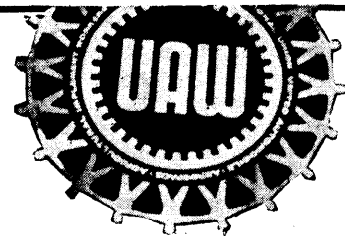


# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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MAY 27 1970

INSIDE

THE UAW  
AND REUTHER



*Answer New Massacres in the South*

# FORWARD TO THE LABOR UNITED FRONT



Young worker lies dead, one of six shot in the back with buckshot the size of 22 bullets, on a street in Augusta, Georgia. Now comes the murder of two students in Jackson.

**A LETTER FROM PRAGUE**

**The Real History of the YSA**

Statement by the International Committee of the Fourth International on the extension of the counter-revolutionary Vietnam war into Cambodia.

## Fight the War With Working Class Action!

U.S. IMPERIALISM and its head—Richard "Tricky Dick" Nixon—has just taken his decision to extend the counter-revolutionary Vietnam war into Cambodia.

Through this decision, U.S. imperialism tramples underfoot all speculation on a so-called 'peaceful co-existence' which could be set up between imperialism and workers and peasants struggling throughout the world for a new society: socialism.

This decision was taken precisely at a time when U.S. imperialism was supposedly negotiating in Paris for a return to peace, at a time when secret talks are beginning in Vienna for the limitation of nuclear arms.

This is proof that under the cover of talks in Paris and Vienna, U.S. imperialism was preparing to extend the war. We now have the proof that Nixon is seeking the destruction of the Vietnamese and Chinese Revolutions.

The extension of the counter-revolutionary war gives added proof that peace and war do not depend on negotiations within the political framework of 'peaceful co-existence.'

U.S. imperialism has to take on the role of counter-revolutionary policeman for the defense of capitalist interests, to crush all the aspirations of the workers and peasants for peace and socialism.

This decision was taken when the fundamental contradiction of our epoch—the stifling of the productive forces within the confines of private property and the nation state—threatens once again to drag U.S. imperialism and with it the whole of world imperialism into a crisis.

### ONE WAY

Faced with these contradictions in their system, the Wall Street magnates and their government know only one way out, as Hitler and the German imperialists

( Continued On Page Two )

## I.C. Statement on Cambodia

(Continued From Page One)

knew only one solution in 1939: counter revolutionary massacre.

Workers throughout the entire world must understand this: the extension of the Vietnam war into Cambodia is a deliberate act, a first step in the preparation of war against China.

If the Pentagon and Nixon, the murderous arms of imperialism, are not halted by the class struggle of the world's workers, imperialism will go to the very end, to war against China, the Soviet Union and all the countries that have escaped the control of imperialism.

Nixon and the Pentagon must prepare to open new outlets for their system by using brute force. They must try to overcome the contradictions of capitalism by crushing entire peoples with fire, bloodshed and napalm.

But at the point where the American imperialists were sinking deeper and deeper into their war of extermination in Indo-China, they struck in the United States itself. The four students assassinated for their protest against the extension of the war are proof that imperialism, to carry out its counter-revolutionary war in Asia, will try to crush the American working class and its youth.

### SIGNIFICANCE

But the protest of students in the U.S.A. has the same significance as the struggles of French students in the first days of May 1968, struggles which opened the way for the General Strike of ten million workers and youth against the Gaullist government and state.

The four students assassinated in the USA by the murderer Nixon announces the entry of the U.S. working class into struggle. As they have shown in recent strikes, they refuse to accept the econ-

omic consequences of the Vietnam war.

The International Committee states that all the conditions in Europe and the United States, in Asia and Latin America are present to begin mass united actions against the war of murderer Nixon.

All the conditions are now present for the workers' traditional organizations—those who stand for the defense of the workers' interests—to present a united front against capitalism.

### GOAL

The struggle of the Indo-Chinese peoples for national independence is a struggle for socialism.

The struggle of the Indo-Chinese peoples against the murderer Nixon merges with the struggle of the American working class and youth against imperialism.

The goal of the Indo-Chinese peoples and that of the American working class unites with the class struggles of the workers of every country against their own ruling class and for the socialist revolution.

Outside this perspective there is only the blind alley of so-called 'peaceful-co-existence,' which permits world imperialism to prepare its blows against workers and peasants.

We condemn the action of the revisionists in using the struggle against the war as a pacifist parade, substituting the middle class for the working class.

The International Committee fights for the mobilization of the working class on a revolutionary-defeatist program to expose the role of the social democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies. The only way to fight the extension of the Vietnam war into Cambodia is through class action—industrial action—against the war, as part of the struggle to build revolutionary leadership for the working class.

## NY Labor Holds Antiwar Rally

BY PAT CONNOLLY

NEW YORK, May 19—The mass labor rally against the war called for this Thursday by over 15 unions is a tremendous step forward in the fight against the war.

The significance of this rally must not be underestimated. It is not "just another rally." For the first time a section of the labor movement has been forced to call a rally in its own name against the war. This is an important sign of the growing hatred of the war among American workers.

At the same time, in the huge wave of student strikes of the last two weeks, thousands of students have begun to realize that student power cannot end the war. For the first time there is massive sentiment among students for turning to the labor movement for action against the war.

### PIT

The fight now is to bring rank and file workers, and students as well, out to the rally on May 21 around class demands which will pit them against the union bureaucrats who want to use this rally to build support for the Democrats and liberal Republicans like Lindsay and Goodell.

The Workers League has made the

center of this fight the demand for building a labor party. Tens of thousands of leaflets in English and Spanish have been distributed throughout the city in a massive campaign to bring workers and students out to this rally in huge numbers around a working class program, independent of the capitalist class, and posing the way forward politically through breaking with the capitalist parties. The Workers League is fighting for this program:

- Immediate Withdrawal of all U.S. Troops from Southeast Asia!
- An End to the Repression of the Panthers and the murder of students!
- Down with Nixon's anti-labor offensive! Build a Labor Party!

### POTENTIAL

The Labor Action Workshop, formed at CCNY during the strike, adopted this program and has been distributing leaflets to garment, hospital, postal and campus workers, as well as to teachers and high school students and at other colleges.

Hundreds of students at campuses across the city—Columbia, CCNY, NYU, New School, Richmond Community College, and others—are organizing for this labor rally. This gives an indication of the real potential for building a serious revolutionary movement among students on the basis of the fight for a working class program. The Workers League intends to carry this campaign forward on every campus.

## S.F. State Students Turn Toward Class Program

BY STEVE ZELTZER

SAN FRANCISCO—Progressive Labor and the Black Students Union at San Francisco State recently formed an alliance around an attempted strike for black nationalism and student power.

The U.S. invasion of Cambodia brought the most massive mobilization of American students in history. It has posed a turn by millions of students towards a fight for a class program that would move the American labor movement against the war.

The role of PL and the BSU, has been

## EDITORIAL

# Beat Back Nixon's Attack With United Front of Labor

Bullets again struck down two black youth last Friday at the Jackson State College campus in Jackson, Mississippi. The police and state patrol riddled the campus for half an hour with gun fire. Two were slain and eleven students were critically injured. As at Kent State police used the unfounded excuse of a sniper to open fire on the students.

## vietnam

The police and later the National Guard were called to the campus as tension mounted in this almost all black college over the deteriorating conditions in the ghetto, and in the schools, over the war in Vietnam and the fact that most of the graduating class will be drafted immediately and sent to Vietnam to fight imperialism's war.

These shootings follow by only a few days the brutal murder of six black workers and youth in Augusta, Georgia. All six were shot in the back by local police without warning and as many as nine bullets were found in one of the bodies.

## common enemy

There was no special investigation of the Kent massacre. But now Nixon has dispatched his special envoy, Attorney General Mitchell, to confer with officials in Jackson, Mississippi and to conduct an investigation into the murder of the two black youth. The purpose of Mitchell's visit is clear—to keep the struggles of the black youth divided from the nationwide struggle of students and workers against the war. Every effort is being made by the government and the press to portray Jackson as an "isolated incident."

What Nixon fears most of all is that the upsurge among the students and the working class now threatens to bring the black masses into a single class struggle against the common enemy.

## united front

Cambodia, Kent, Augusta, and Jackson make clear that the barrel of imperialism's gun knows no racial lines nor age. The common enemy is the capitalist class and it can be fought only with the united front of the working class. This front can only be built if there is a struggle waged against racism and to politically unite all workers and youth.

The demonstration called by fifteen unions in New York City on May 21st against the war and against repression is the first step in building this united force. Demonstrations must be called in every major city and must go forward to a central demonstration of the entire labor movement in Washington on Memorial Day.

## socialist program

The only way to defend the working class and youth against Nixon's bloody wars and the only way to victory is through the united political battle to force a labor party to fight for a socialist program and the defeat of the capitalist system.

The fight for the labor party must now be placed at the very center of these mobilizations.

## Bulletin

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to turn away from that fight and instead to lead the students into student power confrontations with the police over ROTC and the rehiring of six professors fired from the black studies program. They have ignored, however, thirty other professors who were fired from other departments because of their participation in last year's strike, and because of their membership in the American Federation of Teachers.

### REACTIONARY

The struggles against American imperialism and racism have become for PL and the BSU "Hands off Black studies," and "Off ROTC." These tendencies turn away from the working class. At a time when thousands of Teamsters are taking class action against their employers by

shutting down large sections of the California trucking industry, PL and the BSU talk about leafleting the Teamsters with literature that explains why Teamsters should support Black studies, and the campaign on campus to end ROTC.

Mass student support for this reactionary program has not been found, although PL and the BSU have called one rally after another to build support. At one such rally they attempted to march on a building with 40 to 50 students, but were repulsed by the police. They became so frustrated that after leaving the building they proceeded to attack the Young Socialist Alliance's literature table.

This only too clearly shows the Stalinists' bankruptcy and the deadly road that they will lead both workers and students into.

# SAN DIEGO FIREMEN STRIKE FOR WAGE HIKE

BY JAMES DUNN

SAN DIEGO--Firemen here walked off the job at 6:00 PM on May 13. Picket lines at each of the city's 34 fire stations marked the beginning of the first strike in the history of the San Diego fire department, and the second strike of firemen in the history of California.

The strike was called as a result of the City Council's continued refusal to negotiate an acceptable settlement on wages and working conditions with the 604-member Fire Fighters Union.

### BEGGING

According to firemen, the main objective of the strike is to force negotiations on a basis other than what they call "collective begging", but they also made their position very clear in terms of the situation they face.

San Diego is the second largest city in California, but the wages of San Diego firemen rank 22nd on a statewide scale. Fringe benefits are almost non-existent. It was estimated that an increase of about 30% was necessary to bring their wages

## STALINISTS AND LIBERALS STRANGLE ANTIWAR STRIKE AT UNIV. OF WISCONSIN

BY STEPHEN DIAMOND

MADISON, May 16--The liberals, Stalinists and radicals who have banded together in the so-called United Front to lead the student strike at the University of Wisconsin have almost completely strangled that strike.

The terrorism which was their basic tactic rapidly depleted the energy of the striking students. When rallies began to dwindle the "United Front" groups too gave up in despair and organization fell apart completely. Whereas at the beginning strike rallies were drawing 5000-6000 they now draw 50-100.

At the roots of the terrorism and now the complete despair and demoralization is the isolation of the strike on campus. The Workers League has therefore taken up the fight for a mass rally of labor to break out of this campus isolation.

### REBUILDING

After over a week of abstention from any active struggle against the policies of the "United Front" the YSA came out with its proposal to fight for an anti-war University. This slogan does not in any way counter the student powerism of the "United Front." Rather it takes it to its logical and completely utopian conclusion, that students can turn the University into an institution which "serves the people" under capitalism. The YSA did make one correct proposal, that strike policy be determined at democratic mass meetings. For this the YSA was expelled from the "United Front."

