

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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TEN CENTS

BEHIND
THE BLOODY
COLLAPSE
OF BIAFRA



AGNEW AND SHULTZ REVEAL PLANS

MORE VIETNAM CRIMES WAR ON THE UNIONS



**labor
must
act!**

SOCIALISM AND YOUTH

*interview
with
dany
sylveire
of british
young
socialists*



AN AMERICAN SOLDIER FIGHTING IN VIETNAM (TOP, LEFT)
WHILE AGNEW (BOTTOM) TOURS ASIAN CAPITALS IN SUPPORT OF WAR

miners protest yablonski murder

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

Over 20,000 miners in Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Ohio have gone out in wildcat strikes to protest the slaying of Joseph Yablonski. One rank and file leader urged the miners to stay out until the UMW leaders submitted to a lie detector test.

It took the strike action of the miners to force the Labor Department to start an investigation of the recent Boyle-Yablonski election campaign in the Mine Workers Union. There is a lesson here for all workers. Only the independent action of the working class can get anything at all from the government. Petitions and pleadings are useless.

As one miner remarked about the government: "Now the place is swarming with Feds. Where were they on New Year's Eve?"

As labor-haters like McClellan and Byrd ask for investigations and while Secretary of Labor Shultz is conspiring with Nixon on new anti-strike legislation, it is important to understand one thing. There is every reason to believe that Yablonski was murdered by professional killers in the hire of those with most to gain from his death--the leadership of the United Mine Workers. This is what Yablonski's sons insist.

CORRUPTION

But the matter does not rest there. The corruption of the leadership of the UMW is the product of decades of the closest collaboration between the union bureaucrats and the coal

bosses. During this period the UMW leadership allowed two-thirds of all mining jobs to be wiped out by automation while coal production and company profits soared. At the same time safety and working conditions in the mines deteriorated and whole mining areas have been closed down. Today most operating mines are owned by giant steel firms which in turn are controlled by some of the real giants who rule this country, like the Rockefeller family.

The new burst of rank and file struggle by miners, which centered in the last election around Yablonski but which existed before he broke from Boyle and which will go forward after his death, is an attempt by miners to regain control of the union precisely in order to be able to fight back against the coal bosses.

TRUTH

This is the heart of the matter. The coal bosses corrupted the union leadership so that this leadership would betray the interests of the rank and file and their profits could grow. The government under both Democrats and Republicans have assisted the bosses in this. The rank and file miners have been fighting back against Boyle so that they can fight back against the coal bosses.

This is why we call for the formation of an independent committee of rank and file miners to investigate this murder. Only the rank and file miners have nothing to lose and everything to gain from the full truth.

This is why the Workers League



THE FUNERAL OF MURDERED MINE LEADER, JOSEPH YABLONSKI

fighters to build independent caucuses in all unions, which fight the bureaucrats as servants of the bosses and

fight the government as servants of the bosses, posing that labor build its own party, a labor party.

NIXON AND SHULTZ PLAN WAR ON UNIONS

BY DAN FRIED

The announcement by Secretary of Labor Shultz of the "distinct possibility" that Nixon will seek changes in the Taft-Hartley Act and possibly scrap the Railway Labor Act when Congress reconvenes on January 19th comes as no surprise. These changes are being described by the capitalist press as the administration's weapons "to deal with strikes that threaten to harm the nation." More than ever before, the announcement of Nixon's plans raises the need for the U.S. labor movement to build its own party, a labor party and get rid of once and for all Democratic and Republican "friends" who stab the workers in the back.

Every trade union member and working man and woman in the U.S. knows that when Nixon and Congress talk about strikes that "threaten to harm the nation" or that go against the "public interest", they are getting ready to attack the working class, to deal a body blow to the trade union movement.

Nixon's new anti-strike legislation,

which may involve some form of compulsory "fact-finding" or other moves toward binding arbitration, is an essential part of the preparation by the employers and the government to head off the militant upsurge by millions of rank and file unionists for wage demands and for a fight against speed up and unemployment.

Nixon is girding for a major confrontation with millions of workers who are now on strike or will be hitting the bricks this year. First there are the 150,000 General Electric workers whose strike is the opening gun in this confrontation. In addition, there is the nationwide wage dispute with more than 48,000 shop craft workers on railroads which has continued for more than one year. All four unions involved have pledged to stick together and have refused to settle following the rejection by the sheet metal workers of the contract offer. The unions have set a new strike deadline for January 19th. Shultz has stated that the Railway Labor Act "has clearly misfired," making necessary new legislation to deal with railroad strikes.

TEAMSTERS

The G.E. workers and the shop craft workers are only the first wave of unionists fighting back against the ravages of run-away inflation and brutalizing speed-up. Now the Teamsters have come forward with wage demands for their 1970 contract with the Trucking Association, demanding a basic 75% increase. Behind all the outraged cries by the trucking bosses and their political agents over these demands is the "unpleasant" fact they would like to sweep under the rug--that it is the drivers, like so many other workers, who have seen their wages washed away through inflation and taxation

over the last three years and do not want more of the same for the next three years.

The Teamsters have set an example for the auto workers. The ranks of the UAW are up in arms and breathing hot and heavy down the necks of Walter Reuther in preparation for a big battle with the auto barons when the contract expires next fall.

If Nixon and his friends in the corporate establishment are worried about crushing the G.E. strikers, they are scared to death by the prospect of major strikes in trucking and auto which can escalate throughout industry producing a situation like the massive strike wave in Italy. They know that along with the policy of increasing unemployment, they need increasing government intervention and regulation of the unions in order to weaken and defeat the working class. This is the meaning of Nixon's plans to "revise" the Taft-Hartley Act.

NIXON

There is no doubt that Nixon would like to settle the G.E. strike by forcing a compromise on the unions on their basic demands in order to establish a pattern of defeat as an example for the Teamsters and auto workers. At the same time he is using the fact that the strike has dragged on so long to pose the danger of shortages of materials throughout industry as "evidence" of the need for the new anti-strike legislation.

The proposal by Senator Javits for a three-man "fact-finding" panel is simply a prelude to sharper intervention by the Administration and serves as a bridge to the legislation that Nixon will propose before Congress. The Javits proposal, regardless of its rejection by G.E.,

is a signal from big business that it wants the government to step in and push the unions into accepting a sell-out deal which G.E. on its own cannot do.

TRAP

The Javits proposal is a trap. In accepting it the leaders of the striking IUE and UE have gone for the bait. There can be no "objective review of the facts by a third party" which the U.E. leadership claims is the basis of the Javits proposal, when two of the three elements of the "third party" are the government and G.E. itself. There are only two sides in this strike.

The job of winning the G.E. strike and stopping the new anti-strike legislation can only be done by an all out fight for the WORKERS' side with the full use of all the power of the 18 million strong labor movement! Stop playing games with G.E. and Nixon! It is time that the IUE and the UE took the initiative by calling for mass demonstrations all over the country by the strikers and the entire trade union movement to threaten a general strike and the nationalization of G.E. if the union demands are not met.

The sides in the confrontation are shaping up--on the one side, G.E. and the corporations, Nixon and the entire Democratic and Republican parties, and on the other side the millions of workers who are the victims of inflation, speed up, war and rising unemployment. More than ever before, the 18 million strong labor movement must break with the two parties of war, inflation and unemployment and build a labor party on a program of ending Taft-Hartley and all anti-labor legislation; for the 4 day week at 5 days pay; for big wage hikes with a cost of living escalator for all workers; for an end to speed up and union control of production standards.

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EDITORIAL

Labor Must Act To Stop War, Inflation, Unemployment

BY THE EDITOR

U.S. imperialism has announced that 1970 will be the year of more brutalities against the workers and peasants of Vietnam and a year of aggression against the American trade union movement. This is the meaning of Agnew's visit to Asia and the statements by Secretary of Labor Shultz that Nixon and the Congress are planning new anti-labor laws. The working class of Vietnam has answered Nixon and Agnew by stepping up their struggle against the U.S. in preparation for its spring offensive. It is now time for the American working class to take up the heroic struggle of their brothers in Vietnam by launching an offensive at home against U.S. capitalism. The labor movement must begin to prepare a major action in Washington to demand an end to the war in Vietnam and an end to inflation, unemployment and anti-union laws.

Only labor action will stop the war! Nixon has answered his war critics in Congress and the reformist leadership of the anti-war movement by sending Agnew off to Asia. Agnew, the most vitriolic spokesman against the anti-war movement, has been touring Asia with Nixon's message that U.S. imperialism has every intention of continuing its war and of spreading that war beyond Vietnam if necessary.

POTENTIAL

The mass mobilization in Washington and San Francisco last Nov-

ember shows the enormous potential for defeating U.S. imperialism, but Nixon has made it clear he is not going to be moved to give up the vital interests of capitalism by simple protest. He knows full well that when the class lines are drawn, he has the support for his attacks on the American working class from the McGoverns and the Goodells.

The war in Vietnam is a class war and is the same war being launched against the American workers at home. The American workers are being made to pay for the bosses' war in lives and inflation. They are being made to pay for a recession caused by the crisis of a system that exploits them. The war can no sooner be ended by the liberal politicians than the G.E. strike can be won under the leadership of Mr. Javits. It is the ranks of the labor movement that must take up the struggle.

It is above all the movement of the working class that world imperialism fears. The recent offensive by the NLF shows that Nixon's talk of decades of war in Vietnam with only minor yearly casualties is an illusion. This conception was blown sky high as U.S. troops suffered "severe casualties" in the

fighting in the coastal plain of Vietnam over the past weekend.

At the same time a tremendous crisis is brewing within the armed forces in Vietnam. Morale among the U.S. troops is at its lowest precisely at a time when the NLF is on the offensive. Thousands upon thousands of GIs are beginning to see that this war is against their interests. On Christmas eve a number of U.S. servicemen joined with South Vietnamese civilians in a rally in Saigon to protest the war. This rally was broken up by the combined forces of the U.S. military and the Saigon police. More recently two GIs have been disciplined for their outbursts against news censorship in Vietnam. Specialist 5 Robert Lawrence, an Army broadcaster, told his listeners in Vietnam last week that he was "not free to tell the truth." He and another commentator were removed from their assignments. One GI described the situation the U.S. government faces this way: "You are on pretty shaky ground when you can't tell your troops the truth about the war for fear they wouldn't fight if you did."

FEARS

At the same time that the U.S.

government is attempting to discipline the GIs, it is taking measures to discipline the American working class at home. While the U.S. is faced with a revolt within its forces in Vietnam, it is also confronting a revolt within the trade union movement as the Teamsters, auto workers, and rail workers join the G.E. ranks in the fight against Nixon's recessionary policies. To head off the confrontation, Nixon is preparing to revise the Taft-Hartley Act.

But the employers and the government know they are treading on thin ice as the working class moves on the offensive internationally. The fear of the working class has created a deep crisis within the ranks of the ruling class.

