

Bulletin

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DOCUMENTS FROM
PROGRESSIVE LABOR

**SUPPRESSED
DISCUSSION
OF TROTSKY**

JUNE 16 1970

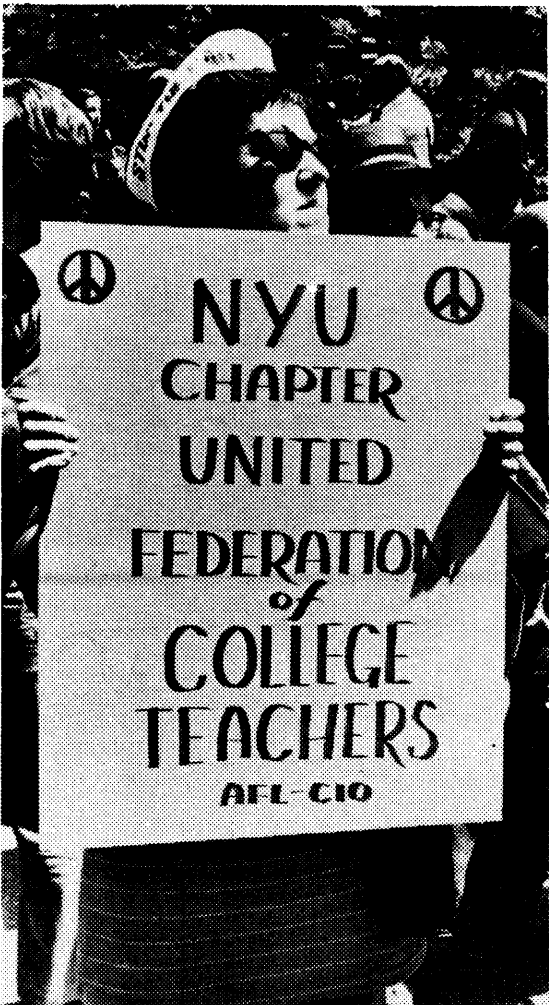
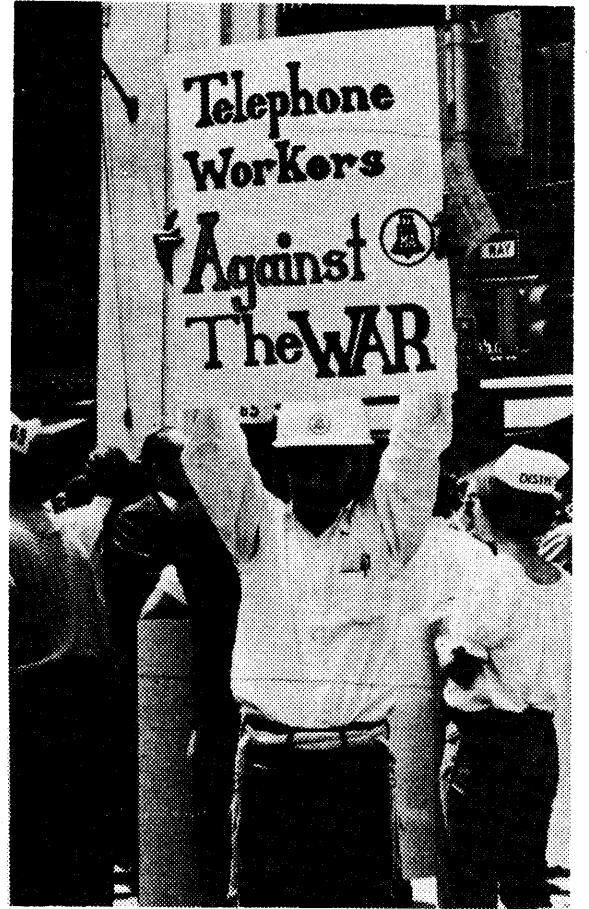
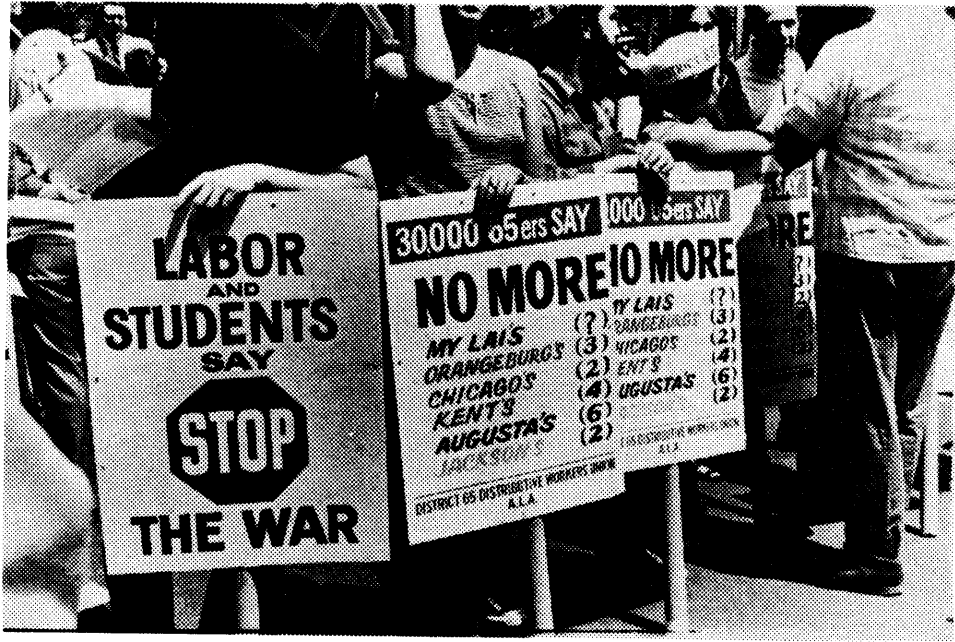
Revival of Stalinist Hooliganism

PL-SDS GANG ASSAULTS BOSTON SMC MEETING

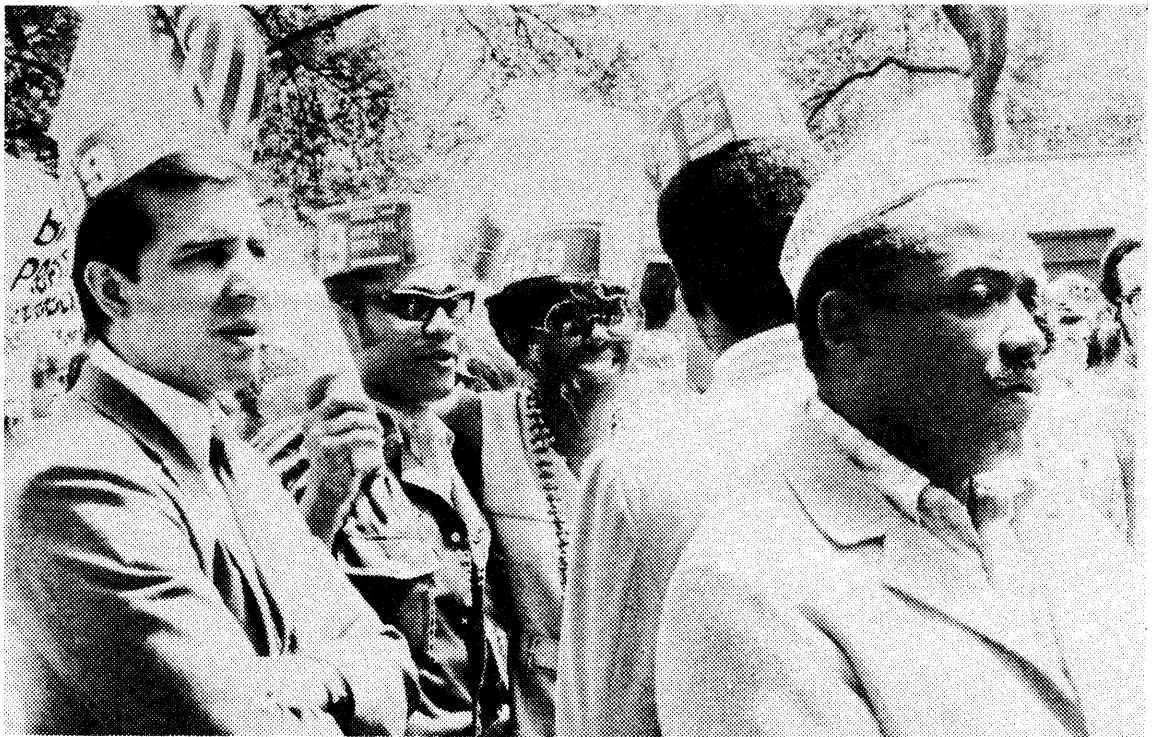


**50,000 WORKERS RALLY
AGAINST WAR, NIXON!
BUILD LABOR PARTY!**

LABOR MARCHES



More than twenty unions were represented at the Labor rally against the war and repression, Thursday, May 21st. The top three pictures on page 3 are of SSEU-371 contingent, 3,000 strong, which marched to City Hall from the garment district.



BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, May 21—Over 50,000 workers and students demonstrated at City Hall Park today against Nixon's Cambodian invasion, for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina, and against the bloody repression at Kent State, Jackson, Miss., and Augusta, Ga.

At the very center of the demonstration was an historic participation by upwards of twenty union contingents representing a major section of the New York labor movement. Along with thousands of serious students from the major high schools and colleges in the New York area, the union contingents were out in force with their colorful hats and banners.

ENTHUSIASM

The demonstration was marked by the spirit and enthusiasm of young workers and students. More than 5,000 workers and students marched from the garment center into the City Hall demonstration chanting and shouting antiwar slogans. At the core of this march was the contingent of over 3,000 from SSEU-371 (District Council 37, AFSCME), chanting slogans like "Nixon Out—Workers In," and "Build a Labor Party Now—Power to the Workers." The SSEU Committee for a New Leadership played a key part in the march, distributing "Build a Labor Party" signs to the marchers, proudly carrying its own labor party banner and taking the lead in the chants. As the march proceeded downtown, garment workers leaned out of windows showing their support for the

demonstration.

LABOR PARTY

As the marchers entered the City Hall area, another hundred labor party signs prepared by the Workers League were eagerly grabbed up by the SSEU ranks, high school and college students and workers from many of the other unions present. It was indeed an historic step in the struggle for a labor party by the American Trotskyist movement.

While the SSEU along with other sections of District Council 37, had the largest contingent, other unions with large contingents were District 65 (Distributive Workers), UE, UAW, CWA (telephone workers), Local 1199 (Hospital Workers), Fur and Leather Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, United Federation of College Teachers, and IUE District 3. More than 100 truck drivers from Teamsters Local 859 were at the rally as well as a group from the Telephone Operators Association, Film Editors Against the War (an unofficial group from the IATSE) and the Rank and File Committee of the TWU.

Among the ranks of the demonstrators were thousands of black and Puerto Rican workers. Far more minority work-

ers were mobilized in this one march by the labor movement than in any demonstration for the "community" organized by any of the nationalist leaders or groups in the past decade.

STUDENTS

Among the students at the rally were many from the City College Labor Action Workshop, which had distributed thousands of leaflets for the rally to other students, campus workers, garment workers, hospital workers and others. Many had posters calling for "Build A Labor Party Now," and other posters linking the war with the attacks on American workers. Student contingents from the New School, NYC Community College, New York University, Stonybrook, and other campuses who had built for the rally among students and workers, were present in large numbers. Thousands more students from many different high schools and colleges demonstrated at this first mass rally of labor against the war.

The strength of the labor movement was expressed in the rally despite the role of the labor bureaucrats who called the march. Even the major spokesman of the participating unions, Victor Gotbaum, President of DC 37, had earlier estimated a turnout of only 15,000. Outside of the SSEU and District 65, very little effort was made to mobilize the rank and file workers.

In the hospitals organized by Local 1199 where there is tremendous antiwar sentiment, little effort was made

by the leadership to turn out the ranks. When questioned about this, an official of 1199 replied that the hospital workers "were with them in spirit" but after all, it was necessary for them to look after the hospital patients. This is the very same argument the Mayor and hospital administrators have used against hospital strikes.