The rebuilding of the strike now requires the sharpest turn toward labor around a class program.

into line with the other large cities of California. The city council has offered 10%. Furthermore, all probationary employees, those with less than a year's service, face immediate loss of their jobs as a result of participation in the strike.

### SUPPORT

Support for the strike action by the union members was overwhelming. At present, only about 14 firemen have refused to join the picket lines. The AFL-CIO in Los Angeles and San Francisco has come out in support of the firemen by vowing to halt all cargo movement into San Diego for the duration of the strike. This action, along with the current bus drivers' strike, Teamsters' strike, and an impending strike of state, county, and municipal employees, is building up to a major crisis in San Diego.

The firemen are hoping for an early settlement, but have indicated a willingness to assume a more militant position if scabs continue to pose a threat to the strike, and if the city council maintains its resistance to negotiations. The strikers have already chosen to resist pressure from the legal apparatus by defying a court injunction against their action.

### TEST

The firemen face a major test of their strike in terms of producing a clear set of contract demands. Going back to work on a promise from the city to negotiate "in good faith" could pave the way for complete capitulation of the union leadership to the reactionary agents of capital in San Diego.

## Teamsters Support LA Wildcat

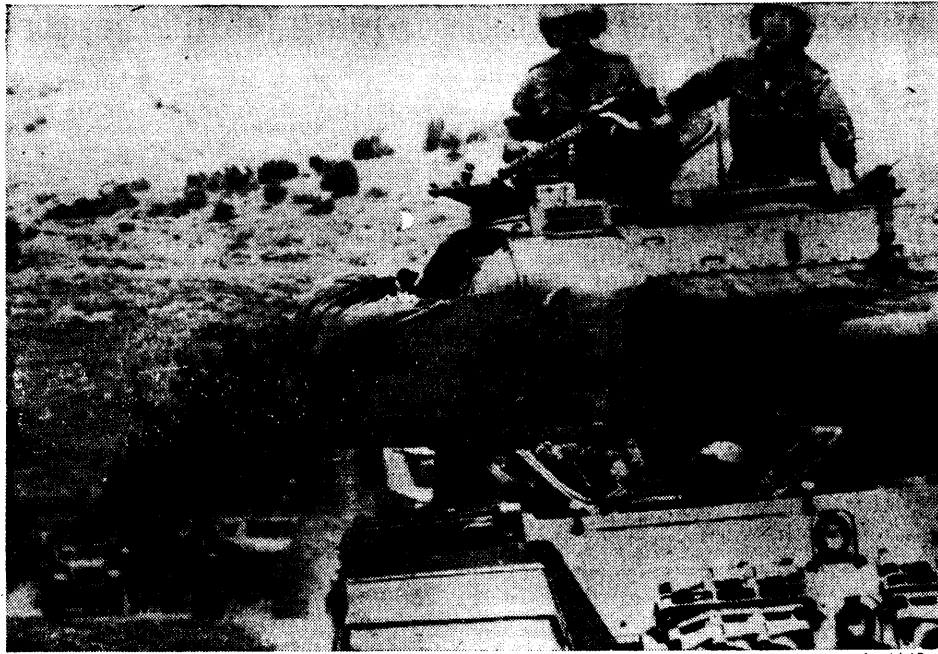
BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO--A wildcat strike of Teamsters here tied up virtually all freight for two days. In a magnificent demonstration of class solidarity and power Bay Area Teamsters supported their Los Angeles brothers by bringing trucking to a standstill, stopping commuter bus service, closing air freight depots and shutting the reactionary mouthpiece of the bosses by picketing the S.F. Examiner and Chronicle.

Hundreds of Teamster pickets from L.A. came to the Bay Area to appeal for support in a fight against the national contract and for sick leave benefits and seniority rights for L.A. Teamsters. At present trucks are being manned by scabs from L.A. Thousands of workers have been dismissed for strike action and seniority rights for jobs do not exist.

### ANSWER

The union bureaucracy, particularly the heads of S.F. Local 85 denounced these strikers as communists agitators and



Israeli tank returns following 36 hour foray into Lebanon which met serious resistance.

## United Arab Forces Beat Back Israeli Offensive in Lebanon

BY MARTY JONAS

Encouraged by Nixon's moves into Cambodia, Israel sent its armed forces into Lebanon on Tuesday, May 12. This thirty-two hour sweep was in response to increased offensives by guerilla forces over the northern border.

It was the biggest attack on Lebanon by Israel since the 1948 war. The hue and cry about Soviet pilots in Egyptian MIGS was the cover used by Israel for its preparations for the attack.

### TIDE

However the tide is turning against the Israeli ruling class.

Starting with their recent attack on the Suez, and continuing through the present attacks on Lebanon, their casualties have been high. Also the Lebanon invasion was answered by a joint effort of guerillas, Lebanese troops and planes, and artillery and soldiers from Syria, Jordan and Iraq.

Whereas only several months ago, guerillas in Lebanon were fighting on one side the Israeli army and on the other the Lebanese army, on May 12 they were fighting side by side with that same Lebanese army against Israel. This clearly reflects the growing pressure of the Arab masses on their rulers.

All of the recent Israeli crimes against the Arab workers and peasants--most especially the bombings of the metalworks and the schoolhouse--have only made the Arab masses more determined to fight back.

### STAB

The unity of Arab forces and the high Israeli losses are due only to this development.

At the same time the Arab ruling class is determined at all costs to stab this upsurge in the back. That is the meaning of appeals by the Arab leaders to the United Nations for intervention. These leaders are quite conscious of how the U.N. intervened in the Congo to murder Lumumba.

The Arab workers and peasants can only rely on their own forces in unity with Israeli workers and peasants for liberation from the yoke of the Israeli Zionist ruling class and imperialism.

## washington irving students to march with labor



Seward Park High School students march up First Avenue in rain in strike against war.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, May 18--Last week at Washington Irving High School a strike was called to protest the invasion of Cambodia and to protest the shooting of students and workers in this country. Approximately 350 students went out under these demands.

The leadership, however, is trying to keep the protest on a school orientated level by posing only student demands, and as a result has lost most of its support, and has led to the dissipation of the strike.

The Workers League intervened with the demands of:  
 Immediate withdrawal of all US troops from SE Asia!  
 End the Repression of the Panthers!  
 Protest the shooting of students and workers in Kent, Jackson, and Augusta!  
 Beat back Nixon's anti-labor offensive!  
 Build a labor party now!

There is considerable support for these demands among the students. Students from Washington Irving, along with other high schools, will be marching with the Workers League on Thursday in the garment center and onto the City Hall rally called by the labor movement.

## JOIN THE WORKERS LEAGUE!

CALIFORNIA: San Francisco: 1333A Stevenson St. Phone: 626-7019 Los Angeles: P.O. Box 25887 LA 90025 Phone: 473-0464 Berkeley: 900.C. Room 214 Deusch Hall Phone: 841-6313  
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# A LETTER FROM PRAGUE

## Fight Against 'Normalization' Goes On



The bureaucracy has been unable to "normalize" things after 1968 invasion (above).

### BY A CZECH REVOLUTIONARY

PRAGUE—Of course you want to know how concretely the normalization is proceeding in Czechoslovakia. I am going to try and show it through a certain number of concrete facts—the context of the purges, how Husak explains the exchange of party cards—and to give a valid explanation of it.

One must first know the situation in the country at the time of the January plenum, 1970, when the central committee of the C.P.C. decided, after months of preparation, to go to a new state of normalization: One must understand how effort to "consolidate and normalize the country politically and economically" according to the official formula, affected the population.

#### AUSTERITY

First of all, normalization on the economic level, meant austerity measures. As of January 3, 1970, city transportation fares tripled. During that very hard winter, in addition to almost daily cut offs of electricity and gas there was a shortage of coal. Food supplies were lacking and the black market was flourishing. School vacations were extended: Furthermore the government announced significant reductions in education and cultural funds, and on March 28 it even abolished the Ministry of Youth and Sports whose existence had been one of the main demands of the youth. These are the circumstances under which the January plenum of the central committee of the CPC met.

The program of the plenum was centered around two poles. Firstly, it characterized the economic situation as "critical, but not catastrophic", next, it put the emphasis on the necessity of "exchange of party cards." Since Husak came to power, the situation within the party—reflecting the situation in the country—has become catastrophic.

#### DECAY

Literally, the party is in full decay and there is no longer any illusion on its democratic or progressive character. In order to maintain himself in power, Husak leans on the apparatus—in the narrowest sense of the word—and on the police. The bureaucracy is forced to try and erase the memories of 1968, but the working class refuses to collaborate with such a policy. Already, in the spring of '69 when Husak demanded—contrary to the statutes—the resignation of members of the Prague city council, the latter resigned in a block and its example was followed by entire cells.

In the big factories workers by the thousands have torn up their party cards, and even quite often members of the bureaucracy have done the same. Recently, the workers of CKD-Diesel protested against the suspension of Dubcek, and it was discovered that leaflets had been written right in the factories by the workers themselves! In 1969 the bureaucracy succeeded in regaining the reins of power; now it must rebuild everything, but first control the entire working class.

It is an enormous undertaking: They must renew the party apparatus and State

down to the last man and moreover this requires that the working class accept it. It is therefore first a question of purging the party, to only leave as Husak says, elements which "are in agreement with the policy of the C.C.", in other words, it must be revamped from top to bottom. How, by what means? It is not so easy and so simple.

They say here that they printed up between 600 to 800,000 fewer party cards for this year than the year before, when the party had 1,500,000 members. Husak spoke for the first time of the necessity of a party purge at the time of the demonstrations of August 21, 1969, but the first real measures were not taken until seven months later, two months more after the January plenum which had proclaimed that this was the number one task.

Why this delay? The answer is simple: they had to form commissions of "ideological preparation of cadres" responsible for choosing and preparing the forces capable of constituting party schools where the cadres were formed which would be in charge of controlling and politically preparing other cadres—those which constitute the commissions in charge of controlling the party members and of giving them or not a new card on the basis of agreement with a letter from the political bureau addressed to the whole party—the contents of which one can imagine without much trouble.

These are the commissions which control those responsible for the "important" posts, beginning with the army and the police. What happens to those who did not "pass"? For the time being, nothing in particular: they only lose their jobs and then can only find a certain type of work: Zatopek, former colonel, holder of several olympic medals, very popular for his attitude towards the invaders, has become a street sweeper. Others are agricultural workers, or laborers like Dr. Vilem Pithart, former ambassador to Paris, who is almost 70 years old. All the men of the "thaw" have been eliminated: after Kriegel, Spacek, Smrkovsky, Martin Vaculik... Oldrich Stary, former university head, one of the initiators of "Two Thousand Words."

#### PURGE

The bureaucracy takes care to assure its ideological future. The overwhelming majority of journalists have been purged, numerous journalists suppressed, including a children's journalist accused of an "attack on the honor of a brother country" and Semafor, the theater of the young avant-garde, like Politika, organ of the central committee of the party in 1968! The Institute of the History of the Workers Movement was dissolved in the Autumn of 1968. It had published the famous "Black Book" on the invasion. With it

also disappeared the excellent revue Dejin Socialismu, which it edited. Journalists or intellectuals, their paper or their institute suppressed or purged, are invited to "rediscover their class consciousness" in agriculture as in the 1950s.

The Sections of Marxist-Leninist education of the History of the Workers Movement had the same fate: they will be rebuilt as new cadres are produced by the commissions of the same type as those who are in charge of the purges. Their education will only be a little longer since it deals with professors of higher education. It is said that 40 professors of the Liberal Arts Faculty have been removed for their past "counter-revolutionary" activity and their present refusal to acknowledge it. Karel Kosik, world famous Marxist philosopher has been removed and expelled from the party.

