

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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JANUARY 12, 1970

TEN CENTS

women's  
liberation  
and the  
class struggle

HOOVER  
JAN 30 1970  
INSTITUTE

call workers inquiry to

## FIND MURDERERS OF YABLONSKI

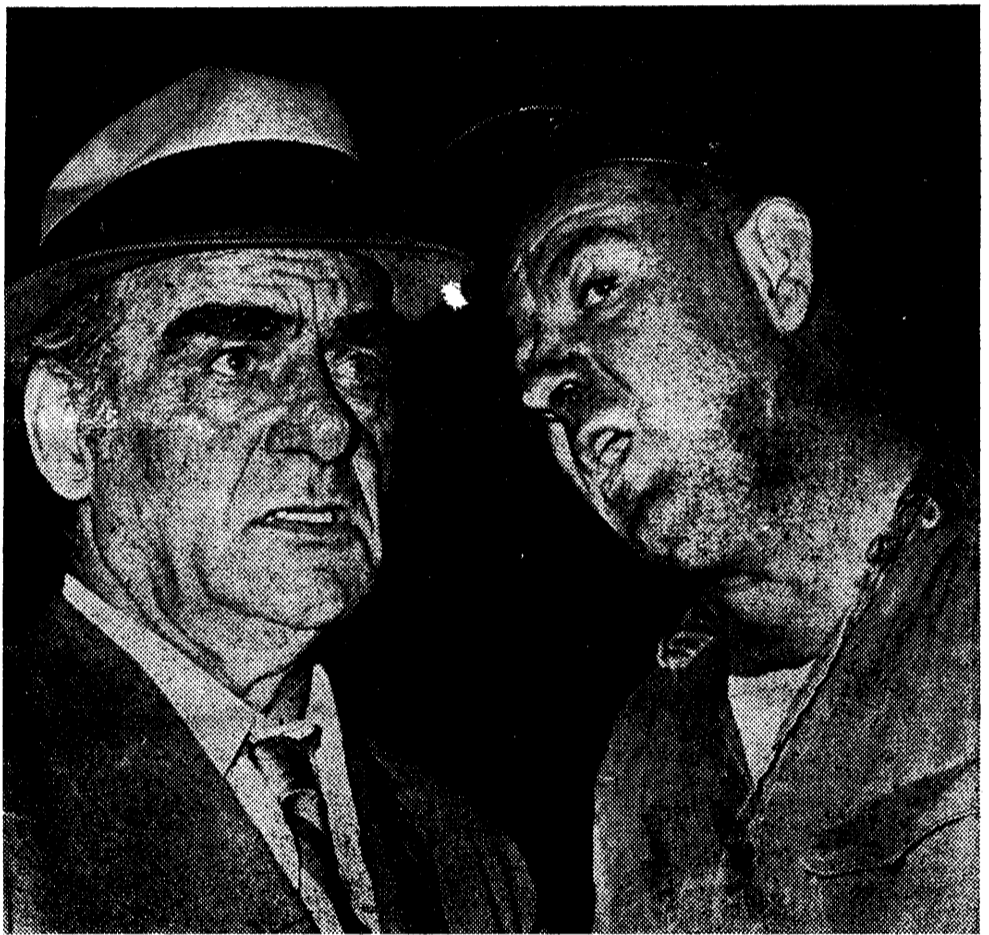
BY THE EDITORS

We demand the immediate establishment of a committee of rank and file miners to conduct an independent inquiry into the murder of Joseph Yablonski, his wife and his daughter. We cannot rely upon an investigation by the same government which stood by and allowed Boyle to rig the elections and maintain his control of the union despite the clear support for Yablonski by the majority of working miners. We cannot rely on an investigation by the very same government which has allowed hundreds upon hundreds of miners to die in unsafe mines so that the bosses can reap super profits.

We certainly cannot rely upon Tony Boyle, his goons and his thugs to investigate a murder from which they and they alone benefit.

Brother Yablonski's son, Joseph Jr., was asked whether he thought

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4)



YABLONSKI (LEFT) WAS MURDERED AFTER HIS CAMPAIGN IN UMW

### EASTERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

WORKERS LEAGUE

WORKERS LEAGUE

EASTERN REGIONAL

PREPARES FOR

EDUCATIONAL

CLASS STRUGGLES

OF 1970



LUCY ST. JOHN, BULLETIN EDITOR, ADDRESSES CONFERENCE

## ysa moves sharply right

# WORKERS LEAGUE HOLDS



TIM WOHLFORTH, NAT'L SECRETARY OF W.L., (LEFT) ADDRESSES PARTICIPANTS AT CONFERENCE (ABOVE)

against Wilson's capitalist measures and attacks.

## VIETNAM

It is this fight which continues into 1970 that the Socialist Labour League is now taking forward, Comrade Sylveire pointed out, with the "Stop Wilson's Visit to Washington" campaign which has signed up many "left" M.P.'s and union bureaucrats along with masses of workers behind a petition to cancel Wilson's projected visit to Nixon in Washington. The real fight of British workers is united with the struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants and with the American workers against the Vietnam War and the attacks of capitalism through the SLL's call for a massive demonstration on Jan. 11th to stop Wilson's visit to Nixon.

On Saturday afternoon the conference was also shown the film on the workers' occupation of the Sud Aviation plant in Nantes during the May - June General Strike in France, a film prepared by our French comrades. This drove home the real lessons of the May-June events for the whole revolutionary period we are now entering.

The central thrust of the conference was that the struggle for theory is the very heart of the preparation of the party for leadership of the working class in this new period of international socialist revolution. Any retreat from theory must be seen as the influence of the middle class within the party. The struggle for theory is a very central part of the class struggle.

## STALINISM

In her presentation Friday morning, Lucy St. John, editor of the Bulletin, showed how Stalinism grew up out of the anti-theory, "old Bolshevik" section of the Communist Party under conditions of working class defeat. Stalin became the chosen instrument of the Soviet

BY DAN FRIED  
"One of the biggest steps forward in the history of the Workers League and the international Trotskyist movement"-- that was the conclusion of the almost 100 participants in the Workers League Eastern Regional Educational Conference.

The conference, held in New York, January 2-4 was, as its title indicated, a "Struggle for Trotskyism." The theme of the conference could be summed up in the phrase: 1970-- the year of Lenin and Trotsky, the opening of the decade of socialist revolution and the Workers League's struggle to bring the program for socialist revolution to the workers in the United States.

The conference was not simply a conference of American Trotskyists. The class struggle all over the world and the struggle for Trotskyism as an international movement, dominated the conference. This was brought home most sharply on Friday night when more than 125 people heard an address by Comrade Dany Sylveire, a National Committee member of the British Young Socialists and of the Socialist Labour League.

Comrade Sylveire also introduced the first showing in New York of the film on the Workers Press, the paper of the Socialist Labour League which is the world's first Trotskyist daily newspaper. The latter, a remarkable synthesis of Marxist political understanding and expert film art and technique, was produced by some of the leading film makers in England today.

The film showed the actual production of the first issue of the Workers Press, utilizing all the most modern and advanced equipment of the SLL's print shop-- from typesetters to web offset press, which turned out the papers at the rate of 20,000 copies per hour. Behind this great technical achievement was a party-- a party of workers, youth and students based on a program to bring the working class to power in Britain.

This was shown most graphically in the scenes of the 5,000 strong demonstration of the SLL at Brighton, celebrating the founding of the Workers Press. The sounds of the British class struggle rang out as thousands of marchers chanted, "Forward With the Workers Press,"

and "Wilson Out, Socialism In."

1970

As the speaker had pointed out in her presentation, the inauguration of the Workers Press coincided with a new wave of struggle of the British workers against the the anti-union wage freeze and other measures against the workers that the Wilson government was attempting to carry out in order to solve the crisis for British capitalism. 1968 was the "Year of Protest," if there ever was one, the speaker pointed out. But 1968 is dead and buried and the big deal on the left of that year, the Vietnam Solidarity Committee, is tottering toward the grave. They couldn't even hold a demonstration of more than 20 people to lie in the streets protesting against the Vietnam War, Comrade Sylveire pointed out, at the same time that 800,000 were marching on Washington against the war. In Britain, the "Year of Protest", along with the VSC's and the Tariq Alis and other heroes of the protest movement are gone, and in 1969 the working class came onto the scene, not to protest, but to fight

## EDITORIAL

# World Recession Poses The Choice: Socialism Or Fascism

The huge class battles that have erupted in Western Europe, particularly in Italy over the past fall and early winter, are only a foretaste of the tremendous international class struggles ahead in 1970. With the Nixon Administration pushing the world capitalist system into a major slump, 1970 will see the extreme aggravation in every European country of the very conditions that produced the May-June events in 1968 and the 1969 Italian Red autumn. Above all the development of this slump together with heavy unemployment within the United States itself now poses the eruption of the American May-June.

The question mark over the U.S. and world economy is no longer whether a recession is in store, but how deep going it is going to be. The superficial predictions of bourgeois economists and government officials of a mild spring slowdown followed by an early fall revival is just so much impressionism. We are no longer talking about a recession within the framework of the boom like that of '57 or '61 but a recession which, arising within the framework of the collapse of the boom, can be very rapidly transformed into a deep depression on the order of the 1930s, posing before the working class internationally the choice between revolution and fascism.

It is within this context that the developments of the last week on the labor and economic front must be seen. The Christmas layoffs of 60,000 auto workers is now to be followed up with a 21% cut by Gene-

ral Motors in January production levels. Plans to lay off some 3,800 workers and to shut 12 of GM's assembly plants for 2 days each during the next five weeks have accordingly been announced. At the same time the steel industry which thus far has resisted the decline in other sectors, reported last week a 9.9% production slump in Christmas week, the sharpest drop in 17 months.