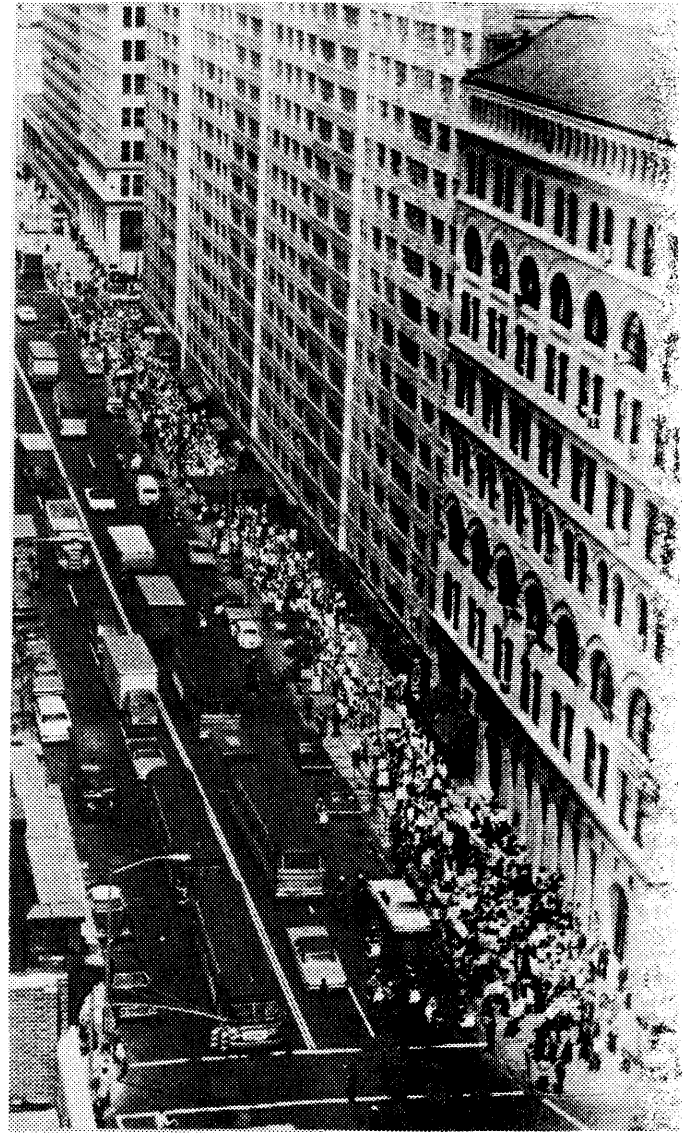
BUREAUCRACY

Clearly, although calling the demonstration in the name of labor, the bureaucrats did everything they could to try to keep it on a level of token participation by labor and to keep it under the domination of liberal politics. Their invitation to strikebreaking Mayor Lindsay to speak at the rally and District 65's President Livingston's remarks that "we are here to save America" indicated the bureaucracy's program. Despite all their power, it is understood that only 50,000 leaflets were put out by the official sponsors of the demonstration and these were almost without political content.

In contrast, the Workers League, with the help of students from many campuses, distributed 25,000 leaflets in the garment center and to other workers and students around the city, calling for the rally and raising the demand for a labor party, immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia, and an end to attacks on students.

Again showing that the power and discipline of the working class dominated the demonstration despite the bureaucracy, a defense guard of more than 600

AGAINST WAR IN NYC



marshals from the trade unions ringed the crowd to protect the demonstration from any possible attack from right wing elements. In contrast to the wishy-washy pacifism coming out of the mouths of the speakers on the platform, the marshals were ready. We asked one of them if he wanted to carry a labor party sign and he replied: "No thanks brother, I would, but I've got to keep my hands free in case I have to punch someone."

DEFENSE

The core of the defense guard was made up of workers from District 65, Teamsters, electrical workers and UAW Local 259. At one point a group of counter-demonstrators from Brennan's New York Building Trades Council appeared along the side, shouting, cursing and waving American flags. The captain of the UAW Local 259 defense marshals walked over in their direction and began shaking his fist at them. Calling them traitors to labor and hirelings of the bosses, he asked, "What happens when your contract expires and you go on strike? Are you expecting support from the UAW? The bosses and Nixon sure won't give you any."

We talked with workers from the Telephone Operators Association who were angry that the prowar demonstrations of construction workers were played up out of proportion by the press and made to appear representative of the majority of working people. They were annoyed that on the very same day as a group of construction workers, cops and thugs beat up Pace College students, these

telephone operators were themselves holding a demonstration against the war which was buried by the capitalist press.

ATTACK

The police who were implicated in the attacks on students and antiwar demonstrators in the Wall Street area during the last few weeks, were looking for an opportunity to attack the demonstrators but did not find it until the demonstration had officially ended and demonstrators were marching up Broadway. Many of these marchers were students and youth led by Youth Against War and Fascism who wanted to march to Bryant Park. After initial resistance by police who said that the marchers lacked a permit they agreed to let the march proceed to Bryant Park. But at 39th Street, one block before the park, the police stopped the march, declared it to be an illegal march and after telling the crowd to disperse, suddenly charged into the crowd swinging their clubs and beating demonstrators who had been knocked to the ground.

It is clear from this incident that the police were trying to "get even" and were angry that the City Hall rally had brought together thousands of students and workers openly in the name of labor. The police were counterattacking against what was a mighty step forward to overcome the division of workers and students that is promoted by all the forces of the ruling class—from the fascists to Nixon and Agnew and the "liberal" New York Times.

451 Calif Labor Leaders Hit War

Joining the growing movement of the American working class against the Vietnam war, 451 labor leaders in the Bay area have signed a statement addressed to Nixon declaring "We've Had It!" on the war. It notes: "Working people and their families are deeply disturbed at your expansion of the war into Cambodia." It concludes: "We want a cease-fire—Now! We want out of Cambodia—Now! We want out of Vietnam—Now! We've had it!"

Particularly significant is the wide range of unions involved, including a large section of the construction trades, the UAW, Teamsters, AFT as well as the ILWU. The statement was issued simultaneous with the giant labor rally held in New York City. Like the labor rally in New York, it was buried in the press. The New York Times reported it on page 58 even though it has given front page coverage to the pro-war demonstrations of construction unions.

Among the signers were: A. Figone, executive secretary of the San Francisco District Council of Carpenters; Daniel Del Carlo, chairman of the San Francisco Building Trades Council; Charles Brown, executive board member of Ironworkers Local 790; G.P. Campbell, assistant business manager of the Boilermakers; Samuel C. Churchwell, business representative, Local 224 of the Plasterers. Also Einar Mohr, second national vice president of the Teamsters and head of the Western Conference of Teamsters; Joseph Diviny, first national vice president of the Teamsters; Larry Vail, secretary of the State Retail Clerks' Union.

U.S. Expands War In Cambodia

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The advance of South Vietnamese forces deep into Cambodian territory is giving lie to Nixon's claim that all forces would be withdrawn from Cambodia by June 30.

On May 24 the South Vietnamese army with former mercenaries of the United States Special Forces in the lead invaded and seized Cambodia's largest rubber plantation.

Spearheaded by the U.S. invasion into Cambodia, the South Vietnamese forces are on the rampage, gathering loot and destroying everything in their path. Clearly the motivation behind their capture of the rubber plantation is to take over its operations which have produced half of Cambodia's output of rubber to fill the coffers of their masters in Saigon.

"NO DEADLINE"

Although Nixon had said in his speech of May 8 that all troops including South Vietnamese would be withdrawn by the end of June, Nixon's man in Saigon, President Thieu, last week said, "I have no deadline." Both Secretary of Defense Laird and Secretary of State Rogers have stated that the Nixon Administration will not oppose continued operations by South Vietnam in Cambodia and have hinted that they will receive U.S. air support.

Nixon has appropriately termed the moves in Cambodia "Operation Buy Time." Under pressure internally, Nixon hopes to use the South Vietnamese army to hold the line in Cambodia as well as in Laos to prepare more massive actions. U.S. imperialism will use its stronghold in Cambodia to launch an attack on its real goal—China.

Hostility to the South Vietnamese army's pillage is growing among the Cambodian people. Last week posters and leaflets were put up and distributed in Phnompenh calling on the Cambodian government to force the South Vietnamese to go home. One of the leaflets said:

"These soldiers are looting, raping our women, massacring women and children. Now they do not wish to leave our territory in spite of the complaints of

our population."

It is clear that despite imperialism's strategy of dividing the peoples of Indochina, the class lines have been drawn uniting the peoples of all the countries against their common enemy, imperialism and its agents in the South Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian governments.

It is within this situation that the Soviet bureaucracy is openly aiding imperialism and its puppets against the peoples of Indochina. The Soviet Union has refused to break off relations with the Cambodian government and has refused to recognize the exile government of Prince Sihanouk in Peking.

OPPOSED

In this the Soviet Union stands opposed to the governments of China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Albania, the Vietcong, as well as Cuba, Yugoslavia, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Libya, the Sudan, Syria, the Congo and Algeria, which have repudiated the Lon Nol government.

The Soviet bureaucracy is fully aware that at the heart of imperialism's strategy in Southeast Asia is the opening up of a front against China. But it is precisely the defense of China and the Vietnamese revolution through the international mobilization of the working class that the bureaucracy rejects.

As U.S. imperialism moves closer and closer to its borders, and spreads its war throughout Indochina, Mao Tse Tung has recently called for world revolution against U.S. imperialism and "its lackeys."

However, this can only be accomplished through the independent mobilization of the working class internationally for power. This means today the struggle particularly in the industrial countries of Europe and the U.S. for class action against the imperialist war and the building of a revolutionary leadership in the working class against the betrayals of Stalinism and the Soviet bureaucracy.

What The Editors Think...

Reports of the labor march of over 50,000 trade unionists and students in New York City on May 21st has been consciously distorted and falsified by the capitalist press in New York. In other cities throughout the country news of this very first mobilization of the trade union movement against the war has been completely blacked out.

This stands in direct contrast to the big build up given to the demonstrations of construction workers in New York in support of Nixon and the war by all newspapers, television stations and national magazines.

The New York Times headed its front page article on the rally with "9 Hurt as Police Disperse Group in Midtown After City Hall Peace Rally." Even the picture on the front page of the Times of a close up of marchers discussing with one holding up an American flag is a distortion. The picture is captioned "Students and workers arguing their points during yesterday's peace rally." The purpose of this picture is to make it appear as if the students and workers were divided.

The Times article by Homer Bigart, who was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for his reporting, begins:

"Nine antiwar demonstrators were in-

jured yesterday when the police forcibly dispersed at the Avenue of the Americas and 39th Street a militant group that had marched uptown from a peace rally of 20,000 at City Hall."

The article continues with a description of the confrontation of youth with the police (a confrontation that was provoked by the police and occurred after the rally.) It is only when you turn to page 35 that it is revealed that labor was even involved in the rally.

The picture both the Times and the supposedly more conservative Daily News attempted to paint of this rally is of a student confrontation with the police.

Like the Times, the Daily News distorts the size of the demonstration, contrasting it with the "mammoth meeting of hard hats" the day before. The News does everything to hide the role of labor, emphasizing the participation of the students and the presence of "rock music" and "folksingers."

The real class interests of the press are revealed in its distortions and in its tremendous enthusiasm for the demonstration in support of Nixon the previous day. Like the marchers that day, these papers stand with the "Establishment." Their lies only reveal their hostility to the working class. The "liberal" New York Times which is supposedly against the war views the struggle against the war in a different way when it is led by the labor movement.

At the heart of these reports is the real fear of the working class and the independent action of the working class against capitalism. It is precisely this that was posed on May 21st.

Only the Bulletin can give a true accounting of this historic rally and lead the way forward for the working class and the youth. This is our task. The work of the Bulletin is indispensable in this period of the offensive of the working class as the capitalist class and its press takes up the battle against the workers and the students. This is why the Bulletin went weekly last fall in preparation for these struggles and why it must be built today. We urge all our readers to contribute in every way possible by subscribing, by selling the paper, by submitting articles and by contributing financially to its growth.

EDITORIAL

The Way Forward-- Build A Labor Party

Last week's demonstration of over 50,000 workers and students against the Indochina War and repression at home marks a whole new stage in the struggle of the American working class. It was the first mass rally ever held by the labor movement together with and in defense of students. It was the most important labor antiwar rally held since the beginning of the war.

But it marked more than that. It marked an important step towards the formation of a united front of the working class as a whole against capitalist attack. This was no rally over specific trade union demands but rather a powerful rally of the labor movement as a whole, as a class, over political issues of a far reaching character—imperialist war, armed attacks by the capitalist state against students and workers, racist repression. It was a demonstration of class against class with labor taking the lead. It was thus the beginning of the united front of the working class.

The sudden burst of patriotic flag waving within sections of the labor movement, openly supported by the bosses and their press, is but another indication of the same thing. Even the capitalists now realize that labor is in the center of the stage. Fearing its unity against them, not only here but internationally through struggle against imperialist war, the capitalists bring out the red, white and blue and seek to turn a section of the workers in support of capitalism.

political

The powerful forces of the future confrontation were all present at City Hall last week. It will be precisely through the leadership of young workers, particularly black and Puerto Rican workers, together with the students around a united class fight that the working class as a whole can be brought into action, breaking down all the divisions that are indispensable for capitalist rule.

At the same time it must be understood that the construction of the united front of the working class requires above all a POLITICAL fight for the labor party as its political expression, and a bitter POLITICAL fight against the labor bureaucracy and the various revisionist and Stalinist "radicals." It is clear the labor union leaders called this rally only when they had no alternative, as they became squeezed between the movement of the ranks and the students on the one side and the open organization of the bosses within the labor movement on the other. Once they called the rally they acted as a brake upon it, limiting the level of mobilization for it.

Again at the rally the labor leaders, rather than REFLECTING this independent movement of the working class, politically opposed it, seeking to transform it into a DEPENDENT capitalist political action within the two parties which are responsible for the war and the repression.

leadership

Thus at the bottom in the massive outpouring of workers and students was the embryonic UNITED FRONT, while up on the platform the labor bureaucrats were proposing a POPULAR FRONT in the form of labor support for "liberals" in the Democratic and Republican Parties. Among those liberals these bureaucrats want to support is Mayor Lindsay whose latest attack on the working class is his call for a wage freeze!

The record shows absolutely clearly that the Workers League and ONLY the Workers League fought for a labor rally and for the leadership of the working class in the antiwar struggle and against the repressions. The record shows that the Workers League and ONLY the Workers League fights for the labor party against the popular front of the liberal politicians and labor bureaucrats.

What is required right now is an intensification of the struggle for the labor party AGAINST the labor bureaucrats and revisionists while we at the same time fight to bring forward the labor movement in a far more powerful and united scale through a massive outpouring of one million workers and students under class banners and a class program on Washington. This combined with strike action against the war points the only way forward to bring this bloody imperialist war to the end and to carry forward the forces which can and must forge a new political force in the United States—the working class UNITED politically in its own class party!