#### PRESS

The press "under orders" is extremely instructive—and it is a shame that no one reads it because it is so revolting. In Rude Pravo of March 7 in a condemnation devoted to the journalist Otta Flip, who was just sentenced to prison, the editor Josef Rericha mentions in passing the counter-revolutionaries who...fired on the military...August 21, 1968!

The same paper, the central organ of the party, praised the memory of general and vice minister of war Janko, who killed himself in 1968 because he was implicated up to his neck in the Sejna scandal, this Stalinist general who threw himself into the arms of the C.I.A. and found refuge...in the United States. It seems, according to Rude Pravo, that this "excellent communist" was driven to suicide by "moral terror"! The bureaucracies' press concentrates all its efforts on the revolutionaries. Once again in Rude Pravo of March 14 the editor in chief Miroslav Moc explains that those who talk of a "bureaucratic apparatus" want, in reality, to destroy the workers organizations for the benefit of imperialism and that they turn around the meaning of words!

#### CORRUPTION

In fact, all that is terribly ridiculous and to assure its domination, the bureaucracy counts more on corruption than the beating of heads. In the faculties, it has created the "Students Union". Not many have rallied to it but some boast, for their "action", of having available sums equivalent to a worker's annual salary.



Husak

The same practice goes on in the factories, all under the slogan "Build the Union of Leninist Youth". There are striking and prosperous examples of this corruption: after all, wasn't Strougal between the 21 and 28 of August 1968, the head of the Czechoslovakian government which "protested"? And Kempny, one of the most important secretaries of the Central Committee today and champion of the struggle against "right opportunism", wasn't he regional secretary of Ostrava and at that time initiator of the campaign for Czechoslovakia's "neutrality", a crime which is now accorded to others?

It is interesting to remember, in fact of these government measures, that the leaders of the country with the grace of Moscow were "legally" invested on August 22, 1969 with the widest powers such as to jail anyone for his "counter-revolutionary activities", without the unions having the slightest say about it. It also disposes of the widest powers to force adherence in the factories of "work discipline" and to multiply the police raids under the excuse of fighting "hoopi-

ganism."

#### PROPAGANDA

From the evidence all this is not enough, and the bureaucracy spends great effort on propaganda to show the working class that the revolutionary ideas that it holds dear are nothing but bourgeois propaganda and the militants which uphold them are imperialist agents. There is not a day that Rude Pravo, in true police style doesn't "reveal" some "proof" of the connections of a "man of the thaw" with the Bonn revengers or the CIA! The bureaucracy increases its denunciation of all the steps forward of the Spring of '68 but its tone already reveals its failure and its rage at this failure. It tries once again to resurrect the old refrain from the Novotny period: oppose intellectuals and students to the working class, make intellectuals responsible for the economic failures.

To do that, it must rewrite a recent history that all the Czechoslovakian workers know well—and even an older history, by making the history of the party begin in 1929 with the arrival at its head of Gottwald, at precisely the moment when the Stalinist policies had made a miniscule sect out of the party, destroying the old authentic communist party.

Of course all that is explained by the extraordinary resistance of the working class. But all the same the bureaucracy has gotten certain, although limited, results. The elimination of the active cadres of 1968, the pulling into line of the unions, the systematic destruction of all possible poles of resistance of the masses, finally the reconstruction of the Stalinist party under its purest form of police apparatus are notably reflected in the form of "rumours" which fly around sometimes in an unbridled way: recently, for example, the one according to which the Soviet Union might have decided to leave Czechoslovakia to West Germany, or still that it might have decided to proclaim Czechoslovakia's neutrality.

Behind these rumours, is the bourgeois conception of a "free" world, the reflection of the Stalinist idea of the division of the world, not in classes, but in blocs; through which the bureaucratic ideology not the ideology of the working class is expressed, that is bourgeois ideology which no organization of the working class can fight.

#### CONFIRMATION

However, there is no reason for pessimism, even if the immediate tomorrows will be dark for many of us. What is happening today in Czechoslovakia, in full "normalization" is a striking confirmation of the depth of the working class' resistance which defends its conquests of the Spring of 1968 and of the incapacity of the bureaucracy to fulfill the program of reconquering power which it started to try and apply in September, 1968. It would moreover be senseless to think that the bureaucracy is united—it is in fact profoundly divided on all the decisive questions facing it, the reorganization of the economy, the concessions to be made to imperialism, the best way to handle the working class.

Of course Husak himself is not sure of maintaining his position at the top, where there are strong advocates of the Stalinist type trials. It is not simply a matter of bureaucratic squabbles but of real contradictions which express a mortal crisis: the "normalization" indeed seems unattainable.

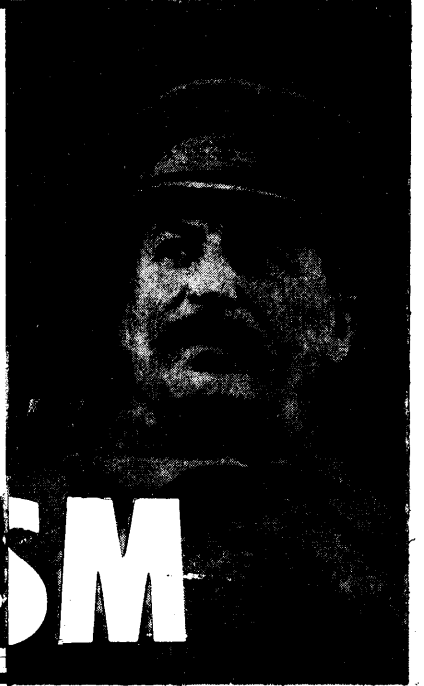
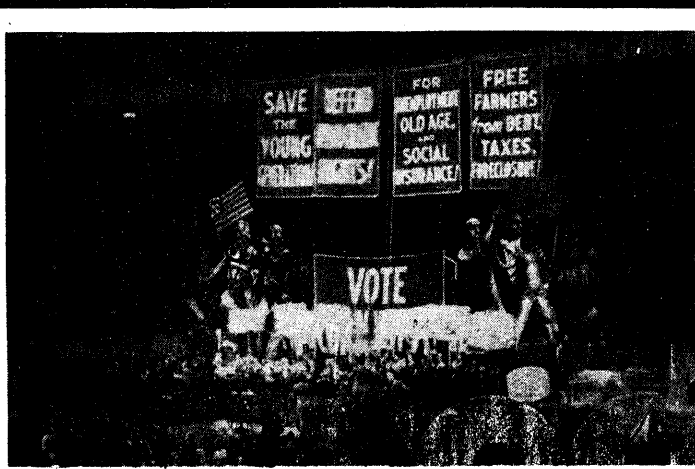
Will there be big trials in Czechoslovakia? The answer to that question is not in the hands of the bureaucracy alone, not even of Moscow.

#### INTERNATIONAL

The campaign for the defense of the Czechoslovakian militants has begun, it is an integral part of the struggle of the Czech workers against the normalization, which is today at the center of a world struggle.

It is not a question of the fate of a few militants (from this point of view the liberation of Jiri Lederer unfortunately does not have a general significance) but of the fate of the entire working class.

And one cannot understand its situation in the context of only our country: Essentially the situation is identical for all the Eastern countries. Everywhere there is struggle against normalization, that is against the return of Stalinism under its worst forms. And this is the struggle of communists the world over.



# STALINISM

# & TROTSKYISM IN USA

*an answer to hyman lumer and others*

*by FRED MUELLER*



## III. THE POPULAR FRONT IN U.S.A. (CONTINUED)

THE 1936 ELECTION campaign demonstrated the direction being taken by the Stalinists. The CP worked out a line which has been used time and time again to aid the liberal capitalist politicians. The task became to "defeat Landon at all costs." The very weak Republican candidate became in the eyes of Stalinists a very dangerous threat: "The CP declares without qualification that the Landon-Hearst-Wall Street ticket is the chief enemy of the liberties, peace and prosperity of the American people. Its victory would carry our country a long way on the road to fascism and war." (14)

This absurd defensive formula became the means whereby votes could be delivered to Roosevelt without openly endorsing him. In the last weeks of the election campaign the Daily Worker solved its awkward problem by barely mentioning Roosevelt at all, while Landon was portrayed almost as a proto-Fascist. With some

variation this same technique has been followed in the 34 years since. The Stalinists have called for the defeat of Eisenhower at all costs, the defeat of Rockefeller at all costs, the defeat of Nixon and Goldwater at all costs, and so on.

In the spring of 1936 the CP still called for a labor party. Within a few months this was dropped. By 1937, after the Roosevelt landslide, all hesitancy was dropped and the Popular Front was identified enthusiastically with the Democratic Party. The CP came out openly against a labor party and fought within the unions against this slogan. This has been its line ever since.

In the late 1930s Roosevelt's picture began to appear more and more on the front page of the Daily Worker. The Stalinists were the first to boost FDR for a third term, as early as the first months of 1939. Ironically, by the time the election campaign came, Stalinist policy had taken another twist and Roosevelt was opposed.

Here are a few examples of the depths to which the Stalinists sank in their orgy of class collaboration. Jefferson was the ancestor of "those Americans who are fighting against the tyranny of Big Business with the revolutionary spirit and boldness with which he fought the Tories of that day." The American flag replaced the red flag at party parades and the Star Spangled Banner became the official hymn at party meetings. (15)

Browder proclaimed at a public meeting: Proletarian dictatorship can become a practical order of the day in America only if President Roosevelt's promise of a higher standard of living under the present system is defeated or betrayed. We of the Communist Party are prepared to cooperate with everybody who will help win that higher standard of living...

Not only, according to Browder, is a higher standard of living possible under capitalism at a time when its bankruptcy had been displayed more starkly than ever in history. He also promises to help make the system work! A clearer statement of CP policy could not be found.

The Louisiana section of the Communist Party proclaimed its patriotism. May we remind you that this is Americanism Week. The Communist Party of Louisiana declares its steadfast loyalty to our Nation's democratic institutions, pledging ourselves in word or deed to fight any "ism" of any clique, group or minority from within our country or from abroad that would destroy or undermine our democratic institutions... (17)

The Daily Worker boasted about Earl Browder's pioneer ancestors. When the New York chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution neglected to celebrate the 162nd anniversary of Paul Revere's ride, the Young Communist League hired a horse and rider dressed in suitable costume and marched up and down Broadway with a sign proclaiming "The DAR Forgets But The YCL Remembers." (18)

This was not simply a period in which the Daily Worker began to play up Roosevelt, pioneer traditions and the American flag. At the same time it boosted the Popular Front in Spain and carried on the



Above CP ticket of 1936 of Browder (left) and Ford was actually cover for support to Roosevelt. Below is 1936 convention of the CP. Note sign at right which states "Communism is 20th Century Americanism" while hammer and sickle appears next to slogan "For a Free Happy Prosperous America".



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



frenzied campaign in defense of the Moscow Trials discussed earlier. The pages of the *Daily Worker* in this period are the best concrete expression of the way in which the Stalinists used all the international developments in order to consolidate their alliance with the bourgeoisie. It would be more correct to say, their moves towards such an alliance, which was only to fully develop with World War II.

**TRADE UNIONS**

The class collaborationist line taken into the trade unions played an especially reactionary role in preventing the development of political consciousness in the advanced sections of the working class. Precisely where Marxists have the responsibility for patient day-to-day struggle to break the workers from illusions in the capitalist system, the Stalinists did just the opposite. The workers were involved in the greatest industrial organizing campaign in history and searching more and more for political alternatives.

The Stalinists sent the workers back into the Democratic Party, they worked harder than anyone else to tie the unions to the state apparatus. This remains the role of Stalinism to this day. It seeks to hold back as long as possible the break of the American working class from capitalist politics.

