

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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# LENIN

## 1870-1970

**8 PAGE SUPPLEMENT**

This 16 page issue of the Bulletin contains a special 100th birthday commemorative 8 page pull-out section on Lenin. This features "Lenin and America" by Lucy St. John, editor of the Bulletin, an assessment of Lenin's classic polemic "What Is To Be Done?" by the editors of Workers Press and Keep Left, a chronology of Lenin's life and a special collection of photographs from every stage of Lenin's life and struggle.



Workers League fought for labor action, not student power, on April 15 demonstrations.

*Student Powerism  
Erupts in Aftermath  
of April 15th  
Demonstrations*



Above presentation is being made to audience of 1,500 youth (below) during Scarborough conference of the Young Socialists, youth organization of the British Trotskyists.



# YS CONFERENCE MARKS GIANT STEP TOWARD YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The 10th Annual Conference of the Young Socialists was held in Scarborough, England on April 11th and 12th. Over 1,500 persons were present, with hundreds of delegates from Britain, as well as fraternal delegations from France, Greece, North Ireland and West Germany.

The size and strength of the Conference indicates that the Young Socialists, the youth organization of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the Fourth International, is well on its way toward a mass revolutionary youth organization in Britain.

The conference opened with a political report by Aileen Jennings, editor of the YS paper *Keep Left*, which stressed the political importance of the 1970s and the need to build the Trotskyist youth movement internationally.

the crisis of revolutionary leadership.

It is not enough to dwell on the tremendous militancy and spirit shown in the class battles of the last period. From the French General Strike of May 1968, to the massive Italian strike wave of last winter, to the tremendous class offensive launched in the U.S.A. with the General Electric strike and the post office strike, where Nixon was forced to use troops, it is clear that the working class is on the upsurge and is willing to struggle.

## LEADERSHIP

Most urgent now is the question of the leadership of the working class. Stalinism, reformism, the trade union bureaucracies, all those who try to tie the working class to the capitalist class, all refuse to lead the working class in its own interests. What is required for the working class to beat back the vicious attacks of the capitalist class internationally, from Vietnam to Europe and America, is a Marxist leadership in the working class, an independent leadership basing itself on the political and theoretical understanding developed by the Marxist movement historically and internationally.

## INTERVENTION

This leadership must be built by the intervention in every struggle of the working class with a Marxist program. It must be built among the youth and through the most principled and consistent fight with the revisionists of every shade who bring capitalist ideology into the labor movement through the middle class, to tie the hands of the working class.

The building of a revolutionary youth international is key in the fight for a Marxist leadership of the working class. The Young Socialist Convention is a great step forward in the preparation for such an international, as was the magnificent rally held by the AJS in Paris in February.

The same question is posed in the United States with the stepping up of the class struggle here. The Workers League intends to take this struggle for a revolutionary youth movement forward in the U.S. through a fight for the program of the Fourth International in every sphere, against all those who through reformism and revisionism lead the working class to defeat.

## TORIES

The conference took up a policy for an all round fight against the Tories on a socialist basis, passing a series of composite resolutions posing the fight for keeping the Tories out, and calling on Labor to power on a socialist basis: nationalization of all basic industries without compensation under workers control; withdrawal of all British troops from abroad and North Ireland; against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam; against the entry into the Common Market, for a United Socialist States of Europe. Resolutions dealing with the continuation of the fight against anti-union laws, productivity deals and attacks on the standard of living were also overwhelmingly supported.

Massive anti-Tory campaigns were mapped out, to bring thousands of youth and workers into the fight against the Tories on socialist policies. This is part of the struggle of the YS to train thousands of working class youth to take up leadership of the fight for socialism.

## AJS

The AJS (Youth Alliance for Socialism) the Trotskyist youth movement in France, was represented at the conference by over 100 fraternal delegates. The AJS held a massive rally on February 1st at Le Bourget airport near Paris of over 10,000 youth and workers, and has emerged as the leadership of the French Students' Union. The tremendous growth and development of the AJS shows the possibility of building a mass revolutionary youth movement internationally.

This conference shows the way forward for youth internationally. Today more than ever before, what Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program is clearly the case—the crisis of today is

*commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of lenin*

## PUBLIC MEETING

# THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TODAY

**Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, NATIONAL SECRETARY, WORKERS LEAGUE**

**FILM: FROM CZAR TO LENIN**

Unique and objective account of the October Revolution and the victory of the Bolsheviks. This is no romanticized or Stalinized version of the event, but a true documentary record assembled from rare footage.

**FRI., MAY 8th 8 pm**

**HARKNESS THEATRE 114th St. between amsterdam ave. & broadway**

**contribution: \$ 1.50**



# Opposition to Reuther Contract at UAW Convention

BY DAN FRIED

ATLANTIC CITY, April 21—The discussion and vote on the forthcoming contract negotiations with the U.S. auto industry hit the floor of the 1970 United Auto Workers Constitutional Convention today.

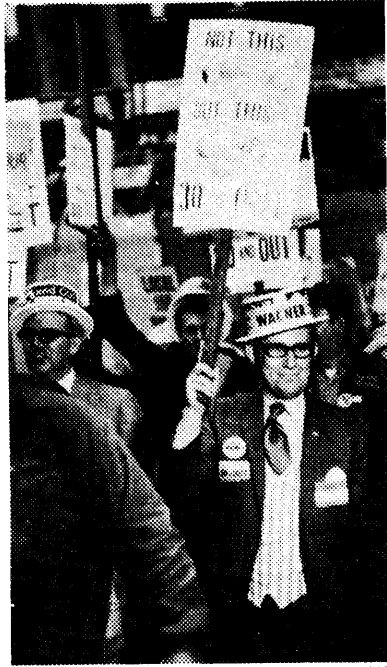
Despite the fact that the convention runs a full five days, little more than two hours of discussion on the contract question was allowed to the more than 3,000 delegates. Scores of delegates who had raised their hands never got a chance to speak, but UAW President Reuther, who chaired the session, used the chair in order to reply to speakers whenever he wanted.

Despite all his talk of democracy, Reuther considered it more important to give himself all the time he wanted on the first day of the convention to disavow "violence" and "extremism", making it clear to the auto barons that he was really a pretty moderate man who would hold back the militancy of the ranks next fall. He also made sure that the convention took the time for lengthy speeches every morning by "notables" such as Senator Gaylord Nelson and Secretary of Labor Shultz.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

Despite all the obstacles, the discussion by the delegates revealed a certain amount of opposition to the official proposals on the contract and to the Reuther leadership. Reflecting the sharp increase in unemployment which has hit the Canadian workers even harder than the American, one of the Canadian delegates attacked the collective bargaining resolution for not proposing a fight on the six hour day. He made it clear that despite the mass layoffs sweeping the auto industry, Reuther does no more than pay lip service to the shorter work week.

Underlying all the opposition speakers was the feeling that unless the convention nailed down the key demands on retirement, wages and other questions, Reuther would simply trade them away during the negotiations. Bob Weissman, a delegate from Local 45 in Twinsburg, Ohio brought this out sharply when he demanded that the contract be ratified by the entire union through a special convention. He pointed out that in the last contract, the Ford workers had "been drained dry" and were pressured



into accepting a "terribly inadequate" contract by the Reuther leadership.



Walter Reuther (above right) addresses UAW convention on contract demands. He faced phony opposition (above left) as well as Art Fox who kept clear of politics (below

## WARNED

Another delegate, from Ford Local 879 warned of wildcats next fall and demanded that the resolution spell out clearly and unequivocally a wage figure that Reuther would have to fight for. Reuther has refused from the very beginning to spell out any figure for wage demands or to give priority to any demand such as the 30 year retirement at \$500 per month.

The wage question was also made the central point by the opposition that claims to really oppose Reuther, the United National Caucus. One of the leaders of this group, Art Fox of the tool and die unit of Local 600, took the floor to demand that the union nail down a 50% across the board wage increase, bringing the minimum pay of auto workers up to \$5.50 an hour. Fox pointed out that this wage hike was needed to bring the auto workers up to the income figure that the Department of Labor considers a "moderate" standard of living.

The weakness of the Fox opposition might be called "one-upmanship." Fox wants to go Reuther one better without

really confronting Reuther's collaboration with the bosses and the government. Neither of the two speakers from the United National Caucus who got the floor said one word about the need to prepare for a political struggle against the government next fall around the fight for a labor party. Yet everyone knows that with the government sitting on the postal workers, the rail workers, and every other worker, the auto workers will have to fight politically as well as on the picket line.

## FALL

Nor did the United National Caucus speakers have anything to say on the question of unemployment and the fight for the 6 hour day at a time when up to 100,000 auto workers have been hit by layoffs or short hours.

The convention overwhelmingly approved the contract proposals of the Reuther leadership but Reuther is still on the spot. Next fall when the auto workers at the "target" company hit the bricks, they are not going to take kindly to any more of the "mistakes" that Reuther made in the 1967 contract.



# A DETROIT GM WORKER SPEAKS OUT

The following is an interview with a Detroit GM worker, a veteran of many years in UAW Local 174.

**Q.** Will the forthcoming UAW convention be able to discuss Reuther's contract proposals?

**A.** Oh yes. That's going to be the big fight. The rise in the cost of living during the period of the last contract is the really big issue. Reuther said he "made a mistake" in agreeing to a ceiling on the escalator in the last contract. They never should have given it up in the first place. It was a trade—Reuther gave up the unlimited escalator in exchange for other gains, but there was no gain for the worker.

**Q.** But doesn't he now say that the UAW will get what's due the workers as a result of the cost of living rise ex-

ceeding the 8¢ a year limit?

**A.** Well, we've lost 23¢ an hour over the life of the contract as a result of the ceiling. The cost of living went up double the limit. But Reuther's going to make his fight for this "back up" money to make it look like he's getting a much bigger overall wage package than he really is. The company will agree to include the back pay in the package and pay it out as one lump sum making it look like it is a concession. At the same time, Reuther in accordance with his "flexibility" policy of refusing to put a real dollars and cents figure on the wage demand for the new contract, by including the backup pay in the overall package will have more room to wheel and deal with the company—at the workers' expense.

**Q.** Has there been much talk among auto workers that you know about the increasingly direct intervention by the government against striking workers? For instance in the postal strike and the railroad shopmen's strike?

**A.** This was especially true in the railroad situation. Workers say, what's the good if the government is just going to take away from you what you fight for. The government and the employers are really afraid of the rank and file now. There's a proposal kicking around for a bill that the rank and file not be allowed to vote on contracts directly. And of course there's the proposed revisions of Taft-Hartley that Nixon has sent to Congress—revisions that would establish a form of compulsory arbitration. They're imposing a settlement on the railroad workers now but no sooner do they do that than they've got the truckers out. Today we can't even think of the possibility of a strike in the auto industry without taking into account probable government intervention of some kind. That's what I would expect.

**Q.** How has the unemployment in the

industry affected the workers?

**A.** First let me tell you something about the makeup of the plant I'm in. What we have here are two elements—the older workers and the very young. There's nothing in between. The young workers are mostly black, from the inner city. These are the ones who have been hit by the layoffs. For most of them it's their first factory job and for most of them that have been laid off they won't come back—that's it. They can get unemployment insurance, but they can't get SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits, paid out of a fund by the employers) because you have to have worked a year to qualify for SUB. So they float on to something else or on to welfare. And these workers are one of the most militant elements in the union. They've broken a lot of old habits in that place. They don't want to sit back and just take all the rottenness. They're ready to do something about it. Many of them are fresh out of the service and they don't think they have to take a lot of baloney. And they know it's not so easy to find another job at these wages. They don't want to go back to the wages of the deadend jobs.

**Q.** Up to about a year ago, there was a good deal of overtime work for production workers, wasn't there?

**A.** Yes. Two years ago, I worked 30 some Saturdays in a row. I had a 54 hour work week. This was very common throughout the industry, in Ford as well as GM. Then this was cut down and we lost the cushion of overtime wages. Then we started really feeling the pinch of inflation. And if you're getting SUB, it's even harder. You know, they talk a lot about the gains we've made, but I'll tell you—8 years ago, my take home pay was \$96—today it's \$100, and my deductions are the same. \$100, that's all I can bring home. \$100.99 is the most I can make on a 40 hour week, and then one week of that each month the \$7.00 union dues is taken out. So you can see

where the auto worker is, with the tremendous increase in the cost of living.

I'd like to give you an idea of the attrition of jobs that's been going on. As of now, we haven't started layoffs for model changes. Last year at this time there were 4,200 people in our place. Today there are 3,400. This is due to the cutbacks in production and productivity increases. Then they're always trying new methods to get more production out of the workers.

I'll give you one incident that happened last month. I worked in the area where they make the vinyl covers for the cars. They decided to use a lighter material on these vinyl covers. Actually what they are is just like gauze that's sprayed with vinyl. That's how thin they are. Unbelievably thin and light. They pushed up the hourly production quota for the light covers, and the guys fought it but ended up doing the new figure. But then "it just so happened" that they still had some of this old, heavy material left, and they began putting it in, more and more of this heavy material, gradually that they just "happened" to have left over. And so, soon the guys were supposed to be meeting the new production figure with this old heavy material.

Well, the workers found their own ways of getting around the heavier work, and this is costly to the company. They'll bring the Committeeman in on it but when they don't get what they think is justice, then they'll do it their way.

It's a constant struggle, but they feel they can't rely on the leadership. The leadership always says, well that's the way it ought to be, but there's this clause and it's a question of "interpretation." And if you call the international in on a hot issue—and I did it one time, went over the heads of the local—they will do absolutely nothing to oppose the local leadership. But of course, when the local leadership steps out of line, like in Mansfield, Ohio a few years ago, the international really raises hell with the local.

