

Bulletin

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*Pierre
Broue*



on Lenin

COLD BLOODED MURDER AT KENT STATE

EYE WITNESS REPORT

BY A KENT STATE STUDENT

KENT, OHIO—It started as a short rally Friday afternoon about Cambodia. It was spontaneous, so there weren't many people. On Friday night some students went downtown and some trouble started. The bars were closed and those students were forced out into the streets. They started smashing windows and the police were called.

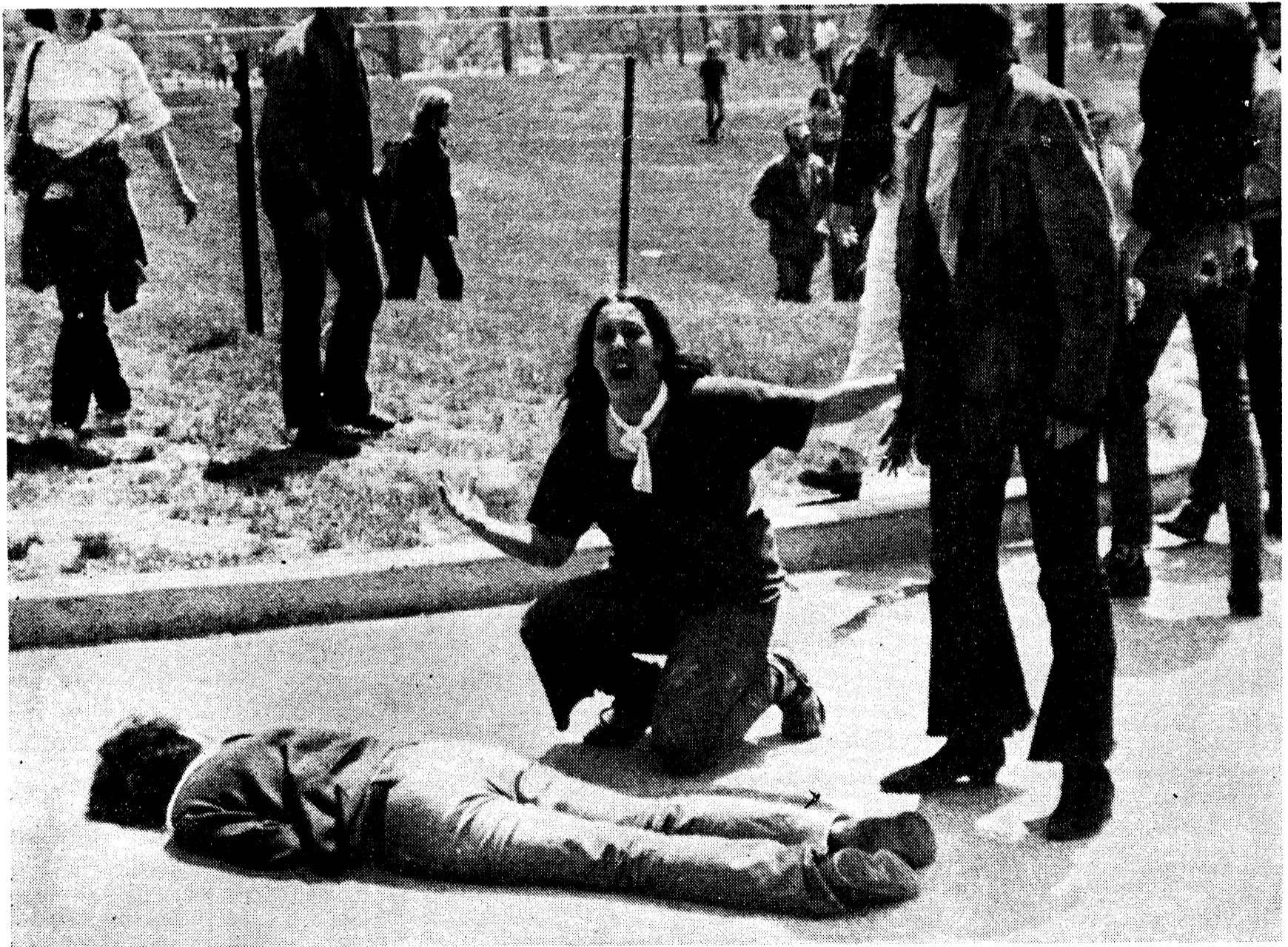
On Saturday, there was a demonstration in front of the ROTC building and a small wooden building used by them was burned down. The National Guard was called in Saturday or Sunday. By 9PM Sunday

when I arrived back at school, the Guard was all over the place. There was a big demonstration Sunday afternoon. My roommate was there and said it was the biggest, best organized demonstration he had ever seen.

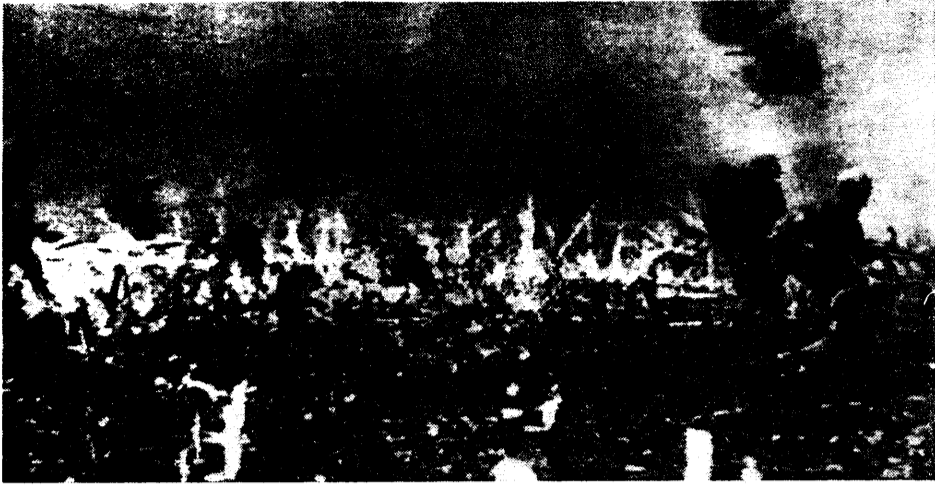
Sunday night about 1,000 students went downtown breaking the 8PM curfew. The students also took over the library. The students in town were tear-gassed and then told that if they sat down where they were the administration would negotiate with them. But as soon as they had complied the National Guard charged and dispersed them.

There were National Guardsmen everywhere in lines two feet apart so no one could get through them. They chased the students back from town to the campus and came into the dormitories. Three helicopters with bright spots were constantly overhead. There were reports of shooting and a girl was bayoneted.

On Monday a rally was called for noon on the Common. About 1,500 students massed across the Common from the National Guard. Three half-tracks with mounted guns were there. We were told that Kent was under martial law and any
(Continued On Page Three)



FROM STUDENT STRIKE TO LABOR MARCH ON WASHINGTON



American troops move into Cambodia in an expansion of the war throughout Asia.

Imperialists Push Drive Into Cambodia and North Vietnam

BY THE EDITORS

U.S. imperialism has launched a full scale expansion of the war in Southeast Asia in its determination to prevent the victory of the workers and peasants and to defeat the working class internationally.

The whole political and economic crisis of imperialism has come to a head in Vietnam. Nixon clearly admitted last Thursday that U.S. imperialist policy in Southeast Asia is on the brink of disaster and that the very existence of "America", of capitalism is at stake. The only way imperialism can subdue the peoples of Southeast Asia is through the use of its military power and all the terror and mass murder that is required.

So while Nixon was claiming that U.S. forces were not launching "an invasion" of Cambodia, thousands of American troops were moving across the border into the Fishhook area fifty miles from Saigon. Nixon had not even bothered to notify the Cambodian government whose "neutrality" he claimed he was protecting.

The movement of troops was accompanied by the first raids by B-52 bombers over Cambodian territory. Hundreds of tanks, helicopters and armored vehicles were mobilized at the border region. The **New York Times** reports the description of the invasion by Maj. Gen. Roberts as "the greatest massing of artillery he had seen in one area since World War II."

Only hours after his speech Nixon ordered massive bombing raids over North Vietnam revealing that the object of the offensive is much more than an attack on a supply depot in Cambodia, but a move towards all out military victory in Southeast Asia--regardless of its costs.

As Nixon made clear in his speech--he has no choice. This is what is required to preserve imperialism. It is not just a question of his position or the position of his party but the position of the entire capitalist class. The "political consequences" posed by the crisis facing capitalism and the offensive of the working class internationally is the overthrow of this class.

This is why Nixon said: "I would rather be a one-term President and do what I believe is right than to be a two-term President at the cost of seeing America become a second rate power and to see this nation accept the first defeat in its proud 190-year history."

In other words the sons of the American working class are being asked to die, to murder their brothers in Southeast Asia "to protect" not their lives, but the power and profits of the American capitalist class.

Despite the outcry from the liberals, they can pose absolutely no alternative. Fulbright stands together with Nixon on the exploitation and oppression of the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia. Their differences are not over the strategic necessity for conducting this war but over the methods by which it can be ended in the interests of imperialism. Nixon, however, set his critics straight when he said he too would prefer a "just peace" through negotiations but he is in the driver's seat and the only way imperialism's rule can be maintained is through an all out war.

Nixon has launched the new offensive with the confidence given him precisely by the liberals and the revisionists who fought to dissipate the struggle against the war in the actions of April 15th and by their bankrupt perspective of "preserving" the administration.

The expansion of the war only poses more sharply that there can be **NO PEACE**



Nixon (left) and Laird report to Pentagon.

UNDER IMPERIALISM. Simultaneously with the intensification of the war in Southeast Asia has come the mobilization of imperialism's troops against the U.S. students protesting the expansion of the war and against the teamsters striking against the attacks on their wages and conditions.

What is required is the full mobilization of the working class to defeat imperialism. The American labor movement must answer Nixon's call for all out action against the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia with a call for all-out action against imperialism.

The labor movement must support the national student strike against the war. The unions must now take the lead in declaring Memorial Day a day of class action against the war and against the government. A march must be called by the labor movement on Memorial day in Washington, which raises the struggle necessary to defeat imperialism in Vietnam and at home:

•Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. Troops From Southeast Asia!

•Break With the Two Parties of War, Inflation, Unemployment and Repression—Build a Labor Party Now!

Bulletin

EDITOR: Lucy St. John

ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

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EDITORIAL

From Student Strike to Labor March on Washington

Four students from Kent State University in Ohio lie dead, murdered by the National Guard. Their "crime" was only their opposition to Nixon's criminal war in Southeast Asia. The Guard fired point blank into the students. The phoney excuse that they were fired at by a sniper is denied by all witnesses to the bloody tragedy.

President Nixon marked the occasion by "deploring" the deaths and then blaming the deaths—on the students who were shot at! "It is my hope," he stated, "that this tragic and unfortunate incident will strengthen the determination of all the nation's campuses, administrators, faculty and students alike to stand firmly for the right which exists in this country for peaceful dissent and just as strongly against the resort to violence as a means of such expressions."

It was not the students who fired on National Guardsmen but Guardsmen who fired on unarmed students. It is not the students who are perpetrating violence and death against the peoples of South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia but Nixon himself. This man, who only last week called students "bums", together with his front man Agnew has been whipping up rightist sentiment against the students and youth for months. It is the Nixon Administration which must take responsibility not only for the war but for the murders at Kent State. And it is the capitalist system which Nixon defends which must take responsibility for Nixon.

The troops which committed the Kent State slaughter were originally mobilized in Cleveland and other Ohio cities for use against striking rank and file Teamsters hoping to protect scab trucks from the wrath of these workers. They were mobilized by Governor Rhodes at the request of eight mayors including Mayor Carl Stokes of Cleveland supported to this day by the Communist Party. Such is the state of this so-called "communist" party 100 years after the birth of Lenin.

Student strikes are now sweeping across the nation in an elemental reaction to the invasion of Cambodia, the stepped up bombing of the North, the terror and other attacks unleashed on students here at home, and the legal repression of the Black Panthers.

THESE STRIKES MUST GO FORWARD! WE MUST CLOSE DOWN EVERY UNIVERSITY AND HIGH SCHOOL IN THE NATION!

The program is now clear. Nixon does the bidding of the large corporations who run this country in their own interests and defend their profits with slaughter in Southeast Asia and increasing repression and attacks at home. The students have taken the lead but it is not a student struggle. It is the struggle of all workers. The demands of American labor must be put at the center of the strikes.

At the same time the labor movement must move against the war abroad and at home. The working class must be brought into the very center of the struggle. The trade unions must speak out NOW against the murders in Kent State, the legal murder being prepared in New Haven as well as the daily murders in Asia.

