

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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LETTERS

Nasser, Arafat And  
The Arab Revolution

PL And Stalinism

*As U.S. Troops Stand Poised*

HOCVER

JUL 29 1976

INSTITUTION

# HANDS OFF ARAB REVOLUTION! FIGHT FOR \$1.25/HOUR AUTO RAISE FIRST YEAR

SUBSTANTIAL  
\$1.25 Per Hr  
WAGE  
INCREASE  
\$1.25 Per Hr  
FOR  
ALL  
WORKERS

\$1.25 Per Hour the  
First Year For All  
U.A.W. Members  
Full Cost of Living  
Protection  
Wage Reopener for  
the Second & Third  
Year of the Agreement.  
U.A.W. LOCAL 1400



More than any industrial struggle since the post-war labor upsurge, the GM strike is of decisive importance not only for the auto worker, but for the entire labor movement. Wages—the money package—is the key, the central and paramount issue.

Behind GM's arrogant offer of an estimate three to seven cents an hour in "new money" the first year of the contract, is Richard Nixon who knows that the auto worker's wage package will set the "pattern" throughout U.S. industry.

The question facing the auto workers—and all working people—is whether Nixon, through General Motors, will be able to break the back of the wage offensive of the working class or whether the auto workers will carry forward and even extend the gains of the Teamsters. It must also be remembered that the Teamsters only won their increase of \$1.65 an hour after a protracted struggle against the original wage offer that their national leadership tried to "sell" them.

One thing is absolutely clear. There is no point for the auto workers staying out for what promises to be a very long strike and then settling for less than the Teamsters' package of \$1.65 over three years.

The demand raised by the \$1.25 an Hour Now Committee, a group of Detroit militants for an immediate \$1.25 increase in the first year of the contract should be taken up by the UAW ranks as the central demand of the strike.

Woodcock's proposal of 61-1/2 cents the first year (which includes only 29-1/2 cents in "new money") and a reported additional 30 cents each over the next two years, does not begin to meet the needs of the auto workers. It would be wrong for the ranks to accept the Woodcock pattern as final. A critical situation faces the UAW which requires the immediate calling

(Continued on page 2)

## Why Nixon Attacks Students

## WL Proposes Joint Meeting With SWP On Trotsky Memorial

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

National Secretary, Workers League

On August 18 we wrote to the Socialist Workers Party and to the Young Socialist Alliance proposing that a joint meeting be held commemorating the 30th year since the death of Leon Trotsky as a common effort against the Stalinists.

We noted that the United Secretariat itself had proposed "common actions on such elementary questions as the defense of victims of the class struggle." "Recent information," we wrote, "verifies that the American Stalinists were deeply implicated in this crime" (the assassination of Trotsky). They have never repudiated this attack, the Moscow Trials, or any fundamental policy of Stalinism. It is our opinion that the commemoration of the death of Trotsky can be a major blow against the Stalinists and serve as a valuable education to the new generation of revolutionaries who might otherwise be misguided by the Stalinists."

We received no answer to our letter or even formal acknowledgement of its receipt. On September 8 we wrote again as perhaps vacation schedules had interfered with consideration of the matter. We noted we needed to hear by September 14 as we had in any event to go ahead with our own meetings commemorating Trotsky's death. We did not hear by that date and have waited an additional week in case some delay prevented action. Now it is necessary for us to proceed with our own commemoration meetings.



CP never repudiated murder of Trotsky.

We will be holding two lectures in New York City commemorating the death of Trotsky. The first, *Trotsky's Struggle Against Stalinism*, will be given by Fred Mueller and will be held on October 16. The second, *Trotsky's Fight Against Revisionism*, will be given by Tim Wohlforth and will be held October 30.

We continue to believe that at this juncture a joint meeting would be the most effective answer to the growth of Stalinism, the attacks both verbal and physical of Stalinism on Trotskyism, and Stalinism's attempt to answer the movement of the working class with a popular front. We invite the SWP and YSA to participate in either or both of these meetings. In addition we are willing to defer these meetings in favor of a joint commemorative meeting. If the SWP plans to hold such a meeting on its own and will permit us to participate with them in their meeting we also announce our willingness to defer our own meetings and endorse and build theirs.

However the struggle against Stalinism and the commemoration of Trotsky's death must go on. It is in that light that we must now proceed with the organization of our own meeting in New York and elsewhere.

## What The Editors Think...

President Nixon, as part of his current witchhunt against students, is presently distributing to university administrators an article by Professor Sidney Hook. Nixon states of Hook's article that it was "among the most cogent and compelling documents I have read on the question of campus violence."

What Nixon found particularly cogent and compelling was Hook's statement that university administrators were too soft and yielded too easily to the students. Also cogent and compelling to the President was Hook's position that administrators should not blame campus unrest on the Federal government's foreign and domestic policies.

Views like Hook's are not startling from the mouths of spokesmen of the Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell Administration. But what makes them particularly useful to Nixon is that they come from a philosophy professor who the New York Times lists as an "ardent defender of academic freedom." Not only that, Hook is a liberal and considers himself some sort of socialist to boot. For a brief time in the 1930s he was close to the Trotskyist movement and wrote on questions of Marxist philosophy.

### PRAGMATIC

For Hook, who today views himself as a foremost pragmatic philosopher and defender of democracy, this is not the first time he has found himself in the service of his government and particularly those in government seeking to suppress any opposition. In the middle of the McCarthyite witchhunt of the 1950s the Professor chose to write a book "Conspiracy No! Heresy Yes! The main point of the book was that civil liberties must be preserved for the "heretic" but the Communist Party was a "conspiracy" and as such needed to be persecuted and witch-hunted.

In the 1950s Hook was saying it is permissible to disagree as long as the disagreement does not put you squarely in opposition to the interests of the capitalists who rule America. Today he says it is permissible to dissent on the campus but if this dissent takes the form of serious struggle then you must be forcefully suppressed. In both cases the threat to "democracy" comes precisely from those who oppose suppression, murder, racism and imperialism.

It is important to relate Hook's present position of professorial whore for the

Nixon Administration and its police to his origins in the 1930s. While Hook came close to Marxism in that period he held back in one critical respect. In his book *From Hegel to Marx* he recognized the dialectic as the "Algebra of Revolution" but denied that dialectics was a reflection of the actual movement of the natural world. Thus he stood with the idealism of pragmatism seeing logic as an artificial creation of the human mind rather than as the reflection in the human mind of the basic movement of matter and society.