EXPLOSIVE

It is in the context of this highly explosive situation that the American trade union movement must now take the lead in defense of its Vietnamese brothers, in defense of the GIs who are forced to fight in Vietnam and in defense of its jobs, wages and working conditions. This is the only way to defeat U.S. imperialism.

The ranks of the trade union movement must demand that their leaders in the AFL-CIO and ALA call a massive action this spring in Washington to demand: Immediate Withdrawal of all U.S. Troops! No Laws Against the Trade Unions! End Inflation and Unemployment with wage hikes and escalator clauses and a four day week!

BEHIND THE BLOODY COLLAPSE OF BIAFRA

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

As we go to press all signs point to the complete collapse of Biafra and its final conquering by the Nigerian government. One of the bloodiest, most futile chapters of modern African history comes to a close.

One thing is absolutely certain: the African people did not gain from this war nor will they now reap the fruits of Nigerian victory. From the beginning various imperialist powers manipulated sectional interests to pit African against African--in the interests of foreign domination. Nigeria is one of the largest, most populous and richest in natural resources of African lands. Oil, in particular, has been the main lubricant of imperialist rivalry.

While much about this war still remains behind the scenes in the board rooms of the large oil companies and in conferences of top level diplomats, there are certain factors which suggest that the Nigerian victory was well prepared for by the imperialist powers.

At the beginning of the war one thing was absolutely clear, Great Britain, traditionally the major imperialist power in Nigeria, was committed to the Nigerian Central Government. British investment in oil, copra, and other commodities required this. And Britain backed up its imperialist commitment with plenty of financial aid and arms

to the government of Gen. Yakubu Gowon.

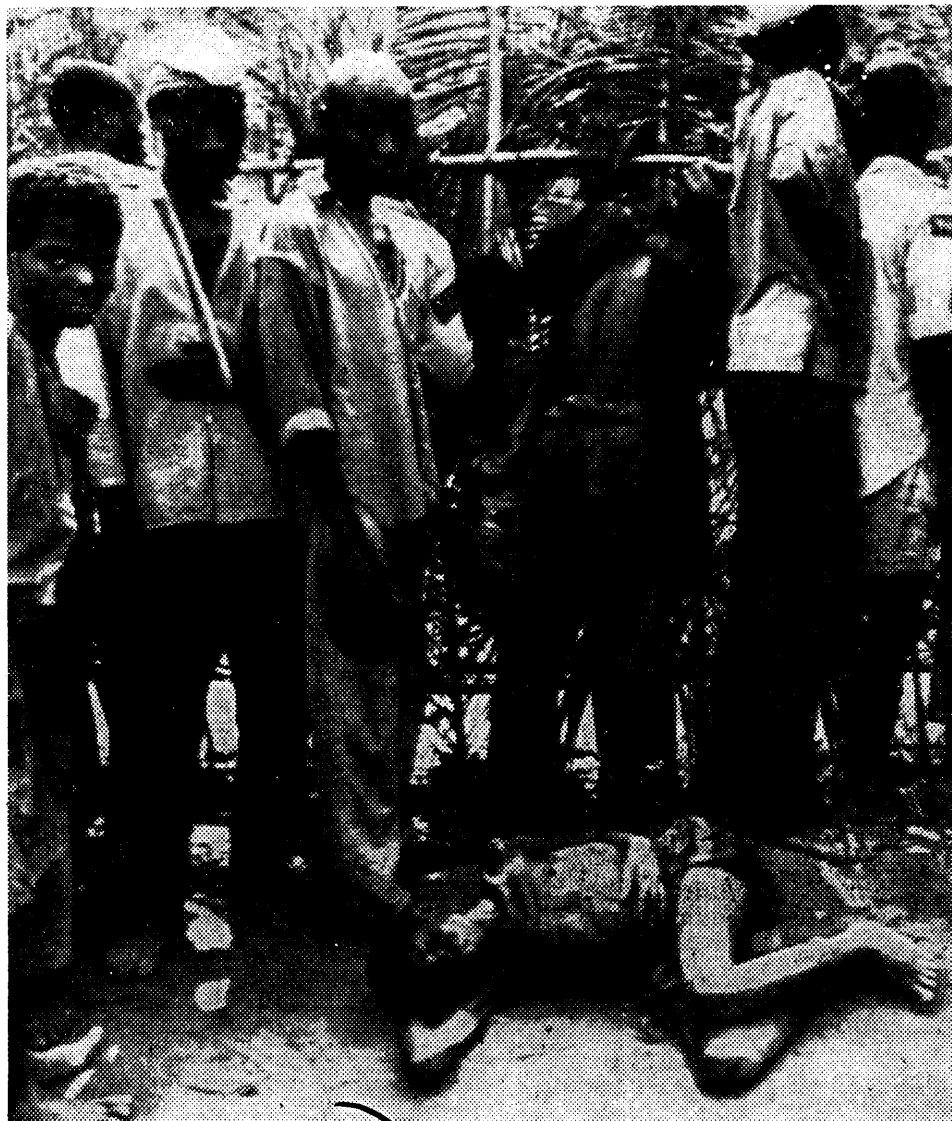
PARTNERS

But the question posed in Washington and Paris was just a little bit different. These co-imperialist partners, of course, had to stand by Britain--publicly. But at the same time the question had to be raised if there was some way France or the United States could emerge from this conflict in a stronger position re England in that area of Africa.

Under DeGaulle, France played a blatant public role of sympathy for Biafra. DeGaulle utilized Biafra as a pressure point against Britain and as a way at getting at the United States through Britain. However, France, even under DeGaulle, contributed only a minimum in military aid to Biafra. Just enough to keep Biafra from complete collapse, to keep the pressure up on Nigeria, England and the U.S. Under Pompidou even this little aid became a bare trickle, if that.

The role of the United States was particularly devious. Allowing a tremendous press campaign to build up over the question of starvation of Biafrans, particularly through the churches, the United States intervenes as the great benefactor and "humanitarian". It flew food shipments into Biafra, which also helped Biafra survive. Thus while it formally supported the British position and recognized Nigeria as the legitimate government, it flew supplies into Biafra via Portuguese territory to maintain Biafran pressure on England.

Now within a few weeks of the announcement of Prime Minister Wilson's trip to visit Nixon, suddenly Biafra is in collapse, the war nearly over. But Britain boasts it has been preparing for some weeks for this outcome and has stockpiled large quantities of relief supplies in Nigeria for Biafra. And who supplied this food? The United States, of course. At the same time a special envoy from the United States was



STARVING BIAFRANS LINE UP FOR RELIEF FOOD AS WAR ENDS

in France getting her cooperation in the relief operation.

STENCH

The whole business has the stench of an inter imperialist deal. The United States interceded for England with France and in return England has made certain commitments to the United States for the dividing up of the oil spoils with the conclusion of the war. The relief business becomes the cover for the imperialist policing of the weakened Nigeria.

We predict that before the blood stops flowing in Biafra the oil will

be flowing once again out of Nigeria to the imperialists, we predict that a larger percentage of the oil will flow across the Atlantic to the United States than up the coast to England. The Nigerians will be at the mercy of the imperialist overlords and their tribalistic military stooges.

Imperialism can be defeated in Africa only through a socialist struggle led by the working class against all the petty bourgeois agents of imperialism who use tribal rivalries and fears to keep the Africans paralyzed and in imperialist chains.

Bulletin

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NEW SOVIET HISTORY UPGRADES STALIN



YAKIR, OPPOSITION LEADER

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

A new revised edition of the history of the Soviet Communist Party has just been issued in the Soviet Union. It replaces one issued in August and withdrawn because it was too critical of Stalin.

The new history marks an important step in the backtracking from even the mild criticisms of Stalin made by Khrushchev. For instance, the version of the history published in 1962 condemned Stalin for purges in the Red Army in the 1930s which deprived the Soviet Union of some of its best military men just before the invasion of Hitler's army. It stated that outstanding commanders "were subjected to unwarranted repressive measures before the war and lost their lives."

The edition issued last August removed the phrase "and lost their lives," while the new edition omits the entire paragraph.

Khrushchev sought to bring about a temporary stabilization of the rule of the bureaucracy after Stalin's death by revealing part of the truth of

Stalin's role. He sought to contain such criticism to Stalin as an individual rather than as the representative of a bureaucratic caste. He emphasized those aspects of Stalin's "excesses" which particularly bore down on sections of the bureaucracy itself, in order to get the support of the bureaucracy as a whole for his rule. Above all he drew the line on Trotsky. On the question of Trotskyism Khrushchev stood with Stalin against the working class.

REPRESSION

Kosygin and Brezhnev, while maintaining Khrushchev's formulations, have been taking back one by one even the small concessions to the truth made by Khrushchev. What was involved was not simply differences in the personality of these individuals but the deepening crisis of Stalinism itself which requires more and more repression as in Czechoslovakia.

The depth of this crisis and the extreme instability of the bureaucratic rulers of the Soviet Union is illustrated by the issuing of one edition of this history in August only to withdraw it after a few days' distribution to re-issue an edited edition in November. The November edition was actually edited in part while in the process of being printed.

Ironically one of the major changes

between the August and November editions was a muting of criticisms of China. The August edition was written while the Soviet-China conflict was at its height and the November editions while negotiations were proceeding between the two countries. However, it appears and is distributed precisely when the negotiations are in the process of breaking up and renewed hostility between the two countries is on the order of the day.

OPPOSITION

The Bulletin will publish, starting the Communist Opposition within the with its next issue, documents from Soviet Union. Among the documents

are a number of statements by Piotr Yakir, son of E.I. Yakir, one of the Red Army Generals purged in the 1930s. These oppositionists have persisted in their struggle for the whole truth about Stalin and Stalinism, for a consistent struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy in the name of Leninism.

The publication of this material is of the greatest importance today as the joint crisis of Stalinism and imperialism deepens requiring the construction of a revolutionary leadership firmly rooted in the real, truthful history of the working class movement. Such a leadership will be assembled under the spotless banner of the Fourth International.

starting next week!

DOCUMENTS FROM THE SOVIET OPPOSITION

a new series

NY TRANSIT FARES UP 50%-TWU GETS ONLY 8%

BY FRED MUELLER

NEW YORK-- Nearly three hours after the original strike deadline had been extended, at 8 A.M. on New Years Day, a settlement was reached between the Transit Authority and the leadership of New York's Transit Workers Union. Within a day a 50% increase in subway and bus fares, from 20¢ to 30¢ a ride, was announced.

The transit workers got an 8% increase for the next 18 months, followed by 10% in the last 6 months of the contract. They did not make up for the ravages of inflation which had more than destroyed the measly 11% increase over 2 years the union officials had saddled them with in 1968. The demand for the shorter work week was presented as usual, never fought for and not won, exactly as in previous contracts. If the contract is approved the workers will have to settle for only 8% for a full 18 months, as well as no protection against continuing inflation.

While the workers got 8%, the bosses of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority got an immediate 50% increase. Behind all the phony promises of better service eventually, the phony denunciations and counter charges by the capitalist politicians, is the inability of the bosses and their system to provide decent mass transit, and their determination to make the entire working class pay for the crisis. The increase in fact will cost families from 1 to 2 weeks pay per year.

