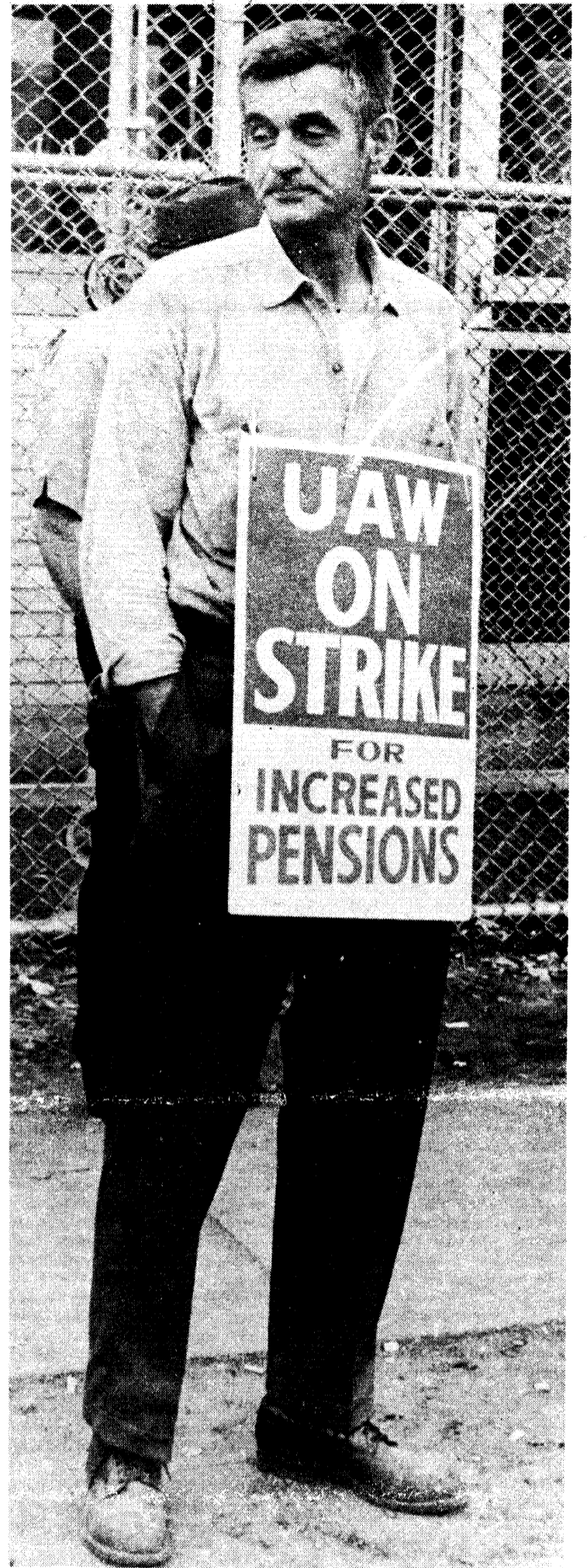
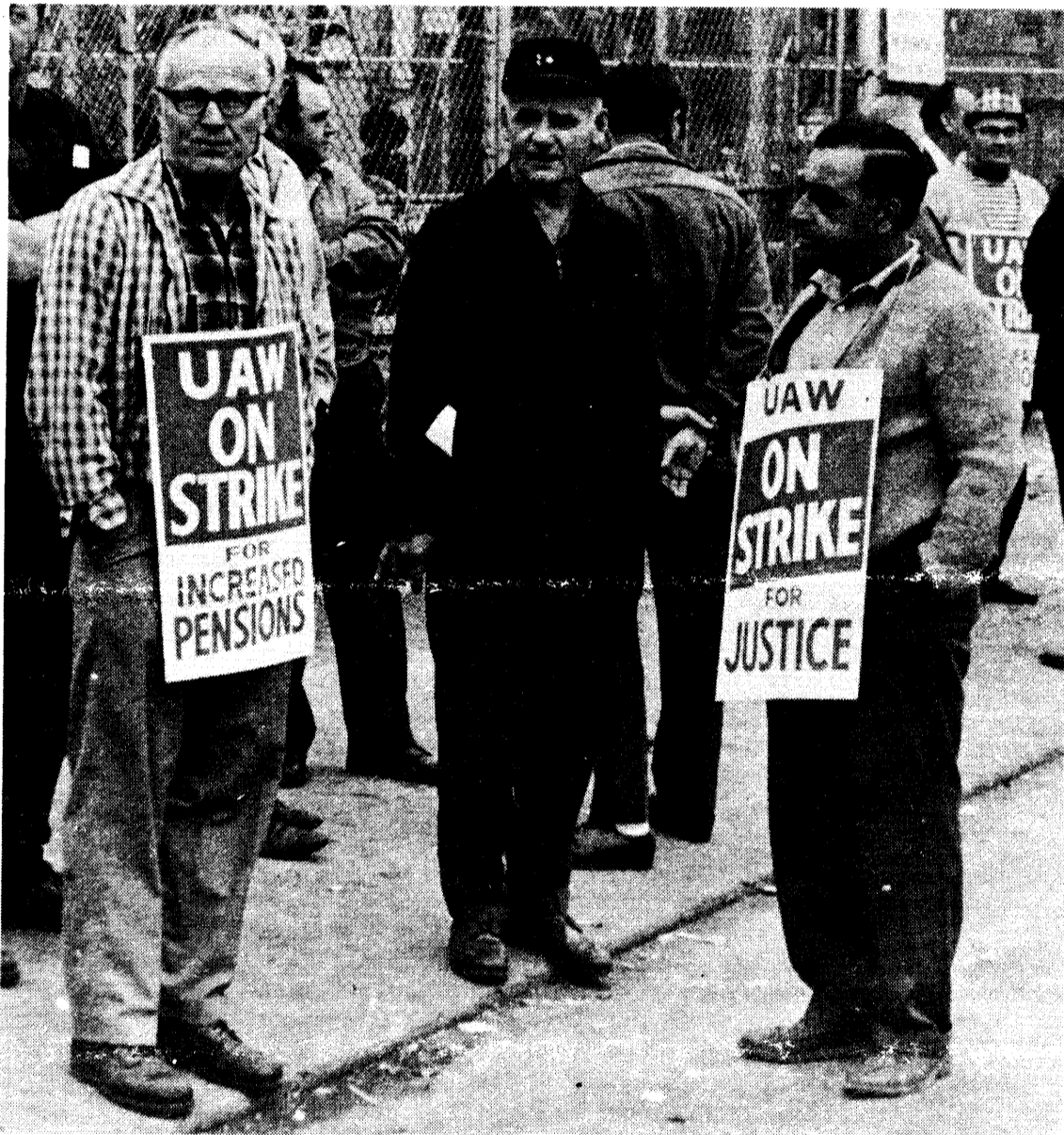


Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 7, NO. 3-163 SEPTEMBER 21, 1970 103 TEN CENTS

STRIKE!



Last Tuesday nearly 350,000 General Motor's workers in the U.S. and Canada walked off the job to begin what may well be the most significant strike action of the American working class since the 1945-46 strike wave. The sharpness of the struggle is reflected in the fact that the UAW bureaucracy was forced to choose GM as the strike target for the first time since the 113 day 1945-46 GM strike.

The militancy of the rank and file who have made it clear they want an all out fight was shown when thousands of workers jumped the gun and walked off the job in wildcat actions at five U.S. and three Canadian plants the day before the contract expired. At every plant across the country strikers voiced the

same determination to stay out two, three, four—or however many months it takes to force the company to give in to their basic demands.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock has already retreated to the point of asking for only 29 1/2¢ per hour increase in the first year in new money. But there is tremendous sympathy among the ranks for the demand for an immediate \$1.25 an hour NOW—in the first year of the contract, in addition to all the other demands including 30 year retirement, and the FULL cost of living escalator.

We agree with the demand for an immediate \$1.25 an hour

(Continued on Page 2)

Beginning a New Series

THE 2 GERMANIES SINCE WW II

by V. Barat

This new series on Germany, the birthplace of the Marxist movement, contains much material never before available

in English. In particular, there is a detailed account of the East German uprising together with exclusive photos of it.

Brutal Attack on Panthers in New Orleans—P. 11

Workers League Statement

Workers League Urges SWP Vote, Fight to Build Labor Party in 1970

STATEMENT OF THE WORKERS LEAGUE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

This fall opens up the first opportunity since 1968 for the working class to politically participate in an election. The 1968 elections represented a very serious blow against the working class, a blow whose full impact has yet to be felt. It is possible now to take a step in 1970 so that the American workers can begin to hit back politically.

The 1968 election was in no sense just another election. It represented a sharp turn to the right on the part of the capitalist parties and thus the preparation by the bosses politically for sharp confrontations with the working class. 1968 saw the Republicans nominate Nixon with Nixon making a clear appeal to the right through his "Southern Strategy." The Democrats, with the support of the bulk of the trade union leadership, chose Humphrey who committed himself to the policies of Johnson, the policies most sharply expressed in reality and in the minds of workers in the Vietnam War. In addition George Wallace emerged from out of the Democratic Party to run a campaign, openly supported by fascists, which based itself on racism and aimed its central appeal at backward sections of the working class.

1968

Faced with the decision of the capitalists to place in office a government committed to a campaign against the working class, the working class was paralyzed from resisting politically because the trade union movement had no political party of its own—no labor party. Understanding this, the Workers League centered its activity in 1968 around a campaign for the construction of a labor party. We proposed concretely:

"It is with this perspective that we welcome the electoral initiative of the Socialist Workers Party running Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle for president and vice president in 1968. This campaign poses a socialist alternative to the capitalist parties and thus offers to socialists and militant workers an opportunity to cast a ballot against our oppressors. The 1968 election platform of the Socialist Workers Party calls for the formation of a labor party in America and it is this position in particular which gives the campaign relevancy today."

We ran a campaign in the trade union movement demanding action by the trade unions against Wallace as the frontman for fascism out to split up the unions through racism. This campaign—and we were the only ones to campaign against Wallace—was linked to the fight for the labor party as the alternative.

INTERNATIONAL

We saw the 1968 election within its international perspective:

"World capitalism is in deep crisis. This is the fundamental meaning of the great revolutionary struggles in France. What has happened in France today will happen in America tomorrow. The task of American socialists is to prepare today for these struggles."

This outlook has been fully vindicated by the events since 1968. The Nixon Administration has not only continued Johnson's war policies but extended the war into Cambodia. The racism and redbaiting of Wallace now finds expression directly within the government itself through Agnew. The inflation of the Johnson period rages unchecked while Nixon adds to this an increase in unemployment.

Attacks against students and black militants are deepened and a virtual pogrom waged against the Black Panther Party. Democrat Mayor Daley, who directed his police forces against student demonstrators at the Democratic Party convention, directs the same police

forces in a bloody attack which murders two Panthers in Chicago. In the meantime the Federal government extends its judicial lynch program against the Panthers in Connecticut, New York City and elsewhere supplemented by local governments. The National Guard of Nixon is called out by Democrat Stokes to attack rank and file Teamsters and ends up shooting students at Kent opposed to the Cambodian adventure.

UNIONS

Now the working class moves into action with the only weapon it has, through the only organizations it has, and with the outlook it has traditionally held. It moves through its unions in an attempt to turn back the economic attacks of the bosses and their government. This is the meaning of the GE strike, the postal strike ended only by Nixon's troops, the rank and file Teamster rebellion which won \$1.65 an hour, and now the great auto strike.

All the other attacks of Nixon were but a preparation for this fundamental show-down. Rather than a head-on attack it chose to divide the workers through racism and turn them in a conservative direction through a press campaign against student radicalism. Now Agnew openly urges workers to support the Republican Party, the party of the very bosses who repress workers each day.

What we said in 1968 has come to be. The Nixon victory was, as we said, no ordinary change of personnel but a preparation for a new attack of the capitalists on the workers. This attack has already begun. The war on workers in Vietnam has inevitably become generalized into a war on workers at home even though this war starts with the blacks, the student oppositionists, the rank and file union rebels like the Teamsters.

NEW SITUATION

All this creates a new political situation in which the working class, disenchanted with the old political forms but understanding that political struggle is necessary, searches for a road out. Agnew senses this and in vain offers the noose of the Republican Party as an alternative to the noose of the Democrats. The Communist Party and the liberal labor bureaucrats sense this and try to make the Democratic noose look a little prettier through that feeble section of Democrats who Agnew rightly thumbs his nose at.

Important as it is the trade union struggles will not settle the kind of issues now faced by American workers. These struggles will only bring matters to a head. The bosses will steal what is won on the bargaining table and picket line through inflation and in addition prepare government intervention to beat workers even further back. They are already talking this way over auto.

SWP

It is right now that we must take forward the campaign we launched in 1968 around the labor party. Once again the Socialist Workers Party is running election campaigns in a number of states and localities. Once again we urge workers and militants to vote SWP as a way of voting against the two capitalist parties while we take up the fight in the unions for a labor party based on the great strength of the American union movement.