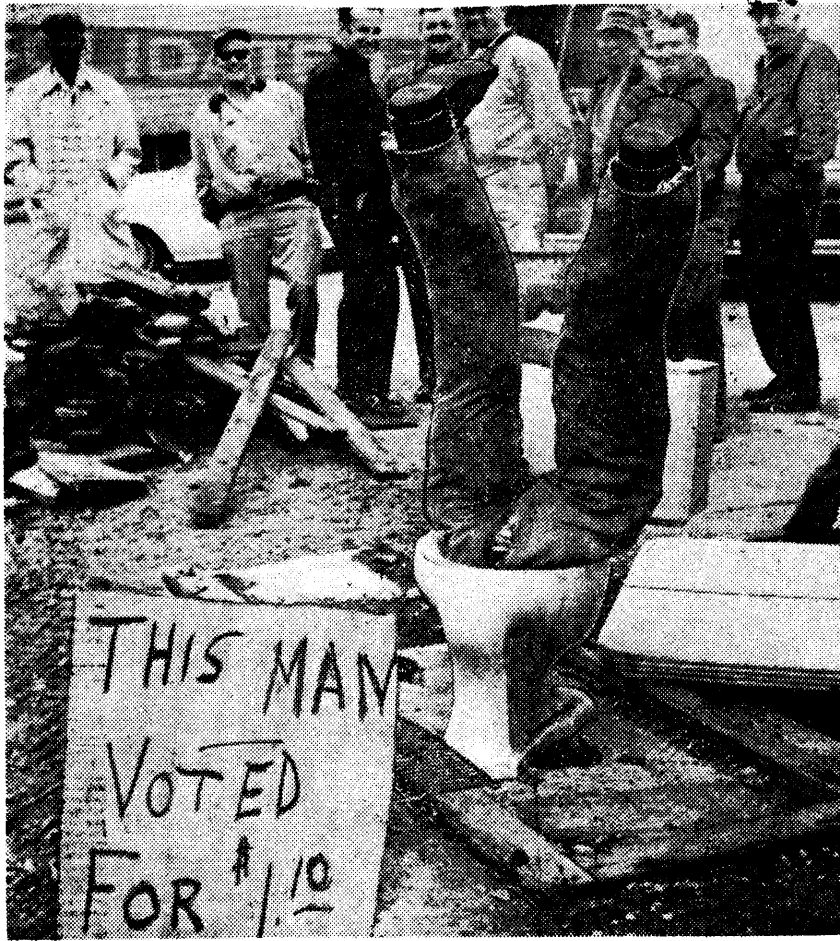
## Bulletin

EDITOR: Lucy St. John

ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

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St. Louis Consolidated Truck Line workers show what they think of the national deal.

## Bailey Leads Air Controllers to Defeat by FAA

BY TOM GORDON

The twenty day strike by the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization has ended in defeat. Suspension notices have been mailed to 750 controllers, leaders of the union have been transferred out of their jobs.

The Federal Aviation Agency plans to fire around fifty leaders of the strike, and the Air Transport Association is suing the union for lost revenue. The way is open for the complete smashing of the union.

Air Controllers General Counsel F. Lee Bailey bears responsibility for this defeat. From the beginning of the wildcat strike, which grounded thousands of flights and showed the potential for winning, he had no plans but to sell the strike out. While the men were out demanding increased hiring, a cut in the work load, and earlier retirement from a nerve-racking job, Bailey was in the courts trying to get the FAA to appoint an arbitrator. Bailey stated that "If they'd put in a mediator, I'd wait for the mediator to tell me: 'Mr. Bailey, the guys are being fairly treated,' and then I'd back out."

## NY School Assistants Prepare to Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—As we go to press, United Federation of Teachers paraprofessionals (classroom assistants hired from the community) are preparing to strike. Over 5,000 paraprofessionals have signed UFT pledge cards and are demanding collective bargaining rights, \$6,500 starting salary, standard New York City pension and welfare benefits, and four days work at five days pay.

The City has refused to bargain with the UFT on this issue. Faced with a budget crisis and rising union wage demands, Mayor Lindsay had hoped to use paraprofessionals to undercut UFT wages and replace large numbers of teachers. The rising militancy among city employees has knocked this plan out.

Instead of the union-busters Lindsay hoped to recruit from the community, he now has 5,000 militants on his hands! This struggle united teachers, paraprofessionals, and parents in a demonstration at the Board of Education. The UFT should go all out to strike April 22 unless all the demands are met.

The UFT has the power to win this strike if it takes forward the lessons of the Newark Teachers Union strike and mobilizes the AFL-CIO, as well as all divisions of the UFT if it becomes necessary. With this kind of support possible there can be no excuse for frittering away at the bargaining table gains made by the strength of united labor action.

Behind Bailey's fame as a lawyer, he emerges as no more than another trade union bureaucrat trying to mediate between the bosses, the government, and the ranks. But declining profits and the squeeze on the civilian budget make it necessary for Nixon and the airline com-

## ITU Leaders Stall on Strike

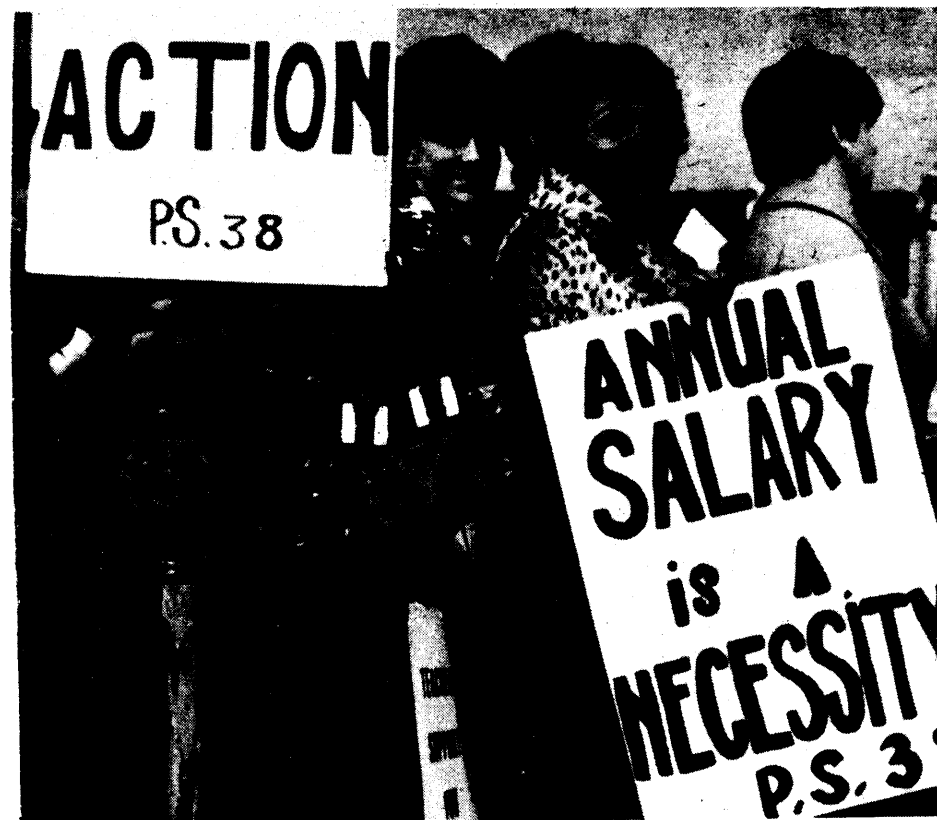
NEW YORK—Now into their third week without a contract, International Typographical Union #6 along with the nine other printing craft unions still continues publication of the four major newspapers. No progress has been made towards a settlement.

The ITU has stepped up the shop meetings being held in the composing room of the New York Times in an effort to put economic pressure on the publishers. The labor leaders are just biding time for fear of the long strike ahead.

panies to attack all employees in the industry. The vast increase in air traffic has been pressed onto the backs of the air controllers who are forced to work long hours using outmoded equipment. It was these conditions which led to the strike.

The publishers are holding out for control of the composing rooms, with plans to introduce automated equipment. This demand would result in the loss of hundreds of jobs for the workers and big profits for the bosses.

The union leadership has stalled and threatened strike action long enough. The whole printing industry must go out now, calling on all of labor for support in their common struggle for wage increases, against unemployment, for a shorter work week.



Paraprofessionals demonstrate in front of the Board of Education for a contract.

## TEAMSTERS WILDCAT SOLID

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—The work stoppage of over 10,000 Teamster truck drivers here is still solid after more than 20 days. The militant example of Local 600 is giving encouragement to other St. Louis workers who are taking up the wage struggle against the bosses.

An attempt by the supervisors to move freight at the Arkansas-Best was stopped by the appearance of over 300 workers ready to use any means necessary to prevent scabbing.

Trucks operated by members of non-striking locals 688 and 610 must now carry special permission signs from Local 600 to operate in St. Louis. Workers at the Local 600 hiring hall denounced the capitalist press and capitalist politicians by name for distorting the truth about their work stoppage. Many of them bought copies of the Bulletin, glad to see at least one paper that fully backed their struggle.

### WAGES

Many of the members of Local 600 earn less than \$8,000 a year. Some are now demanding that the wage demands be now up to what they call a dollar and a dollar—that is \$2 rather than the \$1.10 or the \$1.70 an hour increase advocated by some leaders.

The real power of the working class was demonstrated as more and more industries in the area were closed as a result of the parts shortage caused by the trucking strike. Hoisting engin-

eers (concrete workers), Krogers Grocery Co. drivers and 430 Arkansas aircraft mechanics have taken up the wage fight as the local strike wave spreads.

The Local 600 strike would be even more solid if it were run in a more democratic manner. The membership and even the shop stewards have been kept continuously in the dark as to the developments by both the national and local leaders. Even a regularly scheduled general membership meeting for last Sunday was not attended by either the business agents or any of the key officers. In other words, they kind of boycotted having any general membership meeting.

### VOTE

A regular strike vote as well as a call for a mass general meeting of all Local 600 members must be issued at least. Workers' democracy must be restored if the union is to prevent any sellout by national or local bureaucrats of the drive for legitimate wage demands.

**NEW YORK LETTER POSTPONE STRIKE VOTE**

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK—Despite the talk of another strike by letter carriers here, the real situation was described by a militant in Branch 36, NALC as "a lot of bull, really." At the last Branch 36 meeting they wanted a strike but it was put off another month until April 30th on the proposal of Gus Johnson, Branch 36 President. Johnson is simply stalling. His main interest now is to run for national President.

Johnson claims that by April 30th, he will be able to work out a good deal for the letter carriers, but the last thing he wants is a strike. This he had made clear a long time ago. Johnson never wanted the first strike and was really dragged "kicking and screaming" into it.

### STRIKE

There is still a good deal of feeling here for another strike because of the pitiful 6% settlement and the offer of another 8% if and when the postal reorganization goes through. At the same time there is a certain amount of feeling among letter carriers that "we ought to take what we got" as the best that can be done.

The bureaucracy, through so-called leaders like Johnson, has tried to destroy all enthusiasm for struggle. But there actually was not that much more feeling for a strike when last month's strike vote was taken. It was a close vote, 1500 to 1000. But once the strike was on, everyone rallied to support of the strike.

Despite the difficulty of getting the postal workers out again after all the efforts to get them back to work by Nixon and the bureaucrats, the key is in the leadership. Not only the national leaders, but local New York leaders like Johnson and Biller are opposed to the independence of rank and file action.

Instead of a struggle to unite all the postal unions in preparation for a new strike, they indulge in petty maneuvers and attempted raids on the other unions. Instead of a campaign for the unity of the postal unions and a plan to mobilize labor support for another strike, these bureaucrats are scurrying around trying to make opportunist alliances with one or another union while they feather their own nests. Now, more than ever before, the postal workers need to build an alternative leadership that will fight in the interests of the ranks.



1870-1970  
**V. I. LENIN**  
CENTENARY

# LENIN AND AMERICA

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

This week on April 22nd will mark the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lenin. It is fitting that the centennial of Lenin should be celebrated in this year, 1970. This year also marks thirty years since the assassination of Trotsky by the agents of Stalin. It was Trotsky and the international Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International, that continued to struggle for Leninism against the betrayers of the October Revolution in the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The year 1970 is the year of Lenin and Trotsky as the working class comes forward internationally in struggle against the decadent capitalist system. It is with the beginning of this decade that the major question facing humanity will be decided—the question of socialism or barbarism. May-June 1968 in France marked a new period for the working class internationally. The rising struggle against Stalinism within the Soviet countries, the heroic struggles of the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia, the strike wave that has swept Europe and is now coming home to the bulwark of imperialism, the U.S., show that the working class is on the offensive. But the major task facing the working class in this epoch remains the construction of a revolutionary leadership, a party capable of turning this offensive towards the victorious struggle for power.

It was to the construction of the revolutionary party that Lenin devoted his life and this was his greatest contribution. Lenin at every point proceeded from the standpoint of the international character of the class struggle and the necessity of building an international movement. It was on the basis of an understanding of the international development of capitalism and the modern class struggle, that he fought the betrayals of the Second International and its parties' capitulation to national chauvinism and support to their national bourgeoisie in World War I.

It was in this period that Lenin began to prepare for the building of the Third International. Lenin had to wage a bitter battle in April, 1917 against those in the Bolshevik Party who saw the struggle facing the party in the narrow confines of Russia and opposed the struggle for power by the working class. Rather they sought to contain the struggle to support for a bourgeois democratic government.

## THIRD INTERNATIONAL

Despite all the difficulties that beset the new workers' state Lenin together with Trotsky began preparations for the founding of the Third International. Lenin did not rest with the successful October Revolution or with building "socialism in one country." In the first four congresses of the Third International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky an international strategy for the working class was worked out. This strategy was based on an analysis of the conditions and tendencies of world economy and of the world political system with all its contradictions and connections, and on the necessity to construct parties in all countries on the basis of this strategy as part of an International.

The development of this strategy and the construction of the revolutionary party is only possible, as Lenin emphasized

over and over again, through the unity of theory and practice. Lenin's fight to build the revolutionary party was at all times based on the fight for scientific socialism, for Marxism and the development of theory. At all times Lenin saw theory as a guide to action. In the most difficult years Lenin turned to questions of philosophy, understanding that the penetration of the working class and the building of the party was not just a practical struggle but a theoretical one as well. In this fight, Lenin had to conduct a ruthless struggle against revisionism and the methods of bourgeois philosophy inside and outside the Bolshevik Party.

## TROTSKY

It was Trotsky who took up and continued the struggle for Leninism against the destroyers of October, Stalin and the Stalinist bureaucracy. Trotsky and the Left Opposition developed the strategy outlined in the first five years of the Communist International. Under the cover of "socialism in one country" Stalin broke completely with Leninism, rejecting the international struggle of the working class for power, and led the working class into bitter defeat in the 1930s. Stalin carried out the logic of his counter-revolutionary policies by murdering the Bolsheviks that led the successful Russian Revolution and destroying the party and International that embodied Lenin's life work.