It is no accident that one of the slain students, Jeffrey Glenn Miller, was the son of Bernard Miller, a linotype operator who works for the New York Times. At the very moment that his son was shot down Bernard Miller and his fellow workers were involved in critical negotiations with the giant billionaire newspaper corporations who are seeking to beat back their own workers even at the cost of a long strike.

BEAT BACK THE WAR, THE REPRESSIONS, THE ANTI-UNION FORCES! FROM THE STUDENT STRIKES TO A MASS MARCH OF LABOR ON WASHINGTON MEMORIAL DAY!

What must now be posed far sharper than ever before is that in each and every struggle, in each protest, march or strike, we must place at the very center the question of the political independence of the American working class. There is only one fundamental issue and that is the removal of those who carry out imperialist war in Asia and attacks on workers and students at home. Now they proceed with impunity. They know that when the streets are again momentarily still they will remain in charge in all seats of power through their Democratic and Republican stooges.

The first step towards the removal of these rulers and the social system of war and repression they represent is the construction by the American labor movement of its own independent labor party dedicated to the interests of the working class and the working class alone.

The Workers League will redouble its efforts to carry forward the struggle for the labor party and to give an independent political class leadership to the struggles of students and workers.

TAKE UP THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LABOR PARTY NOW! JOIN THE WORKERS LEAGUE!

BLOODY MURDER AT KENT STATE

(Continued From Page One)

assembly, even peaceful, was unlawful. We were given five minutes to leave. No one left and we were dispersed with tear gas. But as soon as students had recovered they returned. When the tear gas hit me I couldn't see or move and thought I would be caught and arrested. But I got to a door and someone led me to a sink. When I got back out the students has formed two groups one on either side of one of the buildings.

The Guard was between them and at one point a group of them dropped to one knee as if to fire but then got back up. As they moved toward one group the other would hurl back the tear-gar canisters or sticks or stones. Finally they again came toward my group and dropped to one knee and fired. It looked like they were aiming into the ground and at first I wasn't even going to run. Then I went into the building and when I came out was told some students had been shot. When they had begun firing I was about 40 or 50 feet away. Some students were as close as 10 or 15 feet.

They say they were fired on by a sniper but I don't believe that is true. Another Guard unit was firing on students near a building across the way. Some of the wounds were from that action. They should not have had live ammunition. It is rumored that they were supposed to have blanks but Gov. Rhodes ordered that live ammo be used. Let's face it. The National Guard is kids like us—they were scared. We found shells afterwards that were 1 1/2 inches long. One bullet went through a tree one to one and a half feet in diameter.



National Guardsmen fire tear gas at students at Kent State just prior to the shootings.



A Kent student lies dead in a pool of blood.

Rebellion Against Fee Hikes Sweeps City University of NY

BY PAT CONNOLLY

NEW YORK—Throughout the City University of New York, rebellion against the new and intensified attacks on CUNY has been mounting.

There have been student actions, ranging from rallies to sit-ins, at Hunter College, City College, Brooklyn College, NYC Community College, Kingsborough Community College, Bronx Community College, Baruch, Lehman College, and Queens College.

Fee increases up to \$132 a semester, which amount virtually to tuition for the formerly tuition-free CUNY, the slashing of the SEEK program for primarily Black and Puerto Rican students, the firing of hundreds of teachers both in night and day schools of CUNY, the cutback in night school class schedules, are all part of this attack.

Last Friday a rally was held at Brooklyn of over a thousand students to protest the fee cuts and to call for a real policy of open admissions. The school administrations has seized upon the term "Open Admissions", while at the same time really cutting back on admissions by raising fees and slashing the SEEK program. Sponsored by the Citywide Coalition for Open Admissions, the rally was dominated by the Labor Committee, which refused to allow speakers from other political tendencies.

RALLY

Students from NYCCC, Kingsborough CC, marched to the Brooklyn College

from City Hall, where they had rallied earlier in the morning to demand an end to the fee hikes. Peter LeChasse, head of the student government at NYCCC, called for a citywide march on City Hall on May 6th of all college students as well as teachers from the CUNY system. This call was ignored by the Labor Committee speakers who dominated the rally.

The Labor Committee opposed a citywide political action which would both unify the struggle, showing students at each isolated campus in CUNY that the struggle was the same at each campus, and must be a political struggle against the Lindsays, Nixons and Democrats and Republicans. Instead, it proposed that each college "get itself together" with weeks of "education and propaganda", complete with three day class moratoriums supposedly to be called by the presidents of the colleges.

SABOTAGING

At a meeting of Brooklyn College students after the rally, a Workers League spokesman got a great deal of response when she called for the City Hall march. The proposal won the majority of the people at the meeting. A Labor Committee member then arrived at the meeting supposedly from another "mass meeting" and informed the students that the march on City Hall called for Wednesday had been called off. The meeting then turned to plans for a strike, which Labor Committee also opposed as "premature", despite the fact that thousands of students were striking at other colleges. The Labor Committee is playing the role of sabotaging a serious struggle against the attacks.

It was revealed later the the demonstration at City Hall had not been cancelled at all and that plans were going ahead for it at NYCCC and other schools.

The Workers League is going ahead with an all out mobilization against the fee hikes, and attacks on the City University, fighting to mobilize students at CCNY, Brooklyn College, and other schools, linking the attacks on CUNY with the renewed offensive of the capitalists against the working class, both in the invasion of Cambodia and the use of national guard troops against American workers.

CLASS

A fight must be waged against those student "radicals" who see the issues of fee hikes and open admissions as the only issues, as just student issues, isolated from the whole class attack that is taking place internationally. At the same time we are fighting against the concep-

tion of student power, that student sit-ins and rallies alone can wrest concessions from the city government.

The attack on free higher education is a class attack that must be fought, just as the war in Southeast Asia must be fought, with the mobilization of the labor movement. Last year Harry Van Arsdale of the Central Labor Council came out in support of open admissions. This year we must fight to force Van Arsdale and the Central Labor Council to support the fight for free higher education as a class issue.

The march on City Hall must take place with support from every student, day and night, from teachers from every college and from the city labor movement around a political program that directs the fight

against the common enemy—the capitalist class and its government.

It is this class and its government that is responsible for the attacks on higher education and job security as well as for the war in Southeast Asia. This fight can go forward only on a political program directed at defeating this government:

- IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL US TROOPS FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA
- OPEN ADMISSIONS—NO STRINGS ATTACHED
- NO FEES OR TUITION—FREE HIGHER EDUCATION
- REHIRE ALL FIRED TEACHERS
- DOWN WITH THE DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS—BUILD A LABOR PARTY



City College students meet to elect strike committee after initiative of Workers League.

NEW YORK, May 6—Yesterday over 2,000 students at City college joined the national students strike against the war gathered in Cohen Plaza. The students marched through the campus and the buildings shouting "On strike—Shut It Down!"

At noon a rally was held where fired professor Jay Schulman, President Cope-land spoke and various so-called radicals "rapped." The speakers at times were shouted down and yelled at by the majority of students who wanted leadership, wanted to know what to do and what plan of action was being carried out.

After the rally a meeting scheduled on open admissions was turned into a meeting to form a strike committee. The CCNY Workers League had distributed a leaflet throughout the day calling for the formation of a strike committee to implement a strategy of shutting down CCNY together with all New York schools and to call on the Central Labor Council and the trade union movement to con-

demn the invasion of Cambodia, the murder of students at Kent and to call a mass labor march on Washington on Memorial Day.

A strike committee was formed and met. Most of the members of this committee, including members from all the revisionist tendencies, fought against discussing a strategy and political program and sought to limit the discussion to tactics and maintaining the struggle within the confines of the "liberated university."

The CCNY Workers League fought against the conception that the strike is just a student struggle and proposed that the students turn to the labor movement. Today the CCNY Workers League will hold a meeting at City to pose that the students send a telegram to the Central Labor Council calling on the unions to act on the question of Cambodia and the murder of the Kent State students and will fight to bring a political understanding and perspective into the struggle.

JOIN THE WORKERS LEAGUE!

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Cleveland Teamsters hurl rocks at scab trucks as part of rank and file rebellion.

Violence Erupts as Guard Tries to Smash Ohio Teamsters

BY DAN FRIED

Nearly five weeks after the expiration of the Teamsters' national contract, trucking is still tied up in a number of major trucking centers from coast to coast.

Along with the Chicago Teamsters who are holding out for a \$1.65 an hour wage increase, wildcat actions are still on Los Angeles, St. Louis, Pittsburgh and all of Ohio in defiance of the \$1.10 an hour negotiated by Frank Fitzsimmons and the other International Teamsters leaders. The latest move of Fitzsimmons is to submit the \$1.10 an hour agreement for a national referendum vote by the 450,000 drivers, in the hope that a "yes" on ratification will weaken the rank and file rebellions.

As of last week more than 72,000 Teamster drivers were out—12,600 of them

in the state of Ohio alone. The action by the state of Ohio in trying to smash the strike shows what the strikers are up against. In response to the pleas of Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes and eight other Ohio mayors, Governor Rhodes called out the National Guard to protect the scabs that the trucking bosses have attempted to bring in to break the strike. Three thousand guardsmen armed with M-1's were mobilized on highways and around truck terminals in the Cleveland area. Another battalion was stationed near Cincinnati.

The drivers have shown that they are

PENN STATE MOBILIZES FOR WASHINGTON MARCH

STATE COLLEGE, PA. May 5—Penn State University has called for a suspension of all classes tomorrow and for all flags to be flown at half mast in memory of the four students slain at Kent State University. Students here are mobilizing to extend this token gesture to a strike of classes on Thursday and Friday to show opposition to Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the Panther frame-up trials. Students are also mobilizing for the march on Washington Saturday around these same issues.

However, unless students turn from protest marches and actions designed to pressure the capitalist class to give up its necessary class interests, the war in Vietnam will extend further and the political repression will increase. The lesson of the student struggles on campuses is clear. Students calling strikes and marches to Washington must raise class demands to bring labor into the forefront of the fight against the war and the fight against political repression.

Leaders Push Through GE Pattern at Thermo King

BY A 2175 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS—Striking members of Steelworkers Local 2175 at the Thermo King plant were consciously sold out by their official leadership on April 26 when, at a special contract meeting, a basically G.E. type settlement was pushed through, ending a three week strike.

The offer from the company that was finally accepted was essentially the same package that was rejected by a vote of 3 to 1 on April 5.

The vote to end the strike was 336 to 140. Many of those who voted to return did so not out of any pleasure with the contract, but because they saw no alternative leadership to win anything better. But it was precisely to nip in the bud the development of such a new leadership that the official leadership acted in the panicky fashion it did.

Well before the April 5 strike vote it was becoming clear to growing numbers

of workers in the plant that the union's leadership was not seriously negotiating on behalf of the members.

The vote on April 5 to strike signified that the members wanted nothing to do with the pattern of settlement that G.E. and Westinghouse workers were forced to accept. The Thermo-King strike had the potential of breaking that pattern and because of this every worker had a stake in the Thermo King strike.

Clearly what was necessary was to first mobilize the members of 2175 around a clear program of demands that could break the G.E. pattern and then reach out to the entire Twin Cities union movement for support on that basis. This is the last thing on earth that Ben Stephani, President of 2175, and the other officials intended to do. Their strategy was to starve the ranks into accepting the company's original offer.

But this strategy could only work so long as there was no challenge to the official leadership. As in the past, only when that challenge arose did the leadership make any moves.

OPPOSITION

During the third week of the strike an opposition group of strikers met to map out a strategy, independent of the official leadership, to take up the kind of fight that the official leadership should have been waging.

For a start plans were made to resume mass picketing at the plant on Monday morning, April 27. Around the twofold campaign to rally fellow members out to

not going to sit on their hands while scabs are brought in to take their jobs and break the union. Not by a long shot. According to one report on the drivers' resistance to the strikebreaking, more than 200 strikers wielding only rocks and bottles beat back some 50 fully armed state police and National Guardsmen who were attempting to escort a scab truck convoy out of the Yellow Freight Line Terminal. After this, Yellow Lines gave up their attempt to move any more cargo.

PATROLS

In the traditions of the Harlan County Kentucky coal miners' strikes and the Michigan auto workers "flying squadrons", the Ohio Teamsters have set up a "roving patrol system". They are able, at a moment's notice to mobilize some 300 strikers to stop any scab truck or convoy carrying goods in the area, with the exception of food, drugs and beer which the strikers allow. The strikers were particularly enraged when they found the employers trying to smuggle other cargo into trucks allegedly carrying food.

Cleveland's Democratic mayor, Carl B. Stokes, took the major responsibility on behalf of the bosses' strikebreaking attempts. It was Stokes who convened the conference of the Ohio mayors, claiming that "this is a work stoppage of national import", complained about the "violence" of the strikers, and requested that Governor Rhodes send in the Guard.