BANKERS

The New York transit system is run completely by the employers and in their interests. It is set up so that the "public" has absolutely no voice in its operations. When the city government took over the system it was in the interests of the entire capitalist class. Mass transit had become a losing proposition so it was unloaded and the city compensated the owners and continues to

pay hundreds of millions of dollars in interest annually to the transit bondholders. The system is now run by the MTA, a "public corporation" which is appointed by the Mayor and Governor, and consists of "leaders in business, industry and finance." This is exactly the way the New York Times described these civic minded gentlemen on the day they voted in the fare increase. These bankers and their friends, not even including a trade union official for the usual "balance", will certainly not face any pinch as a result of the fare increase, even if they ever should use the subway system. But for millions of workers the increase means an immediate cut in their living standards, an immediate pay cut of up to 2 or 3%. And then the bankers proceed to blame the 50% increase on the workers' 8% pay increase.

It is clear that Lindsay and his banker friends had been preparing this increase for months if not years. The new token machines and tokens had been ordered and were all ready for installation. They merely used the transit workers' contract struggle to take the blame off their shoulders.

CALLOUSNESS

The huge fare hike and the callousness with which it was imposed aroused bitter resentment among workers all over the city, resulting in numerous protests, refusals to pay the fare and many arrests. The fare increase is still being challenged in court and there is talk of more protests. But this fight will get absolutely nowhere unless it is understood and guided politically.

Lindsay, Rockefeller and all the rest represent the same bosses. Their feuds are an absolute fraud as far as the working class is concerned. Of course none of these politicians did anything but cynically alibi for themselves and try to show that the responsibility was elsewhere. The only way to fight the fare in-

crease and all the anti-working class policies of both capitalist parties is to break completely from these parties. The so-called "urban lobby" that Lindsay speaks for is a complete lie, behind which the bosses and bankers want to continue to gag the working class politically and prevent it from fighting in its own interests.

The only way to get policies in our interests is to launch a labor party which will fight for free mass transit through the expropriation of the capitalist bondholders as well as the nationalization of all basic industry. The lesson of the far increase as well as of the deal foisted on the transit workers is to step up the fight for a labor party throughout the union movement.

Bulletin Fund Takes Big Step Forward

BY DAN FRIED

Since our last report on the Weekly Bulletin Fund Drive the fund has taken a real step forward. During the two week period we collected another \$997.32, placing the fund total at the \$9467.76 mark. We are rapidly approaching our goal of \$10,000. But we absolutely must go over that goal by at least \$1000 by the time the drive ends on Jan. 31st. This will enable us to consolidate the weekly Bulletin on a firm foundation.

A special fund collection at the Workers League Eastern Regional Conference, which was taken after the talk by Dany Sylveire of the British Young Socialists and the showing of the film on the Workers Press, netted \$167.00 cash and \$310.00 in pledges. This gave a real spurt to the fund drive and was a sign of the great advance made by the Workers League at the conference.

As part of the planned technical innovations for the Bulletin, we have already completed the installation of a darkroom and stabilization processor. The new phototypesetter will be installed shortly.

The political development and technical plans for the weekly Bulletin hinge on the success of the fund drive. Once again we ask each and every reader to help us toward this goal by sending in contributions or pledges to the Bulletin, 243 E. 10th St., New York, N.Y. 10003.

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FASCISM AND THE

GERMAN WORKING CLASS 1930-1933

FINAL PART --GERMANY AND BRITISH STALINISTS

The Greatest Crime Of The Social-Democracy

ACTIVE SUPPORT OF FASCISM

Contemptible Role Of Trotsky

Today, Democratic Front... (text continues)



HITLER and GOEBBELS (standing) at the Reichstag Building after the Reichstag fire, 1933.

SPEAKING HITLER'S LANGUAGE

Second International In Decline

France and Great Britain... (text continues)

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by Fritz Heckert

MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GERMANY

Read The 'DAILY WORKER' - The Workers' Paper - EVERY DAY

A series of six articles by ROBERT BLACK

IN THIS FINAL section, we must now draw together all the threads of our analysis of fascism in the pre-war period and relate directly to the struggle for revolutionary leadership in Britain.

Every aspect of this fight, whether theoretical, organizational or the training of cadres in the trade unions and the factories, brings Trotskyists into sharp conflict with the policies and organizations of the British Communist Party.

And that is, of course, as it should be. Stalinism, from the German betrayal of 1933 on, has been the principal counter-revolutionary force within the workers' movement internationally. It is therefore inevitable, in this period of deepening capitalist crisis, that these clashes should daily become more bitter.

At the very beginning of this article, attention was drawn to the forces within British and world capitalism which drive towards a show-down with the working class and all its

organizations. Its initial forms are the government attacks on trade unionism, incomes legislation, 'penalty' clauses in wage contracts on the Ford model, and other attempts by the capitalist state to erode the independence of the trade unions.

The state, alongside its offensive against the trade unions, also intervenes more directly in the regulation of the capitalist economy, actively preparing and financing the creation of huge centres of monopoly power through the Industrial Re-organization Corporation.

Then we have the rapid increase over the last year of racialist propaganda, which has penetrated into every aspect of society: education, the health services, housing, jobs, even sport (the D'Oliveira affair).

Finally there are the developments inside the main political parties. Even though it was the Tories who pioneered the first Immigration Act of 1961, it was Labour, under the leadership of Wilson, that really began to tighten the screws against overseas workers and encourage divisions within the working class in Britain.

The recent rightward swing in the Tory Party should not therefore be seen in isolation from all these other organic processes at work not only in

The British Daily Worker for May 4, 1933, showing just one of the many attacks on the social democrats. The American Communist Party played the same role.

Britain, but internationally.

Strategy

It would be a dangerous error to see the conflict within the Tory leadership as a struggle for positions of influence, or as a product of personal rivalry. The capitalist class, like the working class, fights out its strategy through its class organizations. That is what is going on at present inside the Tory Party, the number one question being how and when to take on and defeat the working class.

Undoubtedly, as was proved by the enormous political developments reflected in the May Day strike, the working class and the capitalist class are on a direct collision course. As in Germany in the 1930s, this collision is inevitable, inescapable. And, again as in Germany, what will decide its outcome is the quality of working-class leadership.

In this life-or-death struggle, the Stalinists will undoubtedly play a thoroughly reactionary role. We have already seen how they have undermined the development of a revolutionary leadership in the four-year campaign of the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists against the Labour government's incomes policy. As the struggle sharpens, as it must certainly do with the campaign against the anti-strike legislation, this reactionary role of Stalinism will come increasingly to the fore.

The British Communist Party, like all its allied parties throughout the world, has never, and can never, give an honest account of its past. The present leadership of the British CP was reared from the beginning on the opportunist politics of 'socialism in one country' and took readily, one could almost say joyously, to the reformist programme laid out in the CP's current programme 'The British Road to Socialism', first drawn up with Stalin's guidance in 1951.

No workers should have any illusions about the British Communist Party's ability to defend the trade unions against the capitalist state and the attacks of a right-wing Tory government. In the period prior to Hitler's destruction of the German trade unions, the British CP, then under the leadership of Harry Pollitt and R. Palme Dutt, slavishly backed to the hilt Stalin's policy of the 'Third Period', a policy based, as we have seen, on the absurd contention that reformist parties and trade unions were 'social fascist' and not worthy of defence against attacks from the ruling class and the state.

In these days of Stalinist collaboration with the fake lefts of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy, the horrors of 'social fascism' are naturally a skeleton that has to be firmly padlocked in its

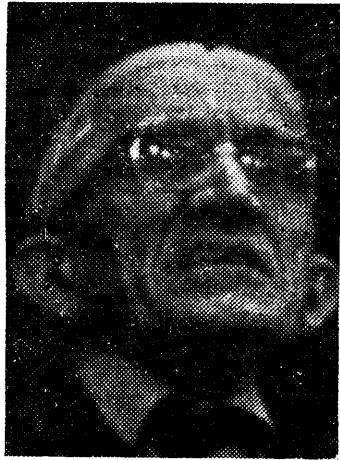
cupboard. Hence the Stalinists' frantic insistence that they, and the whole Communist International, were always firm champions of 'left unity':

'The German Communist Party no doubt made mistakes, but they fought consistently for the united front both before the Nazi movement developed and especially in the 1930s when fascism was advancing.' (John Gollan, 'Marxism Today', March, 1959.)

This is, of course, a blatant lie. We have already proved in Part Four of these articles where the KPD leadership, backed by Stalin, stood on the question of the United Front. Now we must examine the part played by Gollan's own party in the struggle for the United Front in Germany and against the treachery of the Ramsay MacDonald leadership of the Labour Party in Britain.

Dangerous

From the outset of the German crisis, its significance was grasped far more deeply by Lloyd George than by any leader of the British Communist Party:



R. Palme Dutt always did his job for Stalin

'Germany will be much more dangerous for the whole world than a communist Russia, Germany possesses the best educated and the most highly-schooled working class of the whole world. I can conceive of no greater danger for Europe, yes, and for the whole world, than for such a mighty communist state to come into being in the centre of Europe. Hand in hand with Germany and under the skilled leadership of the German people, the significance of the Russian Revolution would be multiplied a hundredfold. . . .' (1931)

Against this classic example of the class consciousness of the British ruling class, Stalinism mobilized nothing more formidable than a crude parody of the new style 'leftism' emanating from the

Kremlin.

In the British Party's election manifesto in the spring of 1929, the CP leaders recommended that 'where no communist candidate is in the field, and where the Labour candidate refuses to pledge himself to a programme of fighting working-class demands, the Communist Party advises the workers not to vote for any capitalist candidate, Tory, Liberal or Labour'.

So from its Labour Party affiliation campaign (recommended by Lenin upon the foundation of the CP) the Stalinist leadership now swung right over to calling upon workers to boycott the General Election where no CP candidates were standing. How Lenin ever came to recommend the British Communist Party to affiliate (with its own minority rights of course) to a capitalist, and, as we shall see, even 'fascist' party, was never explained by the new 'left' leadership of the Party.

The new Stalinist tactic of opposing the return of a Labour government sounded very left. But in reality it helped to protect the reformist leaders. The last thing MacDonald and company wanted was a Labour government elected with a clear majority over all other parties, and with a mandate to take action against the capitalist class. If Labour never took power, how was social democracy ever going to be exposed in the eyes of its millions of working-class followers? In the words of Lenin, it is necessary to support the election of Labour governments—as a rope supports a hanged man.

But this was just the mild beginnings of British Stalinism's 'Third Period'. Only with some difficulty did the Party leadership adjust to the furious tempo of left phrasemongering demanded of each Party by the Soviet leadership of the Comintern.

For example, in summing up the results of the 1929 General Election which, despite the efforts of the CP, brought Labour to power (though in a coalition with the Liberal Party) Palme Dutt found himself describing the eight million votes cast for Labour as evidence of 'a sweeping advance of the mass movement'.