Together Lenin and Trotsky had forged a party and a strategy that today arms the working class and the youth for the continuation of October and the victorious struggles ahead. In 1938 Trotsky founded the Fourth International based on the Transitional Program. This program represents the accumulated theory and gains of the Marxist movement and the history of the working class from Marx, Engels to Lenin and the struggle by Trotsky against Stalinism.

It is this program, an international program, which lies at the basis of the International Committee of the Fourth International. The International Committee is the historical heir of Leninism, of the Bolshevik Party, the Russian Revolution and the development and extension of Marxist theory after Lenin's death—Trotskyism. The Workers League which is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International was born in the struggle within the Fourth International against Pabloism. The Pabloites, and in particular the Socialist Workers Party, sought to revise Trotsky, rejecting the revolutionary role of the working class and liquidating the revolutionary party—the essence of Leninism.

## LENINISM

The Workers League says that the central struggle today in the U.S. and internationally is the struggle for Leninism. This is sharply posed in this year of the anniversary of Lenin's birth. In the U.S. the first few months of this year have reflected the deepening economic, social and political crisis that is wracking imperialism internationally. In no way is the U.S. immune from the class struggle that has swept Europe and the colonial countries. The offensive of the working class has come home to the real heart of that crisis, American capi-

talism.

This has been made clear in the recent struggles of the postal workers and the Teamsters, the growing opposition within the working class to the war in Vietnam and the deepening struggles of the youth on the campuses, in the high schools and in the factories.

## YOUTH

The greatest impediment to these struggles is the traditional leaders in the labor bureaucracy and the student movement, and their supporters in the revisionist organizations. This is sharply reflected in the crisis that has wracked the student movement. The break-up of the old SDS reflected the deepening social crisis in the U.S. and the sharpening of the class struggle. As a section of the youth turns toward the working class, its leadership seeks to prevent it and to divert the struggles into futile adventures on the campuses.

The violence that broke out on the campuses on April 15th and afterward reflected the frustration of the youth with the reformist leadership of the anti-war movement and a desire for an alternative. This frustration has been turned into futile actions of student power by the remnants of SDS. The CP, YSA, and PL have adapted to this perspective.

The violent character of these protests expresses the real bankruptcy of this perspective and the lack of an alternative to confront the deepening social conflict.

Lenin writing in 1901 in the period of democratic struggles warned against the isolation of the students' struggles, particularly their isolation from the working class. "In Kharkov, a demonstration called in connection with student affairs developed into a regular street battle, in which the students were not the only participants. Last year's experience taught the students a lesson. They realized that only the support of the people, especially of the workers, could guarantee them success, and that in order to obtain that support, they must not restrict themselves to struggling merely for academic (student) freedom, but for the freedom of the entire people, for political freedom."

Lenin himself entered political struggle in the student movement and was expelled from the University for taking part in the students' revolutionary movement. Lenin saw the role of the youth as central in the building of the revolutionary party and the socialist revolution. At all times he emphasized the critical importance of theory to the youth, and Marxist training. Lenin warned the youth about learning Marxism "by rote" and reducing it to "book knowledge of communism." Without struggle, Lenin said, there could be no development of Marxism and the result would be a separation of theory and practice.

Lenin saw the need not only for a youth movement in Russia but for an international movement as central to carrying forward the socialist revolution. In the last years of his life he devoted much of his time to the building of the Young Communist International which was established by the Third International, and the development of its program.

### THEORY

The Workers League sees the struggle of the youth today as a central part of the building of a mass working class party in the U.S. as well as internationally. There must be a sharp turn by the revolutionary party towards the students and the youth, confronting the resolution of the crisis of leadership. This means a fight for Marxist theory, a scientific world outlook on the campuses and a struggle against the idealism of middle class radicalism which dominates not only SDS but the perspective of the revisionists.

This struggle for theory and action based on that theory is central to the actual penetration of the working class. Without a bitter struggle against the outlook of the middle class that has tied the working class to capitalism historically, it is impossible to break the working class from the political yoke of the capitalist class. This is sharply posed in the United States where the fantastically powerful trade union movement has been tied to the capitalist parties and dominated by the narrow pragmatic outlook of the American bourgeoisie. This stranglehold has been strengthened by the dominance and power of American capitalism.

This requires the most bitter struggle against those who seek to revise Marxism and to keep the working class under the rule of capitalism. This is the role of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP behind its Trotskyist phrases has rejected Marxism and Leninism, substituting American pragmatism for theory and liquidating the party into the middle class radical movements and into Stalinism.

### VIETNAM

The fight to unite the working class internationally, the key to victory, must be based on a fight to develop a Marxist leadership in the trade unions and among the youth. Proletarian internationalism and the fight to implement it flows from an objective and scientific understanding of the nature of imperialism as an international class system and its developing crisis internationally today.

This is sharply posed in the struggle today against the Vietnam war. Today that struggle has been diverted and diffused by the liberals and the leadership of the antiwar movement. Vietnam is the touchstone for uniting the working class internationally. The struggle to end the war must be a struggle for independent class action. This is the only way the struggles of the American workers can be linked to the struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

It is important here on the hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth to go back to his "Letter to American Workers" written in 1918. The letter was written at the time when imperialism was mounting an attack on the first workers' state. Lenin poses in this letter the international role of the American working class in the fight against imperialism. The role that Lenin saw for American workers in defending the Soviet Union against imperialism is the same role that American workers have today in supporting the struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants in Vietnam and fighting for the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia:

"...At the present time the American revolutionary workers have to play an exceptionally important role as uncompromising enemies of American imperialism—the freshest, strongest and



Lenin, surrounded by workers, looks over a plaque during a dedication of a monument to Karl Marx in 1918. Now it is the turn of workers all over the world to commemorate Lenin's 100th birthday and prepare to take the struggle forward for his program. Trotskyism is modern day Leninism.

latest in joining in the worldwide slaughter of nations for the divisions of capitalist profits. At this very moment, the American multimillionaires, these modern slaveowners, have turned an exceptionally tragic page in the bloody history of bloody imperialism by giving their approval—whether direct or indirect, open or hypocritically concealed, makes no difference—to the armed expedition launched by the brutal Anglo-Japanese imperialists for the purpose of throttling the first socialist republic."

### PROLETARIAN

Lenin saw the struggle by the American workers as a struggle for independent class action in which the working class would break from the capitalist class.

"The American workers will not follow the bourgeoisie. They will be with us, for civil war against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the world and of the American labor movement strengthens my conviction that this is so. I also recall the words of one of the most beloved leaders of the American proletariat Eugene Debs who wrote...that he Debs, would rather be shot than vote credits for the present criminal and reactionary war; that he, Debs, knows of only one holy, and from the proletarian standpoint, legitimate war, namely: the war against the capitalists, the war to liberate mankind from wage slavery."

Lenin ends his letter by addressing himself to the international character of the socialist revolution and its necessity for the defense of October.

"We are now, as it were, in a besieged fortress, waiting for the other detachments of the world socialist revolution to come to our relief. These detachments exist, they are more numerous than ours, they are maturing, growing, gaining more strength the longer the bru-

talities of imperialism continue...

"In short, we are invincible, because the world proletarian revolution is invincible."

This perspective stands in direct contradiction to the outlook of the SWP and the CP in the struggle against the war, and Stalinism's conception of building socialism in one country. These tendencies have subordinated the role of the working class and sought to tie it to the liberal bourgeoisie.

### FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The struggle in this year of 1970 cannot go forward without the fight for Leninism—for the development of theory and the fight for internationalism. The working class and youth of today must study and assimilate the accumulated gains of the Marxist movement, its theory and history of the working class struggles. This is its most precious weapon.

In the next month we will be commemorating the birth of Lenin in meetings across the country on the "Fourth International Today."

The Workers League sees these meetings as part of the struggle to build an international youth movement and prepare for an international conference of youth later this year. In this way the Workers League seeks to take forward the struggle in the U.S. launched by our French comrades in the AJS at their rally in Le Bourget in February attended by over 10,000 French youth and the recent conference of the British Young Socialists in Scarborough.

We ask all our readers and supporters in this year of Lenin and Trotsky to commemorate the anniversaries by contributing to the Bulletin and the work of the Workers League, by joining the Workers League and taking up the fight to construct a world party.



- 1870** April 10: Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin) born at Simbirsk.
- 1871** March 18-May 20: Paris Commune: first attempt by workers to take power. Bloodily suppressed.
- 1887** August 25: Lenin enters Kazan University; later he had to leave after participation in student demonstration.
- 1889** July 14: Foundation Conference of the Second International opened in Paris on centenary of storming of the Bastille.
- 1890** September: Lenin qualifies as a lawyer after completing his studies privately.
- 1894** What the 'Friends of the People' are and how they fight the Social Democrats. First major theoretical work; a defence of Marxism against the Narodniks, a revolutionary group which believed that Russia could avoid capitalism and pass to socialism through the peasant commune.
- 1895** December 21: Lenin arrested and imprisoned until
- 1896-1897** his exile to Siberia.
- 1899** April: Publication of **The Development of Capitalism in Russia**, a massive history of Russian economic development showing that, contrary to the Narodnik theories, capitalism had already made great strides in agriculture as well as in other sectors.
- 1900** December: First number of 'Iskra' containing Lenin's article **The Immediate Tasks of Our Movement**.
- 1902** What Is To Be Done—The basic work on Bolshevik party organization, written in opposition to the Economists and the Bernstein revisionists. [See Robert Black's article in this supplement].
- 1903** July-August: Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party held in London. Split between the Bolsheviks (majority) and Mensheviks (minority) over fundamental differences on the nature of the party.
- 1904** May: **One Step Forward, Two Steps Back**. Lenin explains the issues before the Second Congress which resulted in the split between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. He defends the ideas of democratic centralism put forward by the 'Iskra' group. Lenin's draft, which the Mensheviks rejected, ran as follows: 'A Party member is one who accepts its programme and who supports the Party both financially and by personal participation in one of the Party organizations.' Lenin denounced Martov's alternative wording as consisting of empty phrases. The Party had to be organized and disciplined—'In the struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organization'.
- 1905** Revolution in Russia: 'the dress rehearsal'.  
April-May: Third Congress of Russian Social Democratic Party.  
November: Lenin returns to St Petersburg, takes part in the revolution and writes for 'Novaya Zhinn' (New Life).  
December: Bolshevik Conference at Tammerfors, Finland. Resolution passed calling for immediate preparation and organization of an armed uprising.
- 1905** onwards: Lenin studies the agrarian question in Russia and puts forward a new programme to win the peasantry.
- 1906** April: Fourth (Unity) Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party meets in Stockholm. While welcoming the reunification, Lenin insisted that it could only be maintained on the basis of democratic centralism. The Congress also revealed and made made distinct the line of demarcation between the right and left wing. The former (Mensheviks) believed that the coming revolution would be led by the bourgeoisie and establish full conditions for capitalist development in Russia with a parliament, liberal institutions, etc. The left (Bolsheviks) stood for the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Lenin agreed on Bolshevik participation in the Duma elections to expose this sham parliament conceded by the Tsar after the revolutionary events of 1905-1906.
- 1907** April-June: Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party in London.
- 1907** Lenin living in hiding in Finland. Forced to flee across the ice to Swedish territory to escape arrest. 'Second emigration' begins: Lenin in Switzerland until December, 1908, when he left for Paris.
- 1908-1911** Years of reaction in Russia.
- 1908** At work on **Materialism and Empirio-criticism**, published in 1909. In this work Lenin took up the theoretical cudgels against a number of Bolsheviks who were flirting with certain theories which, using the discoveries of natural science, were trying to smuggle in idealism by the back door. Lenin's work made a fundamental contribution to Marxist philosophy in defence of dialectical materialism. It bears witness to the importance he attached to theory as the foundation of the revolutionary movement. He showed that philosophy is essentially partisan and that the different schools in philosophy reflected, in the last analysis, 'the tendency and ideology of the antagonistic classes in modern society'.
- 1910-1911** Struggle against the 'Liquidators'—Gorky, Lunacharsky and their group organize factional school on Capri.
- 1911** Lenin organizes party school at Longjumeau, near Paris.
- 1911-1914** Second period of 'Second emigration'. New revolutionary upsurge begins in Russia. Legal Bolshevik papers appear.
- 1912** January: Prague Conference of Bolsheviks: elected Central Committee, set tasks for party, including tactics of Duma members.
- 1912** January: Prague conference of Bolsheviks proclaims itself legitimate conference of Russian Social Democratic Party. Elects Central Committee headed by Lenin.
- 1912** April 18: Striking workers on Lena goldfield shot by soldiers.  
June: Lenin moves to Cracow (Austria Poland) to be nearer Russia.
- 1912** April 22: First issue of **Pravda** as legal Bolshevik daily.
- 1912** August: Vienna Conference: attempt by Trotsky to unify all Social-Democratic tendencies. Bolsheviks refused to take part.
- 1914** July 21: **Pravda** suppressed.  
August: First World War begins. Most Social-Democratic Parties support their governments and vote war credits. Russian Party divides into defencists and defeatists.  
August 23: Lenin forced to leave Austria and goes to Berne.
- 1914-1915** Lenin studies Hegel's 'Science of Logic' and other philosophical works. His annotations, since published as **Philosophical Notebooks**, show the importance which Lenin attached to deepening his understanding of dialectics. Insistence on the dialectic is a central feature of his writings against the opportunist during the war.
- 1914** Lenin writes and lectures on the question of 'revolutionary defeatism'.
- 1915** May-June: Lenin writes **The Collapse of the Second International**. He denounces the betrayal of the Basle resolution and defines the Marxist position on war in the epoch of imperialism. Pamphlet contains germs of later work on imperialism. Lenin insists on need for dialectics against the sophistries of Kautsky, Plekhanov and Co.  
Lenin calls for split with opportunists.
- 1915** July-August: Lenin writes **Socialism and War**; shows why war is an imperialist war and explains social basis of betrayals of 'social-chauvinists'. Calls on socialists to work for defeat of their 'own' government, for revolution and the liberation of oppressed nationalities. Calls for the formation of Third International on a revolutionary Marxist programme.
- 1915** September: Zimmerwald Conference of anti-war socialists of various tendencies. Manifesto signed by Lenin for the Bolsheviks.  
Lenin works on agriculture in the United States for book entitled **New Data on the Laws governing the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture**.
- 1915** December: Lenin begins work on
- Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism**.
- 1916** February: Berne anti-war Conference.  
May 6-12: Kienthal Conference: Lenin rallies support for 'revolutionary defeatism' against the pacifist trend.
- 1916** June: Lenin completes **Imperialism The Junius Pamphlet**, Lenin's critique of **The Crisis of Social-Democracy** produced illegally by the German Spartacists and actually written by Rosa Luxemburg. 'On the whole the Junius pamphlet is a splendid Marxist work, and its defects are, in all probability, to a certain extent accidental'. Lenin criticises its weaknesses on linking the betrayal to the growth of opportunism in the workers' movement (Kautsky), on the national question and national wars, and its inadequacy as a revolutionary programme. Lenin insists on the need for a dialectical approach.
- 1917** January-February: Breakdown of government in Russia; strikes and mass demonstrations.  
March: Soviets organised in Petrograd and Moscow; Provisional Government formed; Tsar abdicates.  
March 5: **Pravda** resumes publication. Lenin writes **Letters From Afar** to Bolsheviks concerning tactics to be followed in the Revolution. Opposed support for Provisional Government and called for arming of workers and formation of a workers' militia.  
March: Lenin's **Farewell Letter to Swiss Workers**.  
April 16: Lenin met by great crowd when he arrives at Finland Station, Petrograd. Immediately attacks policy of Kamenev, Stalin and other Bolshevik leaders.  
April 17: **April Theses**. Lenin argued that the Revolution was passing into a new stage in which workers and peasants could take power. Dual power existed: immediate task was to establish power of Soviets. Lenin called for change in party's name, adoption of a new programme and that it should take the initiative in creating a new International.  
May 17: Trotsky arrives in Petrograd and is met by enthusiastic crowds. He delivers a speech which follows line of Lenin's **April Theses**: 'All power to the Soviets Long Live the Russian Revolution prelude to the world revolution'.  
May: Negotiations between Bolsheviks and Trotsky's group resulted in their entry into the Bolshevik Party.  
July: Mass demonstrations of an insurrectionary character in Petrograd.  
August: Lenin hides in Finland to avoid arrest, writes **State and Revolution**, classic statement of Marxist theory of the state, the need to 'smash' the bourgeois state machine and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.  
August 5: Trotsky and other Bolsheviks arrested; **Pravda** offices wrecked.  
August: Sixth Congress of Bolshevik Party.  
Attempted coup by Kornilov.  
September 17: Trotsky and other Bolsheviks freed.  
September 24: Trotsky elected President of Petrograd Soviet.  
October: Preparations made for insurrection.  
November 6: Lenin comes to Smolny.  
November 7: Bolshevik Revolution begins.  
November 8: Fall of Winter Palace.  
November 9: Council of Peoples' Commissars formed: Lenin Chairman, Trotsky, Foreign Affairs.  
December 2: Brest-Litovsk peace talks begin.
- 1918** Revolutionary government consolidates.
- March 3: Brest-Litovsk Treaty signed.  
March 10: Government moves to Moscow.  
August 30: Lenin wounded in assassination attempt.  
Civil war and foreign intervention stepped up.  
November: Lenin completes **The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky**—a defence of the Bolshevik Revolution against its detractors.  
1919 January: Failure of Spartacist uprising in Germany.  
March 2-6: Founding Congress of Third (Communist) International. Manifesto written by Trotsky, signed by Lenin and others. Civil War rages in Russia.  
1920 Tide turns in Civil War. Polish troops invade Soviet territory and are driven back.  
April-May: Lenin writes **'Left-Wing' Communism—An Infantile Disorder**, an attack on ultra-left, sectarian trends in the workers' movement and a tactical handbook for the young Communist Parties.  
August: Red Army advanced to approaches to Warsaw and is then forced to retreat. Civil War ending.  
July 21-August 6: Second Congress of the Communist International. Lenin speaks on International situation, the role of the Communist Party and the National and Colonial Questions.  
1921 February: Stalin orders invasion of Georgia.  
March 8-16: Tenth Congress of Bolshevik Party—Trade Union discussion; New Economic Policy adopted.  
March 18: Kronstadt rebellion put down.  
1922 March: Lenin's health begins to fail.  
May: Lenin's condition gets worse; first stroke.  
December 16: Lenin's second stroke leaves him paralysed.  
December 25: Lenin dictates his 'Testament': 'Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hand; I am not sure that he knows how to use that power with sufficient caution . . . Comrade Trotsky . . . is distinguished not only by his exceptional abilities—personally he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee—but also by his too far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs'. Lenin later added a postscript about Stalin's rudeness and asking that he should be removed from his position.  
1923 March: Lenin breaks off all comradely relations with Stalin and calls on Trotsky for support.  
March 9: Lenin has third devastating stroke.  
April 17-25: Twelfth Party Congress. Stalin establishes control over party apparatus.  
October: German insurrection attempt fails.  
October 15: Letter of the 46 against the growth of bureaucracy in the Party. First move of Left Opposition.  
December 8: Trotsky's **New Course** letter to Party.  
1924 January 16-18: Party Conference condemns Trotsky's position.  
January 21: Death of Lenin.  
January 27: Funeral of Lenin.  
October: Trotsky's **Lessons of October** published. Literary controversy begins.

