

Bulletin

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*stalinism and
the c.p. youth*

*the method of
i.s. and sds labor*

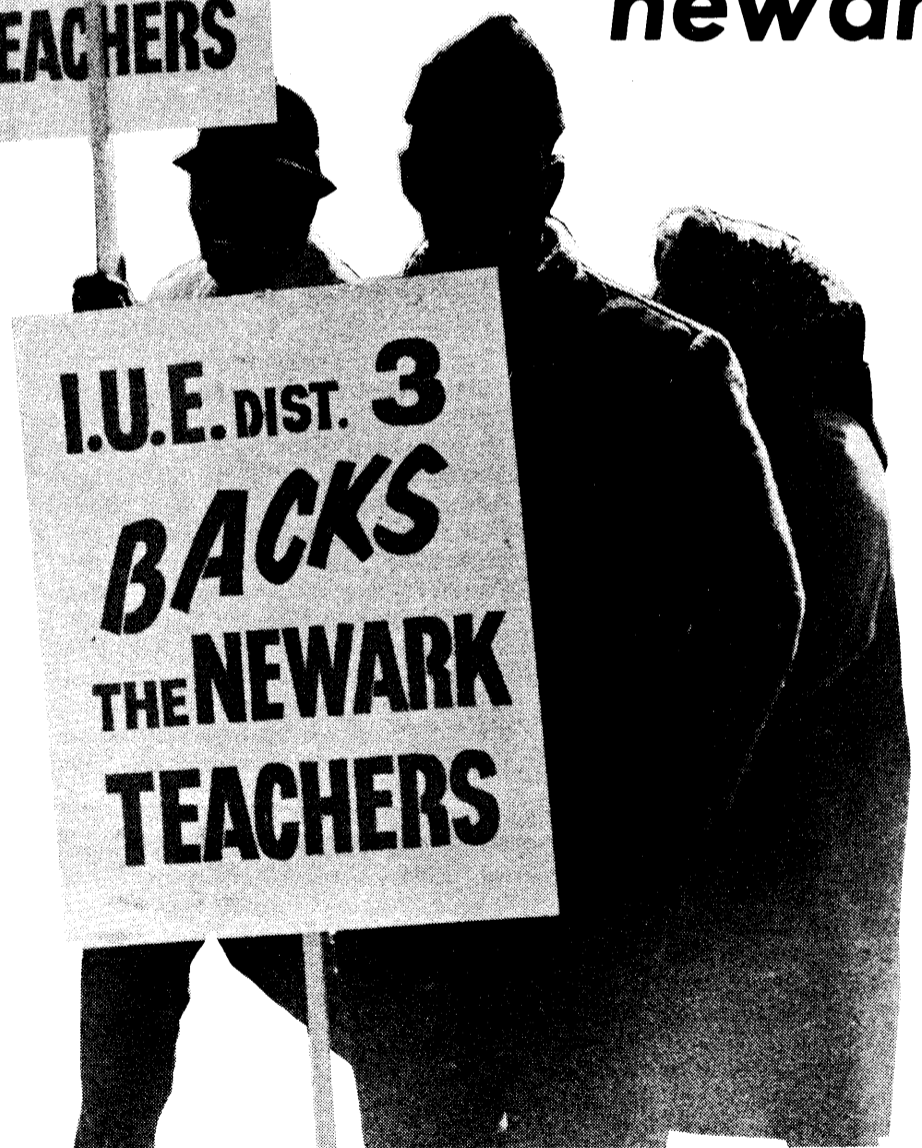
NIXON USES RACISM TO SPLIT WORKERS



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labor stops
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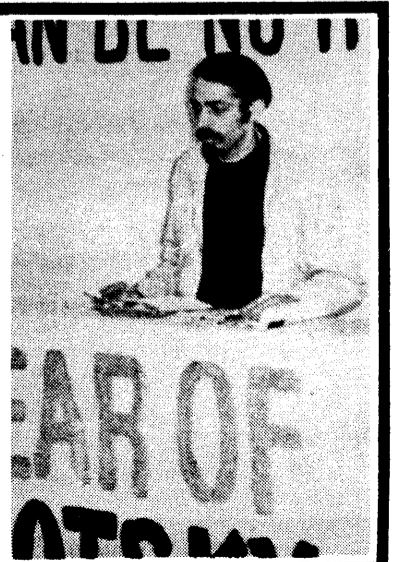
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**BACKS
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*united labor
marches in
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**WORKERS LEAGUE
MOVES AHEAD
ON WEST COAST**

FIRST WESTERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE



RACIST STENNIS BILL USED BY NIXON TO SPLIT WORKERS

BY KAREN FRANKEL

The recent passing of the Stennis amendment in Congress by a 56 to 36 margin marks a new stage in Nixon's strategy to break the back of the American working class by both encouraging and fomenting racism. The passage of this bill in effect takes the progress made in the area of integration and throws it back to the level of pre-1954, when segregation had not yet been ruled unconstitutional.

The bill simply states that desegregation guidelines "shall be applied uniformly in all regions of the U.S....without regard to the origin or cause of such segregation." In other words, de jure segregation in the South shall not be tackled without the changing of de facto segregation in the North. The bill provides that the federal fund cut-off provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act apply to schools that are segregated as a result of residential racial patterns as well as de jure discrimination.

To further insure the complete freezing of moves toward integration in both North and South, Jamie L. Whitten, Democrat of Mississippi, proposed an amendment which was passed Thursday in the House, forbidding the cut-off of funds to school districts that refuse to bus students to achieve integration. Along with this amendment was one proposed by Charles R. Jonas, Republican of North Carolina, permitting the use of freedom of choice plans (allowing the student to CHOOSE not to be bused), plans which perpetuate the segregated system. It is significant that this bill could not have been passed without the support of such liberals as Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut. Ribicoff tried, without success, to justify his stand with some white-guilt rhetoric about the lack of progress in the North on the integration question. But it is quite clear that the Republicans and Democrats, liberals and conservatives, are united about one thing--the need to divide the working class on the basis of race.

WHIP UP

Equally significant is the fact that this amendment passes in the Senate at the same time as G. Harrold Carswell, the self-avowed racist, is being eased into his new post on the Supreme Court, and the Panther trials are just getting under way. The Nixon administration is planning a blatant and extensive campaign in order to whip up racial tensions just at the time when the American working class is going on the offensive over wages and working conditions, and just at the time that Nixon and the employers must raise unemployment to "cool down the economy." Racism has always been used to divide the working class against

itself, and the American ruling class finds it necessary to employ this tactic with full vigor in this period.

An increasingly racist court is necessary in order to legitimize the increasingly divisive steps of the government. The capitalists need to plant the seeds of racial fear and mistrust in the working class and to use patriotism and the dignity of the courts as a cover. The Panther trials will prove to be the biggest racial ploy the bourgeoisie has used in many years. Propaganda about "terrorist acts" com-



RALLY FOR PANTHER '71

mitted by "militant blacks" is reminiscent of the sordid Reichstag fire, where the Nazis deliberately committed terrorist acts in order to sow fear of Communists in the minds of the German working class.

REVISIONISTS

The black nationalists and their revisionist supporters have nothing to say about such things, however. Stennis follows the logic of the nationalist separation line, and poses it in terms of self-determination for whites, or, "live and let live." The Panthers are running around after such bourgeois liberals as Leonard Bernstein, who, at the first opportunity stab them in the back and brand them as "unreasonable people." These political tendencies do nothing but help the bourgeoisie along in their desire to fan the flames of racism.

What the Panthers and the revisionists refuse to do is to show the class nature of these attacks. The attacks on the Panthers are intimately related to the jailing of 200 striking teachers in Newark.

The attacks and frameups of the Panthers are part of the arsenal of weapons Nixon and Agnew are using to deepen the divisions in the working class in order to facilitate its plans of lowering the standard of living of American workers, and raising unemployment.

Opportunist alliances with any member of the ruling class only serve to muddy up the class nature of the attacks, and further tie the workers to the liberal bourgeoisie. The Panthers are now being smacked in the face by the same policies which the Communist Party followed in Spain which led to the rise of Franco. Poplar Frontism is the gravedigger of the independent movement of the working class against the state.

PARTY

Racism can only be fought by a clear class offensive, showing why the ruling class whips it up, espec-

what the editors think...

The report by Harry Ring on the recent Student Mobilization Committee conference in the February 27th issue of the Militant represents the low level political slander the SWP leadership is reduced to in order to maintain its bloc with the Stalinists and liberals in the anti-war movement. United against the YSA at the conference was a coalition of the Radical Independent Caucus, RYM II, and the Community Organizing Caucus. The cement that bound these groups together was Stalinism, which is now seeking to divert the struggle against the war into a multitude of classless issues leading to the diffusion of the struggle against the war.

Ring in his article carefully lumps the program raised by the Workers League with the maneuvers and policies of this anti-Trotskyist tendency.

Ring feigns confusion on the relationship of the various tendencies: "A heterogeneous grouping of individuals and political tendencies sought to establish a common front to defeat or significantly amend this proposal. A caucus variously referred to as the 'Independent' caucus, the 'Independent Radical' caucus and the 'Independent and Radical' caucus sought to establish itself as the rallying center of the opposition to the Lipman proposal. It was difficult to ascertain precisely what groups the caucus embraced as allegiances shifted throughout the conference."

Ring then makes a long list of these tendencies that were "in opposition" including the Workers League. "Some of these groups," Ring goes on, "sought to relate to the Radical Caucus but found it difficult to agree on a common program or conference strategy. The central issue that seemed to bind them together was opposition to the Young Socialist Alliance...The oppositionists found themselves in additional difficulty in that while they tended to agree on a multi-issue approach for the anti-war movement, they could not agree among themselves on what the issues should be. Some favored proposals which they felt would give SMC activity a greater anti-imperialist content...Others favored action of an undefined nature to end what they see as white or male supremacy in the anti-war movement. Still others said the key is to get the organized labor movement not to support the anti-war movement but to lead it..."

All of this is enumerated in order for the SWP to lump the fight by the Workers League with the tendencies around the Radical Caucus and to obscure the Workers League's proposal for class action against the war. Ring concludes that "It was quite an education in unprincipled politics to see the dismal outcome of an attempt to subordinate political differences for the sake of an organizational bloc against another political grouping."

But it was precisely the SWP-YSA that attempted to "subordinate political differences" in order to maintain its alliance with the Stalinists and the liberals in the New Mobe. What Ring leaves out of his article

is the political perspective and the political cement that lay at the heart of the Radical Caucus bloc--Stalinism. Ring slanders the Workers League to cover the refusal of the SWP-YSA to take up the role of the Stalinists in the "Radical" coalition and the New Mobe.

The Workers League in fact had absolutely nothing to do with the tendencies grouped around the Radical Caucus and refused to participate in the organizational disputes raised against the YSA by these tendencies. When the Workers League spokesman, Pat Connolly, attacked this group on the floor of the conference, pointing out that what united these groups was the political perspective of Stalinism, the Popular Front, she was booed by this tendency. The Workers League clearly and politically differentiated itself from these politics by calling on the conference to take up the fight for a massive labor demonstration as the only way to take forward the struggle against the war. The Workers League took a revolutionary defeatist position in its struggle, saying that "a victory for the NLF is a victory for the American working class, a victory for the American working class is a victory for the NLF."

Clearly it was the SWP-YSA that stood politically with the Radical Caucus. As the Workers League spokesman at the conference put it, Carol Lipman's proposal calling for many demonstrations in many cities around many issues represented a political retreat before the Stalinists and liberals in the New Mobe.

It is this capitulation that Ring is attempting to cover. Ring can neither deal politically with the content of the bloc against the YSA nor objectively with the struggle waged by the Workers League. The SWP-YSA is united with the Stalinist bloc politically and united against the Workers League and a revolutionary struggle against the war. The YSA leadership at the conference was incapable of defending Trotskyism which was what was really under attack by the Radical caucus grouping. This would have required a clear break with the collaborationist policy the SWP-YSA has maintained in the peace movement from its very origins. The SWP-YSA has maintained the perspective of the Popular Front. As Carol Lipman put it on Nov. 15th: "Everyone is welcome in our movement--Republicans, Democrats, socialists, communists, pacifists or whatever." It was the YSA that lined up the Radical caucus in Cleveland with its proposal as Ring puts it "to tie in with the slated...anti-war activity projected by both the Moratorium and New Mobe" including the dropping of the SWP's holy "single issue" campaign for such "key issues" as campus complicity, women's liberation and third world struggles.

The SWP-YSA has taken a further step into the arms of the Stalinists and this step is being justified by Ring through a slander campaign against the Workers League and against Marxism.

ially in periods of crisis, and how only the independent action of the working class can fight it. This requires a political answer to the Congress, the courts, and the Nixon administration, whose power is being thrown against the working class. This means the unity of the working class in a labor party and a political battle.

An integral part of the fight of the working class against racism

must be the fight for the shorter work week and full employment. It is this demand which Nixon and the ruling class fear. That is why they raise all sorts of diversionary racist fears in the minds of the white workers. The ruling class will hear its own death knell when the working class fights united for a shorter work week, rather than fighting against itself for a shrinking number of jobs.

Bulletin

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united labor backs newark teachers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEWARK, N.J., Feb.23--In a tremendous display of solidarity for the striking Newark teachers, thousands of trade unionists gathered at the Military Park Hotel and staged a march through downtown Newark. The rally was held to answer the vicious repression leveled at the teachers ever since the strike began on Feb. 2nd. Such a massive labor demonstration had never been seen in Newark before.