STOKES

This man Stokes, a black Democrat, who was put into office with the full support of the AFL-CIO and independent labor bureaucrats as a "friend of labor", not only shows which side he is really on, but exposes the entire Democratic Party as the enemy of all working people, black and white.

The labor leaders who support Stokes and the Democrats are not the only traitors to the working class. The Communist Party which is attempting to build a "peoples' anti-monopoly coalition" around Democrats such as Stokes, has completely covered up his role as a scab against the Teamsters. In their paper the Daily World, the C.P. roundly denounced Republican Governor Rhodes, but said nothing at all about Stokes except that he had called a meeting of mayors of 18 Ohio cities with Federal officials "to discuss means of ending the strike".

The mobilization of the Guard also brings home sharply that this same Guard which had been sent in to crack skulls of student protestors at Ohio State Uni-

the line and to reach out for support to other trade unionists, a leaflet was gotten out and distributed to several area plants urging support to the Thermo King strike. Plans were made to make banners and signs to publicize the battle at Thermo King.

The struggle for the full cost of living clause, for a decent wage gain, for full sick pay, this was the kind of beginning that had to be made in order to mobilize 2175 members for a real victory.

But before this campaign could get underway, Stephani acted quickly to prevent the ranks from acting independently. Calling on a short 24 hour notice by telephone, he set up a special contract meeting April 26.

CAPITULATED

The members of the opposition group had several meetings before this April 26 meeting and agreed to try to show the ranks at this meeting that not only had the leadership capitulated completely to Thermo King but that the potential for a real fight was there. At the April 26 meeting no worker spoke from the floor to support the contract. A number of members opposed the new contract. Two members of the negotiating committee, knowing that the eyes of the ranks were on them, spoke up against the contract. District Director of the Steelworkers, Glenn Peterson, was on hand to back up Stephani and warn about the futility of a long strike and of a threatened plant closure if the proposed offer was rejected. David Ross, chairman of the negotiating committee argued, at length that this was the best offer we would get.

That the contract was accepted should be seen as only a temporary defeat for in just a few days the opposition group in the union was able to accomplish quite a bit. Now the whole struggle is to develop this alternative leadership. The coming union elections will be the first test.

iversity is now being used in an attempt to smash the Teamster's wildcat. This was seen even more graphically when some 600 Guardsmen stationed in the Cleveland area to protect scab trucks were hurriedly ordered to Kent State College to enforce martial law against the students protesting Nixon's Cambodia invasion.

Clearly these students and the workers face a common political enemy. Above all Nixon is worried that workers such as the Ohio Teamsters will begin to identify with the same anti-war struggle, breaking down their separation from the students. Nixon's appeal to patriotism and denunciation of the students as "bums" is aimed at keeping the workers out of the struggle against the war and encouraging hostility toward the students.

The Teamsters and other workers who come into head-on collision with the government in the course of strikes and wildcats are more than ready to see their struggle as a common political struggle against the employers together with the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia and the U.S. students.

What is needed to drive home this understanding and give it real life is a campaign by revolutionaries for the formation of a labor party and the calling of a Memorial Day march on Washington by the labor movement to end the war in Vietnam and Cambodia and the war at home.

STAN HILL SLATE OUSTS MORGENSTERN IN SSEU RUNOFF

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—On Friday, May 1st, the members of the Social Service Employees Union-Local 371 elected Stanley Hill and most of his slate in a runoff election with past president Martin Morgenstern.

Hill's election in this very close race was due primarily to the fact that the Committee For New Leadership which was eliminated from the runoff election fought to transfer its 6% vote gotten in the April 17th election to the Hill slate.

The CNL made clear in its leaflet urging a vote for Hill that there was no difference between Hill and Morgenstern. While Hill based his election campaign on phony promises to fight for "job security," both he and Morgenstern stood together in refusing to take up the fight against the City's reorganization plans. As the CNL pointed out, the Hill slate could pose no alternative strategy to Morgenstern. The ranks voted heavily for Hill on April 17th because they wanted to take on the City and reorganization.

EXPOSE

At no point did the CNL give any political support to Hill. It openly advocated a vote for Hill for one reason and one reason only—to expose his bankrupt policies and his phony promises to the ranks, and to break the ranks from the bureaucracy.

While Hill talked about "job security" during his campaign his only proposal was to somehow achieve this within the confines of reorganization. The CNL has maintained from the beginning, and this was the basis of its election campaign, that job security and reorganization are completely incompatible.

HALT

The only way to prevent the massive lay-offs planned for the future as well as to defend working conditions is to fight for ironclad guarantees on jobs and conditions. This means a fight to stop reorganization now, put a halt to the separation in the experimental centers and prevent its extension; reopen negotiations on the basis of a return to the 60 case load; roll back the earmarking and demand full rehiring; stop the liquidation of BCW, DER, Resource and HCI; an end to mass transfers and the reopening of full promotions; a career ladder for all case aides and parity with caseworker wages.

This is the basis upon which the CNL will carry forward the fight against the City in the SSEU-371. The CNL will combine this with the implementation of its Vietnam policy posed with new urgency in the invasion of Cambodia and the bombing of North Vietnam. This means a battle for the labor movement to call a march in Washington against the war on Memorial Day. At the same time the CNL is taking up the fight for labor to defend the students against the attacks of Nixon and his troops.

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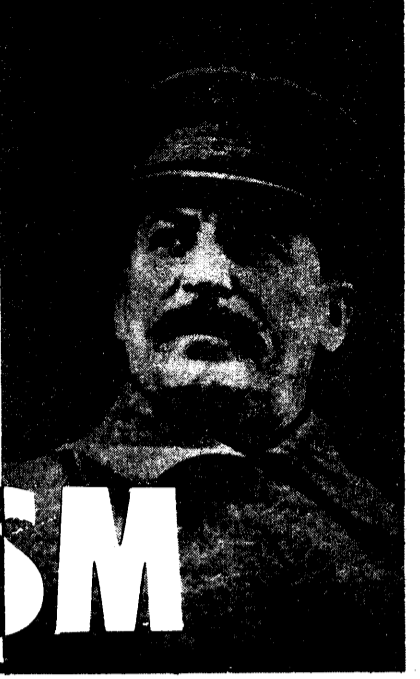
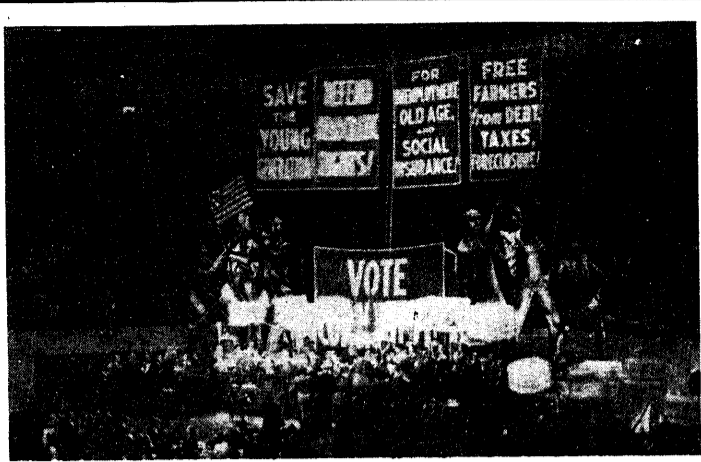
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STALINISM

& TROTSKYISM IN USA

an answer to hyman lumer and others

by **FRED MUELLER**



JUST AS THE crimes of Stalinism did not end with the trials, they also did not end with the assassination of Trotsky. The crisis of the bureaucracy continued and deepened. New measures were necessary. Stalin lived in constant fear of the masses. New purges followed in the USSR, along with new betrayals of the working class internationally.

The crushing of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 by the Soviet bureaucracy was another milestone in the crisis of Stalinism and another test for the working class movement all over the world. Everywhere the agents of the Moscow bureaucracy met this test by supporting the counterrevolutionary bloodbath unleashed by the bureaucracy in Hungary. In the U.S., CP theoretician Herbert Aptheker contributed an entire book on this subject, *The Truth About Hungary*.

Aptheker is billed by the Stalinists as a "leading Marxist scholar." An examination of the credentials and the scholarship of this scholar is in order. We should see in whose interests he uses his talents.

HUNGARY

The current CP leadership was formed out of a struggle within the party following the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian Revolution. The Gates group within the CP in 1956-57 certainly was distant from Marx-

II. AMERICAN CP & STALIN'S CRIMES (CONTINUED)

ism, but in response to the crisis it raised many legitimate historical questions. Demands were raised for a true historical accounting of the Stalin era. The entire leadership was called upon to explain Stalin's deeds and its responsibility for the past developments. While Foster spoke of the "present leaders...doing what they considered best under the circumstances," Gates and his cothinkers demanded explanations of Khrushchev and all the rest.

In answer to the questions raised within the party, the Foster group simply affirmed its loyalty to the bureaucracy, equating the bureaucracy and socialism. Aptheker played a key role in this struggle. The opposition was hounded out of the party. Today we see the same harassment directed by the top leadership towards those few in the party like Dorothy Healey and Al Richmond who have criticized Moscow's invasion of Czechoslovakia. The leadership continues to toe the line for Moscow and to deal with opposition solely through organizational measures.

It must be understood that the reaction of the bourgeoisie to the Hungarian events was much the same as it had been to the purges twenty years earlier. While it shed crocodile tears for the Hungarian workers, it made very clear its agreement with Moscow, its acceptance and even welcoming of the crushing of the revolution.

BUREAUCRACY

The Hungarian workers and students, the entire population, rose up spontaneously against the Stalinist regime which had been imposed upon them a decade earlier. At that time, Stalin had proceeded from the diplomatic and military need for friendly regimes as

cratic measures in order to deal with the immediate threat from the imperialists, at the same time it did everything necessary to crush the independent struggle and organization of the working class.

It was the totalitarian police regime against which the Hungarian masses arose, not the nationalized property relations. The workers raised the demands of the political revolution, the demands which Trotsky had outlined and called for twenty years earlier in his analysis of the bureaucracy. The workers demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, they demanded an independent and socialist Hungary, full national independence and democratic rights for the working class together with workers' control of the socialized means of production.

Stalin's head from statue lands on ground during Hungarian Revolution. Present CP leaders formed through defense of crushing of revolution.



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

The imperialists as well as the Stalinists were frightened by this struggle. The New York Times said on October 27, 1956: "The view prevailing among United States officials, it appeared, was that 'revolution' towards freedom in Eastern Europe would be better for all concerned than 'revolution', though nobody was saying this publicly." Thus the imperialists sought to use the heroic struggle of the Hungarian workers while wishing to see it crushed, and assigning to the bureaucracy the job of crushing it. A victory for the Hungarian workers would have meant not only the downfall of the bureaucracy but also, and for that very reason, a tremendous blow at the capitalist system.

At this very same time the late cold war leader John Foster Dulles defended the legality of the Warsaw Pact and asserted that the presence of Soviet troops in Eastern Europe was "legal" because of a treaty, at the very time as a tremendous revolutionary upheaval was going on.(20) Of course Mr. Dulles did not want to think about what revolutions do to legality and to treaties.

The imperialists were and remain interested in the restoration of capitalism in this area and in the Soviet Union as well. But they recognized a proletarian revolution when they saw one, and they concluded that the best move for them was to allow the bureaucracy to crush the workers this time, thus paving the way for further crisis and development of restorationist tendencies in the Soviet orbit. This was also the policy of the imperialists at the time of the invasion of Czechoslovakia and to this day.

SLANDER

A big slander campaign was waged against the Hungarian Revolution, just as against the Trotskyists twenty years earlier. According to Aptheker in his book, the revolution was actually a counterrevolution, organized and carried forward by reactionary and fascist elements.

Aptheker devoted much space in his book to background information attempting to lay the foundation for his central thesis on the counterrevolutionary nature of the 1956 uprising. He used the Horthyite fascists to smear the revolutionary Hungarian workers, in exactly the way Foster had linked the Trotskyists to the Second International and other enemies of the Russian Revolution.

Aptheker's thesis boils down to utter contempt and hatred for the working class. If the working class "accepted" Horthy it must be very backward, very anti-communist, he suggested. Its opposition to Rakosi, Gero and their Moscow mentors must be fascist-inspired. Many workers have been "misled." Only the bureaucracy can protect the workers against themselves, so to speak. Socialism must be defended against the workers!

