

Bulletin

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*Campus Unrest
Report-- Prelude
To New Attacks
On Youth*

REVOLUTIONARY WAVE SWEEPS U.S. PRISONS



UAW Leadership Prepares Sell-out

Current developments in the negotiations between the UAW bureaucracy and the General Motors Company expose that an under the table deal has already been made.

It is clear that GM went to the UAW leaders and proposed that they make local "settlements" before any national agreement in order to divert the attention of the rank and file away from a basic retreat on the money package. The talk of "victories" on the local level is being used by the UAW bureaucracy as a smokescreen behind which a sell-out on wages and the cost-of-living escalator is being prepared. Such a deal will leave the auto workers far behind the \$1.65 an hour over three years which was won by the Teamsters.

The danger that GM and the UAW bureaucracy are trying to avoid this year is the UAW ranks using strikes over unsettled local grievances to overturn the national contract deal achieved at the bargaining table in Detroit—just as did the Teamsters.

It is clear that the UAW leadership and GM are developing a very cozy relationship in this effort, for two parties supposedly very far apart over the basic issues. As A. H. Raskin of the Times reports: "Talks have been pressed in 157 plants from coast to coast and a hotline system has been run into GM headquarters in Detroit so that top union and management officials can help break bottlenecks that develop at the local level. Troubleshooters from both sides are out in the field to speed the process of local agreement."

UAW officials have been trying to use a local settlement at GM's Detroit Diesel plant which makes truck motors mainly for non-GM manufacturers to snowball the local settlements.

horsetrading

Meanwhile, the script for the horsetrading between Woodcock and GM is being played out. Woodcock has set the stage for this kind of trading by hinting that he is willing to let the workers pay for future increases in medical insurance, as GM has demanded. In "exchange" Woodcock asks GM to agree on increased cost of living protection.

But this is only the first act. In the finale, General Motors agrees to the \$500 pension after 30 years while the UAW leadership retreats on the central demands of the money package—wages and the full cost of living escalator.

(Continued on page 2)



EXCLUSIVE PICTURES OF NY PRISON RIOTS - see pg 3

**Rockefeller No!
Goldberg No!
Buckley No!**

**Vote
Socialist Workers Party!
Forward To Labor Party!**

What The Editors Think...

A few weeks ago George Meany remarked that the Democratic Party was in "shambles," implying that labor should turn to Nixon and the Republican Party. This theme was then taken up by Spiro Agnew who has been of late trying to win the "blue collar" vote.

But this week it seemed that the Democratic Party was not alone. Cracks in the GOP were showing and Agnew was there with his hammer to help them along.

Agnew launched a broadside attack on Republican Senate candidate Goodell, calling him a "radic-lib". A few days later Agnew lunched at the Waldorf with Buckley supporters of the Republican Party. As the New York Times put it, Agnew "indirectly" endorsed Buckley, the right wing Conservative Party candidate.

The divisions in the Republican Party as well as the Democratic reflect the crisis of the capitalist system and the capitalist class upon which both these parties rest.

This class is faced with a deepening economic crisis and a strong, hostile and combative working class. This is what is creating the tension in the Nixon Administration which seems to be speaking out of two sides of its mouth.

The developments in this election must serve as a warning. Agnew's country-wide campaign and his intervention in the New York elections have a purpose. Agnew is preparing the future. Through this tour he has been consolidating and feeding all the rightist elements—all the anti-labor, racist forces.

It was the heads of the biggest U.S. banks and the head of the New York Stock Exchange who Agnew lunched with at the Waldorf. These are the men who are calling the tune. They know full well what is required if capitalism is to be saved—a war against the living standards of the American working class.

The liberals are pathetic in this situation. Nothing could expose this more than Goodell's answer to Agnew—that his record of supporting Nixon's policies overall is better than Barry Goldwater's. In other words—and Goodell speaks not just for himself but for all members of the capitalist class, Democratic or Republican—no matter what our differences we all stand together in upholding capitalism.

But it is not just the liberals that have declared their subservience to capitalism, lining up with them is the entire labor bureaucracy. The real dangers of this policy are clear in the New York State elections. While Mr. Brennan of the New York Trades Councils was not invited to the bankers' luncheon last week, he has thrown the support of the construction unions to Buckley.

Buckley, we should be clear, does not even try to hide his hostility to the working class and the trade union movement. He is proudly its enemy, speaking for the bankers and big industrialists. This is precisely where Buckley comes from. His father built up a for-

tune in oil, his family is worth over a hundred million dollars. Buckley is the spokesman precisely for those forces behind Fortune magazine that have launched the vicious attacks on the construction unions, demanding an end to the high wages.

Buckley has opposed any legislation on civil rights and is opposed to reforms such as Social Security. He has fought vigorously in favor of "right-to-work" laws as "protection against laborism." National Review which is edited by his brother and virtually owned and operated by the family has this to say on the question of the unions:

"The best available counterpoise to overweening union power would be, in our judgement, the enactment and enforcement of anti-monopoly laws against the unions, and the establishment of a bill of rights for the individual worker which would permit him, according to his own lights, to join, or not join, a labor union." (Our emphasis)

This is what Brennan is asking the construction workers to vote for! Mr. Brennan had better keep his hard hat on because his hero is out to smash the union.

The rest of the state labor leadership is split in two camps, the major section headed by Van Arsdale, is calling for a vote for Rockefeller, and the more "progressive" section headed by Victor Gotbaum of DC 37 is for Goldberg. It is hard to say in this crew who is more hostile to the working class. Rockefeller was the main force behind the writing and passage of the vicious anti-labor Taylor Law. He has in this campaign remained ambiguous in the inter-party dispute, standing at many times with Buckley.

Goldberg is hardly an alternative. He was one of the very first politicians to call for a wage freeze to make the workers pay for inflation. He was the main spokesman for US imperialism at the UN at the time when it was escalating its brutal war in Indochina.

This is the choice the labor bureaucracy offers to the unions! Would you rather be shot or stabbed? One thing should be clear, Brennan's support to the arch-reactionary labor-hater Buckley is the real logic and exposes the bankruptcy of the traditional political policy of the labor leadership "reward your friends, punish your enemies."

The real situation facing the American working class has been brought home during this election not in the speeches of the capitalist politicians, but in the auto strike as an answer to the attacks on the wages and jobs of American workers.

GM, Nixon, and all the politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties have made it clear that the working class is going to pay for inflation. Unemployment has reached the highest in seven years, going to 5.5% last month, an increase of almost two million since January.

Behind The Fight At The Steelworkers Convention

BY DAN FRIED

The recently concluded Atlantic City convention of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) reflects very much the same rank and file militancy that erupted in the Teamsters' strike of last spring and in the auto strike against GM.

It is this new militant determination of the ranks to fight for what they believe is rightfully theirs and not to simply accept what their leadership offers them, that has thrown the labor bureaucracy and the ruling class with Nixon at the top into a virtual panic.

The problem that the Steelworkers pose for Nixon is that even if he is able to hold back the gains of the auto workers to what the world bankers consider a "non-inflationary" settlement, he still must deal with contracts in industries involving more than a million USW members which expire in 1971: containers, Feb. 15; aluminum, May 31; copper, June 30; and last, but not least, basic steel on Aug. 1.

We can be assured that the outcome of the auto strike will have a tremendous impact on these USW contracts and on the entire working class. We can also be assured that as in the auto conflict, Nixon will use every weapon from the treachery

of the USW bureaucracy to open government intervention against strikes in order to maintain the capitalist's profits.

At the convention USW President I. W. Abel attempted to adopt a militant stance in his statement of USW contract goals for 1971 as "a very, very substantial wage increase," re-establishment of the full c.o.l. escalator given up in 1959 and a shorter work week. But as in the UAW, the ranks want more than empty words—they want the contract demands to be nailed down, brought out in the open and a real strategy mapped out to win these demands. But of this, they heard nothing at the convention.

The Abel leadership discussed the contract struggles simply as one among many issues. Likewise they treated the auto strike as a very subordinate question rather than THE central question facing the Steelworkers and the entire labor movement today.

Although the convention was marked throughout by conflict of many delegates with the Abel leadership, the dissident delegates did not get to the heart of the problems by bringing the contract question out as the central issue against Abel. The dissidents limited their fight against Abel to a fight for the right to strike over local grievances and salary increases for the top officials.

All the militant talk about "enforcing the contract," although reflecting the tre-

EDITORIAL Stop Sell-out of Auto Ranks! Call Special Convention!

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The UAW leadership will then go all out to "sell" this contract to the ranks as the best they could do "under the circumstances." The great danger is that they will try to win the support of the older workers who are more concerned with the pension issue for this deal, and try to pit them against the younger workers who are much less likely to go along with a sell out on wages.

emergency

This betrayal must be stopped! The ranks of the UAW must raise the demand for a national emergency convention of all Big Three workers. At such a conference, rank and file delegates can fight to reverse the retreat of the leadership and prepare a full scale battle for \$1.25 an hour the first year, a minimum of \$1.65 over three years in new money, and with no retreat on any of the other demands.

The strongest supporter of the Woodcock-GM plan within the UAW has been the Communist Party which in its newspaper the Daily World cheered the local agreements as great "victories" without uttering one single solitary word of criticism of Woodcock or warning about the betrayal. Then, as if on cue, the Daily World gave banner headline treatment to a demonstration organized by the bureaucracy at GM headquarters around the sole demand of "30 and out." In typical Stalinist fashion, the CP attempts to come to the aid of the labor bureaucracy in containing the class struggle.

program

Contrary to the illusions being spread by Woodcock and the CP, there can be no "victory" on grievances and other "local" issues like speed-up and safety while at the same time GM is allowed to call the tune on wages and cost of living protection. The biggest weapon in the hands of the workers on "local issues" will be a resounding defeat for GM and the Nixon Administration on the national contract. The winning of the full cost of living escalator by the Caterpillar workers should be taken as an important step forward for the struggle of the auto workers around the program:

- No retreat on the money package and full cost of living escalator—\$1.25 an hour the first year, \$1.65 in new money over three years.
- No retreat on "30 and out" or any fringe benefits demanded by the union.
- Call an emergency national convention of Big Three delegates to map a strategy for victory against GM.

It is in this situation that the labor leadership are prostrate, endangering the whole existence of the trade union movement.

The ranks of the UAW have taken on GM and Nixon to beat back the attacks on the living standard of the American working class. Now the power of the auto strike must be turned into a political offensive against Nixon and the capitalist class.

This means the American labor movement must mobilize its power independently and against the rotting Democratic and Republican parties by forging its own weapon, a labor party.

Labor must give its answer to Nixon, Agnew and the bankers in this election by taking a step toward building this party by voting for a socialist alternative—voting for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.



Bulletin got good response from delegates. wages, the continual speed-up and threat of layoff and the destructive effects of pollution and noise—did show through.

What flows from the convention is the real need for the rank and file to organize a national caucus to take the fight against these conditions into a program for victory in the 1971 contract struggles.

mendous unrest among the ranks, is just a diversion unless it is put in the context of the paramount struggle for a national contract—the kind of struggle that brings the union face to face not only with the steel industry, but with Nixon and the U.S. Congress as well.

It must be remembered that many of these delegates are presidents and other local officials who use the struggle with Abel over grievance procedure to get the pressure of the ranks off their own backs and to avoid an all out fight with the International bureaucracy.

CP

Of all the dissident elements at the convention, the Communist Party focused its opposition to the Abel leadership on the fight for "black representation" through its support of the "Ad Hoc Committee for Concerned Steelworkers." This is a group which limits itself to the fight for more black officials and employees in the union and does not raise a basic fight on wages and against unemployment. In this way the CP, like the secondary leaders, tries to channel the militancy of the ranks into safe, reformist channels.

Despite the domination of the convention by the international bureaucracy, and the failure of the dissidents to put forward any alternative program and leadership, a little bit of what the workers back in the mines, mills and plants—from the erosion of

Revolutionary Wave Sweeps Prisons

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

NEW YORK—To the obvious bewilderment of the officials and politicians in the courtyard of the Queens House of Detention in Long Island City, rebellious inmates appeared for negotiations dressed in the uniform of the Arab fedayeen. But their garb was not the only thing they had in common with the Arab fighters.

The struggle which broke out last week in five New York area prisons from Kew Gardens to Rikers Island was more than just a gesture for prison reform but reflected the anger and hatred of hundreds of prisoners, primarily black and Puerto Rican, with the capitalist system and its "justice."

The situation facing the majority of the black and Puerto Rican workers and youth is crystallized and symbolized by the medieval conditions in the jails—the open discrimination, racism, brutality. Living conditions are not fit for rats, bail for these prisoners is exorbitantly

high and the incarceration period before trials can be over one year.

OPPRESSION

At the Queens House of Detention where the rebellions began last Thursday, the prisoners hung out a sign making their aims clear: "Equal justice? Stop oppression, exploitation and persecution. Power to the oppressed people." Among the demands raised by the prisoners were ones relating to the Panthers who are awaiting trial.

The hostages which the prisoners held were not the only ones who showed their sympathy for the "cause" of the inmates. While prisoners took over the Brooklyn House of Detention a crowd of over 3,000 from the area gathered outside and on nearby rooftops. Rocks and bottles were thrown by the crowd at the police and patrolmen who were encircling the prison.

COURAGE

What underlies this series of prison riots and those only a month ago in New York and other parts of the country is the growing frustration with the repression and oppression of the capitalist system. It is above all the class struggle which lies behind the rebellions. This



Prisoners, some dressed like fedayeen, talk with officials after prison riot against racism, high bail, filthy conditions. Below: Area residents gather near prison.

is what ties the struggle of the New York inmates with the fight of the Arab guerrillas. It is their courage and determination which thousands of minority and

working class youth seek to copy in the fight against their oppressors.

The situation was also clear to the City of New York. Knowing full well that he had little or nothing to offer in the way of reform, Lindsay, the great "liberal," called out the full violence of the police. The *New York Times* reports that in addition to nightsticks, the guards who invaded the Queens House of Detention last Monday were armed with "iron pipes, pickaxe handles, baseball bats, and even a few table legs."