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Since when did eight million votes cast for a 'capitalist' party (soon to merit the label fascist) represent a sweeping advance? But Dutt was only doing the job he has always allotted himself—'adjusting' reality to the current contortions of the Stalinist line.

By the end of 1929, the advocates of the 'Third Period', backed up by direct intervention from Moscow, were firmly installed in the leadership. The entire membership, with one or two exceptions, now fell over themselves in denouncing each other as opportunists and conciliators of social democracy. If in Germany the SPD and the trade unions were fascist, that demanded a similar 'firm' line in Britain:

'Our new line is that the Labour Party is completely social fascist, that the reformist trade unions are strike-breaking instruments and that the Party must independently organize and lead the struggle on concrete issues.'

With these brave words, British Stalinism valued all the organizational conquests of the working class over a century of class struggle as worthless. In its entirety (save for the 1,500 members of the CP) the British working class was chained to fascist trade unions and fascist political parties, one of which, the Labour Party, held the state power, according to the CP.

Fascist trade unions, fascist Labour Party, fascist ILP, fascist government—and yet the British Communist Party continued to function perfectly legally, its publications remained uncensored, its meetings unmolested. And on a wider scale, strikes, though often betrayed by the union leaderships, frequently broke out and, despite police harassment, remained perfectly legal. If this was indeed fascism, as all the propaganda of the Stalinists implied, then what had the working class to



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In Britain as well as Germany the theoretical stupidities of 'social fascism' blinded the working class to the profound dangers of the growth of fascism, confused it on the nature and role of social democracy and the contradictions that existed between it and the rule of fascism. Denying this contradiction, the Stalinists rejected the use of that very class lever that could bring the masses into a fight, not only against fascism, but against their own reactionary leaderships.

Germany proved that social democracy could not be defeated by simply insulting it with the nastiest words one could find (i.e. 'social fascist'). Nor could it be defeated by listing its crimes in the revolutionary press.

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Loyal above all else to their unions, the British working class found its reformist prejudices given added weight when told by the Communist Party Congress of November 1929 that the Labour Party was not only fascist itself, but was actively bringing about 'the fascization of the trade unions'.

There could only be one consequence of such a defeatist tactic towards the unions. The industrial members of the Party, such as there were, began to turn their backs on the trade unions, which they had been told were social fascist instruments of strike-breaking. No self-respecting, class-conscious worker would hold a membership card in such organizations. So they left.

Within a year, it was admitted that 'throughout the whole of 1930 there was a steady falling of the National Minority Movement, and a much deeper fall in its influence and standing among the trade unionists and in the trade union organizations'. (The National Minority Movement was the CP faction within industry and the trade unions.)

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In Britain, the home of trade unionism, such tactics were tantamount to political suicide. Despite the numerical smallness of the CP in this period, it would be wrong to dismiss its influence on the class struggle as being negligible, as several historians have done. By its abdication, under the cover of 'left' propaganda, of the fight in the unions and around the Labour Party against the right wing and the centrists (mainly of the ILP) the Stalinists protected reformism and drew out of the struggle hundreds and thousands of militants who could have rallied whole sections of the class against the betrayal by MacDonald in 1931.

Walled off from the working class as much by its own sectarian line as by the hesitations of the movement, the CP, despite the launching of the 'Daily Worker' and the devotion and sacrifice of its membership, made scarcely any impact upon the grip of social democracy in Britain when the crash came in 1931. If the 'Third Period' was going to bear any fruit, it should have been then. But as we saw with Germany (and the same picture could be reproduced for France, Spain, Austria and Poland, to name only a few cases) the 'Third Period' made barely a dent in the crumbling walls of social democracy.

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Not only Stalin's, but Dutt's and Pollitt's hands are stained with the blood of the thousands of workers killed and tortured by Hitler's thugs. And for as long as the present Party leadership clings to the crimes of its predecessors, they share that guilt also.

As early as September 10, 1930, the 'Daily Worker' was equating the rule of social democracy with that of fascism:

'Victory for fascism, whether the naked capitalist dictatorship of the so-called "national socialists" or the social fascism of the social democrats, will be a blow against workers everywhere.'

But, by the same token, it can be inferred that it is also a matter of indifference whether the working class is ruled by Nazi fascism, 'social' fascism or a combination of both. And with the approach of the Prussian referendum (see Part Four of this article) in August 1931, it became clear that the British Stalinists, like their opposite numbers in Germany, welcomed the opportunity to bring down the 'social fascists' (in alliance with the Nazis), even at the risk of helping to install a military-Bonapartist dictatorship.

Thus the 'Daily Worker' of July 25, 1931, reporting on a recent meeting of the Central Committee of the KPD, pointed out its most important decision 'was to take over the leadership of the campaign for the referendum for the dissolution of the Prussian Diet'.

On August 10, the 'Daily Worker', not in the least embarrassed by this alliance with the 'naked' fascists against the clothed ones, praised the KPD for its initiative:

'The brilliant tactics of the KPD have transformed it (the referendum) into a great mobilization of the revolutionary masses. . . . The KPD is leading the referendum campaign originally called by the fascists. . . .'

The huge swing to the Nazis through the first half of 1932 did not force any change in the British CP's estimation of the situation. Even Hitler's 13½ million votes in April made no impact on the British Party's policy of rejection of united front agreements with the reformists:

'Not a bloc policy with the social-fascist leaders, never a united front only from above, but the united front from below.' (DW, July 7, 1932.)

This could only mean no united front at all, for in Britain, as in Germany, the working class moves into action not as individuals, but as members of parties and trade unions. To reject all agreements at the top could only block any agreement from below with the vast bulk of the working class that remained loyal to its organizations.

The time lag between the dispatch from Berlin and the printing in London of news from the 'Daily Worker's' German correspondent involved the paper in the most fantastic contortions. Its issue for July 20 (the actual date of the von Papen coup in Prussia—see Part Two of this article) carried the prediction that 'the Papen government is openly preparing for the suppression of the KPD and the establishment of a fascist dictatorship'. Thus, according to the 'Daily Worker' of July 20, von Papen is a fascist, he is in power, yet he has not yet established fascism. Also according to the line of the 'Daily Worker', fascism was already in power in Prussia in the form of the Social Democratic (i.e. 'social fascist') Party regime under Braun. Why Papen should plan a fascist coup in Prussia when fascism already ruled there was not explained.

Confusion

The next day, July 21, the 'Daily Worker' headlined (quite correctly) a report of Papen's Prussian coup against the Social Democrats. But the headline itself again betrayed that same theoretical confusion which had marked the entire 'Third Period':

'The open fascist dictatorship is now being set up in Germany.'

Once again, the 'Daily Worker' was wrong. This was not yet fascism, though it certainly represented a dangerous lurch towards it. And, if we recall the 'Daily Worker's' full support for the KPD's 'brilliant' campaign to bring down the Prussian Social Democrats only a year before—in alliance with the Nazis—then it is obvious that the Communist Party had learned nothing from its earlier errors.

And yet even after the Papen coup and the new Nazi triumph at the July 31 elections (13¼ million votes) the 'Daily Worker' still directed its fire against the creation of the United Front. In answer to critics of its sectarian policies, the 'Daily Worker' ran a 'questions and answers' feature on the theme 'How can we build the united front?'

The naive questioner asked 'Cannot all workers' organizations—the Communist Party, the Social-Democratic Party, the trade unions, the Co-ops—come together to do something to resist this drive to fascism?' The bureaucratic machine began to whirr, and out came the answer:

'It is undoubtedly necessary to create working-class unity against fascism, but that must be unity between workers in the factories and in the streets [where else would one expect to find workers?] and not between the Communist Party and the Social-Democratic Party, which is not a working-class party [and therefore could not possibly have any members in the factories and in the streets]. For a united front with such a party would be to become an accomplice in the drive to fascist dictatorship. . . .'

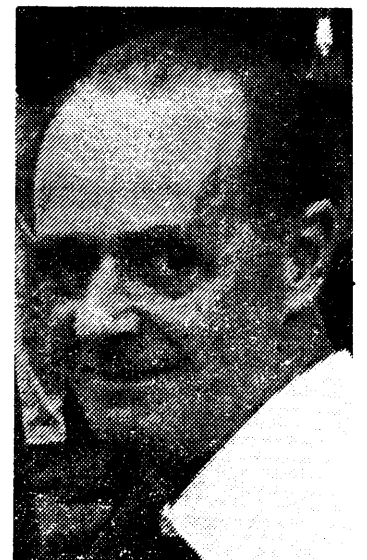
Communist Party members especially should study this statement of the 'Daily Worker' for August 13, 1932, and compare it with Gollan's claim that the Communist Party 'fought consistently for the united front . . . especially in the 1930s when fascism was advancing' (emphasis added).

But not every member of the Communist Party swallowed this line. It clashed daily, hourly, with the real experience and problems of the Party militants. A group in South London (known as the 'Balham group') began to criticize the theoretical basis of the 'Third Period' and its ruinous effects on the work of the Party in Britain. The 'Daily Worker' for August 23, 1932, carried a long and slanderous attack by W. Gallacher on the Balham group entitled 'We have no room for Trotskyists'. The article defended the tactics of the KPD, which was 'vigorously carrying out the line of the Communist International, the line of the united front of the working class'. This line, Gallacher claimed, had 'exposed the rottenness of Trotsky's arguments'. (The argument that the rule of fascism would destroy not only the revolutionary wing of the labour movement, but also the reformist organizations.)

Gallacher slanderously imputed to Trotsky the tactic of 'liquidation of the struggle, liquidation of the Party, by proposing an organizational compact with the SPD'.

This was a lie. Trotsky, in his own words, demanded in the united front 'no common platform with the social democracy, or with the leaders of the German trade unions, no common publications, banners, placards! March separately, but strike unitedly! Agree only on how to strike, whom to strike, and when to strike'. ('Germany—the key to the international situation. 1931.')

This, according to Gallacher, was proof of Trotsky's desire to liquidate the KPD into the SPD.