Seeing Marxism as something which could be pragmatically adapted in bits and pieces to his needs in America, rather than as the fundamental science of the world working class, Hook soon moved further and further away from even flirtation with the Marxist movement rejecting Marxism as a whole and becoming an open exponent of the pragmatic philosophical method.

Nixon has been quick to seize upon the usefulness of this man just as capitalists have always used the social democrats, the Stalinists and the labor bureaucrats. As the lessons of the 1930s bear out, Nixon will be just as quick to discard even a Sidney Hook when the needs of capitalism no longer require a liberal cover.

After all Attorney General Mitchell has called ALL educators "stupid bastards" and Mrs. Mitchell claims that ALL of them "are totally responsible for the sins of our children." No doubt in the minds of the Administration Professor Hook is not only the most useful but the most stupid of the lot.

### PHILOSOPHY

Hook's role must serve as a sharp warning to revolutionaries that questions of philosophy are of the most urgent concern to the construction of the revolutionary party and therefore to the future of the working class and mankind. Pragmatism is everywhere the method of capitalist rule and the struggle against pragmatism must be conducted not only against the Hooks on the periphery of the workers' movement but the pragmatism within our midst. After all first Hook took on the dialectic on the periphery of the SWP and then Burnham organized a faction on a pragmatic basis right within the SWP and took almost half the party with him.

## EDITORIAL

# All Out For \$ 1.25 An Hour First Year For Auto Workers

(Continued from page 1)

of an emergency special convention of all Big Three workers at which rank and file delegates can raise the demand for \$1.25 an hour now and bring it into the struggle against GM.

As the entire history of the American working class has shown, the rank and file will fight tooth and nail for their rights. Above all this means the right to a decent life and standard of living which is now being challenged by Nixon and GM. The recent Teamsters strike showed that the workers have the will and the power for this kind of fight. Now the auto workers can take forward this fight where the Teamsters' left off.

## political

But it is this very fight for a decent standard of living, the fight over the question of wages that makes this struggle far more than a dispute with General Motors over economic issues. The wage struggle of the auto workers is a political struggle which threatens the existence of the capitalist system itself. That is why Nixon as the man entrusted to save capitalism by every means possible has no intention of conceding to the wage demands of the auto workers.

Nixon's program to meet the crisis is to use every political weapon possible against the auto workers.

One prong of Nixon's strategy to force down real wages is to use the labor bureaucracy to hold back the rank and file of the labor movement. This is behind the White House dinner for labor leaders and the recent Nixon letter to labor leaders urging "moderation" on wage increases.

The government will put every possible pressure on the Woodcock bureaucracy of the UAW in order to "sell" what the Wall Street Journal calls a "reasonable" settlement to the auto workers. At the same time, Nixon and Wall Street are well aware that the Teamster rank and file overthrew their leader's initial wage offer and fear that the UAW ranks will not be easily sold down the river.

While Nixon attempts to hold the UAW rank and file back through Woodcock and the UAW bureaucracy, he prepares more direct governmental intervention against the auto workers ranging from arbitration panels, court injunctions, and emergency legislation to the use of Federal troops. This is an essential side of Nixon's strategy which the UAW must be prepared to meet.

## witchhunt

The Nixon Administration in order to drive back the living standards of the workers has launched a political offensive. It is no accident that at the very beginning of the auto strike which is already attracting the sympathy and support of thousands of students, Nixon, Agnew and the Mitchells open up with vicious attacks on the students in an attempt to drive a wedge between students and the auto workers.

At a time when the Administration is out to do a job on the auto workers, the chief frontman for all the most vicious right wing labor haters, Spiro Agnew, with an ill concealed knife behind his back, tries to butter up the auto workers with his statement: "We remember who pays the taxes. We remember who had to fight the wars. We remember who makes the automobiles, builds the plants and makes the country run."

What all this adds up to is that the UAW ranks have to fight for a decent contract against every attempt at government intervention or arbitration, against any sell-out deal by the Woodcock leadership, against any attempt to stifle the militancy of the ranks through racism, attacks on students or appeals to patriotism.

The fight of the auto workers is a political fight which poses the formation of an independent labor party in opposition to both the Democratic and Republican Parties. There can be no fight at all against the attacks by Nixon through the Democratic Party which is the program of the Communist Party and other revisionist groups. There can be no fight for the needs of the auto workers through support to Woodcock which is the position of the Communist Party.

This is the program that must be raised for victory in the auto struggle:

- Fight for \$1.25 an hour wage increase now in the first year of the contract.
- No concessions on full catch-up pay, full cost of living escalator and \$500 pension after 30 years.
- Answer any government intervention with a call for a general strike of labor.
- Unity of black and white workers—stop the attacks on the Panthers and black militants.
- End repression on campus and attacks on students.
- Build a labor party based on the unions.

# Masses Defy Arab Regimes, Stalinists, And Arafat

BY THE EDITORS

September 23—As we go to press American troops stand poised ready for use in an invasion while the American State Department is hard at work using Nasser and the Soviet bureaucracy in an attempt to break the Arab Revolution by diplomatic means.

The Arab Revolution has advanced to a whole new stage. Civil war is what is taking place in Jordan and the civil war was provoked by the Jordanian army, itself a product of American supplies and no doubt under the direction of the CIA. The army has been conducting a bloody massacre of the Palestinians. Arafat reports 20,000 lay dead in Jordan and reporters have seen rotting bodies strewn everywhere on the streets of Amman.

Arafat reports: "Amman is burning for the sixth day. Thousands of people are under the debris. Bodies have rotted. Thousands of houses have been destroyed. Hundreds of thousands of people are homeless. Our dead are scattered in the streets. Hunger and thirst are killing our remaining children, women and old men."

Despite the bloody offensive of Hussein's well-trained and equipped army the whole of the North of Jordan is in guerrilla hands. Only Amman of major cities is secure and parts of Amman are still in guerrilla hands.

## DEAL

The United States sees hope of the situation today because so far the Palestinian army of the North, while wiping out Hussein's army holds back from a march on Amman. Not only do American troops stand poised to defend the murderous Amman government but Israeli jets have been mobilized for possible action also in defense of Hussein. In the meanwhile the Soviet Union exerts its considerable influence along with Nasser to hold back the hand of the Arab masses and their workers and peasants armies. In that lies the whole story of the Middle East today and the new tasks of the working class.