## LAYOFFS

This is having its effect not only directly on the U.S. working class but is beginning to send shock waves throughout the entire capitalist world. With the United States responsible for nearly 50% of world industrial production it could not be otherwise. The direct result of recessionary trends in the U.S. in the last four months alone has been a slashing of the U.S. import bill so much so as to shift a 1.7 billion dollar '69 Common Market trade surplus \$250 million into the red. For whole sections of European capital the loss of the American market now means catastrophe. This, of course, is what lies behind the latest Anglo-French

gesture at broadening and strengthening the Common Market against the United States.

At the same time as national and regional interests drive the various national capitalists at one another's throats, the Nixon administration still acts as the collective leader of these national capitalists, and has pursued with them a very definite strategy since the beginning of 1969. The very election of the Nixon Administration, in fact, signalled a decision on the part of the international bourgeoisie to travel the path of a relatively controlled world economic slump rather than continue to risk the chaotic toppling of the world monetary system posed by the raging world inflation.

The attempt to control the conditions under which the working class was to be forced back was in any case doomed to failure from the start. While the international bourgeoisie may gloat over its ability, with the aid of sharp deflationary measures, a devaluation and a revaluation, to have driven gold prices below \$35 per ounce and consequently to have driven a hard bargain

with South Africa on future gold sales, what is the price of this momentary lull in the monetary crisis? The price that is being paid is nothing less than the provocation of the working class internationally to revolutionary struggle. What has in fact taken place over the recent period is a shift in the way in which the world economic crisis is expressing itself, from the monetary sphere onto the field of open revolutionary struggle.

Now this must explode as well within the boundaries of the United States.

## BATTLES

The drawing of the class lines in the many weeks old GE strike and the efforts of the employers to break the 150,000 strong GE unions with scabs is just the beginning of a series of huge class battles which together with the movement of the U.S. working class against the war in Vietnam must soon lead to the formation of a labor party in the U.S.

In this way the American working class will join its European brothers in an international class battle against the efforts of the world capitalist class to drive it back to the conditions of the 1930's.

Undeclared in 30 years and with the resurgence within its ranks of the world Trotskyist movement, the international working class is in the strongest position in its entire history to carry through its tasks of world revolution and to do so before the decade of the 70's is out.

# EASTERN REGION CONFERENCE

bureaucracy precisely because of his completely crass disdain for theory. This anti-theory tendency became expressed in the treacherous policy of "socialism in one country" and popular fronts with the bourgeoisie, which opened the door to fascism's triumph throughout Europe and the murder during the Moscow Trials period of a whole generation of Communists.

During the discussion period two important theoretical struggles took place. First the strength and the problems of the American working class found direct reflection in the



LITERATURE TABLE

conference through a group of black workers from Philadelphia. In confronting the questions these comrades raised the conference as a whole was forced to face up to the real dangers of fascism in America coming through racism and the separatist division of the working class. Agreement was reached after a thorough discussion that only through a united socialist struggle could the problem of racism be resolved, through the struggle of the working class as a whole for their own government and program.

Secondly, several of the university students present had considerable difficulty in relating the question of the labor party to the revolutionary party because they sought to relate these as notions in their heads, not as part of a real struggle within the working class. This brought the conference sharply up against the necessity to see ideas as reflections of classes and theory as developing only in the party through fighting concretely to build the party within the working class as the leadership.

#### PABLOISM

The discussion on Saturday centered on Pabliste revisionism. At

first the presentation by Fred Meuller concentrated on a number of examples of Pablo's and the SWP's wrong positions and actual betrayals of revolutionary struggles. In the course of a very sharp floor discussion the conference was forced to confront the real essence of revisionism as the liquidation of the party itself, and this as a reflection of the middle class within the movement precisely at a time when the working class was moving into struggle. It was this liquidationism, itself a product of pragmatic empirical thinking, which stood behind all the different positions the Pablistes have taken and tied them with Shachtman and with Stalinism.

This meant that any retreat on the part of the Workers League from grappling with theory seriously and thus seeing this theory as a reflection of class struggle was an expression of liquidationism within the Workers League. The strength of the Workers League and of this Eastern Regional Conference was precisely that it brought these problems of the party into the open and fought them out to educate and develop the movement.

#### THEORY

The final presentation of the conference on the history and program of the Workers League was given by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League. At the heart of the presentation was the understanding that the development of the Workers League was the result of the political and theoretical struggle against Pabloism carried out in collaboration with the International Committee of the Fourth International; that this theoretical struggle at every point had to be related to the class struggle. Without involvement in the class struggle there can be no development of theory. It was the resurgence of the struggle of the international working class, beginning with the struggles against the bureaucracy in Eastern Europe in the 1950's that gave vitality to the struggle against Pabloism.

Theory in turn had to be seen as necessary for the Party to develop the program of Trotskyism, the Transitional Program, for leadership of the working class. The task of theory is to make the Transitional Program of 1938 live in the struggles of the workers and not to turn the program into orthodox propaganda based on an idealist conception of the "correctness" of Trotskyist ideas.

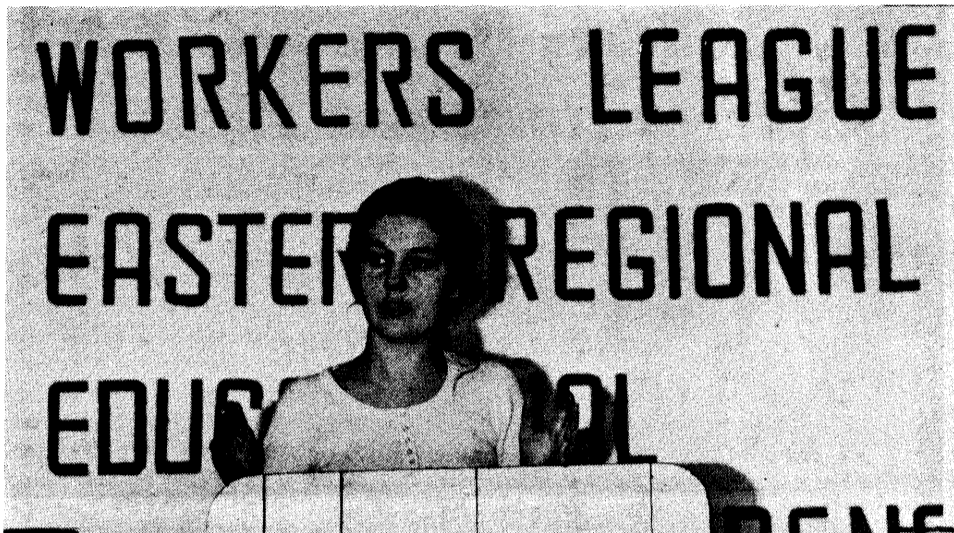
Comrade Wohlforth dealt with the break with Robertson in 1962 and the later break with Robertson and the Spartacist League in 1966. He pointed out that to the extent that our tendency inside the SWP seriously confronted questions of method and started to pose an alternative program as part of the International Committee--not just attack this or that formulation of the SWP lead-

ership--a serious factional situation developed with Robertson. Robertson counterposed his own individuality and little group interests to the program and discipline of the international movement. He thus represented only a left reflection of the SWP leadership he was supposedly fighting.

The group that was to become the Workers League started in the SWP with 60 people and progressed to 9

ditions which don't depend on us."

Comrade Wohlforth pointed out that the Labor Party demand is a central part of our program aimed at overcoming and vanquishing the political backwardness of the American working class which remains tied through the labor bureaucracy to the capitalist Democratic Party. The demand for the labor party is the weapon through which the American working class can realize its power. "The strength



BULLETIN EDITOR LUCY ST. JOHN SPEAKS ON TROTSKYISM VS. STALINISM

people by the time of its expulsion in 1964. This was a real progression, a real development, because it was an expression of a qualitative growth which laid the basis for the current development and great expansion of the Workers League.

#### PROGRAM

Comrade Wohlforth's presentation raised the central question of the program of the party, referring to Trotsky's explanation of the cohesion of the revolutionary party being based on a "common understanding of the events, of the tasks, and this common understanding--that is the program of the party. Just as modern workers any more than the barbarian cannot work without tools so in the party the program is the instrument. Without the program every worker must improvise his tools, find improvised tools, and one contradicts another. Only when we have the vanguard organized upon the basis of common conceptions then can we act."

Comrade Wohlforth pointed out the aims of our program, referring to Trotsky's statement in the 1938 discussion on the Transitional Program: "The program must express the objective tasks of the working class rather than the backwardness of the workers. It must reflect society as it is and not the backwardness of the working class. It is an instrument to overcome and vanquish the backwardness. This is why we must express in our program the whole acuteness of the social crisis of capitalist society, including in the first line the United States. We can not postpone, modify objective con-

of the working class," Comrade Wohlforth pointed out, "is 100 times more powerful than its backwardness. The power of 18 million organized workers can and must be used to bring about the political development of the working class as preparation for the taking of power both in the United States and internationally."

#### STRENGTH

Precisely because this theoretical struggle was taking place within this new context of the resurgence of the working class, that it was brought forward and not suppressed, the Workers League received real strength and growth from the conference. The conference reflected the real thirst for theory and the desire to take up the party fight by both sections of the students and of the working class.

Over \$500.00 was raised for the weekly Bulletin at the Friday night meeting. Some \$150 worth of Marxist literature was sold to young students and workers. Fifteen new comrades applied for Workers League membership opening up new areas for the development of the party.

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ONE OF MANY GROUPS DISCUSS QUESTIONS RAISED AT CONFERENCE

## Bulletin

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# LAYOFFS LOOM AT THERMO-KING

MINNEAPOLIS -- Members of Steelworkers Local 2175, employed at the Thermo-King (Westinghouse) plant in Bloomington face the possibility of large-scale layoffs in the immediate future.