When Aptheker gets down to discussing the revolutionary events, his account is a lie from beginning to end. The excesses against the hated secret police are labeled by Aptheker as a white terror, whereas to the extent they took place they could be compared to a red terror, the hatred of the masses for their oppressors flowing over and getting out of control. The isolated examples of actual counterrevolutionary activities, on the other hand, are magnified ten thousand times by Aptheker in order to make a plausible case for the line that the uprising as a whole was counterrevolutionary. In any revolutionary situation reactionary elements try to intervene. In Hungary the Anti-Semites and other reactionaries tried to inject their poison in the midst of the tremendous outpouring of revulsion for the bureaucracy. But the fascists and reactionaries were completely isolated. The workers were as hostile to Horthyism as to Rakosi-Gero. There was no sentiment for capitalist restoration. Cardinal Mindzenty was completely isolated. Both the Stalinists and the imperialists, each for their own reasons, falsify this record of the revolution.

EXAMINATION

A concrete examination of some of Aptheker's lies is in order. His use of newspaper clippings is particularly revealing. He approaches the events as an attorney for the bureaucracy. He is a scholar who fears the truth.

Thus, on page 212 of his book, Aptheker presents the grave danger of an impending Mindzenty government by using a quote from what he very innocently describes as "a leading Paris newspaper, Aurore." Aptheker does not bother to inform his readers that this story was denied at the time and no proof has ever been given of it, nor that Aurore is an ultra-reactionary sheet which wished to see a Horthy-type regime in Hungary and therefore was spreading this kind of rumor.

This is just one example of Aptheker's scholarship. Over and over again he simply picks and chooses from among hundreds and thousands of reports and eyewitness accounts precisely the least credible, the least documented, but only the accounts which lend a bit of substance to his thesis that the Hungarian Revolution was nothing but the work of the fascists, anti-semites and imperialist agents.

Aptheker's account of the beginning of the uprising on October 23 is another example of his method. He gives a most vivid and detailed description of the allegedly fascist-inspired attacks on the broadcasting station, the telephone center, a newspaper and other locations.



But he fails to give even a single source for his account, which is in complete contradiction with eyewitness accounts from sources like the Italian Socialist Party newspaper Avanti and the correspondent for the London Daily Worker, Peter Fryer.(21)

These are just a few examples of Aptheker's distortions and lies in his effort to whitewash the counterrevolutionary policies of the Kremlin. The most decisive answer to these lies is the development of the revolution itself, the program of the workers councils which sprang up throughout Hungary in the course of the revolution and the tremendous resistance campaign waged by the working class after the revolution was crushed by Soviet tanks and troops. It is the most damning exposure of Aptheker that he is forced to ignore the Hungarian working class in these events. The most he can say, on page 197 of his book, is that "the workers of Budapest by and large adopted an apathetic or passive or neutral attitude." Here Aptheker is contradicted by literally every report to come out of Hungary. The workers expressed their neutrality through the formation of workers councils and a general strike which lasted for months!

The Stalinists can slander and distort but they cannot explain why there was absolutely no mass support for the Rakosi regime, or the Kadar regime installed by Moscow. They cannot explain the disciplined general strike which continued for months after the revolution. They cannot explain why not a single shred of evidence linking the workers with imperialism could be presented, nor why tens of thousands of Soviet troops must remain in Hungary years after the crushing of the so-called counter revolution.

SPIRIT

The spirit and the political character of the revolution are summed up in the remarks of the young chairman of the Budapest Central Workers Council which were published in an Italian newspaper after he was arrested in December of 1956:

I have a tranquil conscience because I have been the unfortunate spokesman for the will of the workers and for all those who have fought for the ideal of a free, independent and neutral Hungary and for a socialist state.

All that has been refused to us. The government knows that the country is against it, and since it knows today that the single organized force which truly made the Revolution is the working class, it wishes to destroy the workers united front.(22)

Of course the revolution lacked leadership. This leadership would have been forged in struggle within the workers councils. There was no guarantee of victory in the battle for socialism, and there never is. Whatever the weaknesses of the struggle, these shortcomings can never be used to excuse the crushing of these workers, which is exactly what the Stalinists did. The tremendous resistance of the Hungarian working class after November 4, 1956, is the most eloquent evidence of the real lineup of forces behind revolution and counterrevolution in Hungary.

NAGY

The crushing of the Revolution was followed by yet another in the long series of bloody crimes of the bureaucracy—the murder of Imre Nagy and Pal Maleter. Once again, this time

after the Khrushchev revelations about Stalin's "violations of socialist legality", the bureaucracy showed its fangs. It was prepared to use the very same methods used by Stalin at the same time as it tried to absolve itself of previous crimes.

The executions of Nagy and Maleter were not revealed until the spring of 1958. Nagy had been lured out of his refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy with a promise of safe conduct which was promptly ignored. Maleter was arrested while negotiating with the Soviet High Command. All the duplicity which Stalin had used so efficiently was used once again to exterminate the enemies of the bureaucracy.(23)

The revelation of the execution of Nagy and Maleter brought forth a pathetic murmur of protest from the British Communist Party,(24) but not even a murmur from Lumer and his colleagues in the U.S. The Hungarian Revolution must be remembered today not just as an heroic page in the history of the working class but as the opening up of the political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. The crushing of the Revolution gave the Kremlin only a temporary respite, as the events in Czechoslovakia and the growth of a new Soviet opposition later demonstrated. The role of the bureaucracy and of its U.S. agents in relation to the Hungarian workers must never be forgotten. It must be constantly exposed as part of the battle to construct a new revolutionary leadership.

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SUNDAY WORKER, JANUARY

TROTSKYITES TO PARCEL START WORK

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TARGET OF THE TROTSKY

DAILY WORKER

Vol. XXXIII, No. 64 (Vol. I, No. 14) New York, Friday, August 2, 1968

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The official communique of the meeting between the political bureau of the Soviet Communist Party and the presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party said it "was held in an atmosphere of complete frankness, sincerity and mutual understanding, and was aimed at searching for ways of further development of the relations between the two countries."

Czechs publish Trotskyist manifesto

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People
Vol. 22 - No. 31 Friday, August 2, 1968 Price 10¢

Left Communist groups form in Czechoslovakia

Sunday Worker of 1937 prints wild charges for schemed with Hitler. While Daily World in plotting with "former Nazis". These allegations of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and were made March 25, 1970 Daily World once again seeks to Scene from workers' struggle against Russian

dous centrifugal tendencies within the regime and the bureaucracy itself. The Dubcek leadership balanced between the Kremlin, imperialism and the Czech working class. The role of the liberals was to pave the way for either capitalist restoration or the reimposition of the Stalinist status quo by the die-hard leaders in the Kremlin. The latter course is what took place.

The Trotskyists called for no political support to the Dubcek group, but for working class opposition to the Soviet-led invasion, for the withdrawal of all invading troops and the arming of the Czech workers, for the political revolution in Czechoslovakia.

The invasion was the bureaucracy's response to developments within the Czechoslovak working class. Restorationist tendencies were used as a smokescreen to justify the invasion. What concerned the bureaucracy was the distinct possibility that the workers and students would definitively break with Stalinism and overthrow the bureaucracy once and for all. The Dubcek regime had been forced to raise the issue of the Slansky purge trial, to open up for review all the purges and the historical questions haunting the bureaucracy. The Kremlin had to cut off this ferment out of which would come

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FORKIN, JANUARY 21, 1967

ES PLOTTED EL SOVIETS, WORLD WAR

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SOVIET MASSES
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WORLD

York, Friday, August 2, 1968 Daily Except Sun. and Mon. 10 CENTS

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EXCLUSIVE

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The underestimation of the extent of this danger by the new Communist leadership of Czechoslovakia constituted the main bone of contention between them and other Warsaw Pact countries. The Communist parties of the latter considered the danger so grave that it threatened not only socialism in Czechoslovakia but the position of the Socialist community throughout Europe. Main elements of the anti-Czechoslovakia plan, as revealed exclusively to the Daily World, are as follows:

— Participants in the subversive conspiracy included, from outside Czechoslovakia, Prime Minister Couve de Murville of the Gaullist government of France; the Catholic parties of neighboring countries, particularly Austria; the leadership of the Socialist International; the Austrian Socialist Party; Radio Free Europe; the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States; the Bundeswehr leadership and the defense ministry of the Federal Republic of Germany; and certain unidentified "right wing" circles in the United States.

— Inside Czechoslovakia, the counter-revolutionary conspirators included former Nazis, Trotskyites, the Social Democratic party, the People's Catholic party, an alliance of former officers of the army of former President Edvard Benes, and certain members of the Czechoslovak government, including Bohoslav Kocera, Minister of Justice.

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ANT
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charges from Moscow Trials that "Trotskyites" World in 1968 once again accuses Trotskyists of se allegations appeared shortly before actual Sov- were meant to cover it. Cartoon at right from n seeks to identify Trotskyism with the capitalists. t Russian tanks in Czechoslovakia appears at left.

a thorough exposure of its historical role.

AMERICANS

The role of the American Stalinists in these events was once more total support for the Kremlin. They expressed none of the doubts expressed by the British, French, Italian and other CPs. The American party was one of only a handful which immediately rallied to Moscow's defense.

During the last week of July, 1968, speculation grew on a possible clash between Prague and Moscow. Czech and Soviet leaders met in the town of Cierna. On July 30 the Communist Party's Daily World editorialized that the "real issue at Cierna" was not the conflict between Prague and Moscow, but the "external danger" to socialism. Thus the CP tried to cover up the crisis of the bureaucracy, almost to pretend it didn't exist, certainly to express the hope it would be peacefully resolved.

But the crisis was too deep, and peaceful resolution was impossible. On August 2, the Daily World reflected the stepped up preparations for attack on the part of Moscow. It headlined an "exclusive" story on an alleged

plot to restore capitalism in Czechoslovakia. Included in the plot were "former Nazis, Trotskyites, the Social-Democratic Party, the Peoples Catholic Party", among others. Absolutely no evidence was presented other than unnamed reliable sources. No evidence was ever presented of this alleged alliance between Trotskyists and former Nazis.

AMALGAM

On the front page of this same issue of the Daily World was published what was termed "an example of Trotskyist treachery in Czechoslovakia." This was a report of a meeting of a newly organized left communist group in Czechoslovakia, a report which appeared in a Czech journal called Informacni Materialy. This report should be quoted in detail as it appeared on the front page of the Daily World:

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This, according to the Daily World,

grounds. On this score the imperialists agreed once again, just as they had in Hungary. The Soviet invasion was perfectly legal from their standpoint and while they publicly exploited it they privately welcomed it.

HALL

The statement of CP General Secretary Gus Hall on August 21, 1968 was a masterpiece of cowardice and bankrupt subservience to the Kremlin:

The entrance of the troops of five socialist countries into the territory of Czechoslovakia is an action which will have far-reaching consequences for the future of socialism and the unity of the socialist world. It is to be regretted that matters came to such a pass that military action was considered necessary. Military solutions are never the best solutions for any problem.

Our Party's leading committees have not yet had the opportunity to make a full study of these events. Nevertheless, we cannot be silent at this moment. I therefore present the following preliminary statement as my own.

The central issue in Czechoslovakia is the defense of socialism against the threat of counterrevolution. It seems clear that what has happened, in the course of a process of vital democratic reform, is an upsurge of anti-socialist elements, supported by the forces of subversion of U.S. and West German imperialism...

We are sure that the Czech workers were gratified to learn of Hall's "regret", and furthermore that this supposed communist proclaims in true liberal fashion that "military solutions are never the best solutions". What becomes clear immediately, of course, is that after all the little alibis are given Hall and Company side squarely with the Bureaucracy. The regret and so forth on Hall's part is meant to appease bourgeois liberal public opinion which is concerned about the Soviet action and the one thing which Hall cares nothing about is the struggle of the working class itself. Thus we see

DAILY WORLD Wednesday, March 25, 1970 Page 7

"COMMUNIST PARTIES ARE THE BETRAYERS OF THE WORKERS
"THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT MUST GO... AD NAUSEAM"



was Trotskyist treachery, counterrevolution. While this group makes it absolutely clear that it stands upon all the conquests of the working class in 1948 in spite of the bureaucracy, the editors of the Daily World have the nerve to print this statement as it stands and then to equate it with the intrigues of imperialism! This was truly in the tradition of the Moscow Trials, and even more blatant than Aptheker's lies about Hungary. The very fact that the Stalinists could print this statement as an expression of the counterrevolutionary danger, of the anti-socialist danger, shows more clearly than anything else exactly what they feared in Czechoslovakia.

When the invasion came, the American CP had the same answer as that given in relation to Hungary 12 years earlier. A front page headline on August 22 proclaimed, "Troop Move Based on 6 Power Pact." Thus the invasion was defended not even so much on political as on purely legal

an unbroken line of consistent betrayal by the American CP from the Moscow Trials of 1936-38 all the way to the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

OPPOSITION

But the invasion of Czechoslovakia did not settle things either. The bureaucracy is constantly pursued. No sooner does it subdue one problem than others present themselves and pose even greater dangers. This is the significance of the increasing opposition to the bureaucracy within the USSR itself. A new layer of revolutionary intellectuals have risked their lives in joining up with an older generation of communists who survived Stalin's terror and are continuing the struggle against his heirs. The struggle for the principles of Leninism and socialist internationalism has been taken up within the USSR.