Bulletin

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DOCUMENTS FROM PLP

suppressed discussion of trotsky

INTRODUCTION

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

WE ARE REPRINTING here three documents from the internal struggle within Progressive Labor Party. The first two documents by "Comrade X" and Mort Scheer were contained in an internal discussion bulletin published by PL in November, 1969.

This discussion was initiated in a PL National Committee report in which the leadership revealed that they had "come to a disagreement with the Chinese over one important aspect of revolutionary strategy—the universal significance of the so-called new democracy, and whether nationalism can be revolutionary."

While PL was to maintain its uncritical approach towards China, the discussion was opened by the leadership in order to arrive at a line. As Milt Rosen puts it in the introduction to the discussion bulletin: "Hopefully, by the end of the discussion everyone's participation should help the leadership arrive at the best possible position on the development and the future of our party and the international communist movement." In other words by throwing everyone's ideas into "the hopper" the PL leadership hoped to come up with a strategy.

What was inevitable, and what Rosen did not foresee, was that there could be no discussion of "revolutionary strategy" without confronting the central historical question facing the international working class—the question of Trotskyism versus Stalinism.

This is the importance of Comrade X's document, which correctly points out that clarity cannot be achieved on the question of nationalism and the popular front without setting the record straight on Trotsky. But it is precisely this clarity the leadership of PL cannot afford. The question of Trotskyism is the one question that does not fit into the "hopper". It is this question that PL has refused to confront from its original split with the Communist Party. And it is this question that today is ripping at the seams of PL.

STRAIGHT

It is significant that the Only article which is answered in the internal bulletin is the article by Comrade X and that the answer by Mort Scheer is put in the bulletin before Comrade X's. Scheer sets the record straight for the ranks who have tried to get at the roots of revisionism—in PL Stalin and Stalinism are to be maintained at any cost.

Scheer's reply is a collection of all the slanders, lies, and distortions straight out of the books of the Communist Party. It is almost word for word a copy of Hyman Lumer's recent article in *Political Affairs* (Sept.-Oct., 1969) "50 Years of the Communist Party USA 1919-1969." These same distortions have been dealt with in the current series in the *Bulletin* by Fred Mueller "Stalinism and Trotskyism in the USA."

SUPPORT

It is not just that Scheer got his training in the American Communist Party but PL has never broken from the CP and stands only as a left expression of that party. While today it attacks the liberals and talks about the "dictatorship of the proletariat", its "alliances" and "coalitions" based on a reformist program, its refusal to pose the break of the American working class from the capitalist parties amount to one

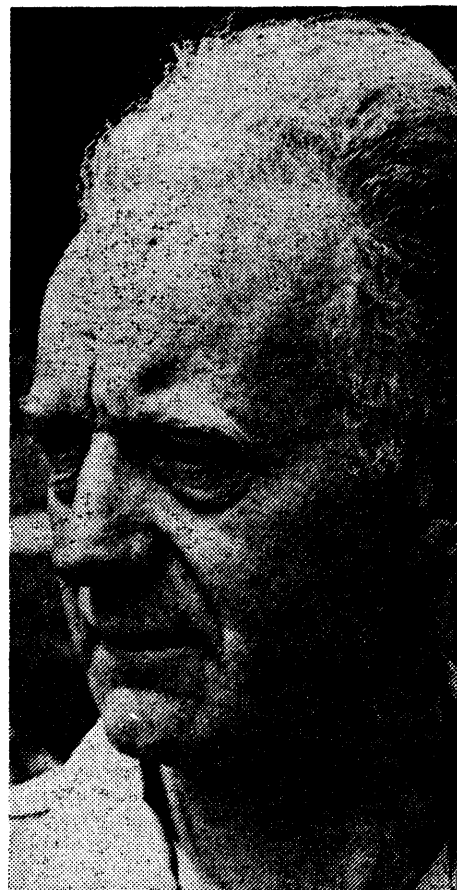
thing and one thing only—"political support" to capitalism and the capitalist class.

Scheer raises one question which reveals the central weakness of Comrade X's document: If Trotsky had "a correct Marxist-Leninist line" how could he have played "a generally counterrevolutionary role?" Comrade X opens himself to this because of the way in which he approaches Trotsky. Comrade X attempts to separate out Trotsky and his correct analysis of Stalin's betrayals in Germany, France, and Spain as well as within the Soviet Union from Trotskyism and the Trotskyist movement. Trotsky's analysis is abstracted from his struggle to construct a new leadership for the international working class, the founding of the Fourth International and its program.

You can no more separate out Stalin and his "mistakes" from Stalinism and its historical role than you can separate out Trotsky's correct analysis from the role of the Trotskyist movement. Trotsky at each point saw the development of theory and his struggle against Stalinism as central to the construction of a party. The theoretical gains made by Trotsky became the basis and armaments for the working class in the building of an international party capable of leading the working class to power.

The separation of theory and practice poses the greatest difficulties for Comrade X who actually has to admit that "even this aspect (Trotsky's "counterrevolutionary role") of Trotsky's history should be tempered, now in light of the role that the Communist Parties of this period played then and play today." Comrade X's separation of theory from the party based on that theory leads him to further problems in confronting China and PL. He contends that Mao "resurrected" Lenin and Trotsky's fight for internationalism and that Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution "is the embryonic form of the PL theory of nationalism and the Mao Tse Tung theory of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." But Comrade X then cannot explain why the Chinese today base themselves on the perspective of "socialism in one country" and "still have a petty bourgeois line on international revolution."

While Mao broke empirically with Stalin in 1939, he never broke from Stalinism



Arne Swabeck, a founding member of the Trotskyist SWP, today as a member of PLP serves as back up man to Mort Scheer defending "New Democracy" and not mentioning Trotsky a single time.

and built a leadership based on the preservation of the bureaucracy's privileges and the subordination of the international working class to "building socialism in one country." Unlike Lenin and Trotsky who fought throughout their lives to construct an International based on the victory of the working class in every country, Mao has substituted for the construction of an international party, alliances with bourgeois nationalists such as Sukarno and in Pakistan.

LOGIC

The logic of Comrade X's method is reflected in the role and contribution of Arne Swabeck to the discussion bulletin. Swabeck was one of the founders of the American Communist Party and the Trotskyist movement in the U.S. He played a leading role in the Trotskyist movement in the 1930's when it led the working class against the policies of the Communist Party. When Swabeck was expelled from the Socialist Workers Party, which had long since rejected Trotskyism, he turned not to the Trotskyist movement in the International Committee of the Fourth International but to PL. Swabeck turned to PL because he did not probe the roots of the degeneration of the SWP and its adaptation to Stalinism.

Today Swabeck, a renegade from Trotskyism, becomes the henchman for Stalinism. At a time when whole sections of PL are raising questions about the "New Democracy" and its relationship to the popular front, at a time when Trotskyism is being raised within PL, Swabeck becomes the greatest defender of Stalinism. His article, while attacking the popular front and the role of the American Communist Party, defends uncritically the "New Democracy" and does not even mention Trotsky. Essentially Swabeck becomes Scheer's real back up man and stands with the PL leadership against those who are seeking to get at the roots of revisionism. This is but one more example of how revisionism in the Trotskyist movement bolsters Stalinism.

NO COMPROMISE

The point is there can be no compromise between Stalinism and Trotskyism. While Comrade X sees that PL has eclectically picked bits and pieces from Trotsky's analysis, the foundations of PL and its program today are based on Stalinism. This is made abundantly clear by Mr. Scheer.

Facing up to the questions of Trotskyism and Stalinism would destroy the whole basis for Progressive Labor's existence, just as Trotsky's whole struggle against Stalin posed the destruction of the bureaucracy in the workers state. Just as Stalin had to liquidate Trotsky and the entire Bolshevik party to carry through his counterrevolutionary policies, so has PL had to crush all opposition within PL, opposition which poses the question of Trotskyism.

EXPELLED

This is the meaning of the third document which we print here. This document was submitted by Juan and Helena Farinas in PL as an answer to Mort Scheer and as a contribution to the internal discussion. Only a few days after this document was submitted a vicious slander campaign was opened up inside PL by the leadership against these two comrades. Within a few short weeks these comrades had been expelled. In a letter to the ranks of PL these two comrades described their work in the party:

"Both of us came close to the party through the Vietnam Referendum Campaign in the summer of 1967. After that we began to work on the paper, helping the former editor, Ramon Rodriguez, in the lay-out and paste-up. Around the fall of 1967 we were asked to become candidate members and joined the specially formed club in Spanish Harlem, where we moved. In November 1968, Rodriguez abandoned the paper and the party, leaving for Puerto Rico. Thus the responsibility for Desafio fell on our shoulders.



Milt Rosen sells Desafio whose editors he recently expelled for raising questions about Stalin. Rosen cut off discussion when Trotskyism was seriously raised.

The December 1968, issue was the first to come out under our responsibility. In addition to that both of us worked in the garment center and belonged to the garment center club. About five months ago Juan went to work in Columbia University, to work with the WSA, and was transferred to the so-called Intellectuals club, to discuss his differences. Helena then took over the main responsibility of the paper. Up to the time of our removal from the paper and expulsion we have been doing this work. We feel that overall we have done good work for the party to the best of our abilities. During these last two and a half years we were never negatively criticized. On the contrary, we were always told that the paper had improved tremendously both in content and in form. We do not claim to have been "100% pure Bolsheviks" or that there is no room for improvement in our work, but neither were we sucking our thumbs or collecting cucumbers during this time."

Despite Milt Rosen's statement in the introduction of the discussion bulletin that "No one should feel constricted from airing their point of view" and despite the fact that it was the leadership itself which had opened up discussion on "New Democracy" and the People's Front, disciplinary actions were taken against these two comrades. First they were removed from responsibility from the paper. On March 5th they were informed that the Steering Committee of the Party had decided to expel them on the grounds that they held "Trotskyite" positions. They were denied even the basic right of appeal. After their expulsion they fought to stay in the party and appealed to the rank and file for support. In their appeal they explained the real basis for their expulsion:

"In our opinion this action of the party's leadership fully confirms what is said in Juan's document. This action proves that the party's leadership, despite its feeble 'criticisms' of Stalin and its struggle against the revisionism of the Communist Party, has fully inherited that party's methods of dealing with internal political differences: organizational maneuvers and expulsions instead of principled political struggle, Stalinism instead of Leninism."

It is no accident that this struggle within PL should come to the fore today. As the working class comes forward internationally and the central question of leadership is posed, all of the lessons of the struggle between Stalinism and Trotskyism are raised. It is Trotskyism which bases itself on a strategy for the victory of the working class against all the betrayals and defeats of Stalinism.

This is why today to secure their stranglehold on the working class and the



At Milt Rosen's request (second from right), Mort Scheer (right) has come to the defense of Stalin against Comrade X. Where do Fred Jerome (far left) and Bill Epton stand on these questions and on the expulsion of the editors of "Desafio"?

youth, the Stalinists must resort to the old slanders against Trotsky and to the methods of the Moscow Trials. This is the meaning not only of the expulsions of Juan and Helena Farinas from PL but the cowardly, hooligan attacks by a gang of SDS and PL members on a member of the Young Socialist Alliance in Boston.

But all of the expulsions and hooligan tactics cannot prevent the youth of today from seeking out the real history of the Marxist movement, the lessons of Trotsky's struggle with Stalin, and the continuity of Lenin's struggle in Trotskyism. It is here the youth will find the strategy for the struggles of today.

Document I COMRADE X ON TROTSKY

IN RELATION TO the current issue of PL Magazine there are several points I would like to make. I will make them in a form capable of being published as a letter to the editor if you wish.

The current issue of PL Magazine, though putting forth a correct position concerning the burning issues confronting revolutionaries today, is so hopelessly sectarian that it can be of use only to those who already agree with its basic premises. Every article is theoretical. Most are highly polemical. There is not a single article on concrete organizing activities discussed in a positive way.

In particular the article on the Panther convention is nothing more than rhetoric and name calling without any concrete analysis. No one who did not already know all the facts could possibly form any arguable opinion of the CP-Panther alliance by reading this article. Such



Comrade X insists that the record be set straight on Trotsky, his analysis of and struggle against Stalinist bureaucracy and on "Socialism in one country" thesis.

articles are worthless. Even the argument that people are not supposed to be reading such an article isolated from someone who is working with them politically and who can go into the details with them is invalid here because this kind of name calling without any resort to real analysis only turns "center" people off.

The other articles aren't bad but in the absence of any positive, constructive base-building articles, a reader would get the impression that PL is just a bunch of theoretical gadflies whom no one can satisfy.

There is a further point of fact that should be clarified regarding the article on nationalism. An error is perpetuated in this article regarding Trotsky's views which at this date in history is no longer excusable. At a time when PL's criticisms of the Communist International under Stalin's domination differ in no way from the criticisms Trotsky was making all along; at a time when Trotsky's analysis of, and struggle against bureaucracy in the fledgling socialist state is receiving vindication in the counter-revolution following Stalin's rule and in the cultural revolution in China; at a time when Trotsky's struggle against nationalism is being confirmed in the views of PL on nationalism; the record should be set straight. Not just for the sake of accuracy but because a correct understanding of the history of this period is essential.