EDITORIAL

Victory in Auto Strike Is Goal for All of Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

increase as raised by a group of UAW militants in Detroit. We say to the GM workers and to the entire rank and file of the UAW—now that you are out, make it a real fight. Don't go back for less than the \$1.65 an hour in new money that the Teamsters won over their three year contract. Don't sign any contract until a full settlement of all "local" grievances over speedup, safety, work rules, sub-contracting, has been made at each and every plant!

The obvious collusion of GM, Ford and Chrysler, and all three of them with the rest of the corporate giants of U.S. capital—all under the auspices of the Nixon Administration and Congress—points up what the Bulletin has been saying: General Motors is simply carrying the ball for the rest of the capitalist class, with Nixon managing this ball game in an effort to smash the \$1.65 an hour three year wage pattern set by the Teamsters.

This is why more than any strike since the postwar period, the outcome of this strike is decisive for the entire union movement and unorganized workers as well. If GM and Nixon can hold back the auto workers, this will be used to break the back of the wage offensive that American workers have launched in the face of skyrocketing inflation and mounting unemployment.

Their strategy is to try to defeat the auto workers in order to prepare the way for widescale attacks on the wages and conditions of all workers and the introduction of new repressive laws against the unions that will make Taft-Hartley look like child's play.

Under these conditions, the illusion Woodcock is spreading that the government will not intervene against the UAW is like leading the lamb to slaughter. Secretary of Labor Hodgson's statement that a strike against GM would be a "very imposing threat" to the nation's economy is, as we said last week, the language of government intervention.

The UAW and the entire organized labor movement need to develop a strategy to win the auto strike against Nixon and the bosses. Key to this strategy is the mobilization of the support of the entire union movement behind the strikers, beginning with the launching of a \$50 million strike fund from the treasuries of all other unions to be turned over to the UAW strike fund.

Just as important is the fight for the AFL-CIO, the ALA and all independent unions to declare that they will meet any White House or congressional intervention with the call for a general strike. Every worker can play a part in winning the auto strike, which is HIS strike as well, by raising and fighting for these demands in his union. The students and youth have a critical role to play in taking this struggle and program to the rest of the labor movement.

Just as the historic 113 day GM strike of 1945-46 which was fought in the face of "bi-partisan" strikebreaking attempts led by Democratic President Harry Truman, today's auto strike is threatened by the political monopoly of the Democratic and Republican parties which include so many whom the labor bureaucracy support as "friends of labor."

Even more than the strike wave of 1945-46, the GM strike points up the need for the most powerful union movement in the world to form its own party, a labor party.

This time the task takes on even greater urgency than in 1968. This time the situation facing American workers is more serious precisely because of the betrayals of the labor leadership and the assorted radicals in the 1968 campaign. This time with the strike wave, the upsurge among black and other minority workers and the development of the student struggles, we are closer to an American May-June in which not only will the forces of reaction be strong but if we prepare ourselves now the forces of the working class even stronger.

Under these conditions we urge upon the Socialist Workers Party that they change the political character of their electoral campaign to take into account this new situation placing the labor party question at the center of it. We will be more than happy to collaborate with them in every possible way to develop a campaign along this line. At the same time even if they do not agree to this we make clear our desire to collaborate in electoral work with the SWP on that aspect of their political platform we are in agreement with—opposition to the two capitalist parties and the call for the labor party. We also announce that, while reserving our right to criticize

what we disagree with in their platform, we will in any event develop a strong campaign to build support for the SWP electoral slates as a step forward toward the political independence of the working class.

As the American working class faces its very difficult future, it does not face it alone. Throughout the world the working class is going into motion against the capitalists and everywhere, as with the Tory victory in England, the capitalists are shoring up their forces preparing a vicious counteroffensive. Each step forward of the international working class will bring the American working class that much closer to political independence from the capitalists. The giant step of creating its own independent party will quickly thrust the American working class into the forefront of the world working class opening up in America as well as Europe and the colonial countries the immediate prospect of world socialism.

It is with this understanding of both the danger and the potential of this new situation that the Workers League announces its fall campaign to build the widest possible support in the labor movement and among students for the SWP electoral tickets.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

THE BULLETIN, Weekly Organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St. New York, N.Y. 10011 Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$3.00; Foreign—1 year: \$4.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.

Call For Discussion With Unified Secretariat

The following is a statement by Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International. It is reprinted from Workers Press, the daily organ of the SLL.

Considerable interest has been aroused by the reports which have appeared concerning the two meetings between myself and members of the Unified Secretariat.

The Secretariat itself issued a statement in July which said, amongst other things:

"The Fourth International is, of course, in favour of unifying revolutionary forces wherever possible on a principled basis. We are therefore prepared to re-examine the question of the SLL (Socialist Labour League) and OT (Organization Trotskyiste) unifying with the Fourth International if objective evidence should show that this is feasible.

"The SLL and OT might well begin this process by beginning to discuss their political and theoretical differences with us in a frank and comradely way, without the use of slander or falsifying the positions we hold, and by beginning to engage in common actions on such elementary things as defence of victims of the class struggle."

The International Marxist Group, its English affiliate, commenting on this, issued a statement on August 23, 1970, which said:

"...it shows quite clearly that the United Secretariat rejected Healy's fake unity proposals. These have not been accepted, and there are no internal discussions taking place."

At no time did I or anyone else from the International Committee make proposals as such for unity to the United Secretariat. In the Workers Press of July 7 we summarized the reasons for our approach as follows:

"As part of this preparation the Committee requested G. Healy, the national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, to contact representatives of the United Secretariat for informal talks around the possibility of joint discussion centred on outstanding political differences and directed towards the holding of a joint international conference."

We are more firmly convinced than ever that there is a basis for such an approach, and we accept as a positive step forward the recommendation of the Unified Secretariat that "The SLL and OT might well begin this process by beginning to discuss their political and theoretical differences with us in a frank and comradely way."

We are prepared to accept this, otherwise it would have been useless to have made any approach in the first place. Factional manoeuvring over "unity"

as such would convince no one, and we have no intention of engaging in this.

The comrades of the Unified Secretariat are quite correct to stress that the stage before us is not one of "unity" as such. We see it as an effort on both sides to re-examine the favourable objective situation to see whether or not some advances could be made along this road.

Our position today is consistent with the proposals we made in 1963 when the Unified Secretariat was formed. To refresh our readers' memories these were as follows:

"1. That a world congress of the forces of the IC and IS should be convened during the autumn of 1964;

"2. That a joint committee of representatives of the two organizations should regularly meet to prepare this conference and to work out practical ways and means for co-operation in the different countries;

"3. This committee should set out to prepare a joint resolution on world perspectives for the conference. This resolution would outline the points of agreement as well as disagreement. During the preparation of the resolution, all the sections would be constantly informed of the work of the committee. In this way a genuine and positive discussion involving the differences would be organized;

"4. Congress insisted that this discussion must take place in all sections, not only in the leaderships, but in the ranks. Unless this decision was carried out, it would be impossible for the international movement to develop new cadres which would be able to provide adequate political leadership in the next period. A proper circulation of all documents must take place;

"5. Joint discussion between the members of the sections, particularly in W Europe, should be organized. Whilst these discussions would deal with the differences, Congress believed that they should be extended to include a discussion on the practical work of the various sections in a way that would bring the members of these sections closer together. Such a discussion would also have an all-round effect on the education of the cadres.

"These proposals are to be immediately transmitted to the International Secretariat, with the hope that the joint work can begin immediately." (Reproduced from "World Outlook" edited by Joseph Hansen, November 22, 1963.)

Unfortunately, the Unified Secretariat did not accept these proposals at the time, but the objective conditions are today entirely different and much more favourable.

The working class of Britain and W Europe is moving towards open class conflict and into revolutionary politics on a scale never before experienced by our movement since it was founded by Comrade Trotsky.

Both the organizations of the International Committee and the Unified Secretariat and thrust more and more into the bitterest struggles against the counter-revolutionary forces of Stalinism and social democracy.

The building of mass revolutionary parties based on the working class is within our reach in a number of important countries.

We are convinced that Comrade Trotsky would want us to have such discussions if he were still alive today. Indeed, it is entirely in accordance with the traditions of our movement in the years following his assassination.

In 1948, the 2nd World Congress of the Fourth International brought us together with the Shachtmanites for a joint congress to see if, despite the great political differences, unity was possible.

Subsequently, it was shown that the differences were too great, but that in no way cut across the valuable political experience of the conference.

We mention this experience, since comrades of the Unified Secretariat, quite understandably, raise the sharpness of the political differences between us as a possible barrier to the proposed talks.

They are by no means as sharp as they were with Shachtman in 1948.

These, in fact, were aggravated greatly by the two distinctly different political positions pursued by them and us in relation to the defence of the USSR during the Second World War.

There was nothing cynical about the work of our 2nd Congress in relation to Shachtman.

Neither is there anything cynical about our proposals today. They arise within a much more favourable political situation.

All of us agree that there should be no evasion of the fullest and frankest discussion on all the disputed questions.

We entirely agree with the Unified Secretariat that no important political difference should be evaded.

This is essential if the youth especially are to be educated in a principled way.

To assist a comradely approach for such discussion as suggested by the Unified Secretariat, we are prepared to enter into mutual agreement that this be no longer conducted in our public press, but internally within our respective organizations.

We are ready now to meet and fix a date when such an internal discussion would commence.

It is our opinion that there are now serious forces on both sides that want to have the discussion.

We await a reply from the Unified Secretariat.

Zionist Cops Prepare Pogrom With Raids On Palestinians

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

On the night of Sept. 13 Israeli Security forces invaded the area on the west bank of the Jordan river and the Gaza strip arresting over 450 Arab residents. The Zionist forces utilizing the techniques of the Nazi's gestapo units raided homes in a 24 hour sweep taking off women and children in trucks. "for purposes of interrogation."

No explanations were given to the people for their arrests. Those arrested included leading citizens of the area—businessmen, doctors, lawyers, teachers, and other professionals. Sources in Israel said that those arrested were suspected of being relatives of leaders of the Palestinian guerrillas. But as the New York Times reported on Sept. 14, this claim was highly questionable:

"There was widespread skepticism in the main centers that the arrested persons were actually involved with the Popular Front or other terrorist operations and indeed, until today, Israeli officials have insisted that subversive activities and connections were negligible in most of the occupied territories."

The Israeli government in fact is showing two faces in its explanations for the round-up. This only exposes the real character of these attacks. Foreign Minister Abba Eban claimed that the arrests were "a security check, part of an effort to get at the root of the activities of an organization of saboteurs and hijackers. It is not punitive, it has nothing to do with the hostages."

But the military has another story: "We're collecting counterhostages." The Times reports that one of the prominent Arabs from the west bank area who was sent to Amman to talk with the leaders of the Popular Front said that "the Israeli authorities had asked him... to warn the Popular Front leaders that Israel was prepared to take the following reprisals if the hijacking hostages were not released: All known relatives of the guerrilla leaders on the west bank would be jailed, houses of any known guerrilla activist would be blown up and any terrorist caught would face the death penalty." Bloodthirsty cries for the use of the death penalty against the guerrillas are now being heard throughout the Zionist state.

POGROM

This is the real face of imperialism and its Zionist agents. All of Eban's sweet talk cannot hide this. Clearly, U.S. imperialism's hatchetman in Israel, Moshe Dayan, is preparing a pogrom against the Arabs in the west bank area. These methods of course are not unfami-



Labor must demand Leila Khaled release.

liar in the history of imperialism. It was Hitler himself who took retaliation against members of the underground movement in Germany by rounding up whole towns and sending them off to the gas chambers.

This is what the capitalist press in the U.S. is trying to hide in the vicious propaganda it has been whipping up against the guerrilla movement over the hijackings. When the Israelis arrested 450 Arabs, and made clear their plans for execution, the New York Times had this to say:

"This evident effort to create a group of counter-hostages represents an unfortunate, though understandable, reaction. World public opinion cannot condone the use of hostages of any nationality, but in this crisis it was the Arab criminals who first introduced this detestable tactic."

The real criminals are the Zionist rulers and their imperialist backers who will stop at nothing to crush the Arab masses.

It must be absolutely clear that the hijackings by the guerrillas are acts carried out by heroic men and women who are dedicated to the liberation of their Palestine homeland from Zionist occupation. The hostages taken by the guerrillas are part of the struggle to free the guerrillas held in jails in Switzerland, West Germany, England, and Israel.

The arrests and pogrom which is being prepared by the Israelis are the brutal acts of an occupier against the peoples whose homeland has been conquered in order to maintain the oppression of the workers and peasants in the Middle East.

