

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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DECEMBER 8, 1969

TEN CENTS

NEW SERIES

**FASCISM AND
THE GERMAN
WORKING CLASS
1930-1933**

by Robert Black



SONGMY IS VIETNAM



'If it had been me out there I would have swung my rifle around and shot Calley between the God-damned eyes.' -- Mr. Meadlo (senior), retired miner

G.E. AND THE COMING LABOR UPSURGE

critical election shakes umw



JOSEPH YABLONSKI (LEFT) CAMPAIGNS FOR UMW PRESIDENCY

NO MORE SONGMYS -- U.S. OUT OF VIETNAM!

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

Songmy is the Vietnam war! It shows the real character of that war. The only way to prevent future Songmys is to stop the war now by getting United States troops out of Vietnam and supporting the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

"There was a little boy walking towards us in a daze. He'd been shot in the arm and leg. He wasn't crying or making any noise. The GI fired three shots into the child. The first knocked him back, the second lifted him into the air. The third shot put him down and the body fluids came out. The GI... simply walked away." --Ronald L. Haeberle, ex-army sergeant photographer.

"Just outside the village there was this big pile of bodies. This really tiny kid--he only had a shirt on, nothing else--he came over to the pile and held the hand of one of the dead. One of the GIs behind me dropped into a kneeling position, 30 meters from this kid, and killed him with a single shot."--Jay Roberts, Specialist 5.

"...We walked over to the people and he (Lt. Willian Calley, Jr.) started pushing them off and started shooting off into the ravine. There were about 80 civilians there and we just started using automatics on them, men, women and children and babies." --Ex-Pvt. Paul Meadlo.



U.S. SOLDIERS ARE TIRED AND DEMORALIZED AS NLF SURGES ON

UNCOVERED

How many more atrocities of a similar magnitude will be uncovered before people seek to forget Songmy? The NLF representatives at Paris report an incident where 1,200 villagers of a seacoast town were taken to sea in boats and drowned. Can we quickly dismiss this as propaganda? Two months ago Songmy also was only a rumor, "propaganda."

Who is really responsible for these atrocities? Right now the Army is intent on pinning it all on Lt. Calley and Sgt. Williams. A controversy is brewing as to the extent that Capt. Medina is implicated. It is a little difficult to believe that a Lieutenant functioning directly under Captain Medina could order the massacre of 567 civilians and carry this out under Medina's nose without the Captain's knowledge. What about the Captain's superiors? What about their superiors? What about the Commander in Chief--President Johnson at the time? What about those in whose interests the Commander in Chief acts-- the

large corporations which run this country?

STRESS

In searching for the cause of the Songmy massacre, Newsweek writes of the "Dink Complex." It seems "many U.S. fighting men, under the stress of combat, display a profound contempt for the people of South Vietnam...In Vietnam there is often no way to tell friend from foe, and the constant suspicion sometimes prods tired and frustrated soldiers into rash actions."

Newsweek does not probe to the cause of the "Dink Complex."

The Vietnam war is a war of an imperialist power, the United States, against the people of Vietnam, the ordinary working people and peasants. On one side stands the United States Army and a small group of corrupt profiteers, militarists, capitalists of

the Saigon Government. On the other side stands the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam which receives the support of the mass of the people, and which could not last for a day without that support.

Under conditions of imperialist war the ordinary civilians ARE the enemy. It is not possible to fight such a war without atrocities. There is no way to clean up the imperialist filth of this war. There is no way to limit the blame for Songmy to a single Lieutenant or a sergeant or even a major. The blame lies with the rulers of America. There is no way to limit the exposure of this war to Songmy alone. Songmy is the very heart of the Vietnam War. It shows above all else the CLASS character of this war.

CULPRITS

It is a war carried out in the CLASS INTERESTS of General Electric, General Motors and the other

industrial giants who determine American policy. Even the crazed American soldiers who murdered in cold blood women and little children in Songmy are not the real culprits. They had nothing to gain from the death of these people; they made no profit from these deaths. They simply reacted in a maddened way to a war where all around them, from grandfathers to little children, were their enemies, in which they saw their fellow soldiers dropping by the wayside dead as the Vietnamese people stepped up their war of liberation.

The large corporations have much to gain from this slaughter--and much to lose if they lose this war. If the Vietcong beat the United States in Vietnam, then how safe will their investments be in Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, the Phillipines, South America, even Europe and America where the workers are on the offensive?

The blood of Songmy is on the hands of the corporation heads in their plush offices 10,000 miles away from the mud and muck and death that is the Vietnam war.

WAR

It is a war against the working class of Vietnam and the poor peasantry. These are the people being shot up and bombed in "free fire zones" and "H&I" (harassment and interdiction) artillery fire which still goes on every day in Vietnam.

Songmy is not a moral issue; it is a class issue. And we cannot let the criminals of Songmy go scot free. American workers must step up their struggle to stop this war. American workers must step up their struggle in the shops to fight back against these bloated corporations who profit from war, who profit from inflation, while American workers die in Vietnam and while American workers have their real wages lowered, their working conditions worsened, and their jobs taken away from them.

Protest U.S. Barring of Ernest Mandel

NEW YORK--Ernest Mandel, editor of the Belgian paper La Gauche and European Pabliste leader, has been barred for a second time this year from speaking in the United States. This time his admission was approved by the State Department but denied by the Justice Department under provisions of the McCarran Act.

This action of the Justice Department follows close on Agnew's attacks on the press and open appeals to the extreme right which were followed up by Attorney General Mitchell who heads the Justice Department. It must be seen as part of this whole rightist turn within the Nixon Administration. This in turn represents the attempt of a section of capital to prepare the road of repression against the working class as the crisis deepens.

At the same time the open split between the State and Justice Departments, unheard of in normal Washington protocol, is another expression of the depth of the crisis and split within the American ruling class and its political representatives.

The barring of Ernest Mandel is a direct attack against all working class tendencies and requires the strongest protest. We must fight back all the harder against each attempt to suppress those democratic rights still left to the working class of this and other countries.

Saigon Regime Faces Disaster

BY THE EDITORS

As the Vietnam War steps up, with the American casualty rate now over 150 per week and a number of signs point to an even higher level of fighting this winter, the Saigon Government becomes more and more isolated, standing on top of a nation up in arms against it and the U.S.

The most recent example of this is the mass spy trial of a top Thieu aide and 40 others. This spy ring was headed by Vu Ngoc Nha, who frequently paid calls on President Thieu himself. His main contact was Huynh Van Trong who served as a special assistant to Thieu. Nha admitted being a spy while Trong denied he was a spy but admitted having contacts with leaders of the National Liberation Front.

What was so completely revealing about this trial was that the defendants were openly proud of their actions and burst into cheers when it was announced they had received life sen-

tences. Having no confidence in Thieu's regime and its ability even with United States help, to last for long, they interpreted a life sentence as meaning six months or no more than a year--that is they considered themselves sentenced for the life of the Thieu regime and the Saigon government.

CONFIDENCE

Such is the confidence with which the Vietnamese people hold the Saigon government. Top men in that government admit direct spying for or collaboration with the so-called "enemy" and a life sentence is viewed as a virtual acquittal.

In the meantime Nixon plans to sit out an expected new NLF offensive--an offensive which actually is already underway. According to the Christian Science Monitor, Nixon already expects a winter offensive and could not care less how many Americans and Vietnamese die this

winter. Then in the Spring he will make a G.E. type offer which if accepted by the NLF will end the war, but if not he then plans, "the continued presence of American forces in the 100,000 to 200,000 range. Mr. Nixon thinks he could field a force of that magnitude indefinitely."

OPPOSITION

With opposition to the war growing within the American working class and throughout the world, with the Thieu regime visibly disintegrating, and with the NLF gaining in strength politically and militarily, there is considerable question whether Nixon's strategy is as "durable" as the Monitor says it is.

There must be no deals dictated by the U.S. imperialists with the blood of Songmy still on their hands. What is in order now is the complete defeat of the United States in Vietnam and the victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

NEW PLANS SHAPE UP FOR WEEKLY BULLETIN

BY THE BULLETIN STAFF

We are now well into our second month of publishing the Bulletin as a weekly paper. We have been particularly gratified by the reception to the weekly. The paid circulation of the weekly is now within 200-300 of the bi-weekly.

We have now overcome virtually all of the technical problems in weekly production as well as making some headway in distribution. Our Pending Second Class Mailing Permit should help speed delivery to subscribers, though this will improve further only after the permit is fully approved.

We have received a delivery date on our new phototypesetter of the first week in January at the latest. This means we will be able to begin the new year with a fundamental improvement in the technical look of the weekly.

While we have the weekly rolling, we are still in the process of consolidating the paper, giving it a sound financial base, and developing its circulation base. We need all the help we can get from our readers to take the weekly Bulletin forward now. You have seen what we have been able to do with the weekly these first six weeks. Now we need your help to keep the weekly coming out, to complete the technical improvements we have planned, to expand the readership of the paper.

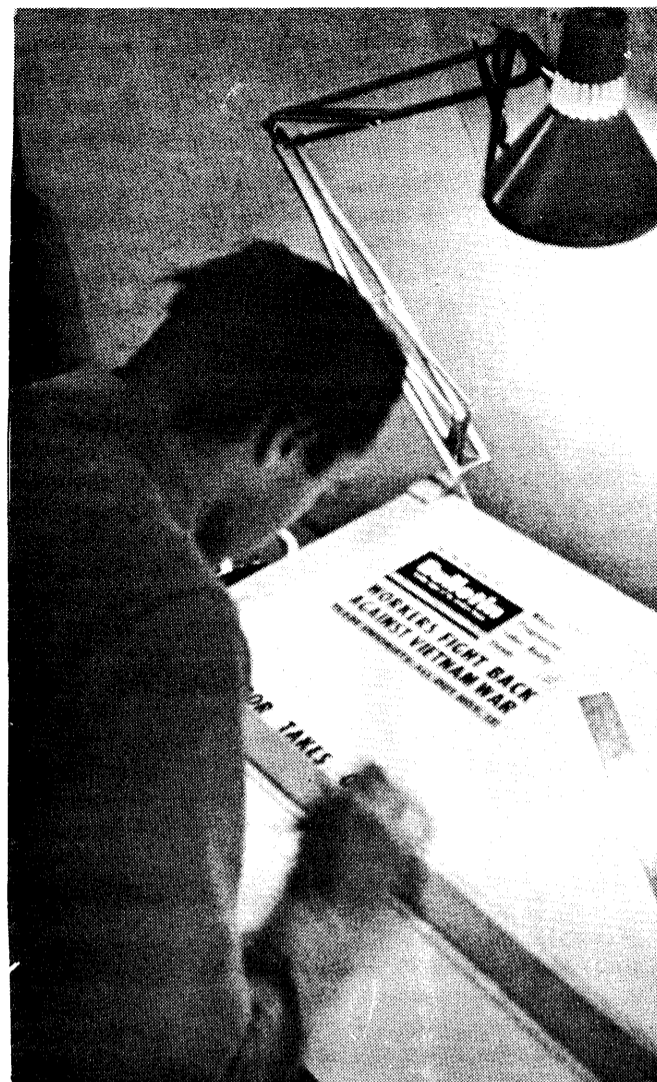
A paper like the Bulletin can only survive on the basis of the support from its readers.