It has been difficult to evaluate ideas objectively before this time, both because of the incredible rewriting of history that took place under Stalin and because of the generally counter-revolutionary role that Trotsky and his followers played following their defeat in the Communist International. However, our judgment of even this aspect of Trotsky's history should be tempered, now, in light of the role that the Communist Parties of this period played then and play today. For it could be cogently argued that had the Parties followed the correct line in that period the victory of fascism in Spain and of Hitler in Germany might have been prevented. This is not just Monday morning quarterbacking for Trotsky's prescriptions for the Parties were stated at the time and, as mentioned above, his advice (see *The Only Road For Germany* 1932) is essentially similar to the conclusions that PL has come to in its allusions to that period, the so-called "Third Period" of the Communist International characterized by dual unionism in the USA, the defeat of the Chinese in the last encirclement (leading to the Great March) the refusal of the German CP to form a united front with the social democrats, etc. We shall return to this point later.

In the article on nationalism, Mr. Scheer quotes "The Year 1917" by Trotsky. When Trotsky's articles on the Revolution were published by the Communist International and translated by Louis Fraina in the US, Lenin personally wrote "The American Comrade was wholly right in publishing a big volume containing a series of articles by Trotsky and me and thus giving a handbook of the history of the Russian Revolution." This quotation is important because one of the devices that Stalin used to obscure what the policy of socialism in one country meant was to rewrite history so that it seemed as if Lenin, too, believed in this petty bourgeois "ideal".

Mr. Scheer then quotes from Lenin, supposedly in support of Stalin, from the article published in 1915 "The United States of Europe Slogan". Needless to say, if one does not know the context of the article, nor the use of the term, socialism, by Lenin, one can decide whatever he likes about what Lenin was saying. Lenin was not talking about a "finished socialist society, threatened only by outside intervention", which is what Stalin claimed could be done, but about the dictatorship of the proletariat being achieved in a separate country. In 1915, the debate was not over whether a finished socialist economy could be built in one country; no one, even Stalin, would have argued that. (Stalin, in fact, didn't even argue that in the first edition of *Foundations Of Leninism* in 1924. It was only in the second edition, several months later that he rediscovered "Leninism".)

LENIN

Lenin's views on this question in 1915 were well-known as are his views up to the day of his death. "The task of the proletariat", wrote Lenin in 1915, "is to carry through to the end the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, in order to kindle the socialist revolution in Europe. This second task has now come extremely near to the first but it remains nevertheless a special and second task, for it is a question of different classes co-operating with the proletariat in Russia. For the first task the collaborator is the petty-bourgeois peasantry of Russia, for the second the proletariat of other countries."

The second point we must elucidate is what in those days was meant, in general, when discussing "socialism". "Socialism is the organization of a planned and harmonious social production for the satisfaction of human wants. Collective ownership of the means of production and the dictatorship of the proletariat is not yet socialism but only its political premise. The problem of a socialist society cannot be abstracted from the problem of the productive forces, which at the present stage of human development are worldwide in their very essence. The separate state, having become too narrow for capitalism, is so much the less capable of become the arena of a finished socialist society." This is the way Trotsky put it and it was in complete accord with the thinking of the entire Bolshevik leadership when Trotsky was Lenin's closest collaborator; that is from 1917 to the time of Lenin's death.

In fact, in an attack on those who said that the Bolsheviks shouldn't have seized state power because of the lack of correspondence between the political and economic prerequisites of socialism, Lenin wrote: "It would be an irreparable mistake to declare that once the lack of correspondence between our political and economic forces is recognized, it 'follows' that we should not have seized state power. Only people in a glass cage reason that way, forgetting that there will never be a 'correspondence', that there cannot be, either in the evolution of nature or in the evolution of society, that only by way of a series of attempts--each one of which taken separately will be one-sided, will suffer from a certain lack of correspondence--can complete socialism be created out of the revolutionary co-operation of the proletarians of all countries."

Mr. Scheer finally quotes Stalin as saying "The question of completely building socialism in the USSR is one of overcoming our own national bourgeoisie, the question of the final victory of socialism is one of overcoming the world bourgeoisie." Isn't it obvious to all, especially now after Mao has resurrected (unconsciously) Lenin's and Trotsky's theories of the inevitable continuation of the class struggle in socialist society, isn't it obvious that this statement of Stalin's is a perversion of the entire concept of internationalism derived by Marx from the objective development of the relations of production up to this time. This artificial and mechanical distinction between our bourgeoisie and the world bourgeoisie is precisely a

form of petty bourgeois nationalism. It is simply the other side of the coin from those who argue that "we can defeat the world bourgeoisie using our bourgeoisie." Isn't it to be expected that one who believes that one can "completely build socialism in the USSR" would turn the Communist International into an agency for the defense of the USSR even if that meant halting revolution or uniting with the bourgeoisie after 1935, or going it alone before. (Even though the former policy, i.e. the Third Period Policy, appears radical in form (red trade unions, etc.) it is really petty bourgeois adventurism in essence. And similarly, the United Front reflected opportunism.)

Those international policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which by this time had eliminated all of the "old Bolsheviks", that is the Leninists, was mirrored by its flip flop policy domestically. Until 1928, in an alliance with Bukharin, Stalin denied the real danger of the Nepmen, bureaucrats, and class stratification in the countryside. During this period Trotsky published the *New Course* (1923) which could have been used by Mao as a handbook for the cultural revolution. He advocated planned industrialization with a growth rate of 20%, ridiculed by Stalin as utopian. Preobrazhensky advocated using the surplus of the farms to finance industrialization in *The New Economics*. He was accused by Stalin of advocating exploitation of the peasants.

Then, in 1928, having wiped out the left, Stalin borrowed all their ideas and, five years after he should have begun, conducted a collectivization drive and industrialization drive, the effects of which are still reverberating. This drive was conducted in his typical heavy-handed petty bourgeois adventurist, bureaucratic spirit and though it demonstrated the superiority of socialist planning and organization (which Trotsky never denied that it did) it resulted in such tremendous contradictions in the economy and political life of the country, that the inevitable result, as Trotsky predicted, was a counter-revolution led by Stalin's own bureaucrats. In fact, Stalin himself by 1939 was not even concealing his petty bourgeois nationalist position as his report to the 18th Congress of the CPSU in 1939 indicates. This speech didn't even bother with the old "Hail Marys" such as the dictatorship of the proletariat or criticism and self-criticism which he learned too well from Lenin not to mention now and then...in the past.

DICTATORSHIP

Why is it important to re-do all these post mortems, to dig poor Mary Jo out of her grave? Because from 1905 on Trotsky was putting forth the line of either the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the current era in every country. From that year on he showed how using the concrete problems affecting each country, the proletariat could lead the masses to power. In April 1917 Lenin concluded the same and reoriented the entire Bolshevik Party in this direction. From October 1917 to 1924 Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution (which is the embryonic form of the PL theory of nationalism and the Mao Tse Tung theory of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat) was published throughout the world by the Bolsheviks and by Lenin's Communist International. Under Stalin, who, from a broad historical point of view, is the Liu Shao Chi of Russia, this Marxist theory was wiped out in the greatest historical rewriting campaign of all time in which all who did not agree (because they knew differently) were wiped out.

We must not forget that had Liu won, China would not have become capitalist or even revisionist overnight and PL and other good revolutionaries would have supported China, and rightly so, as they supported Russia. History is not made to order and that is one mistake Trotsky made. However, we must understand why what happens happens. We must understand why a petty bourgeois bureaucracy was able to pose so long as the defender of the proletariat in Russia. We must understand the forms of the class struggle in socialist society and Trotsky's writings, second only to Mao's, provide insight into this question.

Most important we must understand the crucial and central importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism. The concept of "socialism" in one country (that is "Complete socialism" as Stalin described it) is in direct opposition to these concepts. It is because of basic confusion on this point that the Chinese still have a petty bourgeois line on the international revolution. And it is in Trotsky's writings that we can find the best and earliest analysis of this question.

Document II

MORT SCHEER ON STALIN

ONE OF THE serious consequences of the revisionist takeover of the CPSU and the subsequent transformation of the first socialist state into a reactionary bourgeois dictatorship has been the resuscitation of Trotskyism. The complete negation of the positive contributions has been swallowed hook, line and sinker by many young revolutionaries and even comrades within our party.

The negation of Stalin was a central aim of the counter-revolutionary revisionists at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. It was essential for them to negate Stalin in order to negate his contributions and Marxism-Leninism. A correct summation of the positive and negative aspects of Stalin's leadership is necessary, not only because Stalin's works are worthy of serious study but also to draw the correct lessons and both avoid and combat the counterrevolutionary Trotskyite outlook.

The accompanying letter by a comrade on this question reveals a number of the confusions, absurdities and counter-revolutionary features of Trotskyism.

1. The letter says that "PL's criticisms of the Communist International under Stalin's domination differ in no way from the criticisms Trotsky was making all along." This view is completely false. While it is true that we are very critical of the weaknesses and serious mistakes in theory and practice of Stalin's leadership, our criticisms are within the framework of regarding Stalin as a Marxist-Leninist leader and the Soviet Union under his leadership a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

Trotsky on the other hand viewed Stalin, the CPSU leadership and the Soviet government as counterrevolutionary obstacles that must be overthrown. Hence, the main aspect of the Stalin leadership in Trotsky's view is just the opposite of our view.

CONTRADICTORY

This point is no minor matter. The failure to differentiate between the main and secondary aspects will inevitably lead to two contradictory opposing lines. This is true with regards to all political questions--it will lead to confusing friends for enemies and enemies for friends. Trotsky's error vis-a-vis Stalin's leadership was to make secondary questions into primary questions. The main task with regards to a correct revolutionary line on the establishment of the first socialist state was to defend it from all its enemies internal and external. Stalin did this while Trotsky objectively united with the imperialists who also were striving to overthrow Stalin's leadership.

The comrade in his letter admits that Trotsky and his followers generally played a counterrevolutionary role. How then can he characterize the political line of Trotsky as generally correct and Trotsky's analysis as being the best earliest writings on the question? How does one play a generally counterrevolutionary role with a correct Marxist-Leninist line. Nonsense. The comrade doesn't understand even the ABC's of what he is talking about. This can be seen when he says that "even this aspect of Trotsky's history (his counterrevolutionary role) should be tempered, now...etc". How can one dismiss a generally counterrevolutionary history as merely an aspect of one's work? Doesn't he understand that when we assess forces to be counterrevolutionary that they are no longer friends but enemies.

ROUTED

2. The historic debate on the question of building socialism in a single country was brilliantly defended by Stalin. Trotsky was completely routed ideologically, politically and organizationally. History has proven that it is quite possible for a single country to completely build a social-

ist society. Almost a half century has elapsed since the Trotsky-Stalin debate was laid to rest.

Does anyone think that the Chinese communists should not have the perspective of completely building socialism? Does this mean that it will be a finished socialist society? Not at all. This wasn't the essence of the debate, but rather it was precisely the belief of Trotsky that socialism could not be built in the Soviet Union because as he said "The problem of a socialist society cannot be abstracted from the problem of the productive forces etc." Trotsky believed (and others) that without a proletarian revolution in western Europe where the productive forces were more advanced than in backward Russia, that the Soviets could not possibly survive or build socialism without the direct proletarian state support of these countries. Rather than characterizing Stalin as the Liu Shao Chi of Russia, it was Trotsky's theories that Liu emulated (see Peking Review #38 on the question of socialism and the theory of productive forces).

Stalin correctly defended the idea that by self-reliance and the political support of the world revolutionary proletariat the Soviet Union could completely organize socialist production and rapidly build up the socialist productive forces. While many mistakes were made, this was proven to be fully correct. That is why in China today the slogan is to grasp revolution and promote production, i.e., the priority is given to politics and revolutionary ideology and not to productive forces. To give priority to the productive forces (as Trotsky and Liu does) is not dialectical materialism but mechanistic materialism and leads to an economic determinist theory of history.

NATIONALISM

3. The comrade in his letter says that to differentiate between one's own national bourgeoisie and the world bourgeoisie is a "mechanical and artificial distinction and is precisely a form of petty bourgeois nationalism." This is the kind of absurdity that muddleheaded Trotskyism can lead to. Hasn't the comrade ever heard of the question of the contradiction between imperialist powers? Is there only an undifferentiated world bourgeoisie? Doesn't the struggle against nationalism in the first place mean struggling to defeat one's own national bourgeois class which is the class force that generates nationalism? Nationalism and chauvinism doesn't exist in the abstract but takes on particular forms such as American nationalism or chauvinism, British nationalism, Russian, etc. etc. How can one struggle against nationalism without an understanding that national bourgeois classes exist in reality, even if they don't exist in the thinking of comrade X.

Such muddleheadedness not only reveals complete ignorance of what the struggle against nationalism means but also reveals complete ignorance of the revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The seizure of state power by the proletariat takes place in the process of smashing the state power of one's own bourgeoisie. In the case of an imperialist oppressed country in the process of smashing the state power of one's own bourgeoisie backed up by the imperialist bourgeoisie. Comrade X not only has an abstract understanding of nationalism but also of the question of state power by his ridiculous objection to the requirement for Marxist-Leninists differentiating between one's own national bourgeoisie and the world bourgeoisie.

4. Comrade X believes that when the proletariat wins state power it should not have the perspective of completely building socialism. He says that such a perspective inevitably means selling-out the world revolution. It means no such thing. The outlook of completely and thoroughly building socialism in China today does not mean that its inevitable that the Chinese will sell-out the world revolution. This of course is possible. Nationalism is a grave danger as well as revisionism, everywhere including China.