Layoffs by attrition are already under way. The personnel office ceased all hiring activities on December 1st. With the rapid turnover that already exists in the plant, enough workers have already left to allow

the company to cut out one of the two assembly lines on the second shift.

A cutback in orders could quickly bring about the layoff of at least 50 to 100 workers (out of some 900 in the plant). The recent layoffs of 1500 workers at Honeywell's New Brighton plant, 150 at Control Data and the cutting out of the second shift at the #2 plant of Breakstone-Sugar Creek Foods in St. Paul serve as clear warnings as to what can

happen. It shows how dangerous it is to base one's job security on the ups and downs of the capitalist market.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

The employers are trying to weaken the unions through mass unemployment before making a frontal attack on them. This is precisely why the Workers League and the Bulletin have fought both nationally and at Thermo-King for a four-day week with five days pay as the way to fight unemployment.

The possibility of layoffs is one of the ways that Westinghouse is getting prepared for a possible strike when the present contract with Local 2175 expires on April 1. A fight against layoffs must be an integral part of 2175's fight for a new contract.

It is already clear that the existing leadership of the local will have to be closely watched during negotiations. When 553 workers signed a petition to move a special meeting set for December 17 (the meeting was called to change a paid holiday date) from the regular meeting place (ten miles away) to the plant cafeteria, the Local's executive board ignored them. Yet this was a demand from 60% of the members.

Members of Steelworkers Local 2175 will have to turn out in full force at the special meeting now being set up for this month to adopt contract demands, to prevent their leaders from adopting either a weak proposal, or a strong-on-paper proposal that they do not intend to fight for. Contract demands must include:

- \*A four day week with five days pay as proposed by President I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers International.
- \*A ban on layoffs and compulsory overtime.

# IAM ENDS STRIKE AT MINN. AIRPORT

MINNEAPOLIS-- Forty-five members of District Lodge 143 of the Machinists (IAMAW) ended a one week strike against Allied Fueling of Minnesota, the only jet plane refueler at Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport, on December 20.

The new contract provides for a wage hike of \$1.53 per hour, raising their pay to \$5.00 an hour.

For a good part of the strike, the Metropolitan Airports Commission staff put 8 to 12 police on a 2 man picket line and escorted scabs through the line.

Most disgusting was the performance of David Roe, Minnesota President of the AFL-CIO. As a MEMBER of the Airports Commission, Roe made only feeble protests about the cops and the scabs. He called upon Twin Cities mayors to invoke their ordinances outlawing professional strikebreakers,

"Friend of Labor" St. Paul Mayor Tom Byrne, and Wallaceite Minneapolis Mayor Charles Stenvig (also a "friend of labor", according to Teamsters Joint Council #32) both of them also Airports Commission members, enforced no such ordinances and supported the scabbing.

Roe's conduct only served to cover up for Stenvig and Byrne. The labor movement must demand that Roe resign from the Airports Commission and begin conducting himself as a workers and not an employers representative.

\*A dollar an hour wage hike.

\*A one year contract.

\*A cost of living clause with no ceiling.

\*Sick leave pay beginning with the first day sick.

## TWU Leaders Postpone Call for Strike at Northwest Airlines



STEWARDESSES, MEMBERS OF TWU LOCAL 550, PICKET NORTHWEST

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS-- Stewardesses and cabin attendants of Northwest Airlines, members of Transport Workers Union Local 550, are finding it difficult to break out of the straitjacket imposed on them by leaders of the TWU International.

The present contract expired on January 1, 1969. Despite repeated strike threats, TWU leaders have continuously set up postponements. They have now moved negotiations away from Northwest's home base, Minneapolis, to Washington, D.C. to place them under less pressure from the ranks of Local 550.

What is particularly treacherous is that this move was made precisely at a time when support from other sections of the trade union movement was coming in. On November 27, 1969, the Minneapolis AFL-CIO Building Trades Council announced that in the event of a strike by Local 550, all building trades workers would withdraw their labor from projects at Northwest. Support from the Machinists and Pilots' unions was possible to obtain.

The TWU International leadership has as its aim the prolonging of negotiations to further frustrate the ranks of Local 550. They want the militants in the local to get fed up and quit, getting jobs elsewhere. This will leave a demoralized local union, which can be pressured to accept the first offer Northwest makes.

Substantial increases in wages, benefits and working conditions are going to be gained only by fighting

Northwest, not by wasting valuable time in meaningless negotiations. Members of TWU Local 550 must prepare to move independently of the top leadership of their International, and take such actions, including strike action, to bring Northwest Airlines to terms.

## find yablonski's killers

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

the UMW leadership was involved in the murder. "I'm convinced of it without even knowing," he answered. Rank and file miners must conduct their own investigation to discover if there is a factual basis for Joseph Yablonski's suspicions.

The murder of the Yablonski family follows close upon the gunning down in cold blood of two Chicago Panthers by the police. At that time we stated, "We can only view it as a prelude

to similar attacks on the working class as a whole." And now comes the gunning down of the leader of a rank and file miners revolt.

This is why workers cannot tolerate this situation anymore. We must be on guard against the police as well as the thugs of the bureaucrats who are the bosses' agents in our unions. This is why we cannot rely on the police alone to investigate this murder. They could have prevented it but they didn't. That, too must be investigated.

These murders are a sign of the deep fear in the labor bureaucracy and in the police of the new rising of the American working class. These monsters act out of fear and not out of strength. The working class must answer these attacks with strength, not with fear.

### FEAR

In 1938, at a time when Hitlerite fascism was sweeping Europe and the Stalinist bureaucracy was witch-hunting and murdering Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union, Leon Trotsky and a small group of supporters founded the Fourth International. In his recorded speech on the founding, Trotsky said, "It is possible to kill individual soldiers of our army, but not to frighten them. Friends, we will repeat again in this day of celebration...IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO FRIGHTEN US."

The death of Jock Yablonski and his family will be avenged. It will be avenged by carrying forward the rank and file movement, which found its expression in his election campaign, in every union of America, and struggling to transform the unions into militant weapons in the interests of the working class, not comfortable troughs for the feeding of bureaucratic pigs.

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# FASCISM AND THE

# GERMAN WORKING CLASS 1930-1933

## PART FIVE--WORKING CLASS IN THIRD REICH

**THE VICTORY OF the Nazis in Germany was not only an historic defeat for the German working class. It was a turning point in the world class struggle.**

Every reactionary, every fascist-minded employer and banker took heart from the crushing of the once powerful German labour movement: what could be achieved in Germany against a proletarian army of 15 millions was certainly possible in countries where the working class was far less organized.

If the 'democratic' solution to the crisis (i.e. collaboration with, or toleration of, the leaders of the various workers' parties and trade unions) failed, then fascist movements on the lines of Nazis could be backed and turned loose against the working class.

Just as it immensely strengthened the forces of imperialist reaction throughout the world, heralding the preparation of the Second World War, so the crushing of the German proletariat further entrenched the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

The German Revolution, which had been maturing since 1918, and had, by 1933, turned rotten ripe, was the major force upon which the Bolsheviks, first under Lenin, then Trotsky, relied to break the isolation of the Russian Revolution.

### Barbarism

With the victory of the fascist counter-revolution in 1933, the perspective for the rejuvenation of the Russian Revolution was enormously endangered. The most advanced section of the international working class, the class that was the first to rally in its masses to the teachings of Marx and Engels, and to construct within capitalism a whole network of proletarian fortifications—trade unions, cultural societies, co-operative stores, sports clubs, etc.—under the banner of Marxism was, after 1933, to undergo 12 years of fascist barbarism.

A whole generation of communists, revolutionary cadres for the European revolution, were physically annihilated. Even worse, several generations of youth were reared, no longer on the principles of Internationalism and working-class solidarity, but on the poison of Nazi racialism and hatred for the entire internationalist tradition of Marxism. Finally, as Trotsky wrote in 1931:

'A victory for fascism in Germany would mean a suspension in the development of revolutionary progress, collapse of the Comintern and the triumph of world imperialism in its more heinous and bloodthirsty forms. A victory for fascism in Germany would signify inevitable war against the USSR. . . . The crushing of the German proletariat at the hands of the fascists would already compromise at least half the collapse of the Soviet Republic.'

When Hitler's armies turned their

**A series of six articles  
by ROBERT BLACK**



A 1936 Soviet cartoon

depicting the baby Hitler surrounded by the capitalist 'guardia angels'. Such attacks on fascism were dropped after the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact in 1939

tanks eastwards on June 22, 1941, and tore halfway across industrialized Russia, setting Soviet economic development back 15 years and killing 25 million Soviet citizens on its way, Trotsky's prediction was tragically confirmed.

Every defeat of the Western working class not only undermines the struggle against the ruling class of the country concerned, in strengthening imperialism, but it also strikes a blow at the property relations of the Soviet Union and the other workers' states.

And, in fact, when Hitler's armies moved into the Soviet Union, each army group was followed by representatives of the German monopolies. As the Nazi tide rolled eastwards so the Krupps, the Flicks and the Farbens staked their claim to the pickings of Soviet industry and mining.

Hitler's Nazi army changed the property relations in its wake, temporarily—until the return of the Red Army—de-nationalizing the economy and restoring capitalist property relations in the occupied areas. This Trotsky anticipated from the very beginning of the rise of the Nazi movement, when he pointed out that Hitler was not just the spearhead of international reaction:

'Once Hitler comes into power and proceeds to crush the vanguard of the German working class, pulverizing and demoralizing the whole proletariat for many years to come, the fascist government alone will be the only government capable of waging war against the USSR.'

## Pact

Yet it was Stalin's policy to rely on the generals to 'tame' Hitler and steer him towards a collision with the Allied powers, France and Britain. The dynamic of the fascist movement, its distinct qualities that separated it from old, conservative forms of nationalism, completely escaped Stalinist 'theoreticians'.

