

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 6, NO. 12-126

DECEMBER 22, 1969

TEN CENTS

**Progressive Labor  
For  
Strike Breaking  
In SSEU**

*750,000 Defense-Space Workers Next*

COVER

JUL 29 1976

INFLATION

# AUTO BARONS LAY-OFF 60,000 FOR XMAS

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The present given by the GM and Chrysler bosses to thousands of auto workers this Christmas is just a bitter foretaste of what Nixon's economic policies will mean for American workers in 1970.

It has now been announced that General Motors, worried over burgeoning inventories of unsold cars, will close 11 of its 23 assembly plants for 4 additional days during the Christmas to New Years holidays and 9 others throughout the holiday period,

affecting some 60,000 workers. Chrysler had already earlier announced a similar plan to close 7 of its plants from one to two weeks during this same period.

Henry Ford now predicts a 7% slump in auto sales in the industry as a whole during 1970. This means only one thing: that the auto bosses' 1969 Christmas present will be repeated many times throughout the coming year. With auto standing at the very center of the U.S. economy a slump in employment here must of necessity

spiral throughout the economy striking simultaneously in steel, rubber, and thousands of big and small industries alike. This opens the door to a tremendous sharpening of the class struggle in the U.S. as American labor not only fights to maintain its wages against the ravages of inflation but also fights desperately against lay-offs and plant closures.

It is now becoming clear to the employers and workers alike that

( CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO )



**g.e. talks  
break off -  
strike at  
crisis stage**

OPEN LETTER TO THE YSA

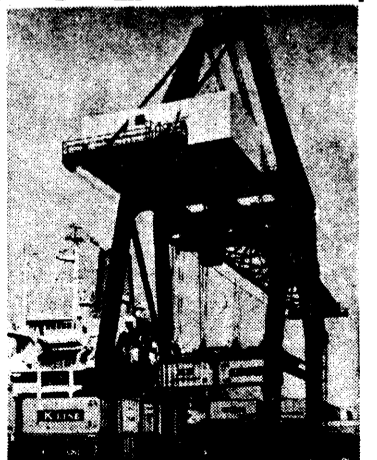
**TROTSKY'S  
STRUGGLE --  
MINNEAPOLIS 1934  
AND OUR TASKS**



**CRISIS IN MARITIME II**

**WORLD WIDE**

**ATTACKS  
ON  
DOCKERS**



# AUTO BOSSES LAY OFF 60,000 FOR XMAS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Nixon's program for coming to grips with inflation is not working out as planned. For some twelve months now the Nixon Administration has carried out sharply deflationary monetary and fiscal policies. The expectation was that a moderate slow-down in economic expansion would be accompanied by a moderation in inflation. This, of course, has not been the case. Without solving the original

problem, inflation, which continues unabated, the Nixon Administration is now risking a deep recession. These developments now coincide with a tremendous stock market slide with hundreds of issues hitting new three year lows as the capitalists

bling to introduce not new capacity, but the latest in automated equipment in preparation for the cut throat competition ahead. This investment rather than opening new jobs has the effect of wiping out thousands of existing jobs, thereby re-enforcing the recessionary trend.

the question of Nixon's economic program. This split has found its expression in the Federal Reserve board itself, a minority of which now advocate slacking the reins so as to avoid what in their opinion will be a serious recession. Their view is given sharper expression by Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago who has become the mouthpiece in economic circles for those sections of industry that are hurting under Nixon's economic squeeze. At the same time former Johnson and Nixon advisor, Pierre Rinfret, gave a speech last week belittling in the harshest terms the meager anti-inflation measures of the Nixon Administration and calling for far sharper restrictive measures.

Similarly in the Senate, while Agnew lambasted the Democrats for "fiscal irresponsibility" with all the gusto with which he had attacked the press a few weeks earlier, an \$800 tax exemption provision was dropped on the President's tax reform bill and a 15% hike in social security benefits likewise adopted, threatening to erode the planned '70 budget surplus to bring the budget in balance.

#### SPLIT

Although the split on economic policy within the ruling class must more and more take on the proportions of the splits already in effect over Vietnam, reflecting the extreme disorientation of the capitalists as well as its contradictory interests, the main pattern of development into early 1970 will be recessionary. Nixon has made it clear that for the time being the brakes are to remain on.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

At the same time the main challenge to Nixon is whether or not he can in the coming period significantly drive down the living standards of American workers.

This is in fact the fundamental purpose of Nixon's recessionary policies and the axis around which the question of controlling inflation revolves. Nixon went over to recessionary policies precisely to bring

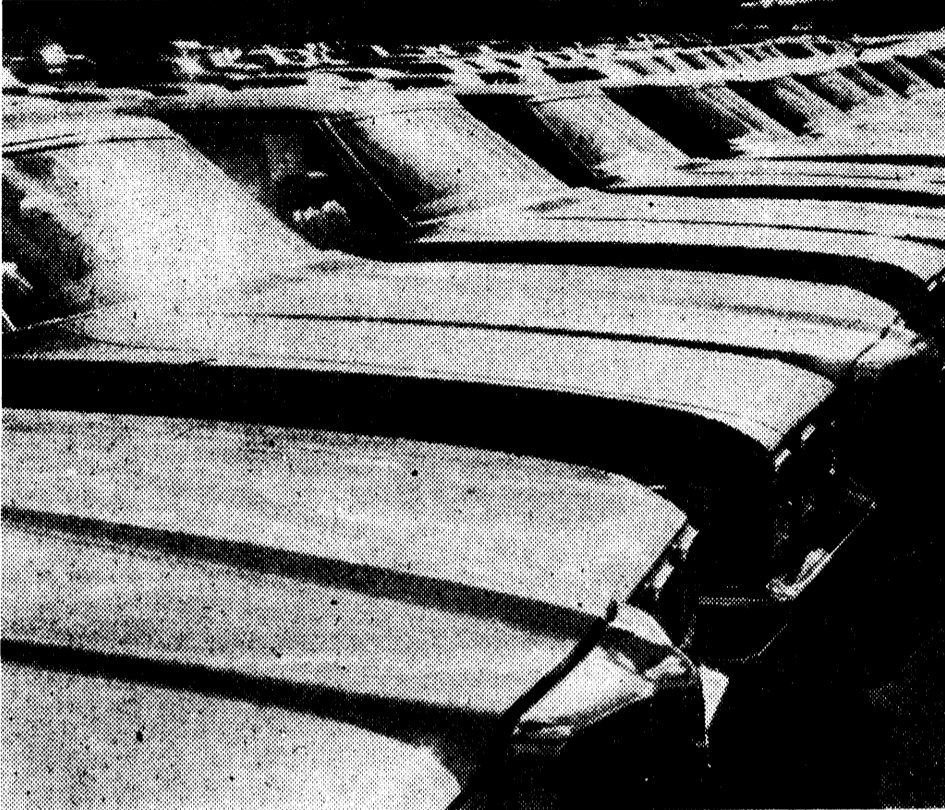
about a level of unemployment under which he could try to take on the American trade unions. The G.E. strike is showing once again that the workers under conditions of relatively full employment will not accept Nixon's bitter medicine, and moderate their wage demands for the sake of his anti-inflation program.

Now, however, ominous signs of unemployment have begun to appear. The apparent downturn in unemployment in October was subsequently revealed to be no downturn at all when it was shown that unemployment figures did not reflect the elimination of thousands of women and student workers from the labor force. The average work week has likewise fallen from the March level of 40.9 to 40.5. On top of this are the GM and Chrysler layoffs, not to mention the increasing pace of job losses in longshore and maritime with the introduction of containerization and layoffs of American flag ships. It is now official that in 1970 280,000 civilian employees of the Defense Department are to lose their jobs along with an estimated 212,000 in defense industries, not to mention the swelling of the ranks of the unemployed that must result with the anticipated cut in the ranks of the military of 220,000.

#### MOBILIZATION

What is clearly being prepared in the United States by the Nixon Administration are conditions under which an Italian "Red Autumn" or a French "May-June" can erupt on American soil. This is what the capitalists fear most and more than anything else is at the root of its falling out over economic issues.

What is posed to American capitalism is that the next mobilization on the Capitol Mall will consist of of hundreds of thousands of angry trade unionists, angry not just over Nixon's war in Vietnam, but at his war against them, their jobs and living standards. The Workers League is preparing for this event through the fight in the unions today for the construction of a labor party.



UNSOLD NEW CARS PILE UP ON A DEALER'S LOT IN DETROIT AS RECESSION THREATENS.

problem, inflation, which continues unabated, the Nixon Administration is now risking a deep recession.

Practically all the traditional indicators of capitalist economics have pointed downward since early fall-- industrial production, housing starts, sales. Practically the only indicator pointing in the opposite, upward direction, are U.S. businesses' plans for increased capital spending in 1970 which continue to strain money markets and interest rates. But this, far from contradicting the otherwise recessionary picture, only confirms it. The industrial giants are scram-

despair of any early solution to inflation and the accompanying return of economic expansion.

#### BUST

What in fact is now posed by a continuation of Nixon's program of restraint is an out and out bust for the U.S. economy, a major recession going over into a depression.

It is this worry both from the standpoint of what a recession will do in terms of radicalizing labor as well as the damage it will do to whole sections of U.S. industry, that is now splitting the bourgeoisie on

## DANY SYLVEIRE - YOUNG SOCIALISTS OF GREAT BRITAIN speaks on "SOCIALISM AND YOUTH"

**MINNEAPOLIS**

**Saturday**

**Dec. 27**

**8 PM**

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**(on Church St.)**

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**main campus**



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**FIRST SHOWING IN UNITED STATES OF FILM ON WORKERS PRESS-TROTSKYIST DAILY**

# wsa expels workers league member

BY STEVE ZELTZER

SAN FRANCISCO-- The theoretical and day to day crisis that FL, Worker Student Alliance Caucus and SDS face will in no way be resolved by their expulsion of myself, a member of the Workers League, from the Worker Student Alliance Caucus.

This, though was the harried reply that Progressive Labor and some members of WSA had to my joining the League and the beginning of an open fight for its' politics within the caucus.

Two excuses were given for the basis of my expulsion from the caucus. The first dealt with the question of racism and the so called "racist" position that the Workers League has on nationalism.

