

THE ESCALANTE FRAMEUP

Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

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APRIL 1, 1968

TEN CENTS

HOOVER
APR 16 1968
INSTITUTION

CRISIS DEEPENS



MCCHESENEY MARTIN (LEFT) AND SECRETARY OF TREASURY FOWLER ANNOUNCE NEW MOVES TO 'SAVE' DOLLAR

**JOHNSON
PLANS
AUSTERITY
AS
BANKERS
CALL
TUNE**

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE WORKERS LEAGUE

all out for april strike!

• VICTORY FOR VIETCONG!

Immediate withdrawal of all American troops! The Vietcong is not our enemy but Johnson's! Victory for the Vietcong is a victory for American workers and a defeat for the enemy of American workers-- Johnson!

• END THE DRAFT!

Mobilize mass resistance to the draft! Support the struggle of U.S. soldiers to come home! Our enemy is at home!

• SMASH RACISM!

Millions of new jobs! Massive public housing! Billions towards job training! Billions more for schools! Outlaw discrimination in all forms with jail sentences equal to dope pedders!

• END JOHNSON'S WAR AGAINST LABOR!

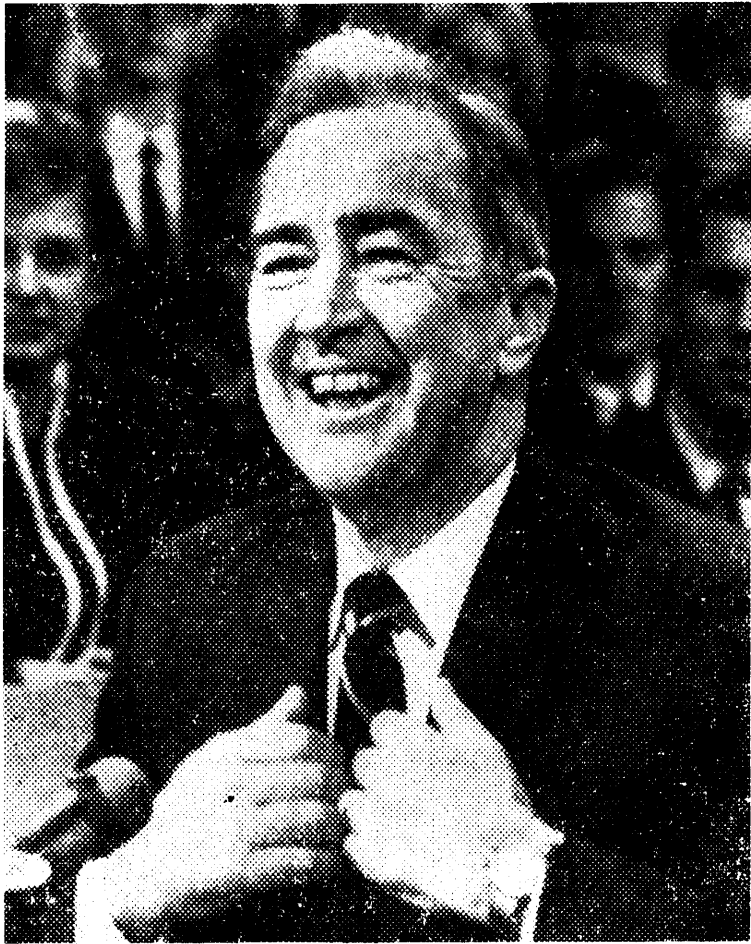
Repeal all anti-strike legislation! Roll back inflation! Defeat tax increases! Establish trade union control in the shops! Nationalize all firms which claim they cannot provide decent wages and working conditions!

• BUILD LABOR PARTY NOW!

Build a real political alternative! Defeat the two boss parties-- the Democrats and Republicans!

RALLY! FRI. APR. 19 RM. 7 243 E. 10 ST. NYC

US ELECTION SCRAMBLE BEGINS



MCCARTHY: DOVE SUPPORTS HAWK SYSTEM

by Tim Wohlforth

The farce of American politics has reached a new stage of absurdity. The patricians are getting into the act. The Kennedy family has already launched son Bobby's presidential push while Rockefeller prepares to announce his candidacy to a not so breathless public.

Both men represent the patrician in American politics. Following the tradition

of FDR these wealthy men hope to combine their personal wealth, their control over powerful party political machines and their somewhat tattered images as "liberals" to capture the presidency. Since we abolished the monarchy some time back they have no other choice if they want to rule--and both men seem as convinced as DeGaulle as to their Manifest Destiny.

McCarthy represents a slightly different breed--the intellectual as reformer. His openly stated goal is to "restore to many people a belief in the processes of American politics" and thus counter "threats of support for a third party or fourth party or other irregular political movements." Thus his objective--and so far he has made headway with it--is to convince liberals who oppose the war, that they must stick with the party that perpetuates it. These liberals, many of whom seek United States withdrawal from Vietnam, are being sold on a "dove" program which in reality adds up to little more than cessation of bombing of the North combined with efforts--"vigorous ones" we are assured--to negotiate a settlement which will protect American domination of the area. This is why McCarthy finds it so difficult to differentiate himself, programmatically, from Kennedy, representative of one of the leading ruling class families in America.

Meanwhile, Johnson wraps himself in the flag and seems to be driven by a jingoist fervor more brought about by panic than political confidence. His performance--and performance it was--at the National Farmers Union convention--should make Wallace green with envy. Pounding on the table and pointing his finger at the audience, Johnson tried to conjure up the image that he and he alone was standing on top of the hole at Khesanh gun in hand protecting American civilization from the Barbarian hordes. We have no doubt that the American troops would feel better if this were

true and Johnson was there while the troops were attending a convention in Minnesota. The troops would have no doubt given a quite different speech than Johnson's.

Tricky Dick Nixon is travelling around the country demanding "new leadership" but supporting old policies. His latest trick is to claim to have a secret plan to end the war. This way he hopes to get the support of the Bomb Hanoi" and "Little Less Bombing, Please" people at the same time. Perhaps Tricky Dick has outmaneuvered himself once again.

anti-labor

Let there be no doubt where our patrician oppositionists stand when it comes to the interests of their class. Kennedy began his political career with a crusade to jail Hoffa and break the power of the Teamsters Union. More recently he has been the sponsor of New York State Assembly leader Travia for a Federal Judgeship. Travia was the architect with Rockefeller of the anti-labor Taylor Law. Rockefeller, the other major force behind the Taylor Law, recently signed a bill slashing 300 million dollars from the State Medicaid program excluding from coverage the families who need it the most--those who earn from \$5,000 to \$6,000 a year.

The Vietnam War, the offensive against American labor, the failure of the government to begin to tackle racial discrimination in the United States--these represent the policies not of Johnson the man--but of a system in crisis. The recent gold panic shows the depth of this international crisis. The international bankers are

calling the tune now and the American government must oblige or the system will go under. The balance of payments deficit must be attacked by attacks on the living conditions of workers through higher taxes, less services, and a hold the line approach towards labor negotiations. Less, not more money, will be spent to tackle the problems of discrimination and racial oppression. Internationally, the line must be held against revolution. Whatever happens in Vietnam the capitalists cannot retreat from their aim of policing the world without abandoning the system of exploitation at home as well that they rest upon.

squirm

Twist and squirm as they may, McCarthy, Kennedy and Rockefeller can offer no real alternative in domestic and foreign policy because they stand inside the system itself and are committed to its defense rather than its overthrow. This is why liberalism is a dead-end in America. Capitalism cannot afford it anymore. No doubt the McCarthys would like their cake and to eat it too, like the authors of the Riot Commission report. But when it comes right down to the nitty gritty these men will defend the cake and it will be the bosses who do the cake-eating, not the workers.

betray

This means McCarthy, as much as Kennedy, will betray his followers. Liberal rhetoric will come tumbling down over the heads of the student activists as it collides with the class realities of a rotten dying system.

Twin Cities HS Youth Plan For April 26th

by Bob Johnson

MINNEAPOLIS: The students at North High School, by and large, are in the same boat as kids in all the big cities. Pushed around by the cops, crammed up in rundown housing, bad schooling, fake "anti-poverty" programs, all in all it is pretty rough to pretend that everything is OK.

There is no real future to look to, no meaningful job training programs, and then comes the draft for the rotten war against the people of Vietnam.

But there is one thing going up at North that is different from other places, in that the youth have started to get some organization going to change things around. They have started to struggle for power. And power is what they need, and don't have.