It did not take long for the popular front policies to find expression in the trade unions in the mid-1930s. In 1934-35 workers in the mass production industries suffered great defeats due to the reactionary AFL leadership. Some of these industrial workers had been organized into the AFL but the leaders betrayed these workers even to the extent of going along with the recognition of company unions alongside genuine union organizations in these areas.

In 1935 the rubber workers in Akron were ready for strike action when the AFL representatives pushed through a deal calling off the strike with a Roosevelt-engineered settlement which gave the workers practically nothing. The Stalinists had considerable influence at this time among the rubber workers, and they went along with this sellout. (19) This was to become the pattern in hundreds of struggles in the years to come.

**RETREAT**

In 1937 the CIO leaders retreated in the face of the so-called "Roosevelt depression," the very sharp economic decline which continued until war preparations got underway in earnest. The Stalinists had played a big role in the development of the CIO in 1937, after some initial hesitation. But from the beginning they moved toward combinations with the top bureaucrats, not the building of a rank and file leadership around Marxist policies.

The Stalinists simply became a part of the bureaucracy. They played an especially important role for the entire bureaucracy in guiding militancy into safe channels. Thousands of dedicated organ-



This Young Communist League bathing beauty contest was held during CP's Americanism campaign. Beauty third from right wears banner "Long Live The People's Front" while second from right says "For Progressive Victory in the Elections".

izers were disoriented, demoralized and destroyed by these opportunist policies.

**FOSTER**

This is thoroughly summarized by William Z. Foster himself. Exerpts from Foster's *History of the CPUSA* are printed in the *Political Affairs CP Commemoration issue* as a separate article entitled, "Breakthrough in Industrial Organization." Foster says: John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman, and their co-workers were apparently convinced of the value of Communist cooperation, because from the outset the organizing work and the leading of innumerable victorious strikes were done by a combination of the Left-Center forces—that is, Lewis, Hillman, the Communists and other progressives...the Communists worked very diligently to build and strengthen the Left-Center bloc. They refrained from grabbing for office in the new unions, and they gave unselfishly of themselves in the organizing work. As an example of the Party's cooperative spirit, in 1939 it liquidated its system of trade union fractions and shop papers. The Party's trade union fractions—educational groups of Communists in local unions—were dissolved to end all fears that they were formed for the purpose of controlling the unions. The Party's shop papers, which had performed valuable services in the initial stages of the CIO campaigns, were also given up for the same general reasons. (20)

Here Foster is saying that the Stalinists turned their backs on the rank and file and became the most loyal helpers of the bureaucrats. He is boasting about how closely the Stalinists worked with the top bureaucrats, how much influence they were able to attain. The Left-Cen-

ter bloc was nothing but the alliance between the Stalinists and a big section of the union bureaucracy, the kind of alliance that Roosevelt was quite happy to see. The liquidation of party fractions and shop papers was a move against the rank and file, against the CP rank and file itself, in that it denied to the CP unionists themselves any means of influencing Party policy.

Foster boasts about the CIO victories in which the CP had a role, but he says nothing about the many defeats, the pattern of retreat before Roosevelt and the bosses after the initial organizing drives, and above all the effort to keep the workers tied to the Democratic Party.

The Stalinists took over leading CIO councils. They dominated the National Maritime Union, the Transport Workers, and West Coast longshore, and had strong influence in steel, rubber, auto, and the electrical unions. Everywhere they pushed support for Roosevelt and no strike policies even as a new depression hit the workers.

The role of the Stalinists during this period, not just during the war, led to deep hatred of them on the part of class conscious militants in the unions. When the Cold War and the witchhunt came, the Stalinists reaped the whirlwind and saw their base very easily destroyed.

**PACT**

With the Stalin-Hitler Pact the CP was forced to make another sharp turn. The Nazi-Soviet Pact was very much a part of what Trotsky described as Stalin's "trading in the working class." He simply changed trading partners and the working class remained the "small

change." Fascism became "a matter of taste."

At this time Trotsky urged his American supporters to take up the contradictions facing the Stalinist ranks, the gulf between the counterrevolutionary character of Stalinism and the more radical policies being forced upon the CP.

The turn to the left was a very inconsistent one. From the time of the Popular Front the turns of the Stalinists never again moved very far from the fundamental policy of class collaboration. Denunciations of Roosevelt and the imperialist war replaced praise of the New Deal and appeals for collective security, but the appeals for collective security were not far beneath the surface radicalism. In the unions the Stalinists were beset by many problems as their own supporters reacted in confusion to the abrupt change in Moscow's line.

For the most part the CP in the unions during this period followed a policy of easing up on some of their most emphatic no-strike policies. Two strikes which took place in 1941 in which the Stalinists played a leading role are of importance in understanding this period.

At Allis-Chalmers in early 1941 and at North American Aviation in June of that year, bitter strikes took place against the opposition of the union bureaucrats. At the August 1941 convention of the UAW these strikes played a key role in the attacks upon the Stalinists from the right-wing pro-Roosevelt forces.

**PRO-WAR**

What made this all the more significant was Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union in June 22, 1941, which immediately converted the Stalinists into part of these same pro-war, pro-Roosevelt forces in the unions. When Reuther and the rest of the right wing in the UAW which had feuded bitterly with the Stalinists during the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact sought to use these strikes against the Stalinist caucus, the CP was in an embarrassing position. Its supporters had played a big role in these strikes and it now wished it could forget all about it.

The bureaucrats denounced the rank and file militants who had dared to strike without authorization during this period in early 1941 when war preparations were being greatly stepped up. At the August convention the credentials of the Allis-Chalmers delegation were rejected and Reuther made an anti-communist attack to which the Stalinists hardly replied at all. (21) On the North American strike the convention voted to denounce the strike and bar the California UAW regional director, who was closely associated with the Stalinists, from union office for one year. The Stalinists backed this as a compromise which let them off relatively easy. Many workers felt the need to defend those who had fought heroically in the unofficial strikes. But the line was clear. Because the Stalinists were now embarked on a policy of complete subordination to the bosses and Roosevelt, they refused to defend these workers. (22)

A further illustration of Stalinist retreat in the interests of the wartime alliance was the decision of this same convention to adopt a constitutional amendment which barred from union office anyone "who is a member of or subservient to any political organization, such as Communist, Nazi or Fascist, which owes its allegiance to any foreign government." The Stalinist-influenced caucus at the convention instead of forthrightly opposing this witchhunting provisions equating Communist and Fascists, proposed to add "socialist" to the list of banned political views. (23) This was an unprincipled and cynical maneuver designed to embarrass Reuther, who had resigned several years earlier from the American Socialist Party. By their unprincipled behavior the Stalinists prepared their own defeat.

**ATTACK**

But this was all just a small sample of what was to come. When Roosevelt and the AFL Teamsters chief Dan Tobin launched a vicious attack against the Trotskyist-led Local 544 of the Teamsters, in Minneapolis, the Stalinists joined in the attack. In July of 1941 a Minnesota grand jury indicted the leaders of Local 544 and some of the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party for sedition. A storm of protest was aroused from the labor movement. On August 16, 1941, the *Daily Worker* made its position clear: "The Communist Party has always exposed, fought against and today joins in the fight to exterminate the Trotskyite Fifth Column from the life of our nation." This was the first use of the infamous Smith Act which was later used

**Key to Crime Map**  
 - - - - Path traveled by Trotsky before the Russian Revolution.  
 - - - - Trotsky's travels after exile to Alma Ata.

A - (Berlin) Meets with German Intelligence; makes secret agreement in 1924.	G - (China) Agents work under direct supervision of Japanese Military Intelligence.
B - (Japan) Agents contact Japanese Intelligence; serve as "brain trust of the secret service."	H - (Sweden) Financed by pro-Nazi magnate, Ivar Kreuger.
C - (Leningrad) Kirov murdered in 1934.	I - (England) Sabotage war production on eve of Second Front.
D - (Moscow) Gorky murdered in 1936.	J - (New York)
E - (Spain) Serve as spies for fascists; sabotage operations of Loyalist Armies, 1936-38.	K - (Detroit)
F - (Czechoslovakia) Collaborate with Nazi agent, Konrad Henlein.	L - (Chicago)
	M - (San Francisco)
	N - (Minneapolis)

Activities concentrated in key industrial areas in United States.

This "crime map", based on the Moscow Trials, was featured on the back page of Herb Tank's "Inside Job". The book, published in 1947, used these slanders to justify sell-out policies of CP in unions showing link of Trials with popular front.



Earl Browder sits beneath large portrait of the "Big Three" during convention which dissolved the Communist Party. Today CP leaders seek to blame only Browder for this.

to send the Stalinist leaders themselves to jail. But the CP followed the line of the Moscow Trials faithfully when the Smith Act was first used, and cannot escape responsibility for that action.

During the war the Stalinists were the most rabid right wing anti-strike tendency within the labor movement. When the miners went out on strike in 1943 against Roosevelt's wage freeze policy, the CP led the attack from the entire CIO against John L. Lewis. The miners' strikes in 1943 were a key test for the employers' strategy of making the workers pay for the war, and a key test for every tendency inside the labor movement. After a series of bitter national strikes involving over half a million miners, they cracked the Little Steel formula which was meant to hold wage increases to no more than 15% although prices were skyrocketing during this period.

The miners set an example for the entire labor movement, and the wage offensive continued in 1944 and 1945 to the great peak in the winter of 1945-46. The working class made clear its determination not to let the bosses use the war to attack living standards and working conditions. The Stalinists line was to help the employers do just that.

In the midst of the miners' strikes in May, 1943, hundreds of local CIO unions in the mass production industries voted their support of the strike. The Michigan UAW overwhelmingly voted to support the miners, over the objections of Reuther, the Stalinists and the entire top leadership. (24)

Within the CIO, the Stalinists feuded even with bureaucrats like Philip Murray, complaining that he was not fighting hard enough to mobilize labor to win the war. The Stalinist-dominated leadership of the United Electrical Workers demanded an increase of 15% in the individual production of their membership without any increase in pay. The CP pushed the incentive pay scheme, a variation of the

piecework speedup system which is constantly being introduced today by the employers in their drive to increase the rate of profit. The CIO voted not to advocate this plan after tremendous rank and file hostility was expressed. Reuther built up a reputation for militancy during this period on the basis of his opposition to this speedup plan, and Browder accused him of "wrecking in the automobile and airplane industry." (25)

**BRIDGES**

Harry Bridges of the West Coast longshore union took the lead in pushing for the Stalinist policies. In a speech to the San Francisco CIO Council he said:

If we place stress on hours and wages so that we interfere with the fighting we're slackers and selling out our unions and our country...The majority of the time of officers, of grievance committeemen, of the unions as a whole must go to winning the war. How? Production. I'd rather say speedup, and I mean speedup...To put it bluntly, I mean your unions today must become instruments of speedup of the working people of America. (26)

Bridges was to follow up on this with the call for a permanent no-strike pledge to extend indefinitely after the war.

In the UAW the ranks found it most possible to express their sentiments and demands. At the September 1944 convention, 37% of the delegates voted to rescind the no-strike pledge, in the face of the opposition of all the key leaders and the most vociferous opposition of the Stalinists. (27)

After the war, even after the dumping of Browder and the partial swing to the left once again, the Stalinists continued to follow a right wing line in the unions. During the tremendous strike wave of 1945-46 they lagged far behind the workers everywhere. The UE signed a contract providing for an 18 1/2¢ an hour raise for 30,000 GM workers under its jurisdiction. This undercut the UAW which was fighting at the same time for

a 19 1/2¢ an hour settlement. The UAW was forced to follow the UE settlement after holding out for a month following the treachery of the UE leaders. (28)

**COLLABORATION**

The retreat of the CP after the war was another expression of the logic of class collaboration policies, which can only weaken the working class and open it up for even more vicious attacks.