Present at the rally were some 27 unions, including the electrical workers, hospital workers, the Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Seafarers International Union, steel and rubber workers, communication workers, textile workers and printers. In addition hundreds of teachers from the AFT and the UFT poured in from Connecticut, Rhode Island and the New York area.

The solid backing of the labor movement has made the teachers more determined than ever to stay out and win. This was the overwhelming sentiment expressed by all the teachers who were interviewed by a Bulletin reporter. As one worker put it: "The rank and file are determined to see this thing through. It's a question of survival... it's also a question of civil rights. The support from the labor movement is fabulous. I wish they were with us every day from the start."

Another teacher emphasized the issue of better schools when he said, "Conditions in the schools have been so bad, there comes a point when you have to stand up and fight for what's right. How can we have a good school system when they keep slicing the budget?"

BUSTING

The open intentions of the state, with the full backing of Nixon, are to bust the teachers union. As one union leader put it, this is "the boldest form of union busting seen in this area since the days of Frank

Hague in the 1930s." The labor movement is showing in Newark that its united strength can be far more powerful than all the repression and anti-union laws of the government.

The response of the state to the strike shows that Nixon means business about cracking down on the labor movement. As of the rally 200 teachers have been arrested on contempt charges for picketing and face sentences of three years and \$1000 fines. Cahill, the Governor of New Jersey, is already going ahead with plans to decertify the teachers and the state attorney is

preparing what he calls a "full investigation" of the union. At one rally Cahill's forces moved in and confiscated all the funds raised for the strikers. The teachers are asking for a \$10,000 starting salary and a \$2000 across the board increase. But just as important to the teachers is the demand for 10 MES schools (More Effective Schools.) The Newark schools are decaying. The union wants smaller class sizes (they are now around 40) and more educational materials which so far the teachers have had to pay for out of their own salaries. There has been no contract in the past and the Board of Education could fire teachers without any reason. The teachers are determined to win rights that other unions have won, such as a grievance procedure and a promotion policy. The Board of Education's answer to these non-economic demands is a flat No. Jacob Fox, chief negotiator for the Board of Education told the teachers: "Well, you're not going to run this school system. These are my schools and

and Municipal Workers in Cincinnati which was backed up by a general strike call of the labor movement there, unites the working class in a common fight. Albert Shanker, President of the UFT, when asked by a Bulletin reporter what could be done about the repression said: "I think that the labor movement is going to have to develop some political muscle to get rid of the politicians who allow this kind of union busting." When asked if this meant a labor party, he said: "I would be for a labor party in the long run but I don't think it's practical



A SECTION OF MILE-LONG LABOR MARCH FEB 23 IN SUPPORT OF STRIKING NEWARK TEACHERS.

you're not going to tell me how to run them."

POWER

The power and unity of the labor movement expressed in Newark on Monday in support of the teachers must now be thrust forward into a political offensive against the government with the building of a labor party. The need for this party is more sharply posed every day as strike after strike, such as G.E. and the strike of the State, County

tomorrow." While the bosses are using the full political power of the state to try and crush the unions, Shanker says it's not practical now. Shanker and the rest of the union leadership have no intention of fighting for such a party and cannot pose how to take the fight forward from the Newark rally. But what the Newark rally really meant is that the time is NOW. The strength that was seen in Newark on Monday can be mobilized to build this party.

CALIFORNIA UNIONS MOBILIZE TO STOP SCAB NEWSPAPER



COPS ATTACK THE PICKET LINE OF STRIKING PRINTERS (ITU) IN CALIF.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN RAFAEL, CALIFORNIA-- A massive militant demonstration of trade unionists from throughout the Bay area succeeded in shutting down for a day the scab-run newspaper here, the Independent-Journal. The day was marked by sharp violence as police intervened and clubbed workers to protect the scab paper.

The strike involves an attempt by the management to break the ITU and transform the paper into a

non-union one. There had been no serious negotiations for 15 months and then the management forced a strike by flagrantly violating union conditions and firing union employees. It then imported scabs--reportedly at \$1000 a week--hired rent-a-cops with police dogs, and transformed its plant into an armed camp.

The reaction of organized labor is in sharp contrast with the isolation of last year's oil strike which received no serious support and thus

was defeated. This time the Teamsters took the lead and together with the maritime unions, printers and others massed over 700 workers-- by the bosses' estimate-- in front of the printing plant. It reflects a growing awareness since the GE strike that the workers now face a vicious offensive from the bosses. It also illustrates the tremendous determination and militancy of the rank and file trade unionists.

The union leadership, of course, has resorted to this mobilization of unionists only because it has no alternative. It has already compromised the strike by stating its agreement to accept binding arbitration and the firing of employees over a period of time.

This mass rally shows the way the strike can be won! We cannot rely on any "third party" arbitration but rather on the independent mobilization of the working class itself. There can be no compromise on the newspaper bosses' attempts to reduce the work force in the composing rooms and thus to break down the gains in working conditions won over the years. No job cuts!

It is clear that behind the union busting tactics of the Independent-Journal, a relatively small paper, stands the multi-billionaire newspaper trusts. Having broken the union in the Los Angeles Hearst strike they are now seeking to spread scab papers into the union strong-

hold of the San Francisco area. But here they come up against the resistance of a stronger, more conscious trade union movement.

It is critical that no concessions whatsoever be made on work rules and job cuts. If the newspaper trusts can't break the union everywhere their aim is to break it here and there as a pressure to get the ITU to give up on bogus setting and similar practices. The International has already begun to retreat on this. First bogus setting will go and then one by one every safeguard and union protection will be stripped away as thousands of printing trades workers in all departments are thrown onto the streets.

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The following is an interview with an electrical worker employed at the Westinghouse plant in Philadelphia, a trade union militant with an experience of more than 30 years in the industry.

Q. As a Westinghouse worker how did you feel when the IUE and UE went on strike against G.E. but agreed to continue to keep Westinghouse open following the expiration of the contract?

A. The leadership justified this by claiming that this "one at a time strategy" was necessary to defeat the bosses. This is completely phoney. Maybe there is some justification for taking on the bosses one at a time in the auto industry--and even there it's open to question--but there is absolutely no validity to this argument in the electrical industry. During the strike, the fact that G.E.'s competitors were still producing didn't bother G.E. at all, but it sure put the Westinghouse employees in a weak position. The leadership should have shut the entire industry down and gotten the unity of all the electrical workers. Instead they said that they "couldn't sup-

BEHIND THE SELLOUT AT G.E. AND WESTINGHOUSE

port a second strike."

Q. The Westinghouse contract expired about 2 weeks after the G.E. strike began. How did the workers at Westinghouse feel about going on strike themselves?

A. Like any other group of workers, nobody wants to strike unless they really have to, but the Westinghouse men were ready to go out. They took it as inevitable that a strike would be necessary and were prepared. The ranks felt they had to go out. Then came the bureaucrats' decision not to strike. On a Monday the company foreman came around and said, "You'll be working day by day." The boss was letting us know we had no real protection.

There was a lot of bitterness among the younger workers in particular after the decision, especially after Westinghouse announced there would

be no retroactive pay after the new contract is signed and both the IUE and UE continued their agreement to work on a day to day basis. Westinghouse then realized they were in the saddle and could call the tune.

Q. What about the settlement of the G.E. strike? There was a very wide rank and file opposition, especially in New York State. Could the workers have held out?

A. Of course the settlement was a sell-out. Everyone knows that. It was no surprise that the Daily World called it a victory but I didn't know that the Militant supported the sell-out until you told me. As far as the strike at the G.E. plant in Philadelphia, the ranks were ready to turn down the contract and the local leadership was under a lot of pressure from both sides--the workers and the International lead-

ership.

What happened then is that a certain top leader of the International union made a phone call to a certain top official of the IUE local. The International was scared to death that a no vote in the 5,000 man local would swing the national vote, could turn the tide against the contract and blow the whole thing up. They made it clear that the local leaders were sinking the national contract rather than just letting Philadelphia "let off steam" if they recommended rejection. So the local leadership switched and went along with the International and pushed the settlement on the ranks at the local meeting.

The G.E. workers in Philadelphia, like a lot of other places were not being completely starved out even though the strikers didn't get much of that money that Meany promised. Maybe 60% or more of them were working at other jobs and were anxious to continue the strike rather than accept those terms.

Q. What's the situation at Westinghouse now?

A. Everyone's in the dark as far as what the leadership tells them. But we know that Westinghouse is trying to chisel on the G.E. settlement and that only came to a miserable 20¢ an hour the first year. The company is trying to use their refusal to pay for the contract settlement retroactive to last November, as a bargaining point. If they "give in" on the retroactive pay issue, they will insist that the unions take a smaller wage increase or an even weaker cost of living escalator than the G.E. workers got.

The leadership isn't even fighting, they're running away and under cover of a news blackout are trying to keep the ranks guessing. All during the G.E. strike, they kept phoney negotiations going in Pittsburgh, marking time. They were supposedly discussing "contract language" but it was just plain stalling until the GE settlement was reached. Westinghouse planned to use the G.E. settlement as a ceiling for their own contract. Westinghouse had correctly sized up the leadership as being very weak and a pushover for a sell-out.

What a lot of people do not realize about these contracts in the electrical industry is that this year, as in previous years, a contract with Westinghouse Air Brake (independent of Westinghouse) was signed with the UE. This is used as a pattern setter by the industry and that's just what happened this year. So Matles (UE Secy. Treasurer) is "the tail that wags the dog." He signed a three year contract at Westinghouse Air Brake for 20¢ an hour the first year. Of course this was the basis of the G.E. agreement. It was sold to the UE ranks at Air Brake on the basis of a pension payoff--in effect, a bribe to the older workers of a \$1,800 lump sum to get their support for the 20¢ wage increase. G.E. then used this settlement as a pattern for the entire industry. You can see how the union bureaucrats allow the bosses to use the "one company at a time strategy" against the workers.

Q. It's like 1946 when the UE leadership which was Stalinist dominated made what the UAW called a secret agreement with the electrical division of General Motors which was shut down by the auto workers. The UE agreement undercut the wage demands of the auto workers and was the basis for the lower "pattern" that the UAW was forced to accept in their contract with G.M.

A. Yes, and the UE leaders are still playing the same role.

Philadelphia Sanitationmen Stage Slowdown

BY JACK ARNOLD

PHILADELPHIA-- The crisis of capitalism expresses itself very clearly here through a struggle going on between the city administration and the workers of the Sanitation and Streets Department. The Streets Department Commissioner Smallwood resigned in frustration over his inability to get what he needed to do the job. Last year the city council had turned down his request for funds for men and new equipment.

Upon Smallwood's resignation three

last straw that set off the job action.

The slowdown of the sanitation workers supported by another 1000 streets workers who are in another local was immediately obvious as garbage began to pile up in the city streets. In addition to not working overtime, the workers went by the book inspecting their equipment each morning and rejecting trucks that lacked fire extinguishers, had bald or badly worn tires or other faulty safety features.

ment. On February 20th he ordered that all sanitation workers who refuse to take out allegedly defective trucks be assigned to other duties. This of course can only mean assignment of men who insist on their safety to onerous duties as punishment.

ASSAULT

The attacks on the sanitationmen are fundamentally the beginning of a sharpening assault on the wages and conditions of all City workers and the entire labor movement in Philadelphia, black and white alike. This is the same kind of assault that the Mayors of all the major U.S. cities are leading against public employees.

In the last few days Stout has announced that the sanitation workers are joining with the North City Congress, a liberal do-gooder reformist organization, in a move to collect enough petition signatures to impeach Mayor Tate. This campaign avoids the central struggle to win the workers' demands. What the sanitationmen must do in order to win is to carry a fight through the city's trade union councils for the full support of the rest of the labor movement. They must continue their refusal to work overtime and to operate defective equipment. Any disciplinary measures by Halferty must be met by a strike of the sanitation workers.

In a recent statement Stout said that he had not had time to assess support among the rest of the city's labor leaders. The sanitationmen of Local 427 must tell Stout that he must go to the rest of the city's trade unions, not to assess their support, but to fight for their support in strike action if necessary.

CONTRACT

At the same time that this fight has been going on, contract negotiations have been opened. The present contract expires in July. Among the demands of the sanitationmen must be a 4 day week for 5 days pay plus massive pay hikes on top. Then it will not be necessary for the sanitation workers to put in the kind of overtime they have to in order to bring home a decent paycheck.

The impeachment of Tate means nothing. Only the replacement of the Democratic and Republican politicians by a party of the working class, a labor party, can deliver into the hands of the working class the power to control their working and living conditions.



BROKEN DOWN EQUIPMENT MAKES WORKING CONDITIONS UNBEARABLE

weeks ago, Democratic Mayor Tate, elected with the energetic help of the sanitation workers, nominated Chief Police Inspector Joseph F. Halferty as Streets Commissioner. Almost immediately 3000 members of Sanitation Workers Local 427, through their local Business Agent Earl Stout, threatened a slowdown in garbage collection by banning overtime and refusing to operate defective equipment, saying they were "definitely not going to produce for Halferty at all." Stout said the men wanted Halferty out because "they don't want a policeman over them and feel that it might be the beginning of a little Gestapo in the department."