The bureaucracy must move against the new opposition, to cut off the

connection, the continuity which has been established in a weak but nevertheless historic form between the new generation and the remaining old Bolsheviks and their survivors. The new moves towards increased persecution of the opposition and the rehabilitation of Stalin are the inevitable response of the bureaucracy to the deepening class struggle internationally and the deepening crisis of the bureaucracy itself. The new struggles are the most decisive proof that all those, like Isaac Deutscher and the Pabloite revisionists within the Fourth International (the so-called United Secretariat of the Fourth International), who developed the conception of the self-reform of the bureaucracy, were betraying the Soviet and international working class at a most critical moment.

Far from liquidating itself, as Deutscher suggested, the bureaucracy is forced to take the harshest measures aimed at self-preservation. Instead of looking towards some liberal wing of the bureaucracy the working class needs its independent revolutionary party, the Fourth International, to lead the overthrow of the bureaucracy and the return to Leninism and proletarian democracy. Deutscher's views have been taken up by the so-called liberals within the bureaucracy and its agents, who now use them as a defense against the increasing attack of genuine Leninism.

HISTORY

The new developments are symbolized in the way in which the bureaucracy handles the historical questions which have been a thorn in its side since the death of Stalin and the Khrushchev revelations. The official versions of Party history show the crisis of the bureaucracy and the empirical measures it is forced to take to deal with it.

Thus the latest version of the official history has a basic theme—back to Stalin. For example, the 1962 version refers to Lenin's Testament which had called for the removal of Stalin as General Secretary of the Party: "But subsequent developments showed that Stalin had not drawn the necessary conclusions from Lenin's criticisms... As a result, the Party and the Soviet country had later to pass through the difficulties born of the personality cult."(25) This is of course very mild treatment indeed, referring to certain "difficulties" caused by Stalin and above all putting all the blame on Stalin and continuing to deny the very existence of the bureaucracy itself for whom Stalin acted.

But in the latest version we see that the bureaucracy, in order to defend its rule, has had to retreat from even the slightest concession to the truth. So now the section on the Testament is removed and the following interpretation is given: "It was full of concern for the unity of the Party and the authority of the Central Committee of the Party."

The bureaucracy is also forced back toward a defense of the Moscow Trials. Of course even Khrushchev never exposed the entire truth, concentrating on the loyal Stalinists who perished in the purges but never touching the subject of Trotsky's alleged crimes. As far as the main defendant was concerned the bureaucracy has never been able to retract the lies and slanders. But now this contradiction looms larger than ever and the Kremlin must move more and more towards a defense of the trials as it steps up its struggle against the working class internationally.

KIROV

This is the significance of the way the official history now deals with the Kirov assassination, which as we have said was the foundation for the purges to follow. We have shown how Khrushchev was forced to explain in his famous speech to the 20th Congress in 1956 that there were many unanswered questions about the assassination of Kirov and that the assassin appeared to have been assisted by people with the responsibility of protecting Kirov. Thus Khrushchev implied very strongly that the assassination itself was a provocation designed to pave the way for the purges. Khrushchev spoke on this subject at the 22nd Congress in 1961 and he insisted that this entire case had to be reviewed and restudied. As a matter of fact Khrushchev's statements in 1961 were the first official statements concerning the real cir-

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— Inside Czechoslovakia, the counter-revolutionary conspirators included former Nazis, Trotskyites, the Social Democratic party, the People's Catholic party, an alliance of former officers of the army of former President Eduard Benes, and certain members of the Czechoslovak government, including Bohoslav Kucera, Minister of Justice.

— The strategy of the conspirators, as revealed by their operations outside and inside the country, assumed a two-fold character: to politically whip up the masses...

Sunday Worker of 1937 prints wild charges from Moscow Trials that "Trotskyites" schemed with Hitler. While Daily World in 1968 once again accuses Trotskyists of plotting with "former Nazis". These allegations appeared shortly before actual Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and were meant to cover it. Cartoon at right from March 25, 1970 Daily World once again seeks to identify Trotskyism with the capitalists. Scene from workers' struggle against Russian tanks in Czechoslovakia appears at left.

dous centrifugal tendencies within the regime and the bureaucracy itself. The Dubcek leadership balanced between the Kremlin, imperialism and the Czech working class. The role of the liberals was to pave the way for either capitalist restoration or the reimposition of the Stalinist status quo by the die-hard leaders in the Kremlin. The latter course is what took place.

The Trotskyists called for no political support to the Dubcek group, but for working class opposition to the Soviet-led invasion, for the withdrawal of all invading troops and the arming of the Czech workers, for the political revolution in Czechoslovakia.

The invasion was the bureaucracy's response to developments within the Czechoslovak working class. Restorationist tendencies were used as a smokescreen to justify the invasion. What concerned the bureaucracy was the distinct possibility that the workers and students would definitively break with Stalinism and overthrow the bureaucracy once and for all. The Dubcek regime had been forced to raise the issue of the Slansky purge trial, to open up for review all the purges and the historical questions haunting the bureaucracy. The Kremlin had to cut off this ferment out of which would come

a thorough exposure of its historical role.

AMERICANS

The role of the American Stalinists in these events was once more total support for the Kremlin. They expressed none of the doubts expressed by the British, French, Italian and other CPs. The American party was one of only a handful which immediately rallied to Moscow's defense.

During the last week of July, 1968, speculation grew on a possible clash between Prague and Moscow. Czech and Soviet leaders met in the town of Cierna. On July 30 the Communist Party's Daily World editorialized that the "real issue at Cierna" was not the conflict between Prague and Moscow, but the "external danger" to socialism. Thus the CP tried to cover up the crisis of the bureaucracy, almost to pretend it didn't exist, certainly to express the hope it would be peacefully resolved.

But the crisis was too deep, and peaceful resolution was impossible. On August 2, the Daily World reflected the stepped up preparations for attack on the part of Moscow. It headlined an "exclusive" story on an alleged

was Trotskyist treachery, counterrevolution. While this group makes it absolutely clear that it stands upon all the conquests of the working class in 1948 in spite of the bureaucracy, the editors of the Daily World have the nerve to print this statement as it stands and then to equate it with the intrigues of imperialism! This was truly in the tradition of the Moscow Trials, and even more blatant than Aptheker's lies about Hungary. The very fact that the Stalinists could print this statement as an expression of the counterrevolutionary danger, of the anti-socialist danger, shows more clearly than anything else exactly what they feared in Czechoslovakia.

When the invasion came, the American CP had the same answer as that given in relation to Hungary 12 years earlier. A front page headline on August 22 proclaimed, "Troop Move Based on 6 Power Pact." Thus the invasion was defended not even so much on political as on purely legal

"COMMUNIST PARTY
THE BETRAYERS OF
" THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT
GO... AD N...





The Fourth International stands in solidarity with the struggles of the Communist opposition inside the Soviet Union, an opposition which Lumer and friends slander. Above left to right: Daniel, Sinyavsky, Litvinov, Ginsberg and Galanskov. General Grigorenko appears at the right in civilian clothes during a protest activity.

cumstances of the murder of Kirov and the obvious role of the secret police instigation and provocation in this act.

The bureaucracy's new official history omits everything that was revealed on this subject since 1956. As with Lenin's Testament, the line now is to say as little as possible while basically upholding Stalin and the Moscow Trials. The outright worship of Stalin is avoided and so are the beginnings of criticism which only raise questions about the role of the entire bureaucracy. On the Kirov assassination the approach is the same.

The notorious "Short Course" of the History of the CPSU, first published in 1938, contains the full exposition of the frameup trials concerning the role of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev in the assassination of Kirov. In 1956 and officially in 1961 Khrushchev was forced to admit that this was not the truth and to call for a reopening of the case. But if this case were seriously reviewed and Zinoviev, Kamenev and Trotsky were declared innocent of the charges, the entire structure of the purge trials would come crashing down. So the latest history 'solves' this problem by discussing the Kirov assassination as follows:

It once again reminded them (the Party and the people) of the necessity to strengthen vigilance. It was necessary to safeguard against alien elements and to make activities hostile to socialism and the interests of the Soviet state impossible under whatever cover they were done."(26)

This latest version must be clearly understood. It is a confirmation, a reaffirmation of the bloody Moscow Trials and the purges. Khrushchev's revelations are pushed aside. The bureaucracy must go back to Stalin.

STRUGGLE

It is of the greatest significance that within the USSR a struggle has been taken up against the rehabilitation of Stalin and for Soviet democracy. This content within the working class is first shown amongst the students and intellectuals. It begins as a defensive struggle, against the rehabilitation of Stalin, against the falsification of history, against the persecutions of those who raise their voices on behalf of Leninism and a truthful account of Party history.

At a discussion which took place in 1967 in preparation for the publication of the third volume of a new Party history, many old Bolsheviks denounced the falsifications. Volfson raised the question of the political rehabilitation of the old Bolsheviks and of Trotsky himself:

The authors of the draft have no single point of view, they swing from side to side. The editors print portraits of outstanding Party activists, leaders of the Central Committee Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin, and Rykov, while in the text, they only talk about their mistakes and nothing is said about their positive role.(27)

And old Bolshevik Sedugina adds: When I look at the composition of the Sixth Congress, I find that of 28 members (of the CC) 17 had been subject to repression and the activity of those comrades was distorted in the History...It is said that it was a militant and united general staff...In Stalin's time almost all of them were

numbered among spies and traitors. How did these spies manage to lead the great October Socialist Revolution?

Another contributor, Zorin, denounces the bureaucracy:

To sit on top of historical material like a cur on a stack of hay, to keep Lenin's documents under lock and key—These are crimes indeed. Not one of Lenin's documents can be published without permission, nothing can be written about Lenin. What does the approval of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism mean? We can neither write nor publish, while the bourgeois falsifiers attack...You write that Trotsky tried to substitute Trotskyism for Leninism, while you remain silent on Stalin's substitution of Stalinism for Leninism. Do you think young people will believe you? Can young people believe a lie?

And one of the diehard Stalinists answers and comes to the heart of the question:

All of you who speak against Stalin are in the same company as Trotskyites...Whoever is against Stalin is a Trotskyite!

COURAGEOUS

This is just one example of the principled struggle which has been waged against the bureaucracy. The courageous opponents of Stalinism have been smeared as enemies of the Revolution, as allies of the bourgeoisie. The American Communist Party has gone along with every single one of these smears.

Ginsburg and Galanskov were imprisoned. Solzhenitsyn has been hounded, denounced and ousted from the Writers' Union. Major General Grigorenko, the veteran of decades of struggle in defense of the Soviet Union as well as unswerving opposition to the bureaucracy, has been placed in a mental institution and declared mentally incompetent. Opponents of the invasion of Czechoslovakia have been arrested for the "crime" of attempting to raise political banners in Red Square. The most fundamental civil rights continue to be denied to the Soviet working class as in Stalin's day, and the American Stalinists defend every single action of their masters in Moscow.

The Trotskyist movement is in complete solidarity with the new opposition to the bureaucracy which is growing in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. By exposing the crimes of Stalinism and its American agents we render concrete aid to the workers and intellectuals who are groping towards a revolutionary answer to the betrayals of Stalinism.

ASPECT

It must be stressed once again that the crimes we have dealt with are just one aspect of Stalinist policy. The purges, the constant persecution of oppositionists have gone hand in hand with rapprochement with imperialism and with the church and other reactionary elements internally. The bloody repressions have been necessary at every point in order to protect the privileges of the bureaucracy and pave

the way for class collaboration internationally.

It is impossible to separate even for a minute the attacks upon the opposition from all the other policies. The Moscow Trials and the Popular Front could not have existed without each other, and the modern version of the popular front policy requires of the bureaucracy more and more a return to the old methods.

This is the meaning of the new slander campaign against Trotskyism which has been unleashed by the Stalinists, primarily through their new youth organization, the Young Workers Liberation League. Recent issues of the Daily World have been filled with articles on the counterrevolutionary nature of Trotskyism. This is the meaning also of the physical attacks on organizations and individuals claiming to be Trotskyist. A division of labor is developing between the CP and the "left-Stalinists" like the Maoist Revolutionary Union and the so-called Rainbow Coalition including the Black Panthers and the Patriot Party. While the Daily World prints articles stating that the Trotskyists are counterrevolutionary and, "along with the Nazis" hoped for the defeat of the USSR in World War II, the other groups actually physically attack groups claiming to be Trotskyist. (See Bulletin, March 30, 1970).