Hitler, as far as Stalin was concerned, was a puppet of the Junker officer caste. The Soviet bureaucracy believed that the pre-Nazi phase of military collaboration between the Reichswehr and the Red Army would proceed as normal under Hitler. Hence the Nazi-Soviet Pact, and all the tragic consequences that followed for Stalin's trust in the word of a Nazi two years later.

The militaristic nature of the Nazi movement is, of course, well known. It is often used by liberal, bourgeois writers to obscure the class nature of fascist rule within Germany. Such writers argue that although Hitler may have received backing from big business, his regime increasingly became independent of capitalist control, and developed into a new form of society

in which party 'elites' and economic administrators became the new ruling class. The final step in this argument is, of course, to argue that the rule of the working class in Russia after the 1917 Revolution was usurped by a similar situation—hence the growing together of both Nazi and Stalinist regimes towards a single new type of society, 'managerial' or 'bureaucratic', in which the property relations no longer have any significance in defining the ruling class and in locating the internal driving forces of these new societies.

## Political

Marxism insists that these theories are completely non-scientific. Under Nazi political rule, the German capitalist class, or more exactly, certain sections of it (the heavy industrialists and all others linked to arms production) strengthened themselves economically at the expense of the working class and the middle class, which, ironically, was almost united as a class in its support for the Nazis prior to 1934.

The capitalist class can never rule directly, that is to say, that each and every owner of capital, even monopoly capital, participates individually in the running of the state machinery and the framing of its laws. In fact, it is far more advisable if they do not, thus concealing the class nature of the society which they own and control.

Day-to-day running of the state affairs, or even of important issues, particularly in the liberal, 'democratic' phase of capitalism, is arrived at through a compromise with the middle class and the leaders of the reformist labour movement. Fascism, in turning the middle class against the working class, had to supplant the old forms of rule in Germany (the Weimar republic and its permanent party coalitions between the centre and the reformist left) with a new chain of command, no longer based on compromise with the working class, but on its subjugation.

But the mechanisms of control were still required. The chain of command now worked its way down, through the Nazi party and the fascist state apparatus, and via a section of the middle class completely corrupted by racialism and bribed by positions in the Nazi party, to a working class crushed into a state of apathy by the smashing of its organizational defences.

Nazi demogogy, directed against 'Jewish capital' and 'Wall Street financiers', who were, of course, in league with the 'Bolshevik conspiracy', was used to rally a degree of popular support behind the regime.

But for a real analysis of the class relations of the Third Reich, concealed beneath the blanket of 'racial comradeship', we have to examine the



material conditions of the working class and the fruits of its exploitation that accrued to the big monopolies from 1933 onwards.

contrast starkly with the profits of the big trusts:

Year	Wages (pfennigs per hour)	Profits (millions of marks)
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The Nazi 'Labour Code' specifically laid down that 'the leader of the enterprise makes decisions over against the followers in all affairs relating to the business, in particular over the fixing of all labour conditions'. The following figures reveal the rapacity of the employers, once freed from any trade union restraint over speed-up and safety regulations:

Year	Accidents per 1,000 workers	% of accidents which received compensation
1932	33.9	11
1933	36.8	8
1934	44.1	7
1935	47.2	7
1936	50.5	6
1937	56.5	5

The number of accidents per worker rose by 70 per cent while the amount of compensated accidents fell over the same period by 20 per cent. The German worker not only paid for the treachery of his leaders, with the loss of trade union rights and a cut in earnings, but he also suffered loss of health, limb and increasingly, as the arms drive speeded up, his life, as the trusts pumped more and more profits out of the working class. The money that heavy industry paid to Hitler



Ernst Rohm, leader of Hitler's Brown Shirts who was executed in the purge of June 1934, is seen with his personal assistant



Stalin and Molotov are seen below with Nazi under-secretary (left) after the August 23, 1939, signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact



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### Social cuts

Likewise in social policy, the Third Reich represented an enormous offensive on the conditions of the working class. One of the concessions wrung from the ruling class after the abortive November 1918 revolution was a developed system of social insurance. The Nazis, desperate to channel all resources towards the financing of the arms drive, cut ruthlessly into the Weimar 'welfare state' as the table below proves:

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1932	4.2	13.4	58.6
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Yet over the same period, the revenues from the various contributions rose from 3,316 million marks in 1932 to 4,709 millions in 1937. The balance was devoted, not to preserving life and health, but to preparing for death and mutilation.

The Nazi dictatorship, far from weakening capitalist rule, remorselessly tightened the screws. After only a few years of fascism, a clear change could be detected in the distribution of wealth in Germany. In 1932, 19.1 per cent of the national income went to the capitalists, 59.8 per cent to the working population and the remainder to the state. But in 1938, the share of the capitalists had increased to 28 per cent, while the workers' share had fallen to barely half—52.2 per cent.

The size of the German monopolies, far from being checked by all the Nazi demagoguery about 'limitations' on monopoly and the nationalization of the trusts, galloped ahead under the benevolent rule of the National 'Socialists'. From 2,250,000 marks in 1932, the average size of the German firm increased to 5,378,000 by 1942, more than double. The growth of monopoly had, of course, preceded the Third Reich—it was one of the main driving

forces behind it, particularly after the big banking crashes of 1930-1931.

### Middle class hit

In fact, behind the Nazi veneer, confined entirely to propaganda—of concern for the 'small man', the dominance of big business, and especially heavy industry, became absolute. First of all, what happened to the countless thousands of small businessmen, shopkeepers and artisans, the mass anti-labour army of the Nazi party who smashed the trade unions in return, so they hoped, for the breaking of the

chain store, the big firms and the finance houses?

Figures again give the best picture. The net decrease of handicraft firms from 1936 to 1938 was 153,390, while, to take just one branch of trading, the number of radio dealers made bankrupt in 1934 alone, was over 20,000.

The middle class had been duped long enough by Hitler and big business to provide cannon fodder in the war against the working class. Once accounts had been settled with the labour movement, the 'left' factions in the Nazi party, the petty-bourgeois wing that really believed that the party would get tough with the big monopolies, was ruthlessly purged.

Big business was naturally disturbed by the radicalism of the storm troopers, many sections of which in the early months after the Nazi victory struck out not only at the left, but at sections of big business. Mutinies broke out repeatedly in the storm troopers' barracks, the usual demand being that Hitler break with the 'reactionaries' and carry through the 'second revolution'.

Hitler had not the least intention of breaking with either the army or big business:

'The revolution is not a permanent state of affairs, and it must not be allowed to develop into such a state. The stream of revolution released must be guided into the safe channel of evolution. . . . Therefore we must not dismiss a businessman if he is a good businessman, even if he is not yet a National Socialist. . . . In business, ability must be the only authoritative standard.'

The opportunist leaders of the 'left' faction of the SA, Rhoem and Gregor Strasser, were marked down for destruction by Hitler and the heads of big business and the army. Nazi 'radicalism' had outlived its purpose once the labour movement—the embodiment of the corrupt 'old system' to Hitler's fanatical middle-class supporters—had been smashed.

'Radicalism' could, of course, find its outlets in nationalist and hate parades and sessions against Jews and other 'inferior' people.

### Pogrom

In the anti-Jewish pogrom of November 10, 1938 (the 'Crystal Night'), the following Nazi directive was issued to the organizers of this 'spontaneous'

pillage of Jewish property:

'Only such measures should be taken which do not involve danger to German life or property (for instance, synagogues are to be burned down only where is no danger of fire to the surroundings).' (Parentheses in original text.)

After the pogrom it was noted that 29 department stores had been burned to the ground. All of them were owned by Jews. In this and thousands of other ways, anti-semitism was used as a safety valve in a completely conscious fashion, to divert the frustrated masses from their real enemy: German capitalism.

This chauvinistic propaganda was indeed an essential preparation for the militarization of the population and the eventual onslaught against France and the Soviet Union, and served the heavy industrialists just as much as did the fascist 'Labour Code' in their factories.

On the morning of June 30, 1934, only two weeks after a speech by von Papen demanding that 'the movement must come to a stop and a solid structure arise', the leaders of the Nazi 'left' lay dead, either at the bottom of rivers or lakes, or in unmarked prison graves. Hitler's elite SS, drawn not from the lower sections of the middle class, but from the sons of the bourgeoisie and the most wealthy section of the middle class, had stepped brutally forward as the new guardians of the 'solid structure' called for by Papen on behalf of the leaders of German industry and banking.

### Arms boom

The SA, a vast, turbulent army of over two millions, seething with discontent after the frustration of the 'second revolution', was disarmed and converted into a sports organization. From June 30, 1934, the power of the trusts was free from any challenge from below.

With the drive for war, naturally the heavy industrialist section of German capitalism fared the best. The share of consumer goods industries in overall investment in the German economy declined from 45 per cent in 1933 to only 18 per cent in 1939. Similarly, the share of national income devoted to arms expenditure rose from only 2 per cent in 1932 to a fantastic 70 per cent in 1942. This could only mean one thing—for the working class and most of the middle class, a reduced standard of living, for the industrialists, vast contracts from the state at guaranteed

Profiting off the the terror and concentration camps (left) billionaire firms like Krupp (right) reaped huge profits from their investment in Hitler's regime



Stalin and Molotov are seen below with Nazi under-secretary of state Gaus (left) after the August 23, 1939, signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact



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rates of profit, without any fear of wage demands in response to the rising cost of living.

With the conquest of France and then the invasion of the Soviet Union, the horizons opened up for the Krupps and Farbens were beyond their wildest hopes.

Krupps alone employed at least 100,000, mostly Soviet slaves, in their factories, not to speak of the pillage and booty in the form of Soviet state property seized by them and other firms after the conquest of industrial areas of the Soviet Union. The death camp at Auschwitz, scene of the gassing of at least four million Jews, was also the site of a Krupp's arms factory. Krupp's executives had the SS parade the still fit inmates for selection. The lucky ones would then be worked to death, to be replaced by new arrivals from the eastern ghettos.