CLUBBED

This is not to mention the tear gas and acetylene torches which were brought by the truckload. The prisoners were clubbed, kicked and beaten into surrender. This is the real answer the City had for the prisoners. It clearly exposed as sheer talk all the statements by Lindsay and fellow liberals on the need for "reform." This is the real situation under capitalism.

But the capitalist class has only gotten a taste of mutiny. From the prisons, to the factories, to the schools the working class is taking up the battle against this decaying and bankrupt system.



Behind Campus Unrest Report: Fear of Workers

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest was made public this week. The Commission was appointed last June after the student strikes which swept across the country in the wake of the Cambodian invasion in which six students were killed by National Guardsmen and police.

The report is essentially a variation on the Nixon campaign theme of "bring us together," "lower voices." It calls for "a national ceasefire" on the campuses, "an end to harsh and divisive rhetoric" and "reconciliation."

The Commission, which is dominated by conservative and moderate "Nixon Republicans"—former governor of Pennsylvania William Scranton, the New Haven Chief of Police, the President of Howard University, Dean of the Stanford Law School, Editor in Chief of the *Christian Science Monitor*—unwittingly exposes the underlying causes of campus unrest.

RECONCILIATION

The Commission states:

"To that end nothing is more important than an end to the war in Indochina. Disaffected students see the war as a symbol of moral crisis in the nation, which in their eyes, deprives even law of its legitimacy. Their dramatic reaction to the Cambodian invasion was a measure of the intensity of their moral recoil.

"We urge the President to renew the national commitment to full social justice and to be aware of increasing charges of repression. We recommend that he take steps to see to it that the words and deeds of Government do not encourage belief in those charges."

What the Commission report is saying is that campus unrest will cease if the war is stopped, and racism and repression are ended. Then reconciliation and equilibrium will be possible.

But this is precisely the point. It was more than obvious before the Commission was appointed that the main focus of student discontent is around the war, racism and repression. If these "ills" of capitalism could be cured, there would be little turmoil on the campuses. This is very much like the Kerner report, "President's Commission on Civil Disorders" which after great and lengthy deliberations came to the conclusion that ghetto rebellions would stop if billions of dollars were poured into housing, schools, jobs, etc.

It was quite clear at the time that this could not be done, just as it is quite clear now that the government will not stop the war, cannot stop the war, will not end racism and repression, since they are necessary to maintain the capitalist system.

But this report, written by moderates, was strongly attacked by Agnew, who said that the recommendation for more financial aid for colleges "sounds suspiciously like bribery." He also attacked the report for implying that the government's foreign policy had something to do with student disorder, and for implying that President

Nixon's "moral leadership" had not been properly exercised.

Just before the Commission report was made public, both Nixon and Agnew went on the offensive politically, Nixon in his Kansas State speech, and Agnew in speech after speech around the country replete with attacks on "anarchist bombers," "pusillanimous pussyfooting," and "radlibs."

Increasingly it becomes clear that the Nixon Administration is split not only on how to deal with students, but even more important, on what policy they should take toward the working class. While a section represented by Agnew are ready to go full speed ahead in an all out crackdown, another section of the capitalist class pulls back and urges compromise, reconciliation, a "ceasefire."

FEAR

The steady barrage of redbaiting, terrorbaiting and witchhunt spearheaded by Agnew and Mitchell is not aimed toward a "ceasefire," but toward more direct confrontation. They are attacking the students in order to isolate them, to cut them off from the American working class which is increasingly on the move. Troops have been used not only against Kent State students, but against post office strikers, and wildcatting Teamsters. Above all the ruling class fear the unity of workers and students against them. This is the reason for the vicious attacks on students.

At the same time the Commission reports: "A nation driven to use the weapons of war upon its youth is a nation on the edge of chaos. A nation that has lost the allegiance of part of its youth has lost part of its future."

This is precisely the case, truer than they realize. The ruling class is driven to use the weapons of war on the youth as these youth take a side in the class struggle. The fight to defend the Vietnamese revolution and to end U.S. imperialism is a class fight and it has placed these youth, many from the middle and upper classes, against the ruling class, on the other side of the barricades. Their allegiance goes not to "the nation" but to the working class in its struggle

against imperialism. This is what drives the ruling class to shoot down student protesters. This is why they launch vicious redbaiting and terrorbaiting attacks against students. They fear above everything else that the students' allegiance will go not only to the Vietnamese workers and peasants, but to the American auto workers in their strike, to the American working class as a whole.

The ruling class fears that what is now widespread sympathy for the Vietnamese revolution, and hatred for the war will turn into a more conscious understanding of the capitalist system and what is required to destroy it. They fear that the turn of the students toward the working class expressed in the Cambodia upsurge last spring will deepen and mature politically and spell the doom of capitalism.

STRENGTH

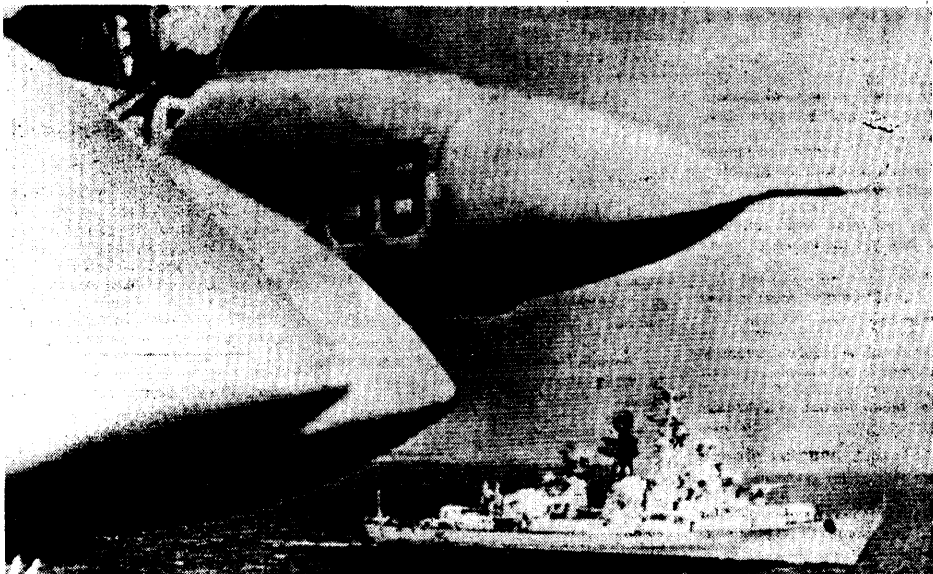
The policy of Agnew is the policy of the bourgeoisie for the future showdown with the working class. The mutterings of Scranton and Company about "reconciliation" reflects that momentary hesitation of a section of the capitalist class which is fully aware of the strength of its opponent, the American working class. This section does not reject Agnew's policy for the future; it only hesitates in the present hoping to milk out of the liberals and reformers every last bit of collaboration and compromise possible.

Students and the working class must prepare now to take up the struggle against Agnew and the whole capitalist class for which he speaks. Students must understand what the capitalists understand—that the American working class has the strength to crush Agnew and Company in a single blow if, and only if, it is consciously organized for this task.

It is already clear that the Commission's positive proposals will go unimplemented but that Agnew's proposals are already being implemented on the campus where we are now beginning to see the makings of a real witchhunt against radicals. Our fight back against these attacks requires above all a turn towards the American labor movement.

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The military power of the Sixth Fleet was the real face of Nixon in Mediterranean.

Nixon Tours Under 6th Fleet Guns

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

Nixon's trip to the Mediterranean taking in Tito and Franco in one swoop all the time under the protective guns of the Sixth Fleet, reveals much about the position of American imperialism today.

More meaningful than all the pious phrasemongering about cooperation and peace was the open display of the Sixth Fleet and Nixon's announcement in Ireland that, if necessary, he would strengthen the Sixth Fleet even further. The Mediterranean is to remain an American pond if the U.S. has its way.

But the Nixon trip was an emergency measure brought about by the growing strength of the Arab revolution in the Middle East, the deepening crisis within the workers' states, and the development of the class struggle in Greece, Italy and Spain. The brandishing of the Fleet exposes the real power and imperialist character of American influence in the region. That the brandishing was necessary reveals the real weakness of America when threatened by the movement of the working class.

TITO

The trip must be seen as an effort on Nixon's part to muster his forces against this working class upsurge. It thus was above all a roll call of Nixon's men. The trip to Yugoslavia was more than an open expression of Tito's traitorous role of collaboration with world imperialism. More than that it was an expression of the collaboration of the Stalinist bureaucracies as a whole with imperialism for Tito's role for a long time has been as an intermediary between the U.S. and the USSR.

This was underlined in Nixon's deferential reaction to the death of Nasser which saw Nixon's aides running to Cairo to attend the funeral along with Kosygin and his aides. The Middle East deal, enforced by the Sixth Fleet against the Arab masses, and supported by the Arab bourgeoisie and the Kremlin as well as Israel and the U.S., was very much at the center of the Nixon trip.

Stopping over at Italy, where the class struggle has raged almost uninterruptedly for several years now, Nixon then landed in the country which gave him his largest turnout—Spain. Nixon's open embracing of the Spanish fascist dictatorship comes at a time when the United States openly endorses sending military aid to the fascist Greek military dictatorship.

FUTURE

Greece and Spain show what Nixon has in mind for Italy, England, another Nixon stopover, and Ireland, torn by capitalist inspired religious strife. As Nixon tours Southern Ireland Reverend Paisley builds his fascist force in North Ireland. In the meantime the Reverend fellow churchman McIntyre embraces Hitler-lover Ky and marches up Pennsylvania Avenue bible in hand.

This is the future Nixon has in store for the world working class—Franco Spain, the Greek Junta, Reverends Paisley and

McIntyre with Bibles dripping in blood, all enforced with the Sixth and other fleets and armies.

Thus Tito and the Stalinists embrace Nixon and together with Nixon pay homage to Nasser precisely at a moment when Nixon reveals the real reactionary future he is planning for workers of Europe and America. What is needed now is a deepening of the international struggle of workers of Europe and America as well as Asia and the colonial world through the construction of the Fourth International.

NORTHWEST STRIKERS FACE NEW INJUNCTION THREAT

MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL, October 3—The more than four months old Northwest Orient Airlines clerical strike now faces new dangers from company inspired court intervention.

On October 1, a county district court judge heard arguments by both the company and the striking Railway Clerks (BRAC) on a company proposal to obtain an injunction against the machinists. Such an injunction would be used to force the IAM-organized machinists, through a no strike clause in their contract, to cease honoring BRAC picket lines.

What this means is that Northwest management has lost all patience with the ability of the labor bureaucracy, such as state AFL-CIO President David Roe, to force a settlement down the strikers' throats.

FORCE

Now they are beginning to pull out all stops in an effort to use all the forces of the state—injunctions, courts, police—to force the strikers to accept Nyrop's terms—which means the end of their union.

It also would mean the beginning of the end of all other unions on the airlines. The husband of one IAM member honoring the BRAC lines told this reporter: "We've lost \$1,700 so far from this and won't gain a thing from it when it's over. We're doing this not because we love the clerks, but because if they get busted so will we."

What this also reveals is that the leadership of the clerks are operating on a strategy that is at least five years out of date. An injunction against the IAM, if allowed to be enforced, will permit Northwest to fly at least 60% of their normal flight schedule within two days.

The key question now is how will the clerks react. As a start, their leadership must organize daily mass picketings to show both Northwest management and the entire Twin Cities labor movement that they intend to win wage parity with the other airlines.

Arafat Comes To The Aid Of Hussein, Nixon, Kosygin

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The real scope of Yassir Arafat's betrayal of the Palestinian guerrilla movement was starkly exposed last week when the Jordanian government announced that it would hereafter consider Al Fatah the sole legitimate Palestinian guerrilla organization and deal exclusively with it.

While Hussein and Arafat have formed a new relationship, Hussein has placed \$15,000 rewards on the heads of PFLP leader George Habash and Nayef Hawatmeh of the PDFLP.

The meaning of the cordial relation between Hussein and Arafat is clear. In Yassir Arafat not only Hussein but Nixon, Kosygin, and the Egyptian interim leaders, like Nasser before them, have a man with whom they can deal.

In Cairo Arafat signed a truce agreement which by providing for the disarming and removal of guerrilla forces from Amman and other cities to positions on the Israeli border aims at accomplishing precisely what Hussein was unable to accomplish in nine days of bloody slaughter.

Hussein knows that if the guerrillas can be drawn out of the cities and stationed on the front, they will be sitting ducks, completely defenseless against his superior artillery and particularly against his air power.

This is exactly where Hussein wants the guerrillas as Washington, Moscow, and Cairo press for new efforts to carry through on the Rogers peace plan.

Though the Jordanian government has issued a call for all guerrillas in Amman to turn over their weapons to Arafat's Palestinian Liberation Organization and several efforts have been made to move the guerrillas out of the city, the commandos, in the main, have completely resisted this ploy.

Not only have full time commandos refused to go but thousands of militiamen who have hidden away their uniforms and weapons have faded back into the civilian population and not even the army has any hopes that these elements who played a big role in the civil war can be removed.

Meanwhile in Irbid and other northern cities the eight nation truce commission and Arafat have been unable to force the guerrillas to withdraw. They remain in control.

The call by Arafat and Hussein for the guerrillas to return to the Israeli front is not only a call for the guerrillas to commit suicide but in all other respects is a complete farce. This was revealed by the total absence of Jordanian soldiers at the front.

Hussein has no interest in fighting Israel. The Jordanian army has, as far as he is concerned, but one task before it—the smashing of the guerrilla movement.

The treachery of the Cairo truce and the attitude of the Jordanian government towards it is further revealed by the fact that of 20,000 guerrillas held by the Jordanian army only 300, mostly students from Europe, have been released.

The attitude of the Jordanian government towards the guerrillas was summed up by the Jordanian Information Minister Adnan Abu Odeh. He is reputed to have compared the problem posed to the Jordanian government by the guerrilla movement to that posed to a man who has swallowed a knife which will cut his stomach if he leaves it in and his mouth if he takes it out.

It is precisely because Arafat refuses to pose things in these terms that he is so useful to the Jordanian government. As Abu Odeh also said: "We believe in Al Fatah, because Al Fatah's ideals are based on nationalist ideas, not Marxist ones."