The real issue facing the sanitation workers is more than the fact that the new commissioner is a cop. What is really at issue is the conditions and wages under which these men are forced to work. A short inspection of one of the city's sanitation garages revealed that over 65% of that garage's equipment was laid up because it was defective and unsafe. Wages for one shop steward we spoke to were only \$133.00 for 40 hours after 16 years in the department. In order to make a living wage sanitationmen work long hours of overtime. The appointment of a cop over them was the


Since the start of the slowdown a court injunction has been issued on the basis of a clause in the contract with the Sanitation Workers that states: "Overtime shall not be mandatory except in case of a situation affecting public health or safety."

Earl Stout has gone on record as saying that the men will obey the law. This has not stopped the men from their slowdown although they have rescinded their overtime ban. They have tightened their safety inspections to the point where trash collections are many days behind schedule.

There can be no doubt that Tate is putting cops into such posts as Streets Commissioner because he is well aware that operating such departments without adequate and safe equipment as well as adequate staffing means disciplining the men in the department to the point of forcing them to work more than the 60 or 70 hours a week they have been working. These hours must mean increased injuries due to the weariness of men who work these kinds of hours, much less on defective equipment.

Halferty has already demonstrated his reason for being by first cancelling all vacations and administrative leaves in the depart-

DOCUMENTS FROM THE SOVIET OPPOSITION



PIOTR GRIGORENKO'S

LETTER TO A. R. RUDENKO

Prosecutor General of the U.S.S.R.

ON NOVEMBER 19, 1968 a search was made of my apartment from seven in the morning to seven in the evening.

I am leaving aside the fact that the man nominally in charge of this operation had no idea of procedural rules or even of the elementary norms of politeness; that lack comes from the habit he has of arbitrarily disposing of people who fall into his hands.

I will leave this point to those who witnessed the behaviour and actions of Justice Councillor Berezovsky, investigator of extraordinary affairs for the Procurator's Office of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

I could not endure his boorishness for long and as a protest against the illegal actions of those conducting the search I refused to take part in it after half an hour.

Therefore I will only speak of those violations of the law which do not depend merely on those conducting the search.

The search was carried out on a warrant issued by Justice Councillor Berezovsky, investigator of extraordinary affairs for the Procurator of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

This warrant, endorsed by Malkov, Procurator of the City of Moscow, stated that it had been established during

the investigation of Bariev and his associates that documents containing slanderous fabrications against the Soviet social and political order could be found in P. Grigorenko's apartment.

I affirm—and I am ready to bear all the responsibility of this affirmation—that no evidence whatsoever of the possible existence of such documents in my apartment was presented to Procurator Malkov.

First, because there doesn't exist any 'case of Bariev and associates' and second, because no document containing lies against the political and social order of the USSR exists or could exist, which is linked, even indirectly, to the name of Bariev and his comrades.

WHAT then is involved here?

It is in fact ordinary police provocation of people struggling against the arbitrary acts of the authorities. You know very well that on April 21, 1968, in the Chirchik Park of Culture and Rest, the Uzbek police (who are still called militia for some reason) attacked Crimean Tartars peacefully celebrating the anniversary of the birth of the founder of the Soviet state and initiator of Crimean Tartar national autonomy, V. I. Lenin.

Hoses blasted powerful jets of cold water on the unsuspecting people who were peacefully amusing themselves; young people were dancing, groups were singing national and re-

volutionary songs and amateur actors were performing.

These jets of water knocked people over, damaged their clothes and traumatically shocked them.

Then the police clubs went into action. It was thought that the indignant people would take some self-defence measures which could later be used to accuse them of resisting the authorities.

But the people showed astonishing self-control and thwarted the provocation. They staged a peaceful demonstration as a protest against the humiliation to which they had been subjected.

In answer more than 300 people were arrested. Twelve of them, most of whom had not participated in the celebration and were arrested in their homes, were later tried and convicted for 'disturbing public order'.

Aider Bariev, a tractor driver, who managed to avoid arrest, flew to Moscow the same day and early on the morning of April 22 the Procurator's Office of the USSR received a telegram from him describing the Chirchik events in detail; events in which the human rights and the norms of human ethics were trampled underfoot with an unprecedented cynicism.

Naturally he did not express himself politely, but simply called a spade a spade in the language of workers.

Bariev stayed on in Moscow as the authorized representative of those who had sent

him, knocking in vain at the doors of the administration you head and other state organizations and institutions.

Wanting to make use of all the possibilities available to him, he tried to obtain the punishment of the Chirchik hoodlums and an end to the illegal proceedings instituted against the victims of the pogrom.

You did not react in any way to Bariev's telegrams and personal letters or to the collective appeals of the representatives of the Crimean Tartar people in Moscow.

You and your assistants never received these representatives and never even attempted to examine their complaints.

Moreover, you have never answered any of their letters. You have never reacted to their complaints concerning illegal police action undertaken by the Moscow police against the representatives of the Crimean Tartar people.

Supreme guardian of Soviet law, you have never been moved by the fact that men were pursued like savage animals through the streets of your capital and sent like cattle to hateful places of administrative exile. You who are a jurist and a magistrate have never even been swayed by the fact that it is no longer simply a question of individuals, but of representatives of a people; citizens who did not have the right to leave Moscow without the agreement of those who had sent them.

You passed over this just as you passed over the tragic events which followed from it. In order to be worthy of the confidence placed in them, the representatives of the Crimean Tartars resorted to desperate measures such as jumping out of moving trains to escape their police escorts and continue fulfilling the mandate given them by their people.

As soon as he was replaced in Moscow, Bariev returned to Chirchik where he was arrested.

Justification for this arrest was based on individual and collective letters sent by representatives of the Crimean Tartar people to various Soviet institutions, including the Procurator's Office of the USSR, social organizations and various representatives of Soviet opinion.

It was also based on communications sent from Moscow by the people's representatives.

According to individuals like Berezovsky these documents contained slanderous lies directed against the Soviet state and social order.

I shall not attempt here to explain how a document containing a true description of an actual event can somehow be transformed into something slanderous.

I shall confine myself to asking you several questions directly related to the setting up of 'cases' of this kind.

I WOULD like to ask you as supreme guardian of Soviet law whether it is conceivable that a person be prosecuted for addressing a complaint to you when you have not found the time to examine that complaint?

Would you also tell me if it is possible, even by making the most incredible fantasy into proof, to describe the Chirchik massacre as a violation of public order?

Wasn't it rather brutal police provocation of the Crimean Tartars in order to create a pretext for severe reprisals against this people justly struggling for national re-birth?

After obtaining a correct answer to the questions posed above, it would no longer be worth the trouble to ask whether all that followed the

Chirchik events was also the result of police provocation.

And if that is so, would the Uzbek 'guarantors of the law' present to Procurator Malkov proof of the existence of the documents described in the search warrant (that is, assuming that Malkov himself is not in on this provocation in a perfectly conscious way!)

So much for the legal justification for searching my apartment.

I could stop here, but I want to tell you that I do not understand your role in both the Chirchik affair itself and the court trials of Crimean Tartars that took place following the September 5, 1967 ordinance of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, as well as your role in the trials that are now being prepared.

The illegal and often flagrantly provocative nature of these trials is so obvious that it is astonishing that a jurist of international reputation who is at pains to teach the entire world how to combat crimes against humanity cannot see this!

HAVING established the utter lack of connection between myself and the Uzbek matters, let us attempt to determine the real reason for this search, and who deemed it necessary.

An exhaustive answer is provided by the composition of the 'investigating' group and the official-departmental-agency affiliation of the person who actually directed the search.

In addition to Berezovsky, seven KGB functionaries and three 'witnesses'—also state security agents—were present at the search.

And so for one official of the Uzbekistan procurator's office—take note of this—ten Muscovites were needed, not counting those who barred entry to the house from the street. And all of them were from the KGB.

The search was directed by a certain Vragov, Aleksei Dmitrievich. That's all I could learn about him from Berezovsky. Vragov himself refused to reveal his position and his place of work—the Moscow Administration or Centre—as well as the terms of the law of which he was obliged to inform me.

This is now this petty official, not well-known to me, conducted the search. It was he who told Berezovsky what to do. It was incumbent upon him to settle delicate problems; to confiscate or leave such and such a document.

In practice he directed every move the other KGB agents made. The only thing the nominally responsible Berezovsky did was to dictate the list of documents assembled by the KGB agents to the man responsible for drawing up the official report.

The search was carried out by the KGB which used the 'Bariev case' as a pretext, as did the investigator in charge of the case.

It marked the end of another stage in my relations with the KGB. The first stage ended with my release from the most terrible prison in the USSR—the so-called special psychiatric hospital—where the KGB 'housed' me in an attempt to get out of the impasse they found themselves in because of the unlawful nature of my arrest and my refusal to 'confess'.

The next stage started two or three months later when, without any plausible pretext, the KGB again took an interest in me. Since then, that is for three years, I have been subjected to constant surveillance: myself, members of my family and visitors are systematically followed.

My apartment is watched by

visual and other special means; my telephone is tapped, my correspondence is examined and certain letters confiscated.

Twice in the last three years my apartment has been secretly searched. I have set this all out in a letter to I. Andropov, chief of the KGB, but as is usually the case in our country, the letter is still unanswered. The only result was that the surveillance became more discreet.

The search was a general inspection of my 'archives', a desire to examine what has not been seen up to now. It is however probable that new provocations are being planned for me. I have no intention of waiting for them passively.

I AM a communist and as such I hate with all my soul organs of oppression and despotism based on caste.

The organization created by Stalin, and today called the KGB on the advice of ministers of the USSR, is such an organization.

I do not conceal my hatred of this organization, which I consider hostile to the people, from anyone and I will fight by all possible means for its early liquidation.

That is why I refuse to have any contact whatsoever with it and I do not recognise its right to interfere in my private life or my public activity.

This parasitic organization which devours enormous sums of money and does inestimable wrong, must disappear from our society. The sooner the better.

I have known for a long time that in practice the courts and the organs of the procuracy are subordinate to the KGB. If proof of this is still needed, the search just made of my apartment is very characteristic.

On this occasion the representatives of the procuracy were just errand boys.

They can continue to play this role, but not in relation to what concerns me.

By my life, by my participation in the defence of my country, by the blood I have spilt for it, and by my communist convictions I have won the right to consider myself a co-master of my country and an equal member in the family of Soviet peoples.

I have the right to move without surveillance and unhindered on my native soil, freely to defend my convictions and to enjoy all the rights given me as a citizen of the USSR by the Soviet Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

No one, and least of all an organization like the KGB,

may deprive me of these rights.

As for the organs of the procuracy, they should help citizens struggling for their legal rights and not organize to take them away.

After all I have just gone through, the only thing left is for us to determine the aim of the visit of the representatives of this disreputable organization, what they were looking for in my apartment, what they are fighting now and, it seems, prepared to fight in the future.

Let us try to find the answer by looking at what they confiscated.

IN FACT, they confiscated material that had nothing to do with the 'slandorous fabrications'. They took nothing that was described in the search warrant.

They took all my typed documents and manuscripts as well as my personal letters and notes.

There was nothing slanderous and certainly nothing anti-Soviet in any of them. Among them were anti-Stalinist documents and open statements of protest against violations of Soviet law by the authorities, against judicial tyranny, and against continuing acts of discrimination and genocide directed at the Crimean Tartars, the Volga Germans, and certain other small national groups.

This is what was confiscated:

Individual and collective letters sent to me by Crimean Tartars embodying the *cri de coeur* of a martyred people, as well as documents pertaining to the popular movement of the Volga Germans struggling for the re-establishment of their national equality.

Copies of my letters to the Politburo of the Central Committee denouncing both the arbitrary acts committed against me (illegal expulsion from the Party, demotion from general to private, loss of my pension), and the judicial tyranny and falsification of history to the benefit of renescent Stalinism.

A manuscript of the brochure by Academician Sakharov and my thoughts about it.

The complete works of the tireless fighter against Stalinism, the writer-Bolshevik, participant in the revolutionary movement since 1912 and member of the Bolshevik Party since 1916, who spent three years in Tsarist prisons and 17 years in Stalinist torture chambers and Kolyma death camps: Alexis Kosterin.

A manuscript assembling and analysing a list of all the

facts that had come to my knowledge proving that the October 1964 plenum of the Central Committee took the decision discreetly but firmly to implement a rebirth of Stalinism.

Notes of public trials (criminal in form, political in substance) of Crimean Tartars who participated in the movement for national equality, and of free-thinking people in Moscow (the trials of Daniel, Sinyavsky, Khaustov, Bukovsky, Galanskov, Ginzburg and others).

Biographical notes on persons convicted for their participation in a Red Square demonstration against the intervention of the Soviet armies in Czechoslovakia and against the blood spilled by Soviet soldiers and Czechoslovak citizens.

A manuscript of a work by Academician Varga entitled 'The Russian Road to Socialism'.

A copy of a letter by a group of Soviet intellectuals (Artsimovich, Kapitsa, Kataev, Leontovich, Plisetskaya, Sakharov, Chukovsky and others) expressing their alarm at trends towards a rebirth of Stalinism.

A copy of a letter by 23 children of communists savagely murdered by Stalin (Yakir, Petrovsky, Antonov-Ovseyenko, Berziz, Yenukidze, Bukharin, Vavilov, Piatnitsky, and others) also expressing their concern at the rebirth of Stalinism and the tendency to forget the crimes committed by Stalin and his henchmen.