The first case in point was the role and nature of black caucuses within the working class and the student movement, i.e. black student unions.

The position of Progressive Labor on this question was that nationalism played a reactionary role. However, at this time it is correct to work within black caucuses, black student unions and other nationalist organizations.

## NATIONALISM

On page 63 of their pamphlet "A Plan For Black Liberation," they state "Our party of course agrees that the special exploitation of the Black working people requires special organizations. But within the Black battalions we build toward united power by fighting for WORKING CLASS CONTENT in black struggles."

In other words they want to have the cake and eat it too. Form and content are inseparable although PL would have us believe that you can build black caucuses without building nationalism.

With this in mind, the Workers League was attacked as racist because it calls for the building of caucuses in the unions uniting both black and white workers which in the words of PL "denies the special oppression of black people."

Neither nationalism nor racism will be fought by making opportunist concessions to nationalism. Progressive Labor still has not learned the lesson of its support of the nationalist demands of the San Francisco State strike and until it does, it will continue to blunder into exactly the same situations.

The second reason given for my expulsion was the Workers League's antagonism and opposition to the "Pro-working class program" (Campus Worker-Student Alliance) of PL, WSA, and SDS.

The Campus Worker-Student Alliance, the main program of WSA and SDS was first put forward by Fred Gordon of PL and the SDS National Interim Committee in the Sept. 22 issue of SDS New Left Notes.

## ALLIANCE

Fred Gordon raises two political points which he sees as important in the Campus Worker-Student Alliance. The first is that "The purpose of a pro-working class student movement is to win students and mental workers to ally with other workers." And second, "the best way to begin the transformation of SDS from an increasingly pro-working class movement to one in fact allied with workers, is to begin on campus."

He suggests students in SDS do this by "Getting to know the workers," getting campus jobs and organizing support for a campus workers' struggle or "study the situation and launch struggles against particular abuses."

## REVOLUTIONARY

But this supposedly "pro-working class program" becomes nothing but a "left" cover for student power activities on campus. The point is that a working class program does not "begin on the campus" but in the working class and the revolutionary party. Students can fight for the victory of the working class not through "alliances" with workers but by becoming part of the revolutionary movement and fighting for



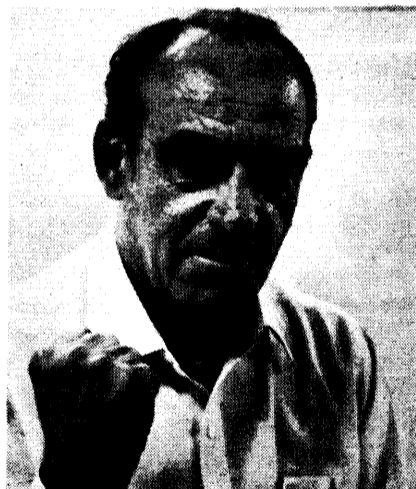
DURING LAST YEAR'S STRIKE WSA NEGLECTED STRUGGLE OF UNION TEACHERS

a working class program for state power.

My expulsion from the WSA represents in fact, a deep hostility

on the part of PL and its followers to the revolutionary perspective of the working class--Trotskyism-- and to the revolutionary party.

## Yablonski Charges Dishonesty In UMW Election



BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

Joseph Yablonski, despite all kinds of chicanery on Boyle's part, was able to chalk up a vote of 43,307 to 75,680 in his presidential challenge within the United Mine Workers Union. This is one more indication of the movement of the rank and file of the American trade unions against the labor bureaucracy.

Yablonski has called the election "the most dishonest in the history of the American labor movement." While there is a lot of competition for this title, there is no doubt that Tony Boyle is in the running.

Yablonski supporters are making some 100 separate complaints to the Labor Department about it. There were two Kentucky-Tennessee districts where the vote was reported as 3,723 to 87 which is so completely out of line with the proportion elsewhere that there is a real question of fraud. In addition Boyle was able to legally use the large, but more conservative, vote of retired miners against the working miners who are more prepared for a fight.

It is not that the government feared Yablonski as Yablonski but rather they feared the resurgent rank and file workers who stood behind Yablonski and utilized his election to express themselves.

What Yablonski points out about the Labor Department only underlines the falsity of basing one's struggle in the American labor movement on petitions to the government and the courts--a policy which Yablonski, like James Morrissey in the National Maritime Union, is a great practitioner of. The Labor Department has no intention of aiding the rank and file in dumping those labor leaders who are such faithful servants of the bosses and capital in general.

Yablonski now is placing all his bets on Labor Department action to reverse the election. But he also had to reveal that the Labor Department refused to supervise the election, thus aiding Boyle. He also pointed out that the Landrum-Griffin Law was interpreted by those who administer it in the Labor Department as they wished. And, obviously, they had no great wish to see Tony Boyle dumped as head of the UMW.

Yablonski is only repeating the experience of Morrissey in the NMU. While the Labor Department finally

intervened in the NMU to force Curran to re-hold the 1966 election in 1969, it then ruled on those qualified to vote in the 1969 election in such a way as to assure the victory of Curran over Morrissey. Thus the net effect of its intervention in the NMU was to make Curran appear to be "democratically" elected.

There is no force outside the labor movement that can be relied upon to defend the rights of the ranks. Only the ranks can do that. What is needed now in the UMW is for the ranks to organize themselves to carry forward their own struggle in their own interests. The Yablonski vote is only a first step in that direction. This rank and file movement must not allow itself to be sidetracked into futile pleadings to the boss-controlled Labor Department and courts.

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## 30 state teachers fired

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO-- The recent firing of 30 teachers, 25 of whom are in the American Federation of Teachers, and notices of termination to all non-tenured members of the AFT's Executive Committee at San Francisco State College can only be seen as a continuing attack on the union and on any political opposition to the local administration and California state government.

The firings which came on the heels of last year's strike at S.F. State were not only aimed at the teachers' union at State but at many other state colleges teachers' unions as well.

## DESTROYING

At Chico State College over 26 teachers were given notices of term-

ination and at San Jose State over 15 were given the notices.

The California State College administration is intent on destroying all teachers' unions in the system and on throwing out any and all teachers who openly and actively oppose the slash in the state college budget, the denial of admission to working class minorities and whites and the political repression of the student radicals.

Petitions against the union-busting tactics and political repression must be brought before all unions in the city, demanding the rehiring of the dismissed teachers. The Central Labor Council in San Francisco must prepare necessary action to get the teachers back and show the government that the labor movement will answer these attacks in full force.



# General Electric Strike Enters Critical Stage

BY THE EDITORS

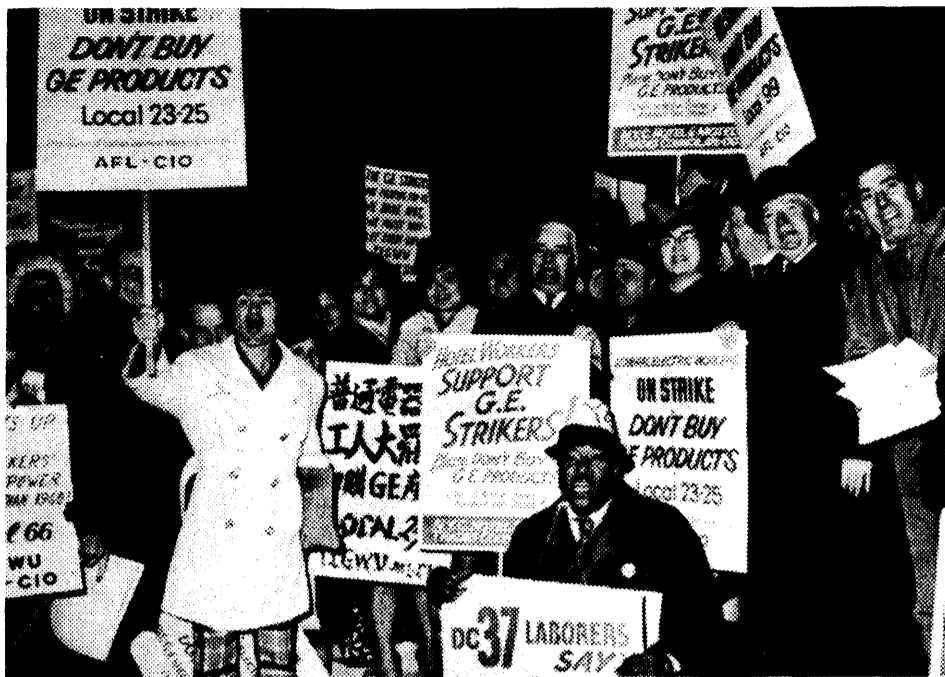
The General Electric strike has now entered a critical stage. The unions have been forced to break off negotiations when faced with the arrogant refusal of the G.E. bosses to seriously negotiate on a single point.

John Shambo, chief negotiator for the IUE, stated to G.E.: "... you have refused to name any one issue on which you are ready to make any movement to narrow the gap between us."

Fred J. Bosch, G.E. chairman, used a meeting of security analysts to make clear G.E.'s intention of seeking to bring the unions to their knees. While announcing that earnings would be little in the 4th quarter and all but wiped out in the first quarter of 1970, he also made clear that G.E. would make no concessions to the workers. Obviously G.E. has prepared a long time for this strike and is willing to undergo a temporary profit loss in the interest of its long term billions.

"We do not intend to offer more," Bosch stated. "We feel we have gone the limit in fully meeting..." its bargaining responsibilities.

So the half dozen men who make the decisions in General Electric have decided that the workers will



PART OF RECENT NYC CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL BOYCOTT PICKET LINE AT MACY'S stay out, spending Christmas on limited funds and into the new year until such time as the unions accept what G.E. dictates.

This giant must be brought to its knees, for what is at stake is an offensive not only against G.E. workers but all of American labor. Everyone knows G.E. is acting in the interests of Nixon and all big business to forestall a wage offensive next

year as millions of workers seek to get back what the bosses' inflation has taken from them.

Wherever unions have organized \$1 collections and G.E. boycott picketing, they have received a warm response from rank and file unionists. Not only have these gestures been spottily organized, but they are not enough. The ranks of the 18 million organized workers are more than

willing to join with their fellow G.E. workers and teach Bosch and friends a lesson. But for this there must be a program and leadership-- more of a program than \$1 bills and boycotts, and more leadership than George Meany who boasts about never leading a strike.

