree to whatever they were told. Sophisticated forms of psychological and physical pressure were utilized.

inish the story
aning of all the
ngs forth must
When he says
"alliances with
class", became
nd sought the
et regime", he
ng the frameup
y Trials, he is
g all the crimes
ne Trials. And
tion the Trials
ry matters, we
memory.
S. Communist
nsible for the
om the purges
o the beheading
rkers in Spain,
ungarian Rev-
Czechoslovakia
up persecution
ithin the Soviet
CP leadership
of these crimes.
most servile of
cracy.

humanist" in an article the essence of
which is a defense of his policies!

FOSTER

On April 2, 1956, the same Foster who had written that "Stalin will live forever" now wrote an article headed "What Was Done To Check Stalin?"

Workers everywhere agree that Stalin's cult of one man leadership was a harmful development - but in this general connection they ask insistently for an answer to one key question. They want to know what the present leadership for the most part who worked side by side with Stalin for many years, did to prevent the growth of Stalin's cult of the personality or to combat it as it manifested itself in the party practice.

We may rest assured that it will eventually get its full explanation. The men who have boldly and courageously gone ahead with the exposure of Stalin's weaknesses will not stop short.

The present leaders are not only highly developed Marxist-Leninists but they are also veterans of a thousand hard fights in the course of the epic Russian Revolution. We can be sure, therefore, that they did what they considered best under the circumstances.

This was written at the height of the furor in the American CP over the Khrushchev revelations at the 20th Congress. The Daily Worker was filled with letters expressing despair, cynicism, bewilderment, outrage and confusion. Within about a year more than three quarters of the party membership which had stuck it out through the darkest period of the witchhunt were to leave, and the Daily Worker was to cease publication. For a time the Gates faction, in control of the newspaper, utilized it in order to raise questions on Stalin's role and also on the role of the entire leadership. But the Gates group soon disintegrated without waging any kind of struggle against Stalinism, and the Fosterite group took full charge.

DESCENDANTS

The present party leadership is the direct descendant of that group, though Foster, Flynn, Davis and others have died in the last decade. The present leadership, including Lumer, was formed out of a struggle within the American CP to unconditionally defend the bureaucracy from attack by the masses. The loyalty of this group to the bureaucracy has thus been tested in struggle. And its outlook is fully expressed by Foster's statement quoted above. There are endless "adjustments" to the new line, to the new spokesmen for the

ow Trials in session. Hyman Lumer and the American CP leadership still use its methods.



Daily Worker

PEOPLES CHAMPION OF LIBERTY, PROGRESS, PEACE AND PROSPERITY

MAKE IT GROW!

Reached yesterday in the
\$100,000 drive . . . \$ 1,064.81
Total to date \$ 1,064.81

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JANUARY 28, 1967

6 0 (8 Pages) Price 3 Cents

**TROTSKY ORDERED AIDES TO
'MAKE TERMS WITH FASCISM'
TO RESTORE CAPITALISM IN USSR**

**Trotsky 'Theories' Lead
Into the Fascist Camp**

AN EDITORIAL

The program of the Trotskyist agents of the fascist
investigators is as reprehensible as the murders
which they hoped to achieve their goal.

Sought Violent Over-
throw of Soviet Union,
Accused Declares

ACCUSED TESTIFY

Room Tells of Trotsky's
Interest in Weakening
Soviet-U.S. Relations

By Staff in the Daily Worker
MOSCOW, Jan. 25.—Karl
Radek, Trotskyist

bureaucracy, to new revelations. These adjustments are quite simply made for the purpose of continuing with the policy of abject and total subservience to the bureaucracy which rules in the Kremlin.

Thus we have the reference to the men who have "boldly and courageously gone ahead" three years after the death of Stalin! Obviously what Foster means is that the bureaucracy took a great risk in unconverting a part of the truth. We should be grateful that it has revealed part of its crimes! What Foster cannot see, of course, is that this is due not to some mysterious and suddenly discovered reverence for truth, but on the contrary to a very real and well known instinct of self preservation which guides the bureaucracy just as it guides other ruling castes and classes.

The revelations were a desperate half-measure forced upon the bureaucracy by the tremendous crisis brought to a head by Stalin's death. Just how great was the risk involved was revealed more quickly than either Foster or Khrushchev expected in the Hungarian Revolution which broke over the heads of the bureaucracy just a few months later. And now we see the same bureaucracy desperately backtracking towards the complete rehabilitation of Stalin in order to close the Pandora's box which has been opened.

VETERANS

And again, since "the present leaders are...veterans of a thousand hard fights in the course of the epic Russian Revolution...they did what they considered best under the circumstances." We agree. The "present leaders" are veterans of fights in the course of the Russian Revolution - fights in which they fought against Bolshevism and the Revolution! This is the lesson of the 1930s. They achieved power only by liquidating the Bolshevik Party, and now they apologize for the "excesses".

Furthermore when Foster speaks of the "present leaders" he means none other than Khrushchev himself. But Khrushchev is himself in disgrace. He also can no longer be described in the glowing words used by Foster. While the words of the American Stalinists make no sense when applied to one spokesman or another, they are fully applicable to the bureaucracy as a whole. The current leaders, while too young to have played any role at the time of the revolution itself, were trained by those who either conciliated to the Mensheviks or were Mensheviks in that period, for that is what the Stalin faction largely consisted of. These men all came up through the hierarchy on the basis of unswerving agreement with Stalinism. These are the men who "did what they considered best under the circumstances." The question is—best for whom?

Foster's apology sums up the complicity of the American Stalinists in the crimes of the Kremlin. These are the people who have devoted a lifetime of faithful service to the bureaucracy. They have never wavered for a minute, and for this they shall be held accountable by the world working class.

PSYCHOLOGICAL

The official Stalinist line is that while Stalin murdered Bolsheviks he carried forward the struggle of Bolshevism. Both so-called liberal as well as die-hard Stalinists all try to separate the political basis of Stalinism from its bloody crimes. In order

to do this, an objective evaluation of historical phenomena is completely thrown out the window and a psychological interpretation of history is substituted. The Stalinists cannot question the fight against Trotskyism without questioning the existence of the bureaucracy. Therefore the agents and apologists for the bureaucracy are forced into explanations which are completely meaningless from a scientific point of view.

Stalin's crimes, proved by Trotsky and subsequently confirmed at least in part by Khrushchev himself, are all blamed on "the cult of the personality." The Stalinists embrace the same psychological and great man theory of history advanced by the bourgeoisie. The only conclusion that can be drawn from the personality cult theory is that the Bolshevik Party, because of its centralism, led to a situation where "excesses" like Stalin's could take place. The official Stalinist explanation thus leads straight to the right wing Social Democratic critique of Leninism. The Stalinists drag the names of Marx and Lenin into the mud. Only Trotskyism can explain the crimes of Stalinism objectively and scientifically.

CONSCIOUS

There is no other way to explain Stalin's terror except as flowing from a conscious policy of the bureaucracy. The crisis was so sharp that Stalin was thrown up not simply as the chief spokesman but later as the supreme Bonapartist ruler on behalf of the bureaucracy. No one but Stalin was secure. As Khrushchev reported, one never went to a meeting with Stalin without wondering - whether the next destination would be prison. The fact that men faithful to the bureaucracy also fell in the purges does not only not contradict our analysis, but confirms it all the more. The logic of the crisis of the bureaucracy was such that it was forced to go all the way in destroying the Bolshevik Party and in the course of this Stalinists as well as honest communists met their deaths.