The American labor movement must urgently raise the demand that all the Palestinian guerrillas be released and must make clear its support to the struggles of the guerrillas against imperialism. This fight is part and parcel of the struggle to defeat the imperialists at home.

Unions Pass Resolutions In Defense of the Panthers

This resolution was passed by San Francisco Social Services Section of Local 400 on September 2, 1970:

Whereas the Black Panther Party is undergoing harrassment and persecution by the police in many parts of the United States, and its members deprived of their elementary civil rights,

Whereas the government has been pursuing policies that are leading to mass unemployment and inflation affecting both white and black workers,

Despite whatever differences we have with the Black Panther Party, be it resolved that the Social Services Section of Local 400 condemns the police repression of black militants and warns that such a brutal miscarriage of police powers can easily lead to attacks on the labor movement.

That representatives from Local 400 to the Central Labor Council be instructed to present this resolution before that body.

This resolution was passed by the Caseworker Chapter of SSEU-371, Local of District Council 37, New York, on Sept. 9.

Moved that the Caseworker Chapter recommend to the SSEU-371 Executive Committee, Delegate Assembly and membership unconditional defense of Angela Davis and the Black Panther Party, now under attack by Nixon and Agnew seeing it as an attack on the working class as a whole.

Moved that SSEU-371 immediately publicize its position and conduct a struggle within DC 37 and AFSCME for unconditional defense of Angela Davis and the Black Panther Party by the labor movement as a whole.

UAW Ranks Tell Real Story At GM

BY DAN FRIED

LINDEN, N.J., Sept. 15—The mood of the workers manning the picket line at one of the entrances to General Motors' plant here on the first day of the strike was militant and determined.

Most of the group of workers this reporter talked to were older men who had given over the best part of their lives for the profit of the world's largest corporation. To a man, they said they would stay out as long as necessary to win a decent contract.

The men agreed that the central question was wages, with the issue of early retirement (after 30 years regardless of age) also rated high on the list. As one of them put it:

"We're way behind—the building trades, everybody—they're getting a lot more money than we are. You got guys in here getting food stamps, believe it or not. Many guys moonlight, work part time on a second job, in order to get by. Ever try working on an auto assembly line for eight hours and then working on another job? You kill yourself.

"The Daily News has an editorial about 'poor workmanship.' Have you ever tried putting bolts in a car on a

with the other 150 men? I want to see one machine buy one car. We build them and we can't even buy them.

"Not only have we fallen way behind on hourly wages because of inflation, but unemployment has hurt our total income. Car sales have been very bad. You've had short work weeks and layoffs for a few weeks at a time. And today you can't afford any weeks without a paycheck."

When asked about the central importance of the strike not only in relation to the other auto workers, but for ALL workers, one man said:

"Of course, all of the other unions will want a big raise if the auto workers can get it, and that's why, I agree with you, the government wants to hold it down. Everything is geared to what the auto workers get. In other words, when the construction workers get a raise, they don't talk about pennies—they talk about dollar bills. As you say, the Teamsters' didn't do so bad—they got \$1.65 over three years. But when General Motors told the United States of America that they were going to give us a couple of billion dollars raise over a period of three years, that was the biggest lie that was ever put forth to the people of the United States. The truth is GM is offering 3 cents an hour in new money the first year.

"You mention the committee in Detroit that's demanding an immediate \$1.25 an hour wage raise—well that's something we weren't told anything about. I don't know about the \$1.25, but we're at least a dollar an hour behind, right now. We need \$1.00 an hour more right now, in the first year of the contract not to mention the next two."

ESCALATOR

This worker with 31 years in the Linden plant continued:

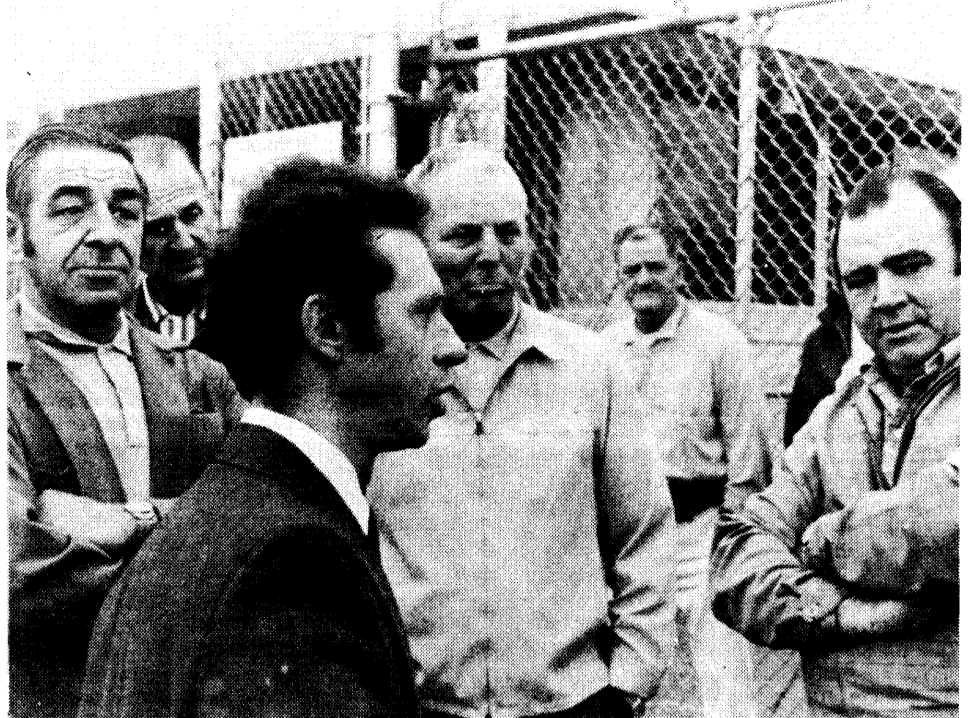
"When we first got the escalator, you had guys saying, 'why don't they just put it in the paycheck.' But today they all recognize that it was one of the most important things ever to hit industry. And when they took it away in the last contract, we only found out how important it was. As a result of the ceiling they put on the escalator, we figure they now owe us 31 cents an hour.

"We've been getting gyped on this 'first year' business also, in every contract we've had. Nothing goes into effect until a year later, or 6 months later, or two years later, and for the first year we get nothing. In this last contract we got nothing. The 'improvement factor'—that's all they gave us after the last contract when we worked months without a contract—and that was RIDICULOUS, believe me. And no retro-active pay either."

The other big question besides wages is the pension plan, said another worker who everyone agreed with:

"After thirty years in here you've had it—you've had it. Everyone in the plant from the guy who started here one month ago wants this (early retirement). Getting the people out to enjoy life at an age when they can enjoy life and giving the kids a chance to get a better job—that's all we want. This isn't a selfish thing."

Along with the question of wages,



Bulletin Labor Editor Dan Fried interviews auto workers outside Linden, N.J. plant.

pensions, and unemployment, the question of working conditions and speedup were emphasized. One man with eight years in the plant said, "I've seen a lot of things around here that are unbelievable. I've seen a man drop dead and before he hit the floor there was another man doing his job. That's true."

Another man told of a worker who had a heart attack right on the line and the foremen refused to stop the line, saying, "get that line going." The first worker said: "One time I was up in the washroom and a guy who was washing his hands dropped dead. The foreman rushed in and the first words out of his mouth were: 'Did anybody punch out his time-card.' They were so afraid that this man was going to be paid while he was lying there dead. It's incredible, but true. You could go on with stories like this all day long."

One of the younger workers told us: "They want people who will do anything they're told to do. Their hiring policy

for years has been to hire workers from other countries who desperately need a job in order to stay in this country—Cuban refugees, Hungarian refugees, who can't speak English. The union doesn't give any orientation whatsoever to these workers and the company takes advantage. Last year they brought up 40 men from Jamaica who were promised a job. They worked seven days, were laid off and had to return to Jamaica.

"We had a Cuban fellow in here who 'escaped' from Cuba—went through a lot to get out. He was working the night shift, and one night couldn't take it any more so he told the foreman, 'I quit.' The foreman told him he COULDN'T quit, that you're not allowed to leave the plant until the shift ends. Well, Plant Protection caught him trying to climb over the fence. And this guy left what he thought was a bad country to come here??? What—are you kidding???"

Fremont Strikers Stop Scab

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
FREMONT, CALIF., Sept.

15—A few minutes after the midnight strike deadline Fremont GM workers destroyed the company guardhouse and stopped a trailer carrying the latest GM trucks at the gate. More than a hundred workers convinced the driver to turn the truck around, especially when bottles began breaking through the new windshield.

The "official" strike of GM workers is already threatening to get out of the control of the union bureaucrats.

A union meeting was held 15 minutes prior to strike time. Herrera, President of UAW Local 1362, and the rest of the union bureaucracy had refused to call a mass strike meeting until moments before the strike. The reason is quite clear. The union leadership does not want to discuss with auto workers what their demands are. Which is essential to take up the fight. This is the reason that Herrera in the abrupt 15 minute meeting held before the night shift let out, made no mention of what national demands auto workers must fight for.

BOED

The international representative, a

former president of the local, was booed down by the rank and file at the meeting. He finally gave up trying to speak. Workers gave a huge cheer when one speaker called for striking "in the old fashioned way," that is, shutting the whole industry down.

The workers are acutely aware of the sellout of the old Reuther leadership which resulted in handing back to management complete control over working conditions and allowing a limit to be attached to the escalator clause, causing a loss in pay of about a thousand dollars for each auto worker during the period of the last contract.

Fremont GM workers are particularly angry about the pile-up of individual grievances. Some date back as far as 1967. Several thousand of these grievances are still unresolved. All over the union hall there were yells of approval when one speaker stated that plants would not go back to work even if there was a national settlement, until all the grievances were resolved.

After the meeting some workers decided to burn a garbage truck which was carrying paper from the plant. Other workers attempted to turn over an ambulance which had grazed one of the workers.

These incidents reflect the workers' bitter hatred for GM and their determination for an all out fight. What is required now is a program and strategy for victory.

Sirs:
I am a proud member of UAW Local 1364 Fremont, California. In regards to a statement in the issue of the Bulletin which I received today, I and a few other union brothers feel very strongly against any form of capitalist intervention in trying to break a strike for wages and all money that is already owed to us and other benefits demanded in our new contract.

If Nixon does try to intervene I feel we should simply say "Get---, and take a hike." After all, what can the capitalist state do???? He surely can't throw 425,000 people in jail--- I feel the United Auto Workers have this money coming and come hell or high water or Nixon. We should strike and remain on strike because we are going to get it or the United States will no longer have the problem of air pollution caused by automobiles.

I close this letter with this reminder: "United we stand, (victory) divided we fall (defeat)." I firmly hope all union brothers will join me and get our money and show the capitalist management we are men and will fight for what is rightfully ours.

Very sincerely,
A Worker

line going 60 cars an hour. You got about 40 nuts to put on. You're going to miss 10 of them, I don't care who you are. The News is trying to blame the workers for poor quality. But you don't have enough time to do a decent job. Where you used to have five guys doing a job, you now have three."

AUTOMATION

Another worker talked about the ravages of automation:

"I'm in maintenance. We automate here every month. There's getting to be fewer and fewer men here every month. We have such an automation program in the body shop now that pretty soon there's going to be just a skeleton crew there, with the "monster" and the "octopus" that they have in there. They've got 200 men in there now and they want to cut it down to 50. What are they going to do

Picket line stretches out in front of Linden gate on morning after strike is called closing General Motors across U.S.





THE 2



GERMANIES

SINCE WORLDWARTWO
A SERIES BY V. BARAT

BY V. BARAT

IN NO COUNTRY have the betrayals of Stalinism demonstrated their counter-revolutionary essence more decisively than in Germany. First in the years just before Hitler's ascension to power. Second, in the more recent period since the defeat of German imperialism and the ensuing partition of the nation. The cleavage of the working class after 1945 occurred as the result of agreements between the Kremlin on the one side and American imperialism on the other, abetted later by its willing tool, German social-democracy.

And nowhere but in Germany has the accumulation of crimes committed by the Stalin leadership affected so catastrophically the entire course and fate of the world proletariat. The disaster suffered in 1933 by the German proletariat—the most class conscious outside the Soviet Union and with the largest Communist Party in the entire capitalist world—led to the immense demoralization of the international working class.

The present examination of the two Germanies is intended to be more than an historical revue. The treacherous role of the French Communist Party in scuttling workers' power in May-June, 1968; the Kremlin's blow against the Czech proletariat in August, 1968; the current efforts by Stalinism in the Far East to sell out the courageous Vietnamese workers and peasants by concluding a cynical deal with American imperialism demonstrate that Stalinism abroad is far from a spent force.

And now there is a sudden growth on these shores of various strains of Stalinism, including the founding of a new youth section of the Communist Party, the Young Workers Liberation League. This com-

Part One-Potsdam And The Division Of Germany

bined with the unabashed support by the Communist Party to the trade union bureaucracy (as in the G.E. strike) at the very time the American workers are emerging as an independent force is a matter of extreme gravity for Marxists.