The present bloody civil war has its immediate origins in the cease fire

arranged between Egypt and Israel and the proposed peace talks. The cease fire is an open sellout of Palestinian claims to their land in Israel. It also marks a new stage in the open collaboration of the national bourgeois regimes in the Middle East with imperialism to crush the revolutionary movement of the Arab masses which each day goes more and more in the direction of socialist revolution.

The main architect of the cease fire along with the United States was the Soviet Union. There is no question but that this sellout could only have been carried through as far as it has with the aid of the Stalinists. The American Communist Party stands firmly committed to this cease fire sellout and thus reveals its real position on the national aspirations of the colonial peoples everywhere.

As a desperate move against this sell out the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine conducted its spectacular hijackings. This time not only did the PFLP get attacked by the Soviet Union and Nasser but Arafat, the most prominent guerrilla leader, joined the bourgeois governments, Stalinists and imperialists by acting within the Palestinian Liberation Organization to expell the PFLP.

## STALINISTS

Needless to say the American Stalinists lined up with bourgeois public opinion against the hijackings which they saw as upsetting the cease fire deal. According to the Sept. 19 Peoples World "...the Palestine resistance movement itself has suffered a blow in world opinion." It then went on to attack the PFLP directly: "They see themselves almost as much as 'revolutionary' enemies of the Syrian, Egyptian and other anti-imperialist regimes in the Arab world as they are enemies of Israel." This shows clearly the American Communist Party stands with these bourgeois regimes.

What did come as a shock to the imperialists and their allies was that, whatever may have been "world opinion's" reaction to the hijackings the Arab masses by the millions rallied to the PFLP placing in jeopardy Arafat's control of the guerrillas, the Hussein regime and even Nasser. It



Young Palestinian guerrillas man sandbag barricades in streets of Amman.

was this above all else which convinced the Jordanian army and its American advisors to launch a pogrom against the guerrillas.

Now the Jordanian offensive has been thrown back, not by a "Syrian Army," as the American press to a man lyingly reports, but by the Palestine forces who have been joined by units of the Palestinian Liberation Army stationed in Syria.

But the Palestinian army holds back from a final offensive against Hussein while Nasser gives only minimum criticisms of Hussein and is fast at work trying to save the Hussein regime. Arafat, for all his protests, is negotiating a deal with Hussein through Egyptian intermediaries while the Soviet Union places pressure on Syria to in turn bring pressure to bare on Palestinian forces stationed in that country.

What is crystal clear is that the Arab masses are determined to beat back the imperialists, their Israeli agents, and those stooges who support them in their

own countries. This has pitted the Arab masses in direct collision with the bourgeois nationalist governments, the Stalinists, and those sections of the guerrilla leadership which seek compromise with these forces.

There is only one road forward for the Arab Revolution now and that is the road of socialist revolution against the bourgeois regimes in the area as necessary to the struggle to defeat imperialism and Zionism. This is the lesson the Fourth International drew of the 1967 War, a war during which it and it alone unswervingly supported the Arabs. This is the conclusion millions in the Arab countries now are drawing for themselves in bloody battle with Hussein.

American workers must support the Arab Revolution and prepare mass class action against any attempt of the United States to intervene.

Hands off the Arab Revolution! Forward to Socialist Revolution and a United Socialist States of the Middle East!

# Nixon Steps Up Attack On Students

BY PAT CONNOLLY

Agnew and Nixon have reached a new and more vitriolic stage in their attacks on students and militants. Agnew's latest statement that "the American people would chose the policeman's truncheon over the anarchists bomb" is the clearest warning of what is in store for students this year.

Nixon, in his Kansas State speech of last week (and it is worth noting that hatred of the war is so strong that Kansas State is one of the few colleges where he dares speak), vehemently decried "violence" and "terror" among students and tried to rally a section of students around his "law and order" campaign. At the same time he has sent out a letter to 900 educators calling for college administrators to throw out protestors "engaged in violence."

The latest speeches by John Mitchell and his wife Martha also give an indication of where the Nixon Administration stands. Mitchell is quoted as having said that if they (the students) think there's repression now, they haven't seen anything yet, and referring to college teachers and administrators as "those stupid bastards that run the schools."

This is the man who was talking about concentration camps for student protestors and black rioters last year. Mrs. Mitchell has come out saying in reference to college professors and educators: "These are people that are destroying our country." If educators had not adopted a "leftist" philosophy, she says, "They would lead the path of Americanism rather than the path of Communism."

## POLITICAL

The new stepped up attacks on students, the almost daily assaults against the Black Panthers, the talk of "terror" and

"violence," are all part of a political campaign to keep the working class and students divided.

Nixon and Agnew and the whole capitalist class are terrified at the specter of unity between "radical" students seeking a political way to fight them, and an outraged working class under attack. They are haunted by the specter, as Martha Mitchell put it, of "Communism."

And well they should be. Far from "terror" and "anarchist bombers" dominating the student movement, the May Cambodia-Kent State events saw a sharp turn toward the working class by students. Students who had rallied to the General Electric strike, who saw the army used to break the postal strike, who saw the same National Guard that had attacked wildcatting Teamsters in Ohio gun down four students, turned toward the labor movement. This reached its highest point in the demonstration called by over a dozen unions in New York City in which more than 50,000 workers and students demonstrated against the war.

The strike of over 350,000 auto workers against the General Motors Corporation today becomes the central political fight, carrying forward and deepening the struggle against capitalism of the Cambodia-Kent upsurge. This strike brings a whole section of the organized working class into pitched battle against the capitalist class and Nixon's attempts to stabilize the economy at their expense.

The UAW strike is of crucial political importance to students. The question of wages today is more than just a "bread and butter" issue—it becomes the central political issue that calls into question the continued existence of the capitalist system. In order to maintain their profits, the capitalists have to drive back the standard of living of the working class with attacks on wages, inflation and massive unemployment.

Student political action takes place now within the context of a powerful class upsurge by the American working class. Nixon's political offensive against the students, seeking to discredit and isolate them, can only be fought with the power of the working class. The turn toward the labor movement which was taken last May by students on campuses across the country must be taken forward and deepened.

If the Nixon Administration and General Motors can beat back the auto workers on their wage demands, they will have more of a free hand to tackle the students and other militants anew. But a victory for the auto workers will change the whole relationship of class forces, throwing the government and their system into deeper crisis and opening the way for a new stage of the struggle against the capitalist system.

Every revisionist tendency in taking up the question of UAW "strike support" on the campuses, start with a common point of view of reaching numbers of students, rather from the point of view of the advancement of the interests of the working class and the class struggle and seeing the role of students within this context.