The letter also recalls the decision of the 22nd Party Congress to erect a monument in memory of the victims of Stalinism.

Translations of articles in Czechoslovak newspapers—the 'Two Thousand Words', Smrkovsky's speech over Czechoslovak radio, etc.

A list of persons subjected to Party and administrative repression for having signed various documents protesting against violation of Soviet law and of elementary human rights by the courts, the procuracy and the KGB.

A typewritten text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, reproduced in the USSR in small numbers and only in special editions for jurists.

A typewritten text of the (unpublished in the USSR) Pacts on Rights adopted two years ago by the General Assembly of the United Nations: the Pact on Social and Economic Rights and the Pact on Political Rights.

The complete texts of the speeches made at the funeral of writer A. Kosterin.

Among the literary works confiscated were Anna Akhmatova's 'Requiem' for those who suffered in Stalinist dungeons including her only son; a number of Marina Tsvetaeva's works not published in the USSR; 'Tanka', a poem by N. Korshavin which exposes the corrupting influence of Stalinism; the book 'My Testimony' by A. Marchenko, describing present-day prisons for political prisoners; and a type-written copy of Hemingway's book, 'For Whom The Bell Tolls'.

This list gives a fairly clear idea of the principle on which the confiscations were based. I hardly need add that everything I had written was also confiscated, even scraps of paper on which I'd written a single word. Thus I was deprived of all my scientific work, my private correspondence, drafts of various documents, including those already disseminated, as well as those which had never left my desk.

It is clear that if I had not passed on the night before Korolenko's 'Letters to A. Lunacharsky, Gorky's 'Untimely Thoughts,' and the verses of Osip Mandelstam, these would have been confiscated too.

I had a copy of a manuscript of a book dealing with the first months of the Second World War—'Notes Of An Intelligence Agent', the memories of V. A. Novobrantsev—with a personal inscription from the author.

When the KGB agents decided to confiscate this work I vigorously protested that it could in no way be classified as falling in the category of materials authorised for confiscation.

Then Justice Councillor Berezovsky, who had just received Vragov's order to 'confiscate!', decided to demonstrate the book's slander of the Soviet social and political order by reading the following sentence from the author's foreword: 'Stalin is dead, but the poisonous seeds sown by him continue to germinate'.

After that I refused to remain at the search any longer.

But they didn't need me anyway. Without even taking the trouble to make a note of half of what they were taking, they then threw the unrecorded items into a sack with the seal KGB 14 on it and took it all away.

Judge for yourself the degree to which the integrity of the sack's contents is guaranteed!

All the more so as the opening of the sack, in which I refused to take part because it would have been absurd, was performed in the presence of 'witnesses'—who are all agents

of the organization conducting the search.

None of the true witnesses I insisted upon were invited.

THIS is how the guarantees of legality were observed in this case. But this is not the only case that interests me.

What I would like clarified is the relationship between the organs of the Soviet procuracy and Soviet law.

My personal experience indicates that these organs are interested in only one thing in political questions: collecting articles of the legal code which can give the appearance of legality to the savage despotism of the authorities.

But I naively assumed that even for this it was necessary to know the law. Apparently, it is not.

Obviously 'specialists' on the law collect the appropriate articles. But the practical enforcers are in no way interested in the laws. They do what they are ordered to do without asking whether or not it is legal.

Berezovsky appeared without a copy of the Criminal Code or the Code of Criminal Procedure.

With the help of friends present at my apartment I often showed him how he was violating the laws, but he only changed his behaviour with the greatest reluctance.

The following incident shows how heavily the law weighed on him. As the search was drawing to a close my wife said, 'That is illegal'.

Berezovsky couldn't contain himself any longer. He let all the irritation of a long day **explode** and said ironically, 'Oh yes, What jurists you are! Look, your husband has a whole shelf of juridical literature!'

I think that this explosion characterizes the attitude to the law of the 'guarantors of the law' better than all their confusing writings designed to convince uninformed people.

IN CONCLUSION I would like to try, with your help, to answer the question: why was all this done?

Was it a simple attempt at intimidation? That is doubtful. The KGB and I know each other too well to count on that.

Well, perhaps it was motivated by the hope of finding something that could be used to build a 'case' and put me away in some remote corner from which I could not make my voice heard?

It is entirely possible, but stupid. To stage a trial based on trumped-up charges is risky these days and to count on my engaging in criminal activities . . .

No, the KGB knows me too well to rely on that. I too, have never counted on the stupidity of an enemy.

Accordingly that leaves only one hypothesis: they wanted to control my activity, and at the same time to hinder my work by depriving me of my material and 'means of production'.

This last hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that they confiscated my two typewriters (office and portable) with no official authorization.

The confiscation of a typewriter in our present conditions is intolerable despotism.

Judge for yourself. Taking a sample of a typewriter's print requires only a few minutes. Furthermore the owner of the typewriter should be present. Why then were my typewriters confiscated?

At best, to deprive me of using them. At worst—I will explain it to you in case you do not yet know—to prepare falsifications compromising the

Long live the heroic Czechoslovak people! —Appeal to the citizens of the Soviet Union

THE CAMPAIGN of suicide by fire in Czechoslovakia, started on January 16, 1969 by Prague student Jan Palach as a protest against the unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, is not over.

On February 21 a new 'living torch'—but living only for a moment—burned in Wenceslas Square.

This protest, which takes such a horrible form, is first of all directed at us, the Soviet people. It is the unsolicited and completely unjustified presence of our troops that is provoking such anger and such despair among the Czechoslovak people.

Not in vain has Jan Palach's death aroused all the Czechoslovak workers.

We bear the full weight of responsibility for his death, and for the deaths of other Czechoslovak brothers who have committed suicide.

By approving, by justifying the military intervention, or simply by remaining silent, we allow more living torches to burn in the squares of Prague and other cities.

The Czechs and Slovaks have always considered us their brothers. Are we going to let the word 'Soviet' become synonymous with the word 'enemy' for them?

Citizens of our great country!

The greatness of our country does not lie in the might of its armies brought down on a small freedom-loving people, but in its moral force.

Are we going to continue to

look on in silence as our brothers perish?

It is now clear to all that the presence of our troops on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia is not in the interest of the defence of our country or in the



Jan Palach

interest of the countries of the socialist community.

Will we not have enough courage to admit that a tragic error has been committed and do all we can to rectify it? It is our right and our duty!

We call on all Soviet citizens to use every legal means at our disposal, while avoiding hasty and ill-considered action, to bring about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia and the renunciation of interference in the internal affairs of this country.

Only in this way can friendship between our two peoples be re-established.

Long live the heroic Czechoslovak people!

Long live Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship!

February 28, 1969

Dear comrades,

My closest friend, Alexis Yevgrafovich Kosterin, who, as you know, is confined to hospital with thrombosis, entrusted to Vera Ivanovna his wife, and myself the job of representing him at this evening's affair.

It is a great honour for me. I am especially moved by the fact that he charged me with expressing our mutual views on the struggle of the Crimean Tartars for national autonomy.

Alexis Kosterin, who was born and raised in the multinational northern Caucasus, was able to see, from his childhood, the cruel oppression of smaller nations, the discord and national hatred stirred up by the oppressors and odious imperialist chauvinism.

Suffering cruelly from seeing his own people playing the role of oppressor, Kosterin, as a Russian patriot, decided to dedicate his life to the struggle for national equality and friendship among different peoples.

In his entire life he has never betrayed this youthful pledge.

The three years he spent in Tsarist prisons could not break his revolutionary spirit — on the contrary, they hardened it.

Liberated by the February revolution, he immersed himself in the task of organizing and teaching the northern Caucasus peoples.

He never abandoned these peoples, even when the Whites occupied the territory. He then organized detachments of partisans in the mountains and participated in the partisan movement until the Whites were chased out of the Caucasus.

★

After the Civil War the problem of national equality continued to occupy a central place in his Party and literary activities.

Only once the voice of writer Kosterin was not heard. This was when the Volga Germans, the Kalmyks, and the smaller nations of the northern Caucasus — like your people, the Crimean Tartars — were brutally banished from their native lands.

If he was silent, it was because he could not speak. He was behind the barbed wire of Beria's and Stalin's camps.

But 17 years of concentration camp nightmare did not break him. As soon as he was free he raised his voice with courage and firmness for the 'weak and forgotten'.

I will not speak of his current struggle. You know of it as well as I. The Leninist-Bolshevik Alexis Kosterin has dedicated all his strength to the fight for the re-establish-

On ALEXIS KOSTERIN'S

72nd birthday

PIOTR GRIGORENKO'S

SPEECH TO CRIMEAN TARTARS

ment of the Leninist policy of nationalities.

Unhappily the burden resting on him has been too heavy for his heart . . . But we are all sure that this is only temporary and the day is near when his voice will again resound — loud and clear. (Loud applause. Cries of 'Long life and good health to the best of our friends!')

How can I evoke the true spirit of Alexis Kosterin? What can I say that will give a whole picture of the man? It is not easy but I will try.

Alexis Kosterin is a Leninist-Bolshevik, a revolutionary in the noblest sense of the word.

This is a true humanist, who has given all his strength to the defence of small peoples and nations, to the struggle for national equality and for friendship between all peoples.

This is a remarkable and original writer who carries on the best humanist traditions of Russian literature. Sadly, life has not given him the possibility of fully developing his talent. Even today his work is not published and, as you know, this cannot but influence the creative activity of a writer.

This is also an exemplary father whose life served as an example for such a person as his daughter, Nina Kosterin.

You no doubt know that Nina Kosterin's diary has had millions of copies published in almost all languages and, like Anne Frank's diary, has served the cause of the struggle against fascism in all its forms, the cause of friendship between peoples and the cause of the development of humanist

ideas and traditions.

Such is Alexis Kosterin, the man whose 72nd birthday we are celebrating today.

Allow me to speak now of Kosterin and my views regarding the actual problems of your movement.

It will soon be a quarter of a century since your people were turned out of their homes, the land of their ancestors, and parked in a reservation where the conditions were such that the disappearance of the entire Crimean Tartar nation seemed inevitable.

But the resilient and hard-working people surmounted all trials and survived, much to the anger of their enemies.

After losing 46 per cent of their number, the people started, little by little, to recover their strength and fight for their national and human rights.

This struggle resulted in some gains. The statute of exiles has been abrogated and the Crimean Tartars have been politically rehabilitated.

This last step however, was taken with various reservations that considerably reduced the effect of the gesture. The great mass of the Soviet people who were informed that the Tartars had sold the Crimea could not learn that this sale was pure invention.

But most serious of all is that the very edict which ordered the political rehabilitation of the Crimean Tartars simultaneously legalized the liquidation of that nation . . . According to it, the Crimean Tartars no longer exist; there are only the 'Tartars who at one time lived in the Crimea'.

This fact alone demonstrates conclusively that not only has your struggle not attained its goal, but in a certain sense has taken a few steps back.

It was as Crimean Tartars that you were formerly persecuted, but since the 'political rehabilitation' this nation doesn't exist. The nation has disappeared but the discrimination remains.

You did not commit the crimes for which you were exiled from the Crimea, but you do not have the right to return there.

★

What basis is there for placing your people in a position of such inequality?

Article 123 of the constitution of the USSR reads: 'Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights . . . of citizens on account of their race or nationality is punishable by law'.

Therefore the law is on your side. (Lengthy applause.)

But your rights are trampled underfoot. Why?

We believe that the main reason for this lies in the fact

that you underestimate your enemy. You think you are dealing only with honest people. This is not so. What happened to your people was not the work of Stalin alone. And his accomplices are not only still alive, they hold responsible positions.

They fear that if you are given back what was unlawfully taken away from you, they must sooner or later answer for their participation in such arbitrary acts. (Loud applause.)

That is why they are doing everything they can to prevent you from succeeding in your struggle. If things stay as they are, it gives the impression that there were no broken laws in the past.

You have chosen a tactic that helps them preserve this state of affairs. You address humble supplications to the Party leadership which pass into the hands of those hostile to your struggle for national equality.

And since your pleas concern matters for which there are no indisputable, hard and fast rules, they are presented to persons who are bound to rule on them as doubtful, debatable issues, and thus your case becomes enmeshed in judgements and opinions which have nothing to do with the basic problem.

For instance: 'There is no room in the Crimea for settling the Tartars.' 'If the Tartars move, there will be no one left in Central Asia to do the work.' 'The Crimean Tartars already feel at home where they are. Besides, they do not represent an independent nation. Those who wish to live in a Tartar republic can go to the Tartar Autonomous Republic' (ASSR). 'The migration would require considerable sums of money', etc.

All these claims, as well as an infinity of others, put forward by the enemies of your national rebirth, are not worth a pin. But as long as you request, and against your requests these 'weighty' objections are raised, the case does not go forward but even goes backwards.

In order to end this abnormal situation you must understand once and for all that what is prescribed by law is not requested but demanded! (Enthusiastic applause. Cries of 'that's right!')

Start to demand! And do not just demand fragments — demand everything that was unlawfully taken away from you. Demand the re-establishment of a **Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic!** (Wild applause.)

Do not limit yourselves to the writing of petitions. Strengthen your demands by all the means that are available to you under the constitution — make good use of the freedom of speech and of the press, of meetings, street processions and demonstrations.