WARN

We must warn all those who have been misled by tendencies such as Progressive Labor, RYM II and the Maoist Revolutionary Union that they cannot use just a part of Stalinism. There is no picking and choosing when it comes to the class struggle and the fundamental questions facing the working class today. Stalinism is on one side of the class line and Trotskyism is on the other. The groupings which acclaim Stalin and attack Trotskyism while claiming to oppose the class collaborationist policies of the Kremlin and its American supporters are simply defending a left version of class collaboration and the Popular Front.

This is clear in relation to the Black Panthers as well as in relation to Progressive Labor and other varieties of Maoism. All these groups combine the most complete reformism with ultra-revolutionary phrases and with adventurism which only aids the capitalists. All these tendencies prove in their own way that there can be no evasion of the historical questions. Those who begin by turning their backs on theory and history are simply compelled to play the same role played by past betrayers in an even more treacherous and grotesque version.

We intend to show in detail just how the American Communist Party has implemented the policy of class collaboration on American soil. In this way we can understand and fight today against all the modern versions of this same policy and all the contemporary agents and hangers on of the Stalinists seeking to derail and destroy the new upsurge of the American and world working class.



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FILMS

BY LOU BELKIN

The bitter struggles of the coal miners in England, as in America, paved the way forward for all sections of workers in the early decades of this century. Right up to the British General Strike in 1926, the bitter defeats suffered by the working class pointed out most glaringly the need to construct a revolutionary leadership capable of leading the successful struggle for power.

By 1913 coal in Britain had made up 10% of British exports and the industry employed a million men. During and after the war major technical advances were made in the Ruhr Valley in Germany and in Silesian mines far more mechanized than those in England. This British technological backwardness made it even more difficult to penetrate into newer and deeper coal seams after the better seams had been completely exploited.

MINES

The mineowners were ever more avariciously interested in profit without making the necessary capital investment. During the war the mines were temporarily placed under government control and demand in Europe for coal was still high. The miners were not to take any of these developments lying down. The "boom" of 1919-1920 set the stage for the miners' demands for a 30% wage increase, the six hour day, and nationalization under workers' control. These demands were backed by the other two members of the so-called Triple Alliance (set up in 1917)—the railway and transport unions.

The miners union chief, Smilie, betrayed the threat of mass general strike action in 1920. Instead the union leadership agreed to the setting up of a government inquiry. The "boom" ended with the onset of the economic crisis throughout Europe. Unemployment in England reached a high of 2 million in June, 1920. The only major strike struggle of 1919-1920 took place at the Yorkshire pits. The strike was isolated and some

LAWRENCE'S "WOMEN IN LOVE"

of the reforms were acceded to.

D.H. Lawrence, the great English novelist, set his *Women in Love* in the midst of the massive upheavals throughout the First World War and into 1920, the year of the Yorkshire struggle. The son of a Nottingham miner, he escaped the insidious embrace of the pits by attending technical college like his hero Birken, and heroine Gudrun. Throughout the book Lawrence expresses a powerful insight into human relations and alienation from a society totally dominated by machines. His desire to see man constantly striving to achieve humanity by mastering the

humanity. He was attacked for his opposition to the barbaric social structure of the mining industry, the brutal exploitation of the working class and peasants by the bourgeoisie, and his candid and sensual depiction of physical love between men and women.

EXPLORED

The director of the film *Women in Love* Ken Russell, has succeeded as completely as is possible in conveying Lawrence's novel. This is made possible with the help of J. Jennings' astounding and sensual color photography. The film stars



British mining country is background for film.

forces of nature and the forces of physical love, comes up against the oppressive nature of British capitalism, and its most barbaric manifestation in the mining industry.

Yet for all of Lawrence's deep concern for human beings of all classes, he cannot go further than exposing with the most graphic and beautiful prose, interclass relationships in British society. He accepts capitalism metaphysically—as permanent. He is at once an empiricist and idealist, unable to resolve the basic contradictions in society between capital and labor. He accepts the capitalist class, the loathsome life of the miner, the yearning of a section of the working class to escape the brutality of the mine into teaching, or into art.

His disdain for Marxism must not allow us, however, to neglect this important writer who suffered the scorn of the puritanical English bourgeoisie who mocked and railed against his love of

Alan Bates as Birken (much like Lawrence himself), Glenda Jackson, and Oliver Reed as the mineowner's son Gerald. The relationship between them and Birken's wife Ursula are explored in the fullest sense. Yet the whole backdrop of events which overtook specifically England's mining industry are neglected by Lawrence, and of course, by Mr. Russell. Lawrence is able to explore the relationship between the four protagonists, who themselves represent opposite conflicting poles of male and female development, expressed in their contempt, indifference or glorification of physical love.

DECADENT

This exploration is made through the fullest use of remarkable film technique by director Russell. Yet this relationship is divorced from the social and economic system of capitalism that spawns

and imprisons them.

The coal mine owner and his wife, portrayed simultaneously as beneficent and exploitative, seemingly mad and aristocratically cool, are in fact completely decadent. The old man expiates his ruthless exploitation by allowing the miners to visit him and by giving disabled and retired miners a bit of pension money. His son Gerald, the complete parasite, is far more ruthless. He represents the younger generation of technologically oriented capitalists, and who is incapable of love and who in fact is drawn into the arms of Gudrun, the escapee from the working class mode of existence. She is herself a sort of freak, twisted by decadent society into flirting with life at any level, an exile who ultimately kills the impotent capitalist by denying him his manhood. Birken and his wife Ursula are the norms for Lawrence, capable of complete sexual fulfillment with one partner yet sharing their love platonically with a member of their own sex. They epitomize the humanity of the future for Lawrence.

SUBSTANCE

The performances are uneven, Glenda Jackson is most impressive as the moody Gudrun, a role that Lawrence etches out with real substance. Only an actress of Miss Jackson's ability can convey the multi-levelled temptress. Gerald, played by Oliver Reed, is virile yet truly impotent, the capitalist scion, the "wave" of the technological future, who has all sorts of grand schemes for ruthlessly exploiting the miners. The miners are depicted at all times by the director with faces besmirched with black pitch. Berkin is somewhat of a problem to resolve. I suspect that Lawrence internalizes far too much with him to merit accurate portrayal on the screen. Alan Bates gives it a noble try, but effusive sentimentality and idealism combined with mechanical materialistic logic ("Love is nothing but the reflection of objective circumstances") are not really resolved. His wrestling match with Gerald, along with the background scenes of the miners' sordid existence are the most visually compelling moments on the screen. Camera work only serves the Lawrence novel—it is neither tricky, heavily filtered, or tinted, but subordinate to the Lawrencian conceptions.

It is these conceptions which, while unconsciously ignoring the real relationships between characters as parts of class relationships nevertheless display a first-rate attempt to root love and carnality not within the fairy-tale dreams of Hollywood and feudal chivalry, but in social forces, themselves the product of class conflict, the machine, bourgeois puritanism, alienation and the desire for a higher experience.

The reviewer recommends this film highly as a noble attempt to portray the great novel *Women in Love* by D.H. Lawrence.

Harold Robbins And His Latest Adventure

BY TOM GORDON

Harold Robbins is one of the best-selling novelists of all time. His books have sold over forty million copies. He has been paid as much as one million dollars in advance royalties on one of his productions and has become a capitalist in his own right through investing his earnings.

His books have enjoyed such wide sales especially among the middle class because they express so well the myths of a section of the petty bourgeoisie. His novels—*The Carpetbaggers*, *The Adventurers*, *The Dream Merchants*—portray individuals who claw their way to the top through sheer individual strength and will power.

It is the last gasp of the Horatio Alger dream, always set "realistically" in the glittering world of high fashion, Hollywood, and big business. These books reflect the arrogance and self confidence of the bourgeoisie during the era now past when American capital and its servants seemed able to conquer the world and enforce a lasting class peace.

The Adventurers is the biography of Dax, son of a liberal lawyer in the mythical country of Corteguay, South America. When he is young his mother and sisters are massacred by the right-wing militarist Gutierrez. As a result his father joins forces with Colonel Zanos from the regular army. Together

they grant a pardon to the guerilla leader El Condor and set up a troika government. But behind the father's back Colonel Zanos hires Gutierrez as his police chief and has him massacre El Condor and his troops. Dax sees the massacre and swears revenge, but is taken to Rome where his father has been made ambassador.

IDYLL

Here Dax receives his sensual and literary education among the sons of the bourgeoisie, although he himself starts out penniless. He decides to become a gigolo, and accumulates wives, money, and an envied international reputation. His *Playboy* magazine idyll is interrupted when his father is recalled to Corteguay and disappears. Dax receives information that the peasants are uprising again, this time under El Lobo, who is an obvious distortion of Fidel Castro.

The class position of the petty bourgeois is clearly shown. Dax is torn between support for the guerillas and

support for Colonel, now General, Zanos. The film sees these class pressures subjectively, in terms of personal appeals to Dax by one side or another, and in terms of his own desire for revenge for the killing of his family. Dax decides to raise funds from a pervert banker for the General, even though he has become a military dictator and the people are starving, when the General promises to buy agricultural implements for the people. Dax is betrayed when tanks instead of plows are shipped to Corteguay. He throws in his lot with El Lobo.

Together Dax and El Lobo lead a peasant band against the General's army under the liberal slogans of "For Life! For Freedom! For Corteguay!" The masses in the city storm the palace in a moving scene, and the General's troops come over to their side without firing a shot. Dax kills General Zanos out of personal hatred. El Lobo massacres the troops who had surrendered and takes over the regime of General Zanos—palace, tanks, and all. He has Dax assassinated.

REACTIONARY

The Adventurers is a cleverly executed reactionary film. Although the General's dictatorship was bad, that of El Lobo will be worse. The masses are portrayed sympathetically—their heroism in battle against the General is never in doubt, they are the motive power behind



Harold Robbins

the success of the revolution.

But over against them is set the treachery of their leaders. The role of the State Department and the CIA, who would have been the power behind General Zanos, are left completely out of the picture. And of course the hero suffers a Christ-like martyrdom. The message is clearly that the middle class cannot win—in victory Dax wins only death, and El Lobo is last seen reviewing a military parade while new plots are being hatched.

Pierre Broue on Lenin



Those who fought Czechoslovakia invasion (like students above) were the real Leninists.

The following is an article by Pierre Broue, historian and member of l'OrganizationTrotskiste (French section of the International Committee of the Fourth International) translated from the April 23, 1970 issue of Le Monde. Broue's article appeared along with an article by a Communist Party senator from Paris.

IN HIS LAST article "Better Fewer, But Better", (Selected Works Vol. III) published in Pravda, March 4, 1923, Lenin defined what he called "the best elements of our social order":

"First, the advanced workers, and, second the really enlightened elements for whom we can vouch that they will not take the word for the deed, and will not utter a single word that goes against their conscience—should not shrink from admitting any difficulty and should not shrink from any struggle in order to achieve the object they have seriously set themselves."

Forty-seven years after, this portion of Lenin's last message has lost none of its relevance. The Czechoslovak Communists who today refuse to give a self-criticism of their spring, and who are the subject of constant police repression, the Polish communists—Kuron, Modzelski and the generation of fighters of March 1968, the communist opposition of "samizdat"—the old Bolshevik Kosterin, dead at 68, Marchenko and Litvinov in the prison camps, Daniel, held secretly, Yakhimovitch and Grigorenko in the police "psychiatric hospitals"—represent along with the workers of CKD-Prague, and others, the "best elements" of the "social order" founded by the October Revolution. It is of these men and the tradition which is reincarnated by them in a new generation that the Venezuelan communist leader wrote:

"Revolutions appear within the revolution. Socialism until then deformed(...) returns to its sources and would link up again with its glorious traditions: government of the people from the base and without intermediary is an international task. It is the existence of this internal process within the Soviet Union which gives optimism and holds off scepticism and cynicism."

SCPTICS

On this occasion of the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth, there are no lack of sceptics and cynics—deserters or forever enemies of communism—to present Lenin as the most evil figure of human history, the father of Stalinism and to try to depict the Russian Revolution as a gigantic plot or at best as a tragic

illusion. And among the successors of Stalin there is no lack of supposed disciples of Lenin to help reinforce these anti-communist conceptions.

In one of his last writings, Lenin called himself "greatly guilty before the Russian people" for having allowed Stalin to suppress the Georgian communists. Can one imagine Lenin on the side of the leaders of the communist parties who sent their tanks against the Hungarian workers in 1956, the Czech workers in 1968? Do they have the right to use his authority, his thought and method, those who today in France are silent while under the euphemism of "normalization" police repression in Prague hits against faithful communist militants who have precisely not "retreated from any struggle to reach the goal that they have seriously set themselves."