**ПРАВДА**  
КРЕДИТНЫЙ ПАРТИЯ ПАРТИЯ  
№ 1. 1900



Simbirsk



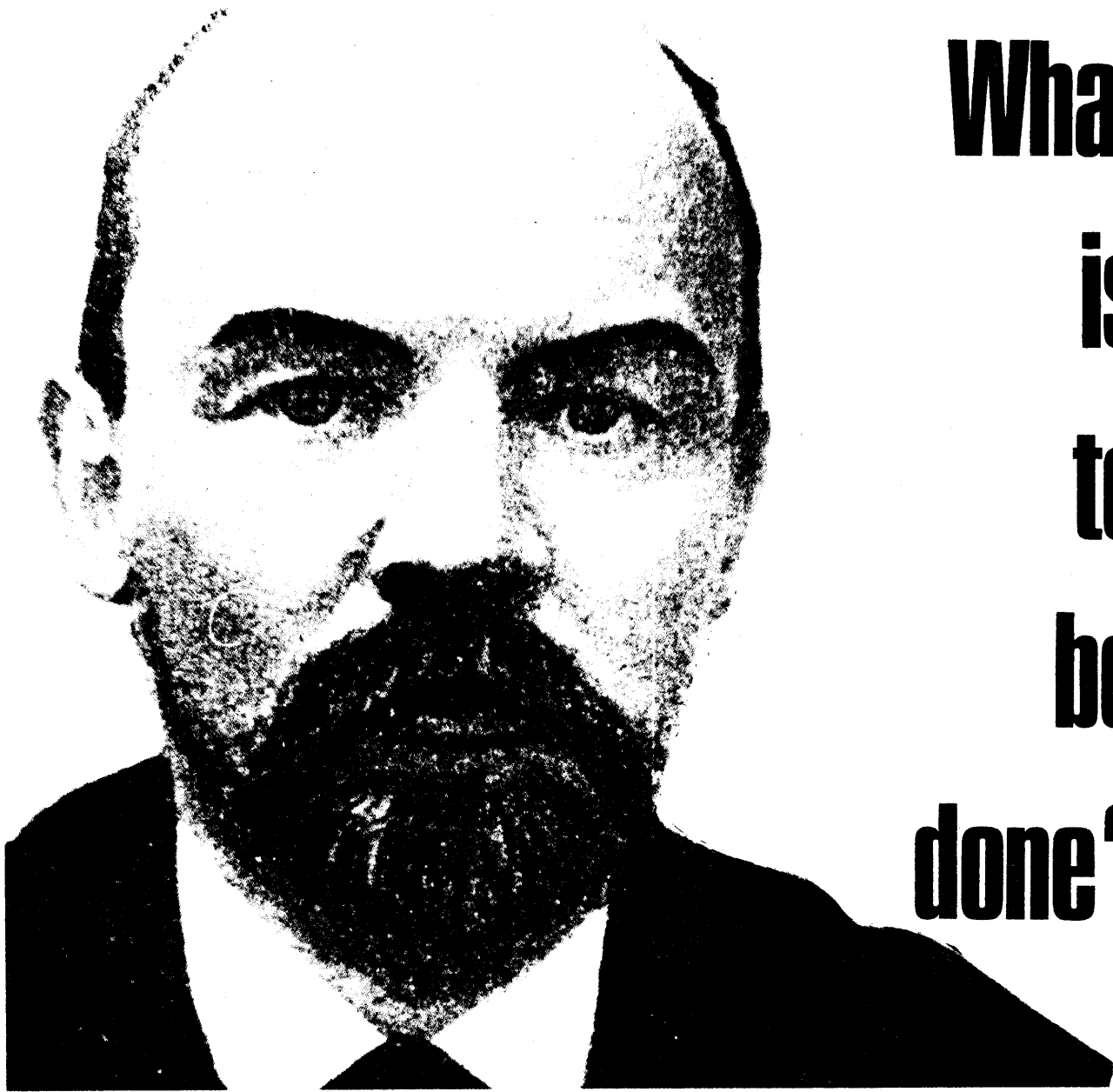
Family group 1879



Execution of Narodniks late nineteenth century

## THE LIFE OF LENIN: A pictorial history





# What is to be done?

**L**ENIN'S 'What is to be Done?' marked a watershed in the entire history of the international workers' and Marxist movement. Written towards the end of 1901, and first published in February 1902, Lenin's pamphlet laid down the theoretical and organizational foundations of the Party that 15 years later was to lead the Russian working class to power.

It was the great theoretical conquest of Marx and Engels to lay bare the laws of capitalist development and crisis, and to prove scientifically that the working class alone is the revolutionary force capable of overthrowing capitalism and establishing a socialist society

These two pioneers died before the tasks which they had outlined theoretically became posed as practical questions for the working class. The next generation of Marxists were faced with the application of the science of Marxism to the struggle for power in the major capitalist

countries of the world. Not that Marx and Engels had ever shunned practical intervention in the day-to-day struggle of the working class — far from it! Marx was to the first International what Engels became for the second in its early years — its major theoretician and propagandist. But it required new conditions and new experiences to bring to the fore the questions dealt with by Lenin after 1900.

Lenin's great contribution to the workers' movement was the revolutionary party, where theory and practice were united in a struggle to train leaders in the fight for working-class independence and power. 'What is to be Done?' is a summing up of all revolutionary experience in Russia and internationally in the last decade of the 19th century. It is both a balance sheet of the struggle by Russian Marxists to establish a revolutionary party, and an analysis of the various tendencies and theories that had obstructed and weakened that fight.

### Distortions

'What is to be Done?' has naturally been the target for slanderous attacks and distortions from all manner of anti-Marxist groups. Reformists, revisionists and now Stalinists all attempt to present the work as applicable only to 'backward' Russia, thereby emphasizing those very

elements in the work which are of secondary importance and related mainly to the unique problems of the Russian Marxist movement in the early 1900s.

The book is wrongly presented as being mainly about organizational tasks, when in fact it seeks to emphasize the primacy of theory in all revolutionary activity. By abstracting the incidentals within the book, and emphasizing their 'Russian' character and origin, the enemies of Bolshevism attempt to obscure its universal, general and theoretical features, which retain all their topicality today in the most advanced capitalist countries precisely because of Lenin's emphasis on theory, which he establishes at the very beginning of his book.

In his first chapter, Lenin does not begin from 'Russian' problems, but from an international crisis in the Marxist movement:

**'In fact, it is no secret for anyone that two trends have taken form in present day international Social Democracy.'**

These two trends, Lenin pointed out, had no 'national home'. It was a question of two trends on an European scale; revolutionary Marxism against the opportunism of Bernstein in Germany and Millerand, who took a post in the capitalist Cabinet, in France. In Russia, as Lenin shows, this same policy of adapting the working-class struggle to the require-

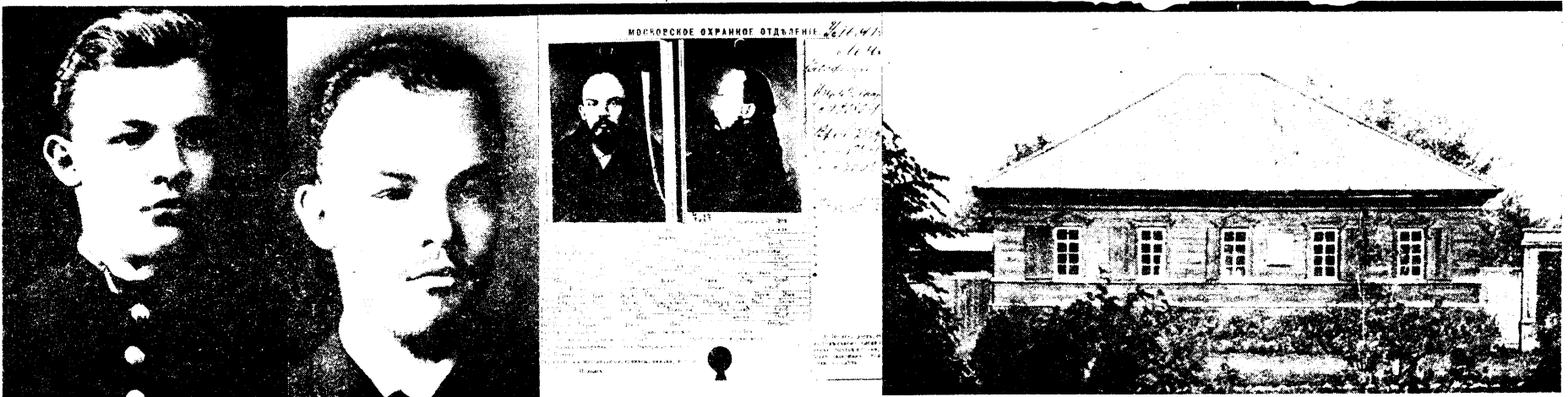
ments of the capitalist class took another form — 'Economism' — but its content remained the same.

### Economism

'Economism' was the name given to a tendency that arose in the special conditions of a Tsarist Russia faced with a bourgeois revolution for democratic rights and reforms. Russia, despite its rapid development of industry over the previous 20 years, was still ruled by the Tsarist autocracy and the nobility. The task facing Marxists was therefore the welding of a mass force, led by the working class and its party, that could overthrow the autocracy and make possible the further development of capitalist forces and the rapid growth of the proletariat under the most favourable conditions of bourgeois democracy.