Marxist-Leninists don't combat nationalism by abandoning the perspective of completely building socialism when they have won state power. On the contrary they must see this as an international task to advance the world revolution. As Lenin said "The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropri-

ated the capitalists, having organized socialist production, would stand up against the rest of the world, the capitalist world, attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries, raising revolts in these countries against the capitalists, and in the event of necessity coming out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states."

COMPLETE

The point is that the proletariat having won state power either must strive to thoroughly destroy the bourgeoisie politically, economically, and ideologically i.e. have the perspective of thoroughly and completely building socialism or it (proletarian state power) will be destroyed. To accomplish this aim requires continuous class struggle and the outlook that this is not an end in itself but a growing strategic base for the advance of the world revolution. Trotskyism puts forth the perspective of defeatism of the impossibility of building socialism in a single country such as the Soviet Union, China, etc.

5. The Trotskyites and comrade X put forth the myth that Trotsky led Lenin. Comrade X says that from 1905-1917 Lenin did not have the outlook of either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that it was only in April 1917 that Lenin adopted Trotsky's line and oriented the Bolsheviks according to it. This is a complete fraud. It is true that Trotsky opposed Leninism throughout that entire period. Trotsky was a centrist and not a Bolshevik; he allied with the Mensheviks against Lenin. He attacked Lenin's thesis of the possibility of the victory of the proletariat in a single country when Trotsky wrote: "Without waiting for others we begin and continue the struggle nationally, in the full confidence that our initiative will give an impetus to the struggle in other countries; but if this should not occur, it would be hopeless to think—as historical experience and theoretical considerations testify—that, for example, a revolutionary Russia could hold out in the face of a conservative Europe..." These words were directed against Lenin in 1915 not Stalin and Trotsky accused Lenin, not Stalin at that time, of national narrowmindedness. It was Trotsky who claimed to adopt Bolshevism and Leninism in 1917, not Lenin who adopted Trotskyism.

STALIN

6. Stalin defeated Trotsky because Stalin defended Leninism against Trotskyism. In the period of the great debate, the questions were openly and thoroughly debated throughout the entire party. Trotsky was completely demolished and isolated. Stalin's line in this period was a mass line, a class line, a revolutionary line and an internationalist line. Trotsky's line was defeatist, sectarian, and counterrevolutionary and that's why he



Mort Scheer defends Stalin as a "Marxist-Leninist leader" and claims that he "brilliantly defended" thesis of "Socialism in one country" against Trotsky's attacks.

became isolated and routed despite the fact that he had achieved a certain prestige when he allied with Lenin during the October revolutionary period.

Stalin in the course of his leadership made serious mistakes which deserve a thorough examination, but this can never be done correctly with the Trotskyite outlook. Over the past period, the world communist movement has witnessed another debate, between the Chinese Marxist-Leninists and the Khrushchevite revisionists. Revolutionaries throughout the entire world have recognized that Mao Tse Tung has defended revolutionary Marxism-Leninism against counterrevolutionary revisionism. Of course this doesn't mean that Mao is immune from error any more than Stalin was, but it would be absurd for Marxist-Leninists to turn to the revisionists today as an answer to any of Mao's errors or to turn to the Trotskyites and Trotsky to guide revolutionary struggles.

Comrade X should give thoughtful reconsideration of his attempt to link our party's line to Trotskyism. Those sincere revolutionaries who in the past took this road unfortunately as Comrade X admits played a counterrevolutionary role and continue to do so today. PL will not take this path. We are Marxist-Leninists not Trotskyites.

This response was dashed off rather quickly. How widespread Comrade X's thinking is in our party I'm not aware of. I would suggest that Comrade X and others should familiarize themselves with the works of Stalin on the question of Trotskyism, such as *Once More on the Social Democratic Deviation in our Party*, Sel. Wks., Vol. 9.

Document III

DESAFIO EDITORS ANSWER SCHEER

(Some cuts have been made in the following article for space considerations.)

BY JUAN P. FARINAS

I THINK THAT the main issue raised by the present line of the party on nationalism, as put forth in the editorial of the August, 1969, issue of PL magazine and in Mort Scheer's article, and the discussion of it in the internal bulletin is the issue of Trotskyism vs. Stalinism. I share comrade X's opinion that the struggle between Trotsky and Stalin is no Monday morning quarterbacking but that it touches on every one of the issues raised in the two documents mentioned before (the two stage theory, New Democracy, Popular Front, nationalism in the Soviet Union and in the international communist movement).

Stalin was the acknowledged leader of the international com-

munist movement for close to 30 years. As such his leadership, policies, theories and views have left an unerasable imprint on the movement and humanity. An evaluation of Stalin's true role in the international communist movement is indispensable for our party.

Even though our party has not attempted to make such an evaluation, it is clear from the little material written on the question that the leadership considers Stalin to have been a "proletarian revolutionary", and even though the leadership of the party recognizes some of the most obvious "mistakes" of Stalin it still tries to maintain Stalin against Trotsky.

Speaking of Khrushchev's criticisms of Stalin our party said: "It did not place both his enormous contributions and his serious errors in their historical context, but offered instead a subjective, crude, total negation of a great Marxist-Leninist and proletarian revolutionary." Further on it is stated: "In initiating and repeating their violent attacks upon Stalin, the present leadership of the CPSU sought to undermine the influence of this proletarian revolutionary among the people of the



Desafio editors accuse Scheer of reviving all of the old slanders of Stalin (shown here with Rykov on right) against Trotsky and relate this to errors and confusion within the PLP party and cadre.

Soviet Union and throughout the world. In this way, they prepared the ground for negating Marxism-Leninism, which Stalin defended and developed, in order to introduce their own revisionist line." In comrade Scheer's contribution to the internal discussion, which, I might note in passing, is the only one devoted to answer any of the other contributions, he says: "While it is true that we are very critical of the weaknesses and serious mistakes in theory and practice of Stalin's leadership, our criticisms are within the framework of regarding Stalin as a Marxist-Leninist leader and the Soviet Union under his leadership a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

This attempt to maintain Stalin against Trotsky is clearly expressed in comrade Scheer's article *Don't Be A Sucker for the Bosses, Nationalism Divides the Workers* (PL, November 1969). In this article it is admitted that revisionism in the Soviet Union has its roots in the Stalin period, that Stalin "deviated toward nationalism and great power chauvinism", and that "gross violations in the practice of democratic centralism" were perpetrated. Yet it is held that "Stalin upheld Lenin's belief that socialism could be built in a single country" and that "Stalin defeated the counter-revolutionary line of Trotsky."

In order to defend Stalin and provide him with the alleged support of Lenin, comrade Scheer drags up a quotation from *The United States of Europe Slogan*, making Lenin turn over in his mausoleum on Red Square for the millionth and one time. Comrade Scheer speaks in his contribution to the internal discussion about some Trotskyist "fraud", but let me tell you right now, if there ever was a fraud this quotation IS IT. First of all, Lenin was not even talking about Russia but about Western Europe, since the perspective of the Bolsheviks at that time was for a bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia. Second, the quotation is part of one paragraph only in the whole essay on the slogan, and it is extremely difficult to believe that Lenin would deal so superficially on such a subject. Third, this quotation would negate the whole life and work of Lenin who, along with the rest of the Bolshevik party, Marx, Engels and Trotsky, always proceeded from the international character of the socialist revolution and socialism. But let Lenin speak for himself.

In April, 1906 Lenin said: "The Russian revolution has enough forces of its own to conquer. But it has not enough forces to retain the fruits of its victory... In order to prevent a restoration, the Russian revolution has need, not of a Russian reserve: it has need of help from outside. Is there such a reserve in the world? There is: the socialist proletariat in the west."

At the end of February, 1922: "But we have not finished building even the foundations of socialist economy and the hostile powers of moribund capitalism can still deprive us of that. We must clearly appreciate this and frankly admit it; ...

for we have always urged and reiterated the elementary truth of Marxism—that the joint efforts of the workers of several advanced countries are needed for the victory of socialism."

These quotations show clearly that "socialism in a single country" never crossed Lenin's mind, but we have to consider a few other things as well: Trotsky's views were expressed quite some time before the October Revolution (as far back as 1905, as a matter of fact). If Lenin held that socialism could be built in a single country, and Russia at that, why then didn't he himself struggle against Trotsky on this question? Why did Lenin and the Bolshevik party immediately set themselves the task of building the Communist International, especially when they were in the middle of a civil war? Why did the question of "socialism in one country" and the struggle against "counterrevolutionary Trotskyism" come up SEVEN YEARS AFTER the October Revolution and only after Lenin was safely and quietly dead?

The truth is that "socialism in one country" was the theory of the bureaucracy which arose in the Soviet Union after the revolution due to the isolation of the Russian revolution as a result of the failure of revolution in Western Europe, to the killing of thousands of the best elements within the Bolshevik party during the Civil War, and to the fact that the party, being the only legal party in the country, attracted all sorts of careerists and opportunists after it seized power. This theory of "socialism in a single country" meant just that: that socialism would remain in the Soviet Union ONLY. Since the main task was the building of socialism in the Soviet Union the function of the international communist movement was to prevent foreign intervention and not to seize power. Thus, in the words of Trotsky, "the Communist International is down-graded to an auxiliary weapon useful only for the struggle against military intervention."

SLANDER

In his attempt to maintain Stalin against Trotsky, comrade Scheer uses that favorite Stalinist weapon: SLANDER. Throughout his contribution comrade Scheer sticks the adjective "counterrevolutionary" next to Trotsky's name, as if doing so would make it so. Making one of the most worn out and discredited arguments in the Stalinist arsenal of slanders against Trotsky, comrade Scheer writes: "Trotsky's error vis-a-vis Stalin's leadership was to make secondary questions into primary questions. The main task with regards to a correct revolutionary line on the establishment of the first socialist state was to defend it from all its enemies internal and external. Stalin did this while Trotsky objectively united with the imperialists who also were striving to overthrow Stalin's leadership."

This statement shows three things: 1) The complete ignorance about the Trotskyist movement on the part of comrade Scheer. Had he bothered to look around he would have found that practically all the elements that left the ranks of the Fourth International and the SWP, while this party was still a Trotskyist party, did so precisely because of their unwillingness to defend the Soviet Union unconditionally. As Trotsky himself put it: "What does 'unconditional' defense of the USSR mean? It means that we do not lay any conditions upon the bureaucracy. It means that independently of the motive and causes of the war we defend the social basis of the USSR, if it is menaced by danger on the part of imperialism."

2) It shows comrade Scheer's own outlook. Stalin's leadership of the Bolshevik party is seen as something given and unquestionable, without bothering to examine, or even mentioning, how Stalin became Lenin's successor as leader of the party. Do we need to remind comrade Scheer that it was Lenin himself who recommended Stalin's removal from his position as secretary general of the Party? Doesn't comrade Scheer know that in order to consolidate his power Stalin had to annihilate, not only politically but physically, too, the general staff of the Bolshevik Party, that he had to do so because those people represented the continuity with Bolshevism, with Lenin, which Stalin shattered into pieces?

And 3), That time works wonders, even with a die-hard Stalinist such as comrade Scheer. Comrade Scheer says that "Trotsky objectively united with the imperialists." Times were when the world Stalinist press meekly repeated every ridiculous and stupid accusation against Trotsky, covering themselves forever with shame. Times were when Trotsky was not an "objective" ally of the imperialists but a direct servant of Hitler and the Mikado, when a man like Zinoviev was forced to "confess": "My defective Bolshevism be-

came transformed into anti-Bolshevism and through Trotskyism I arrived at fascism. Trotskyism is a variety of fascism, and Zinovievism is a variety of Trotskyism." And "The trials brought to light the fact that Trotsky-Bukharin fiends, in obedience to the wishes of their masters—the espionage services of foreign states—had set out to destroy the Party and the Soviet state, to undermine the defensive power of the country, to assist foreign military intervention, to prepare the way for the defeat of the Red Army, to bring about the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R., to hand over the Soviet Maritime Region to the Japanese, Soviet Byelorussia to the Poles, and the Soviet Ukraine to the Germans, to destroy the gains of the workers and collective farmers, and to restore capitalist slavery in the U.S.S.R." But that was 30 years ago, and that amount of time can make it difficult for anyone, even comrade Scheer, to gulp that one down.

Further on comrade Scheer uses the other favorite Stalinist argument against Trotsky, that is, using Trotsky's disagreements with Lenin before October in order to belittle, discredit and attack Trotsky's contributions after the October Revolution. But with this argument the Stalinists all over the world have had a very hard bone to contend with. That bone is the October Revolution. It is true that for some time before the revolution Trotsky maintained a conciliatory position as regards to the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, but being so the case, and if he was such a "counterrevolutionary", why then did the Bolshevik party allow Trotsky to JOIN the Party (not "ally" himself with Lenin, but join the Party?) Why was he allowed into the Bolshevik Central Committee? Why was he allowed to play such a prominent and important role in the insurrection itself, to organize the Red Army, and to conduct the most important task, at that moment, of the revolution, namely, to conduct the Civil War? It seems altogether nonsense that the Bolsheviks would entrust a "counterrevolutionary" with the defense of the Revolution.

METHOD

Establishing one of his central arguments comrade Scheer says: "Stalin in the course of his leadership made serious mistakes which deserve a thorough examination, but this can never be done correctly with the Trotskyite outlook." This brings us to a very fundamental question for our party: the question of method.