As in Germany, so now in Poland and all the other camps of the occupied areas, the monopolies were at last free of the 'pernicious' influence of the 'Marxists'. No wage claims, no strikes, longer hours, speed-up, complete submission—truly the German boss was at last 'master in the house'.

## Nail lie

And let us for all time nail the lies spread not only by anti-German nationalists on the right, but by the Stalinists, that the German working class shared in the plunder of the Soviet Union and other occupied countries.

We are far from denying the bestial nature of fascist rule and the barbarism that it brought to hundreds of millions of people in those areas occupied by Germany after 1939. But the driving force behind the brutalization of the German army was the propaganda machine of Nazis, which, for fully ten years before 1940, had been hammering into millions of heads, particularly of the youth, the lie that the Germans were the 'master race', the Slavs only semi-human and the Jews not human at all.

The only bastion of internationalism, the bearer of the ideal that there is only one race, the human race, had been smashed in 1933 by the Nazi dictatorship. The destruction of the German labour movement, with its 70-year tradition of hostility to all forms



Once again in Spain (Civil War pictured above) fascism was to rise up out of capitalism's decay and the bankruptcy of the working class leadership.

of racial hatred and chauvinism, left millions of German workers powerless and isolated in the face of the incessant Nazi racist barrage. Little wonder that Hitler, when speaking to the Dusseldorf industrialists a year before he came to power, declared that German imperialism could never recover from its defeat in 1918 when:

'only 50 per cent of the people are ready to fight for the national colours, while 50 per cent have hoisted another flag which stands for a state which is to be found only outside the bounds of their own state.'

The industrialists read Hitler's thoughts perfectly. Only when the labour movement was crushed, and the red banner of internationalism torn down, could the re-armament drive begin and the troops be sent marching into the state 'outside the bounds' of Germany to which workers owed their class loyalty—the Soviet Union.

The real accomplices in the pillage of occupied Europe were the steel, coal and chemical barons, and the treacherous workers' leaders whose false policies allowed the labour movement to go down without a serious fight. In assessing the crimes committed under

the Third Reich, let us lay the responsibility at the right door. The Stalinists' hue and cry against German 'war guilt' is naturally a very convenient diversion from their part in the victory of Hitler, just as it has been for the Social-Democrats.

**We will have no part of that inverted form of nationalism, which seeks to blame Nazi racialism on the 'peculiarities' of the German people.**

We must now return to our starting point. The nightmare of German fascism could have been avoided, and with it the war that destroyed at least 50 million human beings, if the crisis of leadership in Germany had been resolved and the working class united in a struggle for power. There is not the least doubt of this. The question we have to address to every worker, every trade unionist, is this:

Do we have to repeat the tragedy of the Third Reich? Are we to allow the working-class movement in this country to be split by racialism and so hamstrung by anti-union legislation that similar defeats will be inflicted here as they were in Germany in the 1930-1933 period?

And will we be so politically blind as to believe that the crisis of British capitalism will not drive the ruling class here towards the same fascist solutions that were carried out in 1933 in Germany?

This is certainly not the time for defeatist talk. The working class in Britain is moving into a powerful wages offensive against the employers and the government. Its confidence is an immense source of strength to the revolutionary movement and we must draw on it. But still less is it a time for blind optimism and least of all is it a time for confidence in the present leadership of the trade unions.

This leadership, despite all its possible good intentions, cannot possibly defeat or even check the employers' offensive when it really starts to roll. It has already proved its willingness to

compromise on all the basic questions—penal measures against strikers, incomes policy, support for Wilson (the British 'lesser evil') against the Tories, and last, but not least, on racialism, where not one of the trade union leadership has found the courage or conviction to speak out against the immigration laws and the real meaning of Powellism.

## High stakes

We must learn the lessons of the series of historical defeats that swept across Europe after 1933. First Germany, then the fascist coup by Dolfuss in Austria (1934), then the fascist rising in Spain, backed by Hitler and Mussolini (1936), and finally the climax with the outbreak of the Second World War (1939). That was the price the working class had to pay for the lack of a genuine revolutionary party and International able not only to drive back the fascists, but to sweep on to take the power.

The barbarism of the Third Reich will appear as child's play besides the fascism of present-day imperialism, if we allow it to come to power. Armed with nuclear weapons, germ warfare and all the 'scientific' refinements of human destruction that US imperialism has unleashed in Vietnam, the next fascist regime would mean the end of humanity.

The stakes are high, the challenge enormous. But the forces are coming forward, driven into action by the crisis, that can weld the instrument to take power from the fascist-minded monopolies and build a society free from exploitation and the fumes of racist poison. That instrument is the Fourth International.

Part Six of the Robert Black series, "Germany and the British Stalinists", will appear in next week's issue of the BULLETIN.



Hitler used Jew-baiting (here a shop daubed with Swastika) to save capitalism

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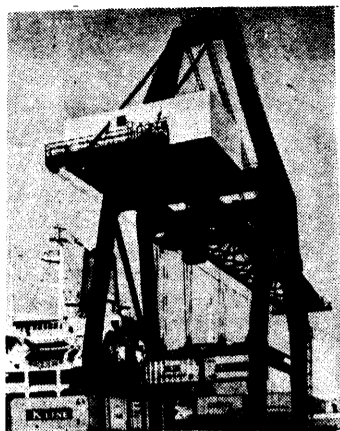
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## CRISIS IN MARITIME



### PART THREE

basis for temporary gains in one area such as wages, in exchange for losses in another area such as manning scales. In the past period of boom the cuts made in manning scales showed up in only a gradual decline in NMU membership. But as is well known even this sacrifice was accompanied by only a 6% yearly wage hike in the last NMU contract, which does not even keep up with inflation.

In a period of crisis such as today, this outlook on the part of the trade union leaders of trying to maneuver for a few crumbs opens the way for wholesale attacks on the wages, jobs and working conditions of the maritime workers. The employers together with the government are lining up under the umbrella of the Nixon Plan to at-

by giving the concessions the bosses need in the way of working conditions, manning scales, and wages, they will preserve the standard of living of the few men left in the industry.

#### HALL

Paul Hall of the Seafarer's International Union has, in particular, sponsored a long series of congressmen - management - labor discussions in Washington D.C. and reported regularly in the SIU Seafarer's Log. At one of the most recent of these meetings, sponsored by the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department, Representative Thomas Paley pointed out that the White House should make even clearer its plans to subsidize all shipping companies instead of the fourteen now subsidized under the Maritime Act of 1936.

# curran and hall back nixon plan

SIU seamen sail on ships not subsidized under the old Act. This change in the proposed new law makes it possible for Hall to sell the plan to the SIU as a victory. The November 14th Seafarer's Log states: "The proposed legislation is a landmark...It is the first proposal that has been made that takes into consideration the needs of the entire merchant marine...President Nixon's proposals form the most substantial basis to date for a revitalization of the American merchant marine." But the point is that these subsidies hinge on the ability of the owners to bring in automation, lower wages, and use less and less manpower. So while the capacity of the merchant marine may be expanded, jobs and wages will not be.

Hall seeks to defend the union through support to capitalist politicians rather than through a fight by the ranks against these politicians and the Nixon Plan. Hall, in fact, is proposing measures which will weaken the ability of the ranks to fight back. Hall is proposing a new constitution for the SIU. This new constitution would set up two classes of membership in the union, probationary members and full book members. Only full book members would be allowed to vote or hold office, and candidate members would be allowed to become full voting members only after paying five hundred dollars and serving 360 days at sea within two years. This tactic would serve to divide older members against younger ones while avoiding the question of what to do about the shrinking number of jobs available. Other proposed constitutional changes would eliminate the elected Polls Committee and provide polls supervised by the bureaucracy.

The union was in addition weakened by the complete refusal of the SIU leadership to struggle over the 1969 contract. The SIU did not even threaten a strike but merely followed the terms given the National Maritime Union. When the trade union leadership sees its role as not struggling uncompromisingly and politically against the employers but instead concentrates on "getting a piece of the action" even when the "action" means the Nixon plan, then sellouts are inevitable. Since Hall bases his defense of the membership on the premise that the owners must continue to make a profit, and since the Nixon plan is necessary for them to make a profit, then of course he must defend it and try perhaps to "improve" on it.

This applies to Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union as much as it does to Paul Hall. Curran has in fact been pushing just as hard as Hall for the Nixon Plan. The Labor-Management Maritime Committee, co-chaired by Curran, and including in its membership various maritime unions and also companies which employ 70% of all maritime workers, published its own maritime plan this last June. This plan, entitled "Maritime Program Imperatives: A Time for Deeds--Not Words," states its goals: "Simplify the current cumbersome and laborious methods of computing cost differentials, thus eliminating traditional backlogs in accounts due operators... Adopt a merchant ship construction program ranging from 30 to 40 ships a year designed to provide appropriate allotment between liner, dry bulk and liquid bulk carriers based upon demand...Eliminate restrictions on sale or other means of disposal of unprofitable passenger ships upon proven economic non-feasibility for continued operation...Construct new passenger ships of the size, type and design required for modern passenger traffic especially keyed to the cruise trade...Support merger of passenger ship operations on a broad consolidated company basis if required to keep U.S. flag passenger ships on the high seas." This plan was circulated among influential government and maritime officials.

It is most instructive to compare this program, approved by both Curran and the heads of the shipping companies in June of 1969, with the Nixon program as it actually has been developed. The basis for computing subsidies has indeed been changed, but in a way designed to cut seamen's wages. Subsidies are being spread "appropriately" among cargo, bulk and oil carriers, all of which are now eligible for subsidies. These subsidies go to new, larger, faster, and automated ships which employ up to 90% fewer men to do the same job as the ships they replace.