A newspaper is put out for you in Tashkent. But its editors do not support your movement. Kick them out and choose your own editorial staff.

If you are prevented, boycott the newspaper and start another one, your own. A movement cannot develop normally without its own press.

In your struggle, do not lock yourself in a narrow nationalist shell. Establish contacts with progressive people in other nations in the Soviet Union — first of all with those nationalities among whom you live, the Russians and Ukrainians who have been and continue to be persecuted like your people.

Do not look at your case as an internal affair. Seek the support of world public opinion and international organizations. There is a specific name for what was done to your people in 1944. It is **genocide**, 'one of the worst crimes against humanity'.

(Complete Soviet Encyclopedia, volume 10, p. 441.)

The convention adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 9, 1948, included in the category of genocide ' . . . acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such' by any of various methods, and specifically, 'by deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part . . .'

Such acts of genocide are from the viewpoint of international law, crimes condemned by the civilized world, for which the chief culprits and their accomplices are liable to punishment under law.

So you see, international law is also on your side. (Wild applause.)

If you cannot obtain a solution of the problem within the country, you have a right to appeal to the UN and the international tribunal.

★

Stop begging! Take back what was unlawfully taken from you! (Wild applause.)

Members of the audience jump from their seats and start chanting in unison, 'Crimean ASSR!')

And remember, in this just and noble struggle, you must not allow your enemies to pick off with impunity the fighters who are in the foremost ranks of your movement.

There have already been a series of trials in Central Asia in which fighters for equal rights for the Crimean Tartars have been sentenced unlawfully and on false grounds.

Right now in Tashkent, such a trial is being prepared for Mamed Enver, Yuri and Savri Osmanov, and others.

Do not allow judicial reprisals to be carried out against these people. Demand a public trial and come in a body to this trial. Do not allow the court to be filled with a specially selected public . . .

And finally, Alexis Kosterin has asked me to tell you that he has received many letters and congratulatory telegrams from Crimean Tartars.

He cannot answer them at the present time and therefore wishes me to convey his deepest and most sincere thanks to all who sent him greetings and their best wishes for his recovery.

He affirms that in the future he will devote all his efforts to the struggle for full and equal rights for all nations, for sincere friendship between all peoples of the world.

I raise my glass in honour of all brave and unyielding fighters for national equality. I raise my glass in honour of one of the most eminent fighters on this front, the writer and Bolshevik internationalist, Alexis Yevgrafovich Kosterin, and to the health of the Crimean Tartar peoples. I wish full success to your people in their struggle.

To our future meeting in Crimea, dear friends, on the territory of a re-established and reborn Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic!

(Wild applause. Toasts are drunk to A. Kosterin, the friendship of all peoples, a future meeting in Crimea, and to the Russian and Ukrainian peoples represented by comrades A. Kosterin and P. G. Grigorenko. Singing of the songs 'Port Arthur' 'Shompol' and others.)

March 17, 1968

Letter to A. R. Rudenko

owner of the typewriter.

In response to my protests that I hadn't checked the documents they had confiscated Berezovsky asked me: 'Are you suspicious by any chance?'

I fear that you too may ask the same question. And I will answer you in the way I answered Berezovsky.

I am not suspicious. I am merely indicating the possibilities resulting from procedural violations. And the future will show what will actually develop out of these possibilities'.

In any case I don't intend to wait passively for the outcome. Therefore I have decided to demand the annulment of all the violations of law committed against me.

Accordingly I demand:

● The immediate restitution of all the confiscated documents and my two typewriters.

● That all illegal actions with respect to me and my family

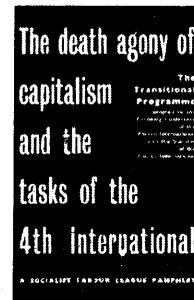
be discontinued: surveillance, observation of my apartment by visual and other means, the tapping of my telephone, and the reading and confiscation of correspondence.

I assume that your authority and prerogatives (from the strictly legal point of view of course) are sufficient to compel the appropriate persons to satisfy my demands. It is in this spirit that I await your response.

I hope that you appreciate that for 14 days I have held back from making my complaint, therefore leaving the 'investigators' time to examine their plunder.

Hoping that you will take this into account, I will expect your answer in not longer than 15 days, the time fixed by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

December 4, 1968



20c

BULLETIN
243 E. 10 ST.
NYC 10003

A letter to leaders of art, science and culture in the Soviet Union by Piotr Yakir, Yuli Kim and I. Gabai

WE, the signatories of this letter, turn to you with words of deep alarm over the destiny and honour of our country.

In the last few years the menacing symptoms of a return of Stalinism have multiplied. This is particularly evident in the proliferation of trials of men who have dared defend their dignity and their liberty, who have dared to protest. These are the most terrible fruits of our epoch.

Of course, the repression hasn't reached the level of earlier years.

But we have ample reason to fear that among the leadership of the state and the Party there is a nostalgic group who want to reverse the course of our development.

If we allow this to continue, we will have no guarantee that the year 1937 will not return . . .

It will be a long time before we see Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuri Daniel again; they are condemned to long years of suffering because they dared write what they thought to be true.

Young people like Viktor Khusatov and Vladimir Bukovsky were torn away from their normal lives for three years. Their only 'crime' was having publicly expressed their disagreement with the Draconian laws and repressive measures which once again ravage our country.

Illegality

The kangaroo court which tried them is a model of cynical illegality and falsification.

The recent trial of Ginsburg and his comrades surpassed all limits in its scorn for human rights.

Vyshinsky¹ himself would have envied the organization of this trial.

He, at least, extorted confessions from the accused and statements from witnesses. Procuror Terekhov and Judge Mironov did not even feel the need to go through the empty formality of presenting proof.

Yuri Galanskov, physically a very sick man, was sentenced to seven years of hard labour. The sole and very fragile proof of his guilt was the deposition of an ignoble coward named Dobrovolsky.

Alexander Ginsburg was sentenced to five years hard labour in spite of the statements of witnesses and the most obvious facts.

Even the life of Alexis Dobrovolsky, who played the sinister role of a Kostomarov² at this trial, was ruined. If he has even the shadow of a conscience, his 30 pieces of silver will be far from sufficient recompense for the contempt and rejection that await this slanderer.

Our organs of repression bear the heaviest responsibility for the moral mutilation of Dobrovolsky, now marked as a scoundrel who has destroyed and slandered his comrades out of vile self-interest.

Vera Lashkova³ was guilty of having typed texts which the court considered criminal.

Similar crimes

And under the prevailing conditions in our country, as exemplified by the cases of others sentenced for similar crimes (L. Rendel, A. Marchenko and others), she will pay dearly for this offence. Her

conviction will be marked in her passport and she will lose the right to live and study in Moscow.

The atmosphere surrounding the court was another link in the chain of illegality.

The official services shamefully lied to the Western Communist press. On the first day of the trial it was announced that its date had not yet been fixed.

Asked about it a few days

1 Ex-White Guard and Menshevik; prosecutor under Stalin.
2 A militant in the time of Alexander II who betrayed his comrades when arrested by the police.

3 Lashkova typed the 'White Book on the Sinyavsky-Daniel Case' written by Ginsburg.

before the trial, the Deputy Chairman of the Moscow Municipal Court, Mironov, said that the court had not yet been informed of the case.

around; friends and relatives of the accused were there, but the majority were people who didn't know them, but wanted to discover the truth—writers, students, teachers.

Falsifications

Our newspapers concocted a series of falsifications either based purely and simply on lies or they presented carefully selected facts designed to mislead uninformed people.

Those who pretend to the role of ideological mentors have forgotten something very important:

'It is essential to take not single facts, but the whole complex of facts bearing upon the question under examination, without a single exception, since otherwise the suspicion—and a wholly justified suspicion—inevitably arises that instead of an objective nexus and inter-relationship . . . a subjective

limits of internal Party discussion, to honestly say of some individuals that they did not engage in any espionage and that they did not put broken glass in food.

It would also be possible to explain what they did while they held important posts.

But we are still crushed under the great deeds of Stalin when he was People's Commissar for National Minorities and under the long list of wrecking activities organized by the man who was then People's Commissar for the Armed Forces and Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, L. D. Trotsky.

3 As a result, the term 'cult of the individual' has been banned. Literary and historic works in which Stalin and the crimes of the Stalinist period are criticized, are refused or not printed, even if they're already set in type (the

simplistic and pernicious dictates of political opportunism still reign.

The seeker who strays from the truth condemns himself to death but our historians, our philosophers and our economists are now obliged to do this every day. If, by some chance, a bit of the truth finds its way into print, the authors of it are persecuted. There are many famous examples of this.

5 The Crimean Tartars have just been rehabilitated. But the Soviet public knows little about this as it knows little about this people, victims of a monstrous crime, who still cannot return to its homeland. The Crimean Tartars who try to do so are sent back or subjected to various repressive measures.

6 But most degrading is the constant surveillance in all its forms that has become an integral part of the daily life of many Soviet citizens.

We have cited only a few examples of our public life here.

Silent complicity

Once more we remind you: silent complicity with the Stalinists and the bureaucrats who deceive our people and with the leadership that stifle every sign, every complaint and every protest, leads logically to the worst result—illegal reprisals against human beings.

It is under these conditions that we appeal to you as creative labourers in whom our nation places unlimited confidence. Raise your voices

4 Akhmatova was condemned by a decree of the Central Committee of the CPSU in 1946. This decree was drawn up by Zhdanov.
5 A White-Russian, pro-Nazi organization which publishes numerous documents of the communist opposition for provocative reasons. It receives these documents from the KGB via the CIA.

against the imminent danger of the appearance of new Stalins and new Yezhovs.⁶

The fate of the future Vavilovs and Mandelshtams⁷ is on your conscience.

You are the heirs of the great humanist traditions of the Russian intelligentsia.

You have before you the courageous example of the progressive intelligentsia of the West.

We understand very well that you are in conditions that require an act of courage on your part every time you are called upon to fulfill your duties as citizens.

But in the end there is no other choice: either courage or cowardly complicity with infamous actions; either the acceptance of risks or an alliance with the Vasilevs and Kedrins; either sacrifice or joining the ranks of the yellow hack journalists who dirty the columns of 'Izvestia' and 'Komsomolskaya Pravda' and who consider it morally justifiable to publicly slander the men they help to condemn.

We only want one thing: that our people have the moral right to protest against the imprisonment of Theodorakis⁸ for six months.

We remind you again: men who have dared to think lie in hard labour camps.

The silence of each one of you will be one more step towards the trial of another Daniel or another Ginsburg. Then slowly, with your silent consent, a new 1937 will advance.

6 Yezhov: Stalin's police chief responsible for purges.

7 Mandelshtam: Soviet poet deported in 1937 who went mad and then died in a Siberian camp.

8 Greek composer imprisoned by the Colonels.

towards a return of stalinism?

People who tried to enter the courtroom were subjected to brutal blackmail and contemptuous treatment: they were photographed, continuously spied on, their papers were checked, their conversation was recorded . . . and this is far from a complete list of the honourable deeds that marked the memorable days of the Ginsburg trial.

Without a doubt the most frightening thing about it was the number of young people (boys and girls) among the police spies; they spied instead of studying, they denounced instead of trying to grasp and understand, and, from the KGB's point of view, their work as informers was the epitome of youthful morality in contrast to Ginsburg's 'immorality'—Ginsburg who dared to intervene in favour of men convicted although innocent.

You are, of course, familiar with Larissa Bogoraz-Daniel's and Pavel Litvinov's letter. With full responsibility we declare that not only is every line of that letter true, but it is only a small part of the truth about the outrages and mockery of which the accused were victims.

Savage cries

The organization of the trial and the conduct of the judge, whose job it is to be absolutely impartial, in fact deprived the accused of the right to defend themselves and the savage cries of the 'public' created an unbearable climate of hostility for them.

In the public gallery people read the newspaper or slept, only waking up to demand a severer sentence.

The authorities once again organized a so-called 'public trial' by exploiting the vilest characteristics of specially chosen yes-men endowed with a solid indifference to the fate of others and too blind to worry about informing themselves or analysing the facts.

While in the public gallery the hysterical goodwives and Black Hundreds slept or insulted the accused, in the corridor, and later outside in the cold, the real public milled

concoction is perhaps being offered for the justification of a dirty business. That, after all, occurs . . . more often than it would seem.'

These are the words of V. I. Lenin.

The pogrom against intellectuals is only the logical outcome of the atmosphere that has prevailed for several years in our country.

The naive hopes for a purification of our public life that we nourished after the decisions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses have not borne fruit.

Stalinism is being restored slowly but surely.

This process is fundamentally supported by our passivity, by our too short memory and by the basic truth that we are used to an absence of freedom.

Here are some signs of the rebirth of Stalinism in recent years.

1 The name of J. V. Stalin has been cited by the highest authorities in a completely positive way. The newspapers have drawn attention to the applause that has greeted his name.

They have neglected to mention that this applause comes from people who servilely wish to serve 'strong' men, from people who want to justify their own conduct in the not too distant past or from people rotten with remnants of perverted nationalist sentiments.

For how long was it necessary to corrupt human nature to the extent that men could applaud the murderer of hundreds of thousands of people and the organizer of tortures and torments?

2 The reappearance of Stalin's name could be explained by a wish to treat history objectively. An objective attitude towards a hangman is a fact of moral pathology of course, but still it could be understood.