The Trials were needed to provide scapegoats for the international fiascos and domestic crises facing the bureaucracy. A British Stalinist writing at the time of the third trial, described how the Russian workers realized why "they waited long hours in the food queues only to find the food almost unfit to eat when they got it home... Now we knew why our wages had been held up, and the reasons for many other things that had made life so hard at the most difficult moments."(7)

The period of the purges was a period of growing internal crisis. At the same time as Stalin proclaimed the irrevocable triumph of socialism the masses saw the opposite in every aspect of daily life. This was a period of growing inequality, the growth of an aristocracy of labor in the cities and the collective farms, the reintroduction of reactionary customs and regulations in education and the army. This crisis is summed up in the reintroduction of the death penalty on April 17, 1935 for offenses committed by minors above the age of 12. (8)

The Trials were used by the bureaucracy to divert the masses away from the real enemies and the real cause of the crisis. The time had long since passed when the workers could be told the truth about the backwardness and isolation of the Soviet State and economy. All the problems had to be heaped on the shoulders of spies and saboteurs. The spies and saboteurs turned out to be the old Bolsheviks

Vol. XIV, No. 21

**TRIAL BA
FOR NA**

Two front page headlines
The American Communists
and ran a day in and d
sky including even a mass

who might have been a r
for the growing discontent
they were alive. At the s
main defendant was Tro
Trotskyism, the conscious
Stalinism, which was the
as far as Stalin was conc
unbelievable confessions
men who had been politica
sically broken were des
sures designed above all
the alleged mastermind
spiracy, Trotsky himself.

DIPLOMACY

At the same time as s
scapegoats and extermina
opponents or potential op
trials were also used in
of Kremlin diplomacy. St
use the trials to pave
international class collab
scale never practiced b
trials became the means
strating to the world bou
it had a faithful ally in
and urging upon it an al
would give the bureaua
breathing space.

During this period th
press of both the Fascist
cratic" variety was fill
surd rumors and stories
a division of labor betwe
and Fourth Internationals
suggested, and not with
motives on the part of th
the suggestions, that Stalin
ed to Trotsky the task of o
ing for the proletarian rev
he, Stalin, made a pretens
tion. Of course even no
geoisie continues to ass
Kremlin is bent on revolu
part of the time. The
Stalin's answers to these
way of swearing eterna
the cause of the world

On March 1, 1936, just
before the First Trial,
an interview to Roy Ho
Scripps - Howard news
Trotsky explains and rep
interview in his book,
tion betrayed:

What is the state of affa
Stalin—as to plans and
regard to world revolu
never had any such plan
tions...This is the resul
understanding." Howar
misunderstanding?" Sta
comic, or, if you please, t
The quotation is verbatim.

...Stalin would have m
convincing impression up
viewer if he had openly c
policy of Thermidor to
October. "In the eyes o
might have said, "The L
tions was a machine for
tion of a new imperialis
see in it an instrument of
spoke of the inevitability
tionary wars. We consi
of exporting revolution no
nin denounced the union o
tariat with the imperialis
as treason. We with a
impel the international p
long this road. Lenin sla
gan of disarmament unde
as deceit of the worker
our whole policy upon this
tragi-comic, misunderstan
lin might have concluded—
taking us for the contin
shevism, when we are

After the first trial was organized the others were prepared more quickly.

The defendants were told that they would be aiding the working class and the Russian Revolution if they went along with the confessions and helped to create sympathy for the Soviet Union against the menace of fascism. The confessions were extorted by a mixture of promises and threats. The measure providing for the death penalty for children 12 years old and over was used to threaten the defendants. Up to the end Stalin combined these threats with promises to spare the lives of the defendants if they cooperated. He proceeded of course to double cross them after the verdicts were announced. With only a handful of exceptions, the defendants were executed immediately.

While Stalin paraded the prominent defendants before world public opinion, thousands of heroic oppositionists met their deaths refusing to cooperate with the butchers of the revolution. The Red Army Generals who were shot without trial may have forced Stalin's hand by standing up to him and refusing to confess. The Trials served the purpose of eliminating all potential opposition as well as laying the foundation for a worldwide terror campaign against the conscious opponents of the bureaucracy, the Trotskyists.

BOURGEOISIE

The reaction of the world bourgeoisie to the terror was predictable. It embraced the trials wholeheartedly. While making use of the terror to discredit Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution, it made clear its unmistakable satisfaction with Stalin's "realistic" policies. This was clearly expressed by Roosevelt's ambassador to the USSR, Joseph Davies. He wrote a book, "Mission to Moscow" which undertook to defend Stalin's policies and put the trials in a very positive light.

The fascists were even more outspoken in expressing their satisfaction. Mussolini wondered whether "in view of the catastrophe of Lenin's system, Stalin could secretly have become a fascist...Stalin is doing a notable service to fascism by mowing down in large armfuls his enemies who have been reduced to impotence." (12)

Mussolini could not have done a more effective job himself in destroying Bolshevism and discrediting it before the entire working class. If one were to believe Stalin's trials, 14 out of the 21 members of the Central Committee which led the Russian workers to power were imperialist spies. The Bureau of the Central Committee elected to prepare the insurrection consisted of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Sokolnikov, Stalin and Bubnov. Only Stalin and Lenin died natural deaths. All the others were killed by Stalin.

Stalin had to destroy all connection between his regime and the proletarian revolution. He had to turn on the very same old Bolsheviks who through their theoretical weaknesses had paved the way for the bureaucracy with Stalin at its head. The campaign against the old Bolsheviks became a frenzy. British Stalinist John Gollan wrote a pamphlet entitled "The Development of Trotskyism from Menshevism to Alliance with Fascism and Counterrevolution," in which he compiled a list of the "real Bolshevik Old Guard," including Ruzdutak, Bubnov, Chubar, Kossior, and Postyshev. All of these men were either shot or imprisoned by Stalin within a few months. (13)

AMERICANS

The American Stalinists played their part in this gigantic frameup campaign. The first trial broke into the headlines in the midst of the big campaign for the popular front in Spain. The trial played a vital part in backing up Stalinist policy. The revelation of assassination plots in alliance with the fascists became the big argument in favor of the popular front as the only way to stop reaction.

The dispatches to the *Daily Worker* during the first trial include some of the most cynical specimens of Stalinist frameup techniques. On August 20, 1936, the *Daily World* reported:

Wild haired Zinoviev sat in the first row of the dock...He looked as if already condemned...Zinoviev was weak-voiced and a perfect picture of a beaten man, in contrast to the famous orator he used to be. He stood for an hour, while Vishinsky, looking like

a corporate lawyer with his iron gray hair and decisive bearing, questioned him and Smirnov.

About Vishinsky, who was a right wing Menshevik during the revolution and the civil war, Trotsky said the following in 1939:

Vishinsky's past in the party is quite clear; he adhered to Menshevism in the 'heroic' periods of his career, at a time when it was impossible not to belong to a 'leftist' party; but for the most part he was an attorney for the oil trust. He appeared on the Soviet arena during the period of the crushing of the Trotskyist opposition. This individual did not become a Bonapartist lackey, he was born such. (14)

With the second of the trials in early 1937, the *Daily Worker* really got moving. Screaming headlines carried forward the campaign against Trotskyism for weeks on end. On both front and back pages the newspaper blared forth its message.

On January 25, 1937: "Trial Bares New Trotsky Link to Plot for Nazi-Tokyo War on Soviet Union." The editorial explained, "Step by step, triply corroborated by facts, dates, documentary letters and above all by deeds of murder and sabotage, the terrible degradation, the counterrevolutionary rottenness and brutality of these men, with Leon Trotsky their direct inciter and leader, reveals its-



Trotsky lies dying after Stalinist assault. What was CPUSA's role in this murder?

ary Degeneration of Trotskyism 'Unthinkable' ??? as if to admit that his first attempt to show that the alleged plot was not "fantastic" was simply not adequate. He points to the degeneration of the Second International and the going over to counterrevolution by the left Socialist Revolutionaries after the October Revolution. But Foster does not and of course cannot prove that Trotskyism has gone over to the class enemy. He simply brings up the Social Democratic traitors and the left SRs and asserts Trotsky's connection.