As the wartime U.S.-Soviet alliance crumbled, a big witchhunt was started against the Stalinists inside the unions and everywhere else. This took place in the unions for the same fundamental reason as the cold war as a whole. The imperialists were forced to move against the Kremlin in spite of the many services performed by Stalin and his supporters all over the world, including the U.S. The Cold War policies were dictated by the crisis of world capitalism and the world revolutionary upsurge which followed the war and had to be crushed if imperialism was to survive. The imperialists were driven to dump their erstwhile allies and mount an anti-communist offensive designed to preserve their system.

The response of the Stalinists to these attacks was significant. The November 1946 convention of the CIO took place amidst stepped up witchhunt preparations. The Stalinists went along with a proposal from CIO President Murray in his "Declaration of Policy" which said "we resent and reject efforts of the Communist Party or other political parties and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the CIO." George Morris wrote in the Daily Worker that the CP had "always favored a statement telling the world the CIO wasn't Communist." (29)

The workers were told that concessions to the red-baiters would prevent a witchhunt. This was not to be the case. The Stalinists' capitulation began to resemble on a smaller scale the abject betrayal of the German Social-Democracy in the 1930-1933 crisis.

When the Stalinists were unceremoniously kicked out of their positions of influence in the CIO they were in no position to fight back. The right wing bureaucrats used to full advantage the Stalinist record of betrayal although theirs was no better. The Trotskyists supported and continue to support the democratic rights of the Stalinists within the unions against all forms of anti-communism. This must be combined with the most merciless political struggle against the Stalinists and their policies which play right into the hands of the bosses.



Joe Curran (left) with Harry Bridges in the days they both were pushing CP line.

**SLANDER**

While the CP sought influence in the labor movement in order to sell out the ranks they brought into the unions the same techniques of slander and terror used all over the world. They required a cover in the unions just as they did everywhere. Leaders like Lewis, as well as rank and file militants who opposed their brazen sellout policies, were labeled agents of the Nazis.

The biggest attacks were once again reserved for the Trotskyists. As late as 1947 the Stalinists published a pamphlet by Herb Tank, entitled "Inside Job—The Story of Trotskyite Intrigue in the Labor Movement."

This is one of the most crude incitements to terror against the working class opposition to Stalinism. Tank labels the Trotskyists as goons in the pay of the bosses, without of course presenting any evidence for his charge. Most of the "material" in this little book is based on the war period. The following is the Stalinist version of the work of the Trotskyists at the Dodge-Chicago plant:

The Trotskyites worked fast. They quickly welded all the rotten elements

into a bloc in order to capture the new UAW local's first election.

First of all they grabbed hold of the job seekers, the petty opportunists...Next came the gangsters, the racketeers and the bookies, all the racket boys who move into big plants in order to control the numbers racket, the betting and generally fleece the workers...But the racket-boys needed a brain trust to advise them on union matters. The Trotskyites supplied them with the brain trust.

Finally the Trotskyites rounded out their bloc with company stool pigeons, outright fascists, ACTU elements and the stone age characters who didn't like Negroes or Jews or Communists or Catholics or what have you...

The Trotskyites settled down to do some real dirty work. In the height of the war against fascism they fought to revoke labor's no-strike pledge. Their line on the war coincided with the needs of the Nazis. Hitler wasn't able to bomb any American war plants, but the Trotskyites worked frantically to pull stoppages and phony wildcat strikes in order to halt production of the war materials needed to beat the fascists. (30)

Here are all the slanders of the Moscow Trials brought out once again for the sole purpose of justifying the Stalinist line of betrayal which was meeting with mass resistance and violent hatred from millions and millions of workers.

So desperate are the Stalinists to justify their line that they present a lengthy quote from none other than the executive assistant to Teamster bureaucrat Tobin. This ultra-reactionary diehard AFL bureaucrat praises the Stalinists as follows:

To them (the Trotskyists) unions are merely weapons to be used against the organized government. They are as violently opposed to the Communist government of Russia as they are to the "capitalist" government of the United States and the monarchy of England...

Probably the Trotskyites are more bitter against the Russian government than any other. This is because their candidate lost when Lenin died. Trotsky didn't take his place. Stalin did...now the people of the United States are giving thanks that Stalin won and Trotsky lost. Because of Stalin we are winning the war and at a very low price in American lives. (31)

Aside from the totally ignorant comments placing the struggle within the communist movement on the level of a fight for succession, the statements of this bureaucrat and the fact that they are quoted so approvingly by the Stalinists themselves show how far the Stalinists were prepared to go in their collaboration with the bosses and all of their agents. The Stalinists boast that they are the defenders of "organized government" and that Stalin is making a special contribution to saving "American lives." The real reward for this disgusting display was that bureaucrats just like the one so approvingly quoted above in 1947, were within the next couple of years going to hound the Stalinists from every position in the unions and even in the plants. In exchange for their nauseating servility the Stalinists were kicked in the teeth.

**NEGRO**

On the fight for racial equality the line of the Stalinists was no less revealing. During the war the same reactionary line was applied here as in the unions. Negro CP leader James Ford had the nerve to write in February, 1942, "Four hundred years of Negro slavery are nothing beside Nazi persecution of Jewish peoples, peoples of the occupied countries." (32)

For the Stalinists in this period the petty bourgeois NAACP was far too militant. Roosevelt was pictured as most devoted to the cause of the black man.

Another Negro Stalinist, Dooxy Wilkerson, laid it on the line in 1944. He wrote that the Negroes "must declare their full support for the war effort... They must declare their full support for the win-the-war policies of our Commander-in-Chief... To draft idealistic post-war plans for the Negroes...tends to divert much needed energy from the really urgent task of today: to win the war." (33)

**"MISTAKES"**

The Stalinists deal with the historical experiences of the Popular Front and the war period in the same way as they deal with the Terror and the Moscow Trials. The official line is that "mistakes" were made, but that the fundamental line was correct. In this way they try to avoid the really fundamental questions. Certain "excesses" are criticized. But in every case the excesses are no more



than an aspect, the completely logical expression of the overall policy.

This can be proven on every issue. In the Political Affairs CP Commemoration issue the Stalinists carry forward the policy of making Browder the scapegoat for Stalinist policy during the war years. "...Browder led the party from class positions through positions of 'classlessness' to the brink of class-collaboration policies." (34) The brink, indeed! The Stalinists followed an unbroken policy of class collaboration before and after the war as well as during it. The only thing that can accurately be said is that this policy reached new depths during the war, but had gone over the brink a long time before.

Political Affairs continues: "This approach led to sacrifice and neglect of the interests and concerns of the workers and other sections of the American people. A shameful case in point being the forced relocation of Japanese Americans from the West Coast to inland concentration camps, against which the Party failed to raise its voice." (35) And this, too, they try to pin on Browder and Browder alone. This is even more absurd than the claim of Khrushchev and all his successors that Stalin was to blame for all the problems of the "cult of personality." At least Khrushchev and Co. could claim that Stalin had the power of life and death over them. Foster, Flynn, Hall, Lumer and all the rest have no such excuse. The fact is



When the Government prosecuted the Trotskyists under the Smith Act during World War II the American Communist Party fully supported the prosecution. After the war the

government used the same law against the CP leadership. Above Trotskyists march off in jail while below eleven of 12 CP leaders in first trial pose for their picture.



that they went along with Browder because that was the policy of Stalinism during the war. They went along with Browder because they went along with Stalin. Browder was dumped as the scapegoat for past betrayals and because he was unable to adjust to further shifts in Kremlin policy.

**ANSWERS**

The disclaimers simply scratch the surface of the past betrayals and demand more searching answers. Why did the Party leadership go along with these policies? The Stalinist leaders cannot answer because they are fully responsible for these policies. They carry the same policies forward today and are capable of going to just as great extremes as they went in the past in doing the dirty work of the bosses.

But we have not finished with the apologies of these so-called Communists. Claude Lightfoot in his article, "Black Liberation Impossible Without Communists" states that "there was for a time a failure on the part of Communists to push the struggle for Negro rights vigorously enough, out of fear of jeopardizing the war effort. Wherever Communists made such errors, we Communists today join in criticism. But it is

one thing to criticize and another to use such errors in an attempt to destroy the validity of a broad basic truth." (36)

We must remind Lightfoot that this kind of "criticism" is very cheap. What is required is not an excuse but a real explanation, a real analysis of these "errors". We will have to look for this analysis to sources other than Lightfoot, who has a vested interest in hiding the truth. A serious analysis, a serious reading even of the statements of Ford, Wilkerson and others quoted above will show that the "broad basic truth" is that the Communist Party betrayed the interests of both black and white workers and continues to betray them today.

Finally, the late Betty Gannett. She contributes an entire chapter on "The Essence of Browder Revisionism" which says nothing about the essence of revisionism at all. All she can do is repeat a few formulas and end up quoting Foster to the effect that Browderism somehow became the policy of the party because of...Browder!

Where does all of this leave us? The conclusion is inescapable. The Stalinists hope that if they admit perhaps 5% of their crimes and try to picture them as honest mistakes that we will simply forget about the other 95% and what they

mean for the working class. This cannot be allowed to happen.

**SICKENING**

In the 1930s the Stalinists proceeded in the unions on the basis of unprincipled alliances with the top bureaucrats of the CIO. They betrayed the struggles of the ranks repeatedly. They built up Roosevelt as the great leader of the working class, they engaged in the most sickening superpatriotic behavior, they capitulated to redbaiting both before and after the war, they were the most rabid defenders of no-strike policies and the no-strike pledge, they viciously attacked the Trotskyist defendants in the Minneapolis Smith Act case and they engaged in slander and terror against the Trotskyists and other working class opposition. All of this is the meaning of Stalinism, not just the crime of approving the interning of the Japanese Americans and not just the crime of tolerating Browder. This is the meaning of Stalinism in the U.S. and the present leaders of the Communist Party cannot escape responsibility for it.

Nor is this simply a question of past betrayals. The role of Stalinism in the whole period of the Popular Front and the war period is of critical importance now because it is these same policies

which the Stalinists are trying to put forward today. This is why we must turn our attention to the meaning and expression of Stalinism in the working class movement today.

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35. Ibid., p. 102
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**TO BE CONTINUED**



# Hill Betrays SSEU Ranks In First Week of Office

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Although the Hill leadership has been in office in SSEU-371 for only a week it already finds itself in sharp conflict with the rank and file.

The battle now shaping up in the union is over the issue of a time and motion study on which the City has been seeking union cooperation since the beginning of May.

What the City and the federal government want from this time study is pseudo-scientific evidence that huge numbers of employees are not really needed. This would then lay the basis for further staff cuts through reorganization and out-right layoffs.

## REFUSE

A week ago the Hill leadership correctly instructed all union members to refuse to touch this time study, a stand which immediately received mass rank and file support.



Stanley Hill

Then on May 14, Hill called an emergency Delegates Assembly meeting to announce that after consultation with District Council 37 head Victor Gotbaum, he had negotiated an agreement with the City under which he was now giving the o.k. for the time study to proceed.

His negotiated agreement is, of course, a complete farce. It merely insures that no individual worker will be jeopardized because of data on his individual time study sheet—as if the question of individual reprisals were the issue.

The point is that if the union agrees to the time study it will give the City the most powerful ammunition to force layoffs it has conceded thus far.

## DENOUNCED

This was completely apparent to virtually every person outside of the elected officers in attendance at the May 14 meeting. Although there was no quorum at this meeting, nearly 50 delegates from over 27 work locations spoke. Each one denounced the time study and demanded that Hill reverse the decision, at least pending a fully constituted Delegates Assembly or general membership meeting.