But objectivity doesn't yet allow the truth to be told about the political leaders of the first decade of Soviet power.

It would after all be possible, without transgressing the

memoirs of B. Vannikov, L. Slavin's book on Marshall Yegorov, the front-line memoirs of C. Simokov, the memoirs of Y. Ginsburg and many others).

This has gone so far that the powerful ideological official Fedoseyev has recommended that we don't use the term 'cult of the individual', except in reference to the Latin American dictators and Mao Tse-tung.

4 To this day no democratic principle has been put into practice. The literary or artistic tastes of the parasites is still the law for writers, artists, publishers, readers and viewers.

Films that would be a credit to us rot in the cinema archives; marvellous paintings lie in studios and tiny attics.

In literature there is only room for the shabby works of the Kozhetovs and Smirnovs—above all those works which glorify Stalin—and only a privileged few have been able to read Solzhenitsyn's 'Cancer Ward'.

The attempts to stop what is called 'Samizdat', or uncensored literature, is doomed to fail.

If there had not been a 'Samizdat' in Russian literature we would have lost Radischev's novel, Griboedov's play 'Woe From Wit', and numerous poems by Pushkin.

Even today the interest shown by a series of readers in unpublished works will preserve the truth about the thought and creative spirit of our contemporaries for better times.

There is nothing the parasites can do about it: the Zhdanovs pass into oblivion and the work of the Akhmatovs conquers generation after generation⁴.

Understanding this, the organs of repression will continue to resort to outright forgeries, as in the case of the absurd attempt to associate Ginsburg, editor of the White Book on the Sinyavsky-Daniel Trial, with the NTS emigré organization.⁵

In the humanist sciences

PARTICIPANTS IN 1934 MINNEAPOLIS TEAMSTERS STRIKE AT YSA CONVENTION
V.R. DUNNE IS SEATED AT FAR RIGHT

BY J. RENE

MINNEAPOLIS -- V. R. Dunne, founding member of the American Trotskyist movement died of cancer in Minneapolis, Minnesota, February 19th, at the age of eighty.

Born in Kansas City, Kansas, one of eight children of an Irish immigrant laborer, Dunne early became an itinerant laborer. He joined the Wobblies (IWW) when he was seventeen and working in the Northwest.

After the Russian Revolution in 1917 he became one of the founding members of the American Communist Party. And in 1928 he participated along with Cannon, Abern and Shachtman in founding the group that later became the Socialist Workers Party. With him from his first move toward Trotskyism was a solid group of his Minnesota comrades, including Carl Skoglund and Oscar Coover, proud names in the history of American Trotskyism.

Together with these comrades Ray Dunne built the Minnesota section of the world Trotskyist movement. And together with them too, he led in the organization of the Minneapolis truck drivers. In 1934 they led the general strike of Minneapolis truck drivers that smashed once and for all the open shop and made Minneapolis a union town. For the first time on the American scene Trotskyists were able to give class conscious political leadership to the working class struggle on a mass scale. Here Dunne and the party had a chance to prove that Trotskyism had real meaning in the life of the working class. Their success not only made Minneapolis a union town, it provided the basis for the growth of a solid working class segment of the Trotskyist movement. As a result of this struggle, Trotskyism grew nationally and internationally.

From the time of the '34 strike throughout most of the rest of the decade the party continued to grow and extend its influence among the workers. Dunne was Minnesota head of this expanding party throughout this period. Under his leadership the Minnesota movement came out one hundred percent with Trotsky and the Cannon majority in the fight against the Shachtman revisionists. In fact almost from its beginning the history of V.R. Dunne parallels that of James P. Cannon.

In 1941 V.R. was one of 29 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544 indicted, arrested and tried on Smith Act charges of seditious conspiracy. He was one



PIONEER TROTSKYIST V.R. DUNNE-- SWP BETRAYED HIS HERITAGE

of the 18 party members ultimately convicted and sent to prison on these charges. These indictments were clearly aimed at removing any obstacle within the labor movement that was consciously opposed to the national administration's war drive. Since the trial took place in Minneapolis, the whole defense and much of the political life of the S.W.P. centered in Minnesota for several months.

The trial itself and the following decade saw the deepening of two aspects of Dunne's political role and of the Minnesota S.W.P.; aspects widespread throughout the party but taking special form in Minnesota because of the almost exclusively working class composition of the Minnesota party.

First there was a growing reassertion of American radicalism. As Tim Wohlforth explains in "The Struggle for Marxism in the United States," "American radicalism... is not a homogeneous tradition but rather a combination of some quite contradictory outlooks. The two most important of these are populism, the struggle of 'democracy' against plutocracy, and syndicalism, the elemental class-consciousness of an emerging working class." (p. 42) As Wohlforth goes on to explain, this was expressed in the kind of defense conducted in the Minneapolis trial.

SYNDICALIST

In addition the fruit of this approach was apparent in the words of several defendants and witnesses alike during the trial. More than one worker on the stand explained his reason for joining the S.W.P. in terms of his respect and admiration for the Dunne brothers and Skoglund. It became apparent that workers, who had joined the party because they agreed with its trade union policy, had remained at the level of trade union militants. Little effort had been made to raise their understanding above a syndicalist level. In fact, especially after the split with the Shachtmanites, the anti-intellectual prejudices of these workers were catered to and glorified.

It was this danger--the neglect of theoretical and political development--which Trotsky foresaw and warned about, particularly in the Minneapolis movement, among the best and strongest of the working class cadre. His warnings began with his arrival in Mexico and continued until his murder in 1940. (See "Struggle for Marxism..." p. 30ff) Dunne was a participant in many of these discussions with Trotsky, but

the trials made clear that he had not understood the warnings.

The other side of Dunne that developed during the trial was a strengthening in a distorted form of his basic conviction of the need to maintain the revolutionary party. Like the entire S.W.P. leadership, he saw the need to fight the trial in such a way as to preserve the legality of the party. Like Cannon himself, he saw the party after he got out of prison, less and less as the revolutionary arm of the international working class or as an integral part of an international party. The maintenance of the party was divorced of political content, and became synonymous with the maintenance of the party apparatus. In particular in Minneapolis there developed almost a 'headquarters cult' and the aim and purpose of the party became one of maintaining and expanding headquarters. Dunne's struggle to maintain the party during the period of the cold war and the later McCarthy witch-hunt period was not a fight to develop the theoretical or political level of the party, but rather to turn the movement inward. More and more the party developed the circle existence of a group of close knit friends.

In the internal fight that broke out nationally, the Morrow-Goldman fight in '46 and the Cochran-Clarke fight in the early fifties, Dunne led the Minnesota movement in a fight against revisionism and for orthodox Trotskyism. And with the resurgence of trade union militancy in the late forties, the Minnesota comrades with Dunne's urging and advice threw themselves back into the class struggle. But once more, no attempt was made to make Marxists out of the new workers who came to the party in this period, and within a few short years most of them had left the movement.

REVISIONISM

The rightward drift of the party toward revisionism during the regroupment period also aroused Dunne's instinctive reaction. He recognized that the movement toward the National Guardian and the adaptation toward centrist trends in the Stalinist movement represented the same danger of liquidationism that he had recognized in the Clarke-Cochran minority. But just as he had been incapable of giving real theoretical, political leadership to the Minnesota movement during the earlier fight against the Pabloites, so in his first experience with a sizable local opposition, he proved incapable of conducting the fight politically.

In fact, in this case he was doubly handicapped. In the fight against the Pabloites he had been part of a national "orthodox" tendency, fighting as part of the Cannon faction. In the fight that broke out in Minnesota in the late fifties against his closest political supporters of the recent past (the most active cadre of the Minnesota movement) led by Henry Schultz, it was the opposition that based themselves on the national party position and saw themselves as carrying out national party policy. Thus Dunne's fight to stop what he correctly saw as an objectively anti-party grouping was entirely devoid of political content or leadership, but proceeded on the basis of organizational charges and maneuvers. In fact, he won only with the organizational intervention of the national party after the 1959 convention and the party's turn away from regroupment. Thus no political lessons were learned by either side in the fight. Dunne completely went along with the S.W.P. position on Cuba, and with its liquidationist unity with the Pabloites.

DEPUTIES RUN

The outstanding strength of Dunne was his devotion to the working class struggle for socialism. His main achievement was the successful demonstration of what Trotskyist leadership could mean in the living struggle of the workers. It is precisely because of the importance of the 1934 strikes to the growth and development of Trotskyism, especially in America, that the actions of the December YSA convention represent such a betrayal of the whole past heritage of Trotskyism. At the convention, Ray Dunne, together with veterans of the truck drivers struggle were given a symbolic "honor" by sharing the platform at the opening session with Farrell Dobbs. But the demonstration which they had planned to commemorate the famous Battle of Deputies' Run, a demonstration that could have linked the YSA to the very best working class traditions of world Trotskyism, was called off.

Thus the YSA and the SWP even before his death turned its back on the heritage of V.R. Dunne and the proud revolutionary working class tradition he represented. It is the Workers League that bases itself on the heritage of world Trotskyism, of which Dunne and the '34 struggle are a vital part. And it is the Workers League that will build a party as part of the Fourth International taking forward these historic struggles into 1970--the year of Lenin and Trotsky, a party capable of leading the working class in a victorious struggle for socialism.

Workers League

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

Los Angeles: 11260 Missouri Ave. No. 1. Phone: 473-0464

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MICHIGAN: Detroit: P.O. Box 1057, Southfield, Mich. 48075

Oakland University: Phone: 377-2000, Ext. 3034 863-7951

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

MISSOURI: St. Louis: Phone: 863-7051 P.O. Box 3174, St. Louis, Mo. 63130

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

Columbia: Phone: 866-6384

Cornell: Ed Smith, Rm. 1305, Class of 1977 Hall. Phone: 256-1377

Stony Brook: Phone: 246-5493

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

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

CANADA: Toronto: P.O. Box 5758, Postal Station A

Montreal: Phone: 935-5373

WISCONSIN: Madison: Phone: 257-7558

COMMUNIST PARTY YOUTH

BY FRED MUELLER

A new youth organization, the Young Workers Liberation League, was founded in Chicago on the weekend of February 7-8, 1970. This represents a new effort by supporters of the Communist Party to set up a youth movement on a national level. The new organization proclaims its ties to the CP more openly than any of its predecessors since the days of the Labor Youth League in the early 1950's.

Undoubtedly many young people attended this conference sincerely believing they were helping to build a revolutionary youth organization. Exactly the opposite is the case.

Behind the veneer of formulas about the class struggle, socialism and internationalism, lies the Stalinist position of class collaboration, the popular front, and counterrevolutionary policies and violence directed against the working class all over the world. Behind the talk about socialism lies 40 years of betrayals of socialism and the most devoted service to world capitalism.

The U.S. Communist Party is among the most faithful followers of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow. It has swallowed every zig zag of Stalinist policy in line with the diplomacy of the bureaucracy. Serious young workers and students will be misled

and betrayed by the Stalinists. They must confront the real nature of the CP program and its history. They must demand explanations of this program and history.

BUREAUCRACY

The founding resolution of the Young Workers Liberation League is nothing but a defense of the line of the Stalinist bureaucracy. In its introductory remarks on the world situation, the resolution says the following:

"So powerful have become the Socialist world, the national liberation movement and the working class in the capitalist nations, that they and not imperialism are the dominant

force in world politics and have succeeded in shifting the world balance of power in their favor...This development is irreversible."

This conception was first enunciated after World War II by Stalinist theoretician Zhdanov, and later taken up by revisionist currents including the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and its international co-thinkers. It substitutes impressionism for a scientific Marxist analysis. Behind its surface appearance of revolutionary optimism is the most pernicious lie. This has nothing to do with revolutionary optimism. It is based upon refusing to tell the working class the truth about the struggles it faces, and

I.S., SDS LABOR SHARE ANTI-MARXIST METHOD

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The International Socialists and the Labor Committee distinguished themselves at the recent SMC anti-war conference by blocking together in a completely unprincipled way, by skirting the issue of mass working class action against the war in favor of various "conversion" schemes for salvaging and reforming the capitalist economy after the war is over.

The IS got out a leaflet immediately after the SMC proposal for large local actions was passed, posing that, since the SMC resolution did not specify what politics the demonstrations were to have that they take place around the IS demands: There were basically nine demands including everything but the kitchen sink, ranging from "tax the corporations not the people" to "self-determination for women."

As the war is being stepped up in Vietnam, it becomes clearer every day that there is no room for deals or negotiations. At the same time big attacks are being launched on the working class in the U.S. through unemployment, inflation, union busting and anti-strike legislation. At this time the IS tries to divert the movement against the war into a thousand and one reform demands.

While the International Socialists refuse to defend the conquests of the October Revolution and the Soviet Union, they play objectively the same role as the Stalinists in attempting to diffuse the issue of the war and build a reform movement. The IS position paper, "Toward the Working Class," printed in the Student Mobilizer, was thoroughly exposed as a fraud in the SMC conference. It refused to pose Vietnam as a class issue facing the working class internationally. It opposed the mobilization of the working class on a class basis against the war. The IS counterposed to this the building of another Peace and Freedom Party, another middle class swamp to divert the working class from the tasks posed to it.

LIGHTMINDEDNESS

One of the demands raised--"self-determination for women"--reveals how divorced IS is from Marxism and the class struggle. The Leninist conception of self-determination of nations is completely distorted and perverted here. Is the IS suggesting that women are an oppressed national minority who should take over, for instance, the Western half of the U.S. as a nation?