NATIONALIZED

The Workers League is fighting in the unions and among students demanding that labor organize mass rallies across the country which will pose the threat of a general strike if necessary to win the strike demands, and to demand the building of an independent labor party in answer to Nixon and G.E.'s strike-breaking buddies in Congress.

At the same time the Workers League points out that workers should not be beholden to arrogant men like Bosch who make decisions affecting the livelihood of millions. Bosch and his friends are not needed to produce refrigerators and light bulbs. We demand that they and their fellow bosses be thrown out and their firms nationalized under the control of the workers. This must be a central plank in any real party of American labor.

## INJUNCTION HITS HOTPOINT WORKERS

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CICERO, ILL. -- The union leaders in General Electric Hotpoint Division demonstrated their worth by placing their stamp of approval on an injunction against their own union, local 571 of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association.

The injunction limits the number of pickets to 10 at the main gates and five at all other entrances. It is the product of a joint agreement between the courts, G.E. and the union.

One of the primary reasons for the injunction, in the strategy of G.E. appears to be to create havoc with the union's system of strike-fund distribution. Only workers who appear on the picket lines are eligible for strike benefits. This means that the injunction is being violated daily by workers who need the \$25 per week to feed their families. It appears virtually certain that once G.E. officials prod the Cicero police force into motion, the injunction will become a major tool for the victim-

no rights whatsoever."

In expressing agreement with the injunction the leaders of local 571 are really legitimizing this form of legal attack on trade union rights, and laying the basis for further attacks upon the striking workers.

Instead this leadership should have denounced the injunction as the anti-working class measure that it is, and sought the aid of other unions to expose this court as a pliant tool of the General Electric Company. These court actions can be defeated by the united action of the trade union movement. The Workers League says: FIGHT POLITICALLY AGAINST ALL INJUNCTIONS.

MILITANCY

From the beginning the Hotpoint strike has been dominated by an extraordinary vacillation and lack of foresight on the part of the union leadership, and an equally extraordinary militancy on the part of the workers.

G.E. was dealt a devastating blow here when all of their workers walked out, although only 1600 of the 3800 industrial workers were members of the union at the onset of the strike. In addition, reports have it that attempts to put their 600 office workers on the machines has met with complete rejection. These workers are taking out decades of pent up hostility on the company. G.E. had planned to break this union.

One Hotpoint official put it this way: "Considering that there isn't a union shop and that the Sheet Metal Workers had only about half the workers paying dues when the strike started, we're surprised they've done so well."

After the first week in which 18 strikers were arrested in the struggle against scabs, the company has been unable to recruit enough scab labor

Because of the holidays the Bulletin will not publish next week. The next issue will appear on January 5th. We wish to extend our warmest greetings of the season to all our readers and their families.

to open even a single assembly line. Repeated attempts over the radio, in full page advertisements, and personal letters to the workers, have failed to produce a scab force over 100.

The scabs are working in sub-assembly and maintenance. More important, the strikers have the full support of the Teamsters, and nothing is being shipped to or from the plants.

## G.E. STRIKERS DIG IN AT OAKLAND

BY STEWART NOLAN

OAKLAND, CALIF.-- Picket lines at G.E. in Oakland are going "round the clock."

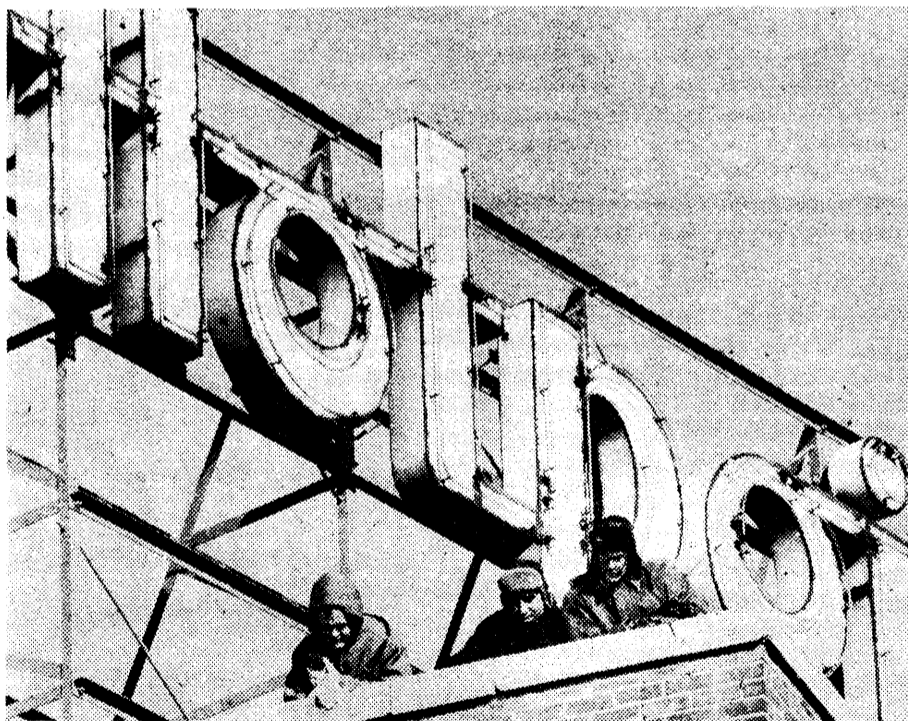
At present, strikers are pulling four hour shifts which are being run like a Raiders' defense line. "Nothing crosses these lines". No one seems to be kidding themselves here, "The way things are going we may be out til next spring".

When asked about scab trucks making runs to San Jose plants (where the cops are insuring "law and order" by keeping picket lines open for scabs to pass through) one picket exclaimed "I sure hope they jack those trucks up!"

The General Electric workers are in the forefront of a fight the consequences of which will affect all workers. There must be a solidification of the trade union movement. No scab trucks loaded, mass political rallies in support of G.E. strikers. This strike must win!

## Thermo-King Men Back G.E. Strikers

MINNEAPOLIS-- Thermo - King (Westinghouse) workers, members of Steelworkers Local 2175, voted unanimously to send \$1000 from the Local's funds to aid the General Electric strikers, at the December 4th meeting for 1st shift. They voted down by a large margin a 2nd shift proposal to limit this aid to a collection in the plant.



COMPANY MEN ON PLANT ROOF USE RADIO AND CAMERA TO SPY ON STRIKERS

ization of these workers.

"COMPROMISE"

At the meeting last week union leaders explained that it was necessary to express approval of the injunction as the court was planning even greater blows against the union should they fail to cooperate. The injunction was also described as a "compromise" and "a sign of good faith on the part of the union."

But this logic did not sit well with many of the rank and file. As one worker explained to this reporter: "A few more compromises like this, and we will have

### Bulletin

EDITOR: Lucy St. John  
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# FASCISM AND THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS 1930-1933

## PART THREE--THE BETRAYAL OF THE TRADE UNIONS

**RIGHT UP** to the very end of their existence, despite the treachery of the leaders, the workers' organizations maintained their position in the working class. Few organized workers succumbed to the racist poison churned out incessantly by the Nazi propaganda machine, so generously endowed by the heads of German industry and banking.

In fact, if we measure the votes of the two workers' parties against the Nazi performance from 1928, the picture in the table below emerges.

The March 1933 'elections' were, of course, held under conditions of anti-communist terror, whipped up after the deliberate burning of the Reichstag building by the Nazis. But even here, the hard core of the proletariat stuck fast to their party and trade union organizations.

We have already seen how the Social-Democratic leaders responded to this class loyalty on the part of the rank and file. But even their treachery pales before criminal double of the trade union bureaucrats, who even more than the party leaders, had it within their power to organize a real, industrially-based challenge to the emerging Nazi regime. These men had the power to stop Hitler, even if only to save their own skins.

### **No resistance**

We shall see that from early 1933 on, they had completely other plans—

*Street fighting in Berlin  
between detachments  
of the Communist Party and Nazis.  
The working class  
was always prepared to fight back,  
but was to be betrayed  
at every turn  
by all the parties and especially  
the trade union leaderships.*

true, which were designed to save their skins—which delivered up the trade unions to the Nazis without even token resistance. And they lost their own skins.

Under the last Weimar Chancellor, General Kurt von Schleicher, the union leaders had already indicated in a guarded way their willingness to accept a Nazi regime. On November 28, five



days before he took office, von Schleicher invited union leaders to discuss the formation of a new administration based on a coalition between the army, represented by von Schleicher himself, the trade unions, and the 'left' Nazis headed by Gregor Strasser (who were thought by many dupes to be genuine socialists who had ended up in the wrong party).

The president of the ADGB (the German TUC), Theodor Leipart, accepted the invitation. But seeing it as an attempt to cut the trade unions adrift from their traditional ties with the SPD, the leaders of the Party summoned Leipart to an emergency meeting, where he was instructed to break off all such contacts with von Schleicher and the 'left' Nazis.

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

Ignoring this pressure, the ADGB leadership went ahead, and only declined to join the new cabinet because it contained too many figures hopelessly discredited by the wage-cutting tactics of the previous Papen regime.

But for those who could read the signs, it was clear that the trade union bureaucracy was attempting to sever its ties with all vestiges of 'Marxism', even of the most revisionist, SPD variety. Leipart and his colleagues knew that the number one question in Germany, from the very beginning of the crisis, was the changing relationship between the trade unions and the capitalist state. They felt that pressure increasing every day.

Until the rise of Hitler, Leipart and company had hoped that this new, far closer relationship, could be brought, about through the continuation of the old coalition policy. After 1930, when it became clear that a section of big business had made up its mind to back Hitler and not tame, but smash the trade unions, the ADGB leadership then began to support the Bonapartist regime of Brüning as the 'lesser evil' to the Nazis.

### New tactic

When this tactic only helped to encourage millions more waverers to go over to the Nazis, Leipart tried one more combination: the 'socialist' Nazis had to be split off from the section corrupted and bought by big business (the Hitler wing of the party).

When this last manoeuvre failed, as it had to, to the majority of the ADGB executive made up its mind not to fight, but to accommodate to Hitler.