"Trial is Marked by Fairness of Procedure," the report went on. And the dispatch went on to praise Vishinsky once again, the towering symbol of Stalinist justice: "State's attorney A.Y. Vishinsky is a tall, impressive scholarly looking man. He speaks in a soft pleasant voice and acts with the utmost consideration toward the accused. For example, when Piatakov had spoken for about half an hour, confession to the most contemptible deeds which would stir the blood of every decent person, Vishinsky not only appeared calm but arose and suggested to Piatakov that he would suggest a recess if Piatakov were getting tired."

PRAISE

Here as elsewhere the praise of the terror gets so effusive that the writer ends up saying perhaps more than he originally intended to. If the "contemptible deeds...would stir the blood of every decent person," why after all, was Vishinsky unmoved? That is a question that can certainly be answered today!

On January 30, Earl Browder wrote a front-page article headed "Progressives: Rally to Halt World Conspiracy of Trotskyites, Fascism; Drive the Counterrevolutionary Trotskyites from the Ranks of the Labor Movement." Once again the identity between the class collaboration policies of the popular front and the terror campaign was very clearly expressed.

On February 7, the back page of the *Daily Worker* screamed: "Trotskyites Killed Children, Miners." And so on. A massive campaign of public meetings, including 18,000 at Madison Square Garden, was organized and reported on. Resolutions were passed by CP branches and front organizations all over the country. Every statement, every article, every page had the same theme: all out defense of the purges and frameups and the extension of them to a worldwide campaign of terror and violence against the Trotskyists.

Willaim Z. Foster contributed an 80 page pamphlet entitled *Questions and Answers on the Piatakov-Radek Trial*. The questions posed and then "answered" by Foster in this pamphlet indicate the difficulties the Stalinists were having in convincing workers of the truth of the confessions and the trials.

"Was the Trotsky Plot Fantastic?" asks Foster. "But to anyone who takes the trouble to familiarize himself with the voluminous testimony presented at the Moscow trial and the political developments leading up to it, the Piatakov-Radek affair, like that of Zinoviev-Kamenev, is anything but fantastic. On the contrary, it is of the earth earthy, of the very woof and warp of life itself." (15)

Earthy indeed! From the very beginning Foster tries to adapt the needs of the bureaucracy to the theoretical backwardness of the American working class. This is the meaning of the down-to-earth, pragmatic sounding phrases like 'the woof and warp of life itself.' Elsewhere Foster goes even further in expressing his ignorance and hostility to Marxism. He defines Lenin's policies as "common sense, sound Marxian dialectics," (16) thus managing to equate the philosophy of the bourgeoisie with that of the proletariat.

Foster then goes on to another chapter entitled "Is the Counterrevolution-

fundamental question because you are part and parcel of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

EXTERMINATE

With the 1938 trial and the accompanying purges Stalin had succeeded in destroying the Bolshevik Party which had carried through the October Revolution. But his work was not done. Bolshevism was not yet dead. The founding of the Fourth International in 1938, as the continuation of the struggle of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, was a gigantic historic step in the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Stalin had to proceed from the purge trial to step up his campaign to exterminate Bolshevism. This now centered on two individuals who had to be removed—Leon Trotsky and Leon Sedov.

Stalin's worldwide terror network stepped up its preparation. For years Stalin had used the resources of the Soviet state to accumulate the most detailed information about the Trotskyist movement all over the world. Stalin's agents were everywhere and Trotsky himself had no illusions on this score. As early as 1931 Stalin secured information of the most important nature through an agent by the name of Jack Soble. (18) Soble gained Trotsky's confidence for a time after having played a leading role in the Berlin Trotskyist group. After Soble was exposed he continued to work behind the scenes.

The most important agent in the late 1930s was a very sophisticated and talented writer and intellectual by the name of Mark Zborowski. Zborowski came to the U.S. after the war, and he is now teaching at the University of California. He went under the name of Etienne in the Fourth International, and became the closest collaborator of Sedov in Paris. He was of key importance in the preparation of the assassination of Trotsky's secretary, Rudolf Klement, and then of Leon Sedov himself.

BLOWS

The most important goal, however, eluded Stalin until August 20, 1940, when an agent by the name of Ramon Mercader (alias Jacques Mornard, alias Frank Jacson) delivered the blow which killed Trotsky. It is with this most despicable terrorist crime that the American Stalinists are most implicated. The role of the U.S. Communist Party in this assassination conspiracy deserves to be as fully exposed as possible.

According to his own account, the former managing editor of the *Daily Worker*, Louis Budenz, played a key role in helping the Stalinist agents to track down Trotsky. (19) According to Budenz the explanation always given for the necessity of espionage work involving Trotsky was that it was necessary in order to offset any plots against Stalin or the Soviet Union. Budenz helped plant agents inside the American Trotskyist movement, about which he was quite knowledgeable due to his prior activity in the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Budenz also helped arrange the meeting between the future assassin and the young woman member of the Trotskyist movement who was unwittingly to provide the entry for the assassin into Trotsky's confidence and his home in exile, in Mexico.

The American Stalinists were implicated in every aspect of this foul deed. Some served as couriers for letters concerning the assassination plans. In June 1940 Mercader spent some time in New York getting further instructions in assassination techniques.

Finally in August of that year Stalin's goal was accomplished. But it must be stressed that even this most terrible of blows against the revolutionary movement could not crush that movement. As Trotsky himself insisted time and time again, the bureaucracy was incapable of destroying a movement which rested in the working class and based itself upon the historic interests of that class, as long as that class continued to exist and to fight. But the Stalinists and their American followers did what they could to leave the working class paralyzed—to disrupt and if possible completely destroy the continuity of the revolutionary movement. The contribution of the U.S. Communist Party on this score will not be forgotten.

Thus Foster's words come back to haunt the Stalinists today. There is absolutely no getting around this question. If the trials were the truth, the defendants were certainly counterrevolutionary. If they were frameups, then it was the Stalin regime which was counterrevolutionary. Which is it, Lumer, Hall and the rest of the current leaders of the American Communist Party? Who were the counterrevolutionaries? You are silent on the question of the trials, on these critical events. You are unwilling and unable to answer this

WORKERS PROGRAM TO FIGHT IN NMU

BY TOM GORDON

THE RECORD BREAKING 43% wage increase won by tugboatmen's Local 333 of the National Maritime Union in New York Harbor after their 60 day strike shows the potential strength and willingness to struggle of the NMU as a whole. Despite the use of the Coast Guard to break the strike and the refusal of the local's leadership to set up picket lines, the men won a victory. This struggle must now be taken into the rest of the NMU around a program that can guarantee victory and prepare new leadership within the ranks.

The tugboat strike settlement gives the lie to NMU President Joseph Curran's old song and dance about how it is the job of the NMU to make sure that the bosses earn enough profit to leave a few crumbs over for the NMU. The tug boat strike forced a settlement on the bosses. This is the only way forward in the struggle.

All the NMU and SIU bureaucrats recognize the "right" of the companies to make a profit. The logic of this perspective is that all the advances of modern technology, containers, LASH ships, even atomic powered ships, are used not in any way to benefit the men, but in the long run to create unemployment.

There must be equal rights within the NMU for all groups. When the NMU pilot recommends that the Group Is freeze the Group IIs out of jobs, it recommends weakening the union. With equal rights inside the union, the NMU will be greatly strengthened in the fight against Nixon.