The Minneapolis Young Workers League took the initiative in helping to get the "April 26 Committee" going at North High. (In January the student anti-war movement called an international strike against the Vietnam War for April 26).

problems

But the April 26 Committee is not like a campus peace group. The war, the draft, these are only part of the

problems youth face--and certainly not their cause. College students are wrong to single out one or two issues and protest on just these. On campuses the Young Workers League struggles to fuse the student struggle with the working class struggle. The official leadership of the peace movement keeps the two movements separate. All their worn out arguments about a "single-issue" versus "multi-issue" approach would dissolve in thin air if they ever went off campus, and out of their offices, to really try to reach the working class. The kids at North High have problems that prayers for peace won't solve. To hell with all the ministers and their "turn the other cheek" crap.

great

The April 26 Committee has had two great meetings so far. We have decided to hold a big dance to reach out to kids all over. We are putting out our own publications to help spread the word and we are calling it "POWER".

The Young Workers League is right in there trying to provide the leadership that all youth need to ever change things for our benefit.

SMC

smc cops out at san francisco state

by Steve Edmunds

SAN FRANCISCO--The attempt by the national Student Mobilization Committee to sell-out the idea of a strike on April 26 is nowhere more apparent than at San Francisco State. On a campus which is considered by many to be one of the nation's most radical, the so-called 'radicals' led by the YSA have done their best to destroy an effective protest.

Since the first meeting on campus in the middle of February, the baby bureaucrats of the YSA, PL and independent hippie elements have engaged themselves in endless debate over such terribly important questions as the name to call the committee, whether or not to have a teach-in or a dance group, and other such trivia not worth mentioning. The only result of this farce so far has been to drive away those new people who were attracted by the idea of a strike, once again leaving the field to the same old bunglers and sectarians who have already all but destroyed the radical movement at San Francisco State.

The first meeting attracted over 80 people, many of whom had not been involved in radical projects before. After a taste of the kind of poli-

tics displayed by the old guard, most newcomers left in disgust. The last meeting of SMC could attract only about 35 apparatchicks. At this point even the word 'strike' seems to scare the swamp-makers out of their skins; any attempt to inject politics into the meetings was met by a call of 'out of order--let's get back to the important question of whether to march at 10 or noon!'

To complete the utter absurdity of the scene, one should also mention the fact that no one in the entire group thought to take notes of the proceedings; thus discussions were constantly interrupted by cries of "but we already voted on that...didn't we??" With such leadership as has exposed itself at this meetings, it is no wonder that the great majority of students at State mistrust and reject any program which these people control.

intervene

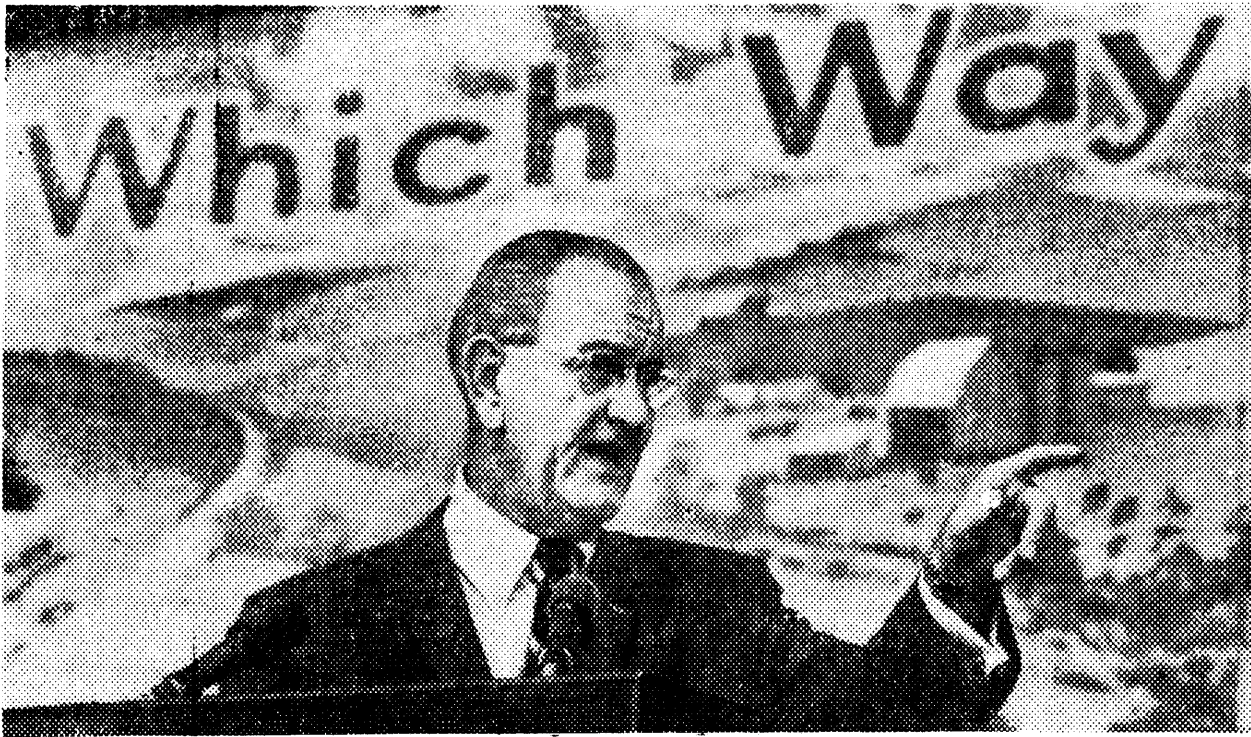
Of all the tendencies and individuals interested in building a really effective student strike, only members of the San Francisco Workers League local attempted to inject politics into the proceedings. A leaflet prepared by the local pointed out that what is needed in today's struggle is a political strike, which will

have a real impact on the American ruling class. The only path to such a strike is the attempt to connect the anti-war struggle on campus with the struggles and strikes of the organized workers.

Workers League members hammered home the point that a truly effective student strike must also help to awaken the consciousness of the working class. The U.S. government could care less whether some thousands of students miss classes for a day to hear some peacenik preach on the virtues of negotiations--it certainly won't bother LBJ as he continues to demand more feed for the war machine.

program

The Workers League fights to expose the YSA-PL-hippie betrayers by presenting a principled political line to the students at San Francisco State. We will agitate again and again and again for a political approach to the struggle. We will demand of the soft elements that they cease prattling about 'publicity committees' and 'should we say strike' and 'we don't want to talk politics. This is the only role which serious radicals can play without betraying the people of Vietnam in their struggle against U.S. imperialism.'



JOHNSON WAVES THE FLAG AND PREPARES ATTACKS ON LABOR

by Dennis O'Casey

The recent gold rush and emergency measures taken by the main industrial powers to save the dollar through a two price system for gold must be seen as the prelude to new attacks on the American working class. This is the meaning of Johnson's call for "a program of national austerity."

The international bankers are now calling the tune and it is they and they alone who will determine American policy from now on in. The bankers say openly that confidence in the dollar can only be restored if the United States reduces its balance of payments deficit. Johnson plans to try to do just that by a minimum 10% tax surcharge, a slash of between \$8 and \$9 billion from the already meager section of the budget devoted to the welfare of the American people, and we can expect in addition a ruthless suppression of the strike wave which has been sweeping through the country.

As far as the Negro people are concerned what chance is there now for implementation of the proposals of the Riot Commission? The only program open to Johnson for the Negro people is the program he is now pursuing against the Vietnam people. Capitalism, being unable to wipe out racial oppression, must hold down the Negro masses through armed terror.

england

Again we repeat England is the model of America's future. Since Wilson came to power the policies of the British government have been determined not by the British working class but by the international bankers--the same bankers now determining American policy. The result has been a government offensive against the British working class. The latest step in this offensive is the new government proposals for a \$2.2 billion tax increase combined with an extended wage freeze.

Remember: no matter who wins the elections in 1968 it is the bankers who will govern America. The only way out for American workers, for the Negro masses, for the student militants, is to take up the struggle to build a real alternative to rule by the bankers--to build our own party, a labor party based on the unions and dedicated to carrying out a policy in the interests of the workers not the bankers.

confirm

The convulsions now gripping the international monetary system confirm in a most striking way the absolute validity of the Marxist characterization of capitalism as a system in permanent crisis and decay for the past half century. Only Marxism provides any explanation of how the relative stability of post war capitalism is suddenly struck down by the present crisis.

On two previous occasions since the Nov. 18 devaluation of the British Pound reaffirmations from Washington to the effect that the \$35 an ounce gold rate would be maintained was enough to crush big speculative attacks on the dollar. But by the weekend of March 9-10 the crisis of confidence in the dollar was so far advanced by the inability of the US to take decisive action to correct her payments deficits that similar reassurances coming from an emergency meeting at the Bank of International Settlements in Basel could not dampen the massive speculative attack begun the previous week.

After Basel speculators went hog wild. By week's end gold sales had reached the feverish pitch of 200 tons on the London market. Similar developments elsewhere forced closing of gold markets from Tokyo to Zurich. On the Paris market which alone remained open the price of gold soared to \$44.36 an ounce. In London the Pound fell to a new low of \$2.39 and in Washing-

JOHNSON PLANS AUSTERITY AS BANKERS CALL TUNE

ton the Federal Reserve Board raised its basic lending rate to a high of 5% while Congress lifted the 25% gold cover requirement freeing 10.4 billion in gold reserves to meet international demand.