Though it continued occasionally to emit threatening noises, these were, as we shall see, intended only to pacify the rank and file.

On the day of the appointment of the Hitler-Papen cabinet on January 30, 1933, thousands of workers took to the streets and made for their local party and trade union headquarters, still expecting, or at least hoping, for some indications that the fight would at last begin. But just as at the time of the Papen coup, they were instructed to hold their fire. Breitscheid, the SPD leader, even argued:

'So long as Hitler kept to the path of the Constitution, he would be leading a lawful government . . . which we must and can oppose, but which is still a lawful constitutional government.'

Fired by this fighting talk, the move-

ment against Hitler ebbed away again, as the ADGB and SPD leaders hoped and intended that it should.

The ADGB leadership still had to put on a show of militancy to prevent still further defections to the Communist Party, which at the November elections had picked up nearly a million votes from the SPD.

On February 5 Peter Grassmann, an ADGB official, bragged that 'we need only to press the button, then everything will come to a standstill'.

But the index finger had long since withered through lack of exercise. And the Nazis knew that he was bragging. Behind the left talk, he and his fellow traitors were already putting out feelers to Hitler.

*The Reichstag Fire,  
February 27, 1933:  
a provocation staged by the Nazis  
in order to frame  
the Communist Party leadership  
and place them under arrest  
before the elections took place,  
and also  
to incite a terror  
against all opposition to them*



Likewise, on February 8, after a huge workers' demonstration and rally in Berlin the previous night, the SPD press rattled away as if the battle was already won:

'Berlin is not Rome. Hitler is not Mussolini. Berlin will never be the capital of a fascist Reich. Berlin remains Red!'

And yet again on February 12, after a series of Nazi attacks on trade union, communist and Social-Democratic Party offices, the same Peter Grassmann declared in a speech in Berlin that the workers 'would not crawl into a mousehole, but will take up the challenge in the firm conviction that they will meet it successfully'.

But the main question at every such meeting was, did the leaders intend to organize that fight? Did they even intend to fight at all?

The answer was not long in coming.

On February 20, Hitler and Goering addressed a meeting of 25 leading German industrialists and bankers, including the heads of Krupp's, I.G. Farben, the United Steelworks (soon to buy back its shares from the state at a basement bargain price), the General Electric Company, Siemens, etc., etc. The subject under discussion was the destruction of the entire Weimar Republic: elections, parties, press freedoms and . . . the trade unions.

The assembled businessmen agreed to back Hitler's Cabinet to the hilt, and underwrote all the Nazi party's



*A demonstration  
in Britain  
against the advent to power of the  
Nazis in Germany*



expenses for the forthcoming—and last—Reichstag election on March 5.

## Life and death

The next day, February 21, Leipart warned a meeting of leading ADGB officials that they had to prepare for 'a life-and-death battle'. That, at least, was true.

The night of February 27 saw the Reichstag building in flames. Started by Nazis under the direct instructions of Goering, the fire was blamed on the Communist Party and used not only to arrest most of its leading members even before the elections took place, but to incite acts of terror against even the mildest form of working-class or democratic opposition to the Nazis.

Immediately after the elections, the Nazi thugs ran amock in the workers' districts killing and wrecking with impunity. On March 8, the ADGB training school in Berau was invaded by storm troopers.

Leipart, who had only two weeks previously claimed to be preparing for 'a life-and-death battle' sent a letter of protest to von Papen and Goering! More attacks followed within hours. Soon whole sections of the labour movement lay in ruins, with the leadership crawling to the Nazi state for protection after each fresh blow.

March 21 saw the official installation of the Hitler Cabinet. All the 'left' talk of the bureaucrats had not disturbed the Nazis and their monopolist backers in the least. In fact, it had helped to smooth their way into power, for it prevented any initiative developing from below which could have broken the grip of the bureaucracy and begun the fight against Hitler.

As far as the ADGB leadership was concerned, it was all over. On March 21, they sent an official statement to the Nazi government, indicating that the trade unions had severed all past connections with all political parties. The document truthfully referred to its own policies when it stated that the unions 'constituted an indispensable part of the social order itself. In the course of their history they have grown together, for natural (sic) reasons, more and more with the state itself'.

Still these traitors did not realize what was in store for them. Not only the drawing together of the state power and the unions, but the total destruction of all workers' organizations—that was the plan of the Nazi monopolies. It was little use the ADGB leadership banning political discussion inside its branches and meetings either. For if the workers could not develop their own policies, the Nazi agents' task inside that unions was made all that much easier.

## Agents

For now, from the highest to the lowest level of officialdom, came crawling out into the open a host of undercover agents of the Nazi party, who had laid low inside the bureaucracy until Hitler's victory appeared certain.

Such a spy was Hermann Seelbach, who held for several years the post of director of the ADGB training school for union officials and organizers.

This fascist agent of the employers had gathered around himself a whole faction which now openly advocated collaboration with the Nazis. Though not a member of Seelbach's group, Leipart agreed that a document be drawn up by a certain Professor E. R. Huber (a close associate of Hitler's political adviser, Carl Schmitt), in which the status of the trade unions in the Third Reich would be clearly defined.

It was now obvious that the vast body of the union bureaucracy, if not actually in the pay of the Nazi party, was prepared to come to terms if only it could find a way.

On March 29, Leipart wrote to Hitler a second time, making even clearer the new, 'non-political' status of the ADGB.

German workers under surveillance of Nazis are forced to scrub wall of all anti-Nazi slogans



Individual union leaders, taking their cue from Leipart, also made their overtures to Hitler. The 'Metallarbeiter Zeitung', organ of the Metalworkers' Union even attempted to portray the new regime as a friend of the working class:

'The Hitler-Hugenberg-Seldte government is resolved to free the German peasants and workers from their intolerable economic misery. It has said so in its first appeal and repeated it many times. . . . If economic misery is now really to be combatted, and energetically, no one will greet this action more warmly than the trade unions. Nothing will be lacking to make their co-operation zealous and resolute. . . . It (the Hitler regime) can rest, for sure, on the loyal co-operation of the trade unions of all tendencies.'

Now at last the bureaucrats, after all their talk of 'a fight to finish' and 'Red Berlin' had come out into the open. They were offering their services to the fascist state to police the working class and rescue German capitalism from the crisis.

From now on, things moved fast. April 5 saw a meeting between the ADGB leadership and the leader of the Nazi trade union faction, Bruckner. At this meeting, Bruckner made it very clear to Leipart that under the Nazis, new principles of organizing the workers would prevail, methods that would leave very little scope even for such loyal servants of the employers as Leipart, Grassmann and company.

On April 13, another union journal, 'Freie Gewerkschaft', begged the Nazi state to preserve the bureaucracy, even in a totally subservient form:

'We are ready and able to fulfil the hopes and desires of the proletariat in the economic and social sphere, in agreement with the present rulers. We do not doubt for one moment that the events of March 5 (the Nazi election victory) represent a revolution which is to surpass the liberal and capitalist economic system; a revolution putting an end to that democratic parliamentary system which for the past few years has been so deceptive.' (None aided that deception more than the reformists in the Labour movement.) 'The trade unions have built bridges to the state and to its rulers. . . . Collaboration between the trade unions and the government is therefore possible.'

For these bureaucrats, the coming to

power of Hitler meant 'business as usual'!

That was on April 13. Two days later, the ADGB board issued a statement welcoming the Nazi government's decision to 'celebrate' May Day. Only now it was to be a day, in the words of the statement, 'for the honour of creative labour, for the complete incorporation of the masses into the state'.

This was not the Nazis talking—it was the trade union bureaucracy!

## A new state

Unless leaders prepare to fight the state power, and to replace it with a new state based on the rule of the working class, capitulation along the lines of the German trade union bureaucrats is absolutely inescapable, however much it might be preceded, or even accompanied by 'left' talk. In the end, the clash of opposed class forces cuts through all the bureaucratic waffle and evasion. The state demands its pound of flesh—right next to the heart.

On April 17, after no doubt noting with approval the thanks of the ADGB, Goebbels and Hitler prepared the final touches of their plan to liquidate the trade unions. The date fixed was May 2, 1933.

The ADGB journal, in its last issue for May 1, rallied workers (thousands of whom boycotted the phoney celebrations) behind the Nazi parades. It even offered Hitler its congratulations for having carried out their own programme more effectively than the SPD!:

'We certainly need not strike our colours in order to recognize that the victory of National Socialism, though won in a struggle against a party which we used to consider the embodiment of socialism, is our victory as well; because today, the socialist task is put to the whole nation.'

That same day, Goebbels noted in his diary:

'Tomorrow we shall occupy the trade union buildings. There will be little resistance.'

He was wrong. There was none.

But not only were the militants, the Communists and left Social-Democratic workers rounded up and thrown into concentration camps. The same fate befell even Leipart, Grassmann and Wissell, the main architects of collaboration with the Nazi state.

So intent were the Nazis on dismembering the German labour movement, right down to its most humble co-op store or hiking club, that they had no room (except in slave camps) for even the Leiparts.

Robert Ley, the new head of the Nazi 'Labour Front', which was, from May 1933, to act as the policeman of the workers, made this very clear:

'The Leiparts and Grassmans can feign as much devotion to Hitler as they wish—it is better that they find themselves in protective custody.'