The fact that Arafat is a petty bourgeois nationalist and not a Marxist places him squarely at the heart of the joint effort of imperialism, Stalinism, Nasserism, the Arab monarchs and the Zionists to lead the Palestinian movement into a final bloody trap.

Fortunately the guerrilla masses are breaking from Arafat. We warn those in the United States like the Socialist Workers Party who are supporting Arafat right down the line while overcome by petty bourgeois revulsion at the hijackings. Consider again on what side you stand, with Arafat or the guerrillas, before you are caught short.

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Strike Wave Hits West Germany Workers Fight For Higher Wages

BY MARTY JONAS

A wave of strikes in West Germany has turned out over 90,000 machinists, steel workers, and auto workers from many of the most important plants during the past two weeks.

Prices have been soaring in West Germany and the main demand by the national union involved—IG Metall, led by Social Democrat Otto Brenner, is for a straight 15% increase. Thus far the industry has only offered 9% for the steelworkers and 7% for the machinists and auto workers.

Without any lead from the union heads, the workers replied to this insulting offer by putting down their tools all over the country.

At the Opel plant in Russelheim, 40,000 struck and marched through the town shouting, "15 percent and not a pfennig less!"

At the Demag plant in Duisberg, 15,000 went out; at the Westfallenhuette steel-works and the Krupp factory in Essen a total of 12,000; at Opel in Bochum, 9,000; at Daimler-Benz in Mannheim, 8,000; and at Ford in Cologne, 12,000.

At the Ford plant, several workers were injured, two severely, after clashes were provoked by the management.

This latest upsurge leaves little room

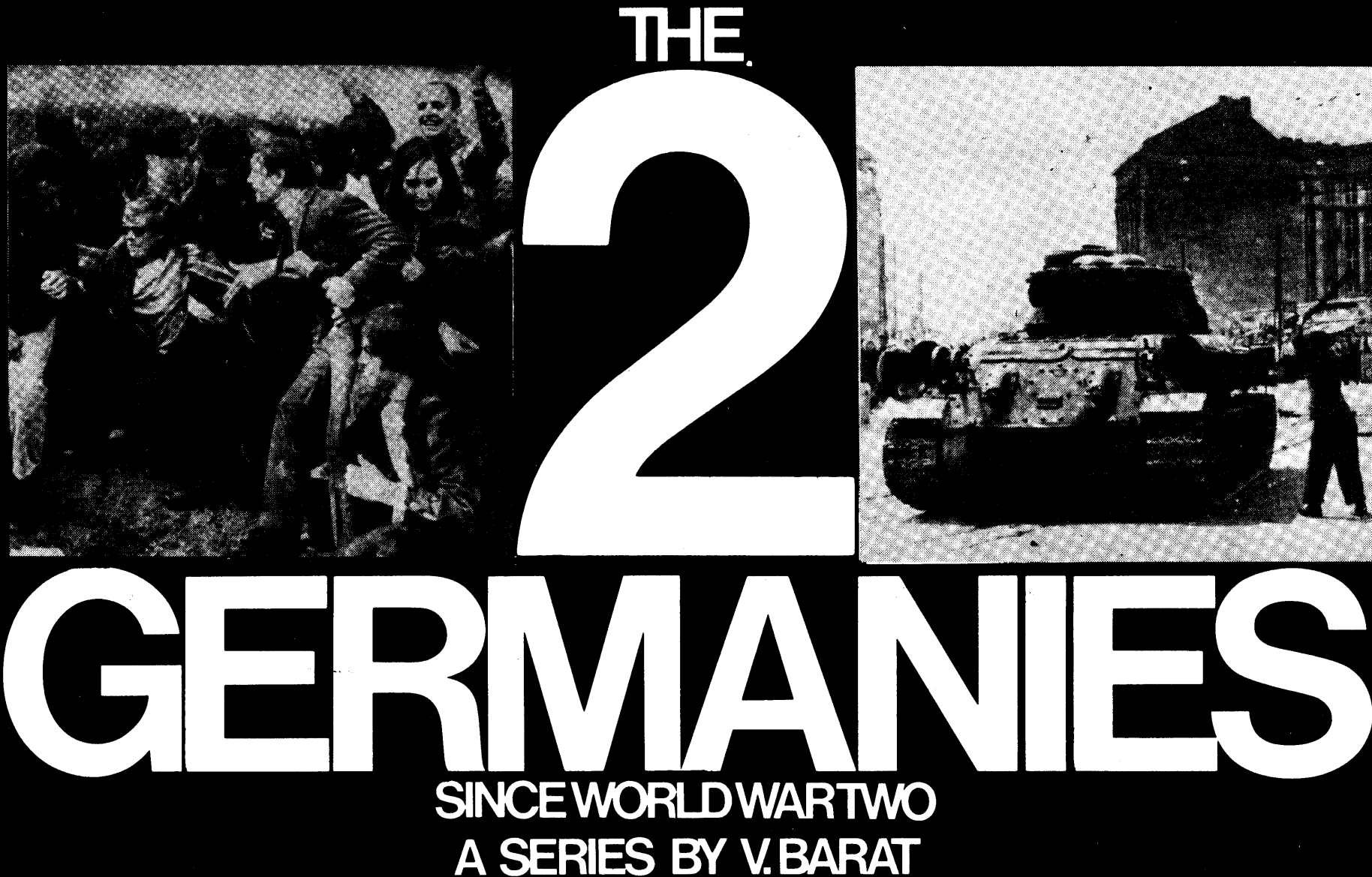
for maneuvering by either the union leaders or the Social Democratic Party.

On the one side, the workers have joined the strike waves that are sweeping through the continent, England and the U.S. It was the unofficial strikes and the militancy of the West German workers that brought Brandt and the SPD to power a year ago.

On the other side, Brandt and the SPD are under great pressure from the rest of the coalition government and the employers to bring a halt to inflation. In a parliamentary debate ultra-rightist Christian Democrat Strauss denounced the "galloping, rampant inflation which has reached, under this government, an intolerable level."

In other words, Brandt is being told to use the influence of the SPD among the working class to put an end to the strikes and dampen any more demands for wages.

After less than a year of a coalition government Brandt and the SPD are finding their class collaborationist policies threatened by the movement of the German workers for higher wages.



THE 2 GERMANIES

SINCE WORLDWARTWO
A SERIES BY V. BARAT

THE DEFEAT OF the East German workers in June, 1953, had a severely retarding effect on the militancy of the West German proletariat. The refusal of the SPD and trade union bureaucracies in the BRD to bring out the ranks in support of the general strike of their brothers and sisters in the DDR on June 17 created a mood of passivity among the workers in the BRD. This in turn strengthened the forces of reaction in West Berlin as it did in all of West Germany.

The national elections in September, 1953, were utilized by the bourgeois parties to go on the offensive against socialism. On September 18 Chancellor Adenauer's newspaper Rheinischer Merkur struck a shrill, almost Hitler-like note in its undisguised glee at the Social-Democratic betrayal.

As the following extract from that paper shows, the occasion was used as an attack against its parliamentary foe (social-democracy) as well as against communism:

"The one great wish which we hope can be complied with is the rapid and definitive destruction of Marxism, the decontamination of socialism not only in Germany but in all of Europe."

The move to make the KPD illegal in West Germany was likewise accelerated. Not that this party represented any kind of revolutionary threat to the monopolists. But it did give the capitalists an exceptional opportunity to carry on a war against militants in the plants fighting for better wages and decent working conditions. To aid the capitalists in their offensive an Industrial Institute was erected in Cologne to keep tab on all militants and "communists." This black list was made available to all employers and, of course, was designed to starve workers into submission.

In Hanover, indeed, any unemployed worker suspected of being a communist had his relief card stamped with a red "P."

That there was real dissatisfaction in

Part Four-West Germany Under Adenauer & Springer

the factories can be seen from the fact that in 1953 the average West German worker had still not attained even the miserable standard of living prevailing in Hitler's Germany of 1938!

CRIPPLE

The bourgeois inspired campaign to remove the KPD's legality should not only be seen as part of the Cold War strategy but as an essential maneuver to cripple working class militancy. Thus the following incident reported by a foreign correspondent in West Germany occurred in 1956, the year in which the Stalinists were banned as a legal party by the Adenauer regime, and shows the real motive behind the banning.

"I spoke in the Ruhr Valley with a skilled worker from one of the large iron plants of the former United Steel Works. I asked him what freedom he had in his factory.

"Fatigued, he waved me away. He was neither a communist nor a social democrat. He was not interested in parties. But he had his opinions. Up to recently he thought he could express them. But freedom of opinion goes only as far as the company owners permit. When he said something a short while ago to his boss about the killing pace for the workers on the job, the boss told him that he could certainly get him a transfer.

"It did not take long. He was demoted from skilled worker to helpmate, a job that was just as killing as the other but now he earned 1.82 DM an hour as against 2.64.

"The union could not help him for the factory claimed that it was all 'a necessary step in rationalization.' But in his old department the men said: 'Willem has gone because he opened his yap.'

"And what were the further consequences? He had previously made two purchases, both of them on an installment basis. A motor-bike for his son required a total of 24 payments and livingroom furniture was to be paid off in 32 months. More than half of the payments for both had already been made. But with a drop of 150 marks in his monthly income, he could no longer meet his obligations and

the items were reclaimed and hauled away."

THE CHURCH

The churches took quick advantage of the demoralization that set in among the West German proletariat after the June uprising and the political gains made by capitalist reaction in the fall elections of 1953.

Though their following was numerically small, the Christian bloc within the huge trade union federation (DGB) in October, 1953, issued an ultimatum to the crisis-racked organization demanding leadership parity. This brazen defiance of the democratic will of the workers was supplemented by the demand that the religious fraction within the DGB, especially the Catholic grouping, be given its own newspaper including the right to circulate it freely among the union membership.

Lack of workers' support led to numerous splits and a weakening of the church-sponsored forces in the union. To this day, however, these Christian bodies within the DGB represent an extremely reactionary political tendency and for that reason are a dangerous and diversionary influence, even as they have assumed a "progressive" coloring.

How effectively the church can divert the workers from a struggle for their real interests, even when religious support from the ranks is minimal, is to be seen in the church's co-management (Mitbestimmung) scheme. But for the trade union bureaucracy it was a gift from heaven. Here is the background to co-management.

In 1949 to 1950, just over a year from the passage of the currency reform measure, West Germany began to show serious signs of economic stagnation. The hunger years were hardly over and unemployment began once more to plague the working population. Despite paying the lowest wages in Western Europe and despite the heavy profits made from the legal theft of the workers' money in the currency reform of 1948, the capitalists were demonstrating before the eyes of their own laborers their inability to keep the plants running.

Even the factories, which were returned

to the bourgeois owners by the Western allies, were intact only because of the united struggle by the proletariat to prevent their dismantlement.

Each day it became clearer to ever broader sections of the working class that the capitalists were simply superfluous.

CO-MANAGEMENT

Seeing the growing determination of the workers to take whatever measures were needed to keep the factories operating, the union bureaucracy became frantic. Into this critical situation stepped the church through its agents within the unions.

For, like its bureaucratic allies, the church too saw that what was beginning to shape up was a struggle for state power, even if the workers were not yet fully conscious of this.

So the church suggested and the trade union tops immediately accepted the idea of co-management (also called co-determination). And it was placed in the very center of the unions' demands on March 30, 1950. Mobilizing the ranks in favor of co-management diverted what was becoming a struggle for workers' power into a peaceful accommodation with the employers.

Co-determination is an anti-proletarian conception. It is peddled by the agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class: church, union bureaucracy, SPD, and, in West Germany, by the Stalinists as well, for whom it is an industrial form of peaceful co-existence.

It creates the illusion that the workers can achieve "industrial democracy," that is have a substantial say about their fate in the factories by friendly agreements with the employers. Like the Italian fascist corporate-state fraud, it assumes an identity of interests between the worker and his master.

A works council (composed of conservative union functionaries not elected shop stewards) represents the employees and is assigned a number of functions which it carries out in harmony with its partner from management. The time and place for paying-out wages (never determining the amount, however), the location of drinking water, when daily work starts, determination of piece rates, discussion on vocational training, etc., these constitute the kind of matters of concern to the "modern and responsible citizens" who compose the works council and the staff from management.

FUNCTION

But what is the primary function of the works council? Here is a quotation from the Industrial Constitutions Act of October



With Khrushchev portrait in background Leipzig Trade Fair opens. While trade continued the West German Communist Party was outlawed and militants hounded.

11, 1952. It was passed into law by the Adenauer government with assistance from the SPD parliamentary deputies thanks to the agitation by the union leaders for co-management.

"The employer and the works council have to work together on a mutually trusting basis... They have to promote the welfare of the works and the employees, account being taken of the commonweal. They have to do everything possible to maintain the labor peace. Labor disputes on the works level as well as every form of political activity inside the works are forbidden... If there should be disagreement with the employer, the decision of a body composed of an equal number of representatives from both sides is final. So far as in social affairs the law has not conferred on the works council the right of co-determination, it always has the right to be consulted." (emphasis added, V.B.)

Social peace and the bureaucrat's swivelchair is what the government rewarded the union functionaries with in return for the latter's sellout of the workers' fight for state power. Not even the right to strike was left to the workers in a plant, no matter how provocative the employers. To prevent their unions from being totally integrated into the state is one of the reasons for so many wildcat strikes, especially today, in Germany.

It should be mentioned that the idea of co-management as a device to defraud the working class was not really the brainchild of the church forces within the unions. The church merely has a good memory. For the same hoax was perpetrated against the German working class between 1919 and 1924 by the social democratic traitors during the period of extreme radicalization of the proletariat. Then, too, it was a stop gap measure that the desperate industrialists acquiesced in while the SPD rescued German capitalism. With the stabilization of the German economy in 1924 by huge American loans (Dawes Plan), the arrogant industrialists threw these innocuous works councils out of their plants. And they will do the same today if they get the upper hand, for the master resents his slave even suggesting to him that warm running water ought to be available in the shower stalls.