It is now necessary for us to raise a minimum of \$3,000 between December 1st and January 31st. We already have pledges for a good part of this but we can achieve this goal



EDITOR LUCY ST. JOHN (ABOVE) READS FIRST WEEKLY BULLETIN.

AT RIGHT, STAFF MEMBER WORKING ON PASTEUR



only if our readers contribute all they can.

At the same time we are running a special subscription campaign to gain 1000 subscriptions and push our circulation above the bi-weekly level. We urge all readers to take out a subscription today if you are not a regular subscriber. All present subscribers should solicit friends and shopmates for subs. We will be happy to send a sample copy to any friends whose names you send in.

We are already preparing new material to be published in the inside four pages of the Bulletin after the current Black series on Germany and the Black series on Spain and Italy are completed. These will include important documents from the opposition within the Soviet Union, a fundamental answer to the lies and slanders of the American Communist Party on Trotskyism and its own history, a history of the two Post-War Germanies and the

prospects for struggle today, and other material.

We also urge all our readers to view themselves as Bulletin reporters and send in material on developments in the class struggle in your area.

Send in your contribution to the Weekly Bulletin Drive Now!

Send in your subscription or a subscription for a friend immediately!

WORKERS LEAGUE PLANS CONFERENCE ON TROTSKYISM



TIM WOHLFORTH (ABOVE) SPEAKING ON SDS. LECTURE SERIES HAS BEEN HELD AT

PENN STATE (BELOW) CORNELL, COLUMBIA, TEMPLE AND STONY BROOK.

The Workers League will be holding its first Eastern Regional Educational Conference on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, January 2-4 at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43rd St. New York City. Participants are expected from Montreal, Toronto, Goddard College, Boston, New Haven, Stony Brook, Philadelphia, Penn State, Cornell and Detroit, as well as the New York area.

The theme of the conference will be THE STRUGGLE FOR TROTSKYISM. It will mark the 30th anniversary of the murder of Trotsky by Stalin's agent, and the 100th birthday of Lenin. 1970 will be the year of

Lenin and Trotsky in more than the matter of anniversaries. It will be the year that Trotskyism, which is Leninism, develops as a movement encompassing masses of the working class in action internationally and not just as ideas in the heads of a few.

The Conference will be particularly geared towards the new forces who have turned to the Workers League over the past few months and who need to deepen their theoretical understanding of the whole rich history of Trotskyism. At the same time the Conference will relate theory to the concrete struggle for the PARTY. The construction of the party is the central task of our period and without this there is no socialist future, and without socialism there is no future whatsoever for man.

The Friday sessions will cover the 1930s and the founding of the

Fourth International. They will deal with the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, the rise of fascism and the United Front, the Popular Front in France and Spain, the founding of the Fourth International, and the Transitional Program.

The Saturday sessions will cover the 30 years of the Trotskyist movement since the founding of the Fourth International. They will concentrate on the causes for the growth of revisionism within the Trotskyist movement, the methodological roots of this revisionism and the struggle of the International Committee and the Workers League for the Transitional Program under new conditions of international capitalist crisis. Special attention will be given to the history and perspectives of the Workers League.

DISCUSSION

Sunday will be devoted to a detailed discussion of the construction of the party in specific areas. These meetings will be held at a different location to be announced. Full discussions will be held on all days, with special small groups set up so all can participate freely. Discussion leaders will include Tim Wohlforth, Lucy St. John, Dennis O'Casey and Fred Mueller.

There will be a special public event on Friday evening to be announced shortly. A social will be held Saturday evening. Registration, which covers all sessions, is \$5.00 payable in advance. Accommodations will be arranged for all coming in from out of town who request them. Please contact the Workers League, Rm. 8, 243 E. 10th St., New York, N.Y., 10003 for registration, accommodations and further information.



EDITORIAL

BY THE EDITORS

Is the United States entering a period of labor upsurge and mass strikes on the scale of the tremendous strike wave now sweeping Europe which reached its zenith in the recent general strike of 20 million Italian workers? This is the question that is currently giving U.S. millionaires and corporate executives a bad case of "nerves" and some sleepless nights. As we go to press, more than 2,000 drivers and helpers for private refuse collectors are on strike in New York; Nixon's 60 day "cooling off" period ordered against several railroad shopcraft unions is about to expire, threatening a possible nationwide rail strike; nearly 150,000 General Electric workers are still out, entering the sixth week of their strike.

But this may just be the beginning. The contract with New York's transit workers who are seeking a 30% wage increase and a four day week expires Dec. 31st; the contract for 450,000 truckers ends March 31st; more than 1 million construction workers face new contracts in the spring; 75,000 packinghouse workers in September; more than 600,000 auto workers next Sept. 14th, and 100,000 farm equipment workers next fall.

The bosses are not alone in worrying about the workers fighting to keep abreast of inflation. George Meany says that no labor leader is likely to limit demands because of some future prospect of a "cooler" economy and lower prices. If he does, says Meany, "he isn't going to be the head of that union very long." Another top union official says, "I've never felt as much pressure from rank and filers for more money. And if we don't produce, they're going to get leaders who will."

TIDE

The reason for the rising tide of militancy of the rank and file is not hard to find. Inflation has taken its toll and the employers are fighting against wage concessions which will enable union members to catch up with prices, which have risen more than 10% in the last two years and currently at the rate of 6% by the most conservative estimates. For the first time since the boom of the

Bosses Plan To Crush G.E. Strike To Head Off Strike Wave

'50s, the real wages of the working class in the U.S. have shrunk during the past year. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the "net spendable earnings of an average worker with three dependents" after deductions has gone down from a high of around \$89.50 per week at the end of 1968 to the current level of less than \$87 per week.

This is what lies behind the struggles for wages. The employers are scared sick that the workers struggle will spread from industry to industry. That is why the "leaders" of industry believe that a union victory in the General Electric strike would doom their hope of reversing the trend of substantial wage gains won by union workers in other industries during the past year. Letters from G.E. stockholders to the company executives are running 30-1 against any "surrender" to union demands.

The chief executive officer of Bethlehem Steel, Mr. Martin, in an interview with the New York Times, put it bluntly: "We've got to stop these wage increases some way. ...These construction people are really upsetting the applecart." (Construction workers who have won sizeable wage gains in the past year) "...General Motors is going to have negotiations next year, and what are they going to end up at? Are they going to take the construction into it and add onto it? I don't think we can keep on increasing wages the way we are and have a viable economy."

"SOLUTION"

Mr. Martin then suggests the "solution" to the problem of keeping the workers under the heel of in-



flation, a "solution" which the Nixon Administration has begun to implement: "If the present Administration will take a statesmanlike enough attitude, and stand firm, and slow this thing up until you've got 7 or 8% unemployed--I'm not recommending it, I'm just saying 'if'--I think it would be a more effective retardant action..."

Mr. Martin's "solution"--throwing millions of people out of work--is at the heart of the Nixon-General Electric attack on the wage demands of the unions. Secretary of Labor Schultz spells it out when he says, "the economic situation (meaning the growth of unemployment --Ed.) will reduce management's willingness to

grant large wage increases." This "is going to mean more tension at the bargaining table," that is, more class struggle, says Schultz. But, even if his wages are held down, and with unemployment growing by leaps and bounds, by some miracle, says Schultz, "this doesn't mean that the working man is going to be worse off." Try unloading that story on the "workingman" who is out on strike against G.E., he will let you know in none too polite language where to go!

STRATEGY

The "leaders" of industry and the bosses' politicians who are fighting for a victory over the General Electric strikers are finding out that these workers also are fighting for a victory and that this strike is a struggle for all trade unionists and workers in the U.S. The Workers League has raised the basic strategy for victory of the strikers over the combined forces of the corporations and government: labor should organize mass rallies of the unions across the country, which threaten a general strike if necessary to win the strikers demands and to pose the building of an independent labor party by the 18 million organized workers in the U.S.

Both General Electric and Mr. Schultz are more and more harping on the same theme--labor should hold back its wage demands or it will "price itself out of the market." Mr. Schultz puts it this way: "it's going to be hard to pay these wages when demand slackens and this in turn will mean less overtime, more business failure and cutback, and more unemployment in the future." To these threats by Mr. Schultz, General Electric and all the other bosses who threaten the workers with mass layoffs, plant closures and runaway shops against the workers wage demands, we say: NATIONALIZE GENERAL ELECTRIC AND ALL OTHER COMPANIES THAT RAISE THIS THREAT AND OPERATE THEM AT FULL CAPACITY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL. It is time to start this campaign for nationalization of G.E. now. This must be labor's answer to the employers "strategy" for victory.

Court Hits Burlington G.E. Strikers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BURLINGTON, VT., Nov. 26-- The Burlington FREE PRESS reported a judge's action today making the present injunction against local 248 of IUE in Burlington a PERMANENT INJUNCTION. No more than 10 strikers are allowed to picket at the largest plant, and the limit is THREE at several other GE locations in Burlington, Winooski and Underhill, Vermont, all pickets to be at least five feet apart.

This move is aimed at strangling

the militancy of Local 248 to a whisper, lowering the morale of the strikers by limiting them to a skeleton representation and ultimately reducing the strike to a 'civil disorder' so GE can sweep it under the rug and continue its fight against the workers uninterrupted.

In this, GE has the full support of the state Justice Department, the police forces, and the National Guard. Police were called out on Nov. 3rd when IUE brothers from Lynn, Mass. showed up to help out the Burlington workers. The FREE PRESS reported that police, using "diversionary tactics," opened the way for a thousand scabs, in the process arresting six workers. Gov. Deane Jarvis made it clear that the National Guard was standing by, ready for action against GE workers. Politicians and the courts in devising

GE has the full support of the politicians and the courts in devising whatever "diversionary tactics" will be needed to break the strike, whatever moves are needed to carry out the fight against the working class. As Nixon's anti-inflation policies carry the economy toward recession, workers all over the country will be encountering more and more of the same tactics.

minn. transit strikers face govt attack

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL-- Striking transit workers, members of Amalgamated Transit Union Division 1005, may soon face strikebreaking attempts organized by the Minnesota state government.

The transit workers struck Twin City Lines in the middle of November when the company refused to make even a pretense of serious bargaining.

Now the Metropolitan Transit Commission (MTC) along with right wing Republican state representative Bill Franzel of Golden Valley, have come up with plans of their own to attack the strikers. By the middle of December, they plan to approach the Minnesota Public Service Commission with one of two plans: 1. Extend the franchise limits of non-union suburban bus lines into Minneapolis and St. Paul; or 2. MTC will directly purchase from 100 to 200 buses from Twin City Lines and hire scab drivers to run them.

The entire Minnesota labor movement has the responsibility of stopping these attacks. The AFL-CIO, Teamsters, UAW and other independent unions must take what actions are necessary, including the threat of a statewide general strike, to prevent these plans from taking effect.

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FASCISM AND THE

GERMAN WORKING CLASS 1930-1933

PART ONE--THE CRISIS AND RISE OF NAZI PARTY

Today American workers like workers all over the world are being thrust into struggle against the attempts by the capitalists to solve the deepening world economic crisis at the expense of the working class. Capitalism today faces the kind of crisis it faced after World War I. In Germany and Italy in order to solve this crisis it was necessary to completely smash the working class--destroy its trade unions.