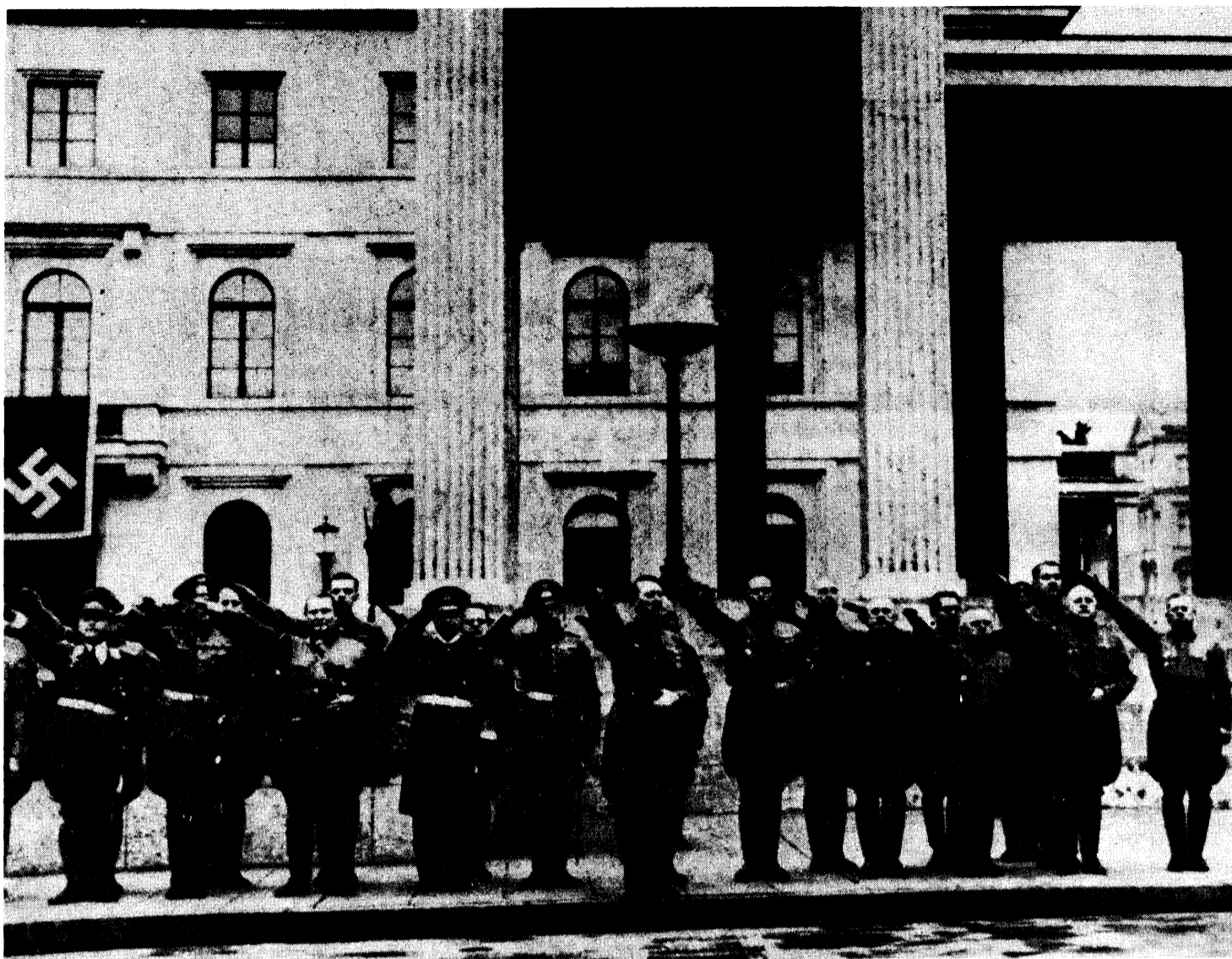
Ley soon made clear what the new style of 'trade unionism' was to be:

'We propose to restore absolute leadership to the natural leader of the factory: that is, the owner. Only the employer can decide. Many employers have for years had to call for the "master in the house" (the unions). Now, once again, they are to be the "master in the house".'

Firmly in the saddle, Ley could openly speak out on Nazi plans for labour. On May 1 he had declared:

'Not that we want to destroy the trade unions. Workers! Your institutions are sacred to us National Socialists, they are not to be touched. Workers! I give you my word, not only shall we preserve everything that exists, but we shall

Year of Elections	Workers' parties		Total	Nazis
	Social Democrats	Communists		
1928	9,150,000	3,250,000	12,400,000	800,000
1930	8,500,000	4,600,000	13,100,000	6,400,000
1932 (July)	8,000,000	5,300,000	13,300,000	13,800,000
1932 (Nov.)	7,200,000	6,000,000	13,200,000	11,700,000
1933	7,200,000	4,800,000	12,000,000	17,300,000



Hitler and his military and party chiefs are seen outside the New Chancellery in Berlin soon after they came to power. Their bloodless victory was prepared by the betrayals of the trade union leaders and was soon followed by the destruction of the trade unions.

extend the protection and the rights of the workers.'

On May 2, the unions were smashed, their leaders arrested, their property seized.

## Unions smashed

When Ley spoke next, it was in a different tone:

'We Nazis have attacked the fortress of trade unionism with a dash, a courage, an endurance which will be, for future generations, the proof of the formidable, painful and exhausting work of the party. . . . At the doors of the factory a new world begins, a new community. A new spirit appears there. Woe to him who would oppose it.'

We know the fate of those who did continue to fight against that 'new spirit' of slavery to the 'natural leader'. Hundreds of thousands of workers were herded into camps, many never to return. Those that did were broken men and women, their militancy and political consciousness undermined not only by constant terrorization and humiliation in the camps, but, even harder to bear, the treachery of their own leaders who willingly allowed the once powerful German labour move-

ment go down without even a token fight.

A movement which published hundreds of periodicals, employed thousands of officials, staffed hundreds of buildings and owned millions of marks in cash and property, ran scores of sports, cultural and study societies, the pride of the Second International and world reformism, had been shattered.

But it was not destroyed because of the lack of a will to fight on the part of the rank-and-file workers. At every new turn towards disaster, they had rallied, awaiting the call that never came. It was the reformist leadership, which consciously, as we have proved, sought to tie the unions to the state, even a Nazi state, that made possible the victory of the Nazis.

But that is not the whole story. Having placed the bulk of the blame where it must belong, that is, with the SPD and trade union leadership, we have to examine the strategy of the party that, given correct leadership, could have transformed the situation into one favourable for a workers' revolution.

Part Four of the Robert Black series, "Stalinism Betrays the German Workers", will appear in next week's issue of the BULLETIN.



Hermann Goering, architect of the Reichstag fire provocation. He personified the support of the Junkers for the Nazis.

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# PL PUSHES STRIKEBREAKING IN SSEU



DENNIS CRIBBEN SPEAKS FOR CNL

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

NEW YORK-- The real role of Progressive Labor and its Worker-Client Alliance in the working class was exposed before the ranks of SSEU-371 at its general membership meeting last Monday night. This tendency became open strike-breakers against the ranks' fight to counter the increasing attacks by the City on their jobs and working conditions. The WCA completely opposed the strike proposals at the meeting, contending that a fight by the workers on jobs and conditions was "phony" and "racist". PL counterposed to this struggle the building of their "Worker - Client Alliance."

The workers in the Department of Social Services have been devastated by the contract which the union signed last spring which gave the City the go-ahead to reorganize the department at the expense of the workers. Under pressure from the angry ranks over conditions in their centers, the leadership came forth on Monday with the proposal for a strike referendum.

The Committee for a New Leadership, supported by the Workers League, supported the strike call. But the CNL pointed out that the Morgestern leadership has no intention of fighting the real roots of the speed-up and overwork--reorganization. Rather it seeks an impossible compromise in demands for benevolent overwork. The CNL, which was the only force to oppose the contract last spring, counterposed the strategy of a strike to reopen the contract, stop reorganization, and demand ironclad guarantees on jobs, promotions, and decreased workload.

The WCA entered the meeting bringing with them groups of clients from their alliance. As Gotbaum, head of DC 37, entered the room they led a booring session. But the WCA's program and tactics did not say "boo" against the rotten leadership of Gotbaum or Morgestern. The WCA completely opposed the strike action and could propose no alternative but a "one day strike" combined with isolated work actions. The WCA filled the vacuum of its

program with attempts to demoralize the ranks with talk that the workers cannot fight the City and with frenzied chants of "Build the Worker-Client Alliance" and "Don't Rely on the Bureaucrats."

Clearly the WCA underestimated the ranks, who responded to the speaker from the CNL with a round of applause and support to its proposals. The WCA's proposal received only a handful of votes. The strike referendum passed by an overwhelming majority and the CLN's program came very near to passing with a 40% vote.

## NON-CLASS

PL begins not from a class standpoint, that the workers in the Department of Social Services are workers like workers in other industries and that their struggles over conditions is a class struggle against their employer, the City. Rather it begins with the clients and with the conception that the conflict in the Department is a racial one between the workers and the clients. The welfare workers are not really part of the working class it contends, because their jobs are "reactionary" and to fight for them is "racist."

The job of the welfare workers is to "fight to expose welfare as a system based on unemployment, low wages, racist hiring and firing practices." PL attempts to separate out welfare from capitalism as a whole, perpetrating the illusion that it is not capitalism that is at the roots of the welfare system, but the welfare state version of it. This is precisely the kind of reasoning Stalin used to defend the Peoples Front in the thirties and the Communist Parties' support to World War II. The problem, as the Stalinists put it, was not imperialism but the fascist version thereof.

The task of Welfare workers becomes one of liberating the clients like middle class missionaries. In fact it is PL that fosters the middle class conception of professionalism by isolating the workers in the Department from the rest of the working class by perpetrating the conception that welfare workers are different and cannot fight for their class interests against the city.

## BY-PRODUCTS

PL seeks to justify this position on the basis that it is not the working class as a whole, and the welfare workers and clients as part of it, that are under attack but only the clients. The attacks on the workers are seen as a by-product of the attacks on the clients. It is on this basis that the WCA contends that the bloc of the WCA is in the interest of both the workers and the clients. The struggle therefore becomes a struggle for justice for the oppressed people, or the "poor".

Underlying this conception is PL's position that the problem is not capitalism, but racism or the undemocratic character of capitalism. This is why PL contends that a struggle on economic demands by the working class against the attacks by the employers and their government are "phony."

Racism is the most bitter tool of capitalism but capitalism cannot be reformed by eliminating it nor can racism be wiped out simply by conducting a reformist struggle for democracy. The fight against racism must be part and parcel of the program of a united working class to bring the whole system down.

The whole purpose of PL and the WCA's fight is to subordinate the welfare workers and the working class as a whole to the clients, to

the middle class and through these blocs to reformism, and middle class protest politics. PL puts forward its alliance with the clients not to defend their interests but to use them to hold the workers and the clients in the grips of liberalism. It is a cover for PL's refusal to fight to mobilize the working class in a struggle for political power.

## SHIELD

PL uses the very serious fight against racism as a shield. Thus in the WCA's leaflet, they state: "Racism is peddled by some 'left wing' groups which reject an alliance with clients on the basis that clients are irrelevant and powerless." This argument is employed to put forward a struggle outside of the unions.