If in 1924 big U.S. capital helped German imperialism get back on its feet, it was once again (this time indirectly) the bumptious uncle across the pond who in the Korean War of June, 1950, gave a hefty spurt to the West German economy (led by the armament industry).

For co-management can hardly be an effective answer when workers are being put out on the street en masse. That the men were prepared to wage a real fight against the industrialists is shown by the 95% strike vote of the metal workers November 29, 1950, and the 97% strike vote of the miners some 2 months later. But the co-management ruse took the fight out of the workers. It helps explain their confusion and paralysis when in June, 1953, their fellow workers in the other half of the country declared their "wildcat" strike against Stalinism.

MILITARY BUILD-UP

The trade union and SPD bureaucracies having done their job in disorienting the working class through co-management schemes and refusal to support the East German workers' uprising, the bourgeois state could now enter on a new phase of its anti-proletarian offensive. It was all the more encouraged by its parliamentary victories in the autumn of 1953.

Up to this point the German bourgeoisie had no army of its own. It was not a sovereign but an occupied nation, even though it had declared itself a Federal Republic in September, 1949.

Brushing aside the feeble opposition of some "left" SPD parliamentary deputies and top union officials who had formed a loose bloc with pacifist clergy, liberals, and Stalinists, the Adenauer regime signed the Paris Agreements of October 23, 1954. No real effort had been made to mobilize the working class against a measure providing for the formation of a 500,000 man West German Army.

To have done so would quickly have demonstrated who had the real power in the land. It would have also revealed the role of the working class traitors in refusing to exercise that power.

Up to May, 1955, when the Paris Agreements came into force, the revisionist-Stalinist bloc continued to organize mere token demonstrations of protest, carefully refraining from mobilizing the industrial workers.

Carlo Schmid, a leader of the SPD, one whose eyes water at contemplating the majesty of the capitalist state, exposes his own philistine nature and that of social democracy when he shows why it is incapable of arousing and leading the working class against its historic enemy:

"There is but one legislator; and that is parliament, which in its decision-making must be free. And there is only one institution that can definitively call the government to account and give it

instructions—and that again is parliament and only parliament."

Uctious, hypocritical words from a social democrat, but needed to undermine the resistance of the workers to the bourgeoisie and its new repressive organ—the army.

The ruling class found it necessary to bring another servitor into its campaign to prepare the anti-fascist masses for acceptance of the new military state: the church. No less than the very head of all German Protestants, Reverend Otto Dibelius, made this spiritual contribution:

"The use of a hydrogen bomb is from the Christian point of view not at all such a horrible matter, since we all strive for the eternal life. And if, for example, a single hydrogen bomb kills a million people, then those affected will attain the eternal life so much speedier."

Under such ideological hammer-blows the capitalists were able to begin the build-up of a new German army under NATO auspices, that is under American imperialist domination. The western half of Germany was now to be converted into a military base of operations against its own workers as well as those of the workers' state.

Wehrkunde, a military journal published in Munich and mouthpiece of big German brass, in 1956 unabashedly disclosed the aim of the new army:

"A total surprise can only prove successful for an attacker if the attack is launched at a time of general political detente, in a period of friendly collaboration, in a climate of extensive, mutual confidence."

Beware Kosygin and Breshnev! Stalin, too, had had boundless and naive faith in German imperialism's promises three decades ago.

MONOPOLIES

According to the Potsdam Agreement, in which Stalin was a prime mover and active participant, monopolies were to be forbidden from ever again taking root on German soil.

By 1956, that is three years after the East German uprising, an amazing leap in the growth of industrial monopolies occurred. We choose 1942 as a year of comparison because it was the period when German imperialism through its fascist agents had not only all of Germany at its disposal but a large part of the entire European continent as well. (See Graph I).

It can be seen that the largest percentage increase was the iron and steel monopoly with the highest absolute monopoly concentration in the chemical industry. It should likewise be borne in mind when examining the above figures that the incredible increase in the power of the huge trusts occurred in only one part of divided Germany!



Press Lord Axel Springer

And in comparison with 1942 industrial production in half a country had more than doubled what it had previously been in the entire nation.

Now let us examine a table showing the number and financial value of monopolies in the BRD. We include the different years for the comparison: 1938 (under fascism) 1954 (beginning of the economic "miracle"), 1965 (the last year for which we have this data). In 1965 the DM (Deutsche Mark) was worth about 25 cents, though today it is closer to 30 cents. (See Graph II).

Though there is some proximity between 1938 and 1954, the figures for 1965 are fantastic. From 1954 to 1965 there was more than double the number of corporations that got into the million DM category. But the total money value almost quadrupled. By today it must be staggering.

OWNERSHIP

And if one looks over the names of those in the ownership of these immense trusts and syndicates, they are those familiar to us from the days of the emperor and of the Nazi era: Krupp, Flick, Thyssen, Stinnes, Siemens. A few new ones have started to crowd these older scions, names like the radio magnate Max Grundig and the press lord Axel Springer.

Even more interesting and significant are the number of Americans who have become part of the financial (and dynastic) family of these industrial and banking lords. If one glances at the largest German concerns and banks, such well-known "favorite" corporations as General Electric, Western Electric, Babcock and Wilcox, General Dynamics, North American Aviation, Westinghouse, General Motors, Ford, Chrysler (the list is much longer) appear with ominous frequency on the leading stockholders' rostrum. Indeed, the U.S. is by far the dominant foreign investor in West Germany, sitting on 40% of total foreign ownership.

The futility of fighting the monopolists within the framework of capitalism, though it never deters the Stalinists, is highlighted by the case of I. G. Farben, the giant chemical complex. Because of the crimes of its owners in working directly for Hitler and gorging itself with the wealth made from the unpaid labor of thousands of foreign slaves, it was divided by the allies into three parts in 1945 amidst great fanfare. Today each of the parts disposes of more wealth and manpower, more economic and political power than it ever exercised undivided at its height under the fascists.

In considering the mammoth growth of monopolies in Germany, one should not forget the direct victims of the monopolists. These are the hundreds and thousands of artisans, tradesmen, peasants, even farmers, who were simply gobbled up, that is forced to give up their little shops and businesses. This is a continuing process and current annual figures for bankruptcies in West Germany show that business failures are going from a trot into a wild gallop.

GRAPH I

INDUSTRY	Share-holding Companies with Capital of over 10 million Marks	
	Average Capital per Company	
	Germany (undivided) 1942	West Germany 1956
	Millions of Marks	Millions of Marks
Iron and Steel	31.9	68.7
Chemical	73.4	97.0
Electro-technical	65.5	90.2
Power Vehicles	37.3	61.1

As Graph I above shows the largest capital growth was in monopolized iron and steel industry. Graph II shows fantastic increase in giant firms in West Germany.

GRAPH II

Category by a Million DM	Number of Companies			Basic Capital in Millions of DM		
	1938	1954	1965	1938	1954	1965
Up to 100	5	5	10	500	500	1,000
101 to 200	19	22	39	2,548	2,899.5	5,435.5
201 to 300	3	10	14	716	2,342.6	3,569.3
301 to 400	1	4	8	400	1,445.8	2,771.5
401 to 500	1	1	8	460	450	3,599.9
501 to 1,000	1	-	12	720	-	8,618.4
Over 1,000	-	-	2	-	-	2,498
Totals	30	42	93	5,344	7,727.9	27,492.6



The old names of the Nazi era, like Krupp above, were among those who prospered.

It is to this doomed petty-bourgeois strata that the neo-Nazi NPD (National Party of Germany) addresses its main demagogic promises of salvation. But more about the NPD later.

"ECONOMIC MIRACLE"

Despite doubling industrial production for his bosses in 1956 over 1942, it was only in 1956 that the West German worker finally equalled the lean wages earned in 1938 under the brutal labor-hating Nazis.

How about since 1956? How much has the working class shared in West German prosperity? For the apologists of the BRD are forever citing the fact that the German worker has progressed from his bicycle, later to a motorscooter, and now to owning a car.

This worker who now makes payments on an automobile increased his real earnings from 1956 to 1966 by 45%. But he increased productivity (and, of course, the profits) for his master by almost 100% in that same period! Thus his relative share in the gross product actually fell by about 50%! An astounding indictment of the SPD's and union functionaries' betrayal of the workers for whom they boast to have done so much. Hence their bureaucratic excitement about such diversionary, sand-in-the-eye schemes as co-management and Action in Concert (union and management and government sweetheart contracts).

Let us see what physical toll the West German proletariat had to pay for increasing production by 100%.

Even before the worker was feeling the full lash of the speed-up of the sixties on his back, as early as 1954, the Social Democratic *Neue Vorwaerts*, in its November 5 issue, was constrained to recognize the daily hardships faced by men in industry:

"The men around the blast furnaces, at the rolling mills, the guys in the mines or the chemical workers in the rubber plants breathe heavily when they leave the plant as the new shift comes on. Their strength is used up. The workers can scarcely go out at night because they are too exhausted."

EXPLOITATION

Here is how that drive for profits by big business is translated in human terms. In 1956, the year in which the industrial employee finally caught up to 1938 in real wages, his accident rate compared to 1938 was 30% greater. That means that even more fingers and hands were cut off as a result of speed-up in the shops in half a nation than had occurred in a whole one when the unions were outlawed.

Even the accidents are not the worst feature of the inhuman exploitation of the workers in the BRD. His general health and well being have deteriorated to such an extent that for the first time in centuries (excepting wars) a worker's life expectancy in an advanced capitalist nation

has actually dropped!

We quote from *Metall*, monthly organ of the West German I. G. Metall trade union, the largest in the world, of July, 1963:

"Increasing attacks of illness—growing pre-mature disablement—decreasing life expectancy: therein is expressed the pitiless wear and tear, to which the laboring man is exposed today. We have to die earlier even though medical art has made enormous progress for centuries. The statistics on health issued by the Federal Government show in the past years a steady decrease of the average life expectancy of the male population from 30 years on. While 10 years ago a 40 year old man could, on the average, live to 72 years and 3 months, he now can but make it to his 72nd birthday. Life expectancy for the 55 to 60 year old man has actually been reduced by 9 months in a space of 10 years."

What blessings the "Economic Miracle" has brought the worker!

While thirty monopoly capitalists in West Germany enjoy a monthly income of one million DM per month (remember that 80% of all the wealth is in the hands of 5% of the population), 10% of the population lives on the border or below the border of minimum existence. A tiny fistful from the ruling class exercises complete power over the means of production while among the 30 million wage workers and their families there are some two million living in sheds or improvised structures, without inside plumbing, kitchen or wash facilities and an additional 4 million citizens in virtual want.

We shall return to examine other facets of the life of the worker particularly the matter of job security in this "European Garden of Eden" as one publicist referred to the BRD, after we have taken a look at the policies pursued by the SPD in the late fifties.

BAD GODESBERG

The crushing of the workers' councils throughout Hungary by Soviet tanks in the political revolution against Stalinism in October, 1956 speeded up the conservative drift of the SPD.

Those extreme right-wing elements in the SPD leadership, who had for so long been clamoring to jettison the last vestiges of Marxism, now saw their chance. They took advantage of the furious bourgeois anti-communist press campaign and the confusion and disorientation of the workers resulting from a "communist" state brutally suppressing a proletarian uprising to urge the social democrats to cross over definitively to the capitalist camp.

In point of fact that is just where the SPD had been historically since 1914 with its overwhelming support to the Kaiser at the start of the first World War.

But for the Wehners, the Schmidts, the Erlers, and the Brandts even lip service to Marx was far too much. After an intense slander campaign against what

remained of the left-wing in the SPD, the establishment boys got their way in the party's annual convention at Bad Godesberg, just outside Bonn, in November, 1959.

With no political leadership and no perspective, not even a real will to fight, the left-wing was routed. The "respectable" tendency carried the day on every issue. They duly noted Marx, but as an historical relic of the 19th century.

In place of the SPD as a party of class struggle with socialism as a goal worth fighting for, they redefined the party in these terms:

"The Social Democratic Party is a community of men with different beliefs and ways of thinking. Their agreement rests on common moral values and the same political goals."

Instead of socialism the Godesberger Program speaks of an "immutable ethical drive for freedom, justice, and solidarity (not even equality!) as the basic values of a socialist will." Here was the only concession the authors made to socialism. They converted it into an adjective but with as little content as the other abstract platitudes that fill the document.

"PEOPLES PARTY"

But in one respect they were concrete. They insisted that the SPD was no longer a workers' party but a "people's" (Volks) party. All social layers are included in it. Emphasis is placed on "agreement with one another," not hostility to anyone.

It even spelled out its relationship with the other bourgeois parties:

"No alternative program that competes

with the ruling government party, but rather stress on the common tasks of both the government and the opposition; and if there is any contention it is on the priorities of the tasks to be solved in common."

As one bourgeois German critic (Flechteim) mused: "When you finally get down to it, this party is evolving into something that is not too unlike the Democratic Party of the U.S.A." Amen!

And so the German bourgeoisie could sit back and breathe even easier than before.

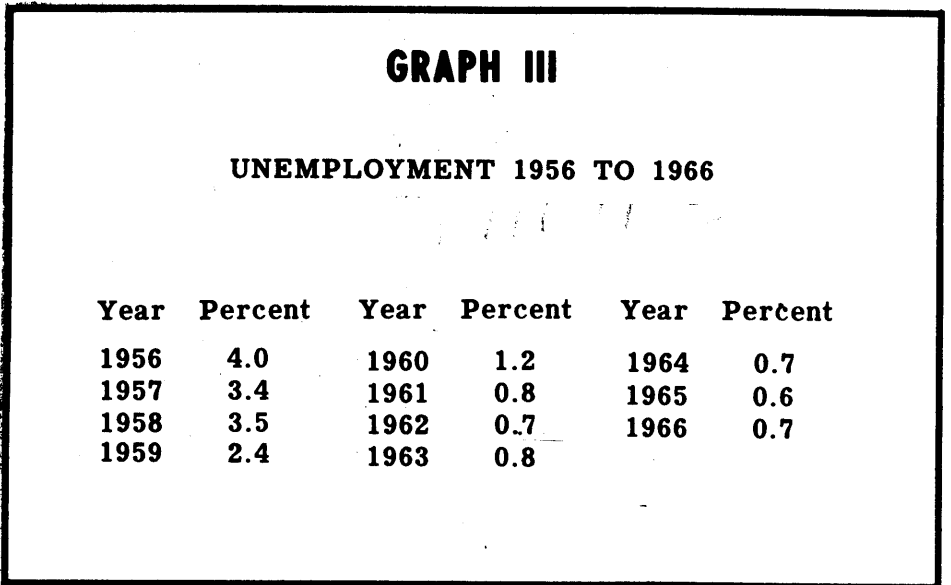
Yet despite all the betrayals, despite the pro-capitalist orientation of its leadership, the SPD still depends for its existence, financial and personnel-wise on the working class. The bulk of its finances come from the trade unions.