The programs which are raised reflect the fact that none of these tendencies start with the interests of the working class and carrying forward the struggle for socialism.

The Communist Party and its youth movement the YWLL propose strike support through completely uncritical support of the UAW bureaucracy. Woodcock, who was retreating from the struggle before the strike started by calling for a strike against only GM, limited the fight from the start. The official wage demands raised by the bureaucracy amount to 29

cents an hour increase, at a time when the Teamsters won \$1.65 an hour in a wildcat strike. The CP says nothing whatsoever on this question. It is this perspective that they bring to students—total subservience to the union bureaucracy, and through that to the capitalist class.

The Labor Committee, which seeks an alliance with the YWLL on the question of UAW strike activity, agrees with their basic perspective. But they bring to it a perspective that the struggle is not one that "must be waged and won by the UAW rank and file. Rather they see the creation of "mass strike organizations" of students and others, completely aside from the fight in the union on wages. In this they not only do not provide a program for victory for the auto workers, but they completely mislead the students in the direction of seeing broad alliances of the middle class, students and workers outside of the unions as a substitute for the struggle which has to take place within the unions against the bureaucracy. Their program dovetails very neatly with that of the CP, and reflects a complete capitulation to Stalinism and the popular front.

## LEAD

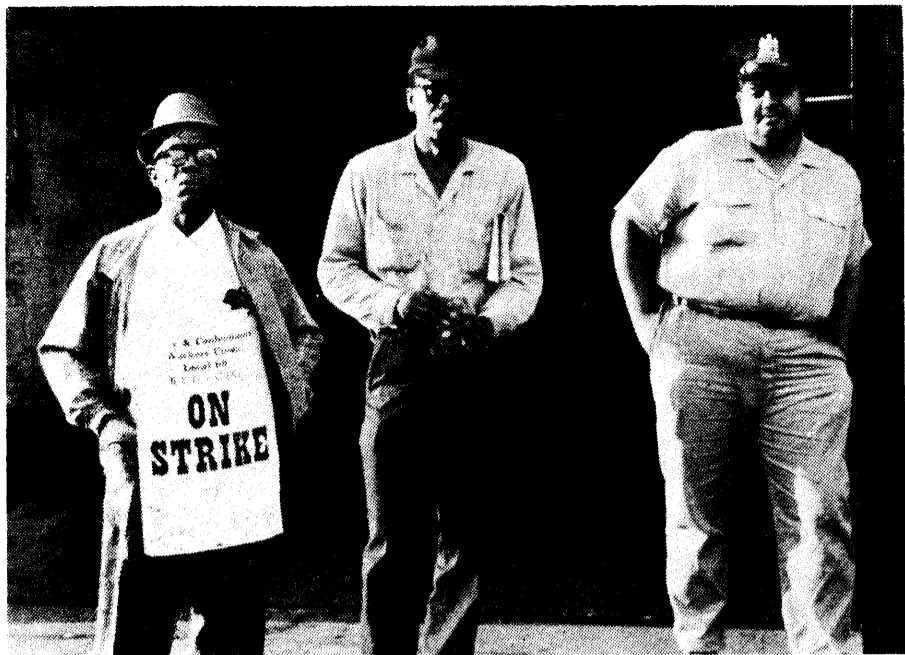
Progressive Labor Party makes critical statements about Woodcock and the union bureaucracy, and yet tells students that what they can do is go to the picket lines and "make friends with the workers," talk to workers, collect money for workers, fight racism in the workers, and capitulate completely to spontaneity among the workers. "Students cannot lead the working class," they say, leaving completely aside the question of the party, a revolutionary program which students can fight to bring into the strike, to actually provide leadership in the class struggle.

The Workers League counterposes to all these the essential political task facing students in the auto strike: to fight to bring a program for victory into the auto strike, to struggle to actually develop the fight against the bosses and the UAW bureaucrats as part of a revolutionary youth movement, fighting for the understanding of what is objectively required to win the strike and take the political struggle in the working class to a higher level.

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March in support of New Haven teachers' strike, which was just ended with sellout.

## AFL-CIO Officials Go To School To Learn Time Study Methods

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

More and more as the crisis of capitalism deepens the employers are forced to call upon the union bureaucracy for assistance in their attacks on the wages and conditions of the working class.

That one such appeal has found a responsive chord in the leadership of the AFL-CIO is shown by the "Industrial Engineering Institute" located in the University of Wisconsin, which specializes in training union officials in the delicate art of time study and job evaluation.

The Institute recently graduated 65 officials representing 16 different international unions. These "leaders" will now return to their respective places of employment, and advise management as to the best method of plundering the last ounce of labor out of the rank and file members of their union.

### THREAT

The threat which "time study" experts pose to the working class does not need to be pointed out to any production worker in America. He is the man in the white shirt with the stop watch who takes control of your life, timing every motion and muscular reflex on your job, down to the last split-second. From these split-second timings the management then calculates the production quota which you are expected to make.

In "normal" periods of capitalist operations time study programs can make a living hell out of any production worker's

job. But in periods of crisis such production methods assume an even more sinister role.

With the contraction in the world economy, and the subsequent inability of the employers to raise profits by increasing production, there remains only one way to solve the profit problem—to reduce the cost of labor. One way to do this is to reduce the number of workers necessary to operate any given production unit.

This is the reality behind the sudden concern with "labor productivity" not only in America, but throughout the capitalist world. In Britain new methods of speedup, combined with automation, have succeeded in unemploying as many as 20 to 30 percent of the workers in many industries, and in some cases even more. As one British worker put it: "The harder you work, the sooner you work yourself out of a job."

### ASSISTING

In participating in the "Institute" the AFL-CIO is really assisting the employers.

Every trade unionist must demand that the AFL-CIO withdraw its support to the "Institute," and fight all attempts at speedup.

## Only Labor's Support Can Win Baltimore Bakery Workers' Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE—The Schmidt bakery workers here enter the ninth week of their strike with management's continued refusal to recognize their union—Local 68 of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers Union.

In Cumberland, Md. the strike at the unionized Schmidt plant there for wages and working conditions is entering its thirteenth week.

Schmidt's Baltimore plant is now operating with a skeleton crew of approximately one-third the size of the regular work force. Since a court injunction limiting the number of strikers to four at an entrance, scab deliveries have proceeded unimpeded. This, coupled with management's ability to withstand the secondary boycott placed on Schmidt products, had led the leadership of Local 68 to turn to so-called "community leaders" and student groups for assistance.