It is no secret to anyone that our party has changed its position on a number of important questions, the most recent being nationalism. The reason why these corrections had to be made is that our analysis was incorrect to begin with, that is, the way these things (Cuba, the "revolutionary nationalists," community control) developed did not accord with our analysis of them. I think this is due in great part to the anti-theory and anti-historical outlook of the leadership of the party. One way this outlook expresses itself is in the fact that after the party has changed its position, either no analysis whatsoever is made of the reasons, the methodological and ideological roots of those "mistakes," or it is skated over in the most superficial manner.

For instance, in the *Black Liberation Program* it is stated: "In the past we in the Progressive Labor Party have been guilty of creating illusions about Black nationalists and nationalists. In our early period we were one-sided; because we supported the resistance of nationalists like the Muslims and Robert Williams, we viewed them as generally good. We failed to understand that nationalism is reactionary, and that this is its main aspect. We made similar errors internationally. We were wrong in evaluating Ben Bella, and then Boumediene. We were wrong in our evaluation of Sukarno."

But, unfortunately, there is more. In the editorial of the August, 1969 (yellow) issue of PL magazine, this anti-historical outlook is glaringly expressed. This editorial expresses publicly for the first time the party's new line on nationalism in a more or less systematic way, and precisely because of that is this anti-historical outlook so glaring. The editorial states that one of the fundamental reasons for the triumph of revisionism in the Soviet Union was the "fervent nationalist bent involved in Soviet culture and thought," "that the concept of 'two-stage struggles' is wrong," that "Dimitrov's" "Popular Front" was and is also wrong, that there were people in China "who said that China had to have capitalism first" and that "you couldn't skip stages and go from feudalism to socialism." Yet there is no historical

and concrete analysis of these things. How and when did these concepts and policies come about? Who was responsible for their coming about? Who was it that was for a "two-stage" struggle in China? How did the "two-stage" struggle and "Dimitrov's" Popular Front become part of "Marxism-Leninism?" And, above all, was there no opposition at that time to these policies? None of these questions are even considered. I don't mean that our party should have come out with a three volume book on the subject, but I feel that it is completely inadequate and dangerous to treat such an important subject so superficially.

Of all these examples there is one that won the first prize in the superficiality contest hands down! That is the handling of the Popular Front question. In the editorial it is stated: "It envisions the peaceful transition to socialism. The theory is first to win the victory of the popular front and then move somehow to socialism." In the article that follows the editorial of the same issue it is said of the Popular Front: "We thought this old chestnut had died."

But comrades, let's be frank with ourselves, just what the hell has the Progressive Labor Party ever said, written, or done to make the Popular Front an "old chestnut" or make it "die?"

Another manifestation of the anti-theory and anti-historical outlook in the party is the question of self-determination, particularly as it relates to black people in the U.S., and its relation to socialism. As one of the comrades writes in the internal discussion bulletin, our party has changed the meaning of the concept of self-determination, as traditionally used by Marxists, but it has not explained why it does so. Our party has never made a study to determine whether the black people in the U.S. constitute a nation or not. That, it seems to me, would be the central question if one is to speak of self-determination for the black people at all. The position of the party that "Nationalism flowers in a situation where self-determination means something other than socialism. We say that self-determination can only be accomplished under socialism" in fact means that we oppose the struggle of colonial nations for independence, or should I rather say, that is what those words come out to mean, independently of what the leadership may want them to mean.

Yet another example of the disdain for theory and history on the part of the party's leadership is the question of Trotskyism itself. We can look for a serious (even for one not so serious) analysis in the pages of PL or Challenge from now until doomsday and what we'll find is "Trotskyite" this or "Trotskyite" that, but never anything more. It seems to me that if Trotskyism were so "counter-revolutionary," as comrade Scheer claims it is, our party should have devoted some more attention to it and made a thorough analysis of it so that no new comrades be led astray by such foul ideology. But no! Apparently "there is no time" for such things.

As I said before I feel that in great part this disdain for theory and history on the part of the party's leadership has been the cause of the failure to analyze correctly a number of important situations and developments, and as such it absolutely cannot be seen as something irrelevant to the party's work, because if it is not corrected it will mean that our party will continue to do what it has been doing in the past: correcting its mistakes. No one needs to be reminded that a mistake in policy can very well be the very last mistake of a party. I'd say the Indonesians know something about that. In other words, it is not enough to write "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" in every sentence to be a Marxist party. To get there one must be able to analyze the situations and processes that are going and not just raise orthodox and almost sacrosanct slogans ("dictatorship of the proletariat," "class struggle," "revolutionary seizure of power," "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought", etc.), which are, precisely because of their orthodoxy, empty and meaningless. I think, and in this agree with Chairman Milton, that the internal discussion bulletin is a step forward, toward a better understanding on the part of all of us of what Marxism is really about.

NOTE: I would like to suggest to the comrades that they should, besides familiarizing themselves with the works of Stalin on Trotskyism, also read Trotsky on Stalinism, particularly, *The Draft Programme of the Communist International, a Criticism of Fundamentals; The Permanent Revolution; Problems of the Chinese Revolution; and The Stalin School of Falsification.*

World Economy Heads For Collapse

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The crisis in the U.S. and world economy is rapidly reaching the breaking point, threatening new, more vicious attacks on the American and international working class.

Last week the complete inability of Nixon to make the slightest dent in the inflationary spiral was driven home once again by the fact that the Consumer Price Index rose in April at the annual rate of 7.2%.

What this means is that the pressure which drove U.S. balance of payments into a record first quarter deficit of 3 billion dollars is raging virtually out of control.

This is in spite of the fact that Nixon's efforts to fight inflation have brought the U.S. economy to the brink of a collapse on the order of 1929.

This is reflected in the unemployment figure of 4.8%. More important are the forces at work which are in danger of setting off a chain reaction that could result in 8 or 10 million unemployed.

COLLAPSE

This is the meaning of the stock market collapse. The New York Stock Exchange has seen the liquidation of paper values to the tune of some 250 billion dollars since December 1968.

Some 70% of these losses are being sustained by banks and other large financial institutions. What would appear to be even the strongest of such institutions are capable in this period of

going to the wall. This has been starkly revealed in the crisis surrounding the gigantic Overseas Investment Service and the machinations of magnates like Cornfeld and King.

In spite of these dangers, however, the most farsighted of the U.S. ruling class clearly see the main danger as the continuing inflationary trend and have been determined to fight it at almost any cost. They know that the deficits like that incurred in the first quarter of this year can only hasten the return of the gold crisis on an even more forceful scale than March 1968.

THREATENS

More dangerous yet, they know, is the fantastic pressure these deficits are exerting on European capital and in turn on the European working class. The direct result of Nixon's inability to hold the line against inflation becomes the kind of prerevolutionary strike actions now sweeping Italy and which threaten to engulf all Europe.

Faced with this deepening crisis the capitalist class is now girding for new attacks on the working class. This is the meaning of the recent turn towards wage and price controls by sections of the capitalist class, from the head of the

Federal Reserve to so called "liberals."

CONTROLS

What this will mean of course is a free rein for prices while the working class in addition to being ground down by unemployment and inflation will be divested of its right to fight for wage hikes.

Last week Federal Reserve Board head Burns broke the ice on this issue with a guarded statement favoring an "incomes policy, provided it stopped well short of direct wage and price control..." Each new backer of the plan has dropped Burns' reservations, with Mayor Lindsay of New York talking of controls having the "force of law." New York Democratic gubernatorial hopeful Arthur Goldberg has called for full scale "wartime economic controls."

Perhaps the clearest expression of the employers' intentions in this regard were expressed in the inclusion of a clause in the 41.69% wage agreement between the New York Times and the printers rendering the contract null and void in the event of government controls.

PREVENT

The reality of the present situation is the fact that just as in the period from 1929 to World War II, capitalism is today forced to destroy masses of fictitious capital, create huge unemployment and launch an assault on the working class internationally right through to and including world war if it is re-



Burns, Federal Reserve Board

quired to achieve a restoration of its stability and rate of profit.

Given revolutionary leadership, however, the working class of the 1970s stands in as favorable position to prevent this course of events as at any time before.

S.F. Census Workers Hold One Day Strike Against The War

BY A CENSUS WORKER

SAN FRANCISCO--Census workers in the San Francisco area have transformed what began as a liberal-pacifist protest against the administration's Indochinese war policy into a labor struggle against capitalist exploitation and violence.

On Thursday, May 7, a rally was called by a census worker at the Fort Mason census headquarters in San Francisco with the announced purpose of deciding what census workers might do in response to the imperialist Cambodian invasion. Dissatisfaction by the workers with the usual consumer protest and moratorium style of action became apparent at this rally. Instead, many of those present spoke in favor of labor action as the only possible effective course to halt imperialism.

Census workers, hired only for a 2-4 month period have no trade union protection and no bargaining rights. The workers face frequent layoffs, low pay, and long delays in the payment of wages.

WORK STOPPAGE

The workers voted to call a mass work stoppage for the following week, and to combine this work stoppage with attempts to call out other Federal workers in the area.

In addition, forty census workers signed a petition demanding that the San Francisco Labor Council call a mass labor demonstration against the government's war policies and actions against students and workers. The significance of this is that these workers, not trade union members themselves, have realized the necessity of trade union action not only to stop imperialist aggression in Asia but also to protect their living standards and working conditions.

The work stoppage was held on May 15 and first reports indicate that the Census Bureau headquarters was almost completely shut down on that day, except for a handful of supervisory personnel. Workers met at Fort Mason and proceeded to the San Francisco Federal Building for a rally where they were joined by members of the San Francisco Welfare Department. Speakers called for support of a proposed mass labor rally and demonstration to be held on Memorial Day.

Trotskyists Demand "Free Grigorenko!!"



General Grigorenko, imprisoned for his opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy.

THE FOLLOWING IS an article translated from the French Trotskyists' Informations Ouvrieres. The article contains important material on the opposition within the Soviet Union and in particular from letters written by General Grigorenko during his imprisonment by the Stalinist bureaucracy in a mental institution.

At the time when the development of the international class struggle and its expression in the USSR itself, places the question of its disappearance on the agenda, that is of its overthrow by the working class linking up again with October, with the party of Lenin and Trotsky, preserving the conquest of October by the reestablishment of Soviet democracy, this bureaucracy seeks with a desperate rage to destroy the elements of a political opposition which seeks to consciously express this perspective.

One cannot read without shivering the document which recently arrived in West-

ern Europe: the notes taken by General Grigorenko since his arrest in May 1969. It is his wife Zinaida Grigorenko who addresses this document to "all the citizens of this world who love liberty" so that they may help her save her husband.

It is known that Grigorenko was, with Pavel Litvinov, Larissa Daniel, Lakhimovitch, Kosterin, one of those who began to give an organized and political form to the battle for the respect of civil rights in the U.S.S.R., a battle which could only lead directly to the struggle for socialist democracy, against the reactionary police power of the bureaucracy.

This is how he was arrested, when, faithful to the teachings of Lenin on the right of peoples to self determination, he was going to testify at the trial of the Crimean Tartars, judged for having dared to demand the right to return to their native land.

This man who was a fighter in the war against German imperialism, a cybernetics specialist, the author of a lucid and ruthless critique of Stalin's military policy in World War II, this man who called, in the name of communism, for a fight against the bureaucracy at the funeral of his companion in arms, Kosterin, is treated like a madman.

As he proudly declared to the police in white coats, after months of humiliations and "care" due to torture:

"Obviously if what is considered normal is the man who lowers his head before every arbitrary act of a bureaucrat then I am of course abnormal. No

matter how long they beat me I am not capable of such a humility."

And he recalls his activity: "In 1964, I made a typically Bolshevik decision, to create a very secret organization . . . nothing of this kind now: public declarations against arbitrary acts, against lies and hypocrisy, a call to liquidate the visible sores of our society, to the struggle for the rigorous respect of the laws and constitutional rights of the people. . ."

Yes, Grigorenko who the bureaucracy keeps hidden in an insane asylum, afraid even to bring him to trial, is a man of the same mettle as those who built the party which led the proletariat to victory in October 1917.

FEAR

In the months which preceded and coincided with the military aggression against Czechoslovakia the splits and contradictions within the very tops of the bureaucracy, their fear of the growth of the opposition like their fear of the consequences of a too violent repression, have in fact led to a situation where for the first time since 1927 the opposition has been able to benefit at times with possibilities of semilegal expression.

Today it seems that the vise is closing again. But simultaneously the crisis of the bureaucracy deepens. And it is through the cracks which go deeper and deeper in the bureaucratic facade that the most determined opposition still manages to express itself. Even the fact that Grigorenko's paper was able to be sold is the proof of it.

To stifle the voice of Grigorenko the bureaucracy throws him in an insane asylum. But it does not dare bring him to trial. It is afraid of the Russian working class, of the youth, of the intellectuals.

"We know that today we can save the communist militants that the bureaucracy strikes down," Pierre Broue explained in his conclusion to the meeting of the Trotskyist Organization March 20, 1970.

Yes it is possible to successfully retaliate against this new infamous act committed by the inheritors of Stalin.

By their fight, Grigorenko and his comrades nobly celebrate the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth, in fighting against the bureaucracy in the home of the October Revolution.

It is up to the workers' vanguard, everywhere in the world, to join this fight by being in the forefront of a determined action so that the workers' movement takes up the Grigorenko affair, to organize a powerful campaign on an international scale, which will loudly proclaim the unanimous demand of all those who fight for socialism.

Liberate the militant revolutionary Grigorenko! Liberate all the political prisoners!