Throughout his entire life as a revolutionary Lenin fought with political arguments often marked by much violence, all those who he thought diverted or distorted the class struggle. But he never wrote or said a word which could in any way be interpreted as complicity, even tacit, with Czarist repression, for example, against individual terrorism which he condemned with all his strength. Do they have the right to invoke Lenin's name, those in France who refused to fight the decree of June 12, 1968 dissolving all political organizations of which none could be compared to an "armed band", those whose screaming denunciation of the "left fascists" was in tune with the requests for information by Mr. Marcellin concerning the AJS and the Ligue Communiste?

TIMELY

In his report to the Third Congress of the Communist International Lenin explained that the resistance of the world proletariat had allowed the revolution in Russia to survive but "not for long of course" if it remained isolated. He suggested using the contradictions between the imperialist criminals to defend the Soviet Union and to prepare the world revolution. How is it possible to make him into a theoretician of "peaceful co-existence" which liquidates the perspective of world revolution in favor of a supposed peaceful competition and makes the communist parties in the advanced countries defenders of the "status quo" and "parties of order"?

Can it be said that on this 100th anniversary of his birth, at a time when gigantic class struggles are developing on every continent of which the unity is obvious, Lenin only belongs to history and to the propaganda that turns him into an icon with a changing face? Those who would dare affirm this are bold indeed!

In fact Lenin was never more timely. Firstly, his name symbolizes as always on the global scale, the great aspirations of the exploited classes and oppressed peoples, that victorious October 1917 showed that capitalism could be defeated and that the working class was the revolutionary force capable of transforming the world and of giving birth to a new society. Next, despite the censorship, the omissions and distortions, Lenin's thought has never ceased to make inroads into the heart of the working class and its vanguard. The idea of a workers state based on workers councils (soviets) elected in their place of work and subject to recall at any time, expressed

in State and Revolution, and made a reality by the October insurrection in Russia, is the very idea that surged forward again in Warsaw in the movement of the workers councils launched by the communists of the Zeran factory, in the columns of Po Prostu and in the central workers council of Greater Budapest.

PARTY

The conception of the revolutionary party, based on workers democracy, democratic centralism, where decisions come out of a real discussion which guarantees iron discipline, is symbolized in 1917 in the Bolshevik Party, its tendencies, its great debates on the April theses, the insurrection, the peace. This is what was expressed by the Czech workers in preparation for the 14th Congress of the Czech Communist Party and by the delegates to the Congress who were seeking the way to concretely rebuild their party on the model of Lenin's party.

Who can deny that this concerns communists all over the world? That it is more than ever necessary to organize the revolutionary vanguard in a world party of the socialist revolution, an international which was the third in Lenin's time and which history requires be the fourth today?

What communist can today deny the relevance of Lenin's teaching on "leftism" that childish disease of communism—one forgets to often—but also as he pointed out the bitter ransom of decades of political opportunism by workers organizations? During the years of 1921 it was Lenin and Trotsky who right inside the Communist International carried on a unrelenting struggle against those comrades who reduced the lessons of October to an example of armed insurrection and revolutionary violence, to whom power was only at the "barrel of a gun" and not through a long political struggle to rally in struggle, beginning from its daily immediate demands, a working class divided by its class enemies. It is they who explained, developed and illustrated for the young communist parties the necessity of a revolutionary strategy of a workers united front, the abandonment of which is not the least of the crimes of Stalin and his successors.

RETURN

The enormous festivities organized in Moscow for the 100th anniversary represent only a diversion from the preoccupations of the Soviet people. But indirectly they attest to Lenin's prestige, still intact, the ties of the workers to



the conquests of their revolution, today in danger, and which they intend to defend. Above all they reflect, even in a distant and deformed way, another movement, much deeper which until now has only exploded in a sporadic way, as in 1968 during the "Prague thaw" and the general strike in France, the irresistible upsurge of the world revolution, of which the October Revolution was for Lenin only the first stage.

This return to Lenin, to the real Lenin, the concrete analysis of a concrete situation to advance towards world revolution—this movement that leads in a half conscious way millions of militants—many of whom are still in the communist party—this cannot but be at the same time a return to Trotsky.

LIVES

The young generation is thirsty for the truth. They are discovering it and forcing their leaders to admit that the October Revolution was Lenin and Trotsky at the head of the Bolshevik Party, that it is the theory and practice of Bolshevism which Stalin fought and desperately tried to root out under the name of Trotskyism. Finally it is Trotsky who in 1938 gave to the world communist movement the Transitional Program, which the International decided to elaborate in 1922 during its last congress with Lenin present. The struggle waged by Trotsky from 1924 to his assassination in 1940 has as its objective the preservation of Lenin's heritage for future generations, the heritage of Bolshevism and of October. It was this that created the conditions for its transmission.

It is in this that Lenin lives. The necessity of transforming the world has not ceased to be on the agenda since his death. It is a more burning question than ever in face of the rising tide of barbarism produced by a system based on profit. Lenin lives? Yes, if the communist militants do not "take the word for the deed" to "not say anything which goes against their conscience," "do not fear the difficulties," "do not retreat before any struggle to reach their goal"—the revolution, socialism.

STALINISTS AID FASCIST SPAIN

BY MELODY FARROW

The treachery and openly counterrevolutionary nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy has been revealed with the news that the Polish bureaucracy of Gomulka shipped coal to Spain during the Asturian miners strike.

This trade deal was decisive in breaking the strike. There has been complete silence on this in the entire Stalinist press including the Daily World.

The strikebreaking of the Polish bureaucracy was no mistake. The fight of the Asturian miners was a direct threat to the new trade and technical assistance deals worked out between the Franco regime and the Stalinists. Polish mining experts are already in Spain to help Franco modernize mining techniques and step up his exploitation of the Spanish working class. A Polish maritime delegation has also been sent to Spain for the same purpose.

No deal is too dirty if it will aid the preservation of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, even an alliance with a fascist government which outlaws unions and jails thousands of workers and socialists. It is not simply a matter of an economic agreement but that the Stalinists and Franco share a common interest in suppressing the revolutionary struggles of the Spanish workers.

PACT

China too, for all of Mao's demagogic attacks on the Soviet leaders, is moving into Madrid to establish trade links with Spain. Already China and Albania have

signed a trade pact with the Greek dictators and the Soviet Union is planning to equip Greece with modern power stations.

At the American Communist Party's Lenin Centennial Conference on April 25th in New York the CP speaker tried to explain the Soviet Union's trade with the Iranian dictators by claiming that these leaders could be won over to friendship with Russia. And the Greek fascists and Franco, can they too be won over to the Soviet Union? No, these regimes are willing to use any aid to strengthen their hold on the working class. The American CP not only allies with liberals in the Democratic Party but with open fascists. This is what lies behind all its articles about the repression in Greece and all their pious speeches about Lenin and internationalism.

INTERNATIONALISM

This alliance must and will be defeated by the working class as the Spanish workers enter into a whole new period of struggle. In preparation for May Day 5,000 railway workers in Madrid went out on strike, with solidarity actions in many other cities. Other strikes are sweeping the provinces of Galicia, Catalonia, the Basque country and the Asturias. In Guernica thirty workers were arrested in a demonstration marking the 33rd anniversary of the razing of the city by the Nazis. Strikes and demonstrations, all illegal under Franco, are planned for May Day itself.

The stabbing in the back by the Stalinists of the Spanish and Greek workers stands in direct contradiction to the action of the Italian dock workers in Genoa who have refused to load Greek ships. This is the real meaning of proletarian internationalism and it strikes a body blow not only at the Greek regime but at the Stalinist bureaucracy and its betrayals.

Behind Ford's Visit To The Soviet Union

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

Henry Ford II's visit to Moscow during the Lenin centenary last month has brought this multi-millionaire and the Soviet bureaucracy that much closer to concluding a deal involving the construction of a huge truck assembly complex in Northern Russia.

That this deal should be proposed and that the Ford family should be whisked about the Soviet Union including Leningrad itself in helicopter and air conditioned Chaika (a Soviet made limousine) in a fashion normally reserved for heads of state on the very eve of the Lenin centennial stands as the height of cynicism on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy.

At the same time the Ford visit and the proposed deal is a reflection of the deepening crisis of world imperialism and Stalinism. Though standing upon different social and economic grounds they are now forced more and more into an alliance both politically and economically against the world working class.

What has been specifically advanced by the Soviet Union to Ford is that Ford participate in the construction of a gigantic truck complex on the Kama river some 550 miles from Moscow. Upon completion of construction in 1974 this plant would have an annual capacity of 150,000 trucks in the 10 to 20 ton range and thus stand as the largest truck complex in the world. It is proposed that Ford take responsibility for the construction of the complex's foundry as well as assist in the design of the trucks produced at an investment of some \$150 to \$250 million. This is the largest U.S. investment in a Soviet enterprise since Ford constructed a plant at Gorky in the 1930s.

DANGEROUS

What is qualitatively different and far more dangerous about this deal as compared to others worked out previously is that Ford will not simply help in the construction of the Kama complex but will take a cut of the profits and share in its management.

Thus the Ford deal will mark a major stride forward in the drive of imperialism to economically penetrate the Soviet Union and the biggest retreat in the face of this penetration by the soviet bureaucracy to date.

What it means exactly is that more directly than ever before surplus value is to be sweated off the backs of Soviet workers by Ford supervisors and put into the pockets of the Ford family in Detroit and the American capitalist class. It means all the latest methods of capitalist exploitation, all the speed-up and other back breaking schemes suffered by American workers in the auto factories in Detroit are now to be brought down on the Soviet working class in Kama Chelny and after that who knows where else.

Beneath the Ford deal, of course, is the whole global strategy of world imperialism and Stalinism.

On the one hand the deepening crisis of world imperialism, and particularly the slowdown now hitting the economies of Western Europe and the United States, forces imperialism to seek new outlets in the only new frontier it really has left—the Soviet Union, China, and the Eastern European states.

PENETRATION

From the point of view of imperialism its ability to crack these areas can mean immediately the monetary relieving of economic pressure within its own boundaries and in the long run the restoration of capitalism in these areas and their full penetration and exploitation by the capitalist class in the west. With the deepening of the present crisis the overthrow, however deformed by Stalinism, of the conquests of October 1917 becomes more and more central to imperialism's whole world strategy.

This is why the State Department's assurances to Ford that the Kama river deal would not be contrary to national security must stand as the understatement of the month.

The Soviet bureaucracy for its part

is in no way immune from the general crisis now raging in all centers of world imperialism.

The Soviet economy suffers not only from the distortions arising from its isolation from the world market but also through the thousand and one ties it has been forced to establish with world imperialism. It remains subordinate and dependent upon the fortunes of world imperialism at every point. Thus, if in the period of capitalist boom the Soviet economy showed certain signs of overcoming its grosser inadequacies and even showed growth rate superior to that in the West, the collapse of the capitalist boom has been transmitted to the Soviet and Eastern European economies in all its severity.

CRISIS

This economic crisis has come into the open within the Soviet Union within recent weeks giving rise to huge convulsions within the bureaucracy. It was openly admitted by Brezhnev himself in his Lenin commemoration address that the economic crisis can not longer be hidden.

Meanwhile the reports of Soviet economic experts confirm the utter failure of the five year plan launched in 1965 revealing, for example, that the growth rate for 1969 fell to a paltry 2%.

So severe are the convulsions now shaking the bureaucracy over these economic failures that the 24th Party congress which will be responsible for launching a new five year plan has had to be postponed from this month to later in the year.

It is clear that the economic failures are providing fuel to those within the bureaucracy who are seeking an end to the decentralization within the Soviet economy begun with Liebermanism and given free reign in the 1965 five year plan. These elements see the solution of the present crisis in a return to the tight centralization that operated in the economy during the Stalin years.

The present constellation of bur-



Henry Ford II stands before his shiny Chaika in Leningrad during recent visit of USSR.

eaucrats, however, whose careers are entirely tied up with the program adopted in 1965, are fighting to make the case that there is nothing wrong in the overall direction of the Soviet economy. Rather the problem lies with the execution of the program, namely, with the lag-gard working class which has failed to carry out these programs.

PRETEXT

This has become the pretext for a vicious new drive by the bureaucracy against the Soviet working class. On March 23 of this year the Soviet Supreme Court approved the institution of a whole series of new laws aimed at promoting "labor discipline" of an extent unknown since Stalin. Worse still is the bureaucracy's call for wider use of the so-called "Shchokino plan." Under this plan workers at the Shchokino Works were offered a percentage of savings enjoyed by the enterprise as a result of cuts in the labor force made possible by speedup.

As a result 1,000 workers were released, wages increased 30%, and productivity grew 350%. The plan stands in effect as the same vicious kind of scheme used to divide the working class and achieve speedup and layoffs in capitalist enterprises in the West.