The ranks must serve notice on Curran that they do not intend to see their jobs disappear onto foreign-flag and SIU ships where manning scales are lower, pay is lower, and there is less union control over working conditions. The way to fight foreign flag ships and United States' Lines plan to lease its container-ships to the SIU manned Sea-Land Lines is not to compete with the SIU or foreign countries to cut wages and manning scales but to organize the crews on foreign flag ships, a right won in the 1969 NMU Deep Sea Cargo Agreement, and bring their wages and conditions up to NMU levels. At the same time the ranks in all the maritime unions require real labor unity. There must be one national contract and one big union for all of

maritime.

PROGRAM

The rank and file must call on Curran, in port and ship meetings, to carry out his threat of a demonstration in Washington against passenger ship layoffs. This demonstration must go forward around the following program:

- Stop the new Taft-Hartley law and the Nixon Maritime Plan!
- Bring the passenger liners out of layup with full manning!
- Preserve NMU jobs through two fully paid crews for each vessel!
- Forward with the wage offensive!
- Organize the unorganized—No more scab ships and underpaid foreign flag vessels!

This means the rank and file must fight to get the NMU to repudiate Curran's schemes of compromise with manning cuts and the Nixon Plan as a whole. When Curran and the other bureaucrats claim that concessions must be made so that employers can maintain their profits, the ranks must answer with the demand for nationalization of the shippers without compensation, placing the industry under the control of the workers.

This is the program we urge for the NMU. At the same time not only the NMU but all of American labor is threatened by Nixon. The Democrats in Congress go along with every unionbusting plan he proposes. During the Post Office strike, not one of Curran's "friends of labor", not Garmatz of Maryland, nor Helen Bentley of the Maritime Administration raised even one word in defense of the strikers.

The use of troops in the Post Office and the Coast Guard to break the strike by Local 333, combined with the Nixon Maritime Plan and revisions of Taft-Hartley urgently pose the need for an independent labor party based on the trade unions. The call for the labor party must be taken up in the NMU and taken into the most massive demonstration of maritime labor in Washington.

We urge the Committee for NMU Democracy and the West Coast Committee for NMU Democracy to take up this program. The courts will not be any help in this fight. Their purpose is to defend the law and the law is defined by Nixon and his cohorts in Congress. In the strike by Local 333 the only thing the courts did was put the legal seal of approval on Governor Cahill's seizing sewage barges and using the Coast Guard to tow them. In the 1969 elections the Department of Labor barred the Committee for NMU Democracy from passing out its election leaflets.

The struggle against Curran must be a principled break with his method—from his opportunism, from his going to the government for help. We call on James Morrissey and other leaders in the NMU ranks to defend the ranks against Nixon by relying on their united strength, by opening up the campaign for a big NMU demonstration in Washington around this program.

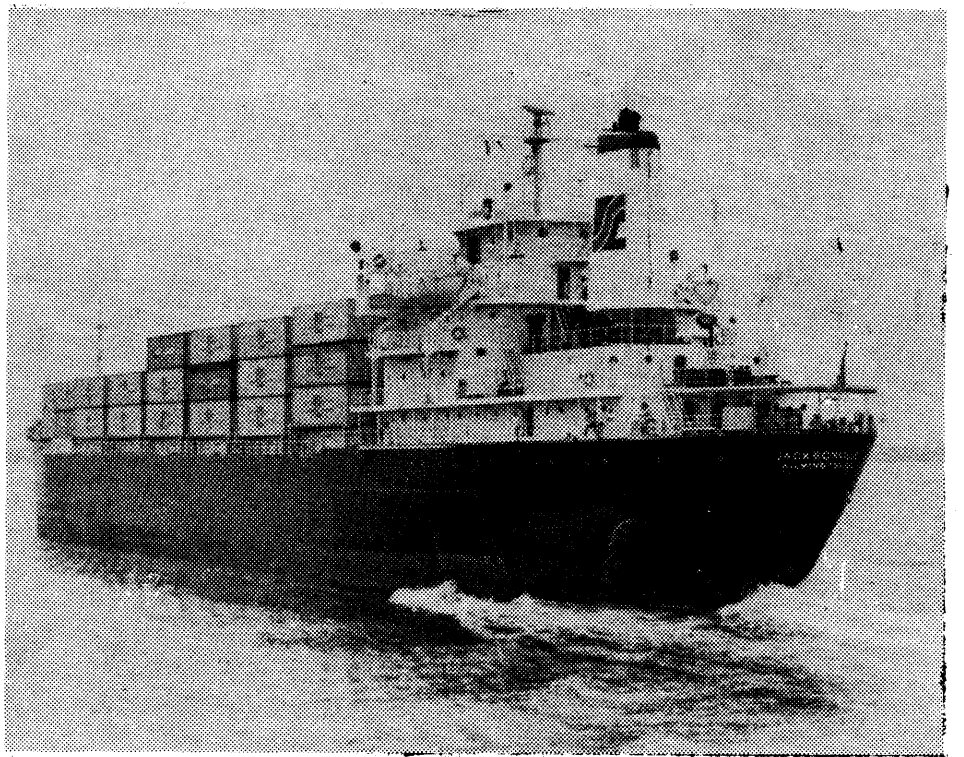
The great increase in carrying capacity being planned internationally far outstrips any possible increase in world trade, hence the latest advances in the field of transport are used not to expand trade but to carry the same cargo with fewer men. Carriers on the North Atlantic are already "on the brink of what could become a full fledged rate war," according to the president of the North Atlantic Container Line. This means that the winners in the competition will be those companies most able to cut their cost through the use of the most advanced equipment employing the fewest men.

NIXON PLAN

It is the need to raise the billions of dollars needed to build these ships and the modern terminals to service them, and the need to run them continuously uninterrupted by strikes or slowdowns, that lie behind the Nixon Maritime Plan and Nixon's latest proposals for compulsory arbitration of strikes in transportation.

Hearings on the Nixon Maritime Plan itself opened with Congresswoman Lenore Sullivan giving a lecture on the need to achieve peace in the industry before the Plan passes Congress.

The AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department bureaucrats, under pressure of the rank and file who face increasing unemployment, have been forced to voice op-



New containerships, like those of Sea-Land are a threat to seamen as well as dockers.

position to the Nixon Plan and to the anti-strike laws Nixon proposes. The January 1970 issue of the NMU Pilot states that "NMU and other maritime unions stand ready to hit the bricks in the nation's capital again—and in full, demanding force. If pressure from political leaders, labor bodies and socially conscious organizations ... should fail. President Curran has warned that NMU members, together with members of the other maritime unions, will march on Washington and bring their cause directly home to the President and the Congress."

At the winter conference of the Maritime Trades Department, resolutions were passed against Nixon's plans to strengthen Taft-Hartley. Joseph Curran of the NMU and Teddy Gleason of the ILA threatened a boycott against Chilean, Peruvian and Brazilian ships in retaliation for restrictions by those countries on American-flag ships. A study group was set up to examine problems in maritime.

PRESSURE

Behind Curran's threat of a demonstration in Washington, behind the Maritime Trades Department's opposition to Nixon's strikebreaking laws and schemes for cutting jobs and wages, lies the strength of the ranks in maritime and the bureaucrats' fear that the ranks will sweep them out.

The program around which these bureaucrats plan to mobilize the ranks is one of pressuring Nixon, Congress and oldline American shipping bosses in a fight against the conglomerates. Curran and Paul Hall of the SIU propose sacrificing some jobs

and wages in the hope of saving others. These bureaucrats capitulate on the essential question of unemployment when for the ranks there can be no compromise. The days when a seaman could take a shoreside job when shipping was slow are gone. The ranks must now stay in and fight.

The essential question in the struggle to defend the NMU is defense of seamen's jobs. The passage of the Nixon Plan will only deepen the layoffs and manning scale cuts now being made.