### RELATE

At a meeting at Johns Hopkins University attended by the President of Local 68, proposals were made by various groupings as how to "relate" to the Schmidt and UAW

strikes. The meeting was essentially controlled by Labor Committee which used the pretext of linking up workers and students to pose substituting the student movement for the labor movement.

A Labor Committee spokesman stated that he opposed the political intervention of students into these strikes and proposed instead that they work to develop "community support." When the Workers League representative pointed out that students and "community leaders" cannot substitute themselves for the labor movement, that only the active support of area labor could bring real victory, Labor Committee replied that they of course wanted the support organization to include trade unionists.

Representatives of the Stalinist Mother Jones Revolutionary League seemed to think that the UAW strike was not particularly progressive, although they reserved judgement on the Schmidt strike. A representative made the statement that if the auto wage demands were won, management would raise prices and make it harder on the remainder of the population. He further stated that the real way for the UAW workers to take up the struggle would be to make their major demand that the auto industry halt all war production. The speech was capped by the statement that Nixon did not wish actually to defeat or destroy the labor movement, but just hold down gains.

## New Haven Teachers End Strike As Leaders Ram Through Sellout

STOP PRESS: NEW HAVEN, Sept. 22—Last night at a mass meeting of striking teachers, the NHFT leadership rammed a sellout contract down the throats of the rank and file. The head of the statewide AFT used the most bureaucratic methods to neutralize a motion from the floor to reject the contract in toto. With the vote divided through confusion, the leadership was able to get the body of the contract passed with the exception of the four "unresolved issues." This means the teachers will receive the meager salary raise (only \$100 dollars higher than the Board's offer).

NEW HAVEN, Sept. 21—A major development took place in the more than two week old New Haven teachers' strike as 16 members of the union's negotiating team were arrested for refusing to honor a no-strike injunction obtained by the Board of Education.

Fourteen of the 16 teachers refused to pay the fine of \$100 a day each and were thrown into jail. The next evening the 14 were released when the national AFT paid their fine while another 69 teachers were subpoenaed to appear in court for violations of the injunction. The use of the courts by the Board of Education only shows their determination to break the strike.

This political attack by the Board and its staunch refusal to budge from the rotten contract it is offering the union must be fought against with a strategy capable of leading the increasingly militant ranks to a victory.

### INABILITY

In the face of the hard line taken by the Board, the union leadership has shown its inability to conduct a winning strategy. It has been willing to let the Board call the shots. They consider virtually all of the major demands to be open to negotiation and have shown this by lowering their wage demands until the starting salary is only \$300 above the Board's standing offer.

There can be no compromise on the important demands for wages and class sizes. A firm stand must be taken by the union on 20 and 20 (20 instructional periods a week and 20 pupils per class) and a decent wage increase to maintain the teachers' standard of living. This must include an immediate starting salary of \$9,100 with \$10,000 by the end of the two year contract. There must be no

more than eight steps in order to reach the maximum salary, as opposed to the Board's 14 step proposal.

### INTERVENED

Since the beginning of this strike the Workers League has intervened with leaflets urging the teachers to see their struggle as linked up with what is facing workers throughout the country. We not only insisted on the need to join forces with the striking West Haven teachers, but also to mobilize mass labor support.

When a teacher suggested at a mass meeting the possibility of joining up with striking West Haven teachers, the union bureaucrats agreed and proposed a joint weekend outing with softball!

After the jailings when another teacher took a Workers League leaflet up to the podium at a meeting and read to the audience sections of it calling on the NHFT to demand support from the New Haven area labor movement he was completely ignored by the union leadership. The bureaucratic response to ignore militant proposals put forward by the rank and filers only exposes their hostile attitude to any strategy that shows the way to victory. The undemocratic way they have maneuvered around the rank's attempt to discuss these vital questions only shows the leadership's fear of the rank and file.

New Haven teachers must prepare to take up the leadership and prevent a retreat on the central issues of wages, conditions, job security and an end to the no-strike clause.

## LAGRANGE UAW OFFICIALS ENDANGER STRIKE STRATEGY

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LAGRANGE, ILL.—Militants at General Motors Electromotive Division reacted sharply to reports of a recent interview between officials and the local press, in which the leaders allegedly stated that the strike would last 10 to 12 weeks. (This is the length of time that the union estimates it can pay strike benefits.)

"This is giving the whole show away before the fight has even started," explained one worker. "If you give the company a date when we are coming back, then we are dead."

Another worker stated: "In my opinion we have got to stay out until we get a good offer from the company, no matter how long it takes."

One official is said to have declared the press statement a "misunderstanding," but some workers are skeptical of this, especially since the union leadership sees no urgency in correcting this "misunderstanding" with the press.

The Electromotive plant is the world's largest producer of locomotive engines, employing over 7,000 workers.



Workers at Schmidt's Bakery in Baltimore are in 9th week of strike for recognition.

### TRUTH

The truth is that Nixon is out to defeat the auto workers to prepare the way for sweeping attacks on the wages and working conditions of all workers. This is why this strike is decisive for organized and unorganized workers.

On another level, the strike of the Schmidt bakery workers is the same sort

of battle. If Schmidt workers succeed in gaining union recognition it would spark a movement among unorganized workers for union organization, and a living wage. Management and their collaborators in the court system understand this, which is why they have slapped an injunction on Schmidt workers limiting the number of pickets.



# THE 2



# GERMANIES

SINCE WORLDWARTWO

A SERIES BY V. BARAT

## Part Two-East Germany Before The 1953 Uprising

AS THE RED Army moved westward in the closing months of the war in the winter and spring of 1945, they were greeted by communist and social democratic workers alike as socialist liberators. These workers were in many instances lead by anti-fascist committees, revolutionary political cells, formed underground prior to the arrival of the troops. Their aim was to assist in taking over the factories and landed estates to facilitate establishing a workers' and farmers' government.

The Soviet occupation forces, however, immediately dissolved these groups, even demanding the removal of all the red flags and banners hoisted as symbols of solidarity with the soldiers of the first workers' state.

Not until the emigre Communist Party (KPD) members returned from abroad were anti-fascist parties legalized. Worth noting is that only the most ruthless and cynical KPD bureaucrats survived Stalin's terror. The rest had been foully murdered by the GPU or, like the wife of KPD politburo member, Heinz Neumann, had been delivered over to Himmler's executioners after the Stalin-Hitler Pact.

The KPD itself was reorganized by a group of sixteen functionaries. Nine returned from the Soviet Union (including Pieck and Ulbricht), one from Sweden, and six emerged from the underground resistance itself in Germany.