Speakers for the Committee for New Leadership, echoing the expressed intentions of many other delegates, made clear that they were prepared to join with other delegates in issuing a recommendation to the ranks that the time study not be done.

Under this pressure Hill was forced to beat what appeared at least to most delegates to be a retreat. He stated that he would convey the sense of the 50 persons assembled at this meeting to the Executive Committee the following morning, and seek a postponement of the time study pending the holding of an emergency Delegates Assembly meeting the following Monday night.

## TREACHERY

However, the following morning Hill voted together with the majority of the union's Executive Committee to maintain his original stand that the time study begin Monday May 18.

The Hill leadership will now have to pay for its treachery. The CNL intends to launch the sharpest fight to bring the full weight of the Delegates Assembly and the entire membership to bear against Hill to stop the time study and the loss of jobs.



Leon Davis (2nd from right) and Mayor Lindsay celebrate \$100 a week settlement in last contract. Now celebration is over and inflation has stolen the \$100 a week as well.

# 1199 Announces Contract Demands

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK--After much evasion and stalling the 1199 leadership has finally announced its demands for the July contract negotiations.

The key proposals are a \$140 minimum wage over two years and a cost of living clause to allow for additional increases every 6 months. There are also demands for the 35 hour week, classifications, improvements in vacations and benefits.

The wage demand and the cost of living clause are essential demands which must and can be won. There is no question that the leadership has proposed this wage demand because of the pressure of the ranks and the tremendous response to the Rank and File Committee's proposed 50% increase.

It is another matter to fight for these demands. Davis made no secret of his intentions to compromise back in April at a Guild Delegates Assembly when he said: "We are going to ask for the moon, and settle for a big part of it." He made it clear that none of the demands were non-negotiable.

## "REALISTIC"

How different the tone is from two years ago when the \$100 minimum was won. There are no fiery speeches this year, only a systematic attempt to demoralize the ranks and infect them with the leadership's own cynicism in order to prepare them for a sell out. There is very little talk about the needs of the workers or inflation but a lot about being "realistic" and the plight of the bosses.

If \$140 a week is what the government has set as the minimum wage for a family of four living in New York how does Davis explain his willingness to settle for less? And if \$140 is the "moon" Davis spoke of, what does he consider a "big part" of it?

Another clear indication of Davis's fear is the attempt to denounce any mention of a strike as a callous disregard for patients. The responsibility for the consequences of a strike are placed not on the bosses but on the workers.

In the April editorial of the union magazine, Davis calls on members to remember the "sensitive" nature of their industry. While claiming that it is no "idle threat" that the union will take whatever action it must to win its demands, he is quick to end the article by saying that it would be wrong for anyone (presumably the bosses) to "misinterpret" this threat.

## PREVENT

It is known that the hospitals are already preparing for a strike, Davis' assurances notwithstanding. Thus Davis takes the bosses own propaganda and uses it for all its worth to prevent a fight in July.

Davis revealed his real relationship with the bosses at the May Delegates Assembly meeting. Instead of taking up the question of the contract negotiations and preparations for July, he invited Mayor Lindsay to speak. The ranks were anything but responsive to Lindsay's talk of "difficult times" and working together.

A victory in July rests not in the hands of Davis but in the hands of the rank and file. The Rank and File Committee of 1199 is fighting in the local chapter meetings to be held next week to pass resolutions demanding that there be no

compromise on the bargaining demands, that the demands for the \$140 minimum, cost of living clause, the 35 hour week and well defined classifications be non-negotiable, and that the union begin now to make strike preparations if these demands are not met.

# S.F. TEACHERS REJECT STRIKE

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—A mass meeting of AFT members here expressed tremendous confusion and disorientation in voting against immediate strike action.

For months teachers have been calling for significant pay increases, smaller classes and a large body of educational reforms. They have been demanding recognition of their union and collective bargaining with a written contract.

The Board of Education has literally ignored the demands and Mayor Alioto gave his answer with proposals for legislation banning public employee strikes and imposing compulsory arbitration.

The recent AFT meeting put off strike action now and posed a strike vote for the fall if the demands are not met at the start of the new school year. What is all too clear however is that teachers are not prepared for the political struggle they face.

## UNPRINCIPLED

A major contribution to the failure of the teachers to really grapple with the political questions was the completely unprincipled role played by teachers under the influence of Progressive Labor and the International Socialists. These teachers advanced the perspective that a strike around the issues facing teachers would be reactionary. They blocked with the most conservative teachers in opposing strike action and instead demanded that the strike be a political strike against the war or no strike at all.

There is a direct line from PL's scabbing on the New York teachers strike, to its denunciation of teachers as agents of the ruling class to its present bloc with the most backward teachers against union action.

What both PL and IS refuse to do is to connect the struggle of the teachers against the city with the struggle against the war, around mobilizing the workers and students around a class program.

## BLOW

At this meeting the Workers League was able to obtain hundreds of signatures for a telegram demanding the Labor Council call a labor demonstration against the war and in defense of the students and unions. It is linked to the fight against the war with the fight to mobilize the unions for their own class demands that a real blow can be struck against Nixon's anti-working class offensive in the U.S. and Indo-China.

# St. Louis Teamsters Sold Out

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS, MO.—On Sunday, May 3, Teamsters Local 600 here voted down returning to work by a margin of 200 votes after a six hour meeting.

The leadership then got a local judge to hold up a suit by the motor carriers in exchange for a promise to order their members back to work and guarantee "labor peace."

At the Thursday, May 7 meeting, the Local voted to go back to work. However, over 1,400 members voted against this sellout. They said, "What have we been striking over a month for if we could have stayed at work and gotten the \$1.10 an hour increase?"

Many of the rank and file drivers saw all the leadership's talk about lifting the bosses' legal action against the union as an attempt to save face for the bureaucrats. It was a diversion from a real fight against the low wage settlement in the national contract.

## MILITANT

The St. Louis drivers went out to fight for a decent wage settlement, and conducted a militant battle to close down the city. Throughout the strike there were clashes between workers and the cops who tried to escort the scabs through the lines.

Despite the struggles the leadership refused to make the stoppage official so that the workers were unable to get normal strike benefits. A rank and file crowd of about 300 showed their deep resentment by giving a hard time to a reporter for the right wing anti-labor Globe Democrat.

It is clear that the ranks must fight

in St. Louis as well as throughout the country to vote down the \$1.10 an hour increase in the upcoming national contract referendum and organize a nationwide action that will bring the trucking bosses to their knees. This means the ranks must fight for a new leadership nationally as well as in their locals.

# CON ED WORKERS FIGHT PRODUCTIVITY DEALS

BY A UTILITY WORKER

A meeting last week called by the management under the guise of introducing a new system for the meter operations department was suddenly turned into a meeting where the workers wanted to discuss the present workload. The workload has been steadily increasing; any new system is intended to get more work out of the same amount of men.

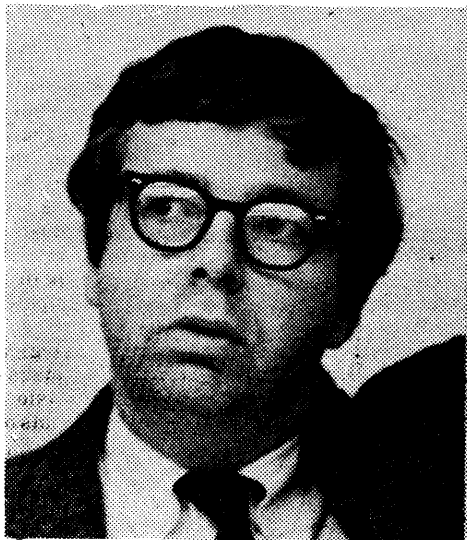
In answer to a question from one of the workers as to when there would be a return to the previous workload, the bosses answered a sympathetic "bear with us, fellows, we are presently short of men." "That's your problem, not ours," was the response from one of the workers. "You've always been short of men," was another response.

The new plan proposed by the bosses is in line with the productivity deals the union leadership forced the ranks into signing and which allows out of title work. This meeting showed that the ranks for the most part are determined to fight the speed-up. There must be a struggle now to throw the productivity statement back in the face of management.

## TEN YEARS AFTER

## TRUE HISTORY OF

## Tim Wohlforth Answers Peter Camejo



Tim Wohlforth

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

THE YSA HAS celebrated its 10th anniversary with the publication of a long speech by Peter Camejo, presently the SWP senatorial candidate in Massachusetts, but at one time a leader of the YSA. This history, called "Ten Years of Struggle," had to be published in the Young Socialist Organizer as the YSA had also chosen to celebrate its 10th anniversary by ceasing publication of the Young Socialist whose history goes back even further than the YSA.

The difficulty Camejo has with his "history" is that the YSA was led from its embryonic beginnings around the Young Socialist in October 1957 through to the summer of 1961—throughout its whole critical formative period—by a leadership which was the main opposition in the SWP in the period of 1961 to 1964. He seeks to get around this problem by distorting the whole history of this period and in particular slandering the original founders of the YS and YSA. In fact, in large measure, this is the central purpose of his lengthy speech.

What Camejo seeks to do is link up the origins of the main leaders of the YSA in that period with the fact that most of these comrades later led an opposition to the SWP leadership. Since this original group came out of the Shachtmanite youth (as does the International Socialists today) it is his purpose to create the impression that the later opposition of this group was also Shachtmanite in character. Among the many distortions of history and difficulties this raises is, as we shall see, the question of why this "Shachtmanite" leadership was allowed to play such a key role for such a long time in the formation and leadership of the YSA and why it is that Camejo can now say: "There isn't one major political statement by the leadership of the YSA since its founding that we have had to repudiate."

## DISTORTIONS

Camejo begins his distortions when he deals with the split within the Shachtmanite youth which preceded the founding of the Young Socialist newspaper: "A handful of the people in the Independent Socialist League and the Young Socialist League refused to join the Socialist Party for one simple reason—the Socialist Party openly supported the Democratic Party." But the fight inside the Shachtmanite youth involved more than this "one simple" question; it involved all the fundamental issues which separate out the revolutionary line from the reformist line.

But do not take our word for this. Here is the way Murry Weiss and Bert

Deck, two SWP leaders of the time, described the fight in a special report in July, 1957 to the SWP National Committee:

"The Left Wing emerged from the convention considerably strengthened in political cohesiveness and morale. It had waged a year-long struggle for a principled revolutionary position in opposition to the Shachtmanite liquidators and capitulators to Social Democracy. It had met the attacks of the right wing with noteworthy militancy and political firmness: the slander of 'disloyal Cannonite agents,' the charge of plotting to wreck and disrupt the YSL, the charge of pro-Stalinism, the charge of Ohlerite sectarianism, the special anti-left wing tour of Shachtman, the factional tour of Bogdan Denitch, the attempt to split the left wing caucus, the malicious baiting of Tim Wohlforth, the suppression of left wing documents, the threats of disciplinary action and expulsion for participation in the American Forum, and the pressure of the right wing majority at the convention. Instead of declining and disintegrating in the face of these attacks the Left Wing Caucus grew stronger, deepened its political counter-offensive, grew in theoretical and political stature, refused to be silenced and intimidated and developed its collaboration with other left wing youth, including the youth of the SWP."

And further:  
"At the convention itself the left wing put up a magnificent fight. Instead of allowing itself to be drawn into petty bickering over secondary issues it used convention discussions to unfold a principled attack against social democracy and conciliation with social democracy from the standpoint of revolutionary socialism...Under the heading of the proposal for unity with the SP-SDF the position in favor of a revolutionary socialist regroupment was brilliantly developed by the left wing reporter, Tim Wohlforth. The debate clearly demarcated the apprentice social democrats from the revolutionary wing."