Fascism is the fighting arm of the capitalists during and when it is faced with civil war--with the absolute resistance of the working class. The historic function of fascism is to destroy the organizations of the workers, to stifle political liberties when the capitalists find they cannot rule through democratic means.

But fascism only arose in Germany and Italy after the rising of the working class--only after the defeat of the working class. The responsibility for the defeat lay with the reformist trade union leaders and the Communist Party. The trade union leaders delivered the unions up to the Nazis, believing that through compromise they could save their necks. They refused to take on the capitalists politically.

Today the trade union leaders are preparing the same kind of defeat. They have handed to the employers restrictions on the right to strike, to bargain collectively, and to control working conditions. Meany has given Nixon the go ahead to freeze wages. The trade union leaders have refused to take up the independent political fight for the workers. Instead they have sought compromises with the Republican and Democratic parties, the parties of big business.

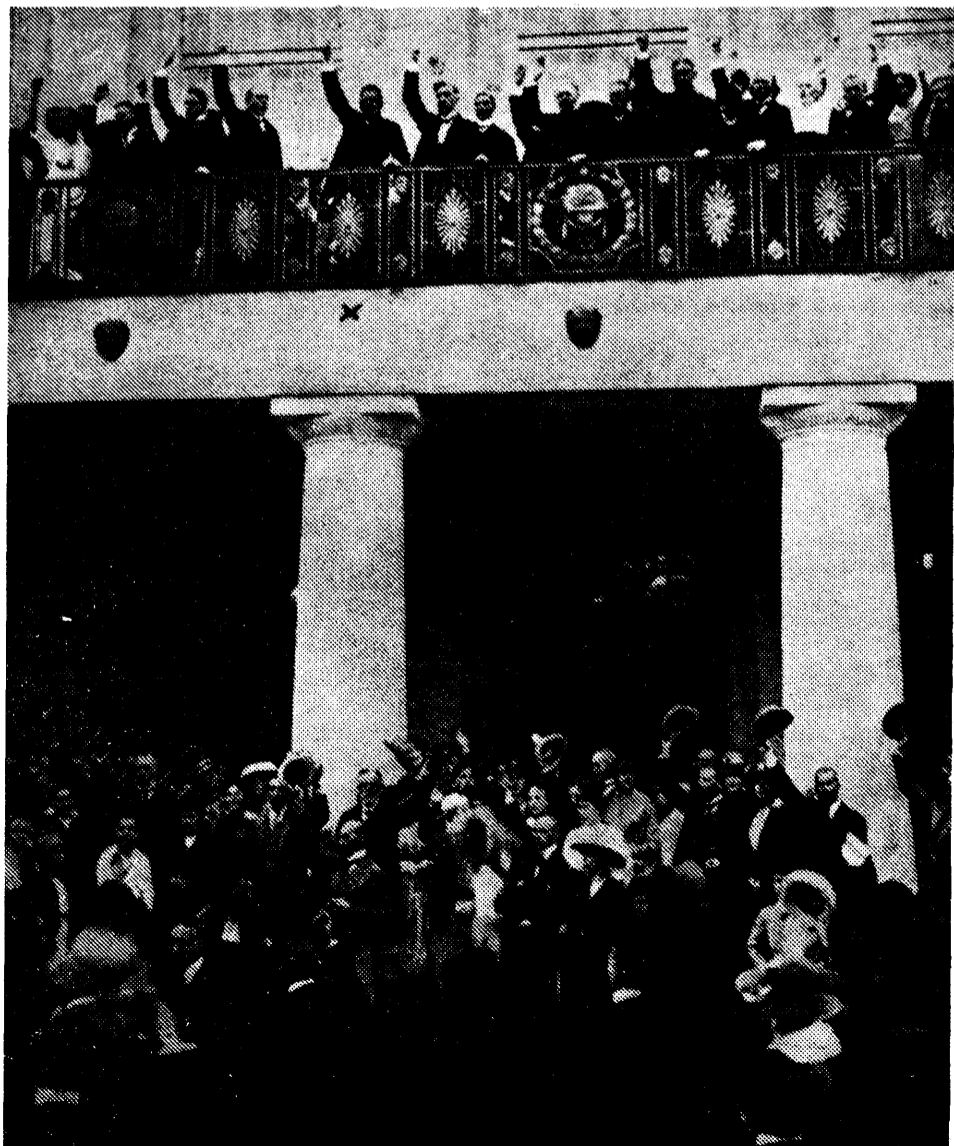
This is the path taken by the leaders of the German trade unions in the last years before the victory of the Nazis in 1933. From its revolutionary wing right down to the most moderate trade union branch or inoffensive workers' chess club, the German labor movement was hacked to pieces by the Nazis, backed to the hilt by big business.

This series of articles, reprinted from the NEWSLETTER, organ of the Socialist Labor League, on the tragic period in Germany is no mere excursion into history. The lessons of Germany 1933 must be burned into the thinking of every worker.

The Weimar

Republic, proclaimed on August 11, 1919, during the 1920s concealed the real center of power--the monopolies backed up by the military and state bureaucracy

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



German trade unions in the pre- Hitler period

GERMAN trade unionism flourished with the pre-1929 boom. Financed mainly on US credits, the German economy recovered from the revolutionary crises of 1918-1923 to reach a new peak of production. At the same time, trade union membership grew from its pre-war level of 2.5 million to twice that number by 1929.

On the political front, the Social-Democratic Party (SPD) began to pull back some of the four million voters it had lost to the German Communist Party (KPD), founded in January 1919.

But the Wall Street crash of October 1929 knocked the bottom out of reformism within a matter of months. Just as in 1914, and again in November 1918, the SPD proved itself totally unwilling and unable to utilize even the most profound of capitalist crises to rally the working class for socialism.

This long-festering opportunist party openly discussed its allotted role as custodian of capitalism within the working class:

'We cannot solve our economic problems alone without the employers. That would lead to exactly the same state of affairs as in Russia. Nothing would cause us greater embarrassment than if the others were to say "Here, it is all yours, get on with it".' (Adolf Cohen, Metal Workers' Union 'leader'.)

After 1929, not only small and medium, but even monopoly concerns began to totter and crash. One of the largest banks, the Danat, collapsed, dragging down with it countless thousands of small investors and savers. At the same time, the huge steel firm, the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, was forced to sell off its holdings to the state (of course at a grossly inflated price) when the stock exchange price for them had fallen to only a fraction of their pre-1930 price level.

Unemployment soared at a fantastic speed:

1929.....	1,320,000
1930.....	3,000,000
1931.....	4,350,000
1932.....	5,102,000
1933.....	7,000,000

Not only were millions of industrial workers thrown out of jobs they had

Right-wing social democratic traitor Ebert, head of the 1919 government (number 2), and his colleagues



General Kurt Von Schleicher who as the last Weimar Chancellor was to pave way for the Nazi terror

held for years, but the middle class was similarly devastated by the crisis of an economy now starved of US credits. Hundreds of thousands of small businessmen, government officials, clerks, traders, artisans, peasants, professional workers and graduates were totally ruined or threatened daily with destruction.

The artificial nature of the boom before 1929 is well illustrated by the change in the ratio of banking assets to deposits. Before 1914, it had stood in the region of 1:3. Just before the crash, it soared up to as high as 1:20.

The crash, when it inevitably came, was transferred from the banks on to the backs of the small investors. In doing so, they placed a detonator under the old political parties which had traditionally represented the middle class in the Weimar Republic. The great banking crashes of 1930 without doubt dug the grave of German parliamentary democracy.

At whose expense the political and economic crisis was to be resolved would only be determined by the calibre of the leaderships assembled by the two main classes—the big industrialists and bankers on the one side and the industrial working class on the other. Whichever class proved the most decisive, to them would go either the benevolent neutrality, if not active support, of all those sections of society that lay between them.

The Weimar Republic, established on



the bones of the revolutionary workers of 1918-1919, concealed the real centre of power. Behind the 'Grand Coalition' between the Social-Democrats and the three middle-class, liberal parties (the Democratic Party, the People's Party and the Catholic Centre Party) the monopolies, backed up by the military and the state bureaucracy, ruled as they did under the monarchy.

Arms pledge

From 1928 until March 1930, this coalition was headed by a Social-Democratic Chancellor, Herman Muller. But this leader of a million-strong party, backed up by five million trade unionists and over nine million votes, only took office after giving a pledge to President Hindenburg (the commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces in the First World War) that the Social-Democrats would continue with the cruiser-building programme embarked on by the previous right-wing cabinet.

As a final condition, Muller had to accept as his Minister of Defence Wilhelm Groner, the same Groner who, in November 1918, concluded a pact with the newly-appointed Social-Democratic Chancellor Ebert to crush the Revolution.

Right from the start then, this was a Social-Democratic government of capitulation to the imperialist forces within Germany. All that followed after 1929 was only further confirmation of the opportunism that had been rotting away the core of this party since before 1914—the disease of revisionism and the rejection of the revolutionary road to socialism.

Once hit by the crisis, the Social-Democrats, as in Britain under MacDonald, tried to throw the main weight of the crisis on to the backs of an already impoverished working class.

And again, as in Britain, this strategy met with opposition from the trade union leaders. Fearing a rapid rise of Communist Party influence amongst their rank and file should the unions accept increased unemployment pay contributions, dole cuts and other economy measures, the union leaders blocked the proposed cuts and pulled the Social-Democrats out of the coalition.