The truth of the matter is that it is not a question of rejecting the struggle of the clients but of seeing that alone the clients represent a peripheral section of the working class and because of their removal from the productive process are not organized on the basis of class. They are alone incapable of an INDEPENDENT struggle for their own demands. They are forced to conduct their struggle on the basis of begging for reforms, on the basis of liberalism. A bloc of the working class with the clients, as with the students, is a bloc with reformism and with capitalism.

The only place where the working class is organized separately, independently as a class is in the trade unions. It is here that the

workers are pitted directly as workers against capitalism. It is on the basis of this class fight that the fight against and destruction of capitalism is posed independently from all other classes. Outside of this framework the working class becomes merely part of the "people."

## LABOR PARTY

The way forward for the clients and all sections of society which suffer under capitalism is through the fight by the organized labor movement independently in a political confrontation with capitalism. This requires above all a political arm of the trade union movement--a labor party-- to demand an end to the rotten welfare system through the fight for jobs for all and the nationalization of basic industry under workers control to organize production for the interests and needs of the people as a whole. It is this struggle by the working class for political power that is on the agenda for today.

PL's roots are in Stalinism and all its alliances and coalitions find their roots in the perspective of the popular front and the bloc of the working class with the bourgeoisie. It is PL's inability to break from Stalinism and confront Trotskyism that leads it into the frenzied activity it displayed last Monday night with its red guard chants. There is no middle road. The capitalists and the working class are making that clear. That is why PL's perspective went down to complete defeat last Monday night.

## DOCUMENTS FROM THE SOVIET OPPOSITION



The Bulletin will be beginning an extremely important new series of articles with our January 26th issue, "Documents from the Soviet Opposition." In five consecutive issues we will publish a number of documents from the Communist Opposition within the Soviet Union. In most cases the authors of this material are presently in jail or awaiting trial because of writing, signing or circulating--many times in typewritten copies only-- this material.

The bulk of this material was written by old Bolsheviks or the surviving children of old Bolsheviks murdered by Stalin. In all cases these oppositionists speak as Communists who defend the property forms in the Soviet Union but struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy.

The authors include Piotr Yakir, son of E.I. Yakir, a leader of the Red Army murdered by Stalin in 1938; I.A. Yakhimovitch, former head of a collective farm; Alexis Kosterin, an old Bolshevik who consistently fought all his life for Leninism against Stalinism; and Piotr Grigorenko, a major general who has been demoted and hounded for his courageous defense of the Crimean Tartars and opposition to the Czech invasion.

Among the most important documents is a letter opposing the rehabilitation of Stalin signed by Piotr Yakir and 41 other surviving children of murdered Bolsheviks; Kosterin's "Take Up the Struggle against Stalinism" and Yakir's "Funeral Oration at the Grave of Alexis Kosterin", and Grigorenko's speech to the

Crimean Tartars.

This material shows that despite all of Stalin's terror, he was unable to destroy the living link within the Soviet Union between Bolshevism and the new generation. As the struggles of young workers and students move forward throughout the Soviet bloc this continuity with Leninism will become more and more critical and will find theoretical and organizational expression in the Fourth International.

It is important to note that these communists risk jail and persecution to expose the refusal of the Soviet bureaucracy to break with Stalinism at the very same time as the revisionists in the Socialist Workers Party and its "United Secretariat" have abandoned the very term Stalinism. Progressive Labor, for its part, still contends there is a "good side" to Stalin while at the same time abandoning the socialist property forms in the Soviet Union, claiming the USSR to be "capitalist", "facist" and "imperialist". The American Communist Party has distinguished itself by defending the criminal Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia just as they once slavishly defended every crime of Stalin, including the Moscow Trials.

Only the Workers League, together with the International Committee of the Fourth International, carries forward the principled struggle for Leninism, for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the agents of capital in the workers states, the Stalinist bureaucracy.

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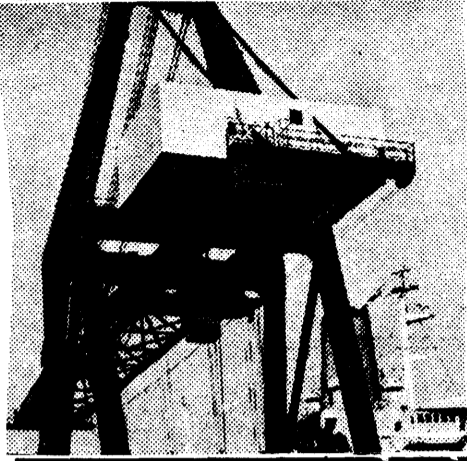
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## CRISIS IN MARITIME



### PART TWO

BY DAN FRIED

From New York to London, to Antwerp, Rotterdam and Hamburg--from Buenos Aires to Colombo, Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore and across the ocean to San Francisco--in every port of the world where ships load and unload, the "age of the container", has dawned. The worldwide introduction of containerized cargo, dock "modernization" has spawned new fleets of modern "container" ships, "LASH" ships, immense tankers and other super-modern cargo carrying vessels. The old "rustbuckets" are already being consigned to the scrapheap. But this is just the beginning. With new plans on the drawing board and more orders already placed for the most modern cargo ships from shipyards in the U.S., Europe and Japan, entire fleets of the old "conventional" freighters will become obsolete.

The "age of the container", as it has been thrust forward by capitalist private enterprise has not only meant the scrapping of the old "rustbuckets" and their rapid replacement with more efficient ships, docks, loading and unloading equipment. It has meant the rapid replacement of men by machinery on the docks in an all out international war by the port employers and government port commissions, councils, authorities and boards, to consign a vast number of dockers to the scrapheap along with the "rustbuckets."

#### SWEDEN

In every port of every country of the world, dock workers have fought back, both through their unions and in "unofficial" action, against the introduction of the new container facilities and the new methods of work that have accompanied them, and as the employers attempt to force men off the docks by one means or another. An example of this process was seen recently in the Swedish port of Goteborg where 1,000 dockworkers went out in a wildcat action to demand the rehiring of two dockers who were summarily dismissed under a notorious clause in the contract which allows the employers to "divide, employ and fire workers as they see fit." The two workers had refused to work required overtime because the foreman had not given them notice of the overtime before 2 p.m. as is required by the contract. Backing up the entire force of dockers in Goteborg, the dockers in Stockholm and other Swedish ports agreed not to work any ships which might be re-routed on account of the strike. Meanwhile, the employers tried to break the strike with scabs when a group of right-wing students who were touring the docks were told that they could "help Sweden by working on the docks that night." However, these attempts, and the attempts by truckers who were instructed by their bosses to unload ships, were blocked entirely by the striking dockers.

# attacks hit dockworkers

Behind the attempts of the Swedish dock bosses to discipline the workers and to break the strike were their plans to "update" the port of Goteborg into the largest and most modern container port in Northern Europe which is being projected at nearby Skiandiahamn. The employers want a completely disciplined and a smaller labor force to work the new facilities and that is the reason for the attacks on the Goteborg dockers.

#### BRITAIN

Perhaps more than in any other country, Britain's dockers have fought against mass firings as many piers, especially in the London area are being phased out. The plans of the British bosses call for the eventual elimination of 90% of the dock labor force through containerization. The first step in their plans was the building of new modern container berths. Recently, as reported in last week's Bulletin, more than 2,000 port of London dockers voted to continue their ban on some of these berths at the Tilbury container terminal. The ban had been in effect for almost two years. Despite tremendous pressure by all the forces of the employers and government and the vacillation of the union leaders, the Tilbury men voted defiantly to continue the ban until such time as a joint wage agreement with all London dockers is reached. They voted "NO" in the face of a bluff by the employers to move the container facility to Antwerp, Belgium. (The same type of threat had been made against the Goteborg dockers who were told that the wildcat strike would mean the removal of the planned container port from Sweden to Copenhagen.) Not only did the Tilbury men call the employers' bluff, but the Dutch and Belgian dockers' unions pledged that they would resist any permanent transfer of the container terminal from Britain to the continent.

#### U.S.A

The "container age" was born in the United States with the first experimental use of containers on ships in 1955. Containerization has undoubtedly gone further in the U.S.A. than anywhere. Despite the willingness of the leaders of both East and West coast longshore unions to "cooperate" with containerization and to allow the wholesale elimination of dock jobs, the strike of the ILA over the 1968 East coast contracts represented a tremendous resistance by rank and file longshoremen to containerization. After being forced back to work at the end of September, 1968 by the Johnson government's 80 day Taft-Hartley "cooling off" injunction, the ILA was on strike again at the end of the 80 days and stayed out in New York for some 7 weeks.

Even then militants among the men were dissatisfied with the contract which provided a forty hour weekly work guarantee for most men and a limited agreement governing stripping and stuffing containers by New York longshoremen. Some militants felt the leadership should have fought for the 30 hour week and that the "guaranteed wage" was a poor substitute for a job.

At the time of the strike, no less than ILA President Thomas Gleason, admitted that when the full weight of containerization is felt, the number of jobs for ILA men will be cut in half.

Another example of the unwillingness of American longshoremen to cooperate with the new "moderni-

zation" of the docks was seen when the New Orleans' longshoremen recently resisted efforts to force them to load the world's first LASH ship, the Acadia Forest. Just as at Tilbury, the New Orleans men threw a monkey wrench into the employers' plans to introduce the LASH (stands for Lighter Aboard Ship) ships which are barge carrying ships. These ships carry fully loaded barges (these barges are actually floating containers) which are floated down inland waterways, loaded onto the ocean going vessel by a giant crane, dispatched to Europe and unloaded the same way in reverse. The New Orleans men realized the grave threat to their jobs as long as the LASH ships are under the control of the owners and not used for the benefit of the longshoremen. A fully loaded barge is put in place in only 15 minutes. The Acadia Forest carries 73 fully loaded barges,

and for the formation of companies and combines to form international "consortia" to parcel up the container trade. A new consortium of British and European shipping lines, calling itself the Australia Container Service, was recently announced. Composed of 13 shipping lines from Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and Australia, the consortium plans to monopolize the European-Australia trade with the operation of only 14 big, modern container ships representing an investment of almost \$250 million dollars. The formation of this cartel is an attempt to eliminate the competition which would result in tremendous over-capacity and a resulting loss of profits for all the companies if each went ahead on their own to out-compete the other. But it is an ill-fated attempt. No sooner had ACT announced its plans than ANOTHER international consortium



THESE TWO PICTURES OF SAME GERMAN PORT SHOW HOW NEW CONTAINER FACILITIES ARE MOVING IN LEADING TO ATTACKS ON DOCK WORKERS WORLDWIDE



each of which can carry 370 tons of cargo.