RESISTANCE

It is clear, however, from the Soviet press that the Kremlin's attempts to solve

the economic crisis through attacks of this kind on the working class are meeting with resistance in many quarters. It can in any case be said that the Soviet bureaucracy can no more succeed today in driving down the standards of the Soviet working class without huge upheavals than the capitalist class can succeed in accomplishing the same in the West.

Hard up against the stark realities that its economic crisis cannot be solved within its own boundaries the bureaucracy thus supplements the attack on its own working class with a new and deeper turn to its counterrevolutionary allies in the West.

The efforts of the Soviet bureaucracy, however, to overcome the isolation of the Soviet economy through trade and investment deals with the West predicated upon "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence" rather than a policy of revolution in the West is just as much a blind alley as complete autarky.

The Ford deal and others like it, by subordinating the Soviet economy more and more to the fluctuations of profit and capital movement in the West can only exacerbate the distortions these deals are designed to overcome. Furthermore the Soviet working class in addition to enduring the plunder of the Soviet bureaucracy is now laid open to direct exploitation by world imperialism. It is being forced to step up its productivity to a level competitive with that achieved under capitalism.

RESTORATION

Finally through the penetration of Western capital into Russia and Eastern Europe the material basis for restorationist trends is tremendously strengthened. This is precisely the main danger and the real meaning of the Kremlin's deal with Henry Ford.

There can be no progressive integration of the more advanced economies of Europe and the United States outside of the conquest of these areas by the working class through socialist revolution.

The solution to the Soviet economic crisis through this method, the method of Lenin and Trotsky which every word uttered by the bureaucrats during the Lenin centennial was calculated to hide, is of course impossible for the bureaucracy.

Such a solution would mean its virtual elimination as a social force not to mention its bureaucratic privileges.

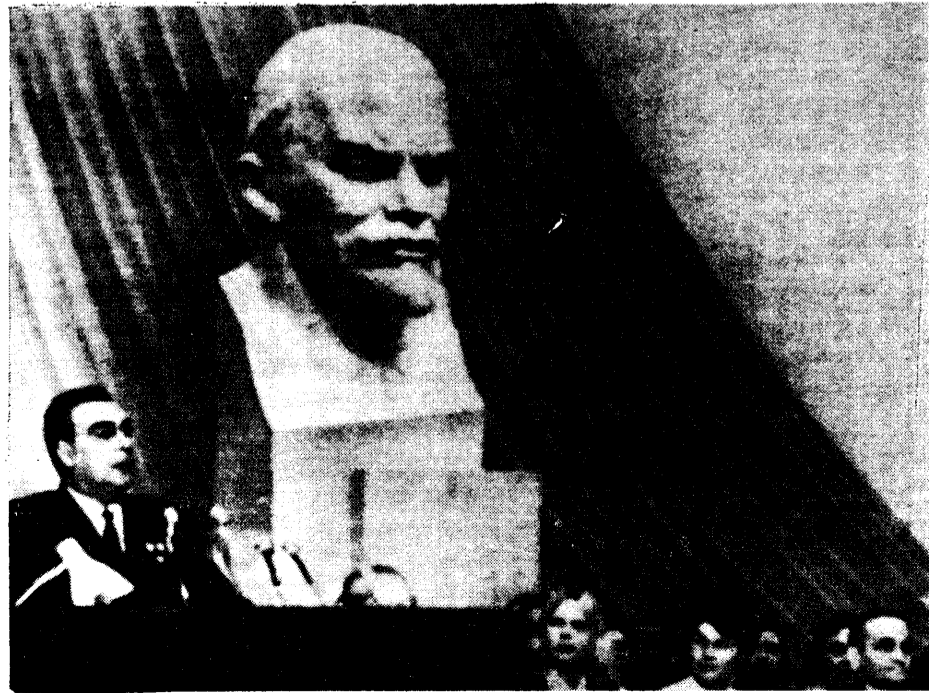
TESTIMONY

This is why from the banks of the river Kama to the Polish bureaucracy's shipment of coal to Franco to break the Asturian miners' strike, world imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy find themselves in a counterrevolutionary alliance against the working class at every point.

What greater testimony to the complete bankruptcy of "socialism in one country" is there than the fact that on the thirty-fifth anniversary of its supposed complete triumph in the USSR, Stalinism is driven to pit worker against worker in a drive for labor productivity at home and to conclude counterrevolutionary deals with Franco and Henry Ford abroad. The defense of October from the rapacious hands of Henry Ford and world imperialism thus requires today an international program of political and social revolution respectively against the Brezhnevs and Fords. This is the program of Trotskyism, the Leninism of today.



Above Ford and friends negotiate new profit-sharing truck deal with Soviet officials while Brezhnev (below) urges seep-up on workers during Lenin centennial speech.



Judge Says Kennedy Lied

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The findings and testimony of the secret inquest held last January into the events of the infamous Chappaquiddick cook-out point the finger of guilt at Kennedy and make him responsible for the death of Mary Jo Kopechne.

These findings have been released only after Kennedy has been let off scot free.

James Boyle, the presiding judge at the inquest has raised a number of questions that completely discredit Kennedy's testimony. In his report, Boyle points out that Kennedy "rarely" drove his own car. But on the night of July 18 his chauffeur who was available did not drive Kennedy and Miss Kopechne to the ferry. Miss Kopechne told no one she was leav-

S.F. WELFARE WORKERS ANGRY OVER LAYOFFS

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Without any publicity the San Francisco Civil Service Department a month ago stopped hiring workers to fill permanent vacancies. All workers now hired are temporaries who can be fired at will.

Last Thursday fifteen social workers were laid off. In every welfare building this week the "temporaries" are looking for other jobs in the classified ads or preparing to be "bumped" to a lower classification. Temporary supervisors soon will become ordinary social workers. Social workers will become eligibility workers and those on the bottom will be laid off without unemployment insurance or severance pay.

The administration that promised that there would be "no layoffs like in New York" has clearly broken its word. One unit clerk told this reporter that he had been handling 120 cases before conversion, now he is handling 700. Instead of hiring additional workers to cover the increasing caseloads, workers are now being laid off.

ANGER

The anger of social workers and clerks unfortunately is being dissipated by the so-called Social Service Employees Union, a small independent union, into rap sessions and meetings with politicians. A citywide rally called by the SSEU two weeks ago attracted a grand total of 55 persons in an auditorium that could have held close to a thousand.

The new-leftist SSEU which refuses to have anything to do with the ALF-CIO because it is "corrupt" had this to say about its meeting with Mayor Alioto: "The Mayor was visibly impressed by the presentation...he expressed concern that experienced staff was being laid off...The Mayor praised the clarity of the presentation..." The bootlicking by the SSEU differs little from the bootlicking of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats.

Meanwhile Alioto is proposing legislation to outlaw strikes of city workers and enforce compulsory arbitration. An "impartial" arbitrator will insure "uninterrupted service". In the strike of city workers in the middle of March collective bargaining was a major demand. Many rank and file city workers were convinced by union leaders to end the strike and return to work on the grounds that they would soon have a collective bargaining contract. But if Alioto's bill is passed, the arbitrator would write that contract and city workers would be prevented from striking.

STRIKE

San Francisco firemen have already requested strike sanction to fight the rearrangement of hours which will seriously effect their working conditions. Teachers are also meeting to discuss strike action.

The Rank and File Caucus of Local 400 is demanding that the unions call a rally of all city workers to fight the layoffs and anti-strike legislation and to prepare for a strike of all city workers. The union bureaucrats will find it much harder to arrange a sellout of city workers now than they did in March.

ing and did not take her purse or ask for the key to her room where, according to Kennedy, she was heading to retire. Kennedy told no one outside of his chauffeur who had the keys to the car that he was leaving. Furthermore Kennedy was quite aware that the last ferry had departed and he had made no arrangement for a special trip back to the mainland.

BRIDGE

Kennedy has contended that he took a wrong turn onto the road leading to the Dyke bridge and was unfamiliar with the road. But as Boyle reveals Kennedy had been over the bridge three times that same day. One of Miss Kopechne's friends further testified that both Mary Jo and Kennedy had been over the bridge in the afternoon on their way for a swim at the East Beach.

Viewing these contradictions, Boyle concludes in his report:

"I infer a reasonable and probable explanation of the totality of the above facts is that Kennedy and Kopechne did not intend to return to Edgartown at that time; that Kennedy did not intend to drive to the ferry slip and his turn onto Dyke Road was intentional..."

"I believe it probable that Kennedy knew of the hazard that lay ahead of him on Dyke Road, but that, for some reason not apparent from the testimony, he failed to exercise due care as he approached the bridge.

"I, therefore, find there is probable cause to believe that Edward M. Kennedy operated his motor vehicle negligently... and that such operation appears to have contributed to the death of Mary Jo Kopechne."

What appears most "probable" is that Kennedy took Miss Kopechne out to East Beach for a midnight swim. As for the "reason" Kennedy "failed to exercise due care" even his friends have thrown light on this. As Newsweek put it last summer after the accident:

HABITS

"When the Senator's closest associates are known to have been powerfully concerned over his indulgent drinking habits, his daredevil driving and his ever-ready eye for a pretty face, then the incident cries out for precisely the explana-

tions which were left bafflingly obscure."

Obviously Kennedy took his long swim to Edgartown to sober up and refused to report the accident because of his condition. As the scuba diver reported, who investigated the accident, this wait could very well have cost Mary Jo her life. But for Kennedy what counted was his prestige and the prestige of his class.

What is so obvious, however, remains obscured. Even though Boyle concludes that Kennedy was probably negligent and contributed to the death of Miss Kopechne, the case is dropped.

These are indeed the ironies of capitalist "justice." The laws and their implementation are designed to protect the interests of the capitalist class. From beginning to end this case has revealed the real fraud of the capitalist courts and has exposed them as instruments subservient to the capitalist class of which Kennedy is an important representative.

There was never any real investigation of the whole sordid business. Kennedy pleaded guilty to leaving the scene of the accident and was given only a suspended sentence. A public inquest was scheduled only after a hue and cry from the public and the press. But Kennedy's lawyers were granted a postponement at the last minute on the grounds that an open inquest would "violate" Mr. Kennedy's "constitutional rights." The request for an autopsy on Miss Kopechne's body was denied. When the inquest was finally held in January it was conducted in complete secrecy. New rules were made specially for Mr. Kennedy to prevent any of the testimony from becoming public until after a decision was made on the case. Even Mr. and Mrs. Kopechne were prevented from attending the inquest causing them to remark: "It's as if we don't exist—the whole thing has been a mystery."

MYSTERY

And a mystery it remained even to the grand jury which dissatisfied with the previous proceedings began its own investigation. All its attempts however were thwarted by the restrictions of the court. Superior Court Judge Paquet advised the grand jury that it was merely an "appendage of the court" and thus



Ted Kennedy

had to be "subservient" to it and, of course, the interests of capitalism. The grand jury was even denied access to the testimony of the January inquest. Under pressure it gave up its investigation.

Every single bit of legal trickery was used to cover Kennedy's tracks and to cover for the entire ruling class. This is a far cry from the "justice" Jimmy Hoffa received at the hands of Mr. Kennedy's brother. It is a far cry from the "justice" meted out to the black and student militants who have been hounded by the police in their investigations, murdered, and denied even the semblance of a "fair trial."

CORRUPTION

It is clear that for the capitalist class "crime in the streets" of Cape Cod is a different story from the "crime in the streets" of Detroit, Kent, Ohio or Cleveland. The "law and order" of the Nixon Administration and the state as a whole is designed to protect the interests of capitalism and its servants and to maintain the oppression of the working class.

Kennedy's own corruption is the corruption of a class. Kennedy and his friends used their power and money to callously exploit their relationships with their employees such as Miss Kopechne. Kennedy's reaction to Boyle's report as "unjustified" and his matter of fact dismissal of the whole event only exposes this further. The rivers from Massachusetts to Cambodia are polluted with this corruption. It is for this that the sons of the working class are asked to die in Vietnam.

Over 10,000 youth massed on New Haven to protest the trial of Bobby Seale. Much of the speeches were given over to Cambodia thus reflecting the impossibility of posing the struggle against the repression of the Panthers in narrow national terms. It is significant that the Panthers themselves had intervened in April 15th meetings opposing any kind of struggle on the war. The turnout was another indication of the fighting spirit of the youth but it also reflected the political weaknesses of the leadership. At no point did any of the leaders make any appeal to the working class for action against what is clearly an attack on the working class as a whole. Now as the war issue once again is raised sharply the Workers League is campaigning for a mass labor march on Washington against the war but which will also be a direct blow against the attacks on the Panthers.