1930s

As the conference of central bankers representing the seven Gold Pool nations got underway in Washington to stem the crisis economists drew parallels with the worldwide financial collapse of the 1930's while the seriousness of the crisis was brought home to American tourists who found that their dollars and travellers checks were suddenly unacceptable in foreign hotels and airports.

Representatives of the seven Gold Pool nations do not even pretend that their plan, setting dual price for gold--\$35 an ounce for governmental dealings and a free floating market price for private purchases, is anything more than a stop-gap emergency measure aimed at forestalling outright devaluation. It is already seriously questioned whether official markets can be kept sealed off from speculators. No one knows when and under what conditions central banks in any number of smaller nations or even one of the leading seven will be tempted to sell gold purchased at \$35 on the free market where as in Paris the price hovers in the vicinity of \$40. As one economist quoted by the Wall Street Journal remarked, "There are a lot of crooks around and some of them are central bankers."

But even more fundamentally the existence of a two tier gold price raises directly the question of which price reflects the "real" value of the dollar. Already there is talk of the "66 cent dollar" -- the value of a dollar used to buy gold on the free market. Such an arrangement maintained for any period of time can only lead to intensification of suspicion not only as to the real value of the dollar but nearly all other paper currencies which are directly pegged to the dollar. Like all transactions based on the extension of credit, world trade rests on the assumption that purchasers will meet debts incurred for goods they want today but haven't the money to pay for. Once this confidence is lost so is the basis for the transaction. The refusal of the United States to honor its obligations to exchange 35 dollars for an ounce of gold whether by the setting of a

dual gold price or outright devaluation can only undermine this confidence and inevitably lead to the cessation of world trade and investment and depression deeper than the 1930's. This is exactly where the present crisis is headed.

chronic

It is clear to bourgeois and Marxist economists alike that beneath the present liquidity crisis lies the chronic tendency for the United States to run up ever increasing balance of payments deficits, which in the last year have gotten suddenly out of hand. The gold stock that backs the dollar is now outweighed 3 to 1 by potential foreign claims against it. The dollar is an inflated and overvalued currency; there can be no halt to the erosion of confidence in it, no halt in the monetary crisis, without a halt to the balance of payments deficits that are causing this crisis.

But it is precisely because the US is not capable of correcting its balance of payments deficits that the monetary crisis is unsolved and insoluble. Any slowdown in the export of American dollars abroad, any abandonment of the role of the dollar as the world reserve currency undercuts the very basis for the expansionary boom begun after 1945 throughout the capitalist world. The world economy already slackening under pressure in the form of the falling rate of profit and the removal of Russia, China and Eastern Europe from its domain needs today ever more gigantic doses of investment capital just to turn a profit, which only US deficits can supply.

Earlier efforts to curb the deficit were directly responsible for so accentuating British capitalism's

weakness as to force devaluation of the pound. Johnson's Jan. 1 investment and travel freeze coupled with further protectionist measures now contemplated in the Congress threaten to set off an international trade war and could lead to a general slump in Western Europe. More decisive measures would be even more catastrophic.

program

Clearly then maintenance of the world economy as well as the inability of imperialism to dispense with huge Vietnam expenditures require continued deficits in spite of the fact that they are leading to a monetary collapse. It is this contradiction that prevents the ruling class both in the US and internationally to do little more than stumble from one stop gap measure to another in a vain effort to forestall their doom. The SDR "paper gold" plan is no more than just this. The only program for the crisis on which the ruling class agrees is the need to impose austerity measures on their respective working classes, to make the working class take the brunt of a coming depression for which in fact the capitalists and their system are solely responsible.

It is the responsibility of Marxists to bring into the struggles American workers are and will continue to wage against Johnson's reactionary solution to the crisis, an understanding that the only way out for the working class lies in expropriating the capitalists and the reorganization of the means of production on the basis of a planned economy.



THEY TRUSTED THIS MORE THAN THE DOLLAR

WITH THE DISCLOSURE of more information relating to the trial of Escalante and the suppression of the 'microfaction' in the Cuban ruling party, it now becomes abundantly clear that the so-called trial was a monstrous judicial frame-up conducted in an atmosphere of a raging witch-hunt.

There is not a single redeeming feature in this trial. Everything, from the presentation of charges by Raul Castro to the so-called confessions of the accused, is tainted with the odour of a Byzantine conspiracy, a foul intrigue against the truth and

economic pressure by the Soviet Union to force the Revolution to draw closer to that country.'

This constitutes the main charge against Escalante and it is worth examining in some detail before passing on to other proofs and charges levelled against him by the judge-cum-prosecutor.

It appears, firstly, that Escalante attempted to form a faction and even carried out 'factional activities contrary to the Party line'.

Now it is a widely-held belief and commonly accepted assumption in the revolutionary movement that the formation of factions is an inevitable law of development of the revolutionary party. Where serious differences exist which express the conflicting viewpoints of different group interests within the working class, or even the viewpoints of alien class interests such as the peasantry, the formation of factions is not only inevitable, but also is a

procedure, then it is manifestly impossible to violate such a 'Party line'. A 'Party line' is expressed through and by means of a definite policy and programme.

Policies and programmes—as well as constitutions—are adopted formally at congresses of the organizations concerned and, in between congresses, the elected Central Committee is empowered with the responsibility of carrying out this policy.

In Escalante's case it is demonstrably obvious that he is being charged with obstructing a 'line' that has never been discussed, debated, agreed, rejected, or even modified at any Party congress or conference.

In short, he is being framed.

In view of the absence of a single vestige of party democracy and of any means of influencing or changing Party policy, how then was Escalante to proceed if not conspiratorially?

As for the Central Committee, it must be admitted, ludicrous though it may be, that it is *not* the custodian of Party authority in between congresses. In fact it is the Party.* What is more, since all factional activity is banned the Castro faction dominates the Central Committee and, *ipso facto*, the Party.

It would be true to say that the Party does not exist. It is an amorphous mass of people who are not even consulted about policy questions, but are called upon from time to time to do a lot of voluntary work for the regime and to participate in demonstrations and meetings of celebration and protest. It is a Bonapartist excrement.

The most sinister part of Escalante's activity appears to be his collaboration with foreign powers and parties in order to bring economic pressure against Cuba.

But here, too, an important issue of principle arises which Castro cannot evade.

Was Escalante trying to prejudice opinion in the Soviet Union, or was the Soviet Union using Escalante as a tool of their foreign policy?

himself and to Marxists: He still relies on Soviet largesse to construct his moneyless Utopia.*

Since Castro charges the Escalante faction with the guilt of 'aspiring' to the application of political and economic pressure by the USSR, it seems pretty obvious (except to Castro and the revisionists) that such a charge is hardly tantamount to treason and does not warrant a 15-year prison sentence.

The trial is analogous with the Moscow Trials where people were executed for their alleged intentions and plans—and not for what they did or did not do.

More insidious, however, are the details of the alleged faction activity of Escalante. Some parts of it have more in common with the Good Soldier Schweik than with a serious political struggle, but it must be told.

It is revealed by Raul Castro that Anibal Escalante (believe it or not) reproduced and distributed 'articles written by Latin American leaders and other polemic material in open disagreement with our political line' (!!); organized 'meetings and study sessions where the Party line and the measures taken by the Revolution were criticized and revolutionary leaders maligned.' Indeed, maligned!

Moreover the 'micro-faction' (if it is a micro-faction, why hand out macro sentences?) went to the extent of declaring that 'there was a petty-bourgeois influence in the Central Committee which brought with it contempt for the working class and lack of recognition of the vanguard role the working class should play . . . that . . . workers were excluded from leadership of the Revolution and responsibility for leading the socialist emulation was taken away from the trade unions.'

Escalante also alleged the existence of an anti-Soviet faction in the Party 'based on the argument that we were drawing closer economically to France as a result of an alleged loan made by that country to ours . . .'

SYSTEMATIC PURGE

In conformity with such an anti-Soviet policy the Castro-ites, so it is



CASTRO REVIVES METHOD OF MOSCOW TRIALS

REVISIONISTS WHITEWASH

against justice in its most elementary sense.

Let us consider the charges as they were made by Raul Castro on behalf of the State Security Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba at its meeting of January 24, 1968.

Charge 1: 'That a homogenous political grouping existed, centred about Anibal Escalante. If this group did not go so far as to organize itself formally because of the arrest of its leading figures (our emphasis) . . . it did begin to take preliminary steps in this direction and carried on factional activities alien to the Party line.'

'The afore-mentioned group carried out the following activities:

'The sounding out of opinions of long-time militants and former PSP [ex-Stalinist party of Cuba now integrated into Castro's Communist Party] leaders.

'Attempts to sound out several members of the Central Committee.