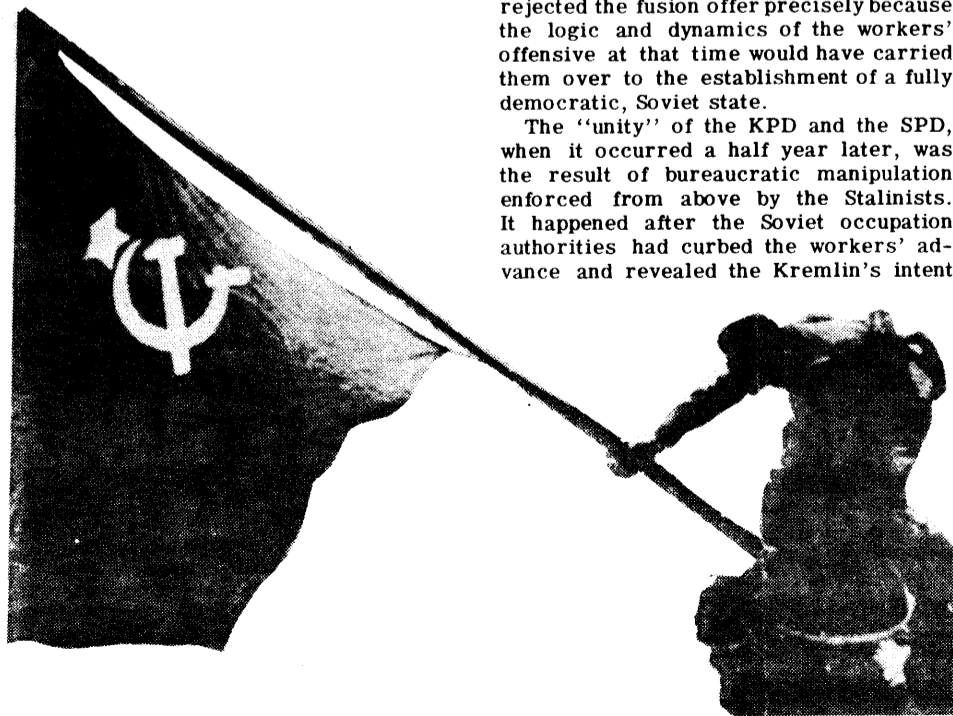
Against the obvious desire of the German proletariat in the eastern zone (just as throughout the nation) for a socialist state and for workers' control of industry, the first official proclamation of the KPD on June 11, 1945, contained this declaration:

"We are of the opinion that to force Germany on to the road of the Soviet system would be incorrect, because this road does not correspond to the current developments in Germany.

"We are much more of the opinion that the decisive interests of the German people in the present situation facing Germany prescribe another route. Specifically, it is the establishment of an anti-fascist regime, of a parliamentary-democratic republic with full democratic rights and freedoms."

### TREACHERY

German Stalinist leader Walter Ulbricht felt compelled to attack what he called "ultra-left currents." He continued: "Some workers want to erect socialism at once. That is not possible." This was said at the first conference of the East German Stalinists. Just in case there remained any doubt as to his (and his Kremlin masters') meaning, Ulbricht insisted on the need to accept "...the completely



As Soviet armies moved Westward at the end of war they were greeted as liberators. Below: a worker raises the red flag in solidarity with the Red Army.



uninterrupted development of free trade and of private initiative of entrepreneurs on the basis of private property."

The magnitude of this treachery can only be grasped when one realizes that the former owners of the big banks, the factories, and landed estates had fled before the advance of the Red Army.

Here is a clue to the KPD's refusal to fuse with the SPD, some of whose leading members—in response to pressure from their own ranks—undertook an initiative in Berlin (May, 1945) to unify both working class parties. The Stalinists rejected the fusion offer precisely because the logic and dynamics of the workers' offensive at that time would have carried them over to the establishment of a fully democratic, Soviet state.

The "unity" of the KPD and the SPD, when it occurred a half year later, was the result of bureaucratic manipulation enforced from above by the Stalinists. It happened after the Soviet occupation authorities had curbed the workers' advance and revealed the Kremlin's intent

to maintain capitalism in Germany, including the eastern sector.

Under such conditions unity was a means of weakening the working class by removing an alternative political organization through which any protest against Stalinism might be registered.

In this connection the first post-war elections in both Austria and Hungary had revealed to the Kremlin's agents that it was indeed hatred of Stalinism that accounted for such an overwhelming pro social-democratic vote by the workers.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) was the product of the fusion crammed down the throats of the members of both organizations. It was founded during Easter, 1946. While some workers hoped the fusion would strengthen proletarian bonds, others faced Stalinist threats for opposing the dissolution of the SPD.

Accompanying the political blow against the working class was an economic attack: prohibition of the right to strike!

But the Stalinists were doomed to grievous disappointment if they thought that resistance to their policies would be erased as easily as was the SPD. One of the most serious causes of friction between the industrial working class and Moscow's agents arose over the issue of plant dismantling. Only through the greatest collective effort and sacrifice had numerous factories destroyed by the war been restored to operation. Now Stalin was plundering these and other factories—far more extensively, it must be conceded, than were the imperialists in their zones—and creating such economic chaos that the workers were rapidly looking upon the Soviet occupiers as their enemy.

The only basis for livelihood in the East was being gravely undermined. Even





Nazi concentration camp now used by Stalinists as political jail.

workers in the western zones were enraged by the actions of a government proclaiming itself the friend of the working class. To this very day the Soviet Union has lost the good will of millions of workers in both areas of Germany for sheer acts of piracy.

The arguments advanced by the Stalinist gang to justify their criminal plunder contain no merit in the least.

No German worker denied the enormous destruction to Soviet industry, agriculture, and housing carried out by the Nazi invaders. And in a spirit of international solidarity the proletariat as a whole regarded it as their class duty to aid in rebuilding the Soviet economy in the process of rebuilding their own.

But the removal of thousands of precious, highly complex machines that were constantly left to rust on the countless freight cars because Soviet transport was so chaotic made no sense to the workers.

The continued stripping of factories long after it was abundantly evident that the machines were never going to produce anything in the Soviet Union could only reinforce the suspicions of the workers that more than simple pure economic motives were operating. The logic of reparations, that is if the Soviet Union was to gain any material benefits, would have dictated the shipment of finished goods manufactured in factories of the East zone to the U.S.S.R.