John Gollan still covers up false policy of the 1930s

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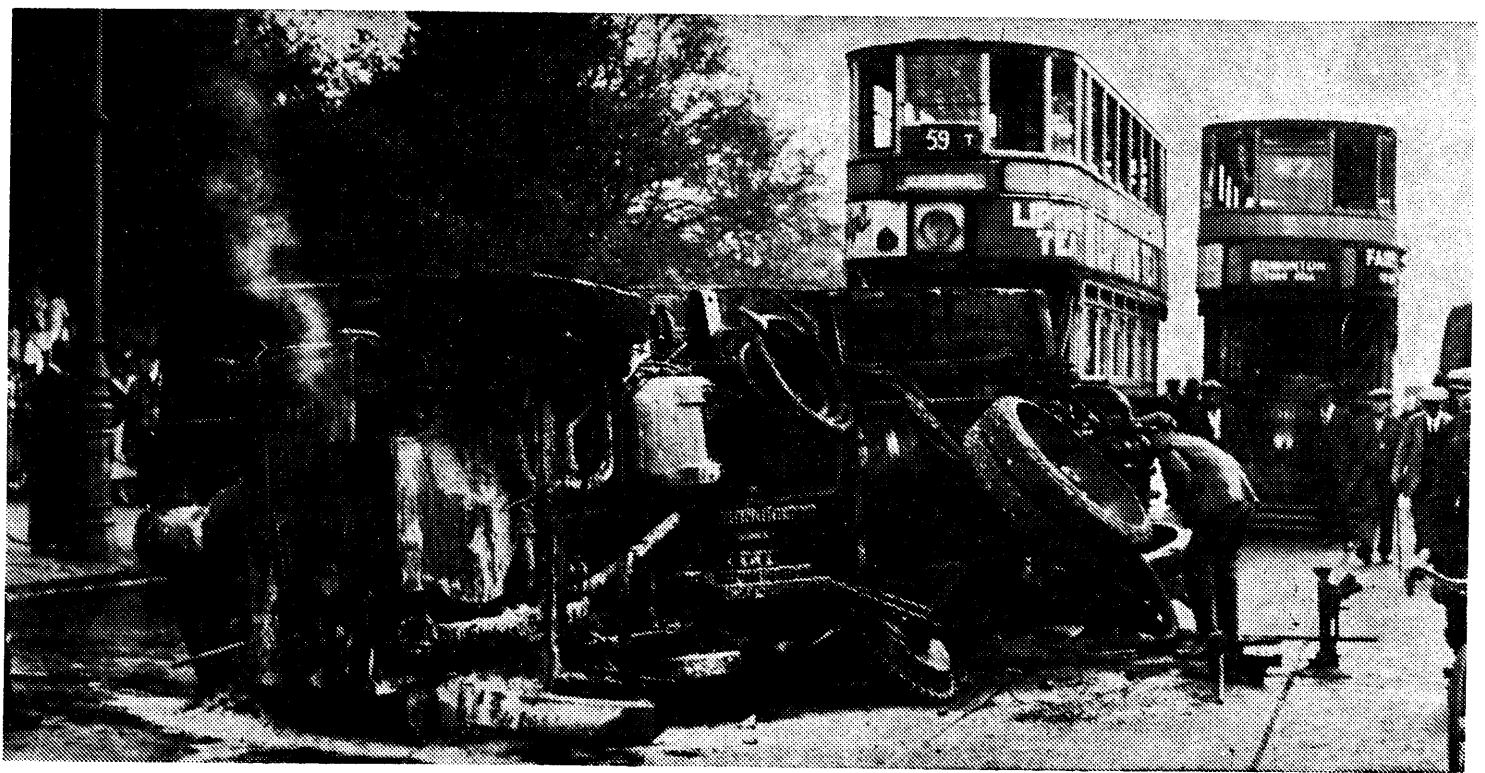
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Suicidal policies

Gallacher's article finished with a warning to any Party member that might follow the example of the Balham group (who were later to play a part in the formation of the British Trotskyist movement) in criticizing the suicidal policies of the 'Third Period':

'But from the start we should clear our feet from the counter-revolutionary rubbish some of these fellows have been trying to throw across the discussion. We have got rid of most of them. Others will be weeded out as the struggle develops.'

The theoretical confusion of the British Party continued right up to the establishment of the Hitler dictatorship on January 30—and after.

Right through the winter months of 1932-1933 the 'Daily Worker' charted the treacherous course of Stalinism in Germany. For example, on November 9, the 'Daily Worker' asserted that 'despite the opposition of over 90 per cent of the German population, von Papen obviously intends to continue his fascist dictatorship'. Thus on November 9, in the opinion of the 'Daily Worker', fascism had already been ruling for some time in Germany. But then the very next day, in discussing the election losses of the SPD a few days earlier, the paper made the ludicrous claim that 'this fact makes no difference to the role of the SPD as the main social prop of the Papen regime'.

Thus, according to the Stalinists, the fascist regime of Papen relied not on the armed bands of the Nazis, but on the SPD, whose administration in Prussia Papen had deposed some four months earlier.

It became harder and harder to conceal the contradictions of the 'Third Period', which now screamed out from every page of the Stalinist press. The same paper which spoke of the 'fascist dictatorship of Papen' also, on November 10, warned of 'the offensive of capitalism and the threatening fascist dictatorship which would rob the working class of its last political rights' (emphasis added).

Here fascism merely threatens, yet the previous day it was already in power. Likewise, fascism rests on social democracy and the trade unions as its main social prop, and yet at the same time will 'rob the working class of its last political rights', which presumably included the membership of trade unions and reformist parties.

Self-preservation

As the appointment of the Hitler cabinet drew nearer, the confusion in the ranks of international Stalinism grew to a frantic pitch. No one knew what to say or do. Appeals were issued to the Social-Democrats for united action, and then withdrawn for fear of recriminations from Moscow for the crime of Trotskyism. Self-preservation

drove many leading KPD members to extend a hand to the SPD—only for it to be withdrawn at the very last moment.

The 'Daily Worker' reflected this panic and utter confusion. The editorial of January 31, 1933, attempted to argue that 'a fascist dictatorship already existed in Germany. But the new government means a sharpening of that dictatorship'. Hitler then represented only a 'sharper' version of the Papen regime, which, the 'Daily Worker' told its readers, was also fascist.

Within days, the whole of the 'Third Period' was in ruins. Every issue of

the SPD press have now been suppressed.'

So, contrary to Stalin's theory that Social-Democracy and fascism were twins, it was finally recorded that they were founded on forces that drove them, whatever the cowardice of the reformist leadership, into a life-and-death struggle. But this was precisely the basis of Trotsky's case for the United Front. The Social-Democrats, to save their own skins, if not those of their supporters, would sooner or later be forced to fight. The 'Daily Worker' reporters in Germany unwittingly revealed that even Social-Democratic

the executives of such organizations as the Labour Party and the ILP.' (This was a turn which Gallacher only a few months before had denounced as 'counter-revolutionary'.)

With Hitler firmly in power, Dutt waxed lyrical on the prospects before the German working class:

'In this situation, the Hitler coup represents not the close, but the opening of new revolutionary struggles.'

To the end, Dutt and company defended the policy that had led directly to the crushing of the German working class. It was, of course, very easy to put the blame on the Social-Democrats. They had never seriously mobilized the working class against Hitler. But the KPD was a considerable force. With an army of nearly six million voters, and a big following amongst working-class youth, this Party should never have gone down without a fight. But Stalinism decided otherwise. The job of the Dutts (and the Gollans) was to cover up the trail, laying the blame on all and sundry save the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International.

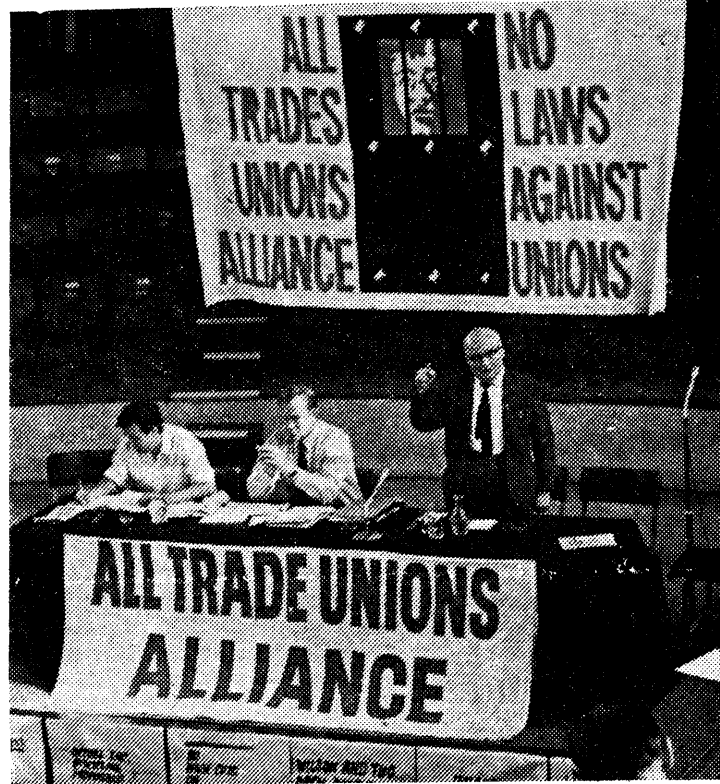
Stalinism, like social democracy, has passed through many stages of degeneration since the struggles of the 1930s. Today's Stalinists and social democrats are mere pygmies when compared to the Thaelmanns, the Kautskys and the Brandlers of pre-Hitler Germany.

They cannot and will not fight on the basic issues of the day. They are tied to that most reactionary of all forces in the workers' movement and the bureaucracies of the degenerated workers' states. And they fight to defend their own privileges, stolen as they are from past conquests of the working class, in such a way as to undermine those gains.

In the struggle for the defence of the trade unions against the right-wing Tory and fascist danger, there can be only one long-term, lasting solution: the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialism.

The record of social democracy and Stalinism on the defence of workers' organizations and rights in Germany proves that they will betray on the most fundamental question of all: the taking of power by the working class.

That job is now ours—the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists.



The Socialist Labour League, the Young Socialists and the All Trades Union's Alliance (pictured above) carry on the fight today for correct policies to prevent the triumph of fascism in England through socialist revolution

the 'Daily Worker' carried reports of the persecution and murder not only of communist workers, but of Social-Democrats, from rank-and-file members right up to the highest levels of the bureaucracy. The Stalinist lie that there was no possibility of a clash between the reformists and the fascists was refuted every day in the Stalinist press in its reporting of such clashes and yet defended every day in its editorials. February 2:

'In Lubeck, the SPD Reichstag deputy Leber . . . was attacked by a gang of fascists yesterday who followed him in a motor car. A number of members of the Reichsbanner (the SPD military organization) came to his assistance, and in the ensuing fight a fascist was killed.' Or February 7:

'In Stassfurt, the SPD Mayor Casten was shot down and killed in cold blood by a young fascist who had lain in waiting for him.' Or February 18:

'Almost the entire communist daily press and the major portion of

deputies, when faced with not a routine wage cut but their own murder, can be induced to break the constitution—and even kill fascists.

But by February 1933 it was too late. The fascists had total control of all the state organs, and were reinforcing them hourly with their own specially trained armed guards. Even as the 'Daily Worker' proclaimed the British CP's call for the United Front with the Labour Party national executive, the German labour movement was at its last gasp.