The ranks must make it clear that the way to protect jobs is not to give in by negotiating "substantial cuts in manning," but by demanding that the liners be put out to sea with two full crews, each to sail one trip on and one trip off with full pay, and with no cuts in pay or manning scales. Accepting partial crew reductions only weakens the union for attacks which the shippers plan to make in the future through still more manning cuts, reduction in overtime and speedup.

The demand raised by the Committee for NMU Democracy in ships' meetings on the Santa Paula and the Ponce de Leon, that "advanced technology" ships have two full crews, each one to sail one trip on and one trip off, with both crews paid in full for both trips, must be taken up by the ranks and extended to include all ships. Posing it for only a section serves to divide the union. Demanding it for all of the NMU is a sharp break from Curran's method of playing one department off against another, and unifies all men in the NMU.

Nixon, Congress, Break Rail Strike

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

Nixon and Congress took a major step in their attempt to break the power and independence of the trade unions when they passed emergency legislation on April 8th to impose a rail settlement.

This action forcing a contract on the unions by federal legislation is without precedent in the U.S. So overwhelming was the support for Nixon's bill in Congress that it passed by a vote of 88 to 3 in the Senate and by voice vote in the House.

This settlement imposed by the strike-breakers in Congress and the White House is the agreement rejected by the Sheet Metal Workers last December. The Sheet Metal Workers have opposed the contract because it provides for the elimination of job classification lines and opens the way for speedup and loss of jobs.

What Nixon and Congress are telling the ranks of the rail unions and the labor movement as a whole is that they no longer have the right to strike or decide what their wages and conditions will be. It is the employers and the government which will do the deciding. This legislation is just a taste of the plans Nixon is preparing in his proposed revisions of Taft Hartley and the Railway Labor Act.

While the government was preparing these measures the trade union bureaucrats did little or nothing. These leaders used the action of the government to avoid mobilizing the ranks. This is the same role these bureaucrats played when Nixon moved the troops into New York to break the postal strike. The labor bureaucracy becomes the partners to the employers

and the government in their attempts to break the power of labor.

The tremendous upsurge in the ranks of labor stands in direct opposition to the perspective of the trade union bureaucracy.

The vote on the rail settlement makes absolutely clear that there are no "friends of labor" in the Democratic and Republican parties. The power of the labor movement expressed in the strike wave that is sweeping the U.S. must be thrust politically against the government through the building of a labor party. Only in this way can the unions strike back against the slave labor plans of Nixon and the government.

JOIN THE WORKERS LEAGUE!

CALIFORNIA: San Francisco: 1333A Stevenson St. Phone: 626-7019 Los Angeles: 11260 Missouri Ave. No. 1 Phone: 473-0464 Berkeley: U.C. Room 214 Deusch Hall Phone: 841-6313

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

ILLINOIS: Chicago: Box 6044, Main P.O. MICHIGAN: Detroit: P.O. 1057, Southfield, Mich. 48075 Oakland U.: Phone 377-2000 Ext. 3034

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

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

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

WISCONSIN: Madison: Phone: 257-7558

CANADA: Toronto: P.O. Box 5758, Postal Sta. A Montreal: Phone: 935-5373

subscribe now!

☐\$1.00 for six month introductory sub

☐\$3.00 for a full year's subscription

NAME-----

STREET-----

CITY-----

STATE-----ZIP-----

BULLETIN, Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St. NYC 10003

YSA BURIES THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

BOYCOTT WOOLWORTH'S



MADISON PICKETS: Negro and white students stand together in solidarity during a demonstration in support of integration fight.

SPONTANEOUS MOVEMENT: Sit-ins Back

The Young Socialist in its early days was a fighting monthly newspaper which sought to give leadership to youth in struggle. This issue was devoted to support to sit-ins.

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST Alliance has implemented its decision to stop publication of Young Socialist, its monthly organ. It is publishing a four page bi-weekly, The Young Socialist Organizer in its stead as well as supporting the International Socialist Review of the SWP, which will now appear monthly.

The Young Socialist Organizer is precisely that, an organizational sheet devoted to such topics as the fund drive and educational activities. The issue before us has an article on the Chicago YSA-Third World Fraction, a successful educational series held by the Worcester, Mass. branch and the California state SWP election campaign.

The Young Socialist was started as a monthly 4 page tabloid newspaper in October, 1957. The author of this article was its first editor. The paper was from the first conceived of as a fighting political publication and the construction of a socialist youth organization was its central task. The Young Socialist Alliance was actually built around the paper.

LEADERSHIP

In the early period the editorial board of the Young Socialist was the actual leadership of the YSA-to be. This was formalized in the first national conference of the supporters of the Young Socialist held in Detroit in December 1958. The YSA itself was not formally launched until April 1960.

The Young Socialist played an important role in bringing Trotskyism to youth in that period. As the first editorial noted, it was founded after a year "of crisis—a revolution in Hungary; an imperialist invasion in Suez; a struggle for national independence in Algeria; and a vigorous battle against second class citizenship on the part of the Negro people in our own country."

STALINISM

In the first months the major pre-occupation of the Young Socialist and its supporters was the crisis within the Stalinist movement. While at times the paper came dangerously close to openly abandoning its Trotskyist politics in an attempt to win over youth from out of the Stalinist milieu through adaptation rather than struggle, this was never allowed to triumph. At one point a group of youth, led by Steve Max who later played a role in forming SDS, sought to gain majority control of the YS editorial board precisely to keep Trotskyism out of the paper. This attempt was decisively defeated and as a result the Max group walked out of the supporting clubs of the

Special! 8-page issue on Sit-ins-Pictures, Reports

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

Vol. 3, No. 7

April, 1960

NYC Rally Vows Weekly Picketing; May 17 Nationwide Protest Urged

NEW YORK, March 12—A mass rally of student picketers pledged to continue their weekly picketing of Woolworth's and to support a mass demonstration in the garment district on May 17, the sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court's integration decision.

The rally was called by the New Youth Committee for Integration at Community Church following a successful picket line of 300 students (see page 4 for a report on last week's picket line and the background for the formation of this group). The group is an ad hoc committee representing all New York youth who wish to oppose segregation in the South. Participants are reported to be all interested youth from schools and organizations to leave their names and addresses for joining the committee.

BROAD SUPPORT

The Committee, since its origin has concentrated its attack on Woolworth stores. Further, it has attempted to mobilize massive support among students for this action. The report has been "quest at" "onstr"

PICKETS TO RETURN

Fred Masella, also of CCNY, announced the Committee's decision to picket "next week for" "This an" "by"

from their origins the youth expression of the Socialist Workers Party. It is not only true that the SWP provided the bulk of the members of the YSA and encouraged in every way its development. Much more critical is the fact that the whole historical struggle of the SWP for Trotskyism in the United States is what laid the political basis for the development of the YSA and the Young Socialist. The YSA in turn played the critical role of bringing Trotskyism to a new generation of youth precisely at a time, as the first editorial of the Young Socialist noted, when the Trotskyist movement could break out of its isolation and once again develop a living relation with the youth and the working class.



Joe Hansen tried to liquidate the Young Socialist as early as 1958 but failed.

Of course the relations between the YSA leadership and the SWP as a whole were not always harmonious nor were the relations within the YSA leadership. Liquidationist pressures threatened the existence of the YSA, and thus of the very future of Trotskyism in the United States, in two ways. First, inside the YSA a section of the youth leadership closely associated with former SWP leader Murry Weiss pressed at every opportunity for adaptation to the Stalinist forces inside the supporting clubs of the YS. At one point it was only through the support of the central leadership of the SWP, in particular Comrades Dobbs and Kerry, that these Weissite youth were gotten to hold the line against the Stalinist takeover of the Young Socialist itself.