The American proletariat has no exclusive, no built-in immunity to the virus of Stalinism. This series on the Kremlin's role in creating and maintaining the division of the German working class into two separate states is part of the continuing struggle by the Workers League to alert and arm the American workers against the malignancy of Stalinism.

DIVIDED

After the total military defeat of German imperialism and to forestall a German workers' revolution, Stalin in cooperation with his three bourgeois allies divided the prostrate nation in June, 1945, into four occupation zones: Soviet, American, British, and French.

The Red Army controlled the terri-

ories in eastern Germany. Included was the destroyed city of Berlin, well within the Soviet sector. It had been captured without aid of the western allies.

Much of the eastern provinces of Germany, areas beyond the Oder River and its tributary the Neisse, even though historically German, had earlier, as the Red Army moved west, been handed over by Stalin to a reconstituted Poland. Presumably the Poles were to rule over these lands as a protectorate. In reality, Stalin intended them as compensation for whole chunks of Polish territory which he had unilaterally annexed to the Soviet Union. In not a single case were the native workers consulted.

Millions of Germans, overwhelmingly children, women, and old men, were mercilessly expelled from their ancestral homes by the Polish Stalinists. Hundreds of thousands of them—no exact figures are available—perished in their trek westwards under appalling conditions of famine, cold, and brutality. For the working class

Hitler, here meeting Hindenberg in 1933, rose to power on the betrayals of Stalinism.



Joseph Stalin

survivors, so many of whom had eagerly welcomed the Red Army after a dozen years of Nazi terror, such inexcusable treatment from avowed "socialists" came as a cruel and unexpected shock.

In accordance with a prior agreement, which included the withdrawal of American troops from certain areas under Soviet control, Berlin was opened to the three bourgeois occupiers by the Kremlin and parcelled into four sections, each administered by one of the four powers.

POTSDAM

In July-August, 1945, the four victors at Potsdam agreed to govern their respective zones of Germany jointly through the Allied Control Council. But from the start a cloud hung over any collaboration between the one time allies. They simply could not agree on how to rule the vanquished nation.

By the fall of 1945 it became obvious that in spite of the Kremlin's eagerness to appease the West, insurmountable obstacles arose. The organic hatred of the leaders of the three capitalist countries for the Soviet Union, especially its social base, was already generating those unbalmy breezes which an unsuspecting and reluctant Stalin was compelled to recog-

ize later as a symptom of the Cold War.

The Americans, the British, and somewhat grudgingly, the French were now operating as a single combination in their respective areas. The growing hostility of the bourgeois occupiers toward their former ally in the East, hastened the process of turning over authority and administrative responsibilities to hand-



Stalin, Truman, Churchill at the Potsdam Conference, where Stalin's capitulation laid the basis for the division of Germany.

picked Germans. These were men who were being groomed as reliable confederates against the U.S.S.R.

It was a major step toward de facto recognition of a future West German capitalist state closely tied to the American "benefactor". At the same time this policy implicitly declared bankrupt the original Morgenthau Plan. The reactionary former Secretary of the Treasury under Franklin Roosevelt had persuaded the President of the desirability of converting all of Germany, the industrial backbone of the European continent, into a vast rustic community fit for rearing sheep and cultivating potato plants.

Had the American imperialists ever succeeded in foisting this monstrous and utopian scheme on the sixty million Germans, most of them would have perished through starvation.

EXTERMINATE

Yet it was in conformity with Morgenthau's original design that for months and months preceding the war's end allied planes by the thousands were daily dispatched over Germany. The purpose of these forays was not only to pulverize German industry but through fire-bombs to terrorize and physically exterminate the skilled working class of capitalist America's most dangerous economic rival. Besides these workers had been "reds" before Hitler's dictatorship and probably still were.

Notwithstanding the West's efforts, the basic core of the German proletariat survived as did an incredible 80% of the nation's industrial plant.

Though fearful of the German working class and uneasy at the prospects of reviving their erstwhile capitalist competitor, the American imperialists could not ignore a stubborn fact: modern industrial nations can not simply vanish from the earth. Thus the Morgenthau Plan was scrapped and the decision made to rebuild West Germany as a capitalist outpost and future military threat to the Soviet Union.

Within two years of the end of hostilities America began implementing its new course. It turned out to be materially as well as ideologically advantageous. For back home the coffers of the Yankee business men and investors soon began to bulge from the immense profits inherent in such a patriotic and charitable enterprise as reconstructing industrial Germany.

Meanwhile Moscow trembled at the emergence of a new capitalist state or half state. To conciliate their bourgeois allies the Kremlin rulers had in their zone deliberately left as much of the means of production in private hands as was within their power. For central to

their long-range plan was an indefinite occupation by the four nations of all Germany (excepting the territories annexed to Poland), as a weak capitalist nation.

STALIN

Aside from his fear of ever again having to confront Germany as an intact industrial nation, capitalist or socialist (here is much of the explanation for the continued dismantling of entire factory enterprises even after experience proved the absurdity of trying to ship them to the Soviet Union) Stalin regarded the whole country as an exploitable colony. Germany in its entirety offered a broader basis for exacting compensation for Hitler's enormous destruction of Soviet property and industry than did the single Soviet sector.

But now the allied build-up of a bourgeois nation in the west compelled the Kremlin to convert their sphere of Germany into a separate state. But what kind of state? This dilemma posed by the Stalinists' fear of the capitalists and their dread of the workers necessitates, at the minimum, a brief examination of both social groups in a Europe issuing from the nightmare of fascism and imperialist war.

Even before the end of the Second World War capitalism in most European countries was totally discredited and hated. The struggles of the partisans in Greece, Yugoslavia, Italy and France left the workers of these countries armed and confident in their ability to usher in socialism.

The western bourgeoisie were in no position to tackle such a force head-on, and they knew it. Their single hope was Stalin. As the guardian of a bureaucracy in precarious balance, he dreaded proletarian revolution as much as the imperialists. Furthermore his role was a key one because heading virtually all the partisan armies were disciplined members of the communist parties. With the exception of Yugoslavia the principal C.P. leaders owed their appointments to Stalin. But even for this most experienced hangman of socialist revolution, the task of forestalling a workers' seizure of power on the European continent was to prove no easy task.

KEYSTONE

The keystone to the destruction of any European socialist overturn was Germany itself. The inability of a section of the German bourgeoisie to split itself off from the Hitler regime on July 20, 1944, and thereby conclude a separate peace with the western imperialists signified one thing: a void in the very heart of Europe. Washington as well as Moscow knew that a resurgent German working class had to fill that void.

The feverish activities of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin at Yalta and the subsequent agreements at Potsdam are evidence enough of how seriously the statesmen viewed the imminence of proletarian revolution within Germany.

The rulers did indeed gauge the temper of the German workers quite accurately. As the Nazi armed units collapsed in the spring of 1945 former social-democratic and communist workers alike spontaneously seized the factories and plants of the former owners, most of whom had fled or were in hiding. This occurred under the very noses of the military in all the occupied zones.

Workers in plants that were still operable or could be made so elected shop committees or councils. These not only served as the direct representatives of the men and women in the factory concerned with problems of production but were also delegated to negotiate agreements with other bodies. For example, they would

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meet with peasant committees in the surrounding area, agreeing to produce often fantastically simple tools or implements on their elaborate machines in exchange for farm produce. Or shop committees in a given city would negotiate agreements with workers' representatives in other localities.

Since currency had no practical value, the workers received payment in kind and the exchange between the various enterprises was carried on through barter.

PARTY

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None but a Leninist party could elaborate a strategy for proletarian victory. For only such a party could scientifically grasp the meaning, the necessary limits and the tenuous nature of the alliance between imperialism and Stalinism.

One need but recall the assist, even not politically conscious, given to the German workers by their American brothers in uniform. The world-wide demonstrations by angry U.S. troops at the end of the war in the late summer of 1945, their thunderous and peremptory insistence on returning home for immediate demobilization, stunned the bourgeois politicians out of their wits.

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Both the capitalist as well as the Soviet military authorities breathed easier only after they found reliable, that is subservient native agents to stuff into the political vacuum. The main sectors of Germany will be discussed in the next section.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

Even before the bourgeois occupation authorities seriously cast about for politically reliable administrators not too obviously tainted with fascism, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) had begun to reassemble its apparatus throughout Germany. For the imperialists it was a godsend. The surviving leaders of the party returned from concentration camps, prisons, and exile abroad in a frame of mind as if 1933 had never happened. They had learned nothing from the fascist catastrophe.

Kurt Schumacher, crushed in body after eleven hellish years in a Nazi concentration camp, took over leadership of the SPD in 1945. How little he understood or wanted to understand the political developments responsible for the victory of his brown-shirted tormentors is seen by his rejection as too radical of his party's old Weimar slogan: "Democracy is not much, socialism is everything."



U.S. and Russian troops fraternizing before imperialists began "Cold War" attacks.



The industrial Ruhr area in 1944 (above, left) and in 1959 (above). The "economic miracle" envied by world capitalism was based on a vicious attack on the wages and standards of German workers through deflationary Currency Reform of 1948.



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Schumacher's policies of curbing the workers' demands while wooing the middle class were fully supported by virtually the entire SPD leadership. To a man they bore equal responsibility with the Stalinists for the debacle of 1933. It is just that now they were twelve years older.

Such a party could and did begin to attract opportunists and careerist-minded elements, managerial types, academicians, government officials, and the self-employed. In place of young, militant workers, few of whom were attracted to the SPD, the ambitious careerists, later dubbed the "new middle class" by the party itself, began to take leadership over from the gradually vanishing old guard.

At the same time the industrial working class, the backbone and the traditional supporters of the SPD, were becoming increasingly disenchanted. We find a reflection of this in the party's membership statistics. It reached its height in 1947 when it attained 846,000 members. It never again reached this figure despite the absolute growth of the working class. (In 1954 the party had only 585,000 on its rolls. Since then membership has stag-

nated around that figure.)

Notwithstanding the working class' powerful desire to achieve socialism and their obvious sympathy for the Soviet Union as the first workers' state, the reconstituted German Communist Party (KPD) in the western zone failed to attract any broad strata of the revolutionary-minded proletariat.

The reason for the KPD's lack of appeal is no mystery. After the mutual rejection of organizational fusion by the leaderships of both the SPD and the KPD, the Stalinists in the imperialist-controlled areas of Germany offered the workers a purely bourgeois program. The KPD declared itself to be an anti-fascist party interested in the "struggle for the national unity of Germany and in a just peace." It merely expressed the hope of finding someday "a special German path to socialism."

Programmatically there was little choice then for the German workers in the west between the SPD and KPD. However, an additional factor operated to the disadvantage of the Stalinists. Their party in the east was identified with the sweep-

ing, indiscriminate plundering and dismantlement of factories by the Kremlin bureaucrats. The west German workers correctly saw this as a fundamental attack on the very premises of socialism as well as a severe blow to the source of livelihood of their class brothers and sisters across the artificial boundary.

TRADE UNIONS

After twelve years of illegality and total suppression, the German trade unions, the most powerful in the world before 1933 emerged toward the second half of 1945. They existed alongside of or adapted themselves to the already functioning factory councils. As these direct and democratic organs of the working class began losing their power, the trade unions, more prone to direction from the top, played an ever more dominant role. No wonder the allies, even though union hating, encouraged them as against the factory committees.

By no means did the occupation authorities give free rein to the unions. Trade unionists were expressly forbidden from collaborating on any inter-zonal basis. Only at the end of 1947, some two and a



Huge demonstrations of U.S. troops to go home in 1945 was a sign of class tensions in imperialist armies and objectively supported upsurge of German and world workers.

half years later, were they allowed to create a central union assembly. It had taken that long for the imperialists fully to satisfy themselves that the union leadership was trustworthy and in the hands of obedient social democrats.

Efforts by West German union functionaries to include the unions within the Soviet occupation territory in the central assembly failed. The agents of the Stalinist bureaucracy, already subjected to the Cold War pressure of the imperialists, were erecting their own organization, the so-called Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB).

Within a month of the merging of the three allied zones into the quasi-independent Federal Republic of Germany (BRD), representatives of various unions inside these boundaries held by the American, British, and French met in Munich (October, 1949) to found the German Trade Union Federation (DGB).

The imperialist powers insisted on very stringent conditions before giving their sanction to the DGB. Foremost was the insistence on a very weak, that is decentralized, union structure. Accordingly sixteen separate industrial unions, each with its own head and administrative bureaucracy, were erected within the DGB.

Clearly the intent was to prevent the German proletariat from using its enormous muscle on its own behalf. The federation principle diffuses the energies of the workers and requires them to contend with sixteen bureaucracies rather than a single one.