Precisely because the Russian capitalist class feared such a growth in the working class's political influence after the overthrow of the Tsar, it preferred in the main to languish under political domination of the nobility and Tsarist bureaucracy. Unlike the classical democratic anti-feudal revolutions of the older capitalist countries, therefore, the bourgeois revolution would have to be led, from the very beginning, by the working class against the bourgeoisie!

'Economism', as a Russian variant of



Lenin 1887 as gymnasium pupil    Lenin 1891 as a student    Lenin on his arrest 1895 (police records)    Place of exile, Shushenskoye, Yenisei 1896-1900, joined there by N. K. Krupskaya

international opportunism, arose within this concrete historical situation. Its leading spokesmen—mainly those directly involved in the purely trade union struggle—argued that the working class should not concern itself with the struggle for political reforms, but with economic questions that concerned only the working class. The political struggle, they insisted, should be conducted by liberal politicians, while the working class should pursue its own claims in the factories, mills and mines.

But despite its very 'proletarian' form, Lenin showed that in practice 'Economism' accepted the bourgeois domination of the working class. The 'political struggle' was, above all, the struggle for power. This the 'Economists' ceded to the representatives of the capitalist class, hiding behind their demagogy about the 'every day fight for the interests of the working class' on bread and butter issues. They, justified their abstention from the political struggle to overthrow the autocracy on the grounds that the working class would find its way to a political, socialist consciousness through its own experiences, and that Marxists should confine their political and propaganda work to students, intellectuals and other non-proletarian sectors of society.

This policy was tailor-made to the requirements of the Russian capitalist class. Like the 'Economists', they opposed the intrusion of the working class into politics. The struggle for bourgeois reforms could then be accomplished by diplomatic pressure on the autocracy and a deal struck with the Tsar behind the workers' backs.

There was also a direct practical and theoretical link between the revisionism of Bernstein, who argued that 'the movement was everything, the goal [the revolution and the building of socialism] nothing', and the 'Economists' line, of emphasizing the immediate trade-union struggle and consciously opposing the raising of long-term political goals that would prepare the movement for revolutionary tasks and struggles.

## Internationalism

'What is to Be Done?' only passes on to propose organizational and tactical measures (what Lenin called 'tactics-as-a-plan' in opposition to the 'Economist' slogan of 'tactics-as-a-process') once the theoretical and philosophical content of the movement's problems had been plumbed Lenin's famous dictum 'without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement' runs like a thread throughout not only 'What is to Be Done?', but all of his basic writings on the revolutionary party and the developments within the class struggle. Lenin carefully explains the relationship between the national, tactical tasks of Russian Marxism and the international nature of its theory and principles:

'... the Social-Democratic movement is in its very essence an international movement. This means, not only that we must combat national chauvinism, but that an incipient movement in a young country can be successful only if it makes use of the experiences of other countries.'

Lenin then showed how the uniqueness of Russian conditions, and the tasks that they posed to Marxists, could only be analysed and overcome on the basis of an all-round grasp of this international fund of experience:

'... the national tasks of Russian Social-Democracy are such as have never confronted any other socialist party in the world. We shall have occasion further on to deal with the political and organizational duties which the task of emancipating the whole people from the yoke of autocracy imposes upon us. [ie, Lenin first sought to establish the theoretical, international and historical context of the concrete tasks facing Russian Marxists, before moving on to their 'political and organizational duties'.]

'At this point, we wish to state only

that the role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled [even in the conditions of a backward Russia faced by a bourgeois democratic, and not proletarian socialist revolution] only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory.' (Lenin's emphasis.)

## Philosophy

Then, in what is perhaps the most important section of the whole book,



Petrograd, April 4, 1917, Lenin expounding his 'April Thesis' at a meeting of the Soviets

Lenin expands on the nature and origin of this 'most advanced theory'. Quoting at some length from Engels, Lenin shows how Marxism, the theory of the proletarian revolutionary movement, emerged out of the most developed forms of bourgeois thought:

'Without German philosophy, which preceded it, particularly that of Hegel, German scientific socialism—the only scientific socialism that has ever existed—would never have come into being. Without a sense of theory among the workers, this scientific socialism would never have entered their flesh and blood as much as is the case.'

This same extract from Engels then explains why, despite its great organizational strength in the trade unions, the British working class had at that time failed to raise itself to political action in the way the German working class had done:

'What an immeasurable advantage this is may be seen, on the one hand, from the indifference towards all theory, which is one of the main reasons why the English working-class movement crawls along so slowly in spite of the splendid organizations of the individual unions ...'

Engels then shows how the German working class was able to learn from the English example of organization, and combine it with their own far richer theoretical tradition:

'... the practical workers' movement in Germany ought never to forget that it has developed on the shoulders of the English and French movements, and could not avoid their mistakes, which in their time were mostly unavoidable. Without the precedent of the English trade unions and French workers' political struggles, without the gigantic impulse given especially by the Paris Commune, where would we be now?'

It is this same internationalist approach to the practical and theoretical tasks of the Russian movement that lie at the heart of 'What is to Be Done?'. Lenin in his turn 'stood on the shoulders' of the entire international movement, and combined its experiences in every form of struggle in such a way as to

raise Russian Marxism qualitatively higher than any other section of the Second International.

## Theory

Theory for Lenin, as for Marx and Engels, was a science that had to be both studied and applied. It could never arise spontaneously out of the struggles of the working class. It was the product of the highest and most complex conquests of human thought, research, generalization

emerges from the struggle against the capitalist-created poverty and misery of the masses.

'But socialism and the class struggle arise side by side and not one out of the other; each arises under different conditions. Modern socialist consciousness can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge. Indeed, modern economic science is as much a condition for socialist production as, say, modern technology, and the proletariat can create neither the one nor the other, no matter however much it may desire to do so; both arise out of the modern social process ... This socialist consciousness is something introduced into the proletarian class struggle from without and not something that arose within it spontaneously.'

Revolutionary theory and revolutionary leadership are therefore indissolubly linked. The fight to take Marxist theory and strategy into the workers' movement is the fight to build revolutionary leadership:

'Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology formulated by the working masses themselves in the process of their movement [ie, neither a Marxist nor bourgeois ideology, but 'pure trade union militancy' of the type worshipped by International Socialism] the only choice is—either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for mankind has not created a "third" ideology, and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or an above class ideology). Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology.' (Lenin's emphasis.)

Here we have the core of 'What is to Be Done?'. This is the cutting edge of Leninism that the revisionists and Stalinists now seek to blunt with their talk of 'special Russian conditions'. But this was a law of all social development that Lenin was expounding. It did not apply merely to backward Russia, but to advanced Germany and, most clearly of all, to the oldest capitalist nation in the world, Britain, where Lenin saw the working class, despite its powerful organizations, completely dominated ideologically by the British ruling class:

'For the secretary of any, say English, trade union always helps the workers to carry on the economic struggle, he helps them to expose factory abuses, explains the injustice of the laws and of measures that hamper the freedom to strike and to picket ... In a word, every trade union secretary conducts and helps to conduct "the economic struggle, against the employers and the government". It cannot be too strongly maintained that this is still not Social Democracy [ie, Marxism] ...'

'What is to be Done?', with its brilliant analysis of the essential differences between the most militant forms of trade union consciousness (which is still bourgeois consciousness, because it does not answer the question of power) and revolutionary, socialist consciousness (which does answer that question, through the building of revolutionary leadership in the working class) is 100 per cent applicable to the problems facing the British working class today.

The unprecedented post-war militancy that we see today in the working class must not therefore be worshipped as a thing in itself, which only has to grow quantitatively until it becomes irresistible, but understood with all its limitations as well as its revolutionary potentialities. It remains a bourgeois consciousness while the question of who rules, of who owns the means of production, is not faced up to by key sections of the working class.

The fact that today important sections of workers are engaged in struggles—such as the dockers, airport workers and shipbuilders—and that objectively these pose the question of power is still not enough. Revolutionary consciousness, as history has proved all too often, has to



St Petersburg, 1897, Emancipation of Labour Group

Lenin's house, Islington, London 1902

Lenin, resident in Paris, France 1910

Lenin, resident in Zakopane, Poland 1914

be taken into the struggles of the working class by a party which, while having deep roots in the class, bases itself on the most advanced theory known to man—revolutionary Marxism, Trotskyism.

So Leninism, and especially 'What is to be Done?', becomes a target for all those individuals and groups that oppose the British working class taking the revolutionary road to power.

### Hostility

International Socialism, guided by the theoretical labours of T. Cliff, has, whatever its many points of internal disagreement, united in hostility to Lenin's writings of this period (1900-1903). It is this anti-Leninism, profoundly middle class in its origin, that has provided one of the main political cements for holding this group together. One of the first issues of the group's 'theoretical' journal, 'International Socialism', for Autumn 1960, contains an article by Cliff attacking the principles developed by Lenin in 'What is to be Done?'. Cynically using the authority of Trotsky, who from 1903 to early 1917 opposed Lenin's concept of a democratic-centralist party, Cliff stated:

'Quite early in his political activity, when only 24 years old, Trotsky prophesied that Lenin's conception of Party organization must lead to a situation in which the Party would "substitute itself for the working classes" . . . In Trotsky's words about the danger of "substitutionism" inherent in Lenin's conception of Party organization, and his plea against uniformity, one can see his prophetic genius, his capacity to look ahead . . .'

So Cliff takes from Trotsky precisely that part of his political work that he was decisively to reject when he joined the Bolshevik Party in 1917. Cliff then turns it against those fighting to build Leninist parties in western Europe, on the grounds that Bolshevism was fit for Russian conditions only (this argument is also used by Cliff in his short biography of Rosa Luxemburg) and should be replaced by a movement more on the lines of pre-1914 German social democracy. From this argument it is but a short step to saying that the Leninist Party led to Stalinism, that the centralist features of the Bolshevik Party were certain to crush its internal democratic life, such was the very nature of Lenin's 'substitution' of the vanguard Party for the whole of the class. And that is just what Cliff does argue.

' . . . one should not draw the conclusion that there was no causal connection at all between Bolshevik centralism based on hierarchy of professional revolutionaries and the Stalinism of the future.'

Instead of Bolshevik Parties, which contain within them, according to Cliff, the seeds of Stalinism, we are offered a classical economist model of a party, which instead of fighting for leadership of the working class, if necessary against the political backwardness of the class, submits to the ideological level of the movement and adapts to its lowest common political denominator:

'Since the revolutionary party cannot have interests apart from the class, all the party's issues of policy are those of the class, and they should therefore be thrashed out in the open, in its presence. The freedom of discussion which exists in the factory meeting which aims at unity of action after decisions are taken should apply to the revolutionary party. This means that all discussions on basic issues of policy should be discussed in the light of day: in the open press. Let the mass of the workers take part in the discussion, put pressure on the party, its apparatus and leadership.'

Here Cliff quite deliberately—and demagogically—transposes the methods of a trade union branch or factory meeting into the working of a revolutionary party, which, while a part of the working class in that it fights for its revolutionary interests, is not subordinate to it, but only to its members, to those that sub-

scribe to its goals, rules and general discipline.

This is the essence of Bolshevik principles of Party organization. Cliff rejects them.

Cliff's 'revolutionary' party is a bastardised Menshevism with more than a dash of good old British trade union constitutionalism thrown in. Cliff is 'a great democrat'. As he says at the end of his article attacking Leninism:

' . . . the whole of the working class will have to mix its level of consciousness and organization through a prolonged struggle of ideas.'

This anti-Leninism, which always selects as its main target 'What is to be Done?', runs like a thread through all the 'theoretical' contributions of IS. For example, Nigel Harris, in attempting to counterpose the 'Lenin of 1917' to the 'Lenin of "What is to be Done?"', wrote in 'International Socialism' No. 26:

'The Revolution was the supreme moment of Lenin's career, both vindication and yet, ironically, a partial critique of the flavour of élitism that sometimes appears in his early work.'

This same article displays a snobbish and condescending attitude towards Lenin's theoretical work. It was, says Mr Harris, a 'schizoid between a crude Kautskyian materialism and his refurbished and explosive Hegelian dialectic'. And that judgement is no accident. Leninism, Bolshevism, or what Harris calls 'élitism', is not just an organizational technique, but, as Trotsky once said, 'a whole philosophy of history'. Harris rejects both.

Mr J. Higgins, also a long-standing IS member explicitly rejected Leninism in a remark clearly directed against the Socialist Labour League:

'One of the tragedies of current revolutionary politics is the pathetic fervour with which many people cling to the particular organizational principles laid down by Lenin in 1903 . . . For the British labour movement in the mid-1960s, Luxemburg is, on this question, a better guide than the Lenin of "What is to be Done?"' ('International Socialism' No. 27.)

Once again we have the same tactic—the stressing of the organizational aspects

of the book, and a quite conscious neglect of its theoretical and philosophical arguments and propositions. In other words, the opponents of Leninism abstract precisely what is particular (for Lenin, as he states in the book, did not uphold its every organizational proposal as the model for all countries at all times) in 'What is to be Done?' and concentrate their attention upon that, to the exclusion of what is general, theoretical and of universal value to the international working-class movement. This method is the hallmark of the empiricist and the eclectic—a bit of Lenin here, a bit more of Luxemburg there, and a 'mixing of consciousness' all round—and we have the ready-made, 'British' revolutionary party.

### Stalinist

Higgins, Harris and Cliff are now joined by the Stalinist 'Morning Star' reporter Mick Costello in this technique of cutting Lenin down to size to meet 'British' requirements. In his review of Lenin's book, in the 'Morning Star' of March 12, we read:

'Some words might usefully be said here about Lenin's approach to the question of class consciousness, especially to answer the sterile approach of the Trotskyists.'

Costello, like all Stalinists who engage in slander against the Trotskyist movement, does not quote from any Trotskyist documents or publications which develop this so-called 'sterile, approach' to Leninism. Pathetically hoping that his bald assertion has already convinced his readers that no such proof is required, Costello quotes from the section of 'What is to be Done?' where Lenin says:

'The consciousness of the working masses cannot be truly class consciousness if the workers do not learn on the basis of concrete, and what is essential, topical political facts and events.'