But pressures of a more subtle variety came from the leadership of the SWP itself. In many ways the SWP leadership saw the YSA as a competing, threatening body. On the one hand they could not help but see in it a tremendous strength to the aging cadres of the SWP, but on the other hand its very vitality and fighting spirit objectively threatened the old guard. Thus on several occasions, the SWP central leadership proposed, because of financial difficulties, the suspension of either the Young Socialist or of the single full time functionary the youth movement had. Joe Hansen was the emis-

sary who sought to negotiate this "final solution" for the Young Socialist and the YSA. That the YSA exists today can in part be attributed to the resistance of the youth leadership of the time to these pressures.

When the struggle broke out inside the forces of the International Committee in 1961 over Cuba and over the whole question of Pabliste revisionism, the majority of the leadership of the YSA became the nucleus for the opposition inside the SWP to revisionism. Following the 1961 SWP convention this opposition was removed from its majority control of the YSA and over the next year or two its influence within the YSA kept as limited as possible.

But it is significant that it was the youth leadership of the YSA which led the struggle for Trotskyism against the desertion from this struggle of the Dobbs-Kerry-Cannon leadership. It was among the youth that the forces were found to continue the struggle for Trotskyism in the new period of capitalist crisis which opened up.

STEP

Barely a month after the expulsion of the group which now constitutes the Workers League the first step was taken towards the liquidation of the Young Socialist. At the Labor Day Plenum in 1964 of the YSA, the format of the YS was changed to its present magazine style.

What was involved in this change was more than format. As a magazine the Young Socialist became simply a show-piece for articles from time to time on black liberation, or Cuba, or the anti-war movement. It became a slick magazine of commentary rather than a fighting paper to lead the YSA politically and which sought to lead masses of youth in real struggle.

This in itself was an expression of the liquidationist character of Pablistism as applied to the youth. Since the role of the YSA now was that of supporting this that or the other thing, all it needed was an organ expressing this support. Since the organizational energies of the YSA were drained into building multi-class SMCs, it did not need a fighting paper to build the YSA itself in battle against the capitalist class and its agents among students in the liberals, pacifists and the like.

ABANDONMENT

The abandonment of the Young Socialist even as a magazine is a further step along the road of liquidationism and a deeper expression of the political liquidationism which has already taken place. To substitute for a public organ an essentially internal organ reporting on organizational detail is actually to politically liquidate the YSA into its own organizational activity. This organizational activity proceeds separate from a public political thrust fought for against other class forces. The road to liquidationism of the SWP has traditionally been liquidating into organizational activity seen separated from the politically independent construction of the revolutionary party.

It is significant that at the same time as the YSA liquidates its monthly magazine, the British Young Socialists have expanded the size and circulation of its monthly newspaper Keep Left. They have been able to do so despite the fact that the major burden for the sale of the daily Workers Press falls on the shoulders of the youth. In France, the Trotskyist youth in the AJS have greatly expanded the circulation of Jeune Revolutionnaire while the adult Trotskyists publish Informations Ouvrieres weekly as well as a large number of other publications including the magazine La Verite.

The YSA, following the lead of the SWP, sees no real crisis and no need to take up a leadership fight in the working class. It denies the need for working class leadership of the struggle against the war in Vietnam. It has no orientation to go beyond the campus work to work directly among working class youth and no political program for the mobilization of working class youth. Thus its finds a publication, even a magazine, superfluous.

We urge all YSAers to demand a real history of their own organization and of the SWP, to probe the liquidation of the Young Socialist to its political and theoretical roots. A youth organization without a political head in its own paper is a youth organization designed to tail the movement of other social classes, not to lead with the program of the working class.

TROTSKYISM

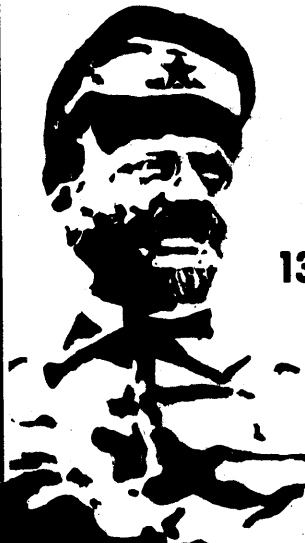
a class series

SUNDAYS, 1 pm

APRIL 26 thru JUNE 1

1333A STEVENSON ST.

SAN FRANCISCO



workers
league

LOCAL 400 ENDORSES ANTI-WAR ACTION

SAN FRANCISCO—Members of the Rank and File Caucus of Local 400 City employees have been campaigning to bring out city workers on the April 15th work stoppage.

The Rank and File Caucus took the lead in demanding a motion of support endorsing the 15th action. A very significant victory was won when the bureaucracy was forced at a membership meeting to endorse April 15th and urge its members to participate in the Labor Assembly for Peace rally and march.

The Rank and File Caucus is taking up the fight to build a contingent of city workers to march with banners calling for a labor party, a shorter work week, an escalator clause, jobs for all and immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.

1199 FACES ELECTION

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—From April 20th to 24th hospital workers will vote to elect all union officials. Only one position offers a choice, Guild Organizer, where Fred Mazelis of the Rank and File Committee is running as an opposition candidate.

In this election the Rank and File Committee calls on hospital workers to fight for a new leadership of 1199, one which has a program to meet the challenge facing all workers to defend their living standards and working conditions.

In the face of the Medicaid freeze and the financial crisis of the hospitals the 1199 leadership has capitulated to the pressure of the bosses and has cooperated in allowing jobs to be liquidated. Now with the contract negotiations facing the union, this capitulation is coming to a head. While the Rank and File Committee fought for action to end the job freeze, the leadership claimed that it was "imaginary." But the leadership has known all along about the freeze and made a conscious decision not to oppose it. This concession can mean only one thing—they will also knuckle under to the bosses' determination to keep down wages.

This is crystal clear in the April

issue of the union magazine in which Davis writes about the negotiations. Everything he has to say on the contract is evasion and double talk. He begins by asking "What do we want?" and "How do we go about achieving it?" But he then answers neither question. Instead he shifts the whole issue of the contract away from wage demands to one of classification and the different needs of hospital workers.

OBSURE

While we do not ignore the needs of different skills, Davis makes this a central point in order to obscure the need for an overall wage increase that will unite all workers. He then talks about dividing the piece of pie that we can get from management. There is no minimum goal that will be non-negotiable as was the \$100 minimum wage won in 1968. There is just a piece of pie to divide up. What determines how much there will be is how much the bosses will make available.

Davis assumes that the needs of the workers and what is available are compatible, but they are completely opposed. Davis refuses to mobilize the union for a fight for a big wage increase. He is already raising the "sensitive" nature of the industry to dampen any talk of a strike.

The Rank and File Committee is campaigning in the election for a 50% increase, a cost of living escalator clause, no job cuts and rehiring.

This is the program that can take 1199 and every union forward in the coming period. Begin this fight now—Vote for Fred Mazelis for Guild Organizer.



Inflation has wiped out most of \$100 gain.

SAN FRANCISCO BOOKBINDERS UNANIMOUSLY REJECT CONTRACT

BY SEANA STEWART

SAN FRANCISCO—On April 8th the members of Bookbinders Local 125-31 voted down the first proposed contract. The meeting had a large attendance of over 250 people and the contract was voted down unanimously.

At a time when workers are being hit hard by inflation, the bureaucracy comes in with a contract offering only a \$15 a week raise for Journeymen and women and \$12 a week for the specialty workers over 18 months. Only a slight raise in pensions and welfare was offered. The rank and file is determined to accept nothing less than \$25 a week. The union bureaucrats were completely exposed when they tried to recommend acceptance as a victory.