And notwithstanding the efforts of the careerists to make a "people's" party out of the SPD, its membership is overwhelmingly working class. Almost 70% of its membership is composed of working people, some 55% of them industrial workers. This does not include the 10% housewives and 6% retired men and women. Only 3.6% have their own businesses.

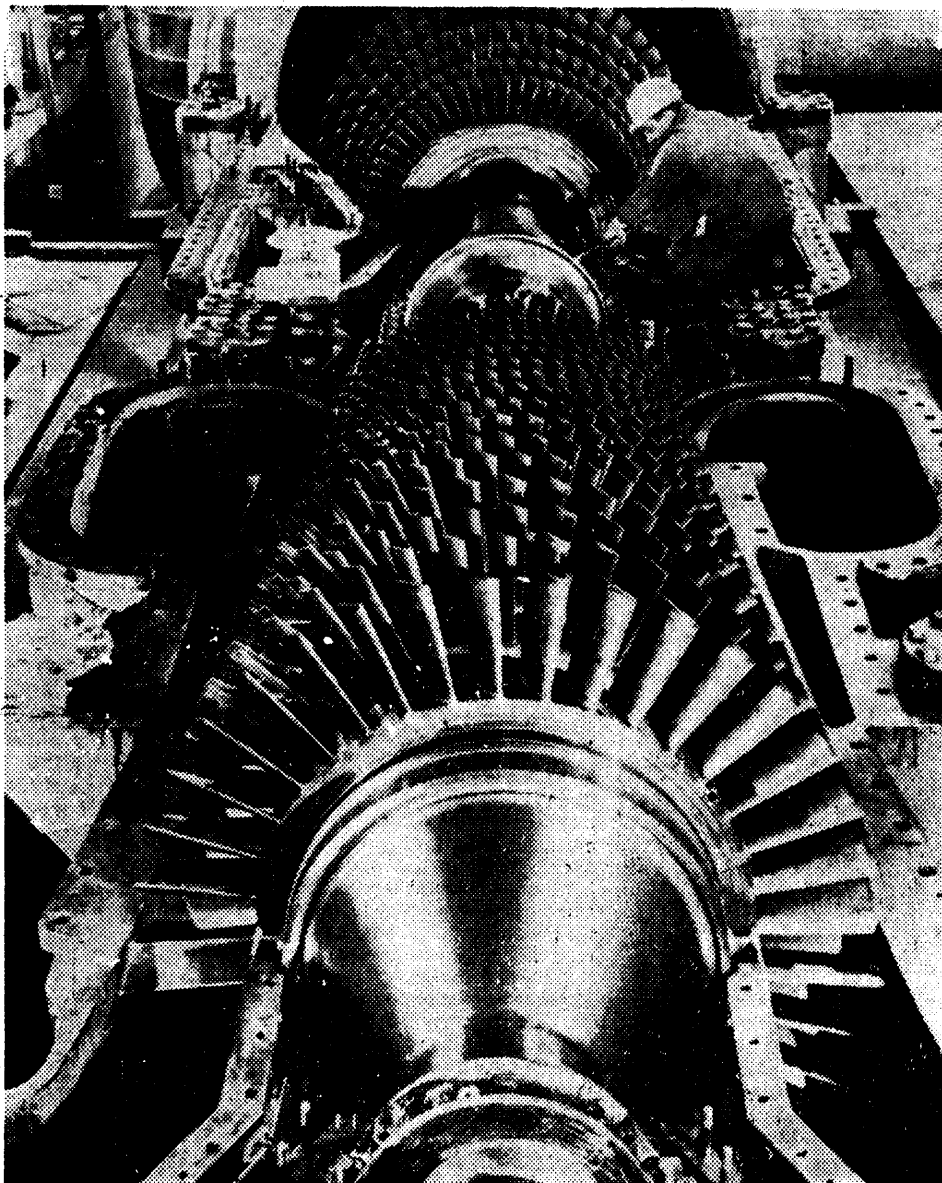
It can be seen that as the crises intensifies, the course of the party (deep rifts are already visible) will be drastically effected. That is one of the reasons why the German Trotskyists are within the SPD and striving to build a revolutionary faction there.

ATTACK

Lest it be thought that the increase in real wages was given to the workers by



As graph III shows unemployment virtually vanished by 1961 giving to the West German working class great economic strength to hit back at the large monopolies.



Tremendous industrial development, like gas turbine above, was paid for with low wages.

GRAPH IV

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION (1958= 100)

	1965	1966
January	151	153
February	154	157
March	153	162
April	162	168
May	162	166
June	161	167
Average for the first six months	157	162

GRAPH V

	1965	1966
July	146	152
August	142	141
September	161	162
October	166	165
November	171	169
December	159	156
Average for the second six months	167.5	167.5

the corporations out of feelings of generosity or paternal goodwill, the record chronicles it otherwise.

As production soared from year to year due to German industry's super-exploitation of its workers, allowing it to be one of the most competitive in the world market, its need for labor continuously increased. Hence the reserve army of unemployed dwindled and the employers were forced to raise wages to keep their help, especially their skilled people. The table shows the dramatic drop in unemployment from 1956. (See Graph III for this table).

For practical purposes one can say that unemployment vanished as a social problem after 1961.

But adding to the woes of the monopolists was another fact. With the erection of the Berlin Wall in August, 1961, not only was the flow of help, particularly skilled help, cut off from East Germany but now the industries had to divert part of their profits (and the state a good part of its expenditures) for the equipping of technical and vocational schools. Even more costly were the grants required to support the many thousands of young apprentices attending these institutions.

With steadily rising labor costs threatening its international competitiveness, the German bourgeoisie felt itself compelled to launch an attack against the workers.

There were two aspects to this.

One was an even greater intensification of labor in the shops, thereby increasing the output and reducing the unit cost of the product. In this, as the figures on productivity and the accident rate testify, the employers were successful. But this still was not enough to restore their world competitiveness.

A direct attack on wages, that is a reduction of the standard of living of the working class, had to be made. For this, however, the state apparatus—with the connivance of the SPD and union leaders—was required.

As early as 1958 the farsighted bourgeois CDU politician, Gerhard Schroeder, Adenauer's Minister of the Interior, had begun his preparations for an anti-working class offensive by drawing up an Emergency Law. Its principal feature allowed the government to suspend all civil rights, including parliament, in case of "inner threat," and to rule by executive decree. It was not unlike the emergency powers guaranteed to the Chancellor under the Weimar Republic, which Hitler utilized to bring the Nazis to power.

In 1958 neither the SPD nor union leaders could go along with it. Youth, imbued with pacifist illusions, both in and out of the union movement had forced the reformists to mobilize a "struggle against atom death." By 1963, however, as Bad Godesberg and some additional years of cozy hob-nobbing with their "social partners" around the co-management table, the union officials were "responsible" and "respectable."

So the government of Konrad Adenauer began to debate the Emergency Law with assurances of little inner or extra parliamentary opposition.

With this whip virtually assured of being

in their hands, the metal magnates of West Germany arrogantly strode into the room where negotiations were being conducted with I. G. Metall union heads for a new wage contract. They offered the bureaucrats nothing! Not even a pfennig! The union functionaries were non-plussed.

At that point the metal workers of the State of Baden-Wuerttemberg, who had heard of the outrageous insolence of the owners, took a little initiative. They promptly closed the factories in the entire state down.

Led by the younger workers, the older ones followed them right out to the street. By the thousands. Within hours workers in other industries and other areas were following their example.

Afraid of the strength and determination of the men, the union brass quickly took command of the movement to prevent it from becoming a contest for state power.

For its part the frightened bourgeoisie promptly dropped the Emergency Law or, better, put it out of sight for a few years. As it wiped its brow, it resolved never to engage in any more direct confrontations with workers. Its utter weakness had become transparent to everyone. Henceforth no moves without direct assistance from the bureaucracies of the SPD, the unions, and Stalinism.

It had been the greatest mass action in West Germany since the division of the country by the Stalinists in 1945. In no previous year had there ever been close to as many out on strike (316,000) and with as many man days lost (1,846,000).

As the capitalists were forced to shelve repressive legislation and dig into their pockets to come up with additional money for their workers in 1963, new problems were already taking shape on the horizon.

We get a glimpse as to why the traitors had so carefully refrained from calling out the working class of West Germany on June 17, 1953.

The beginning of 1966 in the BRD, in fact in the first 6 months of that year industrial growth appeared normal enough, as the table indicates. (See Graph IV for this table).

Average employment per month for the first six months of 1965 was 175,000 (0.8%) and for the same period in 1966 was 156,000 (0.7%). For capitalism, this was incredibly low unemployment. But just for that reason did the wage earner's packet get heavier. And as the labor shortage continued, relative profits dropped. The investors lost interest in German industry and turned to foreign fields with their money. The results were registered with dramatic suddenness in the last six months of 1966. Again let us compare it with 1965. (See Graph V for this Table of figures).

An absolute stagnation of production occurred in the second half of 1966. It remained to a percentage point where it had been a year earlier.

And unemployment in December, 1966, stood at 360,000 or 1.6% compared to December, 1965, when it was 171,000 (0.8%). In other words about double what it had been a year earlier.

These statistics bear a remarkable relationship to what at first began quietly

happening behind the scenes and then was suddenly thrust on to an unsuspecting population.

As the summer of 1966 wore on and the economic crises showed no signs of passing, intensive series of discussions within the leadership of the CDU/CSU and SPD began and then was discretely continued between the party leaderships.

There was little secret made of the fact that the extreme right-wing SPD'ers Wehner, Helmut Schmidt, and the Meany of the German labor movement, Leber, had for a long time craved a governmental coalition with the leading parties, CDU/CSU, of the big bourgeoisie.

The head of the conservative government was Ludwig Erhard, who had replaced Adenauer as Chancellor in October, 1963.

At the time he was the "natural" man for the position, having been Economics Minister of the BRD since 1949, and therefore given credit for having guided Ger-

many to economic preeminence among the capitalist nations of Europe.

When he became Chancellor, a chorus of praise for this "economic genius" was to be heard from the extreme right to the "independent" left:

"The German economy sees in the national Chancellor Erhard a man enjoying its special confidence." (E. Schneider, President of German Industry and Trade.) "Almost all great associations actually felt the urgency to assure him of their loyalty, their desire to be of aid to him, in fact orienting their policies on his person." (The liberal newspaper and "critic" of the CDU/CSU, Die Zeit of Hamburg.)

However, as the production index refused to shoot up and the plans for the SPD to salvage operation were beginning to jell in the confidential meetings, it was the most rabid, right-wing press that prepared the ground for the Grand Coalition.

THE WORKERS LEAGUE PRESENTS: TROTSKY MEMORIAL LECTURES



IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 30th YEAR
SINCE THE ASSASSINATION OF L.D. TROTSKY

TROTSKY'S
FIGHT AGAINST
STALINISM
LECTURER:
FRED MUELLER
FRI. OCT. 16, 8 P.M.

TROTSKY'S
FIGHT AGAINST
REVISIONISM
LECTURER:
TIM WOHLFORTH
FRI. OCT. 30, 8 P.M.

DISCUSSIONS FILMS
LABOR HALL 135 W. 14 STREET 6th FLOOR
CONTRIBUTION: EACH LECTURE-\$1.50
BOTH LECTURES-\$2.50

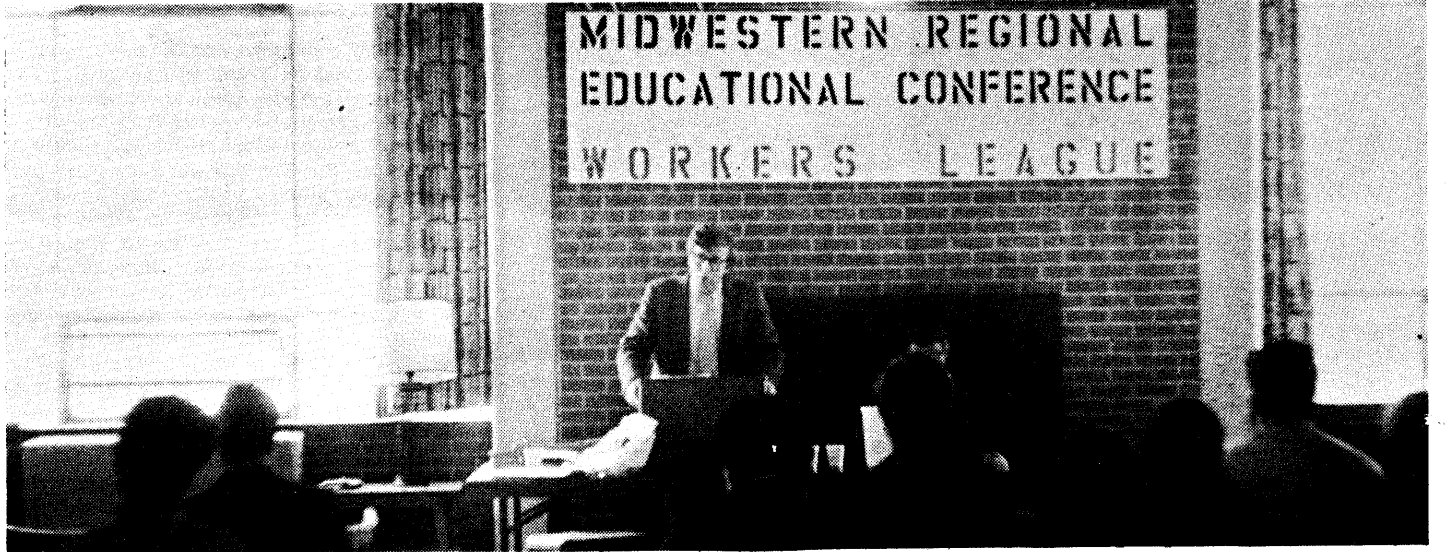
Workers League Holds Conference In Midwest

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN
MADISON, WISC.—Over 70 people from throughout the Midwest attended the Workers League Educational Conference here on Oct. 3-4. Areas represented included Detroit, Mich.; Champlain, Ill.; Chicago, Ill.; St. Louis, Mo.; Minneapolis and Northfield, Minn.; as well as Madison.