Economics minister Rudolf Hilferding had already got out some months before the fall of Muller. A close friend of the doyen of all revisionists, Karl Kautsky, he least knew what was coming. His loyal services to German capi-

Chronology of

MARCH 1930 -

March 30	Fall of Muller Cabinet (SPD) appointed Chancellor.
September 14	Nazis win over six million votes, 3,000,000.
September 25	Hitler speaks to court at the trial of the Danat.
October 5	Brüning meets Hitler secretly.
October 18	SPD decides to support Brüning.
December 19	German Communist Party (KPD) declares them to be 'enemies of the people'.
December 30	Nazi storm troopers (SA) number 100,000.
March 25	Agreement between army and government.
April 24	Manuilsky, leader of the Third International, declares the fascist regime is not a new type of capitalism.
July 15	Failure of Danat and Dresden.
August 9	KPD joins with Nazis in 'Red Front' in Prussia. Falls.
October 9	Hitler joins with Nationalists to form a coalition government in Prussia. Meets business leaders.
January 27	Hitler speaks to industrialists and re-arm for new war.
April 10	Hitler wins 13½ million votes, wins again—backed by SPD.
April 13	Brüning bans SA and SS.
April 14	Army leaders protest against Brüning.
May 18	Keppeler introduces Hitler to 'abolition of trade unions and no one raised any objection'.
May 30	Brüning dismissed by Hindenburg with tacit support of Nazis. Papen appointed Chancellor.
June 17	Ban lifted by Papen on SA and SS.
July 17	Nazi raid on Altona (Hamburg).
July 20	Papen coup in Prussia. Strik trade union leaders.
July 31	Nazi vote up to 13½ million.
August 27	KPD denounces united front manoeuvre of Social Democracy and consistently opposes Brüning.
September 12	von Papen government voted out. New elections called. Unemployment 6.5 million.
October 4	KPD leaders call for fight against 'Social Democracy'.
October 20	Berlin transport strike begins.
November 4	Nazis lose two million votes.
November 28	Petition from 38 leaders of trade unions calling for Hitler Cabinet.
December 3	Schleicher appointed Chancellor.
January 4	Papen, Hitler and the bankers on terms for Hitler Cabinet.
January 28	Fall of Schleicher. Big business backs Hitler.
January 30	Hitler appointed Chancellor in April 1932 with support of army and industrialists.
January 31	Trade union leaders state readiness to support Hitler.
February 3	KPD emphasizes need to fight against Hitler.
February 24	Police raid KPD headquarters.
February 27	Nazis set fire to Reichstag.
March 5	Nazis win 44 per cent of votes.
March 8	SA wreck trade union headquarters.
March 10	Leipart (trade union leader) arrested.
March 15	Trade unions declare themselves legal.
March 23	New Nazi government passes laws.
April 17	Goebbels and Hitler fix date for election.
May 1	Trade union leaders agree to support Hitler.
May 2	Trade union buildings occupied, funds seized, organizations closed.
May 10	All SPD property seized.
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Summary of main events:

1930 - NOVEMBER 1933

1930
 Cabinet (Social-Democratic Party; SPD). Brüning
 appointed Chancellor.
 10 million votes at General Election. Unemployment:
 6 million at the trial of Nazi officers: 'Heads will roll'.
 Brüning secretly.
 Brüning Cabinet in Reichstag as the 'lesser
 evil'.
 Communist Party (KPD) trade union faction splits from trade
 union to be 'social fascist'.
 (SA) number 100,000.

1931
 Army and SA on joint action.
 The Third (Communist) International states 'The
 new type of state...'
 Dresdener banks.
 'Red Referendum' in attempt to remove SPD
 from office. Falls.
 Nationalists in 'Harzburg front' against Weimar
 business leaders. Unemployment reaches 4,350,000.

1932
 Industrialists' club in Düsseldorf. Promises to smash
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 10 million votes in presidential elections. But Hindenburg
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 SA and SS.
 Ban on Nazis.
 Hitler to his business contacts. Hitler proposes
 abolition of all parties except Nazis.
 'Rejection' (Keppler).
 Brüning-Hindenburg. Papen 'Cabinet of Barons' formed
 to support Nazis. Rule by decree.
 SA and SS.
 (Hamburg). 19 killed, 285 wounded.
 Strikes by workers, no resistance by SPD or
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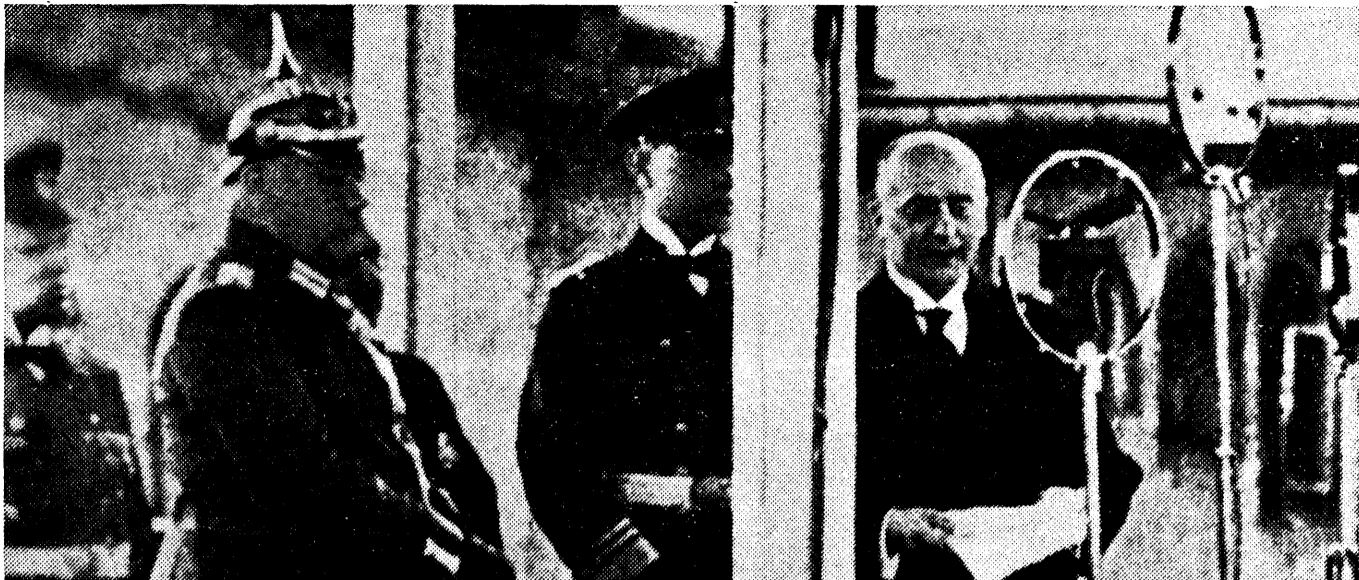
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 Brüning voted down by huge majority in Reichstag.
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 the government'.
 Brüning begins, led by KPD and Nazis.
 10 million votes in election. KPD up to nearly six million.
 Leaders of big business to President Hindenburg
 to support Brüning.
 Brüning Chancellor. Begins talks with 'left' Nazis and
 SA.

1933
 The banker, von Schroeder, meet in Cologne. Agree
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 Big business insists on Hitler as only solution.
 Brüning by Hindenburg (voted back as President
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 Brüning state readiness to support Hitler regime.
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 Headquarters.
 Reichstag building. Blamed on KPD. Party banned.
 10 million votes in terror election.
 Headquarters at Breslau.
 Brüning (leader) asks President Hindenburg to protect
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 Brüning themselves independent of all political parties.
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 Fix date for smashing of trade unions: May 2.
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 SA occupied by SA. Leaders arrested, property and
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 'During my official absences from
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 trumps and the lead is on my left.



Heinrich Brüning (seen at microphone above), leader of the Center Party, even while a part of the coalition with the Social-Democrats, which lasted until 1930, was pushing for more direct attacks on the working class. He reached an agreement with President Hindenburg (seen in spiked hat above) that should the German parliament fail to accomplish its task, the President assume necessary power to take over

And so we shall wait to see what 1930 will bring.' (Letter to a friend.)

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Forces gathering

Brüning's Cabinet, formed at the end of March 1930, was therefore grounded on the understanding that the old Weimar game was over. And far to the right of Brüning, and even Hindenburg, forces were gathering that were within three years to be in total command of Germany—the legions of the Nazi party.

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after the 1928 elections. Following the 'red scare' amongst the middle class after the 1923 revolutionary crisis, the Nazi party had enjoyed a certain popularity, and polled nearly two million votes in May 1924. But by 1928, after four years of relative class peace, its vote plummeted to barely 800,000. The Nazis seemed finished.

As we have already noted, the crisis not only hit the workers. It penetrated into the millions-strong German middle class. Hitler's 'socialism' was carefully tailored to fit the nationalist, anti-Jewish prejudices of the small businessman, trader, peasant and shopkeeper. Threatened with ruin, they rallied in their millions to the Nazis when the traditional parties of the middle class continued to feed them with the same old promises and formulas, and tired, stuffy propaganda.

In contrast to the old parties, the Nazis stood out as a party which meant business, standing up for the rights of the 'small man crushed between the giants of capital and labour':

'We demand the creation and maintenance of a healthy middle class, immediate communalization of wholesale warehouses, and their lease at low rate to small traders, and that the most careful consider-

'I aimed from the first at being something a thousand times higher than being a minister. I wanted to become the destroyer of Marxism. I am going to achieve this task, and, if I do, the title of minister will be an absurdity as far as I am concerned.' (Speech at his trial after the November 1923 'Munich Putsch'.)

Cold storage

The Social-Democrats and the trade union leaders could not complain, when their movements lay in ruins less than ten years later, that they were not given ample warning. But if they were not listening, the ruling class was. It put Hitler in cold storage, but did not forget him.

While its collaboration with the reformists continued to work it had no need of him. But after 1929, the concessions that were an essential part of this policy were no longer forthcoming. Reformists depend upon reforms, but as far as the German employers and bankers, not to speak of their international creditors, were concerned, only a brutal attack on the conditions and organizations of the working class was now possible. The Nazi party now came forward with a



Hitler and his big business backers

ation shall be shown to all small purveyors to the state, the provinces, or smaller communities.' (Point 16 of the Party Programme.)

While denouncing 'Jewish financiers' and the 'thralldom of interest', the Nazi party was deliberately vague on the question of what was to be done to 'German' capitalists and financiers. Goebbels makes clear just how socialist was the Nazi party:

'Our socialism is that which animated the kings of Prussia, and which is reflected in the march step of the Prussian Grenadier regiments: a socialism of duty.'

Marxist, revolutionary socialism had always been hated by Hitler:

definite role to play.

The spontaneous frenzy in the middle class, its turning away in disgust from the old party system, had to be channelled away from support for the working class against capitalism and driven towards the extreme right. By violent and incessant denunciations of 'international Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracies', in which bankers and communists were both implicated, the hatred of the middle class was diverted away from the German ruling class towards the labour movement, allegedly the pawn of alien and subversive forces. Hence the 'National Socialism' of Hitler.

Industrialists who misunderstood Hitler's bogus attacks on 'international finance' were soon enlightened by a



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Chronology of main events:

MARCH 1930 - NOVEMBER 1933

1930

- March 30 Fall of Muller Cabinet (Social-Democratic Party; SPD). Brüning (Centre Party) appointed Chancellor.
- September 14 Nazis win over six million votes at General Election. Unemployment: 3,000,000.
- September 25 Hitler speaks to court at the trial of Nazi officers: 'Heads will roll'.
- October 5 Brüning meets Hitler secretly.
- October 18 SPD decides to support Brüning Cabinet in Reichstag as the 'lesser evil'.
- December 19 German Communist Party (KPD) trade union faction splits from trade unions, declares them to be 'social fascist'.
- December 30 Nazi storm troopers (SA) number 100,000.

1931

- March 25 Agreement between army and SA on joint action.
- April 24 Manuilsky, leader of the Third (Communist) International states 'The fascist regime is not a new type of state. . . .'
- July 15 Failure of Danat and Dresdener banks.
- August 9 KPD joins with Nazis in 'Red Referendum' in attempt to remove SPD from office in Prussia. Fails.
- October 9 Hitler joins with Nationalists in 'Harzburg front' against Weimar Republic. Meets business leaders. Unemployment reaches 4,350,000.