#### CHAUVINISM

While latent fear of an economically strong Germany, motivated the Kremlin's policies toward Germany at an early stage, another factor was also present. There is strong evidence of anti-German chauvinism as the most compelling explanation for Stalin's irrational economic moves.

In so mercilessly punishing the hungry German proletariat, the first and longest suffering victims of Nazism, the Moscow tyrants hoped to accomplish two related objectives:

1) to divest themselves of the primary responsibility for the historical debacle leading to the triumph of bloody fascism in 1933.

2) to borrow from the imperialists' slander mills the false and treacherous charge of German collective guilt—not excepting the proletariat, the one class that had shown the power and will to destroy the Hitler serpent in its pit, and had been immobilized not only by the social-democrats but above all by the Comintern.

At the end of hostilities the Kremlin placed its territory in eastern Germany under its own central occupation force. It in turn nominally derived its authority from the "unified" four-power administration called after Potsdam, the Allied Control Council.

For reasons already cited the Stalinists in their sector could not, any more than could the imperialists in theirs, tolerate for long the councils.

#### DIRECTORS

Attacking the authority of these democratically elected and independent bodies was, however, not an action the Stalinists dared engage in immediately. The absence of the former owners further complicated the task for the Stalinists. It deprived them of any serious argument to oppose to the demands for workers' control of industry.

To get around this obstacle the Soviet authorities chose creatures subservient to them to head each plant. These factory directors, closely modelled after capitalist directors of enterprises, immediately challenged the right of the committees to

supervise production. Gradually (though not without resistance from the workers) the factory councils were reduced to performing ever more limited functions: such as supervision of the factory cafeterias, distribution of food to the plant employees, and other purely secondary tasks.

To this day the SPD union chieftains are demanding for their workers much the same kind of duties that were relegated to the councils in the DDR. Only the union bureaucrats in the Federal Republic (BRD) refer to these menial duties (meant to disguise the real power possessed by the corporation owners and give workers the illusion that they are sharing in major decision making) as "co-management."

#### RESISTANCE

With the drastic weakening of the factory councils in the East, it became far more difficult for the workers to defend their elementary rights against the bureaucracy. About all they could do was engage in slow-downs, a kind of passive resistance. Hence the Stalinists exerted considerable effort to win over the members of the factory councils to the party. They went so far as to establish councils in all the plants that previously lacked them, hoping to use them as vehicles for increasing production.

But nowhere did the Stalinists achieve any success in their desperate efforts to control the councils. By 1947 the Kremlin's agents were forced to limit even the already restricted functions of the councils. Finally these organs were entirely abolished in 1948. It followed the open rift between East and West. The Stalinists had already been compelled to integrate their zone into the Soviet economy under the first steps of national planning. An essential objective of the new state planning was the production of goods as reparations for the Soviet Union.

The requirements of nationalized planning signalled the actual death knell for the private sector. It had not only been a continuous transmission belt for direct imperialist attacks on the East but by his very nature the independent producer cannot be integrated into the planned economy.

From the very beginning enormous problems faced the economic planning commissions, some of which are insoluble this side of world planning, while others are the result of bureaucratic mismanagement.

In the former category belongs the problem arising from the dependence of the economy in the workers' states on the capitalist world market and the international division of labor. After 1949 the relationship between the antagonistic economies in the two halves of Germany expressed itself in the much lower standard of living in the non-capitalist East in contrast with the more industrially advanced West.

But there were other factors operating that were responsible for aggravating the economic disparities even more. In contrast to the other three zones after the 1945 division of Germany, the eastern part was predominately agrarian and the poorest. Moreover, the industry that existed there was confined to manufacturing. Raw material always had to be transported from the Rhine or the Ruhr in the West.

For example, only 1.3% of Germany's pre-war pig-iron production, 7% of its steel, and 2% of the hard coal came from the territory that is today the German Democratic Republic (DDR). It had a single antiquated blast furnace, whereas the West has 121, most of them of modern design.

On the other hand 32% of the engineering



Walter Ulbricht, German Stalinist leader, presided over the Kremlin's treacherous policy for E. German working class, defending private property, attacking workers.

industry in pre-war Germany was based in this area, as was 30% of the total auto production. Naturally the raw of pre-finished material for these industries had to be transported from western Germany.

But now such industries as engineering, auto, and others represented the severest handicap for the Stalinist planners because of the virtually total dependence on the western suppliers.

#### OBSTACLES

Two additional obstacles to any speedy revival of production on a planned basis were the vast destruction to East German industry and agriculture, scenes of the most bitter fighting (40% of pre-war industrial capacity destroyed in East Germany as against 20% in West Germany); and the already mentioned extensive dismantling.

In the course of the years still another factor adversely influenced the economy: the flight to the west of hundreds of thousands of peasants, skilled workers, engineers, and scientists.

It is not difficult to grasp that all the problems inherent in the Soviet economy under Stalinism reasserted themselves here, only very often in a much more grotesque way: bureaucratic inability to tap the initiative and resourcefulness of the workers; bureaucratic concealment of profits or falsifying of production figures by the plant managers; ordering of more raw material than required to allow for future contingencies but thereby depriving other plants of badly needed supplies; production of shoddy material to meet production quotas; and one could continue to list other vices.

Just as in the Soviet Union the East German epigones of Stalin sought to increase production by speed-up. The German Stakhanov was Hennecke, whose name was given to the movement of "socialist emulation." No matter what term was given to the speed-up, the undernourished workers resented the intensification of their labor. It was all the truer under conditions where the bureaucrats ran the plants and enjoyed special privileges while making no independent contribution to production.

Though some "scissor-bills," anxious to rise in the Stalinist hierarchy outdid themselves at the workbench, hundreds upon thousands of young workers enthusiastically accepted the tasks of "constructing Socialism."

These self-sacrificing youth, for whom every obstacle to the new socialist society

Russian workers rebuilding Stalingrad. Machines stripped from German industry by Stalin were never used in Russia.

was merely a challenge to be overcome, threw a horrible fright into the officials. The Stalinists could see a force here willing to undertake menial tasks or difficult ones, but that was quick to recognize hypocrisy and not yield to it.

#### YOUTH

At the second Congress of Young Activists in April, 1949, the leading SED hatchet-man, Ulbricht, warned the youth against setting their sights too high:

"I have been asked why we do not immediately assign ourselves the task of making the transition to socialism... We have to make clear to those who are impatient that the most important task at the moment is raising the productivity of labor."