The employers' plan to order and use these LASH ships and will attempt to force them onto the docks by hook or by crook. The Acadia Forest, designed by an American firm although sailing under a Norwegian flag, is only the first.

The "container age" means that all shipping companies and all advanced nations are compelled through competition with other companies and groups of companies (consortia and syndicates) and nations to make huge investments in container ships and facilities in order to meet the competition and maximize profits. For them to stand still is to rapidly fall behind. The resulting "modernization" of shipping and stevedoring, unless it is carried through under control of the seamen and dockers by means of nationalization without compensation, means the wholesale destruction of jobs and working conditions on the docks.

The fierce international competition means that companies, ports, and entire countries are engaged in a frantic race to corner the major trade routes. The investment required is huge. Although a few companies like America's Sea-Land have been able to build a vast fleet of ships, trailers and containers, the tendency throughout Europe is for companies within nations to form combines such as the OCL-ACT syn-

composed of three Scandinavian shipping lines called Scanaustral announced its formation and intention to challenge ACT for the Australia trade. Not to be outdone, Scanaustral plans to beat ACT to the punch by one month by launching a fleet of only five ships which will be able to carry all the container trade between the continent and Australia. These will be 20,000 ton roll on-roll off semi-container ships which are designed for flexible operation, carrying goods in containers, vehicles, pallets and nets.

As the Workers Press, daily paper of the British Socialist Labour League says of the new stage of the international container war: "The knives are really out between the employers in the container shipping industry. ACT and Scanaustral will be locked in life and death competition with huge investments at stake. This is just one example of the employers' offensive against the port workers all over the world." The struggle for profits in the container age now means that the competition between firms is being replaced by the struggle between cartels and between nations and groups of nations standing behind the cartels. The struggle for spheres of influence in the trade war is on in earnest. The U.S. shippers cannot afford to stay out of any area of this struggle.

( TO BE CONTINUED )

# ON BOLIVIAN OIL NATIONALIZATION; MOSCOSO FRAUD

We are reprinting here two statements issued by the Revolutionary Workers Party (RWP), the Bolivian Trotskyist Organization.

The first is a statement by the Central Committee of the RWP about the recent nationalization of the Gulf Oil Company by General Ovanda's government.

The second text is a statement by the secretariat of the RWP about material circulated several weeks ago by the Communist League entitled "For Bolivia" calling for the political and financial support of Hugo Gonzales Moscoso.

Moscoso is presented as a leader of the RWP which, as the statement indicates, is a crude deception.

Many years ago the Bolivian RWP broke publicly with him, Frank, Mandel and the other members of the so-called "United Secretariat" and they have already denounced this fraudulent usurpation of their title on numerous occasions.

The Central Committee of the RWP has approved the following document:

1. The nationalization of Gulf has clarified the true level reached in the political evolution of the country and the true level of consciousness of the proletariat.

This measure was immediately followed by much more radical demands by the popular masses: no indemnification to the usurpers, expropriation of the other foreign consortiums, state control of the public services, workers' control, expulsion of other North American businesses, etc.

2. This shows that Bolivians consider the nationalization of Gulf, in spite of its limitations and its bourgeois implementation, to be a positive step but insufficient. To prevent more plundering like that of 1936 (petrol) and 1952 (mines) is an elementary national task.

The importance of the October 17 decree lies in the possibilities it opens up to the masses--led by the proletariat and certainly not by the military government--effectively to throw out imperialism and accomplish the tasks of national liberation. It is the proletariat that will move the masses into setting to work on socialist tasks.

That is what the USA and all those who openly or silently are trying to come to some understanding with the colonizing country, fear.

It is not a question of coming to some agreement with American imperialism, of capitulating to it in exchange for a good price for the sale of the country.

It is, on the contrary, a question of liberation, of smashing imperialism.

Experience shows that only the working class as the national leadership can accomplish fully this great historic task.

3. Isolated nationalization in the midst of a capitalist economy is doomed to fail, doomed to submit to the needs of finance capital to get its cooperation.

Such nationalization perishes under the weight of the contradictions and deficiencies of the other sectors of the economy. The needs of profit cannot be reconciled with the national objectives of State enterprises.

Only a planned economy can move the whole economy forward and therefore also nationalizations.

But there can be no real planning when one part of the economy lives under the law of private profit. The external and internal difficulties of nationalization would oblige a revolutionary government to generalize nationalization.

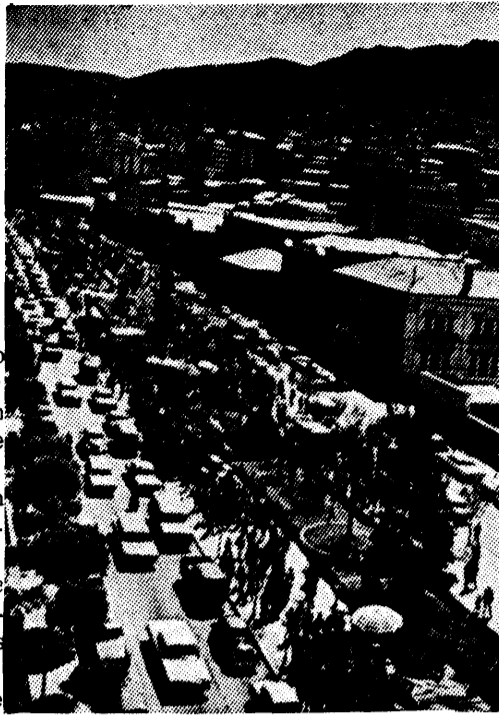
4. The nationalization of petrol, unless it is to disappear or lose its meaning, must be an integral part of the state ownership of the means of production and a planned economy.

It would be naive to ask this government to realize these objectives which are the central axis of strategy in the struggle of the people and the working class.

These objectives will be attained in spite of the resistance of the military regime.

5. The revolutionary mobilization of the masses, driven forward by this latest decree and by the need for their intervention to thwart the imperialists' intervention and boycott, is a development towards the workers' revolution.

Whether the nationalization of October 17 will be transformed into a real victory by means of a revolution led by the proletariat, or whether it will succumb like so many other attempts at national liberation, the working class, matured in the hard school of defeats and betrayals, knows that only it, and not the government of another social class, can take the national anti-imperialist movement



LA PAZ, THE CAPITOL OF BOLIVIA to its final stage.

This is not a project for some indeterminate future; we have already entered this process and what is happening under our eyes directs us towards the workers' revolution.

6. For the revolution to change from a slogan into reality, the working class must preserve its ideological and political independence; it must organize itself politically and in unions; it must build its own party; it must arm itself and learn not to trust governments that are not its own.

This is the only way to avoid another betrayal of the people.

October 20, 1969  
La Paz

## STATEMENT

The RWP of Bolivia feels obliged to issue a warning about a financial campaign that has just been opened. This operation possesses all the characteristics of the swindles organized by a discredited political group led by one Hugo Gonzales Moscoso, who represents nothing in Bolivia.

This is not the first time that something like this has happened.

On many occasions in the past these people have presented themselves abroad--they would not risk it in Bolivia--as the inspirers of all the work carried out by our party, as the authors of all its texts and political writings, as the leaders of its interventions in the class struggle.

They have even gone so far as to try to appropriate its martyrs. All this has been done in order to gather funds which only go to swell the revenues of Mr. Gonzales Moscoso.

In effect we are saying to those who don't know and to those who pretend not to know, that this group has not circulated any material for

many years and that they even stopped publishing their organ "Lucha Obrera" four years ago. This is the nature of the deception we are denouncing.

Today this group of profiteers is trying to exploit the political intervention and the writings of Castroism in order to traffic in militants' money.

Having become aware of the pro-propaganda now being spread abroad by the epigones of Pablo in favor of this bankrupt group we feel we must point out to militants the crudest of the deceptions contained in this material.

(1) The Bolivian RWP does not support the Castroite guerrilla-type movement (with the so-called "detonator" theory) and considers this movement to be a typical adventure of petty-bourgeois despair.

(2) In any case the Bolivian Fabloites don't have any organization because they liquidated it in order to enter the NLA (National Liberation Army) individually.

In another connection the NLA denounced certain of them as informers and confidants of the Ministry of the Interior.

Today it is seriously suspected that Mr. Gonzales Moscoso himself would work on behalf of the Bolivian government.

(3) It is false to state that any of these people are in any way leaders of the guerrilla movement (with which we repeat, the RWP is in complete disagreement).

Because of their extreme numerical and political weakness their help was completely secondary.

None of them went underground or ever pulled a trigger. They were used by the NLA in office jobs and in particular spent their time making knapsacks.

(4) Elio Vasquez was never a workers' leader in the mines and had nothing to do with the mass struggles entered into by the workers. He was arrested for several days before being freed in exchange for information about NLA plans.

(5) Beta Porcel is a woman known for her left ideas, but she doesn't fight in any party. She was arrested for several hours (denounced by Gonzales' own partisans) for buying a good luck charm with a picture of Che Guevara on it.

(6) Gabriel Guzman is not a leader of the railway men and moreover has always been very far from any union or political activity.

(7) F. Melgar has always been a member of PRIN (Left Nationalist Revolutionary Party) and has never had anything to do with the RWP.

We could go on enumerating such inaccuracies indefinitely.

Alberto Saenz, Press Secretary of the RWP.

La Paz

## French Trotskyists Protest Fascist Attacks

BY MELODY FARROW

On Wednesday, Dec. 3, the Trotskyist Organization for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International held a meeting in Paris of 5,000 workers and students as part of a campaign they have launched against fascist attacks on their members.