The bargaining unit of each industrial union (IG) embraces all employees in that industrial complex: skilled, unskilled, white-collar, even certain categories of company officials.

The largest single union at its founding, as it still is today, was IG Metall. (Current membership is close to two million). All workers in any enterprise connected with steel or metal production adhere to it. The second largest industrial union was the public service and transportation union (OTV) which has about a million members today. Others were IG Chemical, IG Mining, Railway, Education and Science.

Total membership of the DGB today is about seven million, a figure that does not include a few unions outside of the federation, such as the Catholic unions and a sprinkling of white collar groups.

IRRECONCILABLE

It has already been noted that by October, 1945, the rift between the Soviet Union and the imperialists had become irreconcilable. The functioning of the Four Power Control Council, the supreme authority established at Potsdam to rule over the whole of Germany, was all but paralyzed. Whatever the wishes of the occupiers, the nation was being divided into two inexorable halves.

What production was carried on at the conclusion of hostilities in all the sectors had to be initiated and administered, it will be remembered, by the workers themselves through their shop and factory committees. How much the resumption of economic activity was literally a life and death matter for the working class can be gleaned from this fact: in the city of Hamburg alone, under the presumably benign command of the British, one hundred thousand people were starving to death by the end of 1946. It demonstrates what little trust could be put in the pious utterances of the victory at Potsdam assuring reasonable and uniform welfare for the people in the defeated nation.

In this same year the rate of production in West Germany fell to a mere 33 percent of what it had been in 1936. On top of the wide-spread hunger, the twin evils of unemployment and inflation were rampant.

Washington was understandably edgy. The ever-present discontent of the workers constantly threatened to spill out beyond the borders of the respective occupation zones. It was certainly only a matter of time before the factory committees would be forced by economic circumstances alone to link up with each other nationally. Naked military force could not much longer contain the wretched populace.

Moreover, the American bourgeoisie, the only solvent power among the three capitalist occupiers, was hardly inclined to provide charity for 50 million Germans in the West. Especially not, when Germany, of all the countries in the world, had the amazing potential of returning to U.S. businessmen an extraordinary yield on investment capital.

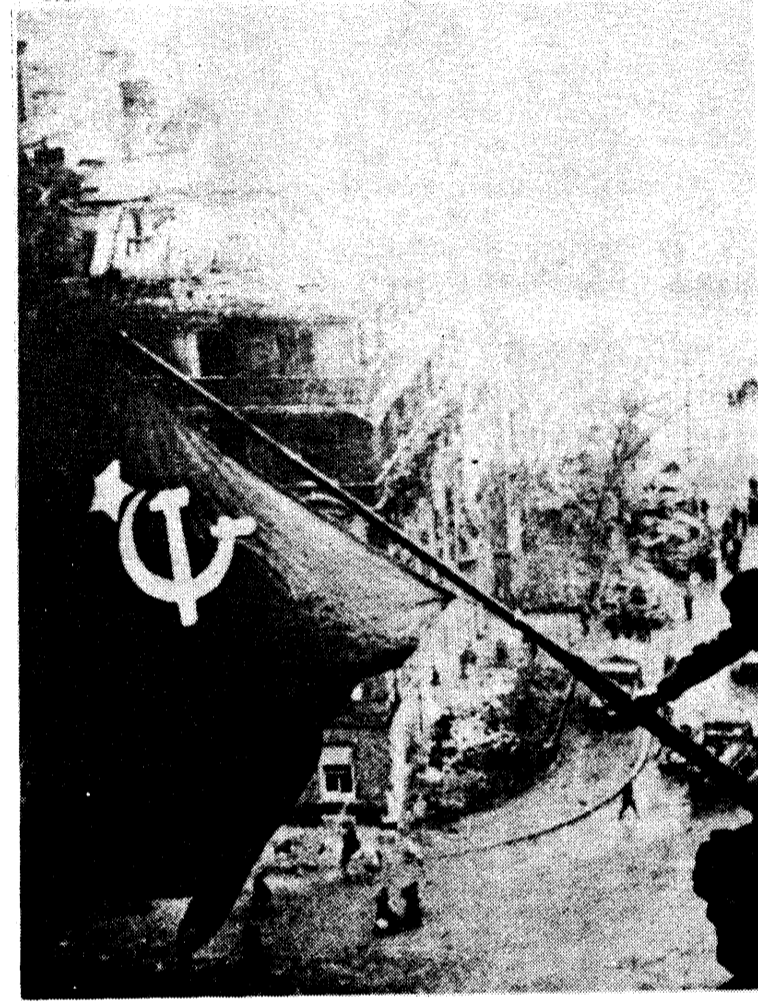
Hence, fear of the German proletariat, a desire to end the unprofitable money drain, and the prospects of huge financial gains practically dictated the American

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The industrial Ruhr area in 1944 "miracle" envied by world capitalists and standards of German workers

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Huge demonstrations of U.S. troops against imperialist armies and objectively

course of action.

As early as September, 1946, Truman's Secretary of State Byrnes, spoke out against allowing Germany to remain forever an "almshouse." That is why on this same occasion he demanded that immediate steps be taken to restore the German economy. Its health, he insisted, was "essential" for a stable capitalist Europe.

In his pronouncement on West Germany's economic fate Byrnes was also charting its political destiny. There was no doubt about it. The masters, for whom the Secretary of State spoke, had decided on this half of the nation going its own separate way. This is how he formulated it:

"The American people want to help the German people to find their way back to an honourable place among the free and peaceful nations of the world."

CONSOLIDATION

The consolidation of the American and



Karl Shumacher, Postwar SPD leader called for return to bourgeois democracy.

British zones now moved rapidly ahead. It was initially a bit too fast to please the French bourgeoisie. They could scarcely be expected to be enthusiastic supporters of any policy that restored their legendary rivals, the German capitalists, to power. But they too were in a bind. They too depended on American financial aid. Furthermore, they dreaded the prospect of a "Bolshevik" Germany on their borders as much as the Yanks.

Accordingly, when the American timetable called for an economic fusion of the

three zones, Washington simply cracked its whip and the junior partner in Paris had little choice but to fall into line.

The first major decision made by the Americans to implement its new German policy was the creation in September 1946, of an Economic Council. This body was charged with the task of speeding up and coordinating a revival of trade and of industrial and agricultural production in the bi-zones (American and British).

Though a slight economic upswing followed, it did not satisfy the New York investment bankers. They were impatient and insistent that Germany, "Europe's greatest workshop" (Dean Acheson in March, 1947) begin humming in rhythm to the faster American beat.

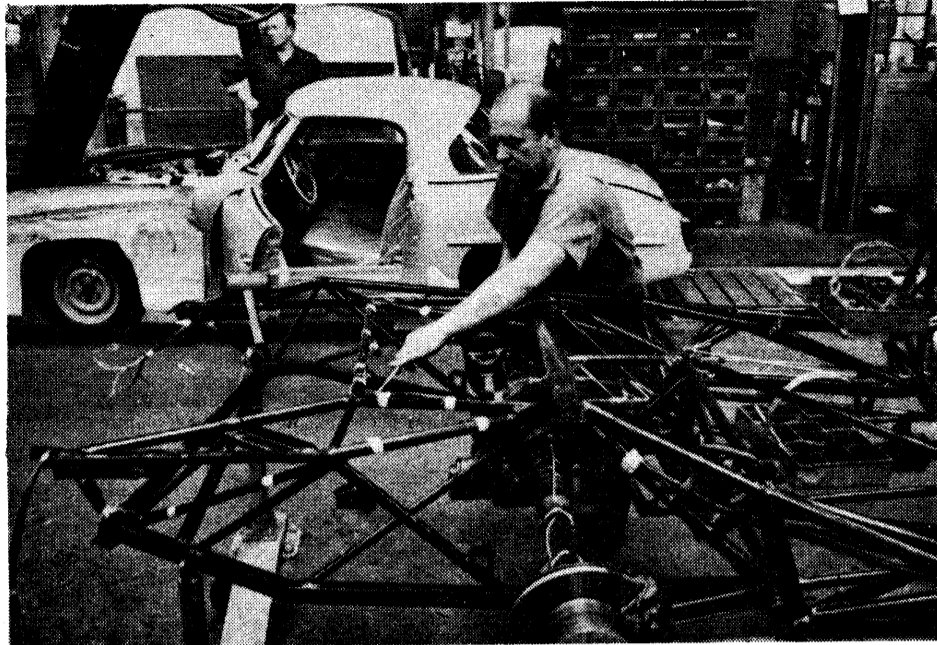
CURRENCY REFORM

By far the most significant measure taken to revive German capitalism and at the same time to give it a solid and durable financial footing in the three western zones, was the so-called Currency Reform of June, 1948. What the authorities did was to withdraw the existing Reichsmark and replace it with the Deutsche Mark (DM) at a ratio of 6.5 to 100.

It struck the proletariat, already suffering from inflation and a standard of living still far below that of the British and French workers, a staggering blow. It reduced those who owned no property except the cash in their pocket or possibly some meager life savings on deposit in a bank or a bit of life insurance to even lower levels of pauperdom. On the other hand owners of industry, of real estate, of shares of stock bought with inflated currency became rich, many millionaires over night.

No one in West Germany is oblivious to the fact that the present concentration of property and wealth received its impetus in 1948, by emptying the pockets of the working class. A working class that had already been plundered by the capitalists under Weimar, then under Hitler, and now by the American imperialists in association with the native industrialists and bankers.

And yet the wealth made by such financial chicanery as the 1948 Currency Reform was paltry alongside the fantastic fortunes that were to be made on the basis of this measure shortly thereafter. Within a half year production had already doubled! The deflation policies were reflected in much lower wages and salaries for the working class. This meant not only two decades of uninterrupted exploitation but of super exploitation, with the employers getting an even greater share of the surplus product than previously. These were the factors that produced



German workers today, like auto worker above, are hampered by the decentralized bureaucratic union structure imposed by imperialist powers in the postwar period.

that German "economic miracle" so admired and envied by capitalists the world over.

BLOCKADE

When the western allies sought to introduce the new West-Mark into the "free" city of Berlin, situated in the very heart of the east zone, the Kremlin correctly saw it as an attempt by the imperialists to penetrate their satellite at a highly vulnerable point. Within their territory the Stalinists were directly responsible for harboring a fifth column friendly, certainly receptive, to the imperialists. Hundreds of thousands of capitalist elements, among them industrialists and wealthy peasants still exploiting labor, had been deliberately protected and nurtured by the Stalinists. It was in keeping with their counter-revolutionary effort to stifle the independent class action of the workers.

Enforcement of the capitalist status quo in the East zone had up to now served a double need for the Kremlin caste: 1) to maintain its own power and privileges. 2) to preserve the basis for continuous class collaboration with the West. However, the violent eruption of the class struggle in Berlin proved again, as so many times before and since, how illusory it was to try appeasing the imperialist beast with even the most far-reaching concessions.

A year's blockade by the Soviets failed to wrest the western half of the city from

the former allies. Ultimately, the Stalinists felt themselves compelled to wall off their part of Berlin—admitting the bankruptcy of their policy before the proletariat of the world—to stem the flow of refugees from their sector.

FOUNDING

In the midst of the year-long Berlin crises delegates from the Laender (states) in the three sectors of West Germany had met and proclaimed a Basic Law or constitution upon which the proposed new republic was to be founded. It went into effect in May, 1949. Three months later (August) elections for the first Bundestag (national legislature) were held. The two principal bourgeois parties, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Christian Social Union (CSU) (the CSU is but a Bavarian or Catholic variant of the CDU), won the election and formed a coalition to rule the first post-war government. Konrad Adenauer, founder and chairman of the CDU, was made chancellor of the German Federal Republic (BRD) in September, 1949.

The SPD, which went along with the bourgeois structure of the new state, was runner-up in the election. Thus the Social Democrats, with Kurt Schumacher as chairman of the party, took their seats as the loyal opposition in the Bundestag.

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CNL Members Elected To SSEU Negotiating Team

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Despite the desperate efforts of the union leadership and the City to check the militancy of the ranks in the Department of Social Services, the ranks are moving forward with a clearer understanding of the kind of fight necessary to beat back the City's attacks.

The workers' determination to throw the City's job-cutting reorganization scheme out of the next contract was demonstrated by the election of the two candidates of the Committee for a New Leadership who ran for positions on the negotiating team. One of the CNL's candidates got the second highest number of votes for the position.

This clearly shows that the ranks are beginning to understand that the reorganization scheme cannot be reformed to better suit the needs of the workers or the clients. The scheme was instituted for the purposes of cutting down higher paid staff to less than one third of those presently employed, and speeding up the lower paid workers. The votes for these

candidates meant a clear mandate from the membership to throw reorganization out of the 1971 contract completely.