'Approaches made to Soviet, German (East) and Czechoslovakian officials and citizens including party members, government representatives and journalists with access to leaders of the Central Committee of the Soviet Union, with the purpose of informing them of their viewpoint, contrary to the position of the Communist Party of Cuba, in order to create an opinion in the leadership of such parties in favour of their position. They even went so far as to aspire to the application of political and

necessary means of regulating the conflict and resolving it in a democratic and centralist manner.

Full freedom of discussion, complete unity in action; this remains the guiding principle of democratic centralism.

Does this principle obtain in Castro's Party? Obviously NOT! The formation of factions is expressly forbidden and is considered a political crime punishable under the penal code.

Elsewhere in his speech Raul Castro refers to the fact that both he and his brother Fidel gave 'repeated warnings' and cautioned Escalante in the course of 'public speeches (*sic*) to retire from this activity'.

What right did Castro have to issue such warnings?

If there was any party which was bound to undergo factional strife, it must surely have been the Cuban Communist Party which was bureaucratically unified and is really composed of two or three disparate groups: the Stalinists, the July 26 movement, the student directorate and the trade unions.

And yet the Castros imagine that the Party belongs to them and that they can dispense with factions by resorting to the criminal code à la Stalin. Even under Stalin—at least up to the 15th Congress—the Opposition had more formal rights than Escalante had in 1967.

Talking of congresses brings us to another important principle which Castro poses in his prosecution.

Escalante is alleged to have worked 'against the Party line' in forming his faction.

We are entitled to ask Castro one question: what is meant by the phrase 'Party line'?

If the basis of a 'Party line' is not established by a formal and recognized

In the first case Escalante's actions cannot be deemed treasonable. Reprehensible, maybe. Since Castro supported the international Stalinist movement, particularly in its attacks against the Chinese and Trotskyists, it could be argued that Escalante had a point of view and tried to canvass support amongst his fellow members abroad. He had as much right to do this as Castro.

In the second case, however—and this is *not* charged against Escalante—it would amount to a treasonable conspiracy between two parties: the USSR and Escalante, and very drastic sanctions would have to be invoked if the charges stuck. However, this line of reasoning has been studiously avoided by Castro for reasons well known to

* Jake Rosen, a member of the Progressive Labour Party (pro-Chinese) of America, describes in a recent article in 'Progressive Labour'—journal of the PLP—the process by which the Central Committee is selected.

'One day in late summer 1965, Fidel addressed a meeting attended by invitation only and composed of government officials and the foreign diplomatic corps at the Chaplin Theater in Havana. He read out a list of names, announced it was the new Party Central Committee, and asked if the audience approved.

'The result was a resounding 'yes'. Fidel then announced that constituted a vote of ratification by the Cuban people of the composition and line of the Party leadership.

'Until that very moment the entire matter was a secret that had never been discussed outside Fidel's immediate circle. The meeting, though, was televised.

'This Central Committee is mainly composed of army officers. Every single one of whom is required to follow every single one of Fidel's orders. (One of the most popular Cuban slogans is "Commander-in-Chief—order us!")'

alleged, have been making systematic efforts to purge the Party of all Stalinist influence.

Escalante disapproved of the policy which denied to many old members of the PSP (Stalinist Communist Party) 'the right to become members of the Party' while others 'who had done nothing against the tyranny were promoted. It was also stated that the appointment to the Central Committee of some leaders of the old party was merely a formality, since their opinions are not taken into account when it comes to making decisions.'

In this part of the statement Castro reveals the existence of a very big split in the ranks of the Stalinists between those who support Escalante and Moscow, and those who support Blas Roca and Castro. To Blas Roca, Lazaro Pena and others, say Raul Castro. the

* In the Isle of Pines, Castro has set up a glorified state farm run by youth brigades. In this communal Utopia money has been abolished. All work is voluntary. Not only that, Castro has promised to out-Stalin Stalin by going forward to a communist system of distribution in the near future.

In a speech on January 6, 1968, Castro declared ' . . . by taking full advantage of these lands, we are going to create such an abundance of all those products that in the not too distant future the products involved in these plans will also be withdrawn from the mercantile circulation.

'So that society cultivates the state lands and invests in the lands that do not belong to the state; it makes investments, contributes to their development, contributes to their exploitation in order to create a productivity that will permit the country to practically withdraw all those products from mercantile circulation.

'That is, our society is seriously dedicated to moving towards communist distribution.' (Our emphasis.)

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Escalante group 'apply such epithets as opportunists, sell-outs and traitors'.

This is further borne out by the fact that the chief witness against Escalante at the Central Committee meeting was none other than Rafael Rodriguez, ex-Stalinist leader and ex-minister under Batista!

Since Escalante was a loyal Stalinist, he supported the reformist, non-revolutionary line of Moscow and the Venezuelan Communist Party and accused the Castro leadership of 'exporting revolution' and of 'Trotskyism'. It does not require much perspicacity, or even an adherence to Castro's adventurist line, to recognize this policy of Escalante as being worthless and indefensible.

But that is a far cry from calling it a crime to *advocate* such views.

If Castro's revelations add nothing to the belief that Escalante is not guilty of treasonable activities, then on the other hand they reveal a sad and rapidly-deteriorating state of affairs in the Cuban state and economy—a situation about which Escalante and his group were seriously concerned.

A few examples from Castro's indictment would suffice to prove that they were concerned:

'On the elimination of the job of bus conductor: Arguelles (one of Escalante's supporters) states that they expressed the opinion that the elimination of the job of bus conductor would increase the number of surplus personnel and that there would be more conflicts on the buses.'

Is it not extraordinary that a person can get a number of years in jail in a so-called socialist country for expressing dissent on the vexed question of one-man operation of buses?

But let us proceed.

Example No. 2. The speaker is Arguelles, the question agriculture.

'He stated that the two years in agriculture were not going to solve any problem, that it was necessary to have the workers who had left the farms return, and that

this could be achieved through the use of material incentives.'

Arguelles is stating an incontrovertible fact derived from the disastrous experience of the Virgin lands programme in the USSR. If this is a crime or treason, then let both flourish!

Example No. 3. Again, Arguelles, this time on anomalies in planning:

'He said that the existing planning was bad, that it was not being used as the major instrument in the harmonious development of our economy, that plans are drawn up, then re-drawn up, that everyone takes part in drawing them up, at all levels, that it results in working three or four times as much as necessary.'

A perfectly valid and legitimate objection from a competent workman in the Ministry of Industry. In any other country claiming to be socialist he would have been promoted, but in the topsy-turvy economy of Cuba, he is sent to jail!

As a result of these and similar criticisms made by the Escalante faction, it seems—not unnaturally—his faction began to grow.

In order to conduct his factional activities Escalante was forced to indulge in all sorts of subterfuges such as dinners, parties and volunteer work sessions at the farm which he ran for the government.

Being a skilled, professional organizer and a Stalinist hack, Escalante used any and every method to increase the orbit of his views. He even went to the wakes of deceased Party members!

Escalante, says an indignant Castro, 'attended every funeral and even delivered the funeral ovation at Dr. Sergio Arce's funeral'.

by Mike Banda, Editor of the Newsletter

Once again we must ask: What was Escalante supposed to do? Submit uncomplainingly and humiliate himself publicly?

Having buried all forms of democracy without the formality of a funeral, and having elevated himself to the exalted position of an impeccable and infallible sacred cow, Castro should not find it odd that his opponents are reduced to the farce of eulogies and funerals to communicate with each other. If this pernicious trend continues, Castro should soon find himself to be Cuba's greatest—and only—funeral orator!

RING'S DEFENCE

No defence of Escalante would be complete without mention of those who slavishly follow the twists and turns of Castro's policies without cavil or protest and who try to obscure the real meaning of the Cuban events with the pseudo-Marxist quackery of Castroism.

In America we have the ice-cream and Scotch whisky connoisseur* Harry Ring, reporter for the 'Militant', organ of the Socialist Workers' Party. His motto is Castro right or wrong. As we predicted in The Newsletter of February 24, he makes no apologies for Castro—he defends him without reservations.

POLITICAL COUSIN

A crude and clumsy pragmatist, Ring does not state his own opinion, but hides behind the convenient anonymity of 'public opinion'.

'From what I have been able to

provoked and is still provoking comment that cannot be ignored. (sic.)

'On the other hand sincere revolutionaries wonder about the meaning of a measure that appears to be in contradiction with the anti-bureaucratic concepts maintained by the Cubans.'

THE WISH

But let Maitan put your mind at rest and dissipate all suspicion with his soothing sophistry.

'... what has occurred must be judged in a concrete context, one characterized by a war to the knife within the international Communist movement itself, where methods are currently being used that have nothing to do with democratic and revolutionary methods.'

That is not all, of course. There are even more cogent reasons for clubbing the opposition into silence in Cuba today.