Condemnation

From the beginning of March, there was the fantastic situation of the 'Daily Worker' carrying Comintern resolutions condemning all parties of the Second International as 'social fascists' and agents of Hitler at the same time as the British Party issued the following appeal to the Labour Party and the ILP:

'The Central Committee of the CPGB is taking steps to approach

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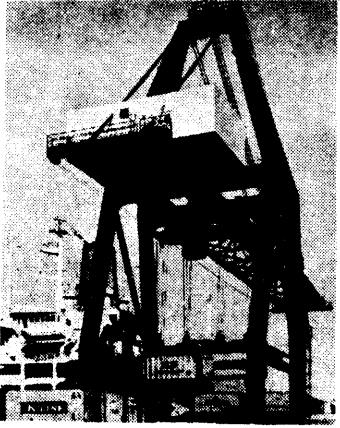
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CRISIS IN MARITIME



PART THREE, cont'd.

curran and hall back nixon plan

BY TOM GORDON

Both Hall and Curran of the SIU and NMU through their past refusal to mobilize the ranks of the unions against the employers have prepared the way for the attacks on wages, jobs and working conditions that now face maritime workers. Today they are trying to ram down the throats of workers acceptance of the Nixon Plan for maritime that provides the framework for these attacks.

As we stated in the last issue of the Bulletin, Curran's past policies have led to the loss of all but 400 passenger liner jobs. Now Curran is attempting to protect the NMU membership with a new tactic. He stated recently that the passenger lines "are not going to be allowed to shed their responsibilities so easily. President Nixon told us personally in a meeting in the White House that the passenger ship situation was still under study by his administration. This was in reference to the plan establishing a single cooperative which would operate the passenger vessels of U.S. Lines, American Export Isbrandtsen Lines, Moore-McCormack Lines and possibly American President Lines." The "cooperative" Curran refers to would be a joint operating company run by the named shipping lines. This joint operation would allow the firing of hundreds of office workers and along with further cuts in the manning scales is being offered to the companies by the NMU in order to save a few jobs.

Actually the plan would only free more capital for use by the shipping lines to buy still more container-ships, LASH ships, and the like, and throw more men out of work. This part of the Nixon Plan was left vague in order to allow the shippers and the NMU to thrash it out on their own. But its plan, despite the NMU leadership's talk of "united waterfront action" to protect jobs, is still to go along with the job cuts in hopes of appeasing the owners.

The NMU leadership has even indicated that it is willing to take cuts in pay for passenger crewmen who ordinarily receive tips. The crews remaining on the ships would of course have to do more work due to the reduced manning scales.

CUTTING

But now Hoyt Haddock, President of the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee, which is dominated by the NMU, states that he has objections to the Nixon Plan, especially regarding the program for cutting wages which is contained in it. Haddock states

in the December NMU "Pilot": "This area is one that causes us some concern because it is the new basis to computing the operating differential subsidy and we have never been consulted on its formulation. (At the time of this writing, the details of the 'wage index' are not available)...We are anxiously awaiting the index. We have some reservation on the factors that may have been used to arrive at a conclusion for the index system."

The Nixon Plan, however, as published in the Journal of Commerce for October 24th, makes very clear that "Instead of paying the difference between wages of foreign seamen and actual wages on American ships...the government should compare foreign wages with prevailing wage levels in several sectors of the

NMU manning, the bureaucrats have managed to sell out any possible gains. The 15 day joint NMU-International Longshoremen's Association strike against the LASH (Lighter Aboard Ship) Acadia Forest is held up by Curran as an example of how the threat of job loss works and of how it must be met by the maritime unions. The NMU claims a victory in this strike on the basis that the Central Gulf Steamship Corporation agreed to operate all of its ships under the American flag and presumably with NMU manning. Central Gulf also agreed to train two electricians for LASH ship operations. Meanwhile Lykes Brothers and Prudential Lines, both manned by the NMU, are building eleven LASH ships between them with no objections raised from the NMU bureaucrats.

In return for union jobs for the four hundred or so men who can be employed on these twelve ships, the NMU leadership accepted fully the loss of over four thousand jobs on



CURRAN OF THE NMU AND SHULTZ SHAKE ON MARITIME SELLOUT

American economy. A policy which ties subsidies to this wage index will reduce subsidy costs and provide an incentive for further efficiencies...."

It could not be clearer that Nixon wants to cut wages of seamen and that the maritime bureaucrats have no perspective for stopping him.

Haddock goes on to criticize the Nixon Plan for doing nothing to stop the runaway-flag fleet, which has grown tremendously over the past year. (These ships are owned by foreign subsidiaries of American companies and employ foreign seamen at lower foreign wages--seamen on Hong Kong-flag ships average \$60 per month, for instance.) Haddock states: "We are hopeful that Secretary (of Defense) Laird will now look at the so-called 'effective control' concept, which erroneously claims that ships under the runaway flags are under the 'effective control' of the United States. This dangerous and false concept must be scrapped if our nation is ever to again achieve our rightful place as a first class maritime power."

While thousands of NMU and SIU jobs are lost to runaway flag ships, Haddock can only be "hopeful" that the Secretary of Defense will intervene in some way, even though the Secretary has said only that "the Department of Defense fully supports the building and maintaining of a strong and viable U.S. merchant marine," and not one word about actually saving jobs.

LASH

Even when the NMU through militant rank and file action has been able to get foreign-flag ships back under the American flag and with

the approximately one hundred ships that these LASH vessels can replace. Furthermore, these new ships can unload their barges directly into the water and really require no longshoremen at all, throwing hundreds more out of work.

SELL-OUT

Curran's sell-out policies in last year's contract negotiations paved the way for Nixon's Plan. The 1969 NMU contract provides no protection against layoffs, manning scale cuts, or runaway-flag ships. During and after negotiations this summer, Curran stated that a strike was unthinkable because it would threaten the existence of the industry, at least under private ownership. Hence he threatened no strike, keeping the struggle within the bounds of the operators making a profit, instead of posing nationalization of the lines in answer to the employers' claims of bankruptcy.

Although the NMU won the right to represent crews on foreign-flag ships owned by American companies, no campaign for improving conditions on these ships or on American-flag ships is planned. On the contrary, the clause in the Dry Cargo Contract granting the NMU the right to organize foreign-flag ships states: "The Union agrees that in the negotiation of the collective bargaining agreement covering said Unlicensed Personnel (NMU members), it will recognize the need of maintaining a competitive economic position for said (foreign-flag) vessels." In plain English, low wages and rotten working conditions will remain just as they are, in order to allow these older vessels to compete with the new and

highly efficient vessels to be built under the Nixon Plan and manned by American crews. This is the heart of the policy of "reasonable crew reductions" and "reasonable allowances" (i.e. pay cuts in jobs where tipping is necessary).

TIED

The contract provides further that "any question arising with respect to manning scales in the Deck and Engine Departments shall be referred to a joint industry committee composed of an equal number of employer and union representatives. This committee shall have full authority to act and their decisions shall be final and binding." This clause opens the door to cuts in manning scales on all NMU ships. The NMU bureaucrats have shown their willingness to cut manning on passenger liners in the past. It is clear that to compete against new ships built under the Nixon plan, old ships will have to have all expenses pared to the bone. This means speed-up, wage cuts if necessary, and above all reductions in crew size. Curran has tied the hands of the rank and file in opposing these cuts with his agreement to a bi-partite committee and binding arbitration to settle conditions of work on the ships.

The contract goes even further in this vein, prohibiting any action by the union. The no-strike pledge states: "The Unlicensed Personnel and the Union agree that during the life of this agreement and for any period of arbitration as provided for in this agreement there shall be no strikes, 'sitdowns,' 'quickies,' or other stoppages of work...Members of the union participating in any such stoppage of work shall be subject to discharge by the Company."

PRAISE

Even though the Nixon Plan was designed to pit Curran against Hall by not subsidizing NMU passenger liners while spreading the subsidy to SIU-manned vessels, Curran managed to praise the plan. The November issue of the NMU "Pilot" quotes him as saying: "We are happy that the administration has demonstrated its awareness of the maritime crisis and its desire to do something about it... We have to move much faster and on a broader scale to rebuild our merchant marine to the strength the nation requires..."

In other words, Curran's solution to the job cuts and union-busting provisions of the plan is to encourage it to be implemented all the faster. Curran was in fact so anxious to get the Nixon Plan made public that despite his no-strike pledge he arranged for the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee to threaten a "boycott"--a strike--against U.S. shipping to get it off Nixon's desk and into Congress.

TALK

What Curran's militant talk and occasional support of one-day and local strikes reflects is the pressure he is under from the NMU seamen. Behind the talk, Curran approaches defense of the membership with the same conceptions used by Hall--acceptance of the bosses' "right" to profits no matter what the expense is to the seamen, and the refusal to mount a political struggle against the government. Curran only vacillates between the ranks and the owners, trying to mediate, being forced now to threaten the bosses with a struggle, then turning around and selling out the same struggle, all the while wheeling and dealing with Nixon, the Congress, and the owners for something he can sell to the ranks as a victory.



DANY SYLVEIRE,
REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
BRITISH YOUNG SOCIALISTS
AND THE SOCIALIST
LABOUR LEAGUE

This is the first part of a two part interview by Pat Connolly with Dany Sylveire of the British Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League. Dany Sylveire was interviewed while she was in the United States where she spoke at the Workers League Eastern Regional Conference in New York and at a public meeting in Minneapolis.

SOCIALISM AND YOUTH

An Interview With Dany Sylveire- National Committee Young Socialists of Great Britain

We began a campaign to defend unemployed youth and to bring them into the Young Socialists, to unite employed and unemployed youth and workers. We organized several demonstrations.

In 1963, the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party went on record officially supporting our demonstration against unemployment. We organized a massive demonstration through the trade union movement. Trades Councils in the North-east of England (the biggest industrial area) supported the demonstration and 10,000 youth and adult workers demonstrated in London and lobbied Parliament. It was one of the largest political demonstrations of workers since World War II. We were not permitted to enter Parliament, so we hung our banners against unemployment on the Houses of Parliament. The police were called and there was a big scuffle with the mounted police. There was tremendous anger and militancy among the unemployed, and the Tories were forced to retreat on unemployment, and in fact they have not raised unemployment to that level since. This demonstration brought whole new layers of youth into the fight of the Young Socialists against the Labor leadership. That action of intervention into the class struggle enabled us to bring forces in from the working class to defeat the labor bureaucracy.

At the annual Labor Party Young Socialist Conference in 1963 for the first time we won a sizeable victory, passing many of our policies, and winning a section of the National Committee to support us.

In the annual conference in 1964 we won a total majority, all of our policies and positions were passed against the right wing, the state capitalists and the Pabloites, who voted together. Seven out of eleven National Committee members from the main industrial areas (Scotland, Northwest, Northeast, Middlesex, Yorkshire, etc.) were won by us.

Q. Why did the Labor Party leadership expel you?

A. The Labor Party bureaucracy was then preparing for the general election to be held in October, 1964, and they realized that they had lost the youth movement to us and that we would be a serious embarrassment and danger to them in the election period.

At first it was very much a question of debate and discussion, reflecting the middle class composition of the Labor Party Young Socialists at this time. We tried to break out of this, organizing big social activities, attracting broad layers of working class youth, as in Merseyside, Wigan, bringing new layers of youth into the Young Socialists.

Q. How did the Young Socialists become an independent revolutionary youth movement, that is, how did they break with the Labor Party?