CP

The CNL supported by the Workers League has been the only organized force in the union which has consistently fought reorganization. The Communist Party has been the chief spokesman for the union bureaucracy in the union trying to soft-sell the scheme for the City. In a recent issue of the union newspaper, members of the Unity Caucus, supported by the CP, explained in detail how, under reorganization, services such as over-the-counter rent strike organization could be organized for the clients. They stated that to oppose reorganization would be against the interests of the clients.

This is nothing but the crassest kind of liberal idealism. The City is instituting the scheme in order to save money on administrative costs. To imagine that the City will then agree to expanding ser-

vices under reorganization so as to nullify their ability to get rid of workers, and to have these workers organize rent strikes to boot, is painting a most dishonest and dangerous picture. This kind of nonsense serves only to disarm the workers in the face of an attack by the City. The reformism served up by the CP clearly does nothing but aid Lindsay in his efforts to smash civil service.

ACTIONS

This is something that the ranks in the department are beginning to realize. The work actions being carried out in the union demanding immediate massive re-hiring are important to press forward the workers' fight against speedup. However, the workers must be warned time and time again that the union leadership is seeking to make a deal with the City whereby the overwork situation will be alleviated by releasing more staff through the reorganization of several more cen-

ters.

This is the question the ranks will be faced with at the membership meeting on the 23rd. SSEU President Hill will ask the ranks to cancel their work action, and accept the reorganization of several more centers as a big victory. The CNL intends to fight Hill all the way down the line. If any more reorganization is accepted it will mean that they will go into contract negotiations with reorganization as a fait accompli.

If reorganization is rejected at this meeting, it will mean that the ranks have decided to go into negotiations on the offensive, and they will be in that much stronger a position to win the best contract ever. This is what the CNL is fighting for. It is asking every member of the union to be sure to attend this very critical meeting on the 23rd, and to vote to continue the work action on the basis of the demand for immediate re-hiring—no reorganization!

Chemical Workers Strike In Cincinnati

BY MICHAEL ROSS

CINCINNATI, September 7—Over two thousand members of the International Chemical Workers Union are continuing their strike against the Hilton Davis division of Sterling Drug, a strike which began on June 8.

Six hundred and seventy-six strikers, members of ICWU Local 342, are out at the Cincinnati plant while 1,350 members of Local 61 are on strike at the plant in Rensselaer, New York.

"We look for a long strike," said Henry Saylor, a bargaining committee-man for Local 342, who this reporter interviewed along with 342's President Bill Peyton.

They explained the nature of the outfit they were up against. So far, Hilton Davis has hired over 200 students as scabs for double pay, and has been aided by the Cincinnati police as well as security guards to harass pickets. Seven pickets have already been run down by scab trucks, with one man still in the hospital because of this. These trucks are often escorted by city police cars.

OBSTACLES

Other obstacles thrown in the ICWU's path by management and the city and county authorities include: a court injunction limiting the total number of pickets to 12; a 6 A.M. to 9 A.M. court ban on crossing from one side of the gates to the other—this is the time that most scabs come in; guns pointed at pickets by scab truck drivers and security guards. In addition eleven members of Operating Engineers Local 20 have been fired for honoring the picket lines.

There is continuous police harassment of pickets. Parking and traffic tickets are given out for the most minor infractions of city ordinances. On one day, a picket captain counted seventeen cars running the red light at the company's main gate on Langdon Farm Road. Police, sitting on a nearby side street did nothing but write more tickets for the strikers.

Key issues of the strike are wages, cost of living, seniority, sick pay and safety.

The union is demanding a 60 cent raise and a full cost-of-living clause over one year. The company's offer is 6%-5%-6% in raises over a three year contract.

WAGES

And it wasn't until six weeks after the strike began that the company made this offer! And as for their "final offer," Sterling Drug has served notice that they have one, but refuse to reveal it to the union.

At the rate the cost of living has risen since 1967, Peyton and Saylor noted that their wages had gone up about 10-1/2 cents while the cost of living had gone up some 50-1/2 cents—meaning a 40 cent an hour cut in real wages over three years.

"We're not fighting a company that can't pay wages or correct safety conditions—I'd say so if it were so," Peyton added.

And as for safety—Hilton Davis workers have to put up with cold in the winter, heat in the summer, wet floors,



This photo, given to us by a striker, shows police arresting a striker at Hilton Davis.

noise, dust and fumes. Not to mention the fact that an average of eight to ten barrels of chemicals explode every week due to overexposure to the sun.

SAFETY

The union has a safety committee, but under the old contract it had only the power to recommend. Peyton described conditions inside the plant as "worse than a mine and I've worked in a mine."

Sick leave pay is presently nonexistent, and to top it off, the foremen can write up a sick man for "absenteeism."

The Cincinnati plant has not had a strike in some twenty years. It took that long for many workers to understand that they did not have a real seniority system. In two previous layoffs and recalls, management adhered to a strict plantwide seniority basis—but this was never in writing. Going back to work without this would allow the company to lay off a man with thirty years service while keeping one with sixty-one days.

Despite this, Sterling Drug management publicly boasts of increasing their net income by \$9 million in the last three years.

To back up their picket lines, the ICWU strikers are seeking and receiving some aid. The International is paying \$25 a week to all active strikers, and is calling for a boycott of Sterling Drug products throughout the U.S. and Canada.

No other union is crossing the picket lines.

STUDENTS

A number of students have joined picket lines to protest the use of student scabs and the bad name this was giving their colleges among the labor movement. The strikers recognize that these scabs are the only thing keeping the plant going. Peyton noted that "The fight should be between me and the employer. If it was that way the strike would be over."

On September 4 some 150 students from colleges and universities all over southwestern Ohio joined the picket line. They distributed a leaflet denouncing the student scabs and calling for "power to the people."

This is not exactly what the strikers have in mind. A sign over the coffee table in strike headquarters calls for "All Power To The Working Class."

Far from caving in to company and city harassments, strikers' morale has gone up. A majority of the strikers at the August union meeting came out for upping the wage demands to \$1.50 an hour hike in one year, "and I can't disagree with them," said Peyton.

New Haven Teachers Determined To Fight As Leadership Retreats

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW HAVEN, Sept. 15—In an incredible action yesterday, the Board of Education rendered a slap in the face to New Haven teachers. At the same time on a local television station the union negotiators scored the NHFT leadership's inability to conduct the strike with a winning strategy.

In a morning march and rally of nearly 1,000 striking teachers—almost double the number of teachers present for the first strike vote—the union urged its members to attend an open Board meeting last evening.

The Board of Education, which found itself faced with an audience of 100 striking teachers, adjourned the meeting abruptly and rapidly exited. The departing teachers were furious and more firmly resolved than ever to win. The meeting showed that the Board has no intention of giving in to the demands of the teachers.

UNWILLINGNESS

While the Board held its mockery of

Ten Week Old Strike Is Hurting Northwest

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—St. Paul, Sept. 12—Northwest Orient Airlines' clerical strike now moves into its tenth week with strikers showing no willingness to compromise their demands for parity wage scales with other airlines.

Northwest is clearly hurting from this. So many planes have piled up at their main base at Twin Cities International Airport that they have had to place six of them outside of North Central's hangars several miles away. Some forty planes now stand idled in the Twin Cities alone.

Northwest has now dropped from the Twin Cities number one passenger carrier to the fourth as of August. Yet plantation boss Donald Nyrop and company consider their "final offer" to be "not bargainable."

Management has told so many lies about the union in the September issue of their house organ, Northwest Passages that the union leadership has opened a contest, with a \$25 reward for the striker who can find the greatest number of "misrepresentations, mistakes and outright lies."

Management's stubbornness on every outstanding issue has led to the breakup of negotiating meetings begun this last week, the first in almost a month. No further meetings are presently set.

Now State AFL-CIO President David Roe has called on the Metropolitan Airports Commission to try and bring Northwest and the clerks together—he wants representatives of both to attend the Commission's September 21 meeting. Both Roe and Martin Companion of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly sit on the Commission. Last winter, they meekly protested as Commission police hustled scabs through a machinists' picket line at Allied Fueling.

BRAC strikers must keep their eyes on Roe. A settlement on terms agreeable to him would mean a setback for the strikers, and the possible destruction of their union at Northwest.

a public meeting, a spokesman for the NHFT revealed on a call-in talk show the leadership's unwillingness to take up the fight. This was shown particularly by the lack of concrete demands on wages and job security.

What becomes clear is that the union leaders are willing to begin with the proposals put forward by the Board of Education rather than start from the necessary demands of the teachers.

It is becoming obvious that the NHFT leaders are using mass actions in order to divert the militancy of the rank and file from the truly rotten sellout these leaders are preparing at the negotiating table.

They are leading their members on block marches with only the vaguest of demands (higher wages, better working conditions) while in the same breath saying that "any counteroffer" by the Board "is subject to negotiation."

Now is the time for the ranks to confront their impotent leadership as well as the Board of Education with a program to win.

WL Holds Weekend School On Philosophy

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The Workers League held a weekend school in the Catskills on the weekend of September 12-13. The school was attended by almost 100 students and workers from the New York area and the eastern states from Connecticut to Maryland.

The school was centered on the subject of philosophy and the construction of the revolutionary party, with lectures on "The Social and Philosophic Roots of Pragmatism," "The Pragmatic versus Marxist Concept of Truth," and "Practice in Pragmatism and Dialectics."

The lectures were given by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League. He emphasized that the question of philosophy WAS the question of the party. Philosophy concerns itself with the relation of idea to the material world, he stated. "The party is essentially organized on the basis of an idea or program. This idea is a reflection of material reality and the interests of one section, the working class, of reality. The party is materially composed of human beings who aim to relate this idea to material reality through the practice of changing reality itself—through revolution."

He contrasted this position to that of George Novack, the leading writer of philosophy for the Socialist Workers Party. Novack's book, *Empiricism and its Evolution*, Comrade Wohlforth stated sees the philosophical struggle as outside the party—as the party fighting the empiricism external to it in the open opportunists rather than seeing this struggle, as Trotsky did in *In Defense of Marxism*, as internal to the party itself.

The lectures traced the history of

pragmatism both as rooted in the idealism of Hume and Kant, and the degeneration of empiricism; and as a social phenomenon, as the philosophy of the bourgeoisie. With the growth of the working class after the bourgeois revolution, the bourgeoisie more and more turned toward that aspect of empiricism which was idealist in order to justify the permanency of the capitalist system, as opposed to a materialist understanding of change.

The lectures were followed by lively discussion periods in which discussion took place on the relationship between formal logic and dialectics, the materialist conception of the abstract and concrete, the relative and absolute, the relationship between Hegelianism and dialectical materialism.

Several smaller discussion groups were formed after one of the lectures and within these groups the discussion of absolute and relative truth was taken further.

In the fight against metaphysical absolutes, pragmatism states that there are no absolutes, everything is relative. This along with the conception that appearance is real, the fact (the "imaginary concrete" as Marx called it) are real, rather than essence as real, provides the basis for justifying and accepting the world as it is.

The Marxist conception, starting with



There was plenty of time to relax and enjoy the Catskills' scenery and mountain air.

appearance, but penetrating to essence, is not that there are no absolutes but that the absolutes are themselves relative. The class struggle is an absolute within the relative of capitalism and class society—as a society which exist only for a limited period of time.

DISCUSSION

Within a discussion group of trade unionists primarily from the SSEU, there was a sharp expression of middle class radicalism and hostility to the working class by some who sought to deny this conception, and at the same time return to "concrete questions" of union work.

To deny that there are absolutes within the relative is to deny the absoluteness of the class struggle, to try to avoid taking a side in the absolute conflict between the working class and the capitalist class. A section of this group

sought to find some "radical" middle road between the construction of a revolutionary party to lead the working class to victory, and support to the bourgeoisie.

This was combined with an attempt to return to "concrete trade union questions" to avoid the question of philosophy and the party, which is essential if the working class is to meet the tasks that face it.

SHARPNESS

It was significant that this same group which resisted Marxism in favor of pragmatism and which kept attacking the Workers League as "elitist," at the same time defended their recent action in the union of sabotaging the union's case dumping work action. Seeing this as an action against clients, they weakened the union and thus the working class in relation to the capitalist class and its agent Lindsay, blaming the workers for a situation created by the capitalists themselves. Thus the limits of their trade union consciousness led them to betray the class interests of their fellow workers pointing up the sharpness of this question of philosophy to all who attended the camp.