Following Lenin's recommendation in 'What is to be Done?' that a revolutionary party must have its own daily press, we have spared no effort to train workers in revolutionary principles through their day-to-day experiences in the class struggle. Topical issues, from 'left' trade union leaders' support for productivity deals, to the strike breaking of the Polish Stalinists, have been followed with great care and insistence in the columns of our press—as Costello is only too well aware!

Our daily paper now gives us, for the first time ever in the history of the Trotskyist movement, the opportunity to make the 'on the spot exposures' that Lenin said were so necessary for the political education of the working class. Our paper endeavours to follow the class struggle, internationally, blow by blow, as far as its resources permit. But we seek to illuminate these events by the application and popularization (without vulgarization) of various aspects of Marxist theory, together with constant references to past lessons and experiences of the workers' movement throughout the world.

In this way the theory of the Marxist movement is enriched by and integrated with the practical struggle and experiences of the working class. Only within and through the revolutionary party therefore, can Marxist theory be developed. It is on this question that Costello's attack on Leninism becomes explicit.

### Contradiction

Painfully aware of the acute contradiction between the Bolshevism of Lenin and the political requirements of his own party in its strategy of 'left unity' with reformists, Liberals revisionists and other anti-Marxist—even religious—elements, Costello artificially transplants Lenin's tactics, developed for a pre-bourgeois revolutionary Russia, to those of a decaying imperialist Britain, which carried out its bourgeois revolution over



Bolshevik Central Committee in session, majority of which were later liquidated by Stalin



The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, October 1922

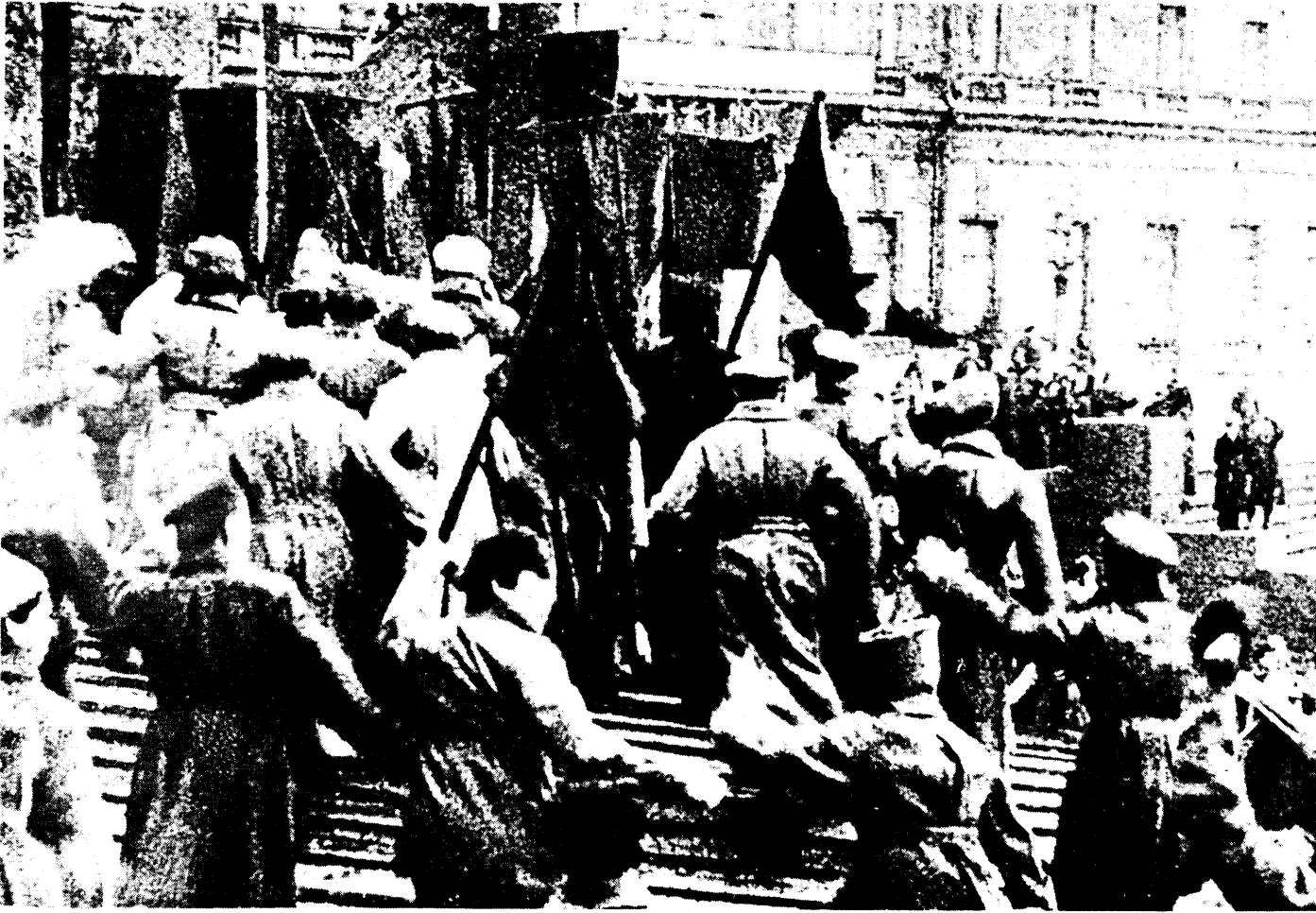


Lenin, resident in Zurich, Switzerland 1914-1917



Stockholm, April 1917, Lenin and party in transit to Russia





Storming of the Winter Palace, November 7, 1917

three centuries ago:

'The Party must at all times strive to unite all streams that at any given moment can be won to oppose the main enemy, so as to muster the greatest popular forces for each stage of social advance. In his time, at the turn of the century and in Russia, the enemy number one was the power of the Tsarist autocracy. Today in Britain this same principle [emphasis added] is applied in the struggle to unite a broad alliance against the power of the monopolies.'

But it was never a principle of Leninism to unite the greatest number at a given time. The expediency or otherwise or doing so is a tactical question, which in its turn is determined by a basic principle—the complete political and organizational independence of the working class, and above all, of its revolutionary party. This is the essence of 'What is to be Done?' Costello in the usual Stalinist way attempts to convert it into an appeal for the 'popular front', which was essentially an attempt to build an alliance between the working class and the 'liberal' sections of the capitalist class on the basis of an unprincipled compromise on programme.

The 'popular front', as the working class discovered to its terrible cost in Spain and France in the 1930s, sacrificed the political independence of the workers' movement to the strategic requirements of the 'democratic' bourgeoisie. Lenin always insisted on this independence taking priority over any tactical combinations with parties of other classes. Elsewhere in his review Costello uses the same tactics of distortion in a section also clearly aimed against the Socialist Labour League:

'Of lasting value to all Communists is Lenin's statement: "... it is not enough to call oneself 'the vanguard', the advance detachment — it is also necessary to act in such a way that all the other detachments should see and be forced to recognize that we are moving in the forefront".'

Again, Costello seizes on this quotation, which, as the whole context of the extract proves, is about the struggle for leadership within the movement against

the Tsarist autocracy, to justify the opportunist, anti-Leninist policy of the Stalinists in Britain today. Lenin was certainly not arguing against the right to establish the revolutionary party as the vanguard of the mass movement. He was seeking to explain in 'What is to be Done?' the many-sided activities which were necessary for the vanguard to establish its authority as the leadership of the movement. The authority of the revolutionary party is established not only in its activity in the trade unions and other fields of mass work, but in its fight for Marxist theory against bourgeois ideology in the most varied forms of human activity—from science and the arts to philosophy and history.

### Complex

The bourgeoisie must therefore be challenged at every level of its class dominance, exerted over the working class not only through the state machine and the trade union bureaucracy (where bourgeois consciousness reigns supreme), but through the intellectual, student and professional strata of society. As Lenin insisted in 'What is to be Done?':

'The consciousness of the working masses cannot be genuine class-consciousness, unless the workers learn, from concrete, and above all from topical facts, to observe every other social class in all the manifestations of its intellectual, ethical, and political life; unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of all aspects of the life and activity, of all classes, strata, and groups of the population.'

It was towards this all-round theoretical, philosophical as well as practical fight that Lenin sought to direct those members of the Russian movement bogged down by the routinism of organizing workers' circles and trade union struggles. Costello seeks to give Lenin's comments on simply 'proclaiming' leadership an entirely different content. He deduces from his reading of 'What is to be Done?' that what Lenin was attempting to overcome were 'obstacles to getting on with the job'. This crude distortion of what was

in fact a very complex problem, and an even more profound analysis, seeks to convert Lenin into an activist who just wanted to 'get on with the job'.

But the distortion does not end here. Costello, having established to his own satisfaction that Lenin was a tolerant man and a great believer in 'broad fronts', continues to equate pre-1905 Russia with 1970 Britain in his next comment:

'Lenin emphasizes the need to win conviction among other revolutionary forces, for the role of the Communists, by their conduct, not by arrogation or legal imposition of this leading role.' Just as clear is his view that there are other revolutionary forces besides the Communists.'

Again, the distortion, which is designed to appeal to both liberals ('not by arrogation or legal imposition') and to revisionists ('there are other revolutionary forces besides the Communists') is based on the empiricist's trick of lifting the issues Lenin was discussing out of their historical and class context.

Costello's distortions can easily be refuted by reference back to the text. What sort of 'revolutionaries' was Lenin talking about? Were they other socialist, proletarian revolutionaries, unaccountably outside the ranks of the Russian Social Democratic Party? Or were they bourgeois revolutionaries, groups and individuals opposed to the Tsar, seeking his overthrow, not to further the interests of the working class, but the native Russian bourgeoisie? The following quotation clears up any confusion Costello may have created on this question:

'The masses of the workers proved to be more active than we. We lacked adequate trained revolutionary leaders and organizers possessed of a thorough knowledge of the mood prevailing among all the opposition strata and able to heed the movement, to turn a spontaneous demonstration into a political one, broaden its political character, etc. Under such circumstances, our backwardness will inevitably be utilized by the more mobile and more energetic non-Social-Democratic revolutionaries, and the workers, however energetically and self-sacrificingly they may fight the police

and the troops, however revolutionary their actions may be, will prove to be merely a force supporting those revolutionaries, the rearguard of bourgeois democracy and not the Social Democratic vanguard.' [Emphasis added.]

So Lenin was arguing precisely the opposite point to Costello! Lenin saw the leadership of the bourgeois revolutionaries, 'the rearguard of bourgeois democracy', as a danger to the working class. He warned that unless the Marxist party prepared itself for struggle and leadership in the democratic revolution, the working class would not fight for its own class interests, but, swept along purely by 'its own' (but really bourgeois, 'spontaneous' consciousness) would serve as the cannon fodder of the Russian capitalist class in its struggle against the oppressive grip of the autocracy.

'Other revolutionaries' when applied to Britain, for Costello means the various self-styled 'Marxist' or even 'Trotskyist' groups that have recently awarded the British Communist Party the unjustified compliment that it is no longer a Stalinist party 'in the scientific sense of the term'. It most certainly does not apply to the Socialist Labour League. And not even Mr Costello, whose powers of distortion show some promise, would attempt to present his 'Tribune' friends as 'other revolutionaries'.

But somehow or other, Lenin must be chopped down to size. His stature as a life-long enemy of opportunism, as a fighter for theoretical and philosophical clarity, which alone can serve as the basis for the political independence of the working class and its revolutionary party, is nowhere to be found in the writings of any British Stalinist on Lenin today.

'What' is to be done?' is political dynamite. Understandably, the Stalinist have to handle it very gingerly while they go about their work of defusing its detonating mechanism. Its section on the nature of the trade union struggle and the role of revolutionaries in the trade unions is the most damning exposure of Stalinist industrial policy today that could be written.

For more than 40 years, British Stalinists have actively worked against the introduction of revolutionary policies into the trade unions, while today they go through the most fantastic contortions to protect trade union 'lefts' who, despite their occasional display of militant talk, represent all the backwardness, conservatism and hostility to revolutionary theory that has weighed down on the British working class for a century. The long, drawn-out period of compromise that allowed such a bourgeois trade union consciousness to flourish for so many years is now coming to an end. The Tories have proclaimed this fact in no uncertain terms.

The task of revolutionaries, proletarian revolutionaries (and not bourgeois democrats) is to fight inside the trade unions for precisely the development of the socialist consciousness that Lenin advocated in 'What is to be Done?' 'Trade union politics are bourgeois politics', said Lenin in 'What is to be Done?' The irony of the situation in Britain today is that these very unions, built for purely defensive, reformist tasks, can only now be defended through the building of Leninist leadership in the factories, the mines and on the docks.

These trade unions, the oldest and most powerful in the world, are now destined to become the cockpit of truly historical new revolutionary struggles in the coming period.

Militant trade unionists must take the arguments advanced by Lenin in this work very seriously. To ignore the question of power today in the trade unions means certain defeat tomorrow. Leninism is, above all else, the politics of workers' power and the revolutionary party.



Razliv, Finland, July 1917, Lenin in hiding during the anti-Bolshevik witch-hunt

Moscow, 1918, Lenin convalescing from injuries received in an attempt on his life by Social Revolutionaries

Moscow 1922, Lenin shortly before his final illness, at a plenary session of the C.C.



# SHACHTMANITES OPPOSE TROTSKY AS 'OBSOLETE'



Max Shachtman led original split from Trotskyism upon which IS is based.

**BY STEPHEN DIAMOND**  
AS THE CRISIS of capitalism deepens and the basic question facing the working class, Trotskyism or Stalinism, is posed ever more sharply, all the revisionist tendencies gravitate toward Stalinism.

This includes the Stalinophobic International Socialists. When the Shachtmanites, precursors of the International Socialists, split from the SWP over the class nature of the Soviet Union, they abandoned the scientific understanding of Stalinism for an impressionistic reaction to Stalinism under the pressure of bourgeois public opinion. Despite their subject-

ive hatred of Stalinism, IS can play no other role than that of a cover for the Stalinists. This role became overt at the last national SMC conference.

The International Socialists start from the premise that Trotsky's Transitional Program is obsolete. It was written they contend, for a period more revolutionary than the one in which we are now. Capitalism has been able to stabilize itself through the permanent war economy. What was once a boon to the economy, however, is now endangering it. The permanent war economy and the federal defense budget now cause inflation, stagnation of income, and urban decay. Such is the argument made by Kim Moody, one of the leaders of IS, in "The American Working Class in Transition."