It is in regard to the passenger ships that the Curran-industry plan differs from the Nixon Plan. The published Nixon Plan almost ignores passenger liners. Most of the passenger liners have been laid up over this past year, throwing nearly 4,000 NMU men out of what were formerly the best-paying jobs in the union. The Curran bureaucracy made no provisions to prevent such disastrous loss of jobs.

On the contrary, NMU Vice President Mel Barisic, states in the October "Pilot": "Our union has pioneered in the past by making reasonable crew reductions to improve economical operation. We continuously met with operators to suggest ways and means for improvements. We successfully led the way to open up cruising for four months for all U.S. passenger ships during regular route, off-seasons and again for eight months only recently. We are now advocating the complete elimination of the trade route concept for our passenger ships...No obstacle to potential profitable operation of our passenger carriers should be imposed. The operators must not expect big, rosy profits and we feel they may now be willing to be economically and financially reasonable and realistic."

No better indictment of the NMU bureaucrat's policy of "softening the blow" of automation could be found than the results of this policy. Instead of fighting the layoffs of passenger ships from the beginning, the NMU bureaucrats have tried to protect most passenger-liner jobs by sacrificing some of them, and have ended up by losing all of them except the four hundred still left on the Santa Paula and Santa Rosa.



THE SS UNITED STATES LAID UP MEANS LESS JOBS FOR SEAMEN

BY TOM GORDON

Maritime workers face a sharp decrease in the number of jobs available and pay cuts to boot now that every major capitalist nation is preparing tariff barriers, trade quotas, and other means of reducing foreign competition in home markets and increasing their own share of international trade. There is ample proof that there is no room for "equality of sacrifices" in this situation and especially no room for "sharing out the benefits of automation" among the employers and workers. For bosses and workers alike it is a question of all or nothing.

The Nixon Plan for maritime is central to these plans and necessitates massive job cuts and pay cuts for seamen. Neither Paul Hall of the Seafarer's International Union nor Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union have any alternative to the Nixon Plan. Hall in fact supports it one hundred per cent, while Curran wants to "improve" it. Neither of these trade union bureaucrats can mount the necessary political fight against the Nixon Plan but instead seek support from Nixon himself or from the so-called "friends of labor" in Congress and the Maritime Administration. The basis for these politics is reformism.

Both Hall and Curran begin by accepting the general limits of imposed by capitalism. In a period of boom this conception can be the

tack the workers.

#### BOSSES

Both owners and shipping industry lobbyists are openly enthusiastic about Nixon's plan, as well they should be, since it is designed to solve their problems alone. "The Journal of Commerce" of Friday, October 24th, states that Edwin Hood, President of the Shipbuilders Council of North America, "hailed the proposals as pointing the way toward restoration of the United States as a first class maritime power. 'We are confident that Congress will endorse the Nixon message and enact legislation needed to pursue the realistic objective expressed.'" James Reynolds, President of the American Institute of Merchant Shipping, another industry group, said it was an "excellent program."

Mr. Hood, Mr. Reynolds, and other industry spokesmen have been behind the plan for years. In April of this year Mr. Hood expressed his conviction that a great deal of optimism and support would draw around the seapower goals expressed by President Nixon. Moreover, he stated, if the expressed goals met with even partial success, the results would be "a greater magnitude of naval and merchant shipbuilding than had been evident for many years."

Maritime bosses have had the ready collaboration of the leadership of the maritime unions, who hope that



BY LUCY ST. JOHN

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.-- The annual conference of the Young Socialist Alliance over the weekend of Dec. 27th marked a new stage in the degeneration of this organization and its parent organization, the Socialist Workers Party, and a definitive turn to the right. The crisis of revisionism which is shaking these organizations and the entire Pabloite movement found its reflection at this convention.

We are entering the decade of the 1970's whose basic character was set by the May-June events in France in 1968 with the most important political factor being the struggle of the working class internationally. It is precisely these struggles which are ripping at the seams of the Y.S.A. It is unable to face up to the crisis of leadership in the working class, to the need to develop Marxist theory and to penetrate the working class. It substitutes open pragmatism and cynicism for Marxist theory, and opportunism and reformist campaigns in the middle class for a revolutionary perspective in the working class.

The fight to build a revolutionary party and a revolutionary leadership among the youth was abandoned in the resolutions at the convention in favor of liquidation into the anti-war, Black nationalist (Third World) and Women's Liberation movements.

The rightward turn of the Y.S.A. was mapped out in the opening address to the convention by Larry Siegle, National Chairman, on the "Deepening Radicalization: Revolutionary Perspectives for the 1970's." Siegle contended that the "New Radicalization" was sparked off by the Afro-American struggles, the Cuban Revolution and the escalation of the war. At no point did Siegle attempt to analyze this radicalization beyond its superficial manifestations. He did

# YSA MOVES SHARPLY RIGHT

not make any analysis of the deepening crisis of capitalism internationally and the explosive character of the class struggle.

In fact, the most important factor of this period politically-- the offensive by the working class internationally--was ignored. There was no talk of the May-June events of 1968 and the movement of the working class in Europe, of the massive strike wave that swept Italy.

## PRAGMATISM

It is pragmatism which the Y.S.A. leadership substitutes for a Marxist analysis, for a class analysis of the "New Radicalization" and of this period. Siegle contended that the future work of the Y.S.A. would have to flow from a re-evaluation of its past work--keeping "what worked" and rejecting what may not have worked in the past.

The program of the Y.S.A. for the 1970's as outlined by Siegle flowed directly from the rejection of any attempts to grapple with theory and developments within the working class. The Y.S.A.'s program for 1970 centers around two prongs-- its election campaigns for 1970 and the "strategy" of the "Red University" in which Y.S.A. members on the campuses fight to get control of the student governments. The political content of this program was openly middle class liberalism, reformism. The center of these campaigns, according to Siegle, must be the fight for "just reforms" and the fight to "reach the majority of the American people." Siegle made it absolutely clear that the Y.S.A. would not counterpose its program and its campaign to the mass movements,

i.e., the Third World, Women's Liberation, and the Anti-War movement, but would seek to influence these "leftward moving forces."

The Transitional Program written by Trotsky precisely for this epoch has been replaced with the "transitional program" of the various sectors the Y.S.A. is orienting to-- Third World, Anti-War, Women's Liberation--programs which at best raise only democratic demands. This is what Siegle termed "using the transitional program in a dynamic and creative way." The goal of the Transitional Program--the construction of a revolutionary party and the independent mobilization of the working class for power and the establishment of socialism was completely missing.

## REJECTS

The Y.S.A. leadership consciously rejected any turn to the working class and this was made clear in Siegle's answer to those forces within the Y.S.A. who in the discussion bulletins raised the question of a turn to the working class. Siegle, with the utmost contempt and cynicism towards the working class, said that any gains in trade unions are "illusory." In other words the working class is viewed by the Y.S.A. leadership not from the understanding that it is the only revolutionary class and thus must be penetrated, but is seen as just another arena of struggle where the Y.S.A. may or may not make gains. At best the working class was viewed only, as Siegle put it, as "adding social weight" to the struggles of the middle class.

Pabloism found its clear expression in Siegle's presentation in the

liquidation theoretically of every tenet of Trotskyism; in the substitution of pragmatism and opportunism for the fight to develop theory in order to penetrate the working class. But Pabloism also found its expression in practice at the convention in the calling off of the demonstration to commemorate Deputies Run.

## DEPUTIES RUN

The Y.S.A. convention itself was held in Minneapolis in the atmosphere of a witch hunt by right wing and neo-fascist elements in the area. Attempts were made to petition the university to call off the convention. The permit for the demonstration was gotten only after a long battle with the city and the police. On Monday, as the hour of the demonstration approached, the steering committee made a motion to call off the demonstration with the excuse that the convention was behind in the agenda. Since this obviously was not the case the leadership added that the elections for the National Committee had to be held that day because many members would be leaving. This motion caused an uproar on the floor of the convention. When the vote was taken there were 84 votes in favor of cancelling the demonstration and 40 against.

Deputies Run was for the Y.S.A.-S.W.P. its only connection with the working class and with Trotskyism at this convention. It is clear, however, that these organizations have turned Trotskyism into a thing of the past, into a set of formulas that have their place only in the archives and not in the living struggles of the working class today. It has rejected Trotskyism as

## PL Promotes Reformism at SDS-WSA Convention

BY BOB LEVELLER

NEW HAVEN -- The Yale University campus played reluctant host over the Christmas holiday weekend to the SDS (PL-WSA) National Convention. Since the convention this past summer where SDS split into two and later three warring, Mao-slitting factions, the group dominated by the Worker-Student Alliance (which in turn is dominated politically by the Progressive Labor Party) washed itself even further down the drain of middle-class reformism. This present convention was only a formal consummation of Progressive Labor's stranglehold.

Two days of workshops and a day and a half-long plenary session ended with the overwhelming acceptance by the SDS of all the PL-WSA resolutions voted on, and the crushing--by both organizational maneuvers and voting,



PL-CWSA DEMONSTRATION

of the "loyal opposition" of the Spartacist League. In the workshops, the major subjects of discussion were racism, imperialism, women's liberation, and the Campus Worker-Student Alliance (CWSA). Unfortunately, all of these topics were discussed with complete disregard for the material basis for their existence in society. There was no serious understanding of the fundamental contradiction in our society-- that between the working class and the capitalist ruling class-- or therefore of the necessary relation of the discussed topics to the needs of the working class.

The ignoring of this basic contradiction by the SDS flows directly from a failure to base itself squarely on a revolutionary, working class perspective. The Stalinist popular front politics of PL rise clearly from every pore of SDS, no matter how hard it tries to cover up its reformism with the "pro-working class" feelings that PL-WSA has infused the SDS with.