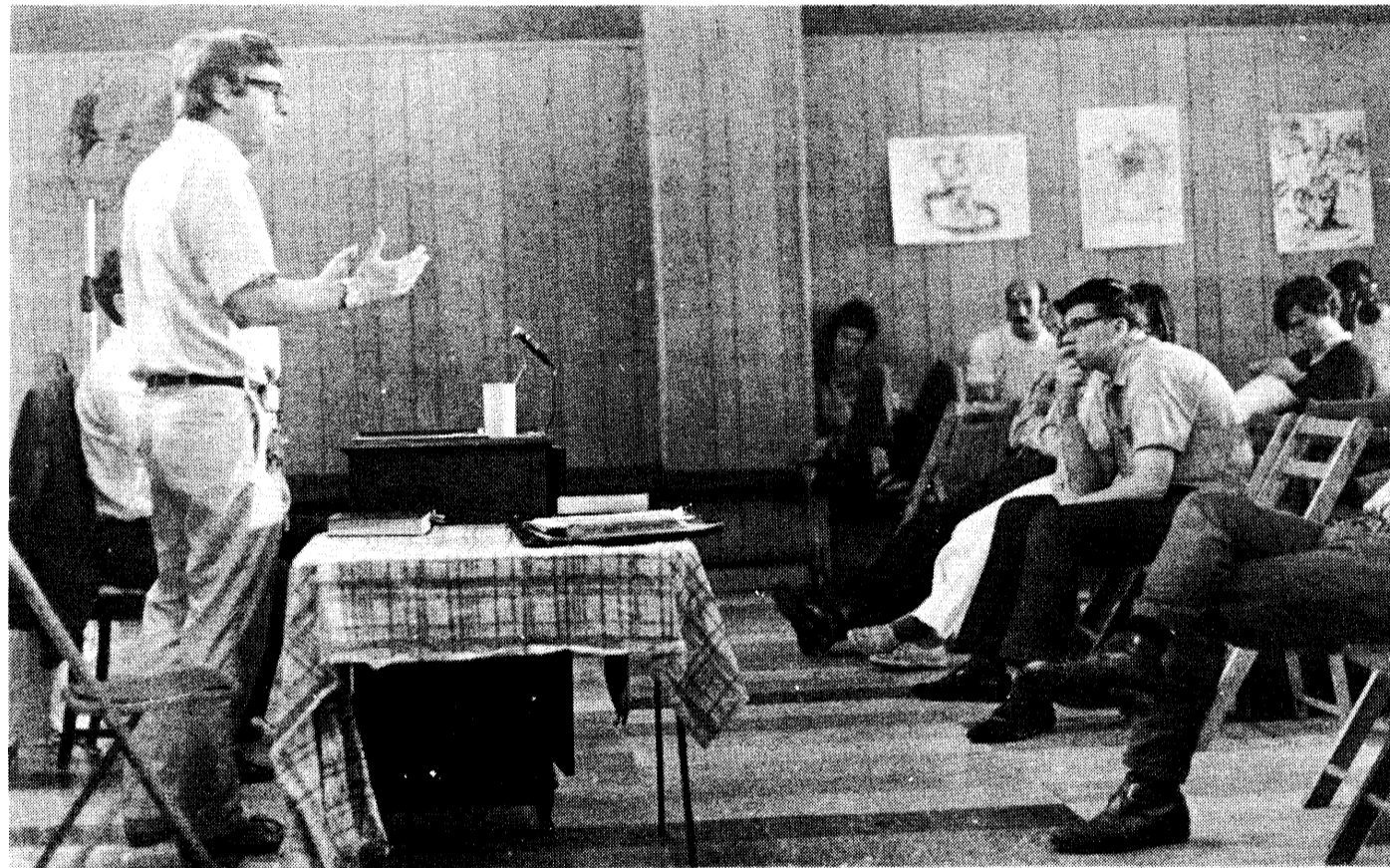
The dominant theme of the conference was that philosophy is not something separate and apart from the construction of the party, but rather is the heart of the party. Dialectical materialism is the unity of theory and practice. The struggle to build a party capable of leading the working class to power must center on the fight against pragmatism, the philosophy of the ruling class, within the working class and its party.

This school was a tremendous step forward in the conscious fight for theory and dialectics in the building of the party which Trotsky fought for in *In Defense of Marxism*. In relation to both trade unionists and students, the school marked a new level in the fight for Marxism.

In addition to the lectures and discussion, over \$580 in cash and new pledges was raised toward the Trotsky Memorial Fund Drive

Over \$100 worth of literature was sold on the weekend, reflecting the tremendous interest in Marxism and dialectical materialism.

Sports, including swimming and softball, and a dance on Saturday night, were organized for entertainment over the weekend.



Tim Wohlforth gives presentation on pragmatism and dialectical materialism at Workers League Weekend School.

Chilean Rightists Face Threat Of Factory Occupations

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

"The country will stop as a first step. Workers will occupy factories, peasants will occupy the land and civil servants will occupy their offices." So warned President-elect Allende of Chile to the rightists who are maneuvering to rob him in Congress of the election he just won at the ballot box.

What Allende was doing was no more than predicting what would inevitably follow no matter what he did or called for. The working class of Chile are on the upsurge and to them the Allende election means the end of imperialism and capitalism and the beginning of a socialist era in which they will be the masters of society.

Allende's position is a bit more ambiguous. While he campaigned on a program of nationalization of all foreign enterprises and even the banks, he has after his election reassured the head of the Chilean stock exchange that he will "respect private enterprise."

This in turn finds reflection within the bourgeoisie a section of whom are

either fleeing the country or openly conspiring to undo the democratic decision of the people while another section is planning to live with Allende and compromise with him until he is compromised before the masses and then move against him.

REACTION

In the *New York Times* business section the reaction of foreign interests was described:

"There were no audible reactions of outrage, although American investment alone is sizable. . . There was no foreign rush to abandon this temperate South American country, known for its excellent wines, skiing, fishing and scenery. . ."

What the foreign imperialists hope and consciously work for is that either Allende can be dumped or they can ride out the storm for the present and save themselves through getting compensation for properties seized and in this way tying the Chilean economy to world imperialism.

"PEACEFUL"

One young worker attending the rally at which Allende predicted a general strike stated: "If they try to take his triumph away from him, blood will run." So much for the "peaceful" road to socialism in which spirit Allende's election has been greeted by the capitalist press and the *Daily World* alike. The situation is now sharply posed: either Allende "respects" private property and betrays the masses who have rallied to him or blood will run.

The lesson of Chile for workers throughout the colonial countries is that now we have entered the period of open

struggle for socialism in colonial as well as advanced countries and only through socialism can national liberation be achieved. This can no more be a guerrilla operation as it can be a parliamentary one. Castro, who has empirically dropped guerrillaism for the time being after being burnt in Bolivia, has endorsed the military junta road to "socialism" in Peru, and now the parliamentary road in Chile. .

REVOLUTIONARY

There is only one road and that is the revolutionary road of the October Revolution and there is only one party capable of taking that road and that is the Fourth International. This will once again be confirmed in Chile but under very favorable conditions for the working class. As a step to this understanding the workers must hold Allende to his promises and prepare a general strike to back up these promises and to answer the right wing conspirators and their American advisors.

Behind W. German-USSR Trade Deal

BY TOM KEMP

The possibilities opening before German industry as a result of the Bonn-Moscow deal are widely described in West Germany as "fabulous."

Banks and business firms are already hastening to cash in. German capitalists hope to extend the leading position which West Germany already holds as a trading partner of the Soviet Union.

The opening up of a larger USSR and East European market will not only re-establish traditional German trade links, it is also hoped that it will ward off the incipient economic crisis.

West German prosperity has been based on enormous investments in fixed plant and the building up of the biggest industrial complex in Europe.

Maintaining profitability on this investment has become a nightmare for German businessmen. Sales must be constantly increased in the face of high interest rates and the growing pressure of the working class for higher wages.

Like the rest of the capitalist world Germany is in the grip of inflationary pressure. The revaluation of the mark has had its effect in making industry increasingly cost conscious.

Exporters are already finding the going tougher against Japanese and West European competition.

The United States market, which plays a key role in the prosperity of some big firms, is subject to contraction or limitation through protection.

The threatening recession and slowdown in world trade means intensified

competition on the world market. In this situation German businessmen know that they must export or die. Otherwise they face a slump as severe as that of the 1930s.

Some regions are already beginning to feel the pinch or have fallen behind the more prosperous areas. What is needed are solid long-term contracts such as the Soviet Union is willing to make.

German capitalism putting aside political objections and braving the criticism of Washington, is hoping to ward off recession by opening a big new market for its products in the Soviet Union.

While the banks open credits for Russian purchasing agencies in Germany, Mercedes and other big firms are invited to participate in the setting up of new factories in the Soviet Union.

The government is expected to grant a big credit guarantee to ensure that German firms build the giant truck plant at Naberezhnyy Tselny.

With the German firm taking the leading part in this enterprise, French and British companies are likely to be invited into the deal as sub-contractors. But this is only the beginning of German-Soviet economic co-operation.

Plans are now going forward for a whole range of modern technologically advanced plants to be built in the Soviet Union with Soviet assistance.

Meanwhile Soviet publicists, like Yory Zhukov of Pravda, paints a brilliant picture of the possibilities of co-operation between the Common Market countries and the Soviet Union.

"The experience of the past few years," he writes, addressing himself to European businessmen, "has proved that the capitalist and socialist countries of Europe are in a position to carry out mutually-advantageous bilateral and multilateral business transactions."

"Such deals," he goes on, "arouse a great deal of interest among big West European firms and national associations of employers, and the Conseil National du Patronat Francais in particular."

So the worst enemies of the working class, the big employers' organizations, are singled out by the bureaucracy as its economic partners.

The bureaucracy does not intend to do business exclusively with West Germany, but at present it finds in Bonn a particularly receptive response because of German business fears of a trade recession and fears that the mighty German working class will once again move into the line of battle under the banner of Marxism.

INITIATIVE

If the German capitalists are ready and anxious to do business with the Soviet Union on a vast scale, there is no doubt that the main initiative has come from the bureaucracy itself.

The disappointing figures of Soviet industrial growth revealed at the end of last year and the growing resistance of the working class and the peasantry to its policies makes it imperative for the bureaucracy to turn to co-operation with the capitalists.

The Soviet economy has failed to catch up technically with the advanced capitalist countries; indeed, it has fallen further behind.

Many machine tools in current use would be considered museum pieces in West Europe or Japan. Whole factories and industries, especially in consumer goods, such as textiles, need to be thoroughly modernized.

Chronic shortages of consumer goods aggravate tensions.

Many factories continue to meet production quotas only by producing goods which cannot be sold because they do not meet consumers' requirements. In some factories workers are obliged to work for longer hours than the legal maximum as plant managers seek to meet their quotas.

"BENEFICIAL"

The shortcomings of the Soviet economy, its distortions and unbalance, are a result of "socialism in one country"—the policy of the bureaucracy.

It now tries to overcome the resulting crisis by turning to the capitalists, not simply for business deals, but for what has been called "far-reaching economic projects equally beneficial to both sides"—i.e. to the bureaucracy and the capitalists.

The turn to the one-time "revenge-seekers" of Bonn results from the needs of the German capitalists and from German industry's reputation for scientific and technological achievement.

West Germany is now setting out to build, economically speaking, that "Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals" of which de Gaulle once spoke.

French capitalism was too weak to realize such a design; the West Ger-



German capitalists like Alfred Krupp (top) and Heinz Nordhoff move on in.



mans hope to be able to carry it through. The turn to co-operation with capitalist West Germany is not calculated to please the Stalinist bureaucracy of the so-called German Democratic Republic.

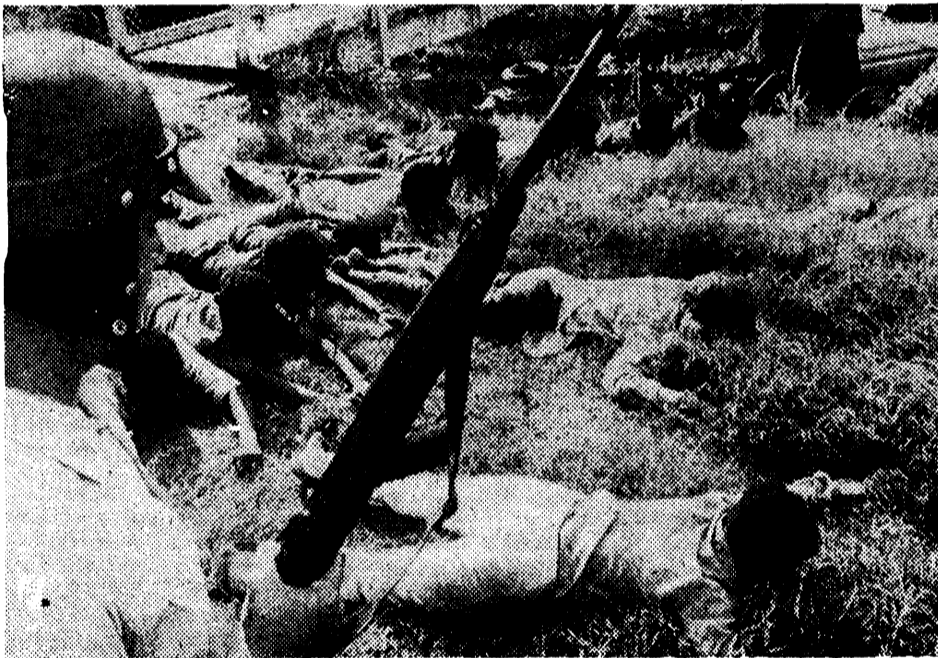
The recent announcement of a big new trade agreement between East Germany and the Soviet Union, while it continues the close economic ties which have always existed, is no doubt timed to allay the doubts which GDR president Walter Ulbricht's government feels.