'... Escalante and his friends went so far as to wish (our emphasis) that the USSR would undertake economic measures which ... would lead Castro to correct his attitude!' (The exclamation mark is Maitan's!)

Yes, everything is clear now. He actually dared to WISH dangerous things—and we must thank Castro that the man was arrested in the act of wishing. Allah alone knows what terrible things would have happened if the wish had become a thought!

For the sceptics, Maitan has a word



Remarkable humbug, isn't it?

Marxists, unlike and contrary to Maitan, do not seek to apologize for Castro's ideas and actions, but instead see in this conflict between the Soviet bureaucracy and the Castro leadership—and the repression of Escalante's faction—the refracted expression of class interests.

The Soviet leaders are trying desperately to freeze the status quo in Latin America while using its economic aid to Cuba as an instrument for applying political pressure on the USA. It is opposed to any form of revolutionary struggle which might disrupt the tenuous equilibrium of class forces in this part of the world. Hence its opposition to 'armed struggle' in Venezuela and everywhere else.

Castro, on the other hand, would like to see sympathetic, or even less hostile regimes on the mainland in place of the military juntas who govern at present. This implies armed struggle against dictatorship, but armed

ASH THE ESCALANTE TRIAL

of optimistic advice.

'It is probable,' he cautions, 'that the Escalante trial will lead some to be concerned about the danger of the Cuban regime becoming bureaucratized.'

But not to worry. Maitan has an instant cure for that as well.

'In the domestic and international situation in which the Cuban socialist experience is unfolding ... the objective tendency toward bureaucratization cannot be eliminated for an entire period and certain actual bureaucratic deformations are, in the final analysis, inevitable. Against this, the eminently positive factor remains of the existence of a leading group conscious of the dangers and disposed to struggle resolutely against it.'

Maitan has succeeded in squaring the Castro-ite circle in one prodigious movement.

Why does Castro use bureaucratic methods? asks a bewildered worker. Maitan answers: Because Castro is 'disposed to struggle resolutely against'

struggle devoid of a working-class basis and under petty-bourgeois leadership. Castroism is the anti-theses of Marxism. It is the ideology of the petty-bourgeois nationalist.

Thus every struggle against imperialism is accompanied, or followed by a corresponding repression of the working class. The Escalante faction, by virtue of its historical connections and its social composition, and despite its reformist line, stands closer to the Cuban working class than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leadership of Castro, which continually oscillates between imperialism and the USSR.

In this sense—and in a very qualified way—the repression of Escalante represents a blow aimed against a section of the working class which has tried to organize itself independently of the Castro-ite apparatus.

However much we oppose the 'peaceful co-existence' line of Stalinism we are in principle duty bound to defend Escalante—critically—against Castro.

The revisionists, on the contrary, cannot and will not defend the working class in Cuba for the same reason that they cannot do so in Europe and America.

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* In the January 29 'Militant' Harry Ring made a long and rapturous description of Cuban ice cream and its various flavours. What all this had to do with socialism or the working class was not clearly explained by Ring, but it seemed, after reading Ring, that if a country can produce more than 54 flavours then ... you've got a workers' state.

ure, then it is manifestly impos-
to violate such a 'Party line'. A
line' is expressed through and
ns of a definite policy and pro-

ies and programmes—as well as
utions—are adopted formally at
sses of the organizations con-
and, in between congresses, the
Central Committee is em-
d with the responsibility of
g out this policy.

Escalante's case it is demonstrably
s that he is being charged with
ting a 'line' that has never been
ed, debated, agreed, rejected.
n modified at any Party congress
ference.

ort, he is being framed.

view of the absence of a single
of party democracy and of any
of influencing or changing Party
how then was Escalante to pro-
not conspiratorially?

for the Central Committee, it
e admitted, ludicrous though it
e, that it is not the custodian of
authority in between congresses.
it is the Party.* What is more,
all factional activity is banned
Castro faction dominates the Cen-
ommittee and, ipso facto, the

ould be true to say that the the
does not exist. It is an amor-
mass of people who are not
onsulted about policy questions,
e called upon from time to time
a lot of voluntary work for the
and to participate in demon-
ns and meetings of celebration
otest. It is a Bonapartist excre-

most sinister part of Escalante's
y appears to be his collaboration
foreign powers and parties in
to bring economic pressure
Cuba.

ere, too, an important issue of
le arises which Castro cannot

Escalante trying to prejudice
n in the Soviet Union, or was the
Union using Escalante as a tool
foreign policy?

himself and to Marxists: He still re-
lies on Soviet largesse to construct his
moneyless Utopia.*

Since Castro charges the Escalante
faction with the guilt of 'aspiring'
to the application of political and eco-
nomic pressure by the USSR, it seems
pretty obvious (except to Castro and
the revisionists) that such a charge is
hardly tantamount to treason and does
not warrant a 15-year prison sentence.

The trial is analogous with the Mos-
cow Trials where people were executed
for their alleged intentions and plans—
and not for what they did or did not
do.

More insidious, however, are the de-
tails of the alleged faction activity of
Escalante. Some parts of it have more
in common with the Good Soldier
Schweik than with a serious political
struggle, but it must be told.

It is revealed by Raul Castro that
Anibal Escalante (believe it or not) re-
produced and distributed 'articles writ-
ten by Latin American leaders and
other polemic material in open dis-
agreement with our political line' (!);
organized 'meetings and study sessions
where the Party line and the measures
taken by the Revolution were criti-
cized and revolutionary leaders
maligned.' Indeed, maligned!

Moreover the 'micro-faction' (if it is
a micro-faction, why hand out macro
sentences?) went to the extent of de-
claring that 'there was a petty-bourgeois
influence in the Central Committee
which brought with it contempt for the
working class and lack of recognition
of the vanguard role the working class
should play . . . ' that ' . . . workers
were excluded from leadership of the
Revolution and responsibility for lead-
ing the socialist emulation was taken
away from the trade unions.'

Escalante also alleged the existence
of an anti-Soviet faction in the Party
'based on the argument that we were
drawing closer economically to France
as a result of an alleged loan made by
that country to ours . . . '

SYSTEMATIC PURGE

In conformity with such an anti-
Soviet policy the Castro-ites, so it is

Escalante group 'apply such epithets
as opportunists, sell-outs and traitors'.

This is further borne out by the
fact that the chief witness against
Escalante at the Central Committee
meeting was none other than Rafael
Rodriguez, ex-Stalinist leader and ex-
minister under Batista!

Since Escalante was a loyal Stalinist,
he supported the reformist, non-revolu-
tionary line of Moscow and the Vene-
zuelan Communist Party and accused
the Castro leadership of 'exporting re-
volution' and of 'Trotskyism'. It does
not require much perspicacity, or even
an adherence to Castro's adventurist
line, to recognize this policy of
Escalante as being worthless and in-
defensible.

But that is a far cry from calling it
a crime to *advocate* such views.

If Castro's revelations add nothing
to the belief that Escalante is not guilty
of treasonable activities, then on the
other hand they reveal a sad and
rapidly-deteriorating state of affairs in
the Cuban state and economy—a situ-
ation about which Escalante and his
group were seriously concerned.

A few examples from Castro's indict-
ment would suffice to prove that they
were concerned:

'On the elimination of the job of
bus conductor: Arguelles (one of
Escalante's supporters) states that
they expressed the opinion that the
elimination of the job of bus con-
ductor would increase the number
of surplus personnel and that there
would be more conflicts on the
buses.'

Is it not extraordinary that a person
can get a number of years in jail in
a so-called socialist country for ex-
pressing dissent on the vexed question
of one-man operation of buses?

But let us proceed.

Example No. 2. The speaker is
Arguelles, the question agriculture.

'He stated that the two years
in agriculture were not going to
solve any problem, that it was
necessary to have the workers who
had left the farms return, and that

by Mike Banda, of the Newsletter

Once again we must ask: What was
Escalante supposed to do? Submit un-
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even more cogent
the opposition i
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mark is Maitan

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rible things woul
wish had become

For the sceptic

WHITEWASH THE ESCALANTE

the first case Escalante's actions
be deemed treasonable. Repre-
sented, maybe. Since Castro supported
international Stalinist movement,
larly in its attacks against the
e and Trotskyists, it could be
that Escalante had a point of
and tried to canvass support
st his fellow members abroad.
d as much right to do this as

the second case, however—and
not charged against Escalante—
ld amount to a treasonable con-
y between two parties: the USSR
Escalante, and very drastic sanc-
would have to be invoked if the
s stuck. However, this line of
ng has been studiously avoided
tro for reasons well known to

e Rosen, a member of the Progres-
Labour Party (pro-Chinese) of
a, describes in a recent article in
ssive Labour—journal of the PLP
rocess by which the Central Com-
is selected.

day in late summer 1965, Fidel
ed a meeting attended by invita-
ly and composed of government
and the foreign diplomatic corps
Chaplin Theater in Havana. He
ut a list of names, announced it
e new Party Central Committee, and
f the audience approved.

result was a resounding 'yes'.
hen announced that constituted a
f ratification by the Cuban people
composition and line of the Party
hip.

il that very moment the entire
was a secret that had never been
ed outside Fidel's immediate circle.
eting, though, was televised.