This kind of lightmindedness and opportunism is so completely and totally divorced from Marxism that it can only be termed ludicrous. But the class basis for such proposals becomes even clearer with an examination of the Labor Committee's politics and their common bloc.

The Labor Committee, unlike IS, did not get out a special leaflet after the SMC proposal was passed. They had instead their all-purpose four page leaflet, "1970 Anti-War Resolution," which had nothing to say about the massive mobilization of the working class against the war.

What they do say is essentially this: Liberals coming into the anti-war movement in a big way has raised the question of transforming the anti-war movement into a political movement. The development of ecology as an issue and Walter Reuther's intervention on the conversion issue has enhanced this possibility.

LIBERALS

They are absolutely correct in one sense. The liberals joining in the protest against the war on a national scale last fall; the reform efforts of the trade union bureaucrats trying to head off rank and file militants, and the widespread ballyhoo about ecology and pollution as a new, all-class "issue" to cover up the deepening war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants and the American working class, DO raise the possibility of the anti-war movement becoming a political movement. But this middle class reformist movement is designed to draw the working class into the camp of liberal capitalism, to disarm it politically and to tie its hands in the face of new attacks by the capitalist class.

While the Labor Committee spokesman at the SMC Conference pointed out that the SMC was a popular front formation around the question

of the war, they themselves pose a popular front formation around the question of the conversion of the economy, tying the liberals, the trade union bureaucrats and sections of the working class together on a reformist basis.

This is the key to the Labor Committee's politics. They start not from the interests of the working class but from the movement of liberals to reform the capitalist system. "It is the liberals who have introduced the question of conversion from war economy...This layer of liberals has ironically moved the anti-war movement somewhat to the left... The liberals have outflanked the radical anti-war movement by their grouping with Walter Reuther around the issues of ecology and conversion..." Above all it is the liberals the Labor Committee is interested in as a "left" force in the anti-war movement.

Rather than starting with the basic class conflict in capitalism and understanding the necessity for the working class to smash the capitalist system and its state apparatus, the Labor Committee starts with a broad "public interest" approach, a classless approach completely divorced from the theory, history and practice of the Marxist movement.

The Labor Committee, like the IS, is incapable of starting with the class forces in conflict, and through a Marxist analysis developing a program for intervention in the class struggle. They are incapable of this because, like the IS, they are divorced from the development of the Marxist movement, and reject the conquests of that movement.

The links which tied the IS and the Labor Committee together in the bloc they made at the SMC conference were class links--their common disdain for the working class, and the theoretical tool of the working class, Marxism. This was expressed in their common rejection of making Vietnam the central CLASS issue, and their common conception of "conversion" and tax reform schemes to salvage capitalism.

But it is necessary to go deeper than this surface expression to understand their political agreement, which is rooted in their respective histories. The IS was born out of a split within the Trotskyist movement. The Shachtmanites, now represented by the IS, were the petty bourgeois section of the SWP, whose middle class radicalism and rejection of dialectical materialism in favor of pragmatism was expressed by their refusal to defend the Soviet Union as a workers state in 1940. This rejection of the gains of the October Revolution meant not only a rejection of Stalinism but a rejection of Marxism, and Trotsky's principled struggle against Stalinism. Since they refuse to study the his-

torical roots of Stalinism, and cut themselves off from Trotskyism, which is the only tendency capable of this understanding, they prepare the way for capitulation to Stalinism. There is no middle ground between Stalinism and Trotskyism. The rejection of the revolutionary role of the working class; the substitution of the middle class and a reformist program for the construction of the revolutionary party based on the program of Trotskyism, leads directly to capitulation to Stalinism.

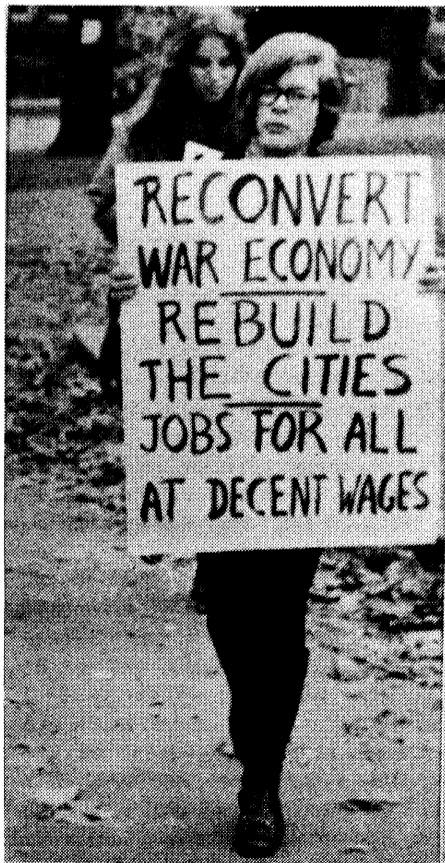
The Labor Committee as well comes from this same section of petty bourgeois radicalism. Lynn Marcus, the founder of the Labor Committee and its leading ideological light, is a renegade from Trotskyism, and rejects the method and history of the Marxist movement.

The same pragmatism, the same petty bourgeois radicalism, the same rejection of Marxism forces the Labor Committee to express the identical class viewpoint as the IS in its "1970 Anti-War Resolution":

"We must slay the ideological dragon of Soviet and Chinese military threats. We must publicly challenge the Soviet and Chinese leaderships to state their agreement in advance to such conversion proposals should a government representing our point of view come to power in the U.S.... We must... propose a world wide conversion program."

Here the Labor Committee is clearly trying to counterpose reform of the capitalist system against the socialist revolutions of 1917 and 1948. They counterpose to the smashing of the capitalist state and the building of socialism, the program of converting the capitalist economy to a peace time economy in alliance with the liberals.

What both the Labor Committee and IS have in common is their subservience to middle class radicalism and the substitution of pragmatism for Marxism. Pragmatists do not start with the necessity for a revolutionary struggle against capitalism, they start with capitalism itself and its "possibilities" for reform. Rather than seeing the Vietnam war as an expression of the nature of capitalism, which cannot be changed without a revolutionary struggle of the working class against capitalism, they see it as a "bad" side of capitalism which can be reformed. Thus the IS and Labor Committee talk not about a struggle against capitalism, but about "converting" it. It was this method, with its disdain for the working class and its contempt for Marxism, that held the Labor Committee and IS together at the SMC, and which kept them and the SWP-YSA from turning to the fight to take up the Vietnam war as a class issue in the working class.



LABOR COMMITTEE SUPPORTER

MUST CONFRONT STALINISM

the need to build a revolutionary party.

Instead of beginning with the deepening and IRREVERSIBLE CRISIS of capitalism, the YWLL begins with the irreversible defeat of capitalism, apart from the building of the revolutionary party. From the assumption that the balance has shifted irreversibly, the only conclusion can be that the building of the revolutionary party is no longer decisive.

The Trotskyists, on the contrary, say that the defeat of imperialism is inevitable only insofar as we succeed in building the revolutionary party on a world scale. The Stalinists ignore this because they want to lull the working class to sleep behind formulas of the irreversible defeat of imperialism and peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism, not international class struggle.

Thus the resolution says:

"The most powerful segment of the working class is that which is in power in the Socialist nations now constituting one third of the world. The advances, particularly of this segment of the working class, is decisive in all other parts of the struggle."

The Young Workers Liberation League begins by equating the Stalinist bureaucracy with the workers states and with the international working class. When they speak of the advances of "this segment of the working class," they mean that the diplomatic needs of those who speak in the name of the Soviet workers and peasants, the Stalinist bureaucracy, "is decisive in all other parts of the struggle." This is the justification whereby the struggle of the working class internationally is subordinated to the interests of the bureaucratic caste which has usurped political power from the working class in the Soviet Union.

The Communist Parties and their youth organizations all over the world have long ago become simply out and out reformist organizations. They use the language of the class struggle and the prestige of the Russian Revolution to betray the working class, to tie it to the liberal sections of the capitalist class through opportunist policies like the Popular Front.

The founding resolution of the YWLL is permeated with talk of the fight against fascism. Here is just a sampling of what the resolution has to say:

"The present reactionary offensive that moves in the direction of fascism can be defeated by militant united mass struggle..."

"To block fascism and to wage an effective struggle for the needs of young people requires the broadest unity... Thus we call for the building of a democratic front of youth on the road to Socialism. Such a front is democratic, because it unites all those who are fighting for improvements now, even before Socialism, and includes even those who might never fight for Socialism..."

"A crucial task of revolutionaries is to weld a coalition of all those forces in society who face oppression by the big monopolies, even though some of these will not be won to the fight for Socialism... Such an alliance... should aim at neutralizing large non-monopoly capitalists."

"The anti-monopoly front provides the best possibilities for blocking fascist-like reaction and nuclear war... In the struggle for the needs of the people, revolutionaries must fight for broad unity including with liberal led organizations..."

This is almost a verbatim exposi-

tion of the Stalinist line of peaceful coexistence and popular front as first applied in the 1930s. When the resolution speaks of a democratic front and an anti-monopoly alliance, it is talking about a popular front. These are the policies that led to the victory of fascism, not its defeat.

POPULAR FRONT

According to the Stalinists the time is never ripe for the working class to fight for power against the capitalist class. On the contrary, the deeper the crisis, the graver the danger of fascism, the harder the Stalinists work to ally the working class with the bourgeoisie. This is the class meaning of the Stalinist policy of the Popular Front. Stalinism is the main agent of imperialism within the working class movement.

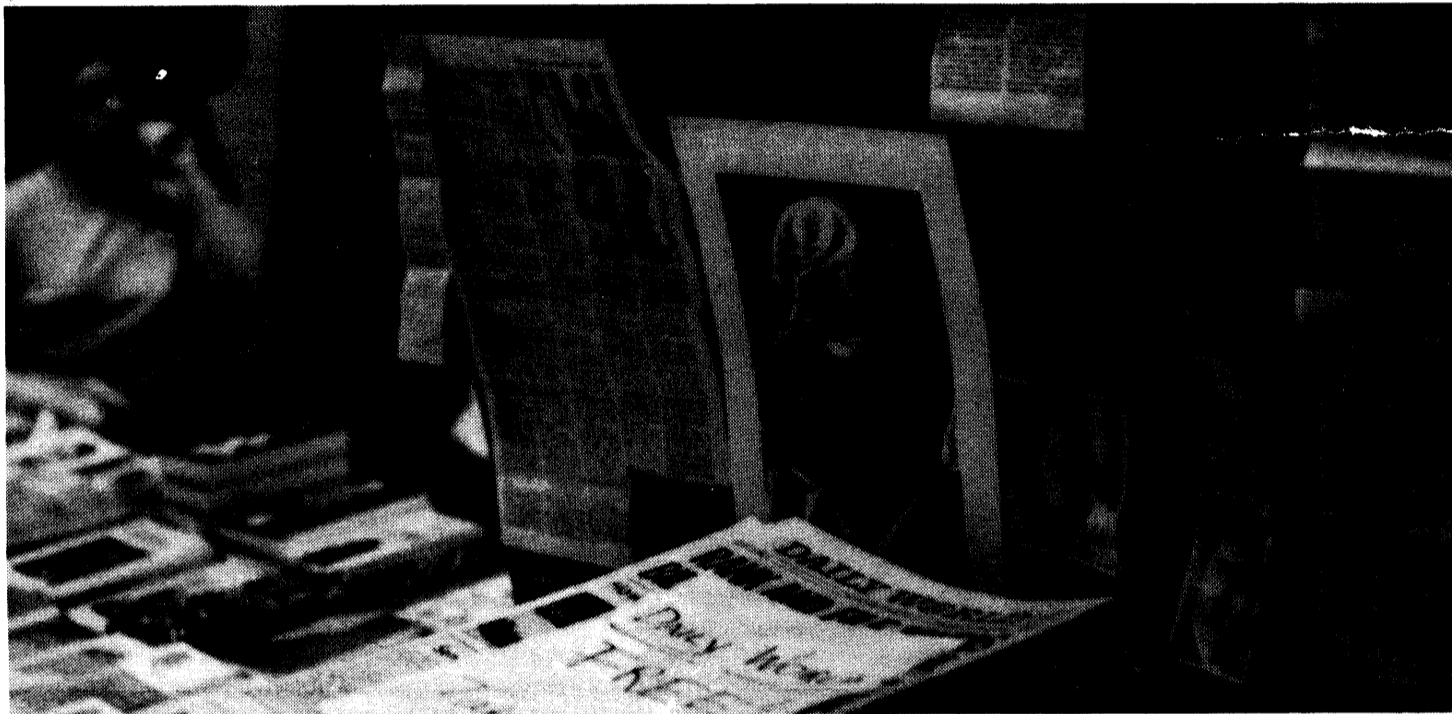
Democratic Party and confining even the struggle on Vietnam to the limits which this section of the bourgeoisie demands. It means a refusal to call for a break with the capitalist politicians and the formation of an independent labor party. The Stalinists build up the Democratic liberals and the so-called "lefts" within the trade union bureaucracy. They hail the GE sell-out as a victory even while tens of thousands of workers condemn it.