A. In 1962, Keep Left was banned by the Labor Party for its consistent fight for socialist policies. Anyone caught selling or reading it was expelled. All of the revisionists said, "You're defeated, you'll collapse." We answered, "No, we'll carry forward the struggle", and the circulation of Keep Left went up even though it was being circulated clandestinely.

The first big political struggle in the Labor Party Young Socialists was over the question of unemployment. Unemployment went over one million in the winter of 1962-63, and we organized a national campaign to end unemployment under the Tory government. The main victims of this unemployment were teenagers and older workers over 40.

There were enormous attacks on youth, for instance youth standing on the dole queues who were caught smoking, wouldn't get the dole, etc.

Q. What were the origins of the Young Socialists?

A. The Young Socialists was set up by the Labor Party in 1960. Most of the old party regulars were getting older, and they needed new blood in the party, for canvassing, stamp licking, and so on. The Socialist Labour League intervened in the Labor Party Young Socialists from 1960 on with Keep Left, its youth paper. The main struggle was to transform the youth movement into a political weapon against the right wing of the Labor Party, and to provide an alternative leadership for the working class. The youth of the Labor Party Young Socialists tended to be middle class. The fight was to turn outward to organizing masses of working class youth into a political movement.

Q. What kind of policies did the SLL fight for inside the Labor Party Young Socialists?

A. The political struggle in the Young Socialists centered on fights for the policies of nationalization of basic industry under workers control without compensation; the withdrawal of troops from all colonial or semi-colonial countries, and the independence of the colonial countries; the fight against unemployment and deadend jobs and low wages for youth, and against police violence; for the nationalization of housing and the building industry; and for Labor to power on a socialist program.

The SLL intervened in the Labor Party on the basis of the analysis of the crisis of capitalism that was developing, but wasn't apparent on the surface in 1960. We intervened with an understanding that youth bear the brunt of this crisis: of unemployment and deadend jobs, low wages, automation, and of the way in which this would lead to the radicalization of youth much more rapidly than the older workers. The youth were not demoralized by past betrayals as were many older workers. They were more prepared to fight as they did not have the ties and responsibilities of older workers.

On the basis of this analysis, the SLL fought inside the Young Socialists to organize working class youth into the Labor Party to fight against the right wing bureaucracy of the Labor Party.



MASSIVE Y.S. ANTI-TORY RALLY IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE 1964

They decided to suspend the National Committee of the Young Socialists and began to close down Y.S. branches. As soon as they did, we called a national lobby of the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party to demand that they reinstate the branches. The National Executive Committee refused to reinstate the branches and began to close down branches all over the country, throwing them out of the Labor Party offices with the support of the state capitalists and the Pabloites.

At the same time there was developing a big radicalization of youth on the eve of the election of a Labor government. This was manifested in the development of the Mods and Rockers in 1964. Police were used on youth, who were victimized and given high fines, etc. We began a campaign to organize and unite youth against the employers and the police, organizing them into the Young Socialists, showing that there was no future for youth under capitalism, and fighting for Labor to power on the basis of socialist policies.

Q. What policy did you follow in answer to these attacks from the Labor Party right at a time when the capitalists were taking on the youth?

A. We decided that we had the choice to either remain inside the Labor Party and be silent on the betrayals to come, because to speak out against it involved facing expulsion. We would then be in the Labor Party when it became the government and attacked the working class.

Or we could continue the struggle, warning and preparing the working class for the betrayal of the Labor government and face expulsion. We consciously decided to struggle on our policies and established an independent revolutionary youth movement, after expulsions up and down the country. On the basis of our struggle more branches were closed and members expelled.

We called a meeting of the suspended National Committee of the Young Socialists and decided to call for a massive anti-Tory demonstration, calling for "Labor to Power on Socialist Policies" on the eve of the election of the Labor government. The Labor Party National Executive Committee sent out a letter to all Young Socialist branches saying that if they participated in any way in this demonstration they would automatically be expelled. On the day of the demonstration Labor Party organizers were at the assembly point of the march, taking the names of the Young Socialist branch banners. The demonstration was 3,000 strong. There were both Mods and Rockers united on the demonstration, and it won enormous support, ending up at Trafalgar Square with 4,000. There was a great deal of anti-Tory feeling among the masses of working class youth who had been radicalized in this period.

That was really the beginning of the big split between the Young Socialists and the Labor Party. It was our first independent action. We then prepared for the 5th annual conference of the Y.S. called for by the suspended National Committee, the first conference outside the Labor Party. That laid the basis of an independent revolutionary youth movement.

(TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK)

YSA MEETS THE CAPITALIST PRESS

12 ★ Friday, January 9, 1970

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Young Socialists gird Pragmatic Trotskyite youths seek to take radical reins from SDS

By Austin C. Wehrwein
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Minneapolis

The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the youth wing of the tiny Socialist Workers Party, is aiming to capture the leadership of radical youth from the splintered Students for a Democratic Society.

YSA is allied with the Socialist Workers Party, which states in the 1968 platform that its groups are supported by Trotsky, one of the revolutionaries.

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

Nothing could characterize the politics of the Young Socialist Alliance better than the relationship of this organization to the capitalist press. The rightward turn of the YSA at its recent convention was expressed in the YSA's whole campaign prior to and during the conference to cultivate a very "respectable" image in the eyes of the ruling class. The YSA substitutes publicity campaigns in the capitalist press for penetrating and mobilizing the working class, for building a revolutionary party.

It is not the working class but the liberal section of the capitalist class to which the YSA is looking for support. To this end the YSA-SWP even took off its proletarian cover and capitulated to all the forces hostile to the working class when it called off the demonstration to commemorate the historic struggles of the working class at Deputies Run.

And what did the YSA hold in place of the demonstration? A press conference. Arrangements with the capitalist press had obviously been made prior to the vote by the ranks on cancelling the demonstration. Only minutes after the vote was taken, the T.V. cameras rolled into the hall. Clearly the YSA has opened the doors to the bourgeoisie and closed them to the working class.

Now that the convention is over the YSA leadership is basking in the

ite) movements, said delegates from France, Denmark, Australia, and New Zealand would tour campuses in January and February.

Slogan rejected

glory heaped upon them by the capitalist press. In an article in the January 16th issue of the Militant, Les Evans puts it this way: "One indication of the growing influence of the Young Socialist Alliance, the American Trotskyist youth organization, was the coverage given by the daily press to its national convention in Minneapolis December 27-30." Evans goes on to quote from the favorable reviews received from the press, comparing them to the more unfavorable reports of the SDS conference in Michigan. Evans is overjoyed that the capitalist press finally realized how "respectable" and "responsible" the YSA really is.

There can be no doubt about it. The YSA has gained "influence" with the capitalist press--a very favorable influence. All of the quotes Evans uses only show that the spokesmen for capitalism could not be happier with the program put forward at this convention--liberalism. The YSA got such excellent coverage precisely because the ruling class sees little threat in the perspective outlined by the YSA for 1970.

There is one press report Mr. Evans forgot to mention, the report by the Christian Science Monitor. This paper headlined the convention with: "Young Socialists Gird--Pragmatic Trotskyite Youth Seek To Take Radical Rein from SDS." The Monitor hits the nail on the head: "Indicative of the YSA pragmatic approach was the defeat of a re-



YSA MEETS THE PRESS. IGNORES THE WORKING CLASS

solution to add the slogan 'Support the Vietnamese Revolution!' This happened not because the YSA does not support it but because it was felt that this position would lessen its appeal to nonsocialists."

It was indeed pragmatism that characterized the outlook of the YSA. Pragmatism begins with what exists now and not with changing it. It begins not from a principled political analysis and perspective but with what works now under the given circumstances, what will win immediate gains for the YSA. Pragmatism is the most vicious enemy of Trotskyism and the working class. It is the philosophy of the Henry Fords and has chained the working class to capitalism.

POPULAR

It is no wonder then that the capitalist press looks so kindly upon this tendency. It is precisely the YSA's

pragmatism and opportunism that makes it so popular with the ruling class. As the Monitor put it: "The competition with the Communist Party--YSA talks of 'socialism' not 'communism'--and the feud with the SDS gives a certain 'respectability' that, together with good manners, makes it more palatable to college administrators."

The YSA leadership's pandering to the capitalist press is but a further indication of its degeneration. It is not accidental that the YSA's open rejection of the working class at the convention is accompanied by a turn to the bitter enemies of the workers, the spokesmen of capitalism. This is the full impact of Pabloism, the liquidation of the revolutionary party. The independent struggle to construct a leadership for the working class is forsaken for the more "fruitful" publicity ploys with the bourgeoisie.

union busting at bklyn college

BY MELODY FARROW

BROOKLYN--On January 8th, a meeting was held at Brooklyn College to rally support for 15 lecturers in the School of General Studies who have been fired by the college.

A total of 35 lecturers in the City University have been fired by the Board of Education in a city-wide attack. Many of the 15 lecturers fired at Brooklyn have taught there for 10 to 15 years. Lecturers teach about 40% of all classes.

The lecturers recently won an election for representation by the United Federation of College Teachers and negotiated a contract this past October. According to the Board of Education, the lecturers have no job security and the contract was not supposed to go into effect until next year!

The main issue, as was made clear by all the teachers who spoke, is not interpretation of the contract but an open attempt to busy the union. Chancellor Bowker has stated that "collective bargaining has no place in the university."

The firing of lecturers is only the beginning. The intention of the Board of Education is to attack the entire School of General Studies which makes up almost half of the student body at Brooklyn College. Most of the students work and have families and can only attend school at night. The destruction of the SGS and all night schools would make it impossible for these students to continue their studies. Steps are already being taken in this direction by raising the tuition in SGS from \$14 to \$28 per credit and starting the classes at 6 p.m. instead of 2 p.m. The lecturers who are being fired are to be replaced by graduate students.

But the attack is not even confined to this one section of the college. The Board of Education hired a group from Colorado to make a report which denounces the whole concept of the City University and called for "short courses of traditional value" to replace the liberal arts program. These moves are the very real fruits of last Spring's budget cuts.

LINDSAY

The head of the UFCT at Hunter College said at the meeting that just before the new term 25% of the courses were cut at Hunter and only a threat of strike action prevented it. The speaker denounced Lindsay as the enemy of the union and said that the open admissions due to start in the fall would be complete chaos with less courses and less teachers.

The union intends to fight these firings by arbitration and in the courts. Petitions are being passed around and students are urged to boycott the classes of the graduate students. But this is not enough. The City and the universities cannot be fought in the courts which will back them up all the way. This is not a problem of legality but of an attempt to destroy trade unionism among teachers, and the bosses never let legality stop them a bit.

What is essential for victory is the building of a united fight by all the students and teachers including the graduate students who are being used as scabs by the college. The union must take up the fight against these attacks city wide and begin to prepare a strike to shut down all city university if necessary.