On Saturday Fred Mueller gave a presentation on "Trotsky's Struggle Against Stalinism." He insisted that Stalinism had a material base in the bureaucracy in the workers' states as well as in the labor bureaucracies elsewhere. It would not disappear except through the sharpest struggle to expose it over and over again and to smash up the bureaucracies upon which it rests. "It would be a grave error," he stated, "to underestimate the danger of Stalinism in this new period of working class upsurge. It is not a matter of whether or not the Communist Party is weak or strong on a particular campus. All these groups like PL and Mother Jones feed into the Communist Party, and Stalinism grows on the basis of the anti-theory pragmatism so prevalent today. The fundamental battle for leadership of the working class will be between Stalinism and Trotskyism."

At the beginning of the afternoon session, Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, announced that the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance had been invited to participate jointly in this as well as other Trotsky Memorial Meetings so that a common front could be posed to the Stalinists. Neither organization had seen fit to answer the proposal.

The Saturday afternoon session ended with the playing of a recorded speech by Leon Trotsky. The evening was devoted to the international movement with a report by V. Barat on the German working class, and films on the British Young Socialists, the Workers Press and May-June 1968 in France.



Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, addresses the Midwestern Educational Conference in Madison on "Trotsky's Fight Against Revisionism." The Conference was part of nationwide activities commemorating Trotsky.

Tim Wohlforth led the Sunday discussion on "Trotsky's Fight Against Revisionism." Wohlforth analyzed Trotsky's central struggle against pragmatism in 1940. "The very fate of the Fourth International was at stake in this discussion in which the opposition, led by Burnham and Shachtman, questioned the very fundamentals of Marxism itself," he stated. "This means that the Fourth International today must be built on the theoretical and philosophical basis of Trotsky's struggle in that period. This is not a matter of dim history but of the central fight for us today as well."

Wohlforth also analyzed George Novack's contributions to Marxist philosophy. He claimed that Novack took an ambiguous position on both formal logic and empiricism seeing the former as somehow encompassed within dialectics and the latter as not "squarely opposed" to materialism. This in turn reflected an ambiguity on class position of a section of the SWP, the very eclecticism which Trotsky attacked in *In Defense of Marxism*. At the same time it reflected the attitude the leadership as a whole took on method. Philosophy was assigned to Novack who,

to his credit, lectured on the subject. But philosophy was not seen as central to the very day-to-day life of the party. This was thus conducted empirically and formally while dialectics was a classroom affair.

The central discussion at the conference was over the Marxist method. On Saturday some participants rejected the policy of voting for the British Labour Party because they saw that party as "bourgeois" because it was "bought and paid for" by the bourgeoisie and dominated by bourgeois ideology. They refused to discuss the class nature of the Labour Party in a Marxist way saying in pragmatic fashion that its class nature was determined not by its origins and its development but simply by "how it functions today."

On Sunday some comrades sought to find some "limited use" for formal logic and

especially the syllogism while these and others objected to the sharpness of some of the discussion. They did not see that method reflects social classes and that sharp discussion over such issues is a class battle and not a personal or subjective one.

COLLECTION

As a result of this philosophical struggle a number of those in attendance declared their desire to join the Workers League and others gave it serious consideration. In an enthusiastic collection, \$304.81 was raised towards the Trotsky Memorial Fund Drive and almost \$60 worth of literature sold. Plans were laid for work throughout the Midwest, particularly over the auto strike and for strengthening the Workers League in a number of new areas.

The Program For Victory In The Schmidt Bakery Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE, Oct. 4—As the Schmidt Bakery workers enter the eleventh week of their strike, the question is: Where do we go from here?

The Labor Committee, in coalition with the Communist Party's youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, calls for "winning the sustained support of other discontented social levels" to win the strike. This call to action is virtually synonymous with the call issued by the Mother Jones Collective for "community support."

Towards winning this "support" these groups along with the University Committee for Fair Labor Practices (a subcommittee of the Johns Hopkins strike committee) called a demonstration "in support of the strike" and to protest the police attacks on students supporting the strike the previous weekend. Approximately 100 youth picketed the Schmidt plant, and in contrast to the demonstration of last weekend, no scab trucks approached. The one arrest of the afternoon occurred

when a plainclothes cop grabbed a youth he accused of throwing a bottle.

The police then tried to provoke the demonstrators by marching a six man squad of helmeted Tactical Squad cops to a position across the street from the pickets. These cops stayed in position throughout the remainder of the demonstration.

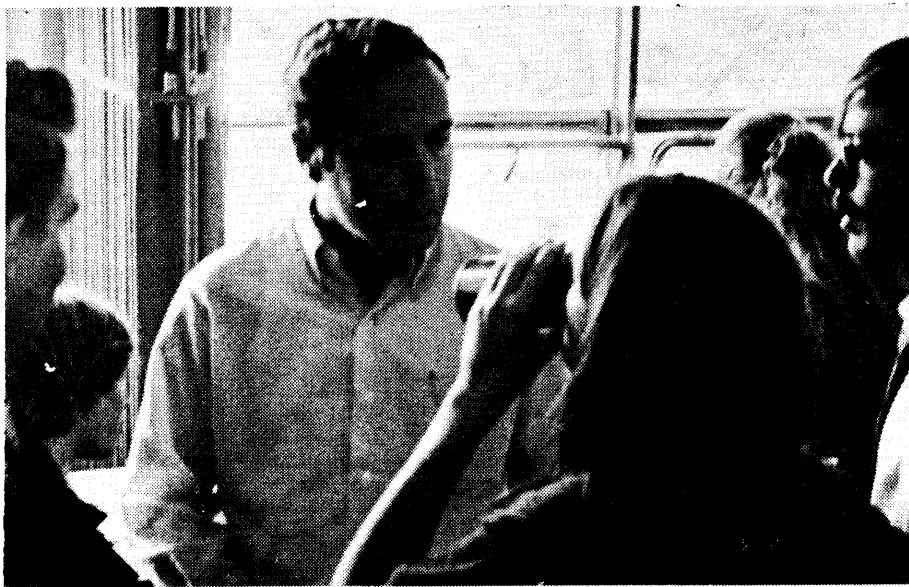
After the demonstration was over a group of "community" and clergy went into the Schmidt plant to negotiate with management. The "pressure" threatened by these ministers was that they would declare all Schmidt products "anathema" if management did not recognize Local 68.

Needless to say, the way to gain union recognition at the Schmidt plant is not by thundering against scab bread from community pulpits or simply by holding student support demonstrations. These kinds of demonstrations make some of the more militant workers see the students and the priests as an alternative to the difficult task of organizing their fellow workers, which is essential to carry the strike forward to a victorious conclusion. This is not meant however to downgrade the extremely important role students can play, but rather to put the intervention of students in these struggles in its proper perspective.

It is necessary that the strikers at Schmidt Bakery carefully consider what the history of this strike and the previous attempts to organize Schmidt's have been. Several times in the past Schmidt has made use of procedural delays in NLRB election process to manipulate voting lists and thus defeat organizing attempts. It should also be remembered that three other major bakeries have a vested interest in seeing Schmidt smash the strike and will not let any platitudes about "free competition" prevent them from helping out Schmidt in this instance.

Finally the fact remains that production has not stopped at the Schmidt plant. Delivery trucks may receive some harassment but they still cross the lines to make pickups and deliveries. The strike is at a crossroads. Victory in this strike can be won if the rank and file take up a fight around the following demands:

- All out until Schmidt gives union recognition.
- Stop all production at Schmidt Bakeries.
- Mass picketing at all entrances.
- Area labor must give active support.



Fred Mueller (center) who gave presentation on Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism, speaks informally with some of the more than seventy participants in conference.

Philly Teachers Must Prepare For Strike Oct. 15

BY A PFT MEMBER

PHILADELPHIA—As the Oct. 14 strike injunction deadline nears, the leadership of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) has shown that it will do everything in its power to avoid mobilizing the ranks for an effective strike and will back down on every key issue in the negotiations.

The city administration is going all out to break the teachers' union and yet the union leadership is bending over backwards to try to accommodate the school board. The leadership has already demonstrated its willingness to sell out by giving to the school board such things as the longer work day, the right to discipline teachers through a spurious accountability scheme, and by capitulating to community control.

An equally criminal role in this situation has been played by the so-called Progressive Caucus, which is supported

uncritically by the Communist Party. By posing as "progressive" it has attracted many teachers who wish to fight and are looking for an alternative to the present PFT bureaucracy. But it has disarmed them through its support for community control. During the recent four day strike this position was drawn to its logical conclusion—the Progressive Caucus stood for teaching in "community schools." Their progressiveness is nothing more than strikebreaking and union busting.

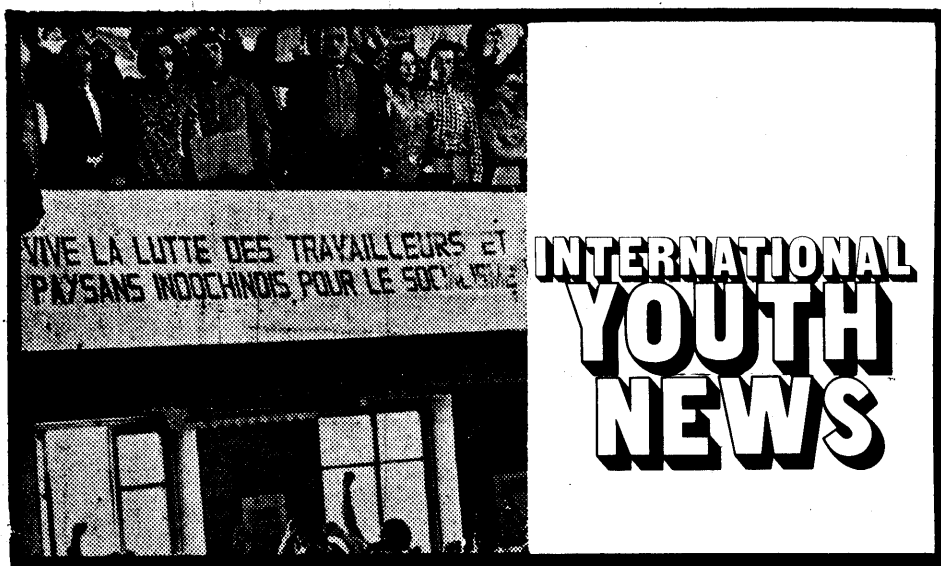
The recently formed Committee for New Leadership is fighting to mobilize the ranks to beat back the attempts by the union leadership to sell out the teachers and to build a new leadership in the teachers' union around the following program:

1. \$8,500 minimum pay now and a full cost of living escalator clause. The leadership has caved in on this demand that clearly will only just meet the needs of starting teachers much less keep them abreast of inflation. The escalator clause, with no ceiling, is a contractual necessity if teachers' real wages are to keep abreast of inflation.
2. No accountability deals. This sche-

me of the Board of Education, which the present leadership was willing to negotiate on, would judge the performance of teachers on the reading improvement shown by their pupils. This is only a thinly veiled scheme for disciplining teachers and is an attempt to blame teachers for the ills of a decaying social system.

3. 20 pupil class size—20 instructional periods a week. The AFT has passed a resolution to fight for this demand as a major way of improving education as well as teachers' conditions.

4. Build a labor party—No community control. The question of community control has been used here in Philadelphia precisely to divide workers and pit black workers against the teachers' union in an attempt to break the union. What must be clearly counterposed to community control is class control, control by the working class, not only of the schools, but of society in the interests of both black and white workers. The only way forward is through the building of a political party of the entire working class, black and white, based on the trade unions.



Eastern European

Comrades,

We are convinced that the Revolutionary International of Youth will be built! That it will attract the youth under the control of the Kremlin bureaucracy to the side of the young revolutionaries of the capitalist countries for the RIY answers their profound aspirations.

These youth, trapped in bureaucratic organizations, are seeking to create independent organizations. Enclosed within these boundaries planted with mines, they are also seeking, more than any other youth, to form organic bonds with the youth of the whole world. The history of the political revolution in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union since 1953 is striking testimony of this. Even to this day, the resistance of the Czech workers continues, in which the youth play an important role. In Yugoslavia, since the student struggles of June 1968 the bureaucracy was forced to dissolve not less than eight youth organizations, and to complete these attacks with the liquidation of *Student*, the newspaper of the revolutionary students.

Comrades,

The Revolutionary International of Youth not only corresponds to the profound aspirations of these youth but at the same time constitutes a pole of political attraction on an international level.

Comrades,

This youth is not able to join you. Go to meet them! Go forward to build the

Revolutionary Youth International everywhere in Eastern Europe!

Faced with its mortal crisis, imperialism has no other solution than the destruction of the working class and particularly its youth, as the barbarism of the war against the workers and peasants of Indochina shows. The bourgeoisie wants to expel millions of workers and youth from production, from education, culture and leisure.

At the same time they increase their pressure on the countries of Eastern Europe in order to penetrate them and destroy the socialist conquests. In these countries where the bourgeoisie was expropriated and where its power was overturned, the Kremlin bureaucracy and its satellites in order to preserve their privileges, transmit this pressure onto the backs of the workers and youth. This policy is a direct attack against the socialist conquests of the October Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky.

By its cooperation and class collaboration with world imperialism the bureaucracy is the agent of imperialism and its attack on the socialist conquests.