In voting down the contract the ranks expressed their frustration and independence. They have already been working for six weeks without a contract. They know all too well that if the bureaucracy has its way they may end up working 18 months without a contract, as happened in 1967. The employers were well aware of the nature of this sellout leadership and were able to settle at that time for raises of \$5 a year. An all out fight must be taken up to prepare for a strike to prevent this kind of betrayal.

When negotiations started the unions asked for a 30 hour week. The employers demanded an increase in hours from 35 to 37 1/2. Now the bureaucracy returns with a contract that barely compensates for the increased cost of living and calls it a victory.

The call for the shorter work week is essential for creating more jobs. Right now a large part of the membership is unemployed and many more have no steady work.

The bindery contracts fall due at the same time as contracts for Northern California printing industries are up. Instead of fighting for joint negotiations with the pressmen and lithographers and a united strike policy, the bindery union leadership tries to ram through a sellout while the other unions are still negotiating.

The rank and file must demand and fight for a united struggle of all printing trades workers to shut down the entire industry until the demands are met. A raise of at least \$25 a week is essential just to catch up with what has been lost over the last three years. There must be an all out fight to eliminate the bureaucracy's practice of signing special contracts with certain shops,

allowing them to provide less benefits and vacation times. The fight for the shorter work week is the only answer to the growing unemployment in the industry.

- No Contract No Work!
- For a 30 Hour Week!
- Unity of the Printing Trades!
- For an Immediate \$25 Raise!
- No special Contracts!



Israeli soldier checks school bag for weapons of a small Palestinian girl with wound.

Israel Continues Terror Against Egyptian Villages

BY MARTY JONAS

On April 8th two Israeli Phantom jets bombed the Egyptian village of Bahr el Bakar, demolishing a one-story school house. Thirty schoolchildren and a teacher were killed in the raid, and forty-six wounded, leaving only ten children uninjured.

Moshe Dayan's only comment was that the Egyptians should not be teaching children in a military structure.

This incident rivals the raid by Israeli jets on the metal factory in Abu Zabal, where over seventy workers were killed, many by napalm. In that instance Israel cynically apologized for its "mistake."

The history of Israel is a succession of incidents such as these, just as imperialism's history in Vietnam is a trail of Song Mys. Many of the members of the Israeli government, such as Manahim Begin, were the leaders of massacres on Arab villages during the "fight for independence."

The whole expansionist course of the Zionists is made obvious by Bahr el Bakar and Abu Zabal. It is also plain now that they have no intention of giving

an inch to the Arabs, either in territory or in peace talks.

The government has rejected the talks with Nasser set up by Nahum Goldmann, prominent liberal Zionist leader. They have made public their plans to turn the occupied city of Hebron into a Jewish settlement.

Both of these moves by the Israeli government brought forth a tremendous reaction from students in Jerusalem this last weekend. Hundreds of them stormed Premier Golda Meir's house, attempting to climb over the walls. They had to be beaten back with police clubs and water hoses.

This demonstration, probably the largest against the government in Israel's history, goes deeper than just a protest against the rejection of peace talks and the moves against Hebron. This unrest by students, many of whom are connected with the Mapam or Mapai labor parties, indicates a growing hostility by many Israeli workers and youth to the expansionist banditry of their government.

This year promises to bring the Israeli working class into the foreground, alongside the French, American and Italian workers. This will be a struggle not only against the anti-labor wage freeze policy just begun by the government, but against the imperialist policy that is intimately linked with that policy.

Kirk Moves Guard Against Construction Workers

April 13—Today Governor Kirk of Florida ordered the National Guard into Palm Beach against construction workers who have been demonstrating against the use of non-union labor on a construction site there. Kirk's use of the National Guard follows by a week the attack by police with tear gas on 3,000 unionists picketing the Palm Beach construction site on April 6th.

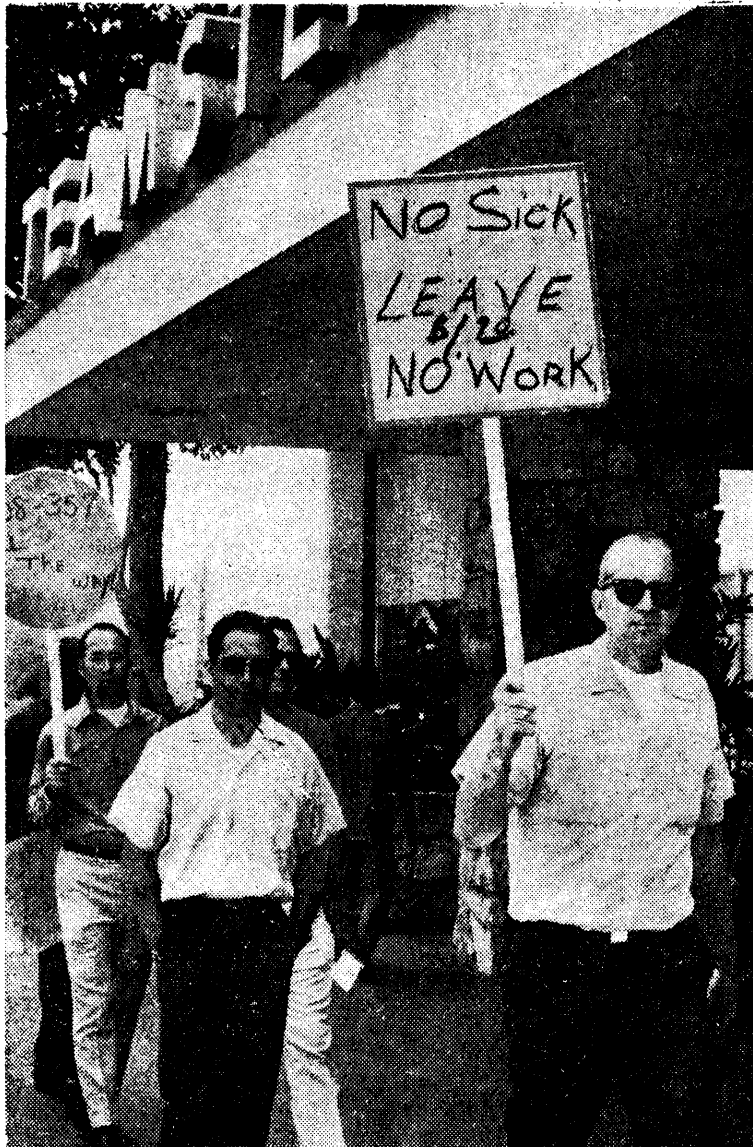
This is the same Kirk who last week took over the school system in Florida's Manatee County and used local police to prevent the integration order of the Supreme Court. It is clear that all the forces of "law and order" are being used against the working class to implement the racist, anti-union attacks of the employers. Kirk's actions are in line with Nixon's determination to put a Southerner on the Supreme Court and to use the instruments of the government to crush the upsurge of the labor movement.

L.A. TEAMSTERS OUT IN WILDCAT

LOS ANGELES—The wildcat strike of 10,000 Teamsters has remained in effect with few breaks in the ranks despite company firings, a temporary restraining order obtained by the California Trucking Association and the opposition of the official Teamster leadership.

The strike started early last week when it became known to area Teamsters that no decisions had been made in the national contract on their demand for 10 days New York sick leave. New York is one of the few areas in the country where truckers get sick leave. Archie Murietta, shop steward at Pacific Mountain Transport said that the strikers are now demanding rehiring with full amnesty of all fired Teamsters in addition to the demands for sick leave.

The strikers have set up a headquarters of their own with money collected from among their members. As of now almost no interstate shipping is taking place in the Los Angeles area.



Teamster rank and file picket union headquarters in Los Angeles.

DETROIT TEAMSTERS REBEL; WILDCAT STRIKE DEFIES FITZSIMMONS

BY OUR DETROIT CORRESPONDENT
DETROIT—The tentative settlement reached in Washington between the top leadership of the Teamsters under Frank Fitzsimmons and the employers association has been blown sky high by wildcat rebellions of thousands of truck drivers across the country.