1932

- January 27 Hitler speaks to Industrialists' club in Dusseldorf. Promises to smash unions and re-arm for new war.
- April 10 Hitler wins 13½ million votes in presidential elections. But Hindenburg wins again—backed by SPD.
- April 13 Brüning bans SA and SS.
- April 14 Army leaders protest against ban on Nazis.
- May 18 Keppler introduces Hitler to his business contacts. Hitler proposes 'abolition of trade unions and abolition of all parties except Nazis. No one raised any objection' (Keppler).
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- March 10 Lelpart (trade union leader) asks President Hindenburg to protect trade union property.
- March 15 Trade unions declare themselves independent of all political parties.
- March 23 New Nazi government passes enabling act. Total powers to Hitler. Quite legal.
- April 17 Goebbels and Hitler fix date for smashing of trade unions: May 2. Trade union leaders agree to support Nazi 'national labour day'.
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the bones of the revolutionary workers of 1918-1919, concealed the real centre of power. Behind the 'Grand Coalition' between the Social-Democrats and the three middle-class, liberal parties (the Democratic Party, the People's Party and the Catholic Centre Party) the monopolies, backed up by the military and the state bureaucracy, ruled as they did under the monarchy.

Arms pledge

From 1928 until March 1930, this coalition was headed by a Social-Democratic Chancellor, Herman Müller. But this leader of a million-strong party, backed up by five million trade unionists and over nine million votes, only took office after giving a pledge to President Hindenburg (the commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces in the First World War) that the Social-Democrats would continue with the cruiser-building programme embarked on by the previous right-wing cabinet.

As a final condition, Muller had to accept as his Minister of Defence Wilhelm Groner, the same Groner who, in November 1918, concluded a pact with the newly-appointed Social-Democratic Chancellor Ebert to crush the Revolution.

Right from the start then, this was a Social-Democratic government of capitulation to the imperialist forces within Germany. All that followed after 1929 was only further confirmation of the opportunism that had been rotting away the core of this party since before 1914—the disease of revisionism and the rejection of the revolutionary road to socialism.

Once hit by the crisis, the Social-Democrats, as in Britain under MacDonald, tried to throw the main weight of the crisis on to the backs of an already impoverished working class.

And again, as in Britain, this strategy met with opposition from the trade union leaders. Fearing a rapid rise of Communist Party influence amongst their rank and file should the unions accept increased unemployment pay contributions, dole cuts and other economy measures, the union leaders blocked the proposed cuts and pulled the Social-Democrats out of the coalition.

Economics minister Rudolf Hilferding had already got out some months before the fall of Muller. A close friend of the doyen of all revisionists, Karl Kautsky, he least knew what was coming. His loyal services to German capi-

circular to all would-be Nazi backers in industry:

'Do not let yourself be continually confused by the text of our posters. Of course there are catchwords like "Down with capitalism!", etc. But these are unquestionably necessary, for under the flag of "German National" or "National" alone, you must know, we should never reach our goal, we should have no future. We must talk the language of the embittered socialist workmen or else they wouldn't feel at home with us. We don't come out with our direct programme for reasons of diplomacy.'

Hitler's earliest backer, Baron Fritz von Thyssen, a Ruhr steel king, had already met Mussolini in Rome in 1927. Within a year of his return, he had begun to win over a small circle of union-hating industrialists, who were organized by the Nazi businessman Keppler into the 'Circle of Friends of the Economy'. By 1930, a network of pro-Nazi industrialists and bankers had been created throughout Germany, particularly in the Ruhr, which was especially attracted to Hitler's plans for re-armament and European conquest.

'In the summer of 1931 our Fuehrer suddenly decided to concentrate systematically on cultivating the influential economic magnates. . . . In the following months he traversed Germany from end to end, holding private interviews with prominent personalities. . . . Privacy was absolutely imperative, the press must have no chance of doing mischief. Success was the consequence.' (Otto Dietrich, Hitler's press officer.)

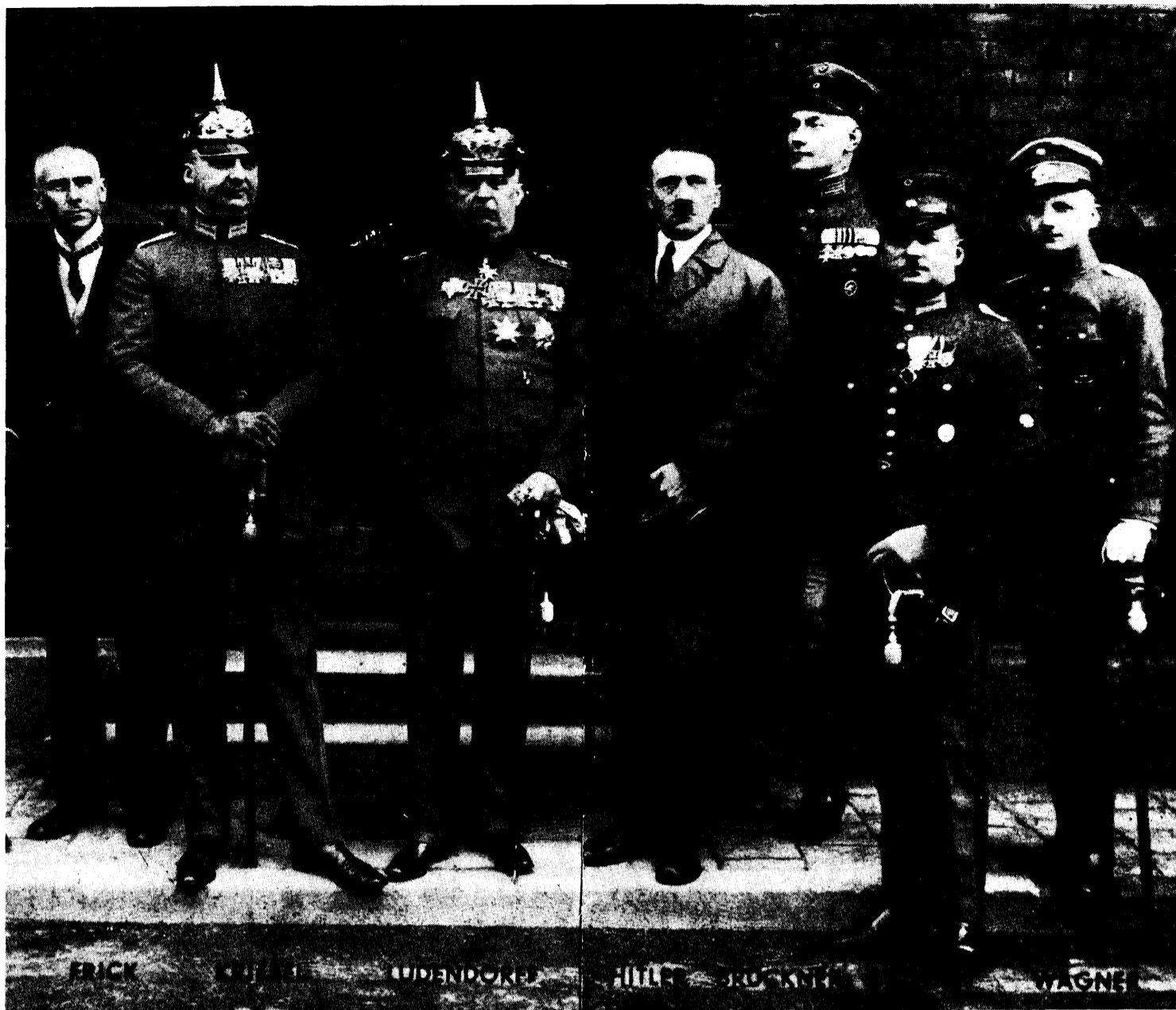
Class structure

The importance of the Nazi party to the monopolies can best be grasped from the following analysis of Germany's class structure, particularly of its middle class. (Figures for one year, 1925.)

Class	% of Pop.
Capitalists	0.92
Middle class :	
(a) Artisans, peasants	18.0
(b) Clerical workers, etc.	15.0
(c) Small business, shopkeepers, etc.	14.0
Industrial working class	51.0

The total social isolation of the big monopolies is self-evident. It was overcome up to 1930 by a policy of collaboration with the bureaucratic leadership of the working class, drawing them into coalitions with the leaders of the main middle-class parties. This formula provided a basis for stable rule from 1923 up until the crisis.

But with the elections of September 1930, new forces now burst forth which exploded the old Weimar compromise. The Nazis now ranked as the second largest party in Germany, headed only by the Social-Democrats. Many of their



Above are the plotters who together with Hitler sought to seize power in Munich on November 9, 1923. Hitler used his less than year in jail to write "Mein Kampf."

voters were people previously indifferent to politics. **But at least a million came from parties which had been the mainstays of the old Weimar coalition with the Social-Democrats.**

The mass basis of the old republic was disintegrating rapidly. And the very political agency of that disintegration—the Nazi Party—was also to provide the new forces which the German ruling class harnessed to achieve its total domination over the working class.

It was that vast social mass between the monopolies and the working class, driven crazy by the crisis, that formed a new anchorage in the population to replace Social-Democracy. The army, police and bureaucracy could not fill that vacuum alone—the abortive military putsch led by Wolfgang Kapp in March 1920 had proved that.

The 'Deutsche Fuhrerbriefe', the private journal of German big business in its issues of September 16 and 20, 1932, drew attention to this role of

fascism:

'Social-Democracy (from 1918 to 1930) and present-day National Socialism both perform similar functions in that they were both grave-diggers of the previous system [the monarchy and Weimar Republic, R.B.] and then, instead of leading the masses to the revolution proclaimed by them, led to the new formation of capitalist rule.'

(This, it is important to realize, is the German ruling class speaking.)

The journal draws the conclusion (barely five months before the Nazis took power) that 'National Socialism has taken over from Social-Democracy the task of providing mass support for the rule of the bourgeoisie in Germany'.

Mass basis

It is necessary to point out that whereas Social-Democracy rested upon

the working class, particularly its more privileged sections, the fascists drew their mass basis from those social layers immediately above the workers—the more poverty-stricken sections of the middle class. And at that, only for a short period after the Nazi party came to power.

The basic change in methods of rule demanded by the crisis could not be carried out by a simple coup. The forces for it had to be mobilized during the period of Bonapartist rule between March 1930 and January 1933, a period in which the state machine seemed to balance between the clashing classes (the essence of Bonapartism, as it first developed under Napoleon at the end of the French Revolution).

Part Two of the Robert Black series, "The Retreat of Social Democracy", will appear in next week's issue of the BULLETIN.

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welfare caseworkers fight speedup

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

NEW YORK-- Working conditions in the Department of Social Services are fast becoming intolerable. Workers are forced to plow through masses of paperwork and red tape never before required in the history of the department. This kind of paperwork, the union bureaucracy promised, would be done away with under the new contract. The caseworkers, supervisors, and auxiliary titles are now learning differently. Aside from a fantastic growth in caseload with no meaningful financial compensation, workers are forced to spend at least twice as much time on one case as before. When they ask what should happen if they cannot complete the work in one working day's time, they are told they will get overtime--time for time. This is nothing but an insult!

The growth in harassment in the Department is part of what one worker called "do-it-yourself social audit." This means that the workers are being studied for productivity and the efficiency experts will use all

the counts and records the workers have to keep. What this inevitably leads to is time and motion studies, leading to measured day work and other productivity schemes.