## HEART

So rather than getting to the heart of the matter, SDS attacked racial oppression through attacks against "racist foremen" and "racially differentiated pay levels" without struggling against the cause of the perpetuation of racism--capitalism. By supporting women's liberation with attacks merely on "male chauvinism," SDS again ignored the actual CAUSE of the oppression of women--capitalist society. Even "anti-imperialism" is watered down to a fight against simply the more obvious imperialist manifestations of capitalism-- the war in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic intervention--since SDS makes no attempt to base

itself upon a Marxist analysis and definition of imperialism.

The CWSA is seen by PL-SDS as a "tactic" used to ease a "pro-working class" perspective into the student movement by "building personal and political ties with campus workers" and organizing students around any grievances of campus workers that might crop up or be discovered from time to time. In this manner, making friends with campus workers and helping them paternalistically in reform struggles for the primary purpose of organizing more students in SDS takes the place of helping to give these and other workers a conscious, socialist leadership and organizing them around serious economic and political struggles against the bosses.

There is a tremendous difference between the WORKING CLASS PERSPECTIVE of a revolutionary party such as the Workers League, and the "PRO-WORKING CLASS" PERSPECTIVE of Progressive Labor and SDS. The Workers League bases its program and the development of its theory on the needs of the working class. PL and SDS, however, base their program in the student movement and in the working class itself on the production of an "alliance" between themselves and their middle-class constituency, and the working class. But the workers want no part and can have no part in such an historically disastrous "alliance" which bases itself on Stalin's popular front strategy and which inevitably ties the workers--through the middle class-- to their class enemy, the capitalists.

## PARTY

There is only one way in which a student can become revolutionary,

and that is by joining the revolutionary party, the party of the working class whose Marxist theory is vigorously developed out of the struggles of the working class. Only this party, the Workers League, is capable of giving socialist leadership to the working class.

If this is too difficult to understand, then a look at the way PL-SDS handled the GE strike resolutions should clarify matters somewhat. Two resolutions were proposed--one from the WSA and one from the Spartacist League. The WSA resolution simply supported the GE strike as it was already constituted, and the Spartacist League proposal stated that the SDS should call for and leaflet for a general strike among the 13 unions involved in the strike against GE. The general strike resolution, half-hearted though it was (there was no mention of the need for all of U.S. labor to come out on strike against GE, and Nixon's full support of the company's actions), was laughed off the rostrum by the overwhelming mass of SDSers with the reasoning that "the workers wouldn't support it" and "the workers aren't ready for that." This shows the completely reformist nature of PL-SDS when it refused to support even this limited proposal and in its overall refusal to confront the necessity of raising the struggle beyond the economic level to giving the workers political, socialist leadership. And this is something that PL not only refuses to do, but CANNOT do.

Even discounting the total lack at this convention of the "revolutionary" rhetoric that permeated the others, it is obvious that SDS and its ideological benefactor, the PLF, took a sharp right turn in New Haven.



# AT NATIONAL CONVENTION



LARRY SEIGLE, OF YSA

a program of struggle and replaced it with opportunism and liquidation into middle class reformism.

This is why the Y.S.A. could not commemorate Deputies Run. It was forced into an open betrayal of the working class and its own history by the deepening class struggle which is exploding today. Today there can be no halfway house between the working class and the capitalist class.

The Y.S.A. openly capitulated to the ruling class and all the right wing forces outside the doors of the convention when it called off the demonstration. This symbolized the political perspective mapped out by Siegle in his initial report. This is the meaning of Pabloism.

## ALTERNATIVE

It was the conscious intervention of the working class through the fight by the forces of the International Committee of the Fourth International at the convention that forced the Y.S.A. against the wall and exposed its refusal to take up the struggle to lead the working class. The Workers League intervened in the convention on the basis that the decision on the part of the Y.S.A. to commemorate Deputies Run, 1934, had enormous significance for the working class internationally. The central lesson of this struggle for today is the need for a revolutionary, Trotskyist leadership in the trade unions. This is the central question posed today as the era of class battles has opened up and the question of the struggle for state power is posed.

It was with this understanding that the Workers League issued a leaflet to the convention calling on the Y.S.A. to commemorate Deputies Run today by taking up the struggle to resolve the crisis of leadership in the American working class, to take the first step towards the struggle for power by marching under the banner for a labor party.

On the Saturday night of the convention, the Workers League held a meeting on the campus of the University of Minnesota. Despite the fact that the Y.S.A. rescheduled its proceedings to have its keynote speaker at the same time, the meeting was attended by over 50 people. The main speaker at the meeting was Dany Sylveire, a representative of the British Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, who spoke on the international crisis and the tasks of the youth in building a revolutionary leadership in the working class in preparation for the struggle for power. Films were shown on the Young Socialists and on the production of the first Trotskyist daily paper, the Workers Press. Lucy St. John, Editor of the

Bulletin, spoke on the taking forward of this international struggle through the fight in the U.S. for the construction of a labor party. The commemoration of Deputies Run was posed in this context and the Workers League urged those at the meeting to march in the demonstration under the banner: Forward From Deputies Run! Build A Labor Party! It was in this way that an international alternative, the fight internationally to resolve the crisis of leadership within the working class through the fight for a Trotskyist program and the building of an International was counterposed to the liquidationism of the S.W.P.-Y.S.A.

The struggle for the working class also found its reflection in a confused way in the ranks of the Y.S.A. itself as members groped towards a fight for Trotskyism within the Y.S.A. The main opposition within the convention centered around the report on the document: "The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International."

Unlike the discussions on the other resolutions, the Y.S.A. leadership could not prevent a political discussion on this document with endless speeches on organizational questions. This resolution was attacked by members within the Y.S.A. from the point of view that it never made

an analysis of the world crisis of capitalism and that it did not go into the explosive developments in the working class in France and Italy.

Gerald Clark, a delegate from Hayward College, attacked the report on the floor of the convention. He raised for the first time in the convention the fight by Lenin and Trotsky for the working class. He said that the growth of the crisis and the Trotskyist movement necessitated its preparation for revolutionary struggle. He concluded that the working class was the only force that is revolutionary and that the Y.S.A. must turn to the working class youth and the trade unions. He took up Farrell Dobb's statement of the night before that it was "a matter of time" for the working class. Clark stated: "I say the time is now. I therefore urge a 'no' vote (on the resolution)."

Confronted directly with this opposition, the leadership of the Y.S.A. had the greatest difficulty in answering it. Caroline Lund, who had given the initial report, almost broke down in the middle of her reply. Her only answer to the questions raised by the opposition was that her report was just a summary of the document and was not meant to be a general political report.

This struggle inside the conven-

tion and the inability of the Y.S.A. leadership to deal with it politically arose again in the debate over the cancellation of the demonstration.

This struggle within the Y.S.A. will continue and can only deepen the crisis within the Y.S.A. because of its refusal to confront questions of theory and the task of constructing a revolutionary party of the working class to lead the struggle for state power. Those who are raising questions within the Y.S.A. must confront them theoretically, probing to the roots of the degeneration of the S.W.P.-Y.S.A. in Pabloism.

## LIQUIDATION

Above all we say there can be no compromise with Pabloism. There is no such thing as a correct version of Pabloism. Pabloism means the liquidation of the party and Marxist theory and the betrayal of the working class. This is the lesson of the whole struggle within the Fourth International carried out by the International Committee. The Y.S.A. convention made clear that the S.W.P.-Y.S.A. has no intention of turning back on its liquidationist road. For those in the Y.S.A. who are seeking the way to the working class and to Trotskyism, we say the only way forward in this fight is through joining the struggle of the Workers League and the International Committee of the Fourth International.

## YSA Runs Away From The Working Class

BY JIM HAMILTON

The recent 1969 Young Socialist Alliance convention in Minneapolis represented a further step in American Pabloism's retreat from the working class. This right turn is clearly symbolized in the decision of the Y.S.A. bureaucrats to call off the march to commemorate Deputies Run. This parallels the French CP's calling off last year's May Day demonstration.

race relations, "the battle of the sexes," and anti-authoritarian movements. The chief contradiction in society, between capital and labor, is not even mentioned, much less analysed.

As a result of this, a growing internal opposition to the Y.S.A.'s right turn is developing within the organization. This was reflected in the three no votes on the International Youth Radicalization document

tion, are protesting the Fabloite theories that third world Stalinism has transcended its counter-revolutionary role. They know of international Stalinism's recent sellouts in France and Italy. The logic of coalition politics in South-East Asia resulted in the murder of one million Indonesian communists in 1966.

The opportunism of the petty bourgeois black nationalists of the Y.S.A. is seen further in their reply to my document "Pseudo-Nationalism and Neo-Segregation." Two hacks were sent up to criticize my document at the beginning of the black struggle discussion period. I was not allowed to have the floor to reply, despite two requests for speaking time to the presiding committee. A black delegate from St. Louis was willing to move that I be allowed to speak, but was told he would have to agree with everything in my document in order to make such a motion.

The first speaker abandoned Marxism completely. He asserted that the Klu Klux Klan represented white workers who "exploit" poor blacks. Traditionally, Marxists have always put the blame for racism on the capitalists who use it in order to divide and conquer black and white proletarians.

The second epigone, Derrick Morrison, claimed that the bourgeois democratic revolution had not been completed in America. Presumably we are still living under feudalism!

The calling off of the Deputies Run demonstration in favor of a dance and discussions of student power was protested by forty-two delegates, and an even larger number of embittered rank and file Y.S.A.ers. The Y.S.A. leaders are afraid to turn to the working class in a period when the G.E. strike and events in Europe reflect a growing international proletarian radicalization. More importantly, the Y.S.A. rank and file would have been exposed to the Workers League's call for a Labor party which is the only way to continue the Trotskyist tradition of the 1934 strikes.

## YSAer RESIGNS--JOINS WORKERS LEAGUE

Dear Comrades,

I am hereby resigning from the Y.S.A. due to political disagreement with the leadership's fundamental line. The Y.S.A. has made a number of mistakes which I have criticized in the past year.