The settlement that Nixon and the employers thought was "in the bag" was turned down cold first by Chicago truck drivers who are holding out for the pattern set in an agreement with Illinois Motor Truck Operators, providing for an increase of \$1.65 an hour plus 42¢ an hour in fringe benefits. This wage increase is 55¢ an hour more than the national agreement negotiated by Fitzsimmons. In retaliation, six Chicago Trucking Associations who refuse to give in have locked out 32,000 Teamsters and independent truck drivers.

Detroit has been one of the major centers of the wildcat movement by the rank and file Teamsters who reject the national agreement as a sellout and are holding out for the \$1.65 an hour Chicago pattern. Last week 6,000 rebels from Detroit Local 299 set up picket lines throughout the area which almost immediately raised the possibility of the paralysis of Detroit business and industry. The rebellion was directed not only at local officers who called the strike "unauthorized and illegal" but against Teamsters' Acting President Fitzsimmons and President James Hoffa.

HEART

The Local 299 revolt hits right at the heart of the Teamster's bureaucracy, since Hoffa is President and Fitzsimmons is Vice President of this local. The 3,000 local members who attended the April 8th meeting repeatedly shouted down Secretary-Treasurer David Johnson and voted overwhelmingly to strike. It was learned later that acting President of the local Rolland McMaster had been warned in advance that the international union would take drastic action against any wildcat.

The rebellion was led by a local caucus known as the "Unity Committee of Local 299". In a leaflet distributed at the meeting the Committee declared "loud and clear, we do not trust or condone the actions of Fitzsimmons, McMaster and the rest of the scum that keeps selling the membership down the river. These people are professional sellout artists. They would sell their souls for a shilling." As they left the packed meeting a number of workers showed what they thought about the sellout by burning their copies of the proposed national agreement in a bonfire in front of the hall.

Solid Strike Closes 80% LA Schools

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES, April 13—Some 70 to 80% of all Los Angeles school district teachers went out on strike today around a series of demands centering on improving their deteriorating working conditions.

Wage demands are considered secondary by most of the striking teachers. The way one striking teacher at University High School in West Los Angeles put it: "If wages were the only issue I would not have gone on strike. The teaching conditions are terrible and getting worse."

The strike was called for and organized by the United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA). UTLA came into being last year as a result of a merger between the Association of Classroom Teachers (ACT) and the Los Angeles local of the American Federation of Teachers. Eighty-eight percent of the 26,000 teachers in the Los Angeles school district now belong to UTLA. At most schools today more teachers were out than had originally voted to strike.

Milt Anisman, picket captain at University High, felt that the central de-

mand of the strike was for a reduction in class sizes. He pointed out that the merger of the ACT with the militant AFT had led to a greater militancy among former ACT members.

The UTLA is centering its struggles around a fight for the recognition of the UTLA as the sole collective bargaining agent for all Los Angeles school district teachers. UTLA is raising demands for improved working conditions for clerks, custodians and cafeteria workers in addition to their own demands.

The UTLA strike in turn has won the official sanction of the AFL-CIO County Federation of Labor, the AFL-CIO Service Employees Local 99, the California Teachers Association, the National Education Association, the California Federation of Teachers, the Southern California Joint Council of Teamsters and the United Auto Workers.

The strike seems well planned and has wide support from parents and students. Parents have been asked to show their support by joining the picket lines and many have done so.

As the success of the strike became apparent, School Superintendent Kelly broke off negotiations with UTLA and obtained a court injunction against the strike. Robert Granson, President of UTLA responded at an afternoon press conference that UTLA would ignore the injunction as it violated the constitutional guarantees of freedom of assembly and freedom from involuntary servitude. Most teachers this reporter spoke to indicated they were ready to stay out as long as necessary to win this strike.

WORKERS BACK MINN. TEACHERS

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—In a truly inspiring display of militancy, spirit and solidarity, Minnesota union teachers (Minnesota Federation of Teachers Local 59) went out on strike on Thursday, April 9th. There were union pickets at each of the city's 99 public schools and their numbers kept growing and growing.

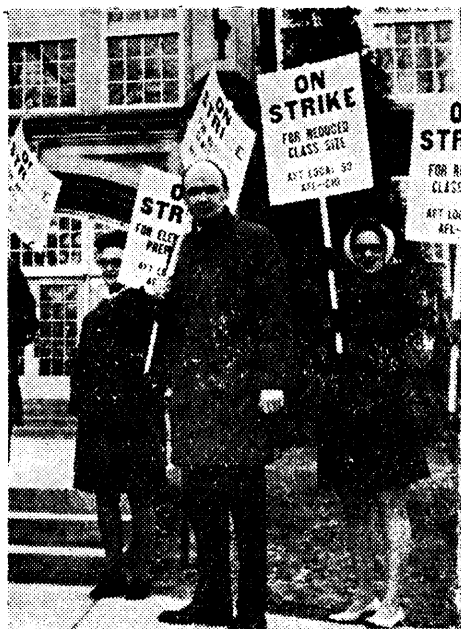
All the plans of the school board to keep the schools open during the strike by using non-union teachers as substitutes collapsed ignominiously in the face of the union's solidarity. Over 400 teachers in the "company union", Minnesota Education Association, in fact joined the union pickets. Students served the strikers coffee and displayed banners showing their support for the teachers. The Twin Cities labor movement went on record officially supporting the teachers.

Originally the school board tried to keep the schools open to break the strike. Now alarmed by the growing support the teachers are receiving, they have declared Monday and Tuesday as school holidays with full pay only for scab teachers who were there Friday in hopes of curtailing the support teachers are receiving and of cooking up some kind of behind the scenes deal.

Injunctions against the strike, the

state's anti-strike laws against public employees, threats and warnings from the school board, all of these were buried for the time being with the enormous strength the workers have shown in this strike.

The Minnesota Federation of Teachers is going out for not only a 20% increase in wages, but for the right of collective bargaining to determine conditions on the job.



Striking teachers in front of Roosevelt H. Inflation has stolen a large hunk of \$100.

Thermo King Strike Faces Danger

BY A 2175 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS, April 13

—Strikers at Thermo King (Westinghouse) plant in South Minneapolis are heading into their second week of strike action. The ranks face grave dangers due to the inaction of their official leadership in Steel Workers 2175.

For over a week now, the employers' press, the Minneapolis Star, the Minneapolis Tribune, and the Bloomington Sun, have been spreading the lie that the only issue at stake is the length of the contract. But Westinghouse's offer based on the GE wage pattern is rotten whether it is spread over 43 months or 36.

The union's demands amount to more in one year than the company is offering over three. Yet the union leadership has not lifted a finger to counteract these lies in the press. Their silence can only help to spread these rumors. Despite denials today from several negotiating committee members, it is becoming obvious that a meeting

with Westinghouse and one of Nixon's federal mediators is imminent.

The union's leadership is now moving to quiet down all display of militancy and strength. The mass picketing that began last week has been deliberately allowed to dwindle to token picketing. By now the picket signs (left over from the 1963 strike) have been worn by the wind and rain. This has meant that at least one truck and one cab have entered the plant area, with Teamster Union drivers, not knowing that a strike was in progress.

The leaflet issued today by the Rank and File Committee warned of the dangers of Nixon's federal mediators and the danger of not fully mobilizing the union's members to win their demands:

"The same old policy of keeping the ranks in the dark is still going on. This must change now. Minneapolis teachers have shown the way. We must publicize our demands, hold mass meetings, have a regular strike bulletin, have a nearby strike headquarters, and reach out to rally trade union support to our fight."

But more than just talk, the Rank and File Committee has begun to implement these demands.