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PL-SDS GANG ASSAULTS BOSTON SMC MEETING

BY PAT CONNOLLY

BOSTON, MASS., May 24—The Student Mobilization Committee expanding National Steering Committee meeting held here today was attacked by about 60 members of Progressive Labor Party, and SDS.

Some weeks ago, eight men identified as members of PLP and SDS attacked and beat up Robert Bresnahan, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and active in the Boston area antiwar movement.

Today at the Steering Committee meeting, although about 10 PL-SDSers had registered and come into the meeting with

no difficulty, others attempted to storm into the meeting in progress. They were stopped. Immediately upon hearing the scuffle outside the room, all the SDS-PLers rushed out and a fight ensued.

If PL had intended to participate seriously in the conference, rather than disrupt it, they could all have registered

and come into the meeting, as did representatives from various tendencies, including the Workers League.

GANG

Their intention, however, was to break up the meeting with physical disruption and force. A motion was made by Peter Camejo, SWP-YSA, that two representatives of PL be allowed into the meeting to speak for their point of view, but that PL-SDS would not be allowed to storm in and break up the meeting. The motion was passed without objection.

As the Steering Committee meeting resumed after a lunch break, it was announced that a gang of PLers was marching over to the MIT hall where the meeting was being held. A defense guard, including Workers League members and other political tendencies was set up as 60 PL-SDSers stormed into the hallway with clenched fists, threatening to break up the meeting, demanding to be allowed in and shouting, "Who's got the ice picks?"

Two of their members were escorted into the meeting room, where they spoke briefly and left, refusing any discussion with the participants. Then PL-SDSers attacked, trying to force their way into the meeting. At least one PL-SDSer had a sap or short blackjack which this reporter saw in use, and after a few minutes of violent fighting, PL-SDS retreated. At least one SMC member was carried away on a stretcher close to unconscious.

STALINISM

The meeting was resumed with a discussion of the attack and what it meant. Several pacifists objected to the use of violence, which the YSA countered by saying that self-defense was necessary.

Workers League participants made clear that the attack stemmed from Stalinism and the Stalinist politics of PLP. Thuggery has been a method of the Stalinists since the extermination of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union, since the murder of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and the Moscow Trials. Thuggery and physical attack was used by the Stalinists against the American Trotskyist movement in the 1930s, when SWP meetings were physically broken up and Militant salesmen on the street beaten by gangs of Stalinists.

It is no coincidence that these attacks by PL come at the same time as the

Communist Party launches an attack on Trotskyism in the Daily World with vicious lies and slanders, trying to link Trotskyism and fascism, slanders not seen since the 1930s.

Only last Friday the CP held a public meeting on "The Inside Job: Trotskyism in the Movement." The SWP-YSA was only able to defend themselves on the level of single issue versus multi-issue in the antiwar movement. They were unable to confront Stalinism theoretically, politically and historically. It was the Workers League at this meeting which took up the fight for Trotskyism exposing the whole history and present betrayals of Stalinism. The SWP-YSA long since abandoned this fight.

CAMEJO

Even after this vicious attack by PL-SDS, SWP leader Peter Camejo insisted that it was not a political question of Stalinism; it was simply a question of "violence within the movement." SMC-YSA leader Carol Lipman did the same, contending that "what we can all agree on is that this violence within the movement must be exposed," and that the question of Stalinism was not in order at an SMC meeting.

It is no coincidence that at the meeting proper, there was no struggle whatsoever for political understanding, for a theoretical assessment of the last week, and the meaning of the turn in the labor movement against the war. Rather there was a sterile recital of "what happened at my campus last week." The YSA's inability to fight for Trotskyism, their refusal to do so within the SMC, also makes them incapable of understanding and fighting Stalinism.

DEFENSE

The Workers League willingly participated in the defense of the SMC meeting against this Stalinist attack, and will join with the SWP-YSA and other tendencies against such attacks, both for physical defense and to build a massive campaign against the use of violence within the working class and radical movement. But this is only part of the fight. The only way to defeat Stalinism is through a real fight for the political and theoretical understanding of Trotskyism and the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership among the youth and the working class.

LABOR COMMITTEE JOINS CP POPULAR FRONT ON GREECE



Greek communist guerillas in 1944. They were sold out by Stalin's deal with Churchill.

BY THE EDITORS

The Labor Committee, led by Lyn Marcus, has formed a common bloc with the Communist Party's youth organization, the Young Workers Liberation League, as well as with the pro-Stalinist Youth Against War and Fascism and assorted liberal groups over the question of Greece.

Together these forces issued a common leaflet calling for a demonstration on May 17 to oppose the Greek parade which supported the Colonels' dictatorship. The leaflet speaks in the name of "the Greek revolutionary and democratic movement" and urges the solidarity of "American progressives" with the struggle of the Greek "people."

Thus the leaflet views the struggle against the Greek military junta as a democratic one and on this basis unites with the liberals and Stalinists. The line of the leaflet is thus the line of Stalinism internationally and in Greece. It is precisely this line which facilitated the dictatorship in the first place.

BLOODY

It is a matter of bloody historical record that Stalin came to terms with Churchill after the war on the basis of turning Greece over to the imperialists. Backing up this deal, Stalin cut off the Greek guerillas from supplies and allowed them to be defeated. On the basis of this defeat the Greek capitalist class set up a strong, American-backed army, a royal family and a weak parliamentary cover. More recently this parliamentary cover has been ripped off as the military established their direct dictatorship fearing a revolution by the working class.

Throughout the whole heroic history of struggle of the Greek working class against the fascists and later their own bourgeoisie, the Communist Party of Greece has insisted on limiting the struggle within "democratic," that is, capitalist bounds. However, the victory of the military junta shows that the liberal capitalists are powerless before the armed might of their own capitalist state.

The great lesson of Greece is the necessity to see the struggle against the junta as a struggle for working class leadership around a program of socialist revolution. Stalinism opposes this and therefore Stalinism stands as the betrayer of the Greek working class.

MARCUS

The Labor Committee was founded by Lyn Marcus who is today its leader. The policy put forward in this leaflet is a policy which he has formulated and is in accord with. Lyn Marcus spent 20 years as a member of the Socialist Workers Party during a period when that organization was Trotsky-

ist and part of the Fourth International. Breaking with the SWP in 1965, Marcus spent a short time with the predecessor organization of the Workers League and an even shorter time with Spartacist. Then he began his independent evolution which led him to his present political position.

It is significant that Marcus stood together with Robertson precisely in his hostility to the International Committee of the Fourth International. It was this anti-internationalist position which alone formed the political basis of his bloc with Spartacist. In leaving Spartacist he simply carried forward the international liquidationist line which he shared with Robertson to its national conclusions, abandoning any pretext of Trotskyism or the struggle for the Leninist party in the United States.

STALINISM

It is significant that this evolution now leads him directly into the Stalinist camp and to function as the left cover for the Stalinists on the question of Greece. The Labor Committee has played a similar role at Brooklyn college, in the Metropolitan Council on Housing, and other arenas. Nowhere does the Labor Committee openly take up the struggle against Stalinism. Now it comes out openly for the "democratic" struggle in Greece.

This is the real meaning of all its liberal schemes about taxation, restructuring industry and productive investment. Such proposals are not put forward in a neutral environment. Separated as they are from the question of the labor party and the independent class political action of the working class, they must become encompassed within the popular front schemes of the Stalinists.

What the Labor Committee does in one arena the SWP and YSA do in other arenas—particularly the antiwar movement. Everywhere the refusal to confront the historical questions involved in Trotskyism and Stalinism facilitates the growth of Stalinism today and its efforts to divert the whole new struggle back into the capitalist camp.

The Workers League intends to step up its struggle against the whole revisionist and Stalinist lot in the interests of the independent political development of the American working people.

Jewish Defense League Builds Fascist Group To Aid Zionism

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

The terrorist hooligan attack of members of the Jewish Defense League on three Arabs at the United Nations last week must serve as a sharp warning to Jewish workers as well as the working class as a whole.

Beware that the Jewish Defense League, under the guise of "defending" Jews, is creating a fascist organization of the kind which led to the great massacres of Jews during World War II.

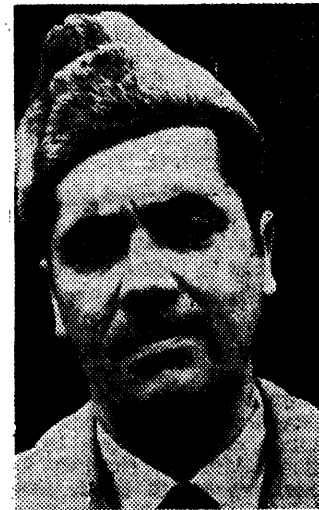
This group has organized thugs and even a special camp in the Catskills for training youth in military arts. Its philosophy is closely modeled after the demogogy of the fascists: "How can a rich Jew or non-Jew criticize an organization of lower and middle class Jews who daily live in terror?" stated its leader Rabbi Meir Kahane. "The Establishment Jew is scandalized by us, but our support comes from the grass roots."

RACIST

The group has organized itself as a vigilante squad to "protect" Jews from blacks as well as to defend Israel in her most extreme attacks on the Arabs abroad. Thus within this group we find a connection between the racist and imperialist attacks of Israel on the Arab workers and peasants and an open fomenting of racist conflict between middle and working class Jews and black workers and youth.

The group also specializes in the most extreme forms of anticommunism and its goons are ready and willing to attack radical working class organizations made up of Jew and non-Jews alike.

That the AJC and other such Zionist groups formally condemn the JDL means absolutely nothing. The fascism and racism of this group is the natural extension of Zionism which is rooted like Nazism in a reactionary nationalism--the utopian and reactionary scheme to maintain the



Rabbi Meir
Kahane
Jewish
Defense
League

Jewish "people" as a separate people and at the expense of other peoples.

CLASS

The growth of the JDL here is paralleled by the growth of similar groups in Israel, suppression of working class oppositionists in Israel, the growing power of the military there, while within this country rightist forces gather behind flag waving construction workers and fascist tendencies develop in the wings of the black nationalist movement.

The only road forward is the class road the international road, which in Lenin's spirit, owes no allegiance to any national group and which sees the struggle as one of class against class for world socialism and the end of every and all forms of exploitation, oppression and discrimination.

French Trotskyist Youth Hold First Conference

BY V. BARAT

PARIS, MAY 18—The first Congress of the revolutionary French youth movement, the Alliance of Youth for Socialism (AJS), was held here on the weekend of May 16 and 17.

The political maturity and rapid growth foreseen for the AJS at its gigantic rally last February 1 at Bourget Airport have been fully verified in the course of the last three and a half months.

Much of the deliberations of the 600 delegates, each representing a minimum of 10 to 15 members, were concerned with consolidating their new forces around a program aimed at smashing the hold of Stalinism in France, the main barrier to the seizure of state power by the working class.

About 200 or more visitors and fraternal delegates from other countries attentively observed the proceedings and debates, which are to have such historical importance for the French proletariat and youth in the period ahead.

The Congress itself took serious note of the acute stage reached by imperialism and specifically American imperialism, its criminal war against the workers and peasants of Vietnam and Cambodia. The assault on America's own youth was seen as part of the bourgeoisie's fear and hatred of the working class in the U.S.

In full agreement with its sister organizations, the Young Socialists of Britain and the Young Guard of Germany, the AJS resolved to broaden the bases of its own organization in France while assisting in the creation of groups throughout the world.

YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

This course of action is in keeping with the decision made at the Scarborough Conference of the Young Socialists on April 11 and 12, which was attended by 100 AJS delegates representing every city in France. A delegation of the Young Guard from Germany also was present. It was at the Scarborough Conference that a further decision was made—that by the end of this year of Lenin and Trotsky a revolutionary youth international be forged against both imperialism and its bureaucratic servitors within the working class, Stalinism and Social Democracy.

The AJS Congress greeted enthusiastically the representatives of the Workers Alliance and the Organization Trotskyiste with whom the AJS struggles daily to build the revolutionary party in France.

The delegates officially renewed their appeal to the Stalinist youth movement (MJC) as well as to all other organizations of the working class for a common struggle against impending legislation aimed at the workers and youth.

The AJS at this Congress decided to expand its political influence by enriching its social activities, giving the organization even greater appeal among all the exploited youth. The AJS fully intends to become the rallying pole for all youth suffering the effects of an out-lived capitalist order: the poorly trained young workers; superexploited apprentices; students with meaningless diplomas and degrees; young peasants forced by agricultural stagnation into cities already teeming with jobless youth. It was indeed these younger elements who were the best fighters in the French general strike of May-June, 1968.

Among resolutions adopted was one condemning the Brazilian government, which has singled out Trotskyists for persecutions and imprisonment. Another resolution called on Arab and Jewish workers in the Near East to unite against their respective capitalist classes.

GREETINGS

A letter of greetings sent by Trotskyists struggling against Stalinism in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia was received with stormy ovation, showing how the delegates appreciate the valor of our cothinkers in the workers states.

Greetings were also brought to the Congress in person by a large delegation of Young Socialists from Britain and a delegation of the Young Guard from Germany. A delegate of Greek Trotskyists active in the underground received a thunderous, standing ovation from the

entire assembly. A comrade from the Workers League in the U.S. was present and presented greetings to the assembly.

Most of the conference discussion centered around the struggle against the proposed new law which, if passed, will ban "illicit" demonstrations and impose "collective liability" for violations of this ban. The AJS will fight to mobilize the working class against the law and will fight for a united front of all working class organizations and for a workers government.