Central Committee is mainly com-
of army officers. Every single one
on is required to follow every
on of Fidel's orders. (One of the
popular Cuban slogans is "Comman-
Chief—order us!")

alleged, have been making systematic
efforts to purge the Party of all Stalin-
ist influence.

Escalante disapproved of the policy
which denied to many old members of
the PSP (Stalinist Communist Party)
'the right to become members of the
Party' while others 'who had done
nothing against the tyranny were pro-
moted. It was also stated that the
appointment to the Central Committee
of some leaders of the old party was
merely a formality, since their opinions
are not taken into account when it
comes to making decisions.'

In this part of the statement Castro
reveals the existence of a very big
split in the ranks of the Stalinists be-
tween those who support Escalante and
Moscow, and those who support Blas
Roca and Castro. To Blas Roca, Lazaro
Pena and others, say Raul Castro, the

* In the Isle of Pines, Castro has set up
a glorified state farm run by youth brig-
ades. In this communal Utopia money has
been abolished. All work is voluntary.
Not only that, Castro has promised to
out-Stalin Stalin by going forward to a
communist system of distribution in the
near future.

In a speech on January 6, 1968, Castro
declared ' . . . by taking full advantage of
these lands, we are going to create such
an abundance of all those products that in
the not too distant future the products
involved in these plans will also be with-
drawn from the mercantile circulation.

'So that society cultivates the state
lands and invests in the lands that do
not belong to the state; it makes invest-
ments, contributes to their development,
contributes to their exploitation in order
to create a productivity that will permit
the country to practically withdraw all
those products from mercantile circulation.

'That is, our society is seriously dedica-
ted to moving towards communist distri-
bution.' (Our emphasis.)

this could be achieved through the
use of material incentives.'

Arguelles is stating an incontroverti-
ble fact derived from the disastrous
experience of the Virgin lands pro-
gramme in the USSR. If this is a crime
or treason, then let both flourish!

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bers!

Escalante, says an indignant Castro,
'attended every funeral and even de-
livered the funeral ovation at Dr. Sergio
Arce's funeral.'

gather, the general public reaction
seems to be that Escalante was de-
serving of punishment and that
action against him was overdue
(our emphasis) . . .

'Some, I am told, have con-
sidered the fact that he was con-
victed for the promotion of ideas
as well as for action, as evidence
of great foreign pressure on Cuba.
But it is explained (our emphasis)
it is felt that Escalante's principal
offence was trying to take Cuba's
policies into his own hands by
manoeuvring behind the back of
the party and the public.' (Our
emphasis.)

Simple, isn't it?

Another attorney always ready with
unsolicited advice and apologies is
Livio Maitan, leading member of Man-
del's United Secretariat and a political
cousin of Ring.

Where Ring is clumsy and amateurish,
Maitan is sophisticated and intel-
lectual. He is a trained apologist, a
rascal of taste and distinction.

With an eye on the future, he writes:

'Condemnation of Escalante's
political orientation does not auto-
matically imply unqualified ap-
proval of the method adopted
against him and his group. In par-
ticular the fact that the Central
Committee's political sanctions
were followed by penal sanctions

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of Cuban ice cream and its various
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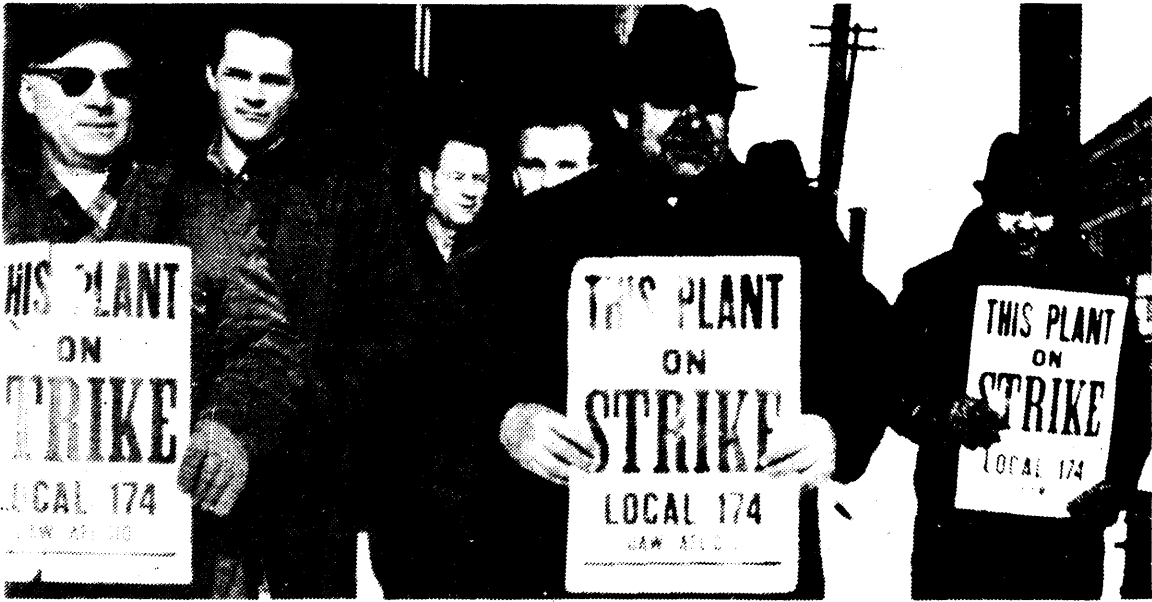
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LABOR NEWS



THESE COPPER WORKERS FOUGHT FOR 8 MONTHS ONLY TO HAVE LEADERSHIP SELL OUT

by Dan Fried

The non-ferrous metals division of the United Steelworkers Union has come to terms with the Phelps Dodge corporation, one of the big four copper producers which have been struck by 26 unions for over 8 months. The Steelworkers union is the largest

union representing the strikers and ratification by the other unions of the contract is expected shortly. The Phelps-Dodge contract is expected to set the pattern for settlements throughout the industry and if so signals a victory for the bosses even though they are being careful

not to crow too loud, too soon. But the Times and the Wall Street Journal are bluntly and with ill concealed sighs of relief stating that the settlement means the unions gave up their major demand which was for common contract expiration dates for uniform economic terms for all work-

COPPER

Bureaucrats Sell-Out Strike Drop Companywide Contract

ers. For LBJ under whose auspices the settlement was arrived at, it is clearly a victory. Johnson had threatened the union with a Taft Hartley injunction if they did not back down on their demands for company-wide bargaining, and back down they did -- in any language, a victory for the bosses and a defeat for the workers.

Whatever minor gains were made in wage and fringe benefit increases, and for many they are pretty minor, are more than outweighed by the loss of the major demand which allows the company to continue to hold all the workers down by pitting one union against another.

This setback is not because

the workers did not have the power to win but because their leadership is tied to the Democratic Party and runs away from a real fight with the government. The bosses were nearly brought to their knees by the mere beginnings of a boycott of imported copper by the East Coast longshoremen's union. But ILA President Gleason called off the boycott much to the relief of the bosses after LBJ entered directly into the negotiations. None of these miserable labor leaders from Gleason to the heads of the Steelworkers is willing to fight Johnson and all the legislation and court injunctions which protect the bosses. There will be more defeats unless the unions get new leaders who are able to make this fight.

NEW YORK CITY

RANKS REJECT CONTRACT IN MOVING MEN STRIKE

NEW YORK - Militant movingmen represented by Teamsters local 814 followed the good example of New York Garagemen and Sanitationmen when they emphatically rejected the contract offer recommended by the local 814 leadership.

The previous day, the local President, Saverio Aiello had attempted to stall off the contract rejection when he voided the results of a vote of a mass meeting of movers at New York's Manhattan Center. But to no avail. The vote was held the next day and the contract was turned down by the men who taunted Aiello and chanted 'No!No!No!'

The movers, who do some of the most backbreaking work possible, were asked to swallow contract offer calling for a miserable \$20 a week wage increase spread over a three year contract period. Small wonder, the workers rebelled demanding more money and a shorter contract.

Once again the workers have shown that they don't have to be the helpless victims of phoney deals between the union leaders and the bosses. The next step is to replace the bureaucrats entirely and elect workers to union positions who have a real program to fight the bosses.

cincinnati rubber workers need support

by Mike Ross

CINCINNATI--The bosses are continuing their offensive against the Cincinnati labor movement. This time they are trying to defeat Local 151 of the United Rubber Workers.