INTOLERABLE

The City has been going full steam ahead with its plans for forcing the hard core of remaining workers to "attrite". The vicious new regulations, including the forcing of workers through the humiliating procedure of showing their ID cards every time they have to get a check for the clients, and abolishing the honor system regarding field days, serve no other purpose for the City than making life on the job more and more intolerable each day for staff. Earmarking, where a supervisor or case supervisor is demoted (with no loss in pay) is now a common, everyday occurrence. Mass forced transfers are just beginning.

Lurking behind all of these attacks is obviously a plan by Lindsay and his cohorts in the DC 37 bureaucracy

to undermine Civil Service regulations as a whole. This fits perfectly into Nixon's plans for the economy as a whole as far as undermining workers' ability to fight back against inflation and taxation by weakening the ranks as a whole through unemployment. The most important feature of Civil Service is job protection. This is the feature which the bosses cannot tolerate in this period. They will do everything in their power to destroy Civil Service regulations, as exemplified by the recent attacks on the Hospital Care Investigator title, and the impending dissolution of another department in the DSS, the Division of Employment and Rehabilitation (DER). The ranks have heard not one word from the union leadership on the question of the dissolution of these titles. The bureaucracy refuses to point out that each dissolution of an auxiliary title is one step closer to the dissolution of the caseworker and supervisory titles as a whole. The union bureaucracy and DC 37 under the leadership of Victor Gotbaum still appear to be

basking in the glory of Lindsay's re-election.

PROGRAM

The only force in the union which is fighting these attacks with a serious program to win is the SSEU-371 Committee for a New Leadership. This caucus stands firmly on the policy of throwing the whole contract with its reorganization and attrition scheme back into the face of the union bureaucracy and the City. It is demanding a reopening of the 1969 contract, with the provision that if the City refuses, strike action be taken on January 12th. The Committee is demanding that the contract be renegotiated on the basis of demands to return to the 60 caseload, with equivalent quotas in all other bureaus, mass re-hiring now and a freeze on the City's reorganization plans, abolition of "accountability" procedures, immediate issuance of all back pay, a real penalty clause of \$150 per case above the 60 limit to keep workloads down, no abolition of any existing titles, and the reinstatement of field days.

The ranks of the union must not be fooled. Morgenstern will be forced to make a move soon on these issues, but he will refuse to get at the heart of the problem--reorganization. It is through the loss of jobs and the undermining of Civil Service regulations that the City plans to save money. This is the crux of reorganization, and it is precisely this which the union leadership refuses to fight. The ranks must now take the matter into their own hands and demand that the City's whole plan be thrown out the window.

All the other so-called militants in the union have refused to take up this fight. The Worker-Client Alliance, in particular, has supported the union leadership's plans through their silence and their refusal to pose an alternative program. This group supported the contract on the basis of the feeble excuse that they felt the ranks were not strong enough to fight it. With the ranks now on the move, they may hop on the bandwagon blowing a militant-sounding horn--but only to the tune of Morgenstern's bureaucracy.

HOTTEST

The fight going on now in SSEU-371 is perhaps one of the hottest in the City, but is clearly only a road sign for other city unions. The Committee for a New Leadership is leading the way in the SSEU and other city unionists must watch it closely. Their unions are next on the agenda, if not already undergoing this kind of attack. The Committee is showing what kind of a fight must be carried on around the City and across the nation by rank and filers against the vicious attacks by the government and the bosses.

NY UNIONS RALLY AGAINST BUDGET CUTS

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK-- On Nov. 25th, 500 trade unionists demonstrated at Rockefeller's office against the budget cuts. The fact that this demonstration was called exposes the bankruptcy of the trade union leaders policy that Lindsay and other liberal politicians could fight these cuts while the trade union movement played a subordinate role. After all the telegrams and petitions are sent, what becomes clear is that only the trade union movement can stop these cuts. Needless to say Lindsay was conspicuously absent at the Nov. 25th rally.

It is important that many different unions that are not directly affected by the cuts participated, such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Brooklyn Longshore Local 1814 and Teamsters Local 237. These workers demonstrated not just in defense of welfare recipients, but also in opposition to speed-up on the job, the decline in wages through inflation and rising unemployment. They were expressing their real hatred for multi-billionaire Rockefeller, and their determination to kick him out of office in the next election. Workers are losing their patience with petitions



1199ERS MARCH. WORKER IN CENTER CARRIES RANK & FILE COMMITTEE SIGN

and sit-ins in Albany.

Most of the signs were limited to such slogans as "Restore the Cuts Now," "Stop the War on the Poor," "Was Rocky Ever Hungry?" The unions did not prepare any slogans about the increasing attacks on job security.

David Livingston, President of District Council 65, said the attacks were an attack on "blacks and Puerto Ricans" and similar to the Vietnam War, which according to him is motivated because the Vietnamese are "yellow". What he is saying is that these cuts are a racial attack, not an attack on all workers. He is dividing workers, placing white workers in some special privileged position, as if Medicaid and rotten schools did not affect them as well.

Leon Davis, President of Local 1199, said Rockefeller had better "call up your buddy Nixon" and get the money...or else. But just what is Davis prepared to do? While Davis is threatening Rockefeller he has done absolutely nothing to oppose a citywide job freeze in the hospitals which is now opening the way for time studies designed to increase work loads and cut jobs. What more clear example of how these budget cuts are hitting trade unionists right now? It is all very well to say Rockefeller had better get the money and you don't care how. But it is another question to begin a fight now against the freeze and rationalization.

The Rank and File Committee of 1199 was the only group there to march with signs that posed this fight, with signs calling for: "End Hospital Crisis-Free Medical Care

For All", "Workers Won't Pay for the Bosses' Crisis," "Fight Rocky With a Labor Party" and "End the Job Freeze."

Morgenstern, President of SSEU got up and boasted about how good it was to see other trade unions at these kinds of demonstrations because he had been the only one in the past. Morgenstern can call hundreds of demonstrations against the cuts but he cannot defend one worker's job in a situation where 9000 jobs are being eliminated through attrition and the Hospital Care Investigator title is being completely cut.

The workers will not be content with hearing the Lindsays and the Rockefellers apologize and say there is nothing they can do about the cuts. The job is to build a party which will fight to use the wealth of the country for all the workers' needs.

POLICE MUTINY IN MILAN, ITALY

According to reports from Milan, a section of the city's police force mutinied after clashing with workers during the general strike earlier this month.

News of a policeman's death in the fighting sparked off a mutiny in the central Milan police station.

Shouting "We are not beasts, we are human too," they ran to their jeeps and with sirens screaming threatened to run down a cordon of officers and drive out of the building.

The motives of the police involved in the mutiny are mixed.

Right wing elements want firmer action against the strikers, but others object to being used as an anti-working

class militia.

INTERFERENCE

They claim that the fighting need never have occurred if the demonstrators had been allowed to march without police interference.

The cracks in the Italian ruling class are now being openly reflected in its state machine.

During the great demonstrations in France last year, a similar unrest affected the police (not the CRS) at the height of the crisis.

The Milan police mutiny, which was quelled only with the aid of tear gas, is a sure sign that a pre-revolutionary situation is maturing in Italy.

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BY LUCY ST. JOHN

At the founding convention of the Progressive Labor Party in 1965, the Workers League posed a number of questions facing Progressive Labor in material distributed at the convention. The chairman of PL, Mitt Rosen, reacted to these questions with these remarks in his main report: "Our attitude to other positive forces can never be, 'either they're with us or against us.' This type of attitude will ensure our isolation, and play into the hands of the ruling class. We will end up, like those Trotskyites outside our convention, giving out 'polemics' to our people who are aspiring to be revolutionaries. That is their deadly fate. It must not be ours."

Four years later the questions posed in those "polemics" are now coming home to roost, posing a "deadly fate" for PL.

In 1965 we stated that PL would follow the road of other splits from the Communist Party such as the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party which degenerated into an ultra-Stalinist sect and the Labor-Negro Vanguard which continued the CP's policy of support to the Democratic Party, if it did not get to the origins of revisionism in the American Communist Party and in Stalinism. In "Questions facing Progressive Labor" we said: "Until it has completed this historical task, it cannot help but continue to be plagued today and in the future with problems of revisionism. Those who turn their backs on this work, saying we should 'forget the past,' will themselves constantly bring up the past by repeating the errors of the past."

ORIGINS

We said that to get to the origins of revisionism PL would have to dig deeper than Khrushchev and Browder to the real roots of revisionism in the Soviet Union--in Stalin and Stalinism. At the same time we warned: "Mao can neither completely break with the Khrushchevists nor establish permanent peace with them." While the Chinese revolution required an empirical break with Stalinism on the part of Mao, Mao and the Chinese Communist Party never broke with Stalinism, never repudiated Stalin's policies or got to the historical and methodological roots of Stalinism.

We pointed out then that Mao was pursuing precisely the perspective of Stalin on the colonial revolution that led to the defeat of the Chinese revolution in 1927 and would have led to the defeat of the revolution in 1949 if it had been fully implemented. We raised then the massacre in Indonesia resulting from the policies of a bloc with the national bourgeoisie completely supported by the Chinese Communist Party. We warned of the dangers of Mao's line towards the national bourgeoisie in Pakistan.

That was four years ago. In "Road to Revolution I and II," PL refused to confront the roots of revisionism, objectively and historically. But PL can no longer dismiss these questions as just "polemics" as Mr. Rosen did at the founding convention. While Mr. Rosen may not recognize dialectics, dialectics recognizes Mr. Rosen. Today on every single one of these questions, PL has had to attempt to correct its "errors." Thus, the last few issues of its magazine, Progressive Labor, have been filled with denunciations of "nationalism," "all class unity" and the "two stage theory" of the revolution. PL admits it made a mistake in relation to Indonesia. It has even been forced to face up to the fact that revisionism in the Soviet Union goes back before Khrushchev and that Stalin played some role in this process.

It is no accident that these questions can no longer be ignored by PL. In fact these questions are being raised throughout the Maoist movement as reflected in the latest issue of "World Revolution." No doubt these questions will tear loose inside PL itself. We are entering a new period today when the polarization of the class struggle is ripping apart the old relationships, when the crisis within imperialism is having its impact within the entire Stalinist movement and all those tendencies which represent an adaptation to Stalinism.

Peaceful coexistence and alliances with capitalism are no longer possible. More and more the working class throughout the world is posing

Maoism--socialism in one country. It is in this theory and in the rise of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union that lie the roots of "nationalism" and "all class unity" and the "two stage" theory of the revolution.

Thus in every one of these articles and in all of PL's recent correction of its errors, the positions of Stalinism--the Popular Front, reformism, "alliances" of the working class with other classes are reaffirmed. In all the answers to the Australians, no real alternative for the struggle by the working class is posed. It was one thing to affirm the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is another to pose the way to achieve it concretely.

It is clear that the leadership of PL seeks to avoid answering these

The suspension of "World Revolution" represents the attempt on the part of the leaders of PL to avoid these questions, and to turn more and more to merely an American outlook.

At the same time that "World Revolution" is dropped, a more ominous note is being sounded in the press of Progressive Labor. We say PL is preparing the groundwork for a split with China. In the September issue of Challenge we are given a hint of these preparations. In an editorial on the question of the recent Chinese-Soviet talks, Challenge says the following: "Even if fighting continues to flare up, and the Chinese continue to criticize the Soviet bosses--negotiations eventually will lead to accommodation with revisionism Chinese-Soviet negotiations would eventually lead to the sacrificing of a revolutionary line and revolutionary actions by China."