LAW

This law is the first full scale attack on the French working class since the May-June events. While the government tries to maintain that the law is merely aimed at extremist groups every French worker knows that it is a fundamental attack on the rights of the trade unions to demonstrate, on their right to wage an independent struggle against the attacks of the government. The law will be especially used against the Trotskyists and is part of a move by the government to ban the AJS. Although Gaullist deputies were initially divided over the law their aim of crushing the working class overrides any fears they may rightly have over the reaction of the workers to its passage.

The government is carrying out a series of vicious provocations to "justify" the law. First there was a bombing of the Parisian newspaper, Parisien Libre, attributed to left wing groups. The AJS headquarters in Paris has been searched. In Grenoble, on May 7, army com-



Over 700 delegates attended the first congress of the Alliance de Jeunes pour le Socialisme (AJS), French Trotskyist youth organization, held in Paris this month.

mandos aided by the police tried to provoke the students without success. In the morning of May 10 police swarmed all over the campus interrogating students and searching everything. The AJS and Pierre Lambert of the Trotskyist Organization have publicly denounced the provocations and any attempt to link their organization with it.

STALINISTS

Not surprisingly, much of the slander comes from the Communist Party. The Stalinists have already given the government the green light to suppress other left wing organizations, in particular the Trotskyists, by remaining silent when the Trotskyist organizations were dissolved in May-June 1968. It rejects a united front against the law and denounced the Trotskyists as "fascists" and terrorists and thus encourages the government's repression.

On April 23 a joint meeting was called by the major unions, the Communist, Socialists, Unified Socialist and Radical Parties. As a result of this array of forces the government postponed debate for one week. This in itself showed that a mass mobilization of the unions could decisively defeat the law. But this was not the aim of the Stalinists.

The demonstrations called for April 29 were dispersed and encouraged the government to begin the debate. Now it has passed the National Assembly and will go to the Senate on May 21. The CP rejected the call for a mass demonstration on May Day to center around the defeat of the law. The April 29 demonstrations were for the Stalinists, a last token protest and they advanced no perspective beyond it except for "lobbying" the week of May 21.

May Day for the Stalinists meant business as usual and not the intensification of the struggle against the government. Already they have conceded that the law is not as bad as all that by saying that it will make clear the "class nature of the regime." It is the Communist Party who could use a lesson in the class nature of the regime, not the workers!

In April the Trotskyists were excluded from the demonstrations. Pointing to the AJS and UNEF contingents the Stalinists shouted "the extremists are behind, the State is using them." George Marchais, Central Committee member of the CP, said of the recent bombings: "Whether Maoists or Trotskyists, their provocations serve so well the purposes of the ruling class that it is difficult to believe they are not controlled from there."

UNITED FRONT

The Communist Party is incapable of defending the most elementary gains of the French working class at a time when this defense poses a fight for power. But their attempts to sabotage this fight will not succeed, just as their attempt to hold back the 1968 General Strike did not succeed. Through the fight for the united front the Trotskyist movement will expose the Stalinist lie that lasting concessions can be wrested from the ruling class, that the unions can make their peace with it. The lie that Trotskyists are agents of the ruling class will be exposed in action against the repression.

The AJS conference closed with a call for a demonstration and meeting on June 24 to celebrate the anniversary of the Paris Commune. We are confident that the French Trotskyists will forge ahead and win new forces to the fight to build a revolutionary leadership in France.

Lindsay And MTA Blame Workers For Subway Crash



Conductor Abraham Williams (right), and motorman Anthony Haynes, (left).

BY MARTY JONAS

NEW YORK—On Wednesday, May 20, a disabled and empty passenger train on New York's IND subway line collided at regular traveling speed with a packed rush-hour train at a station in Queens.

Two persons were killed and about seventy injured. It was the first fatal accident in New York's subway since 1928.

Three subway workers—a motorman, a conductor, and an inspector—are being blamed for the accident. Two have

already been suspended pending investigation.

The disabled train, one of the many that break down each week in the decaying subway system, was being run from the third car by the motorman while the conductor signalled to him with a flashlight from the first car. This is the way they were ordered to get the train to the yards.

According to the Metropolitan Transit Authority, which is trying to place the blame on the workers, this is a standard way of moving any train which has inoperative brakes on the first couple of cars! This is the rationale that MTA's Ronan hides behind in trying to hang these three workers.

BLAME

The blame must lie with Mayor Lindsay and William Ronan and the MTA. To pay off the bondholders the MTA has not only raised the fare but has taken it off the backs of the workers in speedup, undermanning, and primitive working conditions. It was these pinch-penny methods of the MTA and Lindsay that killed two passengers and injured more than seventy.

Lindsay, Ronan, and the MTA cannot be let off the hook on these murders. These three workers cannot be made the scapegoats.

This is an attack not only on three subway workers, but on all workers. As the capitalist system decays and accidents happen, the bosses will try to shift the blame away from themselves onto the working class.

INQUIRY

A campaign for the defense of these three subway workers must begin now in the labor movement. Members of the Transit Workers Union must demand of their leadership more than just a courtroom defense. Workers in the TWU as well as in every other union must demand an independent workers' inquiry into the subway crash.

JOIN THE WORKERS LEAGUE!

CALIFORNIA: San Francisco: 1333A Stevenson St. Phone: 626-7019 Los Angeles: P.O. Box 25887 LA 90025 Phone: 641-5245 Berkeley: U.C. Room 214 Deusch Hall Phone: 841-6313

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

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THE UAW AND WALTER REUTHER

On The Road From Militant To Bureaucrat

BY DAN FRIED

THE FLINT SITDOWNS that built the UAW were a beacon for the mass strike wave that swept the country and built and consolidated the CIO in 1937. As a militant local leader, Walter Reuther had a role to play in those struggles. But within two years, Reuther had ceased to be a fighting militant and had become an ambitious aspiring bureaucrat who put his support for Roosevelt and the plans for war ahead of the interests of the workers.

Walter Reuther, along with his brothers, Victor and Roy, were among the militant leaders involved in the 1937 organizing drive. Walter Reuther had already turned his back on the independent political action by the working class—the labor party—in favor of the popular front policy of support to Roosevelt.

The policy of the popular front, of support to and dependence on Roosevelt and the Democratic Party, failed to defeat the Flint sitdowns, mainly because the rank and file strike leaders had much too healthy a distrust of these politicians and were determined to rely only on the organization of the rank and file. Many of these militants were under the influence of the Communist Party before it took up the popular front, and of the left wing of the Socialist Party which was for independent political action by labor.

LITTLE STEEL

But in the Little Steel Strike, the popular front did its dirty work. The leaders of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, Philip Murray and John L. Lewis, together with the Stalinists preached that the workers should rely on and welcome the state troopers, police, and National Guardsmen that were called in to keep "law and order."

Then came the Memorial Day massacre of striking Chicago Republic Steel workers at the hands of New Deal Mayor Kelly's police. The workers, told by their leaders that their right to peaceful picketing was "guaranteed" were mowed down by the Chicago police while trying to exercise that right.

But Reuther's support for Roosevelt was not only a disaster for the Steelworkers. Reuther had by now openly joined forces with Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers who was Roosevelt's most trusted agent in trying to hold back the union organizing drives, most notably at Bethlehem Steel and at the Ford Motor Co. Even though the UAW leadership had officially opened a drive to organize Ford, they were at

the same time trying to contain it. They saw the solution for the union coming peacefully in a forthcoming NLRB election. That was the strategy of the CIO Ford Director to whom they turned over the organizing drive. Typically, their friend in the White House announced on the day after his re-election, Nov. 7, 1940, the award of a defense contract to Ford of \$123 million. At the same time 25 UAW members were in jail for distributing union leaflets at the Ford River Rouge plant.

FORD

The support to Roosevelt by Reuther and the other UAW leaders did not result in defeat at Ford, where an awe-inspiring struggle by the UAW rank and file brought unionism to Ford. But the same policy led to the treachery of the UAW leaders in the North American Aviation strike. Roosevelt, acting with the tacit approval of Hillman and his friend Reuther, ordered the striking North American workers back to work and announced he was sending troops to open the struck plant in the interests of the "national emergency." John L. Lewis, now a bitter opponent of Roosevelt, denounced Hillman as a "traitor" who was "standing at Roosevelt's elbow when he signed the order to send troops to stab labor in the back..."

From the beginning the UAW International Executive Board sought to undermine the local strike leaders. Richard Frankensteen, sent out to the strike scene on behalf of the UAW leadership, immediately denounced the strike over a coast to coast radio hookup. Later, Frankensteen, who had originally worked out all the strike demands and strategy with the strikers and pledged the full support of the UAW, attempted to order the strikers back to work at a mass meeting and was hooted down. "The next morning," writes Art Preis, "the embittered workers massed at the plant. There to meet them was the first large contingent of what was to grow by nightfall into an army of 3,500 federal troops. Thus the United States government waged its first military engagement of World War II on American soil against American workers resisting hunger wages."

CP

The local leaders of the North American strike were at the time under the influence of the Communist Party. The CP, following the Stalin-Hilter pact in 1939 made a left turn which brought it into opposition to Roosevelt until the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, only eleven days after the crushing of the North American strike. After that, throughout the war and into the post war period, the CP was the most super-patriotic, flag waving, strikebreaking supporter of Roosevelt in the U.S. labor movement.

Prior to the Stalin-Hilter pact and during the war, when Lewis was the only major union bureaucrat to defy Roosevelt, Reuther together with Hillman supported both the popular front and the wartime no strike pledge. But during the brief period of the Stalin-Hilter pact, the Reuther-Hillman forces came into sharp conflict with the Stalinists. This fight erupted at



Reuther and Frankensteen after the Battle of Overpass, (above). Flint sitdown, (above right). Workers attack scab in Ford battle, 1944.



the 1941 UAW convention which centered around the role of the Stalinists in the North American and Allis-Chalmers strike, another local strike which the UAW leaders opposed.

While the Stalinist elements twisted and turned according to the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy, Reuther represented the section of the labor bureaucracy that is allied with the liberal capitalists in support of politicians like Roosevelt, Kennedy, Johnson and Humphrey and is basically anticommunist. This was reflected sharply at the 1941 convention when Reuther, in the service of Roosevelt and the ruling class, raised the "communist" issue, leading a witchhunt in order to smear genuine rank and file militants who defied the UAW bureaucrats in the North American and Allis-Chalmers strikes.

SOLIDIFY

Reuther led the attack with his constitutional amendment barring from elective or appointive 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 amendment was a thinly veiled weapon by the Reuther forces to solidify themselves in the leadership of the UAW against both the Stalinists and the militant rank and file. The issue of these strikes and of the convention was without doubt the crushing of the rank and file by the UAW bureaucracy in the interests of the ruling class.

During the war Reuther used his history of opposition to the Stalinists and independence from the central UAW Thomas-Adde leadership (who worked in a joint caucus with the Stalinists) to gain a certain authority in the eyes of the militants who resisted the no strike pledges and wage freeze.

At the 1944 convention he attempted to qualify his support of the no strike pledge, at the same time keeping somewhat in the background. He and his brother Victor attempted to put forward an ambiguous

position on the no strike pledge in order to capture the support of the militants without actually opposing the no strike pledge.

The 1944 convention was in reality the beginning of the revolt against the war time no strike pledge and wage freeze which erupted into a massive strike wave at the end of the war. The high point of the strike wave was the great 113 day General Motors strike, which brought Walter Reuther, as the leader of the GM negotiations, up from the low point of his popularity at the 1944 convention and swept him into the presidency of the UAW.

Like Joe Curran in the National Maritime Union, who broke with the Stalinists and took leadership of the militant revolt of the ranks against the Stalinist leadership during the war, Reuther rode the crest of the rebellion against the central Thomas-Adde leadership which had collaborated closely with the Stalinists during the war. Reuther not only used his leadership of the GM strike as an economic struggle, but picked up bits and pieces of socialist politics, such as the demand borrowed from the Socialist Workers Party, "Open the Books," which he used in the GM strike.

But, like Curran, Reuther then used the machinery of the UAW to launch a witchhunting drive to get all "communists" out of the UAW and the CIO. Indeed, Reuther jumped aboard the cold war bandwagon in this rebaiting campaign unleashed by the U.S. ruling class on a far grander scale than his witch-hunting in the 1940-41 period. Reuther emerged not only as the one man ruler in the UAW, but as "second in command" behind Philip Murray in the CIO.

In his rise to the position of top bureaucrat in the UAW, Reuther underwent a long process of development. He began not as a union hack, but rather as a young idealistic militant. He was not only an ardent socialist, campaigning for Norman Thomas in the 1932 election, but spent nearly two years in the Soviet Union as part of a world tour to study working conditions with his brother Victor. From this tour, Walter Reuther entered directly into the struggles that built the UAW, not as an established bureaucrat, but as a militant local leader.

PRAGMATISM

But his experience in the socialist movement and in his travels did not take him to the point of Marxism, to the understanding that there is no solution for the working class this side of the socialist revolution and that therefore the task is to build revolutionary parties. Even as a socialist and militant, Reuther never went beyond the philosophy of Henry Ford and the entire American ruling class—pragmatism. Reuther never began with the class struggle and how to advance it, but with "making things work," with deals and maneuvers within the given system of capitalism. He called this policy "realism" and justified his sell-outs with the saying, "It was the best we could do under the circumstances." He tried to make things work better for the working class within capitalism, but only ended up as a bureaucrat making things work "better" for the capitalists.

TO BE CONTINUED



UAW "Big Four", 1946, left to right: Frankensteen, Addes, Thomas, Reuther.