The rubber workers have been on the picket lines since March 12th, when, after nine negotiating meetings, the workers unanimously turned down the "final offer" of the Cincinnati Rubber Manufacturing Company, a division of Thor Power Tool Company, which in turn is a subsidiary of the Stewart Warner Company.

fight

The strike is basically over wages. The company's "final offer" turned out to be some 70¢ per hour less than rubber workers receive at larger companies such as Goodyear and Firestone. Insurance and pensions are not affected,

being covered by a separate and unexpired contract.

Local 151 has both strengths and weaknesses. Although small in numbers (95 members in all), it is not afraid to fight for the defense

papers, radio and TV.

The bosses also know that when the United Rubber Workers struck the Big Four rubber companies recently, they used up all of their strike funds and were forced to bor-

Public Meeting

WHICH WAY FOR RETAIL CLERKS LOCAL 1099?

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Auspices:

RETAIL CLERKS RANK AND FILE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

of the living standards of its members. The bosses are trying to make use of its small size in an attempt to isolate the strike. Little if any mention of the strike has ever appeared in the local news-

row 1 1/2 million dollars from the United Auto Workers to meet emergencies. When you get into local finances, Local 151 is hard pressed.

The biggest problem for Local 151 is to break out of its isolation and link its struggles with the entire city labor movement.

assist

A low strike fund? Every other union in the city must assist Local 151 by appropriating at least one dollar per member for 151's strike fund. This would give Local 151 some \$50,000 to \$100,000 to work with.

In addition, the local labor movement leadership must initiate a campaign to recruit additional pickets to give Local 151's members shorter and less tiring shifts on the line.

Further, since the Cincinnati Rubber Manufacturing Company and the bosses who own it claim that they cannot afford to pay decent wages, the entire Cincinnati area's labor movement leadership must join with Local 151 in demanding that this company open its books to public inspection to prove this.

longshoremen strike over jobs

NEW YORK--Virtually the entire Port of New York has been shut down as the International Longshoremen's Association went on strike to protest the Waterfront Commission's decision to recruit more longshoremen. The ILA is demanding that the manpower shortage in New Jersey ports be handled by allocating men already on the longshore rolls rather than expanding the rolls. They fear a breakdown in their hard fought contract provisions for guaranteed minimum annual employment.

Behind this dispute lies the growth of automation on the docks which has led to a shrinkage in employment not only in New York but at all ports. American longshoremen face the same threats

as British dockers face in the Devlin Plan. There is no solution to this problem

this side of nationalization of the docks so that the benefits of automation go to the

men who work on the docks rather than the firms who profit from their work.



LONGSHOREMEN PICKET WATERFRONT COMMISSION OVER JOB THREAT

by Fred Mueller

The courageous fighters against Stalinism are shaking the bureaucracy in all the East European countries. The struggle in the Soviet Union in opposition to the bureaucracy's attempts to muzzle Soviet writers and youth has now been joined by thousands and thousands of students and youth in Poland. Meanwhile in Czechoslovakia a tremendous upheaval is shaking the Czech Communist Party to its roots. The fight in all these countries shows that the 1956 revolts in Poland and Hungary were not isolated accidents. The Stalinist bureaucracy is in permanent crisis, it has not been able to solve this crisis since it bloodily suppressed the Hungarian workers, and the struggle is erupting and spreading throughout the Soviet orbit.

Protests continue in the USSR. Dozens of petitions, containing hundreds of names, are demanding the release of imprisoned writers Sinyavsky, Daniel, Ginzburg, Galanskov, Bukovsky and others. A

all Jews, have been dismissed because their children were identified as active leaders of the demonstrations. The Warsaw party secretary has publicly denounced government and party officials for failing to properly educate children who have become involved in the movement!

The students have answered the latest attacks with mass meetings in cities all over Poland, including Warsaw, Lodz, Gdansk, Cracow, Szezecin, and Poznan. Student strikes have taken place in Cracow and Warsaw. 8,000 students at Warsaw's Polytechnic School adopted a resolution which answers all the slanders of the regime. It includes demands for respect of free speech and assembly, release of all arrested students, punishment of those who called the police onto the school grounds in earlier demonstrations, guarantees that professors and school staff who sympathize with the students will not be persecuted, and publication of the student resolution in the press and on the radio. The resolution assured "our professors

STRUGGLES SHAKE THE SOVIET BLOC

protest signed by 220 was sent to the meeting of Stalinist parties in Budapest. One protest, signed by many young intellectuals including Peter Yakir, son of a Red Army general who was killed in Stalin's purges, protests the increasingly favorable comments about Stalin in the press along with the "completely negative" treatment of Trotsky's "revolutionary contributions."

trotsky

The mention of Trotsky in this petition is unprecedented since the terror of the 30's. The fight for the restoration of Soviet democracy has reached a new stage. In answer Pravda has directly linked the current protests with the earlier Trotskyist opposition. This witchhunting will surely be met with renewed resistance by Soviet youth who demand the truth about Soviet history now.

The depth of the crisis facing the bureaucracy is shown by the letter of a Latvian collective farm chairman, Yakhimovich, to the Soviet leadership. Yakhimovich, once hailed as a model youth leader, denounces the leadership's policies, and warns, "It will be a sad day for us when we are unable to come to terms with the young people... They will inevitably create a new party... Have the courage to correct the mistakes you have made, before the workers and peasants take a hand in the matter."

This unusually frank and sharp warning from within the bureaucracy itself shows what the Stalinist regime really faces. The youth are ripping off the mask and showing the world the true nature of the crisis facing the Soviet people.

The Soviet fighters are not alone. On the heels of the latest protests in the USSR a nationwide movement of Polish students has been launched. As in 1956, the events in one country spur on the struggle elsewhere. In the first week of March thousands of Warsaw students came out into the streets to protest the arrest and expulsion of two students who had protested the closing of a classic play by the 19th century poet Mickiewicz. The student protests quickly spread, raising broader slogans such as "Down with censorship, Down with the lying press," etc.

As many as 400 students were arrested, as many as 50 given prison terms of 2 to 6 months on charges of having "insulted the police", by calling them "Gestapo". In addition to these measures the bureaucracy took steps to divide the students from the workers. Factories were visited and told that the students were raising such slogans as "down with socialism". It is reported that this was "met with skepticism."

zionism

At the same time the highest levels of the regime have launched a vicious anti-Semitic campaign. Appealing to the most backward and reactionary prejudices in their panic and desperation, the bureaucrats have listed the names of Jewish students involved, and have called for "cleaning the Zionists out of the party."

Prominent intellectuals, most of them Jews, have been singled out for denunciation by the CP leadership. The regime is trying desperately to equate the small Polish Jewish population with Zionism and Zionism with the student movement against the bureaucracy. Three high officials

and all Poland that we wish to study and build socialism". The students dissociated themselves from both anti-Semitism and Zionism.

It was reported that at least half the workers at the big Zeran auto plant disobeyed orders to attend a rally against the students, and others who attended openly voiced their disagreement with the regime. The Polish youth have given the lie to all the superficial commentators who predicted years and years of apathy after the 1956 October. They have struck terror into the hearts of oppressors and bureaucrats everywhere, and have given encouragement to workers, peasants and students in their struggles all the way from the U.S. to Vietnam.

czechoslovakia

The crisis of Stalinism is not confined to Poland and the USSR. In one form or another it is growing throughout Eastern Europe. In Czechoslovakia the Communist Party is split from top to bottom. Since arch-Stalinist Novotny was ousted as party secretary in January, the debate has continued unabated within the party. Calls have been made for his removal from the largely ceremonial position of President. Censorship has been stopped. Demands for full rehabilitation of the victims of the Stalinist purges of the 40's and 50's have been made. Hendrych and other top party leaders have been removed, and this is only the beginning. The 'liberals' now in charge watch anxiously to see that matters don't get out of control.

Thus far the struggle in Czechoslovakia has been relatively closely controlled by the so-called liberal wing of the bureaucracy. But these "liberals" are themselves in deep crisis, just a pale response to deep dissatisfaction among students, intellectuals and workers.

The U.S. Communist Party has also had nothing to say about these world-shaking events. It can offer nothing but silence or lies. Linked as it is to the Soviet bureaucracy it is incapable of answering the latest exposure of Stalinism.

This crisis exposes Stalinism all over the world. Stalinism represented the triumph of reaction in the first workers' state. Stalin drowned the Bolshevik Party in blood, murdered all the key revolutionary leaders in the purges of the 30s, and pursued a reactionary nationalist policy of attempting to build socialism in one country and only in one country. This meant holding back revolutionary movements all over the world. This is why then as now, the American CP holds back the struggles of the workers, seeks to confine them to the Democratic Party, seeks to confine the struggle against war to pacifist slogans, refuses to fight within the trade unions for a new leadership against the bureaucracy. But, as Trotsky warned, the bureaucracy would not be able to cheat history forever. The East European struggle shows the real nature of Stalinism.

coalition

Meanwhile the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party continues its bloc with the CP in the anti-war movement. It misleads the important struggles of American students and intellectuals. It is unwilling to raise demands in support of the East European students within the movement for fear of disturbing the coalition. We are sure the Polish and Soviet youth would understand this delicate problem the SWP refuses to show the



TRADITION OF HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION LIVES ON

connection between the struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants and the fight against Stalinism in Eastern Europe. Even if it participates under its own banner at all in the April 26 and 27 actions against the Vietnam War, we are sure that, as at Liege in Oct. 1966, it will not raise the slogan of support to the struggle for socialist democracy in the Soviet orbit.