## ASSESSED

Such was the way the SWP leadership itself assessed the fight in the YSL at the time. An understanding of this helps make it clear why the comrades who had gone through this fundamental struggle against the "apprentice social democrats" and for "revolutionary socialism" were to be the major factor in the leadership of the YSA for such a period of time.

"Right from the start," Camejo states, "the key political element in this formation was the young comrades in the SWP." But for a whole period there was only one SWP member on the leading body of the embryonic youth movement, the Young Socialist Editorial Board—Bert Deck. The truth is that the SWP maintained its leadership over the Young Socialist through the support of the group which came out of the YSL, which acted as party members even before they formally joined.

Camejo puts in this business about the "key" role of SWP youth in those days precisely in order to obscure two inter-related aspects of the formation of the YSA. First, it cuts off the YSA from an important aspect of its own history so that the fundamental struggle within the Shachtmanite youth against reformism is divorced from the YSA and denigrated in every way rather than seen as part of the rich history of the YSA. Secondly the actual central political role of the SWP in the formation of the YSA is also slighted in the process.

## TROTSKYISM

It was the whole historic fight of the Socialist Workers Party as part of the Fourth International and in collaboration with Trotsky which stands as the most fundamental ingredient in the formation of the YSA. It was to the SWP as the continuator of TROTSKYISM that the youth from within the Shachtmanite movement, the youth from out of the Stalinist movement, and the independent youth rallied in this critical period of the new beginnings of the construction of a Trotskyist youth movement. Whatever specific role comrades played who had previously been in the SWP as against comrades who came freshly to the SWP in this period, there would not have been a YSA if it was not for the SWP's struggle for Trotskyism.

Not once in the whole first two long parts of his speech does Camejo mention Trotskyism, the historic meaning of this struggle, and Stalinism. Not once, not even once, not even a single time! It is all presented as if the SWP sprung out of nowhere, developed its particular position on the Soviet Union and on not supporting bourgeois candidates in isolation and on its own. The Fourth International and its history is simply removed by Camejo as having no relevance to the history of the YSA.

## LIEBKNECHT

In 1959 this writer gave the Youth Report to the 18th National Convention of the SWP. He was at that time, in addition to being Editor of the Young Socialist, youth representative on the Political Committee of the SWP and presented the report in the name of the Political Committee and with the approval of this highest body of the SWP.

This report stated:

"In assisting the establishment of a youth movement the party is basing itself on the experience of the Marxist youth movement from the time of Karl Liebknecht on. It was the early socialist youth movement which carried on the struggle in the pre-World War I period against militarism and the preparations for war. In so doing the youth came into direct conflict with the general reformist drift of the social democratic parties which culminated in the betrayal of the anti-war struggle in 1914.

"Virtually the whole socialist youth movement went over to the new Communist International in 1918 and helped not only to create the Young Communist International but also participated in the building of the Communist parties in their respective countries. The formation of the Fourth International again attracted youth and young people, again raised the banner of Liebknecht. Our youth today are the legitimate inheritors of this tradition."

## CONTINUITY

The formation of the YSA was thus seen in continuity with the whole struggle from Liebknecht through the Fourth International. On the struggle within the Shachtmanite youth which preceded the formation of the YSA, the report states: "The Left Wing fight also gave the youth a political tradition—a political past. The documents written on the YSL struggle form the 'In Defense of Marxism' of the youth movement."

Not only is Trotskyism left out of Camejo's history but the real struggle with Stalinism is treated in a distorted manner and seen as a struggle with the Communist Party, not with Stalinism as a whole theoretical and political tendency with roots in the Soviet bureaucracy and in the labor bureaucracies. "This may seem funny to you now," states Camejo, "but the main question that politically divided people on the left in 1957 and 1958, and especially the socialist currents was the nature of the Soviet Union..." Thus Camejo introduced this political and theoretical question which lies at the very heart of the foundation of the Fourth International in an apologetic manner—as if his audience of YSA members would find the discussion of such a question "funny."

He notes of the formative forces of the Young Socialist that "...one of the editors of the Communist Party paper split from them over the question of the Hungarian Revolution. Some of the young CPers who followed him joined in the formation of the Young Socialist newspaper." Later on, when dealing with the formation of SDS, he refers to the role of "some ex-CPers—the Gatesites, led by Steve Max..." What he fails to note is that "the young CPers" referred to as joining in the formation of the YS are the very same ones around Steve Max that initiated SDS.

## EVOLUTION

How this political evolution occurred is a critically important chapter in the early history of the YSA. It is true that a group of youth around Steve Max, critical of the Stalinist suppression of the Hungarian Revolution, moved for a while in the direction of Trotskyism and collaborated with the SWP youth in the early clubs formed around the Young Socialist.



Peter Camejo

However, this group pulled sharply away from taking this partial movement all the way to Trotskyism and by early 1958 were already moving to the liberal position around which they later formed SDS.

A factional struggle broke out and came to a head at the March 9th 1958 meeting of the YS Editorial Board. There were four full voting members of the editorial board present. One was a Stalinist, one was a member of the SWP, two were from the Left Wing of the YSL. The Stalinist proposed adding Steve Max and two others to the editorial board in such a way as to give the Stalinists control of the paper. The SWPer and this writer had met with Tom Kerry of the SWP prior to the meeting and were determined no matter what not to allow the Young Socialist to fall into the hands of the Stalinists. The other ex-YSLer, Shane Mage, was, as he usually was, in some other world.

We sat it out for some four hours while no less than 11 different motions and counter-motions on the composition of the Editorial Board were presented. Finally in the end we wore Mage down into a position of abstention and our motion carried, preserving Trotskyist control of the paper. If the vote had gone the other way it would have been an extremely heavy blow to the building of a Trotskyist youth movement in the United States.

## STEVE MAX

At the May 18, 1958 meeting of the Editorial Board the Max group formally resigned from the Board and pulled out of the supporting clubs. In their resignation statement they stated: "The Trotskyists initiated the YS and have been the single group of any size promoting and sustaining it. They are therefore entitled to consider it their property. We conclude from our experience on the paper that they do consider it such and they are welcome to it." Which pretty much summed up the situation. Later this group split with one section going back into the Communist Party and the Max section finally into the formation of SDS.

This inability to get at the real political history of the YSA comes up again when Camejo deals with the important Woolworth sit-in campaign in 1960 which marked the emergence of SNCC and a whole new stage of struggle on the part of the Negro workers and youth. Camejo notes the important role the YSA played in the Northern support movement among youth and that in the course of this struggle it came into sharp conflict with the Socialist Party and Communist Party.

## POLITICS

He sees this as a conflict over the attempts of these political opponents to red-bait and exclude the YSA. It is true that this took place but what is missing is why these tendencies sought to exclude the YSA and what politically we were fighting for



# EARLY YEARS OF THE YSA

in this movement. If he were to deal with the politics of the struggle he would have to reveal that the central conflict was with the pacifists of the CORE variety and the liberals of the Randolph stripe with the CP and SP playing their classic role of defending these elements. The YSA sought to build an independent movement of youth of mass proportions against the bourgeois parties and a movement that oriented towards the labor movement. The liberal-pacifist-Stalinist-social democratic bloc sought dispersed exemplary little pickets as a way of putting pressure on the liberal Democrats and bringing this new upsurge of the black masses into bourgeois politics.

For instance in an article entitled "Will Love Win the Struggle for Equality?" this writer wrote:

"But socialists play an even more crucial role—a political role. ...Because of our understanding of the nature of class relations in this country and our reliance on the working people in their struggles on all issues we are the only political force which has nothing to fear from the creation of a genuine and independent mass movement of the Negro people for equality. All other political forces seek to contain the Negro struggle within established bounds or oppose it outright."

"The solution is not for the Negro people to withdraw from politics but rather to enter politics on a higher level—the level of independent action of the working people. The long range goal of the Negro struggle is unity between the mass of Negroes and the working class movement in the North through the formation of a Labor Party."

That's the way the YSA called the shots in 1960. It fought it out with the liberals pacifists and Stalinists in the interests of the working people. No wonder Camejo is silent on the political content of this struggle in a period when the YSA does all in its power to maintain a bloc in the antiwar movement with the very same forces the YSA fought in 1960 and has actually aided them in the very same dispersal techniques they used in 1960.

## LABOR PARTY

In 1958, at the conference at which the YSA organized its supporters into the Young Socialist Supporters organization, we passed a ten point basic motion of editorial policy. This statement served as our basic programmatic statement and was encompassed in full in the "Where We Stand" founding declaration passed at the founding conference of the YSA in 1960. The very first point was

"1. For a labor party by the union movement." Point 7 stated: "Against further nuclear tests and the build-up of the U.S. war machine, the success of the struggle against the capitalist war danger and for world peace depends upon the success of the struggle for international socialism."

"But," says Camejo, "we don't have to repudiate, in all ten years, one single resolution that the YSA has passed." Since when has the YSA placed the fight for the labor party as point one in its work? Since when has it proceeded from the perspective that the struggle against capitalist war depends on the success of the struggle for international socialism? Not since the days before Peter Camejo took over the leadership of the YSA in late 1961. Since then hardly a day has passed that the YSA has not repudiated the basic political positions upon which it was founded—positions rooted in Trotskyism.

## LEADERSHIP

Let us get back to this question of the leadership of the YSA, its political past, and its political evolution. Camejo states:

"The leadership that the YSA had in those days—people who had come from the Independent Socialist League and the Young Socialist League—had certain weaknesses which it had picked up from its previous political experience. It was basically a weakness that characterized petty bourgeois-type organizations. They had this big carry-over of rigidity and formality that they picked up in the infighting and maneuvering of the left-wing social democratic organizations to which they belonged prior to joining the YSA. Plus they had not totally dropped the program of the Young Socialist League, in my opinion. It was soon revealed, as I will explain, that they did not really

fully agree with the YSA."

Here again we have this question of "original sin," an attack on the original leadership of the YSA because of its past political affiliation. It is much like Stalin's slanders of Trotsky because of his past political role as a conciliator with Menshevism.

In this respect it might be cogent to note the origins of the leadership group of Pete Camejo and Barry Sheppard who replaced the original leaders of the YSA in 1961.

## CAMEJO

Pete Camejo himself came from around the Stalinist movement and joined the YS only in the period when the YS was beginning to develop and the YPSL and Stalinist youth were deepening their crisis. In fact we find in the April 26, 1959 minutes of the Editorial Board the following:

"BOSTON: Pete C., our supporter in the area, has resigned from the YS because of unnamed organizational differences with us. This did not come as a surprise for in the past period Pete has shied away from any identification with the YS, being the most sensitive

Camejo then launches into a whole section on the Shachtmanite International Socialist group which raises the danger of an NLF victory. This section is supposedly in proof of the accusation that the old YSA leadership had not "totally dropped the political program of the YSL." But as Camejo well knows, the Workers League has fought against Camejo himself for the Victory of the Vietcong while the YSA has refused to raise this slogan to this day!

## CUBA

Camejo then goes into the question of Cuba on which a factional difference did take place. But he takes this whole question out of the political context in which it was raised at the time. The central discussion was the discussion within the SWP and this discussion centered around not only Cuba but the whole question of international perspectives and revisionism internationally. It was an international discussion and it led to an international split. Out of this struggle emerged the present Workers League as part of the International Committee of the Fourth International, and the SWP and YSA as part of the revisionist United

split, and even if we slide over the slur that perhaps the political causes were discovered later, Camejo has no excuse whatsoever to feign ignorance on the political nature of the split now. Since that time the Spartacists have published all the discussion material issued during the factional struggle within the minority tendency; Joe Hansen, Camejo's political mentor, has issued a whole pamphlet devoted to the 1966 IC conference and Spartacist, which went into the question of the original split and further makes clear the nature of the current division; and Gerry Healy's pamphlet "Problems of the Fourth International" also goes into this matter extensively.