WARNING

This warning is combined with recent declarations of independence from Mao, particularly in relation to the question of Vietnam. Mort Scheer spells this out in his article in the November issue of PL: "We are not batonists." It was inevitable, as we stated four years ago, that PL would come up against the questions raised by Maoism's inability to probe to the roots of its past in Stalinism. Empirically, PL today has had to confront the logic of Stalinism in the form of the rehabilitation of the Popular Front by the Panthers. It is forced to correct itself on Indonesia. It is inevitable that PL will have to confront the Maoist version of the Popular Front and the bloc of four classes--the New Democracy. Mort Scheer's contention in the November PL that the "strategy of the Peoples Democratic Dictatorship or New Democracy" is the same as the "dictatorship of the proletariat" does not answer the question. If it were the same, why call it by another name

Without getting to the roots of the New Democracy in Stalinism, in the theory of socialism in one country, PL's break with China can only be resolved in a reactionary direction. PL will find itself in the same relationship with China as it is with the Soviet Union--refusing to defend the gains of the revolution of 1949.

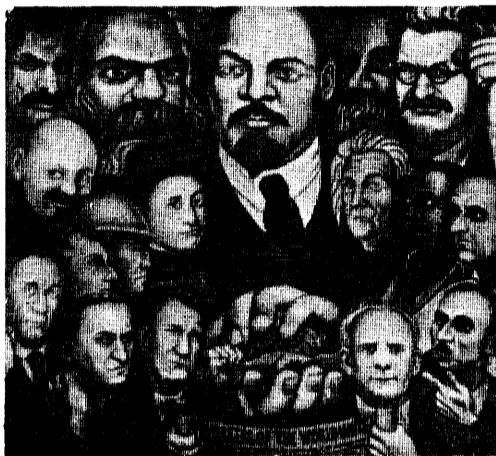
Without analysing the objective, historical and methodological roots of revisionism in China as well as the Soviet Union, any break with the policies of Maoism will be an empirical break. Such a break will mean one thing and one thing only and that is the degeneration more and more of PL into a strictly American centrist tendency, basing itself not on an international strategy but merely on an adaptation to the immediate struggles within the U.S. PL will attempt to cover this by eclectically picking and choosing from Marx, Lenin Stalin and Mao positions which it feels are relevant to its needs in the U.S. It will use this cover of "Marxism-Leninism" more and more for the defense of American pragmatism and ultimately for adaptation to U.S. imperialism.

LOVESTONE

The ranks of PL should study the history of the splits from the Communist Party and in particular the history of the Lovestone tendency. This tendency broke from the Communist Party in the late twenties. It attempted to build a movement outside the Communist Party. While breaking with the CP, it stood above all with the CP and Stalin in its hatred of Trotskyism. It represented the attempt to build a supposedly "communist" movement in

QUESTIONS FACING PROGRESSIVE LABOR

II



PL MUST CONFRONT ITS HISTORY

a struggle to go way beyond its traditional reformist and Stalinist leaderships. The working class had its fill of defeats in this century at the hands of these leaders.

It is not surprising then that the major attack on the "two stage" revolution and the "peoples democratic revolution" and "true democracy" should come from the French Maoists in the recent "World Revolution" or that a reassessment of the errors of the Communist Party in the Spanish Civil War should be put forth by the Maoists in Spain. The class struggle is ripping these countries apart. The French workers were faced with a Stalinist leadership last May-June which consciously sought to limit the struggles to reformism and refused to raise the question of political power. The working class in Spain has bitter memories of the betrayals of Stalinism as it now moves into struggles similar to those in the 1930s.

The Australians are posing another problem--how can you fight the attacks by the state on the working class, on the unions, with economism, with reformism? Their conclusions are completely reactionary--you should abandon the trade unions--but the questions they raise cannot be answered as Walter Linder of PL attempts to do, by merely stating that you must fight within the unions for reforms and more propaganda. The question is how can the political struggle for power be posed concretely in the struggles within the unions today.

STALINISM

These tendencies, including PL, are incapable of dealing with these questions because they have not gotten to the real roots of the difficulties in Stalinism, in the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, and in the basic thesis of Stalinism and

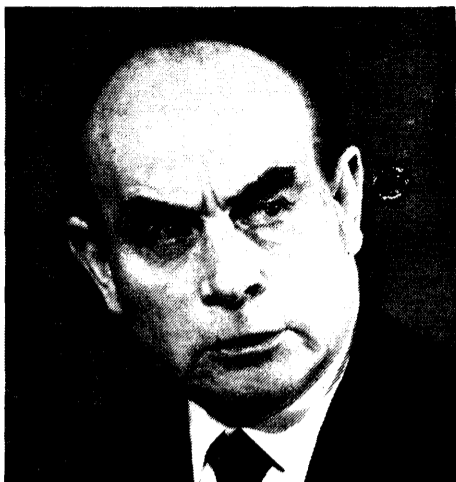
questions or getting to the real roots of them. Such a task require above all confronting the struggle of Trotsky against Stalin and the development and program of the Trotskyist movement. This is why PL is now closing this international discussion, is closing the pages of "World Revolution." This is the way PL explains the suspension of the publication of "World Revolution": "While it was not inevitable, our reliance on W.R. tended to weaken the coverage of the world movement in Challenge and PL. At a time when internationalism must be greatly strengthened we could not allow this weakness to continue."

INTERNATIONALISM

But the question of internationalism is not just a matter of "coverage of international affairs" and declaring solidarity with the working class in other countries as a cover for concerning yourself with just the immediate struggles at home. Internationalism requires above all beginning with an objective Marxist analysis of history and the development of capitalism internationally and on this basis the working out of an INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY for the victory of the working class, an international program posing the struggle for power within the struggles of the working class today and within the context of building an International capable of leading the working class.

It was this understanding that was developed by Marx and Engels and which laid the basis for the program of the Bolshevik Party and the development of a strategy during the first five years of the Communist International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. Trotsky fought for this conception against Stalin and the Fourth International was founded and fights today on this basis.

boyle-yablonski fight shakes umw



TONY BOYLE, HEAD OF UMW

BY DAN FRIED

With little more than one week to go before the election contest for the Presidency of the United Mine Workers, the U.S. Department of Labor has issued a report of extensive corruption, nepotism and misuse of union funds by the top officials of the union. At the center of the government charges is President W.A. (Tony) Boyle who faces the challenge of Joseph Yablonski in the December 9th elections. Yablonski is a long time member of the union's international executive council and Southwestern Pennsylvania district leader who collaborated with Boyle for many years. He broke with Boyle to run for the Presidency on a program emphasizing union democracy, mine safety and better working conditions.

The Labor Department report underscores the charges that had already been made against the Boyle leadership by both Yablonski and consumer-safety crusader Ralph Nader. Boyle says that the charges are only "allegations" and "a smear job and open union busting." At the same time he admits that the union "has the same problems with expense accounts as every big organization" adding that it was "possible

there were minor infractions." In other words, according to Boyle, its all right for union bureaucrats to live it up on the miners' hard earned money by padding their expense accounts because after all, it's done every day by business men, corporation executives and government officials.

EXPENSES

We are not sure what Boyle means by "minor infractions" regarding expense accounts. Specifically, the Labor Department report charged that some UMW officials "have claimed expenses for hotels and travel for practically every day of the year" and for hotel expenses during "periods when they were at their places of residence." The report alleges that the union paid the rent for a hotel suite--\$11,500 in 1967-- used by UMW Secretary Treasurer John Owens, and that this "expense" was never even "shown as an expense payment to Mr. Owens."

And then there is Mr. Boyle's family. The report states that in 1967 his brother Richard and his daughter Antoinette were both on the union payroll, each pulling down big salaries and fat expense accounts. Boyle himself received a \$50,000 salary and \$11,630 in "expenses". According to the report, members of Boyle's family were not the only ones who got in on the action in 1967. Owen's two sons were also on the payroll in 1967, along with five relatives of the assistant director of the UMW's legal department, Harrison Combs, Sr. Boyle cannot so easily get off the hook by pointing out that in making these and other charges of corruption the Labor Department is not at all looking out for the interests of the union. In fact, throughout his career in the union, Boyle has openly collaborated with every government agency, including the Labor Department. His

friends include union-busting politicians and government officials from both parties.

The rank and file UMW members are not being fooled by Boyle's attempts to apologize for "minor infractions." The belief that the Boyle leadership is thoroughly corrupt and undemocratic is one of the reasons for the widespread support for Yablonski among the miners. Boyle's record of feathering his own nest instead of fighting for the workers is going against him. Boyle has been notorious for apologizing for unsafe mine conditions. When 78 coal miners were trapped by last year's explosion in the Mannington, W. Va. mine of the Consolidation Coal Co., Boyle said that this company was "one of the better companies cooperating in safety." Incredible but true! Last March, when 40,000 coal miners went on strike and demonstrated at the state capital in West Virginia for strong mine safety legislation, Boyle issued "back to work orders" to the men and was booed by the strikers every time his name was mentioned.

COLLABORATION

Boyle's record is one of down the line collaboration with the coal bosses on questions of safety legislation, investment of union funds in coal enterprises, and absolutely no fight to protect miners' jobs against automation and mechanization. While Yablonski is undoubtedly cashing in on Boyle's sell-out record, the Boyle machine has used every undemocratic procedure to defeat Yablonski. While he was going around the country to get the nomination of 50 or more locals required to get on the ballot, Yablonski ran into trouble. In Springfield, Ill., he reportedly was attacked and knocked unconscious by Boyle's goons. In Girardville, Pa., Boyle's hacks set the clock in the union hall ten minutes ahead and when Yablonski's supporters showed up at the

nominating meeting at what they thought was the start of the meeting, they were faced with the second point on the agenda, the nomination of Boyle having been point one! According to Ralph Nader, the strength of the Boyle machine also rests on "bogus" locals. He claims that "at least 550 of the 1,186 union locals were 'bogus' organizations of retirees on pensions with fewer than 10 actively working miners required by the union constitution to qualify them for local charters and thus for voting rights." It is through these locals that Boyle controls the delegations to UMW conventions.

There is no doubt that Mr. Yablonski is just as much a bureaucrat as Boyle and every bit an opportunist. But a Yablonski victory in this election will help create the conditions in the UMW for a real alternative leadership that can fight on a workers' program. Such a leadership can be built out of a caucus organization of the rank and file. A Yablonski victory will encourage rank and filers to participate in the building of such a caucus. However, a rank and file caucus must have a program completely independent of Yablonski, who criticizes Boyle but has not broken from the policy of collaboration with the employers and with the Democratic and Republican politicians.

The Workers League has consistently posed an alternative program for the rank and file of the UMW. The basis of this program is to build a caucus in the UMW which will fight for: full union democracy; union shop-steward control over working conditions in the mines; a full cost of living escalator clause; the four day week at five days pay; full time union safety inspectors in all mines at Company expense; nationalization under workers control of all mines and companies that refuse to meet these union demands.