JAVITS PLAN THREATENS G.E. STRIKERS

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

It was certain that the Nixon government couldn't keep their hands off the G.E. strike for very long. Republican Senator Jacob Javits declared last Sunday that the strike had "lasted long enough." He wants a three man team, "voluntarily" approved by the twelve striking unions AND G.E. to investigate the strike, to "bridge the gap" between this gigantic international corporation and the striking unions.

Javits' proposal carries the dark warning of a heavy hand: "There comes a time when the parties may need to accept some help when the public interest requires it." Perhaps by "public interest" he means dividends on General Electric Co. common and preferred stock? The real nature of compulsory arbitration or other binding methods is shown, with the warning of a whole gamut of repressive tactics that will

be employed by the Washington agents of G.E. to break the strike.

The point is that no "bridging the gap" can take place, short of sellout, without every single demand raised by the union going into the settlement contracts, without every cent of back wages being paid in full.

With Senator Javits' proposal, the Nixon government's mask of "patience" and "impartiality" regarding the nationwide strike begins to show some cracks. In the next period it will be torn away completely, revealing the campaigns of repression with which Nixon plans to meet every forward movement of the working class, and the necessity for a labor party will be posed all the more sharply as the next step in the struggle of the American working class against the employers.

No Government Intervention! Mass Rallies to Support Strikers!

POLITICIANS AND MAFIOSO IN NEW JERSEY



HUGH
ADDONIZIO,
INDICTED
MAYOR
OF NEWARK

BY MARTY JONAS

NEWARK-- The recent revelations about crime and corruption in New Jersey expose the nature of capitalism and capitalist politics. The dividing line between capitalist politics and organized crime, between legal and illegal big business operations is almost non-existent. As the New York Times put it, reporting the testimony of Martin Zelmanowitz at the DeCarlo trial, "the witness said he was unable to determine what part of his income was legitimate and what part dishonest."

The new "DeCarlo" disclosures are perhaps the most sweeping yet. These are culled from four years worth of tape-recordings from an electronic eavesdropping device hidden near the headquarters of Angelo (Gyp) DeCarlo, a reputed Mafia leader in New Jersey. The transcripts of the recorded conversations fill 1,200 pages.

PAYOFFS

These conversations chronicle four years of protection payoffs to politicians and police. Many major political figures are featured, both Republican and Democrat. Figuring in payoffs are the now-indicted Mayor of Newark, Hugh Addonizio, former

State Police Superintendent Dominick R. Capello, and John V. Kenny, David T. Wilentz, and Dennis F. Carey, the three most powerful men in the New Jersey Democratic Party machine in the 60's.

CESSPOOL

The DeCarlo tapes go even deeper into the cesspool of bourgeois politics, which we only get a hint of in the Newark scandals. Here, the Mayor of one of the largest American cities stands indicted of income-tax evasion and 66 counts of extortion. Besides Addonizio, fourteen others have been indicted for extortion payoffs totalling \$253,000, including present and past city officials and Mafia leaders. The entire City Council has been subpoenaed. As one person put it, "There's a price on everything at City Hall."

Also under separate investigation is the Mafia infiltration of the Internal Revenue Service in Newark.

CAHILL

Newly elected New Jersey Governor William T. Cahill has promised a clean-up of organized crime as soon as he steps into office. This is the same Cahill who finished a gubernatorial race in November which consisted of trying to outdo his opponent, Meyner, in digging up sinister connections with crime and corruption. All that their electoral zeal proved was that both were equally in league with crooks and racketeers.

New Jersey is not unique. Across the Hudson River, in Yonkers, New York, investigations have been uncovering the way in which the municipal government works hand-in-hand with gangsters and racketeers.

This mounting collection of facts about crime in the big cities reveals not the sordid and seamy side of capitalist politics, but capitalist politics as it REALLY is. This same vein of corruption runs through all of American politics. It was LBJ, who as his last act as President, signed over valuable Texas land to his oil cronies. San Francisco's Mayor Alioto, while still a lawyer,

split a fee with the State Attorney General--Alioto's take came to \$700,000.

THIEVERY

These people are the political servants of a system which is based on thievery. The capitalist system is based on the exploitation of those who must work for a living. Its political servants--the Addonizios, the Johnsons, the Nixons--have the job of seeing that this exploitation is carried out in the most effective way and guarded by laws. It is a system whose thievery knows no limits; it will kill off an entire

people, as it is trying to do in Vietnam, to get what it needs.

So it is no surprise to find these thieves consorting with other thieves.

The politicians who have posed as "friends of the working man" are now winding up before the bench exposed as common crooks. It is high time the labor movement broke with these crooks and their more "respectable" cohorts that make up the Democratic and Republican parties. All the trials and investigations are not going to solve the problem because the root of the problem is capitalism itself. The only alternative is the fight for a workers' government and a socialist society.

SSEU Ranks Prepare for Strike Action Against City

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK-- The rank and file of the Social Service Employees Union-371 will vote in a membership strike referendum on January 23rd on whether or not to strike. We say that what is required is for the 11,000 strong SSEU-371 membership to give the City the biggest YES vote for strike action ever seen in a union referendum.

This strike referendum has been virtually forced on the Morgenstern leadership midway through the 1969 contract as a result of the tremendous rebellion in the ranks over the rapidly deteriorating working conditions in the work locations, the rising caseloads, the speed up, harassment, demotions, and now threats of time studies.

What is now posed to the union is not only the necessity for an overwhelming YES vote in the Jan. 23rd referendum but the necessity to use this referendum as the occasion to launch an all out offensive against the City, aimed at nothing short of ripping off the reorganization noose from around the membership's neck once and for all.

Within the SSEU it is the SSEU Committee for New Leadership which has taken up this fight.

The Morgenstern leadership, through its utter inaction in preparing for a strike, combined with its completely rotten negotiating position, is undermining the potential for this YES vote at every step.

While the Morgenstern leadership sabotages the mobilization of the ranks through its posture of utter weakness, the Progressive Labor-backed Worker-Client Alliance complements Morgenstern with its open advocacy of no strike.

WCA

The real division of labor between the bureaucracy and the WCA must be grasped at every point. In this situation the WCA by pulverizing staff morale in the centers where it is active strengthens Morgenstern's ability to shove across one or another rotten deal with the City and prevent a strike vote on Jan. 23rd.

That these two forces stand shoulder to shoulder against the ranks in this referendum was brought home sharply at the Delegates Assembly meeting of January 13th where both began to lay heavy emphasis on the fact that the next real struggle before the union would really be the struggle over the 1971 contract.

We say that the SSEU cannot afford to wait until 1971. The fight is now. We say that a no strike vote on Jan. 23rd will be an absolute disaster for the SSEU. It will be a green light to the City to press forward its attacks of the past period only ten times more vigorously than ever before.

At the Jan. 21st membership meeting the CNL intends to see that any deal cooked up between Morgenstern and Goldberg on the basis of the leadership's phoney strike demands is completely rejected and that the recommendation of this membership meeting to the ranks be for a YES vote on Jan. 23rd.

As the latest leaflet of the CNL makes clear, a YES vote on Jan. 23rd is going to mean a resounding NO to reorganization and YES to full rehiring, return to the 60 caseload, penalty clauses to prevent caseload violations, the reopening of promotion, no earmarking, reinstatement of field days, elimination of the harassment procedures and the unconditional defense of the HCIs and DER.

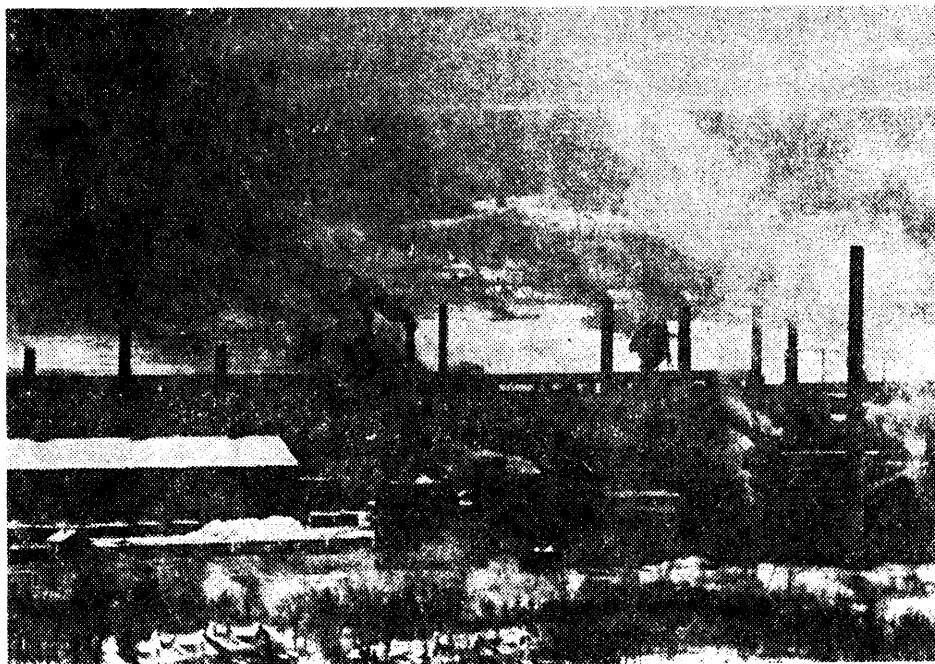
At every point beginning Jan. 21st the CNL intends to fight for a new negotiating and strike committee based on this perspective.

U.S. Steel Threatens to Shut Huge Duluth Plant

BY BOB JOHNSON

DULUTH-- U.S. Steel has threatened to shut down its huge plant in Duluth, Minnesota rather than pay for improvements to meet new state anti-pollution standards. While the plant for years has made western Duluth the dirtiest and smokiest part of town and pumped filth daily into the St. Louis River, the issue is not pollution.

Thousands of Duluth workers and their families depend for their living on the U.S. Steel plant which is Duluth's largest single employer. Whole sections of western Duluth, particularly Morgan Park, would become a disaster area in a town that itself is not far away from such a designation. What has happened to Northern Minnesota's Iron Range as the bosses phased out less productive mines and facilities dumping thousands out of work, now is the prospect facing Duluth itself. Duluth, the city of mansions of the big families whose names are spelled "Shipping", "Lumber", "Mining", is today a far cry from the busy industrial center it was yesterday. Once the natural resources of the area have been exploited and made wealthy the big families, the plants are shut down--at the expense of the workers who built the area.



U.S. STEEL CO. PLANS TO PHASE OUT ITS PLANT IN DULUTH, MINN.

It is a case of the Swift plant closing all over again. The U.S. Steel plant was built in 1915 and now is "uncompetitive" with newer plants at home and abroad. The company recently arrogantly suggested to the state that it be allowed to phase out its operations in Duluth over a five year period and not require any anti-pollution improvements. When the proposal was re-

jected, the company threatened to shut the plant down. What the company wants is subsidies from the state for a few years during which the operations will be phased out.

We demand that there be no closing. If U.S. Steel can't run the plant and make the improvements, then the plant must be nationalized under workers control and in the interests of the working class.