Although the new deal is claimed to be "the biggest agreement of its kind ever to be concluded between two states," the GDR is not industrially powerful enough to solve the current problems of the bureaucracy.

In any case, the agreement with Bonn shows clearly that the bureaucracy accepts the present division of Germany and is prepared to make concessions to the German capitalists in a desperate effort to safeguard its own existence.

Once more, therefore, it exposes its counterrevolutionary character and gives notice that it lines up with the enemies of the working class, such as the Conseil National du Patronat Francais and its equivalents in other countries.

Police Conduct Brutal Attack On Panthers In New Orleans



New Orleans policeman holds rifle over arrested militants forced to lie in vacant lot.

BY THE EDITORS

September 16—As we go to press the police have conducted a new act of aggression in their war against black workers. In a raid conducted by several hundred New Orleans police and 20 to 30 state troopers some 14 members of the Black Panther affiliate, National Committee to Combat Fascism were taken into custody and charged with attempted murder.

The action followed a gun battle. The gun battle itself was the result of the attack of this virtual army of police on the black group's headquarters. In the battle and in the sporadic reports of violence in the black ghetto which preceded it not a single policeman was shot though 17 citizens received injuries, 13 of them gunshot wounds, and some of those injured were clearly just bystanders.

CAUSE

The immediate cause of the incident seems to be the beating of two police agents discovered within the Panther group. Black residents in the area reported that the beatings actually were committed by non-members of the group. During the raid a voice on the police radio stated "one of them is shot." "That's good information," another officer replied.

This is clearly another step in the brutal police campaign to wipe out the Panthers. This campaign is receiving national sanction from the Justice Department which is supplementing it with its legal lynch trials of Panther leaders.

At the same time Agnew is openly whipping up racism and anti-communism against black militants, students, and radicals while pushing his war against Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian workers and peasants.

DEFENSE

This takes place at a time when America's largest corporation, General Motors, has declared war on the auto workers and is determined to force the one million workers in this industry to pay for GM's profits with a lowering of their real wages. Clearly the Panther attacks are linked with GM's fight against the auto workers and are part of the preparation for an all out war on the working class as intense here as it is in Vietnam.

This is why militants must step up their efforts for class action in defense of the Panthers. The SSEU in New York and Local 400 in San Francisco have shown the way. Now all of the American labor movement must speak out in defense of the Panthers while labor as a whole along with minority peoples and students rally to the auto workers as they take on the auto barons.

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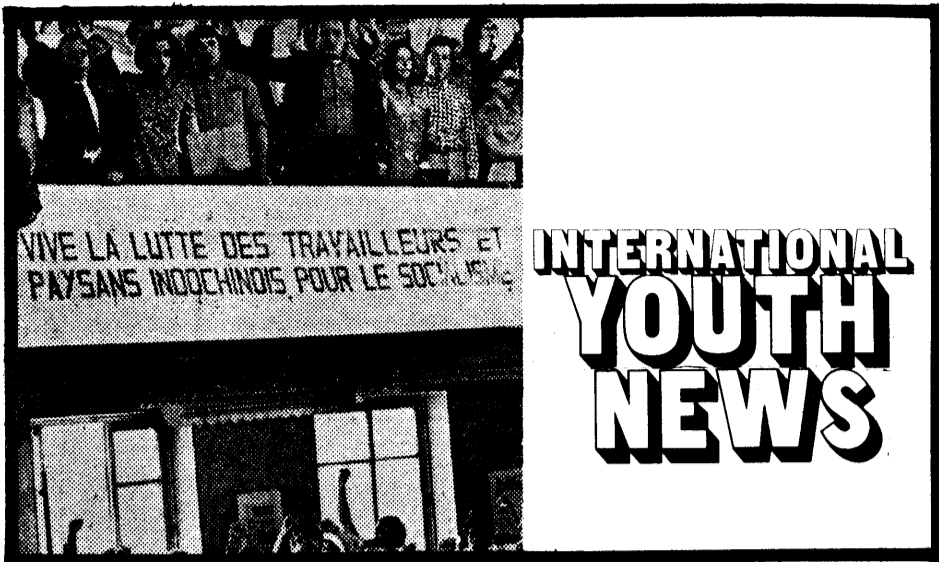
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British Young Socialists Launch Anti-Tory Drive

BY MELODY FARROW

The Young Socialists, the Trotskyist youth movement in Britain, is organizing a big campaign this fall and winter against the Tory government and its attacks on the working class and the youth.

The Tories represent a tremendous threat to the very future of working class youth in England. It is the Tory government which openly represents the big millionaires who really run Britain and who are determined to stabilize their economic crisis by crushing the resistance of the workers and youth. They are moving quickly to implement their program of more unemployment, wage cuts, anti-union laws and speed-up in the factories.

The Tory government was only able to come to power because of six years of betrayal by the Labour Party, which in fact carried out the wishes of the capitalist class. It was the Young Socialists who have consistently warned the working class of these betrayals and have fought for a socialist government based on socialist policies as the only answer to the crisis. They campaigned for a Labour vote in the June elections only on this basis.

Now that the Tories are back in, the Young Socialists are preparing to meet this challenge by expanding all areas of their work to recruit youth and prepare the fight to force the Tories to resign.

FOREFRONT

It is the youth who will bear the brunt of the Tory attacks and must be in the forefront of the fight against them. Not only will the youth be hard hit by unemployment but the employers will attempt to intensify their exploitation through productivity deals, time studies, and increased mobility and "flexibility"

of their labor power, combined with anti-union laws. This means that the youth will no longer have a right to a secure job or a decent wage. They will be robbed of any training so that they can form a pool of unskilled labor to be used at will by the employers.

The youth can expect nothing but continued retreats and betrayals from the right as well as the "left" trade union leaders. The trade union bureaucracy, with the full support of the Stalinists have sought to defeat every major union struggle which posed a threat to the government. In recent strikes on the docks and in auto where there were major confrontations between the workers and the government the trade union bureaucracy spent their efforts trimming the demands and undermining the confidence and strength of the rank and file.

POWER

The Young Socialists has been the only organization to connect these struggles with the struggle for power, to link the questions of unemployment, wages and anti-union laws with the fight to force the Tories to resign. Through their refusal to raise the political fight, the trade union leaders and the Communist Party are in fact aiding the Tories in their attacks.

But the working class in Britain and particularly young workers are fighting back against the Tories' offensive. In wage battle after wage battle, strike after strike, the rank and file trade unionists are showing their determina-



YS National Secretary out recruiting young workers to the Trotskyist movement.

tion to fight.

This determination and militancy is nowhere more evident than in Ireland where the youth occupy the front ranks in the struggle against British troops.

RALLY

It is now the task of the Young Socialists to break the influence of the Stalinist and reformist leaders and win these youth to the Trotskyist movement. Toward this end the National Committee of the Young Socialists is planning a tremendous expansion of the work in all areas. Between now and February 14, the YS will campaign for a mass anti-Tory rally to be held in London. A national recruitment team will travel throughout the whole country, selling their paper, *Keep Left*, talking to youth and setting up new branches.

This campaign will build for a series of regional conferences which will be geared to the further expansion of all the political and social activities of the YS. In addition to the fight with the paper to organize youth to fight for the right to a job, an education and training, the YS has a very successful program of sports, films, contests and dances. The National Committee has also proposed special educational programs in every region and weekend schools to start in October.

WEEKLY

Keep Left, the monthly paper of the Young Socialists, which plays the

key role in this recruitment drive, will be expanded from a monthly paper to a weekly by 1971. To meet this goal the YS will campaign to build up the circulation and to train journalists in every area to send in reports on the activities in every branch. Recently the *Workers Press*, organ of the Socialist Labour League, acquired new equipment enabling a six day week production schedule and the use of four colors which will aid in the expansion of *Keep Left*.

The Young Socialists base their work on the program of Lenin and Trotsky which means the international solidarity of the working class to overthrow imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy. Their goal is not just the construction of a revolutionary youth movement in Britain but an international one.

INTERNATIONAL

They are playing an active role in organizing the International Conference of Revolutionary Youth to be held in December 1970, which will bring youth from all over the world to discuss their experiences, and elaborate a strategy and tactics in the struggle of youth for socialism.

The conference will be an important step forward in the creation of a mass international revolutionary youth movement which will be a powerful force in the fight for socialism. The National Committee of the YS is resolved to make this conference the greatest triumph for revolutionary youth and Trotskyism.

Revolutionaries Organize Against Brutal Greek Dictatorship

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

After more than three years of repressive measures aimed at beheading the working class, Greece's ruling clique of colonels still faces opposition at home and abroad—now replenished by young and undefeated militants.

The Workers' International League is building inside and outside Greece to provide the revolutionary leadership so urgently needed to combat the reformists and Stalinists: the main stumbling-blocks to a defeat of the right-wing junta.

As one WIL member told us in a recent interview: "We are trying to unite the working class on an all-Greece scale, our task being to overthrow the junta and establish a workers' and peasants' government."

An integral role in this fight is played by production of "Oratis Allagis" ("Time of Change"), a monthly newspaper; soon to be printed fortnightly.

In Greece itself, many older militants have been jailed or are hamstrung by the repressive laws and the well-staffed special police who carry them out.

The majority are also still under the politically pernicious influence of the Stalinists—though the Stalinist-controlled EDA movement is now banned.

These same Stalinists were saying, until the day of dictatorship—April 21, 1967—that a coup was impossible. And

it was the EDA's misleadership of the huge struggles for reform after the liberal Georges Papandreou was made Prime Minister in 1963 that paved the way for the colonels.

Yet even on the eve of the coup, the Stalinist youth leaders were telling their branches—claiming 65,000 members—that dictatorship could not come.

The result was that the most militant members were caught by the police and asked to sign a declaration refuting communist ideology. The leadership held a neutral position on signing the declaration while secretly giving the word that youth sign.

Vanguard elements of the youth movement agreed to betray each other so that the police would not arrest lesser-known members.

There are still between 1,500 and 1,700 militants—young and old, arrested on the night of the coup—who are held without trial. Another 1,500 are under sentence.

Because of a lack of revolutionary leadership, fighting against the dictatorship has been spasmodic.

ARRESTS

Plain-clothes special branch men and women mix with people at dances and football matches—especially where the youth congregate. Many arrests take place on the basis of secret information gained through police infiltration of groups.

In every locality the police now have two headquarters—their own and the

special branch office.

In industry too, the special branch work as informers on the factory floor.

The dictatorship had dissolved all trade unions, expropriated union funds and jailed many leaders. It became illegal to be a member of any organization.

Now there are police-controlled unions, used to further suppress the working class. In many cases elected trade unionists were dismissed.

The junta has organized the youth into a 20,000-strong military-style prototype of the wartime Hitler youth and Greek fascist youth.

School pupils are forced to join this organization (the Alkimos) and dress up in uniforms for parades and manoeuvres. Before the coup, the Alkimos had only 1,600 members.

The other side to this is the hatred of the oppressed youth for the junta.

They played a big part in the nationwide reaction to the regime when 500,000 people held a spontaneous demonstration at the funeral of Papandreou on November 3, 1968.

Unemployment is extremely explosive. The National Bank of Greece held a competition for 200 posts, and 2,000 took part.

UNIVERSITY

To apply for a university place a prospective student has to sign a certificate of social beliefs. Even if an applicant's parents participated in anti-government action as far back as 1946,

he is banned from a college education.

Once in the college or university, the student comes under the ever-watchful eyes of the special-branch officers who operate there.

Many sections of the youth have illusions that "parliamentary democracy" is a solution to ending the repression that leads many of their friends and parents to the police and military torture chambers.

The majority of the younger people have not experienced the Papandreou of this world, and the Stalinists and revisionists exploit these illusions.

Young people write slogans on walls and make Molotov cocktails, facing the danger of being shot by state forces.

There is a difference, though, between what the youth and the liberals mean by "democracy."

Papandreou was elected on the promise of new liberties. But these never came and the gigantic struggles of 1956 and 1966 took on a revolutionary form. They were misled and betrayed by the "peaceful road to socialism" policies of the EDA.

It is the lessons of these struggles and the defeat of April 1967 which must be taught and learned in order to direct the revolutionary spirit and ingenuity of the Greek working class, and particularly the youth, behind the political leadership of the Workers' International League: to completely unmask the Stalinists and reformists and to organize for the overthrow of the Greek torturers.