The attempt to build a youth organization in St. Louis before the Revolutionary Party was constructed is just the reverse of the traditional practice of the Fourth International. The institution of having adult "non-voting" Y.S.A.ers is as absurd as is the practice of excluding and isolating the experienced S.W.P. members in St. Louis.

The refusal to intervene in the militant bus strike last winter was an error. The emphasis on racial instead of class issues in the Krey situation has involved the Y.S.A. in the defeat of that struggle.

The Y.S.A.'s attempts to maintain an anti-war popular front with the liberals and Stalinists has resulted in its isolation, just as happened to the POUM in Spain. The Y.S.A.'s

association with a God-fearing minister of the Gospel has made a mockery of the atheism which is a fundamental condition for membership in a Trotskyist organization.

The fact that the little recruitment and peripheries we have had has been among working people shows that the middle class and student recruitment orientation is disastrous.

The Workers League and the International Committee of the Fourth International have shown that workers can be recruited to Trotskyism in this period. The publication of a weekly Bulletin in the United States and the world's first Trotskyist daily paper in England reflects the growth of these organizations. We are joining the Workers League and hope that you, comrades, after studying the documents of the 1953 and 1961 Fourth International split and the bankruptcy of your local situation, will work with us for a rebirth of Trotskyist principles in St. Louis.

Jim Hamilton

The basic documents presented to the convention by the Y.S.A. leadership reflect its increasing orientation toward the middle class "protest" politics. The deepening international crisis of capitalism and Stalinism is only interpreted in some of its surface manifestations. Reflecting an idealist rather than a dialectical materialist orientation, the documents see the main contradictions in capitalist society centering around "the generation gap",

and the one no vote on the anti-war document. This contrasts with last year's unanimous votes on all issues.

A number of convention delegates demanded the republishing of a Y.S.A. pamphlet exposing the murder of Vietnamese Trotskyists. The Y.S.A. leadership has allowed this pamphlet to be out of print for over a year.

A growing number of Y.S.A.ers, as manifested in the Dave Keil document and discussions at the conven-

# women's liberation and class struggle

BY KAREN FRANKEL

As the middle class runs around more and more futilely looking for something to grab hold of, something to prevent the widening of the gap between the two fundamental social classes in this period, it begins to produce various forms of petty-bourgeois radical excrescences. One of the worst of these to come onto the scene of late is the so-called Women's Liberation movement.

The SWP, the International Socialists, the Communist Party, etc., have all jumped on the "women's lib" bandwagon. They refuse to pose the woman question in class terms, and instead seek to form a new type of popular front with a "working class women" cover for the building of a movement on the basis of a completely middle class program. Just as they use the cover of discrimination against black workers to uncritically support black nationalism, they use discrimination against women workers to support a movement which is working class in neither form, content, nor constitution.

It is precisely in a period like today, a period of severe capitalist crisis, that all sorts of popular front movements, movements which seek to tie the working class to the bourgeoisie, are thrown up. These movements, which see things in terms of "the people", rather than the working class, which seek to fight solely for democratic demands, in a period of capitalism when the democratic revolution to all intents and purposes has been completed and the socialist revolution is on the agenda, serve only to try to head off the fundamental class conflicts. They are not only diversionary, but completely reactionary in a period when the struggle of the working class, as a class, for power, is proceeding.

## BLACK POWER

This is why we see such tremendous similarities between the black power movement and the women's liberation movement. Because both these movements refuse to pose things in class terms, and by their very nature separate movements from the revolutionary party, they must of necessity be reformist groupings. Any organization which puts a particular struggle before the struggle of the working class as a whole, cannot proceed with a socialist perspective. For, to fight for socialism means to fight for the working class as a whole--FIRST.

If the organization does not have a socialist perspective, a working class perspective, it must by its very nature confine itself to democratic reforms within the structure of the capitalist system. Thus, the

black nationalists fought for black studies programs in the universities, preferential admissions, and preferential hiring; and women's liberators fight for preferential admissions, preferential hiring and abortion repeal. No matter how militantly fought for, these are still reformist demands, which, in a period like today, can turn into reactionary proposals.

Furthermore, as with black liberation, women's liberation forms ties which can be directly traced to the Democratic Party liberals fighting in Congress for abortion reform. Any so-called "progressive" movement which cuts across class lines must of necessity find the basis for its program in the liberal bourgeoisie. It is no accident that Golda Meir was defended by a member of women's lib on the basis of the fact that she's an oppressed woman. We have nothing to do with the Golda Meirs, Mrs. Rockefellers, or Jackie Onassis. They are oppressors, not oppressed.

## IDEALISM

At the heart of the support for such middle class movements, is a very primitive and anti-Marxist conception of how to raise peoples' consciousness. The SWP, IS, RYM II, etc., view the raising of consciousness in a totally idealist and subjective manner. The question of abortion reform is a perfect example. They hold to the opinion that a woman's consciousness is raised (class consciousness!) by her beginning to understand that she can control her own body. As a member of the YSA at their recent educational conference in New York stated: "If women can get the idea that they can control their own bodies, they get the idea that they can control their own day care centers, then their own factories."

This is a far cry from Trotsky's conception of raising consciousness as outlined in the Transitional Program. It poses nothing in class terms, and bows completely to middle class subjectivity. The problem is the understanding of the need to control society, not your own body. To start with the need to control your own body is to start subjectively, and to start subjectively is to end subjectively. The middle class can never get very far from subjectivity.

Furthermore, such a conception raises false consciousness. The demand for abortion reform or even abortion law repeal can be, and has been granted (as in England). Women still cannot control their own bodies, because, even with abortion law repeal, they still live under capitalism and have to sell their bodies every day on the job market. It is also no hop, skip and jump from controlling your day care center to controlling your factory. The consciousness required for that step is gained through day in and day out fight alongside the men in the factory for decent wages and working conditions.

The demand for day care centers, in and of themselves or even in combination with abortion reform, do not constitute the raising of socialist consciousness. People do not come to socialist consciousness by revolutionists propagandizing to them about how they have to control their own bodies, but by the day in and day out struggle led by revolutionists against the bosses to build a decent life for themselves and their children.



A WOMAN STEELWORKER GUIDES STEEL BARS ONTO FLATBED TRUCK.

Indeed, women can play an important part, even leadership roles in the struggle of the working class for power. Women must be brought to a greater extent into the revolutionary party, and women's struggles for equality (which is the struggle against male chauvinism-- nothing more nor less) must be taken up by the party in the context of the fight for the working class as a whole.

Lenin was quite clear on this question. He went so far as to state that: "The fate of the proletarian movement, the victory or defeat of proletarian power depends on whether or not the reserve of women will be for or against the working class." He stressed the importance of the role of women not just in the carrying out of the revolution, but in the construction of the new socialist state after the revolution. He never spoke of the emancipation of women, however, outside the context of the class struggle. Only through the struggle for socialism can women be truly emancipated. Only through the building of the party can socialism be achieved.

Clara Zetkin, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Germany, had this to say about women: "No special organizations for women. A woman communist is a member of the party just as a man Communist, with equal rights and duties." This is the critical question, and this is where all the revisionists differentiate themselves from the revolutionary party. Evelyn Reed of the SWP, in her pamphlet, "Problems of Women's Liberation," makes clear her class differences with Clara Zetkin, Lenin, Marx, and the Workers League. She states: "It is true that women in general, even those in the upper classes, do suffer to some degree from male chauvinism. On some occasions and issues it is necessary and useful for women belonging to different social strata to form special organizations and take united action to eliminate injustices and disabilities inflicted upon the whole sex." Once a so-called revolutionary has gone that far, however, he has given the game away. Any organization on a basis other than a working class basis must be reformist by its very nature, that is, based on capitalism. The minute a so-called revolutionary party encourages the growth of such a clear class collaborationist movement rather than attempting to expose it to the working class for the bourgeois movement it is, that party has betrayed the working class.

In 1872, at the Hague Congress of the First International, Marx went into theoretical battle with one of the first

American feminists, Victoria Woodhull. Woodhull was fighting F.A. Sorge for recognition as the American representative to the First International. Marx rejected the Woodhull group on the basis of their stress on "personal liberty (free love), dress regulation, women's franchise, universal language, etc." He characterized the group as basically petty-bourgeois, as they gave precedence to the woman question over the question of labor.

The SWP in practice, goes the same route as Victoria Woodhull. They support, uncritically the Women's Liberation movement on the same basis that they support petty-bourgeois black nationalism. They see the struggle for revolution as supporting all these reformist struggles "in a militant way" and refuse to pose the fight in class terms on the basis of the Transitional Program. Thus, the revolutionary party is liquidated into various petty bourgeois formations for purely opportunist reasons.

## POPULAR FRONT

In fact what the SWP-YSA proposal for a "united front" on the question of women's liberation means is the creation of a POPULAR FRONT with not only the middle class but the capitalists. Thus one delegate to the recent convention of the YSA in Minneapolis, from San Francisco, speaking on women's liberation, warmly welcomed the capitalists into the fold: "We don't care if they are Democrats, Republicans or Independents." Women's liberation then becomes the cover for alliances with the capitalist class and the rejection of the struggles of the working class and Marxism. It is not surprising that within the ranks of the YSA this alliance with a section of the capitalist class is accompanied by an attack on Marxism. In a contribution to the discussion preceding the YSA convention, "The Women's Liberation Movement," one YSAer wrote: "Karl Marx was a chauvinist; read his letters to his daughter!" This is only a beginning.

There will be no democratic rights for anyone, man, woman or child, black or white, if capitalism is allowed to rule and fascism rises to smash the working class. This was the toll of the Popular Front during the 1930's and it is now being revived in the form of the women's liberation movement by the revisionists. The working class is now moving on a scale internationally which is unprecedented. It is this struggle that poses the solution for humanity as a whole.

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