Moody is unable to provide a consistent argument for this analysis. If government spending is to bring the economy out of crisis it must generate surplus value, which Moody admits it cannot do. But the economic thinking on which the argument rests has its political implications and purpose. For what Moody and IS are attempting to do is what all opportunists must do to justify themselves, that is to deny the crisis of capitalism and attack the transitional program which starts from that crisis.

### REFORM

This is exactly what IS does. Capitalism is not in permanent crisis, but is pinched by the defense budget. Since that is the case, what is clearly needed is not a transitional program, a program of socialist revolution, but a program of capitalist reform. For if the defense budget and not the internal contradictions of capitalism are at the roots of all the problems of the working class, it is the defense budget, not capitalism, which must be attacked. Socialism is seen as the alternative because capitalism causes alienation. But what worker is going to listen to socialist agitation when his problems can be solved by slashing the defense budget?

It took a while for IS to follow its argument to its logical conclusion. Middle class tendencies do not find consistency easy. But at the last SMC conference the logically appropriate de-

mand was raised—reconvert the economy from defense production to civilian production. This demand expresses the real content of the new revised transitional program which the so-called free-thinking, undogmatic theoreticians of IS are developing. Common sense tells the IS theoreticians that capitalism is a basically stable system, capable of meeting the material needs of workers if it were not for that war in Vietnam and the attendant wasteful military production.

But now that IS has taken its analysis to its logical conclusion, might it not be that IS has become superfluous. There exists an organization which has fought for that line for years. The Communist Party came much earlier to the realization that the war profiteers are the basic enemy. Workers must unite with the good anti-military capitalists against the bad war producers to prevent world war and improve the conditions of the workers. This is the next logical step in the development of IS's argument. If capitalism is pinched by war production, so must be capitalists, and that is the basis for unity between the classes.

### STALINISM

The role of IS is thus to fight for the program of Stalinism under a different name. It organizes the radical petty bourgeois, who has a certain traditional hostility toward Stalinism, around a reformist program in a de facto alliance with the Stalinists, covered up with anti-bureaucratic and revolutionary phrases.

IS calls its program transitional, believing that the difference between a transitional program and a reformist program lies not in its demands but in the way its promulgators view it and label it. IS also says that defense spending is an outgrowth of capitalism, and a fight against defense spending will call capitalism into question. Behind its formal theorizing, IS wants to pursue its ostensibly socialist ideals with the pragmatic methods of the American bourgeoisie. But the two are incompatible.

The logic of reconversion is reform. The demand for reconversion grows out of an analysis which denies the real crisis of capitalism, the basis of the transitional program. No amount of revolutionary rhetoric can transform a reformist demand into a transitional de-

mand.

### PREVENT

The reconversion demand is one of a number of "modern transitional demands" which IS is raising. It is especially important not only because it reflects the core of IS's politics, but because it is part of IS's recent so-called turn toward the working class. Stalinism is now beginning its effort to re-establish its roots in the working class. With the power and discontent of the working class unveiled for all to see, those who fight for the reformist program of the Stalinists, even in the middle class, must recognize the working class. Thus completely middle class tendencies such as IS develop reformist programs for the working class at the same time as the Stalinists begin to sink roots in the class. Gone are the days when IS could live off the glorification of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley and of the Buddhists in Vietnam.

The tasks of IS are not easy in this period. It has to come up with middle class programs to prevent the deepening of the class struggle and the desertion of middle class elements to the proletariat, at the same time imbuing these programs with pro-working class rhetoric. Lately IS has come out in support of a popular front far bolder than the Stalinists would dare advance, the Gay Liberation Movement. IS's approach to Gay Liberation is indicative of its method. In a statement in the April edition of IS, the editors note, "Of particular importance for revolutionary socialists is the question of how to integrate a working class perspective with a commitment to Gay Liberation." This only shows how IS tries to reconcile its Marxist phraseology with this most ludicrous popular front. Although IS admits little theoretical work has been done on the subject, the editors do have an initial idea. "Of all homosexuals working class homosexuals are the most exposed to persecution and violence." And this is what passes for political seriousness and a "pro-working class" perspective in IS circles.

IS in and of itself might not be significant enough to concern ourselves with. Stalinism, however, is the major obstacle between the working class and revolution, and IS now functions as a cover for the Stalinists. For that reason IS must be taken seriously.

## Behind the Student Riots at Berkeley Campus

**BY STEVEN ZELTZER**

**BERKELEY** — After three days of rioting over 80 arrests and the suspension of SDS from the Berkeley campus, SDS-PL and the SMC-SWP are even further away from the building of a mass working class movement against the war and in their own class demands.

In fact these tactics and politics have encouraged the frenzy of middle class students and made it more difficult to

build a serious youth movement that takes up a class program in the antiwar movement, the student movement and in the trade unions.

A mass meeting on the Berkeley campus called by the SMC illuminated quite sharply the total bankruptcy of these revisionist tendencies.

The meeting which was called to plan the activities of Berkeley students for April 15th was attended by nearly every political group on campus opposed to the war. The Workers League which was in attendance, proposed that Berkeley students build the antiwar demonstration in San Francisco with a contingent that would take up the fight to build a mass working class movement against the war with class demands.

This however was not the adventure that SMC-SWP and its accomplice, the SDS-PL were interested in building. They both proposed ignoring the demonstration in San Francisco and instead having a demonstration on campus against ROTC.

Their only "difference" was that SDS-PL wanted the demonstration at the administration building and the SMC-SWP wanted it at the ROTC building.

The culmination of the alliance between the SMC-SWP and SDS-PL is all too evident. It is a rejection of the working class and its substitution with the individual protest of the middle class.

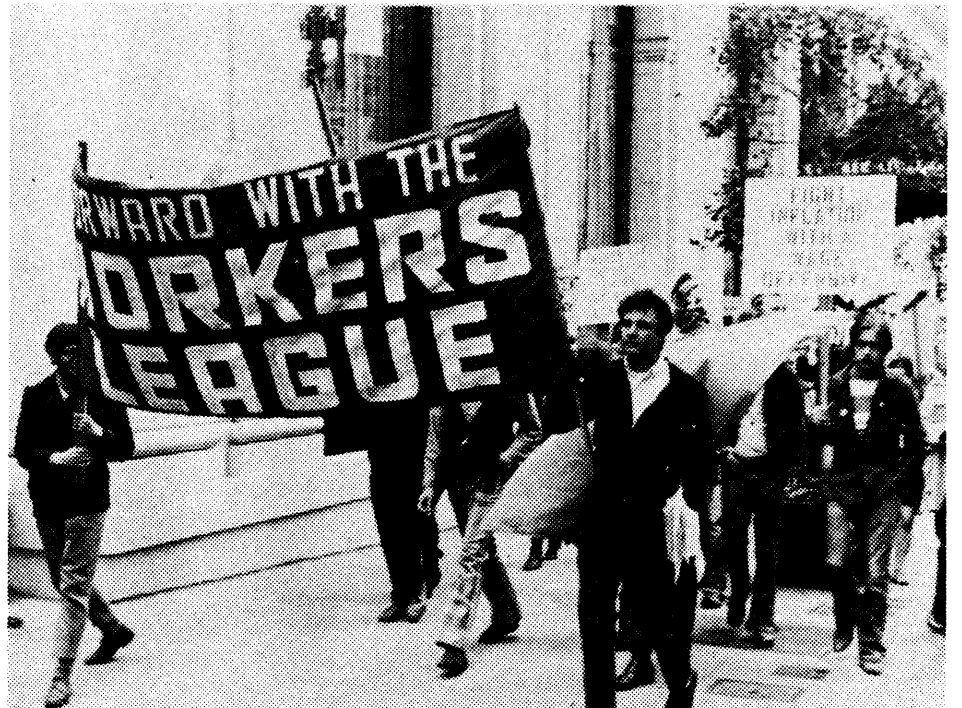
These tactics and politics must be defeated for they will unalterably lead not only to the continuation of the war on the Vietnamese working class but also the defeat of the struggles of the American working class and youth.



Member of the United Federation of College Teachers (left) marches in solidarity with striking members of District 65 at New York University. Teamsters refused to cross picket lines to deliver fuel and food while Sanitationmen refused to pick up garbage. Also wide support was forthcoming from students. The union is demanding recognition claiming some 70% of the workers in the library system at NYU. It reports that full time library workers make between \$80 and \$86 dollars per week--before taxes. Secretaries and technical staff make between \$20 and \$30 per week less than their private industry counterparts.

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## Students Fight Cops at Penn State Following April 15th March

STATE COLLEGE, PA.—In the face of the working class increasingly taking up the struggle against the Vietnam war as evidenced by the participation of hundreds of trade unionists across the country in anti-war demonstrations, student radicals at Penn State have retreated.

The two major antiwar groups on this campus, the Coalition for Peace and SDS refused to make the Vietnam war the focus of their Moratorium activities. Consistent with the policies of the anti-war movement nationally, they have diffused the struggle into protest against the presence of military research and ROTC on campus. The Workers League fought against this retreat by struggling within these groups for an understanding of the class nature of the war and for a working class program as the basis for the Moratorium day activities.

This program was rejected by these groups. Despite this refusal, the WL continued the struggle by holding a rally on April 14th and participating in the Moratorium day march under the banners of this program.

At the conclusion of the march, SDS led a sit in at the main administration building behind a set of four demands including open admissions, all military off campus, the end of all political suppression on campus, and the University

support to free Bobby Seale and all political prisoners.

### ARRESTS

In response to this the University issued an injunction which was followed by the arrival of 70 state troopers and the arrest of 29 demonstrators. The arrests triggered a small riot in which several police were injured and police vehicles were immobilized.

In the course of the events, however, the demands were quickly forgotten and the central issue soon became procuring amnesty for the 29 arrested students.

The entire situation deteriorated into a question of student power. The four demands initially served as a left cover for the student power perspective of SDS. This cover was removed after the arrests which forced a defensive reaction, a defense which could only be made in terms of student power.

In the same way that the Vietnam war protest was isolated from the class struggle, so was the conception and the presentation of the four demands of SDS. This isolation was the very reason why 29 students were arrested. As the class struggle heightens it is imperative that students understand that there is no way forward for the students removed from the working class and its program.

## YOUTH HEAR LABOR SPEAKERS AT DETROIT RALLY

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT, April 15—Ten to twelve thousand youth rallied here in Kennedy Square. They heard for the first time the voice of labor; and they listened.

The seriousness of the Kennedy Square rally was in striking contrast to the carnival atmosphere that prevailed at the rally held by SMC earlier on campus at Wayne University. One would not have thought that it was the same youth. The seriousness at Kennedy Square signifies a search for perspective. A growing section of the youth is looking to the labor movement.

The principal speakers were from labor and the civil rights movement, including Tom Turner, President of Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO; Glen Grady, President of Frame Unit, Local 600; Mot Furay, President of Hotel and Restaurant Local 705.

The Communist Party was conspicuously

absent. Rather than rally the workers for April 15th, the Stalinists called for a demonstration at the GM building for the day before. The Stalinist scheme was to diffuse the struggle. They succeeded in exposing themselves. Not more than 25 turned up. Most of these were not workers.

PL-SDS engaged in an adventure. At the rally they attempted to organize a march on the Federal Building. They circled the crowd several times calling for support. Little or no support was forthcoming, so they marched off. YSA played their typical part. They did their work in organizing the rally and left the politics to others.

The rank and file of labor was lacking, although there were a number of workers at the rally. The labor leaders did not mobilize the ranks. This reporter spoke to one worker who carried the sign: "Fight War Inflation—A full Escalator Clause in Every Contract."

Workers League fought across the nation for class action against the war on April 15th. Upper left students led by the Penn State Workers League Club march through the campus with labor demands. In San Francisco (upper and center right) the Workers League led a spirited contingent with large banners and posters of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Both workers and students participated. Lower left the Temple University Workers League Club prepares to join the march in Philadelphia, Penna.

## STUDENT POWERITES SEIZE BUILDINGS AT STONY BROOK

BY JEFF MORGAN

STONY BROOK—On the nights of April 15th and 16th, the library and computer center of the State University at Stony Brook were seized in student power demonstrations. The take-overs had their beginning in reaction to an April 15th campus rally and strike against the war.

This rally, attended by some 400 students, was initiated by the Workers League and supported by the Labor Committee and the Independent Caucus of SDS. The Workers League fought in building this rally and at the rally itself to turn the students toward the working class, to take up the fight for independent class action against the war on a class program and the fight to mobilize the labor movement on Memorial Day in Washington.

### DIVERT

At the rally a speaker from the Independent Caucus of SDS clearly counterposed its futile student power struggle to divert the youth, to a fight by the working class against the war. A member of the SDS Independent Caucus urged the students at the rally to take the library, pressing demands for an end to military research on campus, and university reforms, including the rehiring of a professor who had perished rather than publish.

Although Independent Caucus received no support at the rally, many students who attended the New York City demonstrations and returned to Stony Brook later that day joined the sit-in. The students left the library at 6 a.m. Thursday and called for a rally at 4 p.m. At this rally, one student power speaker after another worked the rally up by citing imperialism as the cause of war research,

war research as the cause of "publish or perish" and this as the cause of poor education. In other words, it is the student which is the victim of imperialism. By fighting for university reform, the student is dealing imperialism a death blow.

### CLASS

This completely ignores the class character of imperialism and its wars against the working class. It is only the working class who can destroy capitalism. The only power students have is in fighting in the revolutionary party behind the program of the working class.

The more "left wing" student powerites of PL-SDS like to term these building seizures acts of proletarian internationalism with the NLF and other fighters against imperialism. The proletarian internationalism needed by the NLF cannot come from students seizing university buildings to inconvenience the Defense Department, but from the American workers taking up class action and political struggle against capitalism.

All this sit-in accomplished was to give the state more excuse for repressive legislation against students and to further frustrate students. We must turn this frustration into positive action!

It is to the working class that Stony Brook students must now turn. The Workers League calls for students to help build a Memorial Day Labor March on Washington.



# WORKERS LEAGUE WILL BRING ANTIWAR FIGHT TO LABOR

BY THE EDITORS

On April 15th hundreds of thousands of workers and youth marched against the war in cities and on campuses across the country. But these demonstrations were an enormous retreat from the mass mobilizations last fall.