In 1956 the revolutionary struggles in Poland and Hungary were nearly spontaneous. Coming in response to the 20th Congress and the famous Khrushchev revelations, there was little time to prepare for a long struggle against the bureaucracy. Now, almost 12 years later, the Polish and Soviet youth have the benefit of the previous struggles. This is reflected in the tenacious battles which have been launched in Warsaw and Moscow. The youth will not compromise and will not allow the bureaucracy to smear and them. They must fight uncompromisingly against all the attacks of the bureaucracy. They must link their struggle more and more to that of the workers, and build a revolutionary leadership capable of overthrowing Stalinism.

fourth

The revolutionary movement draws life and encouragement from the struggle in Eastern Europe as we did and do from the fight of the Red Guards and especially from the inspiring victories of the Vietcong. In the course of the struggle the fighters against bureaucracy in China, the USSR and East Europe will be forced to turn towards the revolutionary program of Trotskyism. Only the Fourth International can explain what this fight is all about and provide the program for victory. The League of Hungarian Socialist Revolutionaries, part of the International Committee of the Fourth International, is beginning to build the new revolutionary leadership in Eastern Europe. The combination of this fight with the heroic struggles such as we are now witnessing will mean the death knell for Stalinism.

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GERMAN MIRACLE BURSTS ASUNDER

behind student upsurge

by V. Barat

A dismembered West Germany holds the key to the political situation on the European continent today no less than it did as a unified nation between the two wars. The capitalist Federated German Republic is perched atop a dynamic, ultra modern industrial complex operated by the most skilled working class in Europe.

But for more than a year the natural growth of the 'economic miracle' has been stifled by those basic contradictions, which despite the preachings of the 'undoctinaire' liberals, are endemic to capitalism: the intensifying economic crisis in the capitalist world, the continued ownership of the huge plants by private individuals, and the restrictions imposed on the natural circulation of goods by an out-moded national State. Nationalized and controlled by the workers, the superb productive apparatus would be an incredible boom to the rest of Europe and the world.

unrest

As a result of the current recession and the need to slow down the high-powered economic machine, the motor has begun to overheat, causing social unrest throughout the Federal Republic. No segment of society is immune to the increasing tensions that are once more becoming a permanent feature of this society.

That the German bourgeoisie are fully aware of the scope of the impending crisis is demonstrated by the alacrity with which they have re-examined and shifted their political and economic policies toward the former Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe. This basic change in orientation, already accompanied by new trade and investment practices, has become a threat of the first magnitude to the very social foundations of these States, above all to Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria with their desperate need for capital. As complement to its external shift in policy, the German ruling class has altered its tactics toward its own proletariat.

The workers, organized into powerful industrial trade unions, are the most essential and the most explosive social force in the Republic. Their officials, who head the German Socialist Party (SPD), a group with half a century of experience in the art of betrayal, were called upon by the State to form a joint government with the national bourgeoisie (the 'Grand Coalition').

Clearly, the sole function of these social-democrats led by Willy Brandt is to persuade their followers of the 'present need' to forgo improvements in their standard of living. Indeed they are being urged to accept wage-cuts and anti-labor legislation, which, Brandt and Company allege, would be even worse if the labor bureaucrats were not in the government. Such anti-labor measures are justified by the SPD misleaders as essential for Germany to maintain its competitiveness in the world market.

impatient

But, the German liberals lament, the ranks in the labor movement are becoming increasingly impatient with these rescue operations of capitalism conducted at the workers' expense. It is freely admitted in the country that the main question has now become whether Brandt and his colleagues are going to be thrown out of the coal-



STUDENT MILITANTS SURROUND BRANDT

ition by an angry working class or by the capitalist ministers themselves, who will tolerate the SPDers only so long as they tame their workers.

At the same time that this same working class is beginning to articulate its frustration with both its conditions and its political leadership, the German capitalists have begun to move on still another front. With increasing favor they are seriously casting in their lot with the extreme right wing and fascist groups that have appeared on the scene of late.

Once more, an historical confrontation between the two main classes in society -- the workers and the big bourgeoisie -- is taking shape as it did in the early thirties. The tone of the liberal German press clearly reflects this fact and their own panic at these prospects.

trotskyists

This time, however, the outcome will not be decided by social-democratic cowardice or dictated by Stalinist cretinism. The German Trotskyists are in the midst of assembling a precious cadre to struggle for and around a program that will lead the German proletariat to victory. They can, furthermore, depend on the considerable support of their comrades in England, France and the entire Fourth International.

While the economic and political policies of capitalist Germany are frightening the present leaders of the East German Democratic Republic (DDR), the great outpouring of youth and university students in both West Berlin and throughout the entire Federal Republic in recent months are causing as severe nightmares for the Stalinist Ulbricht in Potsdam as for the bourgeois politicians in Bonn. What has produced the student demonstrations, what is their nature, their goals, and who constitutes the leadership of these gigantic movements?

It is now generally accepted as axiomatic that the barometer of great social storms are registered first by the actions of youth. This has been no less true in the Federal Republic. German columnists grudgingly admit that the current generation of young people are in most respects far more mature than their fathers were.

students

Students are en masse refusing any longer to

accept menial status in an archaic university structure. Here they have been regarded and treated as though they were no more than a docile two-legged commodity to be stuffed with endless bits of information, packaged, labeled and then shipped off to be auctioned in a market place patronized by a dwindling number of bidders. Besides their lack of prospects upon graduation and the deprivation of their humanity in the huge lecture halls, where they have been compelled to sit as anonymous non-entities, the German university students have many other grievances.

They find little evidence for the fine theories of democracy heard in the classrooms either on their campuses, in their own nation or in the world about them. They are absolutely no longer fooled by the myth of a freedom loving America.

militancy

This dissatisfaction with the pretensions and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy explains the staggering growth and militancy of the demonstrations which have shaken the entire West Germany. Even adults are being aroused and swept along by the spirit of the marching students.

youth

On the opposite end of the age spectrum, the very young too are being drawn into battle -- quite literally. What happened in Bremen a few weeks ago is being repeated in any number of large German cities and towns. Bremen prides itself on its exceptionally progressive grade and high school system and its administrators and teachers. They are supposed to be permeated with a deep sense of civic responsibility. The young pupils themselves have been praised for displaying these same virtues on many occasions.

Thus when the Social-Democratic municipal government raised the fares in town recently, these sons and daughters of the Bremen working class simply took matters into their own hands. When they were done, they showed how well indeed they had learned their lessons in civics. They had demolished 115 street cars and 45 buses. The SPD betrayers then cancelled the fare increase. One of the liberal bourgeois papers admitted that the kids 'in this instance' were perhaps justified in their actions. After all, the stupid bureaucrats had not even taken the trouble to first 'consult' their constituents.

While the above is an example of one kind of outbreak against undemocratic authority -- spontaneous direct action, more and more of the protest demonstrations are being organized and conducted under the leadership of the strongest and most militant of the youth groups in West Germany: the League of Socialist Students (SDS). But the membership of this group is far from being a single, cohesive, body. An analysis of the origin of SDS, of its class composition and of the nature of the tendencies contending for leadership will appear in the next article on Germany today.

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gov't retreats from integration

The new statement on educational policy by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare reveals the complete bankruptcy of the government in really tackling segregation in the schools. Segregation, it seems, is to be wiped out of education in the North as well as South with one catch--the school boards are not required to do anything about school se-

gregation caused by segregated housing patterns--that is by the ghetto.

Since virtually all school segregation in the North is the result of segregated housing the Federal government will require the school boards to do - nothing. So down the drain goes the 1954 Supreme Court decision wiping out segregation. Over 100 years have passed since the Civil

War and the capitalist government shows neither willingness nor ability to wipe out segregation in the United States.

answer

Bussing is not the answer. The only answer is a concerted drive to tear down the ghettos, construct millions of new housing units, billions for

job training and a basic change in the economy so that it can absorb the new better-trained workers such programs can produce. This must be combined with serious criminal prosecution of anyone who discriminates on any level in any form.

This is the program which the Workers League and only the Workers League fights for. It is we and we alone

who state that America has the resources for such a program and that anything short of this program will not change racial oppression in the United States. It is we and we alone who expose the Black nationalists who are aiding the bankrupt capitalists by accepting the racist slogan of 'separate but equal', a slogan behind which racial oppression has continued for 100 years.