In these countries also it is the youth who are most affected. The number of places in secondary and higher education is shrinking in relation to needs, the number of places for children from working class or poor peasant backgrounds is increasingly smaller. Housing conditions are

TRANSLATED BY MELODY FARROW

The following are excerpts from a speech given on behalf of the Organizing Committee of East European Militants to the first Congress of the Alliance Des Jeunes Pour Le Socialisme (AJS), Organization of Revolutionary Youth in France. The speech is part of a new book, *The Militants of Eastern Europe and the Fourth International*, which has just been published in France. It includes reports and resolutions adopted by their conference organized by the International Committee of the Fourth International and held in Switzerland December 27 to January 3, 1970.

Real Politics Of Labor Committee

PART TWO OF A TWO PART SERIES

BY FRED MUELLER

IN THE MOST recent issue of *The Campaigner*, the Labor Committee in its editorial reveals its false conception of labor history when it takes up what it considers to be "Blunder No. 1" as far as a Marxist approach to the labor movement is concerned. The big blunder, it seems, is the slogan of a labor party based on the unions.

This, according to the editorial, is the "most systematically developed blunder." Trotsky was correct in advocating it in 1938, but it is no longer correct because now the labor movement is reactionary, parochial, not a mass political strike movement.

As we can see, however, the slogan of a labor party was based upon a conception of the trade unions in an entire epoch. If the Labor Committee wishes to discard this slogan it must also show that Trotsky's conception of the trade unions for this epoch was incorrect, or that we are in a different epoch. The Labor Committee's agreement with the slogan of the labor party for 1938 is thus not an agreement on method at all.

TROTSKY

We must refer back to Trotsky's 1938 discussions once more in order to clarify this. The Labor Committee claims the slogan was correct in 1938 because the labor movement was then a mass political strike movement. Leaving aside the correctness or incorrectness of this assessment for the moment, let us see how Trotsky approached this question:

"I say here what I said about the whole program of transitional demands. The problem is not the mood of the masses but the objective situation, and our job is to confront the backward material of the masses with the tasks which are determined by objective facts and not by psychology... If the class struggle is not to be crushed, replaced by demoralization, then the movement must find a new channel and this channel is political. That is the fundamental argument in favor of this slogan."

Marcus and the Labor Committee are prepared to recognize the need of the labor movement to go beyond pure and simple

trade unionism. But they reject the fight for a labor party based on the unions, they reject a fight within the unions against the bureaucracy.

The Labor Committee begins as we have shown with a formal conception of the trade unions, not from the actual development of the class struggle and working class organization. They combine this with formal schemes which they counterpose to the actual struggle and developments within the existing organizations of the class. The method in both cases is exactly the same. They begin with schemas imposed upon reality from outside, not with the effort to understand reality in its self-movement, through internal contradiction.

The disregard for the existing organizations and gains of the working class, gains which have been won through decades of bloody battle, corresponds to the pragmatic concern with the "concrete political questions." The history of the labor and socialist movement is approached by the Labor Committee only in order to deny its importance, to conclude that there is nothing but a rear guard to defend, and that the struggles of the 1930s are not really relevant.

IDEALISM

This "theory" is nothing but contempt for theory. It is pure idealism, the method which begins with the battle of ideas in the abstract, ideas which are not a reflection of living class forces but which have an independent existence themselves. All the Labor Committee proposals, for "cross-union caucuses" and "socialist reindustrialization," with which we will deal further, are nothing but expressions of pragmatism, of "better ideas" which they openly say it is their job to explain to the workers!

It is necessary to go into some detail on the consequences of the Labor Committee's contempt for history. It approaches the tendencies in the working class movement by abstracting these tendencies and their present role from their history, from the tragic consequences of the betrayal of working class leadership in the last four decades.

As we have pointed out, the Labor Committee does not deem it necessary to take up the tendencies of Stalinism and Trotskyism in their historical context or their battle today. It is merely a matter of comparing the present programs of these organizations which claim to be Communist or Trotskyist. The Labor Committee finds these programs deficient—that is all! As to the role played by these organizations, including in this country the SWP and the CP, that is not really important!

In the above mentioned editorial, for instance, there is a reference to the "two variations of a transitional approach most

likely to become popular, therefore virtually guaranteeing the victory of fascism in the U.S. in the coming period." Now one of these great blunders is the labor party slogan, with which we have dealt in some detail. The other "variation" "... is endemic to both the Communist and Trotskyist organizations and their peripheries. That is the business of forming organizations which consist only of trade unionists."

STALINIST

Now this is truly astounding. Discussing the two most likely traps for the working class, the major blunder is the "Trotskyist tactic" of the labor party. Missing entirely is the Stalinist (not Communist, Mr. Marcus) policy of the popular front, of class collaboration, of alliance with the trade union bureaucracy against the working class. This is the betrayal (not blunder) which would certainly guarantee the victory of Fascism.

Further, the editorial states that the Communist Party has moved "decidedly to the left of the Socialist Workers Party and most other socialist groups to the extent of attempting to organize a semi-political alliance of 'rank and file' labor forces and certain of their allies." But, "... the CP seems to have learned absolutely nothing from the experience of

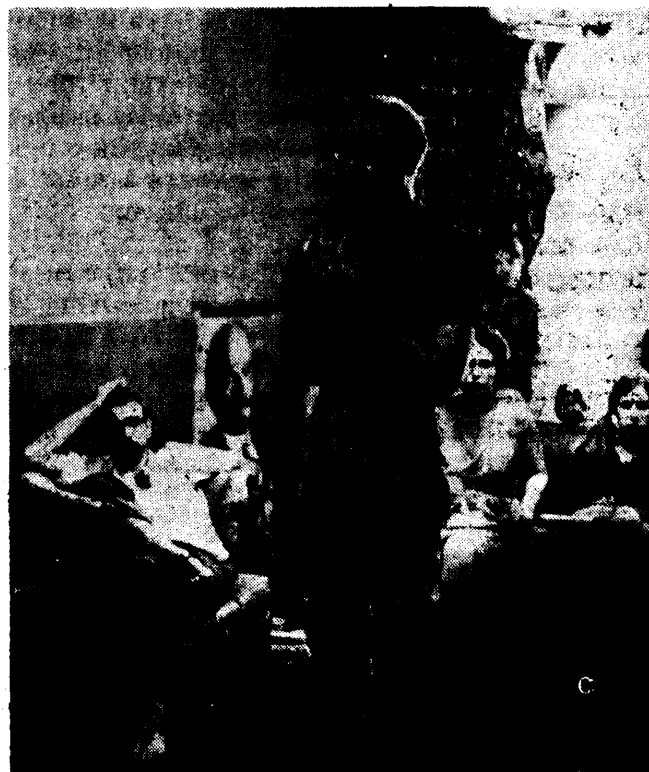
the late 1930s and early to middle 1940s; the CP has, essentially, revived 'Browderism.'"

Thus the CP has moved "decidedly to the left" but this takes the form of reviving Browderism, the most extreme adaptation to the labor bureaucracy and the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie!

ROLE

The answer to this puzzle of course is that the CP has not moved to the left at all, but is simply trying to resurrect its policy of the popular front in a modern version. It is able to do this because there is a class role which is required by capitalism and which the Stalinists are ready, willing and able to fill. The bourgeoisie requires a left, "Communist" tendency which will serve as a cover for the bureaucracy and the liberals, become a part of the bureaucracy, and prevent a political confrontation between the workers and the employers. That is why the recent growth of the CP is both symptomatic of the developing crisis and a grave danger to the American and international working class which must be combatted day in and day out by the revolutionary movement.

Is the Labor Committee prepared to do battle along these lines? The answer should be evident. Precisely because the questions of Stalinism and Trotskyism are unimportant, they can report that the CP "seems to have learned absolutely nothing." How can we expect the Stalinist bureaucracy and its agents to learn, when



L. Marcus, by refusing to base himself on the history of Trotskyism, has ended up leading the Labor Committee into the camp of Stalinism and reformism.

Militants And The 4th International

deplorable, especially among the youth. Hundreds of thousands of youth are already unemployed. Like the workers, the youth are deprived of any means of expression, of organization, of creativity. In the absence of any perspective, alcoholism and delinquency are assuming alarming proportions among them.

Comrades,

The working class and its youth do not accept and will not accept the solution that capital, and its ally, the bureaucracy propose. In the West as in the East they are rising up in gigantic struggles against imperialism and the bureaucracy.

The youth, students and workers were in the front lines of these struggles in Eastern Europe, led primarily for democratic rights which on the basis of socialist conquests could only be won through the power of the workers' councils. They were there in East Berlin in 1953. Students and young workers were the first to throw themselves into the fight against the bureaucracy in the "Polish spring" in 1956. It was a demonstration of solidarity of all the youth of Budapest with the Polish youth which gave the signal of the revolution of workers' councils in Hungary, October 23, 1956. The demonstration of students at the University Charles of Prague at the end of 1967 announced what followed: the "Prague spring."

In Czechoslovakia, all these struggles—during the process of political revolu-

tion, in the resistance to the invaders and to the "normalization"—have showed the extraordinary combativity of the youth and the primary role they play in these struggles. Today in the Soviet Union itself, the youth take their place in the new communist opposition: the young worker Anatoli Martchenko, the young intellectuals, Yuri Daniel and Boukovski, the students of Leningrad and the Ukraine have joined the older ones like Grigorenko and together they form this new communist opposition whose courageous fight heralds the entry into struggle of the Russian working class.

Comrades,

The bureaucracy has no other answer to the demands of the workers and the youth than savage repression. Hundreds of thousands of militant communists and youth are threatened, witchhunted, arrested and put in jails and camps in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in Yugoslavia and in the Soviet Union.

Comrades,

We will never accept the "normalization" that the bureaucracy wants to impose, especially on the workers and youth of Czechoslovakia. Immediate withdrawal of the armed forces of the Kremlin from Czechoslovakia! Defend the Czech militants threatened with terror!

Comrades,

Great class battles are beginning. The necessity of an organized vanguard, the

construction of a world proletarian party which is the Fourth International is more than ever on the agenda.

For these reasons, confident of taking forward the aspirations and desires of the youth in Eastern Europe, the Organizing Committee of Eastern European militants is part of the struggle for the Revolutionary

Youth International for it believes that its construction must embrace the youth of Eastern Europe.

Long live the First Congress of AJS!
Long Live the world revolutionary unity of the proletariat and its youth!

Forward to the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International.



Czechoslovakian students demonstrate against Soviet invasion in Prague, 1968.

-- A Bridge To Stalinist Betrayal

their function has been to betray the working class for the last 40 years? It is not a matter of teaching the Stalinist movement but of exposing and fighting it mercilessly. That is the only road to clarifying misguided Stalinist workers and youth. On this decisive question Marcus and the Labor Committee now talk like modern Kautskys. They cannot distinguish between the agents of the ruling class and the revolutionary movement.

CLASS QUESTION

As if to make absolutely clear where it stands, the editorial then goes on to dismiss as equally bankrupt the "...rank and file base-building within the unions, the labor tactic of the CP, SWP, PLP, IS, Workers League, et al." After regretting the thickheadedness of the Stalinists, the editorial casually equates the popular front with the revolutionary policies of the Fourth International.

Clearly the Labor Committee does not see any class difference between Stalinism and Trotskyism. It does not see the class question anywhere. It is merely a battle of ideas in which it is engaged.

The Labor Committee's program flows logically from its schematic and idealist method. It counterposes to the labor party slogan and to the fight within the unions the formation of "cross union caucuses."

These cross union caucuses are envisioned as consisting of unionists, unemployed, minorities and students. The Labor Committee thus shares with the New Left the conception that the organized working class is no longer decisive. In the guise of orienting towards the entire working class and the oppressed masses, they obscure the question of the decisive leadership role which can and must be played by the organized industrial working class.

Here the Labor Committee is proceeding from the surface appearance of class forces and from the mentality, the moods of sections of the class, not from objective considerations.

We do not counterpose union caucuses to broader forms encompassing trade unionists from different branches of industry. In Britain the All Trades Union Alliance is such an organization, not a dual union, but an organization of unionists which takes up the political fight in the unions and the working class as a whole.

Nor do we counterpose the struggles in the unions to those of the unemployed, the minorities, and the youth. It is precisely the labor party which can unite the different sections of the class in a political struggle which generalizes the economic struggle against the capitalists. These forms, as well as workers' councils or soviets, and the mass revolutionary party will be developed in the course of the struggle for socialism. But they have nothing in common with the artificial caucuses which are posed by the Labor

Committee outside of the actual struggle. The struggle against the trade union bureaucracy and all of its allies is decisive. Without that struggle there can be no fight against capitalism.

ABSTRACTIONS

The Labor Committee admits that work in the trade unions is of some importance but it has no program or orientation for such work. It is clearly subordinate to the cross union caucuses, the abstractions and ideal conceptions in the minds of the Labor Committee leaders.

The Labor Committee attacks the conception of union caucuses not including students, youth and minorities as trade union chauvinism. It claims that this conception is one of the two most decisive tragic blunders of the socialist labor movement.

In any union struggle the immediate trade union consciousness of the working class will find expression in syndicalist conceptions. This syndicalism, the view that union forms are enough, can only be combatted by the revolutionary party, which unites the working class and the youth in a disciplined combat organization. But this is not what the Labor Committee is interested in. Marcus advocates as a "transitional" substitute for the revolutionary party his cross union caucus scheme. Yes, we must fight syndicalism now! But we must fight it through the real struggle within the unions, and we must fight these conceptions among the students and working class youth. The attempt to fight syndicalism by posing a substitute for the unions which is not the revolutionary party but some vague half way house cannot help but strengthen syndicalism by allowing it to flourish unmolested in the unions.

REFORMIST

The Labor Committee's program is summed up in its own words: "Socialist reindustrialization centering about the immediate and total conversion of the military-aerospace sector of the economy."

Readers are referred to an earlier analysis in the Bulletin ("The Many Theories of L. Marcus," Dec. 16, 1968) for a fuller treatment of the Labor Committee program. The current proposal of "socialist reindustrialization" is an extension of Marcus' conception of advancing "socialist demands which are technically feasible in terms of the existing forms of institutions." The Labor Committee continues to propose the taking over of the Federal Reserve system, the restructuring of taxation, and so forth. In other words it continues to view the solution of unemployment, poverty and every other ill of capitalist society apart from the class struggle and the political struggle for power by the working class.