The Young Workers Liberation League serves up the same program which has led to countless betrayals of the working class.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Nor does the YWLL say anything about Moscow's crushing of the

sort of mistake is it when an entire generation, not just one or two or even 100, but an entire generation of revolutionaries are first broken politically and then murdered? This was no "mistake." It was a conscious policy flowing from the policies of socialism in one country and the Popular Front. The purges were necessary in order to crush the Bolshevik Party, to crush all opposition within the working class before proceeding to the alliance with Hitler. The Moscow Trials were a good will gesture to both Nazi and so-called "democratic" imperialism. The Nazis and the White Guard emigres did not hide their satisfaction with the extermination of the Bolsheviks. At the same time Stalin used the Trials to say to Washington, London and Paris: "We



YOUNG WORKERS LIBERATION LEAGUE TABLE AT SMC CONFERENCE GIVING AWAY "DAILY WORLD"

This is the lesson of history. This is the meaning of France in 1936, after the war, and again in 1968. This is the meaning of Spain, where the Spanish workers were delivered up to Franco in the guise of the anti-fascist struggle. In Indonesia hundreds of thousands of communists were slaughtered as a consequence of the Stalinist policy of reliance upon the national bourgeoisie and its spokesman, Sukarno. These examples could be multiplied countless times. The world working class has paid with millions of lives for the conscious betrayals of Stalinism.

This is the meaning of the Popular Front today. Stalinism sold out the struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants after the Second World War and again in 1954 at the Geneva Peace Conference. It is ready for a deal with imperialism again. Only the height of class struggle, only the determination of the Vietnamese who have been fighting for over a generation, has thus far prevented these traitors from doing their job again.

These opportunist and counter-revolutionary policies find very developed expression in the U.S. today. In the peace movement the Stalinists seek to tie the fight against the imperialist war to the diplomatic moves in Paris. They seek to keep the movement on the level of middle class protest, and when they speak of reaching the working class, it is only in order to bring the workers behind this middle class program.

Now the Communist Party and all of its hangers on seek to divert the struggle against the war, to dissolve it into so-called local issues, to REFUSE the issue of Vietnam.

Their anti-monopoly alliance means a bloc with all to the left of Agnew. It means continued reliance on the liberal wing of the

Hungarian Revolution or the invasion of Czechoslovakia. These questions, and the issues of the history and continuity of the communist movement, are the issues which must be raised and are being raised by a new generation of revolutionary fighters within the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

An example is the document written by surviving children of murdered Bolsheviks, signed by such names as Yakir, Antonov - Ovseenko, Radek, Muralov, and many others.

This document, written in 1967 and smuggled out of the USSR, takes its stand clearly on behalf of communism and Leninism. It warns about the rehabilitation of Stalin. It warns about the "forgetting" of the lessons of the murders of an entire generation of Bolsheviks.

The YWLL must confront not only the questions of peaceful coexistence and the Popular Front but also the incontrovertible facts of the murder of 600,000 workers and communists during the great purges, the wiping out of virtually the entire Central Committee of Lenin's day, and the assassination of Trotsky on the orders of Stalin and with the complicity and knowledge of the U. S. Communist Party itself.

Do the members of the YWLL know that of the 25 Central Committee members of the Bolshevik Party between 1919 and 1921, by 1939 17 had been shot or imprisoned, one was a suicide, only four had died naturally, Trotsky was assassinated in 1940, and only Stalin and Kalinin were left!

MOSCOW TRIALS

Now the U.S. CP attempts to deal with these questions by admitting that horrible mistakes were made. What

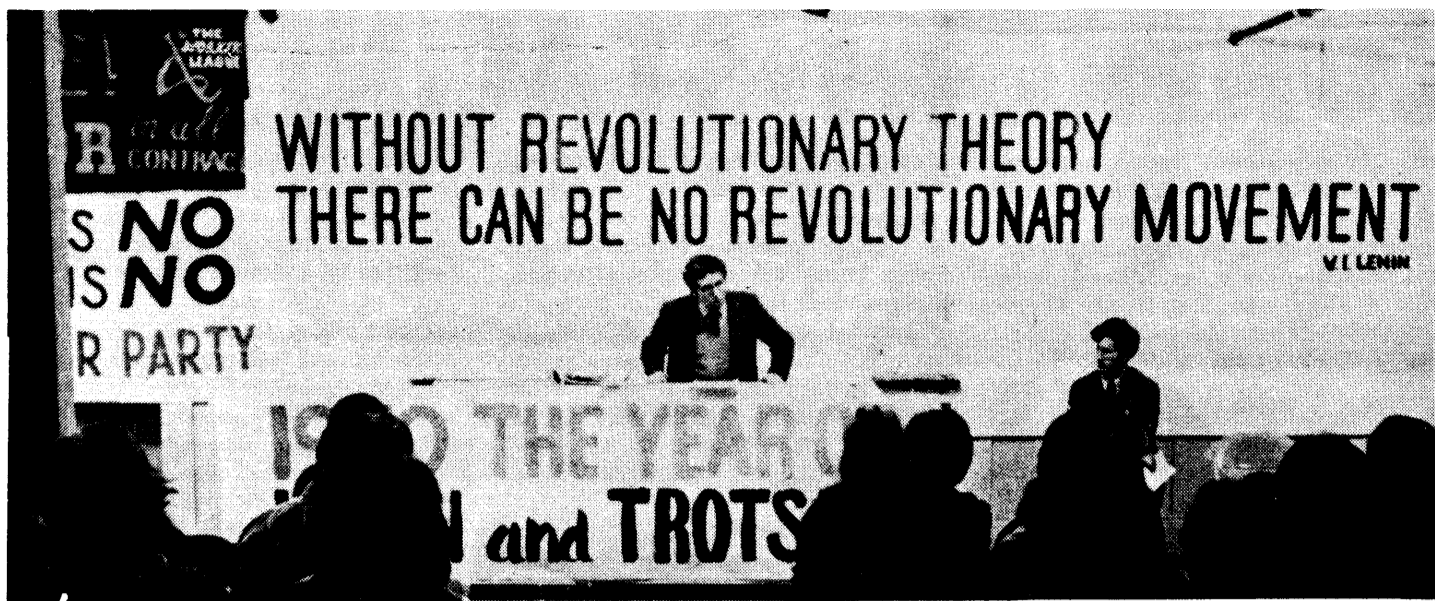
need an anti-fascist front. We will help you to defeat the working class if you give us an alliance which will protect us for the time being against Hitler." And Stalin proceeded to help defeat the working class even without such an alliance.

These are the questions that must be confronted.

We urge the membership of the Young Workers Liberation League to find out for themselves what the fighters in the Soviet Union have to say. They are struggling for Bolshevism over thirty years after Stalin tried to bury it. They are being hounded, imprisoned, and even sent to mental hospitals.

TROTSKYISM

The Trotskyist movement was built on the basis of a principled struggle for Bolshevism against Stalinist opportunism and its history of betrayal. Only because of this struggle in the darkest days of reaction was the Trotskyist movement able to make the theoretical advance which now makes possible the revolutionary youth movements we are building in France and Great Britain. The February 1 demonstration of 10,000 young workers and students in Paris, and the youth movement being built in Britain around the campaigns of the Young Socialists and its monthly newspaper *Keep Left* show the way forward. These practical blows against the Stalinist betrayers, the winning of a section of the younger generation of workers, flows directly from the struggles against Stalinism. The members of Young Workers Liberation League will find through a struggle for working class policies that the only way forward is through a conscious fight against Stalinism through the Fourth International!



*report on
first western
regional
conference*

workers league moves ahead on west coast

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

SAN FRANCISCO--Over 70 people from San Diego, Los Angeles, Palo Alto, San Jose, Oakland, Berkeley, and San Francisco attended the Workers League's First Western Regional Conference. The sessions were marked by a serious theoretical discussion of Stalinism, its relation to the revision of Trotskyism by the SWP and its allies, and the struggle for Trotskyism today.

The conference opened with the showing of the films on the British Young Socialists and on the Workers Press, first Trotskyist daily in the world. Then Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, gave a report on the recent Cleveland conference of the Student Mobilization Committee. "The liberals are retreating from the struggle against the war precisely because no deal is forthcoming in Paris, the war is heating up, and the working class is entering the struggle against the war," Wohlforth stated. "The Stalinists are chasing after the liberals, with the Kremlin seeking to make a deal with the U.S. despite Vietnam, by seeking to minimize and ignore Vietnam. Here in the United States this has meant that the Communist Party and its liberal and pacifist allies are seeking to de-fuse, diffuse and scatter the anti-war movement. Faced with this, the SWP and YSA is trailing after the Stalinists, retreating from any mass mobilization in Washington and maintaining its bloc with the New Mobe and Moratorium Committees. Against this retreat the Workers League alone fought for a real turn to the working class around the proposal that the trade union movement take the lead in organizing a mass march on Washington on the basis of class demands linking immediate withdrawal with the

recession, inflation, and the need for a labor party."

"We have here at Cleveland the real political bloc upon which a new popular front could be constructed to bring defeat to the American workers. At the center of the bloc is the Communist Party. But the Communist Party can no longer carry forward its betrayals, particularly among the youth, without a cover. The SWP and the YSA use Trotsky's name to put forward basically Stalinist multi-class politics and thus aid the Stalinists. Only the Workers League took up the question of Stalinism at the SMC conference."

Saturday's session started with a report by Dennis O'Casey of the Political Committee of the Workers League, on Stalinism, its origins and Trotsky's struggle to form the Fourth International. This discussion was carried forward on Sunday with a report by Jeff Sebastian, Chairman of the San Francisco Branch of the Workers League and National Committee member, on the revisions of Trotskyism carried forward by Pablo, and why the SWP ended up in the Pabloite camp.

He emphasized the class character of this revisionism as a reflection of the bourgeoisie through the middle class into the Trotskyist movement in the form of pragmatism and an abandonment of theory. "Fabloism means liquidationism, means a return to the policies of Stalinism, an adaptation to the current 'reality' of the dominance of the working class by petty bourgeois formations," Sebastian concluded.

A sharp discussion took place on the conference floor with a small group from the Spartacist League. The discussion helped clarify the nature of Pabloism as it is expressed through the Spartacist organi-



NAT'L SEC. TIM WOHLFORTH (LEFT), AND JEFF SEBASTIAN (ABOVE) ADDRESS CONFERENCE.

zation.

Asked what were the differences between Spartacist and the Workers League, Comrade Wohlforth went into the whole history of the opposition inside the SWP in 1961-1964 and the 1966 Conference of the International Committee. He emphasized that the principle difference was a rejection by Spartacist of internationalism. James Robertson, the leader of Spartacist, broke with the International Committee in 1962, refusing to subordinate his differences on tactical questions to the international movement. Once again in 1966, after presenting a series of differences on the conference floor, Robertson retired from the conference, claiming to be tired and refused to attend a session at which a number of comrades wished to discuss his presentation. When asked to apologize to the conference for the action he refused to do so and was expelled from the conference.

Since that time, Wohlforth noted, Spartacist has acted without principle or perspective or the slightest scruples. Right after the conference a Spartacist member turned over all the documents of the dispute inside of the International Committee to the SWP and Hansen printed this material up as a pamphlet. The Spartacist then proceeded to distribute this pamphlet with Hansen's own introduction. It distributes this material to this day. Thus in action it stands with the SWP and is motivated not by political principle but by petty bourgeois hostility to the Fourth International.

The Spartacist spokesman was asked from the floor to explain what exactly was the central principled difference Spartacist held with the International Committee. The spokesman could not do so. What the Spartacist spokesman did state was that since the American working class was not in motion, what was needed was to intervene wherever things were happening, like the Women's Liberation movement, and to seek to bring about a "regroupment." Another Spartacist later amplified on this, stating that our tactics must be adjusted to the fact that we live in "peaceful times."

Workers League comrades pointed out that this is precisely the result of a rejection of the international movement. The American working

class is seen separated out from the tremendous class battles now racking Europe.

Also participating in the discussion was a group of black students from Los Angeles. These comrades have been involved in an intensive study of Marxism, particularly Lenin's works. Far from proceeding from the perspective that we live in "peaceful times," these comrades asked: "The tanks are rolling into the black working class communities. How do you propose to stop this?"

In the course of the discussion there was agreement that the central question was not race but class, and that unless a united class struggle was taken forward fascism would take over in the country.

It is important that at both the Eastern Regional and Western Regional Conferences the real problems of the American working class, particularly the attempts of the bourgeoisie to split apart the workers on race lines, protruded into the conference and became a central point of discussion and struggle. This helped to make clear that the struggle for theory, for Trotskyism against the revisors of Marxism, the liquidators of the party, is not a matter of our exchange of views. It is a class battle of material forces--it is in fact the CENTRAL battle now facing the working class.

In the course of the conference the Workers League took a sharp look at its own weaknesses and recognized a tendency to retreat from theory by abstaining from a real fight against middle class radicalism among the middle class radicals themselves. The comrades felt the Workers League should have more forcefully intervened in the crisis in SDS, not to adapt to one or another wing of SDS, not to seek to "transform" SDS into some sort of revolutionary force, but rather to deepen the struggle against middle class radicalism and Stalinism which is nurtured by middle class radicalism.

Five comrades joined the Workers League at the conference, a dozen more declared their intention to continue discussions and close collaboration with the League, and plans were laid for new branches in the East Bay, Los Angeles and several other areas. At Friday's meeting \$161 was raised for the Bulletin.



CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS GATHER AROUND LITERATURE TABLE