On April 26, 1969, on the eve of the referendum which threw out DeGaulle, Jean Pierre Speller, a 23 year old printing worker was attacked by 20 fascist thugs with a police dog and iron pipes. He was released from the hospital on May 7th, but has permanently lost the sight of his left eye. He has since lost his job as a result of the injury. Two of his attackers are known to be

sons of a Gaullist Cabinet minister.

Speller has sent a letter to the Minister of Justice demanding that the attackers be brought to trial and declares that "as the son of a militant worker who has fought 30 years for respect of liberties and justice, for the liberation of the working class, I HATE FASCISM."

The meeting was attended by many trade unionists from aircraft, oil, teachers, printing and sections of white collar workers. Representatives were also present from the National Student Union, the Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Anarchist Organization and the League for the Rights of Man.

The Communist Party did not attend

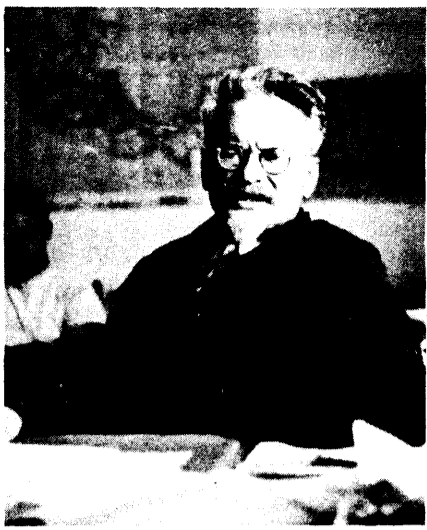
and refuses to defend Speller. They have slandered him in their paper L'Humanite as an "anti-trade unionist." Speller was expelled from the Communist Party after the May-June Revolution of 1968.

The French Trotskyists will conduct an aggressive campaign among the working class to defend Speller and go on the offensive in fighting these attacks. As Speller pointed out: "The only answer to these methods is a mass answer like that which defeated DeGaulle in the referendum". The fight for justice is inseparable from the fight by the working class for the taking of power in France.



TROTSKYIST LEADER, GERARD BLOCH





## OPEN LETTER TO THE YSA

# Trotsky's Struggle, Minneapolis 1934 And The Tasks Of Marxists Today



LEON TROTSKY'S  
(LEFT) STRUGGLE FOR  
INTERNATIONALISM  
AGAINST STALIN MADE  
POSSIBLE MINNEAPOLIS  
STRIKE  
(FUNERAL FOR  
STRIKER  
HENRY NESS  
SHOWN HERE)

Dear Comrades,

Your national convention is taking place at a very critical point in the fight for the revolutionary party. It is taking place in Minneapolis, a city in which some of the most historic battles of the U.S. working class have taken place. The latest issue of your monthly magazine, the Young Socialist, contains an article on the Minneapolis General Strike of 1934, and a march has been called for December 28, during your convention, to commemorate the strike struggles of 1934.

The Minneapolis General Strike of 35 years ago holds many important lessons for the revolutionary youth of today. The most important lesson is the need to fight for Marxist theory. Put quite simply, the development and outcome of the Minneapolis strike was only possible because of Trotsky's struggle for Marxist theory, his struggle against Stalinism.

### TROTSKYISTS

The leaders of the Minneapolis General Strike were Trotskyists. The Minneapolis strike was not just another militant strike of American workers which happened to be led by revolutionaries. Of course it was a part of the struggles of the entire working class, and a very important part. It marked a stage, along with other struggles in 1934, in the upsurge of the working class after the depths of the Great Depression.

What made it possible for men like the Dunne brothers, Carl Skoglund and Farrell Dobbs to play the role they did in Minneapolis? The Minneapolis strike leaders were more than trade union militants, and more than class conscious union leaders. They were revolutionaries who had been trained in a struggle against reformism and particularly against Stalinism. And they only existed as part of an independent tendency, a party capable of leading the working class, because of the tremendous fight waged by Trotsky against such overwhelming odds in the Soviet Union and internationally.

This is why Trotsky always stressed, as he did in his recorded message to a meeting in New York in 1938 to mark the founding of the Fourth International, the importance of revolutionary internationalism, particularly to the youth. The fight for internationalism waged by Trotsky against the rising Soviet bureaucracy beginning in 1923 was passed on and carried forward through the American Trotskyists in Minneapolis.

What was the fight against Stalinism and for internationalism? Trotsky fought against the nationalist conception put forward by Stalin, the theory of socialism in one country. The Stalin faction, basing itself on the growing bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and the temporary defeats of the world working class, completely gave up the struggle for an international revolutionary perspective. The Stalinists based themselves on the defeats, and they began to work not to extend the revolution to the advanced countries but to peacefully coexist with imperialism.

What Trotsky fought for was an international perspective, an understanding of the crisis of capitalism, and a revolutionary strategy, developing further the strategy elaborated by the early Congresses of the Communist International. The zig zags of the Stalinists, as in the Third Period, expressed complete hostility to theory and revolutionary strategy.

It is not just a matter of marking the occasion of the Minneapolis strike. The Young Socialist article says nothing of the lessons of revolutionary leadership and what we mean by it; it ignores the theoretical lessons which cry out for expression. The only way for revolutionaries to mark this occasion is by absorbing the historical lessons.

There will be new Minneapolis. They will come to naught, however, unless a new leadership is built in the class struggle, in a fight against Stalinism and reformism. The fight for theory is not separate from the class struggle, it is its most crucial part, it is the only way to prepare to lead the class in struggle. But precisely now, when this preparation is so urgently needed, the YSA and its adult movement the Socialist Workers Party have capitulated to these forces, and to Stalinism in particular.

One of the documents which will be presented to you for a vote is entitled "The Worldwide Youth Radicalization." The line of this document flows directly from the main resolution adopted at the congress of the so-called United Secretariat of the Fourth International, held earlier this year. This document, which the SWP supported, views Stalinism merely as a tendency within the Soviet and East European bureaucracy, not as the ideology and practice of the caste which rules in all of these countries. Over and over again in this document Stalinism is referred to as something out of the past.

### LIQUIDATIONISM

At the above mentioned world congress there were fundamental political differences expressed over such questions as guerrilla warfare, Castroism, the responsibility of the United Secretariat for developments in Algeria, and the fight for the Transitional Program today. The majority of the United Secretariat was accused of forsaking the Transitional Program and embarking on the liquidation of its organizations into the Latin American guerrilla movements and other middle class currents in Europe. Yet at this same con-

gress the delegates unanimously supported a resolution on the world situation in agreement with the very same forces who were accused by the SWP of seeking to liquidate the organizations into the Castroite movement. (See "Revisionists in Crisis" by Tim Wohlforth).

Now the British allies of the SWP have gone even further, and we can only assume that their views on this question correspond to those of the SWP. In a recent article in the journal of the International Marxist Group, Bob Purdie argues not only that Stalinism is merely a tendency within the Soviet bloc, but that the term Stalinism itself is no longer scientific in any form! According to Purdie, the "new world reality" means that the Communist Parties may be forced to move "...towards cooperating with the Trotskyists and other tendencies in work of immediate value to the British workers or the world revolution."

Again, we can only assume, in view of the SWP's support to the main resolution at the last congress of the United Secretariat and in view of its silence on the views of Purdie and his group, that his views represent the working out of the views of the SWP and the YSA on this question. At a time of increasing class struggle internationally the SWP looks not to the working class but to sections of the bureaucracy with whom it may be able to curry favor. At a time when the Stalinist bureaucracy is in growing crisis, the SWP lets it off the hook by building illusions in a section of this bureaucracy.

### COMMUNISTS

This talk of Stalinism in the past tense takes place at the very same time when more and more courageous communists are taking up the struggle against it within the Soviet Union itself. To the International Marxist Group and the SWP it may not exist but to fighters like Piotr Grigorenko, Piotr Yakir and the late Alexis Kosterin, the Stalinist bureaucracy is a very real force indeed. To the SWP and its allies, a section of the bureaucracy at least is no longer Stalinist, but men and women like Grigorenko and Yakir are fighting against every section of the bureaucracy, without any illusions. Stalinism no longer really exists, we are told, but meanwhile the Kremlin carries forward with a campaign to rehabilitate him and even to commemorate his 90th birthday this month.

Meanwhile the SWP collaborates

with the Communist Party in the peace movement on the basis of a popular front line. It is not the Communist Party which has discovered the class struggle road to peace, but the SWP which has gone over completely to the Stalinist popular front policy of liberalism and pacifism, of a bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie. Senators Goodell and McGovern of the Democratic and Republican parties spoke at the November 15 demonstration in Washington while no openly socialist speaker was given the platform. Thus the SWP ends up building support for the capitalist parties responsible for the war in Vietnam and the entire imperialist system.

### BETRAY

We say that the SWP and YSA have betrayed the Minneapolis strike. The only way new Minneapolis strikes can be led to victory is through a political struggle against the revisionism of the SWP and the YSA. The Workers League, in collaboration with the International Committee of the Fourth International, is conducting that struggle.

YSA members must confront the historical questions raised by the Minneapolis strike, and by the differences expressed within your world movement. Characteristic of the reformists, Stalinists and revisionists is their inability to confront their own history. The Stalinists resort to outright falsification when the need arises. It is but a step from the refusal to confront the history of the working class movement to falsification of this history, including the history of one's own movement.

The independent class fight waged in 1934 in Minneapolis was taken further in the fight for the Fourth International. This theoretical fight was expressed in the Transitional Program and in the labor party slogan which concretized this program on American soil. This too is an important part of the lessons of the Minneapolis strike. The Transitional Program and the fight for the labor party must be the center of our fight. They are at the center of the perspectives of the Workers League.

### INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

Trotskyism today exists only in the International Committee of the Fourth International. Based on a common international strategy we have launched in England this year the world's first Trotskyist daily--the Workers Press. In France our party has fought consistently within the working class, within the factories during and after May-June, for the Transitional Program. In Ceylon our party has been constructed through a day to day struggle against the terrible betrayals of the LSSP, betrayals prepared for by the same international organization whose youth resolution you are being asked to vote on. Here in the United States the Workers League has launched its paper, the Bulletin, as a weekly; a weekly which takes the Transitional Program into the day to day struggle of the American working class.

Members of the YSA! You must return to the road of Trotskyism! The road of Trotskyism IS the road of the International Committee of the Fourth International!