Camejo knows full well that a central issue in the dispute then, and the central difference now, is the question of the International Committee of the Fourth International. He knows that then as now we were and are politically part of the International Committee, seeing our political work here as an expression of the international construction of the Fourth International and that Robertson is an opponent of the International Committee, an opponent who has collaborated on a number of occasions with the SWP against the IC.

If he were to deal with this we would have to discuss the fundamental questions which divide the international movement. At no point in his whole speech does he bring in this question of the international movement.

## EXPULSION

When he later talks of the minority "hardening up" in late 1963 and accuses it of blocking with Progressive Labor to exclude YSAer from a trip to Cuba he is discussing the Robertson group. Whether these accusations are true or untrue is left to Robertson to answer. The Workers League tendency sent no one to Cuba nor was in any way involved in that PL formation. At no point does he discuss the expulsion of the group which formed the Workers League, which occurred a full year later. In fact Camejo falsely states it as expelled in 1963 along with Robertson.

The truth is that the Workers League tendency was expelled from the SWP in August of 1964 simply for requesting openly inside the party as a whole a discussion on the formation of a coalition government in Ceylon including the LSSP group and the role of the SWP and the Pabloites in preparing this traitorous development. Fred Mazelis was expelled from the YSA in November of that year for selling the Bulletin even though he had specifically asked the YSA leadership to clarify his position as far as YSA discipline was concerned since he had been expelled from the SWP.

## INTERNATIONAL

The founding declaration of the YSA concluded with this paragraph:

"The Young Socialist Alliance will, to the best of its ability, bring Marxian socialism to American youth. But this is not enough. The only socialism which deserves the name is international socialism. The YSA declares its political solidarity with revolutionary youth in all countries. The present Social-Democratic 'International Union of Socialist Youth'—the non-socialist successor to the Young Communist International, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, are travesties on the concept of socialist internationalism. The YSA will work with others toward the creation of a new revolutionary socialist youth international which will represent organizationally the political solidarity of socialist youth."

The YSA under Camejo and after Camejo has abandoned this central task as well as much else that the YSA was originally founded upon. Now this struggle has been taken up by the International Committee forces—in particular the British Young Socialists and the French Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme.

The Workers League will participate fully in this work, for the Workers League is the genuine continuators of the early traditions of the YSA. In the coming period we plan to give this organizational expression in the formation of a youth organization to reflect the whole turn of sections of students and young workers to our banner here and internationally.



Tim Wohlforth speaks to students at the University of Southern California during a nationwide tour in 1958 to build the Young Socialist newspaper and the future YSA.

person in the Boston club on this issue."

What happened in this period was that Camejo was giving in to the pressure of revisionist elements inside this socialist club in Boston who fought to keep the club as far away as possible from the Young Socialist and Trotskyism. It was only in the August 31, 1959 minutes that it is recorded that Camejo is back and is now functioning as a corresponding editor from the Boston area. It was, of course, the "politically weak" central YSA leadership which fought to win over Camejo to begin with, strived to maintain work in Boston when he left the YSA, and fought to bring him back in after he left. It was correct to do this as Camejo played an important role in the next period in building the YSA.

## SHEPPARD

As far as Barry Sheppard is concerned, former Militant editor and co-leader with Camejo of the YSA after 1961, his origins are even more dubious. Sheppard was a member of the YSL—that's right, the Shachtmanites—during the very period that the Left Wing was formed. Not only did he support the majority right wing Shachtmanite leadership against the Left Wing, but he went into YPSL along with the Shachtmanites. It was only in August of 1959 that Sheppard emerged as an oppositionist within YPSL working with the YSA.

Secretariat allied with Mandel and Frank in Europe.

To Camejo it was just a question of Cuba. Even on this level he makes no assessment at all of the evolution of Cuba since the question was discussed in the YSA in 1961 the failure of guerillism, Castro's refusal to support the May-June struggle of workers and students in France, his silence on the Mexican slaughter of students, his support for the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, and his recent support to the military junta in Peru, protested so sharply by Hugo Blanco himself. Events have fully confirmed the stand taken by the opposition of that period and by the International Committee as a whole and revealed the complete bankruptcy of Camejo and his political mentors in the SWP leadership.

## SPLIT

Camejo insists on amalgamating the tendency which later became the Workers League with that led by James Robertson which formed the Spartacist group. He states: "A little later on the leaders of the minority itself split while they were still in the organization. At first we didn't know what political differences there were and I don't know myself whether or nor they split first and then discovered political differences or whether they had political differences and then split."

Even if we grant that he did not know at the time the political causes of the

# The UAW and Walter Reuther

BY DAN FRIED

The death of Walter P. Reuther who was President of the United Automobile Workers from 1946 until his death in an airplane crash on May 9, 1970 raises questions not only of the immediate future of the UAW and the crisis in the auto industry, but of the nature of Reuther's leadership and of the U.S. labor bureaucracy since the organization of the CIO in the 1930s.

On his death, Reuther's supposedly most bitter antagonists such as Louis Seaton and James Roche of General Motors and Henry Ford II had nothing but the warmest words of praise for him. At his funeral service last week people like Henry Ford II with the blood on his hands of thousands of Ford workers ground down under the "Ford Empire" stood alongside distinguished U.S. politicians whose careers have been built by stabbing labor in the back.

The New York Times labor reporter Jerry Flint explains why the employers so strongly mourn Reuther's death and are now more worried about next fall's auto contract negotiations.

"What increases the strike potential is the greater difficulty in getting workers to approve any settlement without Mr. Reuther's prestige. It is possible that the union leaders will seek more than Mr. Reuther might have accepted for this reason, and he had prepared a long list of demands. 'It's taken a strong man to keep this situation under control. I hope that whoever his successor may be, he can exercise equal internal discipline,' Virgil Boyd, Chrysler's Vice Chairman, has said."

## CONTROL

What Mr. Boyd is referring to is the control of the ranks that the UAW bureaucracy exercised with the aid of Mr. Reuther's skills and his ability to "sell" contracts to the workers that the bosses find acceptable. The employers are now worried that the rank and file will use Reuther's death as an opening for a real class struggle next fall, at a time when the auto barons are planning their toughest fight in years.

The employers, faced with recent sharp drops in profits, sales, and an intense sharpening of domestic and international competition in the car market, are planning to solve their crisis by attempting to hold the line on wage increases and move ahead with speed-up and new forms of job cutting rationalization. On the other hand, the workers are eager for a struggle to catch up with the toll of inflation and to stop the speed up. The auto barons are prepared to use the huge auto inventory of 1,800,000 unsold cars, of the more than 100,000 unemployed and 200,000 more working short hours to try to bludgeon the workers into submission next fall.

Reuther had always been called a "crusader for a better world," a man filled with passion for the achievement of progressive social ideals, a man of "social vision," in contrast to the Hoffa-type leader who, according to the New York Times "were interested primarily in winning a few cents more an hour for their members." But all this social idealism has been merely a smokescreen behind which Reuther has actually sold out the bread and butter gains of the UAW in the name of "practicality" and "flexibility."

## STUDEBAKER

Reuther has never been hesitant about sacrificing the high living standards and working conditions that the UAW won from the employers through the most inspiring and powerful class struggles ever seen in the U.S. For example, in 1954 when the Studebaker Corporation threatened to shut down unless the union accepted a pay cut, Reuther supported the local leaders who recommended acceptance of this blackmail.



Reuther and his supporters argued that since the Studebaker workers averaged \$2.37 an hour, and the average of GM, Ford and Chrysler workers was only \$2.07 it was necessary to bring the Studebaker level down to that of the "Big Three." Reuther justified the pay cut in order "to improve the competitive position of Studebaker..." rather than demanding that the "Big Three" wage levels be raised to that of Studebaker. The Studebaker workers were pushed into line to accept this deal by the Reutherite leaders who told them if they refused that would be the end of their jobs.

## PRAGMATISM

The Studebaker deal, like innumerable other sellouts over the years, including the 1967 contract where he horse-traded away the full cost of living escalator, flowed from Reuther's pragmatism, his belief in making the system of capitalism "work." As with the Studebaker deal, he began with the problems of the employers. Reuther was once asked in reference to the destruction of jobs by automation, "How are you going to collect union dues from all these machines?" He replied, "That's not what's bothering me. What's bothering me is how are you going to sell Ford cars to all of these machines?"

Reuther's basic philosophy is illustrated here—not a fight by the working class against unemployment, for the thirty hour week and for a socialist system where the working class owns and plans the entire economy utilizing automation to benefit all of society and end unemployment. Such a perspective of class struggle and socialism was completely foreign to Reuther ever since his youthful flirtation with socialist ideas some 35 years ago. Instead Reuther suggested that automation and cost cutting were not really in Ford's best interests, that "now is not the time" for a labor party, "the time is not right" for the shorter work week, and the class struggle does not apply to the U.S.

Reuther espoused a utopian philosophy of modifying capitalism to a point where the needs of the employers for profits and the needs of the workers for full employment, decent wages and conditions can both be met without any problems. "The unfinished business this century," he said, "is the problem of maintaining full employment in an expanding economy based upon the fair and healthy relationship between wages, prices and profits."

## POLITICS

Reuther not only rejected socialism, but spouted pseudo-sociological "theory" to justify his hostility to the building of a labor party and to the class struggle. At the CIO constitutional convention in 1954, in answer to even the most timid suggestion of a labor party by TWU President Mike Quill, Reuther said: "In Europe where you have society developed along very classical economic lines, where you have rigid class groupings, there labor parties are a natural political expression. But America is a society in which social groups are in flux, in which we do not have this rigid class structure. . . . A labor party would commit the American political system to the same narrow class structure upon which the political parties of Europe are built. . . . Basically, what we



Above: Strikers at Willow Run defy Reuther and no-strike pledge during wartime. Right: Reuther with President Kennedy—he always supported the Democratic Party and opposed independent labor political action.

are trying to do is work within the two-party system of America and bring about within that two-party system a fundamental realignment of political forces. . . .

This is the same "realignment" policy of the reform democrats, the so-called Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and the American Communist Party. It is on this philosophy, that, since 1932, when Reuther openly campaigned for Norman Thomas on the Socialist Party ticket, he has actively campaigned for the election of every Democratic Party presidential candidate from Roosevelt in 1936 to Humphrey in 1968.

## MAZEY

Reuther's opposition to class struggle and the labor party is only one side of the U.A.W. Within Reuther's bureaucracy itself some of the more "left" officials, such as Emil Mazey, reflecting the more advanced workers in the union, spoke at one time in favor of the labor party. At the 1943 UAW convention Mazey then a delegate from Briggs local 212 took the floor against the no-strike pledge, in opposition to the top leaders, Thomas, Ades, and Reuther and in particular against the Stalinists, saying: "Despite the war, the interests of the employers and the workers remain diametrically opposed. We have given up our struggle against the employers but the employers have not ceased their class struggle against us during the war."

Turning to the Stalinist floor-whip, John Anderson of Local 155, he then said: "Yes, Brother Anderson, the class struggle does go on in spite of the war," amidst heavy applause from the delegates. Mazey's later repudiation of these views and his loyal service as Reuther's "left cover" do not diminish the truth of his words in 1943 and today.

## TRADITION

There is indeed another tradition and history in the UAW from the wishy-washy liberal "social vision" of Reuther that masked his sell-outs at the bargaining table. This is the tradition of militant class struggle which built the UAW into the most dynamic, democratic and powerful industrial union in the U.S., which in 1937 brought General Motors to its knees and in 1940 brought a union shop to the "Ford Empire."

The organization and achievements in wages and conditions were not, as the capitalist press would have us believe, the result of the great leadership of Reuther and the UAW bureaucracy, but of the masses of the auto workers and countless rank and file leaders who literally stormed the citadels of the auto barons.

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