We must quote here from the Transitional Program: "...outside of the per-

spective of the conquest of political power by the working class, and the construction of revolutionary parties, these slogans lose their meaning and even become reactionary, justifying the existing leadership and the existing economic set-up."

The Labor Committee program in all its forms, divorced from the struggle in the class, from the political fight and the revolutionary party, cannot help but be reformist in its essence. Slogans and demands for housing and productive employment only have meaning as part of the fight of the revolutionary party including the fight in the unions around the questions of wages, working conditions and the defense of the unions against the attacks of the employers.

AUTO

Finally, let us examine concretely the Labor Committee and Workers League programs in relation to the auto strike. The Labor Committee proposes to support the auto workers by organizing support organizations outside the unions. The cross union caucuses are seen as arenas for the spreading of its socialist reindustrialization program. A vague, multi-class organization corresponds to the reformist schemes which are proposed.

The Labor Committee correctly calls the anti-war movement petty-bourgeois. But what it proposes, outside the organized working class and the actual struggles of the class, must inevitably be another petty-bourgeois movement, to the extent it is not a utopian fraud.

The Workers League says that the revolutionary party must take up the fight for the auto workers as part of the fight of the entire working class. The central issue in the present struggle is wages. This fight has been posed sharply by the \$1.25 an hour demand raised within sections of the UAW. Workers and students must take up this fight, must support this wages fight against the employing class as a whole and Nixon behind it. This means a fight against the union bureaucracy and the illusions in the bureaucracy which the Communist Party seeks to foster.

The employers and Nixon seek to rescue the profit rate and deal with the inflation through an attack on the real wages of the working class. The auto strike poses this before all workers. But the auto workers cannot win without taking on the government and their own leaders, who will seek to betray this fight. Thus in the course of the wages fight we must warn of government intervention, warn of the role of the Woodcock bureaucracy, and show the need for socialist demands of nationalization and the labor party fight. This is the concrete fight for the auto workers and the entire working class.

BLOC

The Labor Committee blocs with the Stalinists on the auto strike precisely

because it is not concerned with the fight against the bureaucracy inside the unions. This becomes the basis for the bloc against Marxism, it becomes the means whereby the Labor Committee's pet theories actually help to take the heat off the bureaucracy.

In the past two years the end of the long boom in the context of war and continuing inflation has led to a tremendous wave of strike struggles in the U.S. as well as West Europe. In the U.S. the electrical workers, postal workers and Teamsters have now been followed by the auto workers in what may become the most crucial struggle since the postwar strike wave. The growing crisis also is expressed in the struggles of black workers and youth. The other side of the crisis, of the polarization of class forces, is the sharp move to the right by the capitalist class and its political parties. The election of Nixon and his Southern Strategy, the unleashing of Agnew and the brutal assaults on the Black Panther Party aimed at its virtual extermination, all of these developments bring home the immediacy of the crisis. The Republicans now appeal for votes from the working class in an attempt to utilize the backwardness and confusion in the class, but also the complete bankruptcy of the Democrats and liberals of both parties. They seek to use the record of the liberals to secure the collaboration of the working class in digging its own grave.

There is no evading the major issue, and it is posed quite clearly in the auto strike. The two roads before the labor movement are class struggle or class collaboration. The Stalinists and the trade union bureaucracy are now called upon to do the dirty work of the capitalists.

BRIDGE

By separating itself from the class struggle the Labor Committee cannot see the issues as they are posed. The auto strike has posed before them the question of whether they will aid the bureaucracy and Stalinism or take up of the fight of the working class.

These questions have an objective significance in terms of class forces that cannot be evaded. This is the meaning of the Labor Committee's bloc with the Stalinists on the auto strike, of its chasing after the Stalinists for a "united front," not on a class program but on one which the Stalinists can easily accept and use to cover up for Woodcock. We say that the Labor Committee can and will begin to function more and more as a bridge to the Stalinists. Contempt for theory and history leads them to adaptation to the most powerful bureaucracy in the labor movement. There are only two fundamental classes in society, and the Labor Committee must make up its mind on that question first of all. It cannot continue with a foot in both camps.



WEST COAST NEWS

The following is an interview with an auto worker at the Fremont plant in California, and a member of UAW Local 1364. A rank and file committee, the United Action Caucus, has been formed in this local which poses a program of struggle against the Woodcock leadership and for victory in the strike.

Q. What is the sentiment on the wages question in this strike?

A. Wages are very important, the workers are aware of other union victories. The workers are acutely aware of every labor struggle. The workers watched the GE strike feeling a common identification and cheered them on, hoping for a good settlement. When the GE Mooch Committee appeared with its bucket, they got \$300.00. The postal strike came right on its heels and established real strong identity with the auto workers who defended the strike.

You could not find anyone on the line who defended the government or union bureaucracy. The government was thoroughly exposed as an employer, a scab employer. On the heels of the postal strike came the Teamsters' struggle which raised hopes that auto workers could duplicate what the Teamsters wanted to do. Auto workers thought the first offer of a \$1.10 was a good offer. When the Teamsters turned it down, the auto workers thought they were real militant and asked: Why can't we wage a real struggle?

At this time L.A. wildcat Teamsters came into the area and began to shut down trucking, the workers at the plant were hoping that the shutdown of parts delivery would shut down the plant. When word came to the plant that pickets were at the plant entrance the idea spread to support the Teamsters by shutting down the plant. At lunch the workers hoped to talk to the pickets and throw up a support line, but by lunch time the pickets had gone. They missed an opportunity to shut the plant down. When the Teamsters broke through in Chicago and won the \$1.65 settlement we were happy and we saw the chance for us to go for something better than a piddling 10 cents. The determination to fight against GM for \$1.65 has real substance for auto workers, they are really prepared to struggle.

Q. What were conditions in the plant like before the strike?

A. Out of 4,300 workers we have a grievance backlog of 3,300 grievances that lay dormant; some as long as three years. The majority are hard core grievances involving discipline and suspension. The thing that worries management and union is that the majority of the union members have little faith in the grievance procedure. This leads to the development of cynicism and individual forms of resistance to speed-up and working conditions.

The grievance procedure no longer serves its function as a safety valve to let off steam harmlessly. Disputes erupt on the factory floor that take on very violent aspects. The grievance file represents the visible tip of the iceberg. The invisible grievances that go unfiled have management and union worried. Acts of violence and sabotage become common as the class struggle intensifies in the plant. The worker is acutely aware of his lack of power over all aspects of work rules, line speed and productivity.

This work is agonizingly boring. The happiest moment in the life of an auto worker is when the line breaks down or they announce a short day. We cheer. Workers are increasingly ready to wage a fight for the shorter work week. Workers approached on this really respond. One worker said he was prepared to man barricades for six months if he thought they had a chance for the shorter work week.

In two years there has not been a quorum at union meetings more than six

times which shows complete lack of confidence in the bureaucracy.

Q. Could you explain just what your union leadership is attempting to do at Fremont; does a real threat exist or is it being manufactured?

A. The UAW leadership has generated a witchhunt atmosphere by initiating goon squad tactics here in our local, in order to intimidate the militants and prepare the ranks for a sell-out.

They further reveal their full potential as policemen for the capitalist system in a role that they will have to play from here on out more openly.

This is clearly a crisis of leadership that has the UAW bureaucracy frightened of how they can contain the ranks by bleeding off their fighting militancy in a lengthy strike without damaging their control over the union apparatus... Above all else they must inoculate the ranks against Marxist ideology. The political tendencies and their press have enjoyed stepped up sales at our plant in the months preceding this strike.

The younger worker has become receptive to socialist ideas. They proudly display these radical newspapers on their work benches, invite their co-workers to read it and will spend considerable time debating the merits—pro and con, especially if it contains articles relevant to their own struggles.

Q. Why is there a security squad around your local?

A. In order to understand this you must realize that a situation has developed in our local that reveals the depth and extent of the panic and growing crisis of leadership in the UAW. Paul Schrade, Regional Director and John Herrera, Chairman of Local 1364 shop committee must appeal to the Bay Area Mobile Tactical Squad. Two hundred of these cops were called out on September 18 in full riot dress in order to protect these bureaucrats and serve to intimidate militants who had demonstrated on the previous Monday the full potential of their anger and combativeness against GM and Fremont police. Not that these auto workers pose any threat to these phoney self-seeking picardis yet, this will come later when the attempt is made to sell them out.

This is why their strategy is to separate the militants from the ranks, within our local, and accuse them of being union splitters and advocates of "outside intervention by Berkeley student rabblers." They have accused the rank and file United Action Caucus leadership of agitating for violence and revolution. The UAC has been accused of being PL, SDS, IS, and Communist all rolled in one without political distinction between these tendencies in an obvious attempt to scare off support.

Fremont Auto Worker Speaks Out On Strike

Herrera has issued press statements in which he has attempted to link up the recent bombings that occurred at both the GM plant in Fremont and Ford plant in Milpitas to "inflammatory literature distributed to the workers outside the plant by Socialist Workers Party and SDS." He has established a "leadership liaison committee," of Local 1364 "to work with the Fremont Police Department" and Bay Area Mobile Tactical Squad in a blatant effort to intimidate the militants of this local in preparation for the sellout.

Management can only be seen joining hands with Herrera and top UAW officialdom in the back room of the Fremont Police Station to help map his campaign by supplying full police cooperation.

As a result of all this caucus leafleters have been threatened by Herrera's goon squad and run off by Fremont police under threats of arrest, as well as other political tendencies who attempt to hand out their own literature. Herrera has been able to turn our union property into a garrison patrolled by security squads of workers who are supplied with clubs under the pretext that the union is under attack from "leftist rabblers students" who want to blow up our union building with a bomb and therefore it must be guarded 24 hours a day with squads ranging up to 70 men. The absurdity of all this is goodnaturedly tolerated by the membership. Men are selected by the picket captain to serve out their picket duty on a four hour security detail of guarding the bureaucrats' half-million dollar union building. The men see it as necessary only to get their picket cards validated; which entitles them to their strike benefits. With rare exception the workers selected for security duty do not believe that this threat exists and feel that the leadership is just "playing games" in order to utilize their time.

They freely admit that the real fight is with GM and the entire class that stands behind GM, not students, leftist or militant rank and file union caucus formations, such as UAC, who want to win this strike.

It remains to be seen how long they can keep this phoney threat alive in order to distract and confuse the membership.

I would like to make the prediction that when the membership sees through this red-baiting, student-baiting hysteria and smokescreen laid down by these desperate UAW bureaucrats as a complete patent fraud cooked up by them in preparation for a sell-out and betrayal they will need more than 200 cops to protect them from the aroused wrath and indignation of an angry membership.

Q. Is this the reason all future union meetings have been cancelled until the end of the strike?

A. Yes, they are afraid the UAC will pack the meeting and call them to task for their actions plus pass our fighting program to firm up the strike.

Q. What is the program of the United Action Caucus?

A. To carry forward the Teamsters' initiated wage offensive of \$1.65 over three years and to firmly establish this wage pattern for all the rest of the contracts to follow us; full restoration of our cost-of-living allowance with no restrictive ceiling; shorter work week in order to fight rising unemployment, any settle-

ment that does not include a shorter work week will be a loss for auto workers in this immediate period; more holidays; longer vacations; early retirement; dental plan; union control over line speed and the manning of operations, safety and work rule changes to be negotiated with full membership approval, shorten grievance time by eliminating the umpire system and providing full strike power in its place. Of course this would preclude the elimination of the notorious company security clauses from our contract such as paragraphs #8 (management's rights) and #117 (no strike clause).

Q. This is quite a big program, how can a fight be carried out to win all these?

A. By using full union power and shutting down the total industry. Reuther's old one-at-a-time strategy is ineffective and bankrupt which can only mean bleeding the militancy out of this strike, slow strangulation and betrayal, especially when these workers face a united employer class and their executive arm or branch of government determined to defeat them. In other words let's strike the other 27 GM plants that are still working and create total paralysis in the industry for maximum effectiveness. Woodcock says that these 27 plants would close down all of auto plus lay off "hundreds of thousands of unrelated industrial workers and produce economic chaos and social crisis." Well this is precisely what is needed in order to win this needed program and shorten this strike.

So what if these laid-off workers have to draw a couple of weeks unemployment benefits. They have a direct vested interest in our winning a victory at GM, because we would be firmly establishing a favorable pattern for their contracts to follow.

Q. But wouldn't the government intervene to prevent this from happening?

A. This is precisely the duty of this government to prevent us from going on the offensive and pinning the employing class up against the wall. They would use court injunctions, back to work orders, wage restraints and forced arbitration and as a last resort the army and National Guard would be put on standby to rescue the bosses.

We would then have to match this escalation with a call for a general strike by all of labor to offset this serious threat and call for a formation of an independent political party of labor based on trade unions and a political settlement to this struggle.

Many misconceptions about the acquiescence of the working class are bound to be dispelled by this struggle now taking place in auto.

Q. What has been the response to the United Action Caucus leaflets at the plant?

A. Herrera was projecting in the press that there might not even be a strike, he played down the strike, disarming the workers while the UAC was fighting to prepare the struggle. The UAC established a real strong identity, the leaflets were not from the outside, but spoke a common language, had a common identity. The leaflets were not found anywhere. There are usually leaflets left on lunch tables and dropped. The distribution had 100% acceptance. The leadership was put on the spot. Workers started asking why doesn't the leadership do its job. The pressure on Herrera was so strong that he attempted to accommodate and adopted some of the ideas. The workers are sitting back waiting, sitting on the fence. They are aware of the struggle between forces. A strike tips the balance of power, workers come over to the appearance of power and real struggle. They are looking for a lead.

Q. What is the response to the labor party?

A. The political apparatus of the UAW is no longer able to offer prizes in a raffle to get a \$1.00 to support the liberal Democrats. They are actively hostile. In a heated discussion with some Wallace supporters, it was interesting to see the whole crowd come over to the labor party. The only reason they supported Wallace was that he was against big business. They think they have more in common with the black workers than they have in disagreement. The worker's feeling of common class hatred is the strongest bond, stronger than emotional things and transcends ethnic pride.

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