Questions Facing Progressive Labor II

(Continued from page 10)

the working class by finding a middle road between Stalinism and Trotskyism. Lovestone's group never attempted any analysis of Stalinism but rejected theory and history for immediate gains within the trade unions and a strictly American perspective. The Lovestone group supported the Second World War and became the most right wing force within the labor bureaucracy, culminating in Lovestone becoming the hatchet man for the CIA.

The history of the Lovestone tendency cannot simply be attributed

to the motives, good or bad, of its leadership, but to its refusal to confront the roots of the struggles within the CP by substituting American pragmatism for Marxism.

We say that the same "deadly fate" is posed to PL. The leadership of PL, and in particular, Milt Rosen, represents that section of the working class movement whose roots are in the labor aristocracy and who have nothing but hostility for Marxist theory, the history of the Marxist movement, and internationalism, who seek to lead the working class with the outlook of the American ruling

class, pragmatism.

Rosen has nothing but contempt for theory, for history and "polemics" and openly advocates "common sense" in developing the line of PL. We say that if PL tackles the questions now facing it with the kind of method put forward by Rosen in "Build A Base in the Working Class", it will move faster and faster to a Lovestone resolution of the crisis it faces.

"Base building" and making friends with the people are no substitute for a serious theoretical tackling of these questions. The only way to confront them is objectively with a Marxist understanding. All the personal relationships in the world are not going to solve the problem or produce the answers. This is sheer idealism and not dialectical materialism. There is a real world out there and a real class struggle--independent of the wishes and experiences of Rosen. History cannot be erased by merely ignoring it. History and the working class will have its reckoning with PL.

We say to the ranks of PL and to the members of WSA that it is high time these questions were answered. We urge you to raise the questions of the roots of the split of PL from the CP and the roots of revisionism within PL. We say you must confront Stalinism in its entirety and to do this you must confront Trotskyism and the struggle conducted by Trotsky and the Trotskyist movement against Stalinism. Go back and read the material

from the First Five Years of The Communist International and Trotsky's writings on Stalin. We say the party and program which will lead the working class to victory internationally in the next period lies in Trotskyism and its party, the Fourth International. Trotsky confronted and fought Stalin on every major question facing the international working class. Does PL DARE to confront Trotskyism?



PL LEADERS
ROSEN AND SCHEER--
THE RANKS HAVE
QUESTIONS FOR THEM.

REVOLUTION BETRAYED
WHAT IS THE SOVIET UNION AND WHERE IS IT GOING?
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BONAPARTISM THE WORKERS' STATE AND THE QUESTION OF THERMIDOR AND BONAPARTISM

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The following article by Cliff Slaughter deals with the British International Marxist group which is in political agreement with the Socialist Workers Party

STALINISM is in deep and downward crisis. This is because the Stalinist bureaucracy, being a parasitic growth on the first workers' state which reflects an accommodation to imperialism, inevitably itself goes into crisis along with imperialism.

From the Marxist standpoint, the only defence of the gains of the October Revolution is through the evolutionary struggle for power of the working class in every other country.

Because the Communist Parties are agencies of the Soviet bureaucracy, they adopt political policies of compromise which are calculated to make imperialism easier for the bureaucracy to negotiate and to exist with.

Revisionists are those who employ the use of Marxist and Trotskyist phrases in an idealist, empiricist way to cover up the betrayals of the opportunists.

Purdie, of the 'International Marxist Group', instead of seeing Stalinism's present role as we have described it above, concluded that '... the new dominant features of these [Communist] Parties' is '... their organizational fragmentation and political diversification', so much so that in this respect '... the term Stalinist has lost its usefulness'.

In other words, precisely when a new international generation of workers can and must be trained as Marxists in bitter conflict with the counter-revolutionary actions of Stalinism, Purdie and the revisionists insist that the Communist Parties are not 'dominantly' Stalinist, but are arenas of 'fragmentation' and 'diversification'.

The role of these revisionists is exactly this: to allow Stalinism once again to help capitalism over its crisis, despite the revolutionary upsurge of the working class.

They represent the pressure of imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy on the revolutionary movement and on the youth who turn to revolution.

On the death of Ho Chi Minh, the politics of the IMG, and of Purdie in particular, were thrown into sharp relief, and it was a clash with the 'state capitalists' which produced this clarification.

Divisions amongst them began by 1968, and have already been analyzed in 'The Newsletter'.

At the London memorial meeting for Ho Chi Minh, attended by all sorts of revisionists and opportunists, chaos followed a speech by Chris Harman, representing 'International Socialism'.

It must be said that Harman made a correct and necessary reference to Ho Chi Minh's actions at the end of the Second World War in murdering hundreds of Trotskyists in Saigon and the rest of Vietnam.

Purdie and the IMG, who have never exposed or attacked the rotten, anti-communist politics of the 'state capitalist' group, suddenly erupted with a frenzy of accusations against Harman for making an isolated correct point!

The IMG journal, 'International' (October 1969) describes the September 20

VIETNAM



memorial meeting in an editorial article 'Unity and Vietnam'.

According to the editorial, 'Harman's speech was provocative and in complete contradiction with united front principles.'

This was, of course, their argument against the Socialist Labour League at the very start of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.

For years we had campaigned for 'Victory to the National Liberation Front', but when the revisionists set up the VSC they tried to ban us from criticising Stalinism!

The essence of the matter was—and is still—that without the fight for the independent revolutionary party against Stalinism, there can be no fight against imperialism.

And the essence of Pabloite revisionism here is that it covers up for Stalinism against Trotskyism and against the working class. The 'International' editorial goes on:

'We will not deal with the question of the Vietnamese Trotskyists in this editorial. Because of the interest in this matter we have commissioned material which will give a full picture of what happened—the truth is a lot more complicated than the IS leaders seem to think.' (My emphasis.)

This can only mean the IMG think that in the circumstances of the end of the Second World War, Ho Chi Minh's murder of Ta Tu Tao and the Vietnamese Trotskyists had some justification.

It prepares the way for saying that the Trotskyists obstructed those who were really carrying forward the socialist cause in Vietnam—Ho Chi Minh and the Stalinists.

The logic is inescapable, as we saw in our last article: (Workers Press, October 28) the Fourth International should never have been formed, and the proletariat's needs can be answered by a new development within Stalinism.

We, the Trotskyists of the International Committee of the Fourth International, be-

lieve on the contrary that Stalinism was and remains counter-revolutionary, and can be defeated only by Trotskyism.

If anyone thinks that this conclusion is exaggerated, let him read the speech of Bob Purdie on the death of Ho Chi Minh, published in same of 'International'.

'The death of comrade Ho Chi Minh is a bitter blow ...'

Worse still

Already the tone is set: we are banned in advance from any objective appraisal of the relation between the Vietnamese revolution and its Stalinist leadership, by this 'comrade ...'

Worse comes immediately: 'We had in our thoughts of the future imagined him enjoying the reward of his long life of struggle, the only reward he asked, and the only reward appropriate for that life, the reward of seeing the Vietnamese people at last defeat imperialism, and in a peaceful, re-united Vietnam construct the kind of society which will reflect the abundant courage and self-sacrifice which for so many decades has been expended in fighting simply to achieve the right to determine their own future. ...'

This sickening, typically British, sentimental claptrap has always the same function and intention: to cover up the real lessons of every experience and every struggle.

Purdie is here attacking Trotskyism with all these weapons.

Because Vietnamese workers, like workers all over the world, fell under the leadership of the Communist Parties of the Stalinist Third International, represented in Indo-China (Vietnam) by Ho Chi Minh, their great revolutionary struggle was subordinated to the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR.

Every forward step of the Vietnamese revolution like every step forward in China, has been possible only to the

extent that the workers and peasants broke through the Stalinist framework.

The completion of their struggle ('the kind of society' referred to so cautiously by Purdie) can come only when Stalinism, the main counter-revolutionary force on a world scale, is defeated, and a Trotskyist leadership takes the working class to power in the major advanced capitalist countries, alongside successful revolutions in the colonial countries and a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the countries where that bureaucracy rules.

Ho Chi Minh, ever since the rise of Stalin, was always an opponent of such a view.

Stalinism isolated the heroic military struggle of the Vietnamese people from the international class struggle.

In the advanced countries, the Stalinist parties pursued 'peaceful roads' and held back the proletarian revolution, even to the extent of joining the capitalist governments (in France) which suppressed the Vietnamese Revolution.

Ho Chi Minh was one of the supporting pillars of this international Stalinist policy.

He could have fought consistently in the interests of the Vietnamese Revolution only by leading a Marxist (Trotskyist) opposition to this international policy of Stalinism.

He did the exact opposite: the murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyists was part and parcel of this counter-revolutionary Stalinist policy.

For Marxists, these political questions of the revolutionary role of the international working class predominate over all military considerations.

The Vietnamese Revolution has achieved mighty successes against the US military machine, at the cost of millions of lives.

Apologist

But these successes are imperilled at every moment by

the betrayals of world Stalinism, which has already sold the Vietnamese Revolution once—in the 1954 Geneva agreements.

Purdie is a thorough going apologist for these Stalinist betrayals.

He says of Ho Chi Minh: '... he kept before the eyes of his people the ends for which they were struggling, and despite the attempts of the world's mightiest powers, he resisted the temptation to compromise that ultimate end.'

This is a lie, and Purdie knows it is a lie.

He is cynically using the genuine feelings of those who support the Vietnamese Revolution to wipe out the great political questions.

The 'ultimate aim' without which the Vietnam struggle comes to naught is the world socialist revolution.

That is why the Stalinists so ruthlessly attack Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution—and they are now joined by Purdie.

The struggle against imperialism in colonial countries like Vietnam begins as a 'bourgeois-democratic' one: its demands are national self-determination, democratic rights, distribution of the land.

But the only class which can lead the mass of the peasantry consistently to conquer power and achieve these aims is the industrial working class.

Because of this, working-class or socialist aims are posed.

But these can only be achieved when the revolution in the colonial country merges with the world proletarian revolution.

Outside this strategy, there is no way forward.

This is what Permanent Revolution means: an uninterrupted transition from democratic to socialist revolutions; merging the workers' rule in one country with the world socialist revolution.

Purdie and his friends have now gone over to an entirely revisionist and anti-Marxist conception of the relation between the colonial peoples' struggle and the international class struggle.

It is only a matter, according to him, of a fight for national self-determination.

The Vietnamese peoples' struggle is only an 'inspiration' to socialists in countries like Britain.

Purdie reverently refers to the building of 'a powerful revolutionary movement here', helped by 'identifying' with the Vietnamese revolution.

That is not at all the question. The actual links between the British (or European, or American) revolution and the revolution in Vietnam are not established through sympathetic feelings, 'inspiration', and 'identification'.

They are created by great objective historical forces, and in the first place by imperialism.

The epoch of wars and revolutions initiated by imperialism at the beginning of this century created the modern international class struggle.

The political forces and leaderships which have arisen in the course of that struggle are objective realities.

In the course of this development Stalinism came to predominate, and Trotskyism emerged as the continuation of Marx, Engels, Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

The only basis for politically guiding the revolutionary working class and youth of today is Trotskyism, based on this development of Marxist theory through every great struggle of the working class against imperialism and Stalinism.

Purdie and the revisionists want to liquidate precisely this history and this political continuity.