This retreat stands in direct contradiction to what is actually required in the struggle against the imperialist war in Vietnam. The responsibility for this retreat lies with the leadership of the antiwar movement and in particular with the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party.

Last November after the massive mobilizations in Washington and San Francisco, the liberals with the aid and support of the revisionists engineered a policy to diffuse and divert the struggle against the war. This was done precisely because of U.S. imperialism's inability to get a settlement of the war on its terms and because of the stepped up struggles of the workers and peasants in Vietnam and the American workers at home.

The revisionists took the lead from the liberals dispersing the mobilizations on April 15th into isolated actions in various cities. The program for these actions was reduced into hundreds of reformist issues: tax reform, women's liberation, black liberation, ecology and so on. The central aim was to diffuse and break the struggle against the war.

The real logic of this perspective was spelled out only five

days after April 15th when the Vietnam Moratorium Committee dissolved itself. The Committee was dissolved because there is "little prospect of immediate change in the Administration's policy in Vietnam."

This is nothing but a green light to imperialism to continue its wars. This is indeed the perspective of the liberals that the CP and SWP have welcomed so warmly into the antiwar movement, as well as the entire capitalist class. Its interests stand directly opposed to the interests of the workers and peasants in Vietnam and the American working class.

The question of struggling against the war in Vietnam is not a matter of choice. Just as Nixon cannot just "choose" to stop the war, so the struggle against it must go forward. The Workers League is determined to take this fight into the labor movement and among the students despite and against the liberals, with or without their supporters among the revisionists.

In New Haven, at Stony Brook, at New York City Community College, at Penn State, there would have been no fight against the war without the initiative of the Workers League. Nowhere in the entire country would there have been an independent class fight against the war without the Workers League.

On the 100th birthday of Lenin we declare the struggle against imperialist war will go forward and it will go forward in Lenin's way with Lenin's politics—class against class!

## W.L. Raises Class Issues at New Haven Rally

BY BOB LEVELLER

NEW HAVEN—On April 15th a rally of over 300 people, including students and rank and file trade unionists was held on the New Haven Green against the war in Vietnam. This action was begun by the initiative of the Workers League and built with other organizations in the Committee for Mass Labor Action Against the War.

Speakers at the rally included representatives of the Workers League, the YSA, the Committee for New Leadership of the SSEU-371 union in New York, the Panthers, the Patriot Party and a student from Ireland. Both the Workers League spokesman and the representative from the CNL emphasized the struggle against the war as the central struggle posed internationally to the workers and the youth. They pointed out the class character of the imperialist war and the necessity for labor action on a class program, raising the call that the labor movement call a mass march in Washington on Memorial Day.

### SIDETRACKED

Since the November 15th demonstration in Washington, the "traditional" antiwar forces in New Haven had become sidetracked into various peripheral issues such as Women's Liberation, ecology and numerous student struggles. Taking the lead in this sidetracking has been AIM (the American Independent Movement), a purely reformist organization with a provincial minded leadership and outlook.

At the same time, the Young Socialist Alliance, impotent before the domination of AIM in the local antiwar coalition

and incapable of independent action, helped AIM in its very token efforts to send a few people up to the "Anti-Aircraft Conspiracy" in Hartford on April 14th. This "Conspiracy", which conspired to gain entrance to and to speak at a stockholders' meeting at United Aircraft (for the purpose of proposing an end to the war and reconversion of war production to peaceful uses) was merely an attempt by AIM to cover its refusal to build the antiwar movement.

In the meantime, Yale PL-SDS had the perspective of simply sending enough students up to Boston for an SMC-sponsored rally in an attempt to pressure the rally's leadership into allowing an SDS spokesman to speak.

After the New Mobe and the Student Mobilization Committee refused to call for mass demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco as a follow-up to last fall's, and instead called for diffused local actions across the country, it became absolutely necessary to build a rally in New Haven in order to politically prepare the workers and students in the area for a later march on Washington. With this understanding, the Workers League took the initiative for building this all-important rally by hold-

ing a public meeting at Yale on April 3rd.

PL-SDS was taken by surprise by the meeting and was unable to do anything but say that everyone should follow their Pied Piper up to Boston. AIM proposed that there simply be no demonstration in New Haven and viciously baited the Workers League. When the vote on AIM's proposal was taken, AIM and PL-SDS formed the bulk of the anti-rally forces, while the YSA voted with the Workers League and independents to throw back AIM's attempt to abort the rally.

### POLITICAL

At this first meeting, the question of the political orientation of the rally brought forward two resolutions, one from the Workers League and one from the YSA.

The Workers League proposed at this meeting a class program for struggle against the war.

In opposition to posing the question of the war in a class way, the YSA put forward its classless, single issue demand of "Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops now". The YSA also added that there would be no exclusion of liberals from the speaking platform.

The Workers League's proposal was accepted over the YSA's and the newly-formed "Committee for Mass Labor Action Against the War" began preparations for the rally.

But at the following meeting on April 10th, the PL-SDS came in with the intention of throwing out the proposals earlier passed and installing their own. Their effort failed but in the process the Workers League attempted to clarify the true nature of all proposals put on the floor. In this they were continually hampered by the YSA, which tried often to end the theoretical struggle between the Workers League and PL-SDS by calling for time limits on the "debate". In this they failed, but it is important to understand that the YSA not only shied away from a political clash and refrained from any attempt to struggle against Stalinism, but openly tried to act as conciliator between Stalinism and Trotskyism. While the Workers League led a principled attack on the Stalinist nature of PL-SDS's proposals at every point, the YSA, after seeing that their "single issue" proposal was hostilely received by everyone, rescinded it and replaced it with an even more corrupt proposal: that the demands of PL-SDS be lumped together with those of the Workers League.

These two proposals that the YSA tried unsuccessfully to merge are not simply two sets of demands but are dialectically opposed to each other in their understanding not only of the war, but of the whole present political and economic situation, of the whole history of the working class movement since its inception.

What PL proposed was a Stalinist orientation for the antiwar movement. Under the cover of "fighting racism",

PL threw the independent mobilization of the working class out the window. Rather than seeing the war as a class war, the Progressive Labor Party sees what it believes is primarily a racist war which must be fought against only as a fight against racism.

The idea of the war in Southeast Asia as primarily a racist war ends up only as a comfortable excuse for PL to concentrate on its "specific struggles" here in New Haven and, more particularly, among the students at Yale. PL-SDS then lays on its "lesser" demands such as: Abolish ROTC, OCS, and the Police Institute; support Postal and other strikers, support George Cooper and several others. They hinge all their demands simply around the struggle against racism, refusing to take up a class program of struggle against the war and against racism. PL seeks to water down the struggle against the war into a grab bag of lesser, classless, isolated struggles.

### POSED

After the proposals of the Workers League were passed again, PL-SDS walked out of the meeting, making clear their hostility to the rallying of the labor movement on an independent class basis.

The refusal of PL-SDS, AIM, the Panthers to help build the rally on April 15th and their outright opposition to the rally (although the Panthers and the Patriots both later sent speakers) only shows the tremendous rightward turn that is being taken by these tendencies as Nixon actually intensifies the war and as the class contradictions in our society are deepening.

There is only one way to go forward to end the war and to prepare the working class for the revolutionary struggles that lie ahead in the coming decade—and way is Trotskyism, through the Workers League and the Fourth International. This is what was posed in the struggle for the rally and at the rally itself.

## Unionists, Students, Join WL Contingent in Frisco March

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The Workers League conducted a highly successful intervention in the antiwar demonstration held here on April 15th. A contingent of over 50 trade unionists and students provided a militant class lead to those workers who marched with the Labor Assembly for Peace from the Ferry Building to the Civic Center.

The League's contingent was the result of a campaign conducted among City workers, longshoremen, and on a number of Bay Area campuses. Although this march was small, it was significant because of the participation of a number of Bay Area trade unionists who took the day off to march. Several dockers and a group of Local 400 city workers participated in the League contingent. Also significant was the fact that it was completely boycotted by the SWP-YSA.

### CHANT

The Communist Party which was the major force in building this demonstration provided absolutely no lead and marched without raising a single class banner. The intervention of the Workers League had a deep impact. Marching behind a banner that said Forward with the Workers League, and posters of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, we carried posters and banners calling for a labor party, escalator clauses, the wage offensive and immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, jobs for all and the defeat of anti-strike legislation.

Throughout the march the League kept up a militant chant of "Hands Off The Unions. Build a Labor Party Now" and "U.S. Out, NLF In, Nixon Out, Labor Party In." A number of Communist Party trade unionists and sympathizers carried our posters and joined in the chanting.

The Workers League was able to pose a sharp alternative to the revisionists with their rock bands and to the bankrupt perspective that leads to the hopeless adventures in Berkeley.

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# San Francisco City Workers Face Mass Layoffs

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—One third of San Francisco's city employess, ( the so-called "temporaries") are facing layoffs. City workers last month struck for pay increases and collective bargaining. This strike stopped the buses, closed the schools, and shut down City Hall.

The union leaders, forced into a confrontation with City Hall, backed down under pressure and ended the strike before the strikers had voted to go back. A contract was not won. Instead Mayor Alioto promised to bargain with the unions without mention of a contract.

Mayor Alioto's new budget cuts the budget of the fire department, the welfare department, and all requests for additional workers. It leaves most other city departments with the same budget as last year. The Police Department however is getting additional staff and a new helicopter.

## REORGANIZED

To economize the welfare department has been reorganized. The majority of the social workers have been demoted (with their previous pay) to eligibility clerks. They have also been warned that they will have to take a cut in pay or will be laid off in July 1971 if they are still in the same job. They will be replaced with eligibility workers earning 150 to \$200 a month less than those laid off.

Alioto's new budget proposed last week means layoffs for many more city workers. With fewer workers leaving city employment, due to the impossibility of finding work in private industry, and with the cutbacks in hiring. "Temporary" work-

ers are being thrown into the street. Many "temporary" workers have been employed by the City for years, but are still temporary because there is no "slot" available in their classification. There are thousands of temporary workers throughout the Civil Service system. As temporary workers have no rights or job security, they can be laid off and simply not replaced. The result is speedup for the remaining workers. For workers in the welfare department, water department and for clerks at the Hall of Justice, workloads are increasing as staff is declining.

The Rank and File Caucus of Local 400 is calling for strike action if necessary to stop the layoffs. The Caucus is demanding that the unions, including Local 400, Local 250, TWU and the Firemen's Association call a united rally against the layoffs and attacks on working conditions. The fight must be brought into every city union.

## DIVERTED

City workers must not be diverted from their unions by such groups as the SSEU. The SSEU scabbed during the last strike and now proposes rap sessions, relying on the courts and approaching individual politicians "as human beings" in order to get their sympathy. Despite all its radical



Building maintenance workers picket City Hall during recent strike by Local 400.

phrasemongering, the SSEU is interested only in pressuring the politicians not in changing them.

The ranks of the AFL-CIO despite its leaders have the power of strike action.

If it is used it can stop the politicians cold in their plans to attack the wages and conditions of city workers and poses the way forward to a real break from the so-called "friends of labor."

## CNL HOLDS BALANCE OF POWER IN SSEU ELECTION RUNOFF



Dennis Cribbins (left) of CNL watched the election returns at union headquarters.

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—According to as yet incomplete and unofficial results of last Friday's (April 17) SSEU-371 citywide officers election Hill and Morgenstern are running neck and neck each with close to 3,000 votes, or between 45% and 46% of the total vote each. Meanwhile the SSEU Committee For New Leadership or the Cribben slate is running 5% to 6% of the total vote, and the right wing Spindell slate has 2%.

As no leading candidates appear to be within reach of a clear majority it now appears almost certain that the runoff requirements in the AFSCME constitution will apply.

This places the CNL in the position of holding the decisive margin to swing the runoff towards the candidate it chooses. In this case, the CNL has already announced its intentions of making the near upset of Morgenstern in the first round of the election a fact by calling upon its supporters to cast votes for Hill in the upcoming runoff.

The reason for the CNL decision should be clear. The CNL never at any time has given or will ever give so much as an inch of political support to either Hill or Morgenstern. The CNL maintains today just as it has throughout the campaign that the Hill candidacy differs in no respect from that of Morgenstern, that in fact these two bureaucrats are absolutely identical. They have stood together on every major issue before the union as co-betrayers of the ranks for the last 18 months. They are both equally the enemies of the SSEU membership.

The only force in the SSEU which has

fought in the past for the SSEU membership against the City's reorganization attack is the SSEU-371 CNL and this is the only force capable in the present and in the future of leading the ranks in the necessary fight now on the agenda to protect their jobs.

## MEANING

At the same time the CNL is well aware of the meaning of the tremendous vote for Hill. Quite irrespective of the actual role of the Hill leadership, the ability of Hill to come forward in this campaign clothed in the mantle of partial opposition to reorganization and the attack on jobs allowed him to give the appearance of being the real alternative to Morgenstern. It was for this reason that he won the support of thousands of union members who wanted to fight.

The SSEU CNL is proceeding in this election from the standpoint of taking forward this fight of the membership against the union bureaucracy and the City.

With Morgenstern nearly routed within the SSEU this now means the sharpest kind of struggle to expose and break the membership from Hill. This means winning several thousand members over to the understanding possessed by the 400 or so that voted outright for the CNL. This exposure of Hill however, can only be accomplished in the actual course of the struggle against the City under conditions where Hill is made to assume the office of SSEU President.

This is why the CNL will not only fight to elect Hill but from the day he takes office will organize a fight against him, holding him accountable for every phoney promise to protect staff he made during the campaign.

We say that the huge vote for Hill was and is a necessary and progressive step in the development of the consciousness of the SSEU membership. With the deepening of the crisis of the bureaucracy in the American labor movement all sorts of fake militants will advance themselves out of the bureaucratic woodwork on the back of rank and file revolt against the traditional union leaders. The construction of revolutionary leadership in the labor movement will require the testing and exposing of each phoney alternative in the actual course of struggle before it is rejected by the ranks.

This is why the retention of the Morgenstern leadership at this time would be a tremendous blow setting back this necessary process for many months.

The election of Hill however, can only result in the swiftest destruction of the illusions of thousands of members of staff in this fake left leadership and the most rapid growth of influence and strength on the part of the CNL.

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