But in the factories the workers, with rare exceptions, did not respond to bureaucratic appeals no matter how eagerly the bureaucracy would have liked to confer titles like "hero of labor" or "meritorious activists." So the regime was compelled to resort to external "persuasion." In addition to various kinds of threats efforts were made to enlist informers in the factories to report "slackers" or "malcontents." The use of coercive techniques scarcely endeared the Stalinist functionaries to the workers nor did they get more production out of them.

#### TRADE UNIONS

About the middle of 1945 Ulbricht himself took a hand in setting up a strictly party-controlled trade union movement. As an additional precaution the unions were expressly forbidden from exercising any influence on the determination of wages or working conditions.

Just as in the West where the SPD-





The current Stalinist leaders of the German Democratic Republic, (from left to right): Zaisser, Ulbricht, and Grotewohl, maintain bureaucracy against working class.

controlled trade unions supplanted the democratic voice of the workers, the factory councils, so were the councils in the East replaced by the Stalinist dominated unions. By 1950 the East German unions (FDGB) officially declared the SED as the foremost party in the country. The SED proclaimed itself to be "the leading power of all organizations of the working class and of the toilers, of the state and social organizations." Four other parties, all bourgeois, were allowed to maintain a kind of legal but powerless existence. Each maintains a show office to this day in the DDR.

With the suppression of the factory councils the unions necessarily assumed a more prominent role in the plants. The officials viewed them as organs to speed the flow of production, to meet the quotas set from above. The union tops fully supported the Hennecke "emulation" movement as well as encouraged competition between individual workers. This led to friction between the workers themselves as well as to conflicts between the men and the plant managers.

Of course the Stalinist-controlled FDGB "mediated" the inevitable antagonisms, at least tried to, in the interests of the managers, the direct representatives of the bureaucratic state. But the continuous pressure exerted by the ranks revealed a "softness" in the trade union structure on the shop floor. For on this level too many of the officials chosen by the party were receptive to the agitation of the men for satisfaction of just grievances.

#### OPPOSITION

By 1950 the SED was forced to replace a considerable body of its union cadre with hard-core party loyalists. But the workers for the moment found other means of expressing their collective dissatisfaction with the factory management. The work brigades, introduced at this time to speed up the men by putting shock-workers at their head, were utilized frequently as forums for the airing of grievances.

The government's attempt in 1951 to make the factory workers pay for bureaucratic bungling, by introducing lower wage rates, triggered open opposition. In part the struggle was funneled through the brigades themselves, where in heated discussions, the workers challenged the arbitrary decisions of the authorities.

But more significantly the ranks also utilized the unions as instruments against the plant management. Replacing the former union officials with functionaries more obedient to the party proved to be far more difficult than the regime anticipated. For the replacements came, could only come, from upper echelon of the trade union bureaucracy, accustomed

to quiet, plush office conditions and removed from the din of loud, heavily vibrating machines. Worse for them, however, than noise and lower salaries, was direct contact with the men toiling in the plant and filled with defiance. The trade union machinery simply bogged down under conditions where both the factory employees as well as the party-selected union officials resented the role of the latter.

As a consequence the state could not prevent the election of union representatives from the ranks of the workers in a considerable number of critical plants throughout the country. These democratically elected stewards were to prove to be a major factor in the developments of June 17, 1953.

#### GROWING TENSIONS

The Kremlin from 1946 on had to recognize the economic integration of western Germany into the imperialist order. But it stupidly and steadfastly refused to draw the logical conclusion that economic integration had to carry with it an eventual military build-up. Though there had been numerous indications of a gradual rearmament in the BRD, it was not until the European Defence Community treaty signed by West Germany and ratified by the US Senate on July 1, 1952, that an outraged Moscow gave the signal for the military integration of the DDR into the Eastern military bloc.

The second SED national convention meeting from July 9 to 12, 1952, subsequently gave its official sanction to the rearmament already underway. But the German Stalinists decided on something else as well. They also resolved to "hasten the construction of socialism." This policy meant greater investments in heavy industry, intensified accumulation of savings, increasing productivity, and a revising upward of all work norms.

It is obvious that the new military obligations were bound to conflict with the economic needs and goals set by the state. The recruits for the Peoples' Army were drawn from the young men in the factories and on the farms. It meant increasing the burden of the state in feeding, outfitting, and housing thousands upon thousands of men who previously were contributing to production and were now a heavy drain on the economy.

Adding to the woes of the state "planners" were two costly misfortunes in agriculture. A spell of bad weather severely reduced the normal crop yield. Then the flight to the West of the first wave of peasants, fleeing from newly imposed, draconian quotas, caused further suffering for the lean, urban proletariat.

#### UTOPIAN

Already facing insurmountable problems the regime caused additional ones for itself with the decision to create a whole new basic and heavy industry. Cut off from the natural supply of basic materials from the West and with little prospect of getting them from the poorly co-ordinated eastern bloc of workers' states, the bureaucratic planners set out on the utopian course of constructing socialism in a half a country!

A result of this move in defiance of all reason was a further and drastic decline in productivity. Factories throughout the nation experienced such shortages of material and lack of energy or fuel that workers would be forced to sit with folded arms before their motionless machines. Only 70% to 80% of the workers' time was productively used in 1952! Under such circumstances a drastic, nationwide decline in the purchasing power

of the working class became inevitable. In turn the already dangerously low productivity was further reduced by a decline in morale of the work force.

Once more the regime saw but one escape from the plight it had brought on the population: tightening the screws, that is, demanding greater work and sacrifice from the toiling masses.

Incredible as it may seem the Stalinists, their hands full of insoluble problems in industry and on the land, resolved to speed up the construction of public buildings.

The erection of buildings along the nearly three mile long Stalinallee began with feverish haste in 1952. This site in the center of East Berlin had been singled out as an architectural show piece to impress world opinion. Thousands of workers were taken from elsewhere to labor on the immense project.

While calling wide public attention to the architectural wonder arising from the ruins of the Battle for Berlin, ruins that had not yet been cleared away, an intensive war against the construction workers themselves was being waged by the entire state apparatus.

When all the other sections of the working class had been subject to speed-up efforts in 1949 and 1950, only the construction men were exempted. In large part it reflected the regime's fear of a branch of the proletariat with powerful traditions of combativity dating from even

before Weimar. Another factor, however, was the government's fear of provoking these workers and causing the Stalinists embarrassment in the midst of the World Youth Festival scheduled for East Berlin in 1951.

But now in 1952 the governmental organs lowered their sights on the construction workers without at the same time easing up on the demand for higher norms from the rest of the industrial employees. The state waged its general campaign against its own proletariat right into 1953.

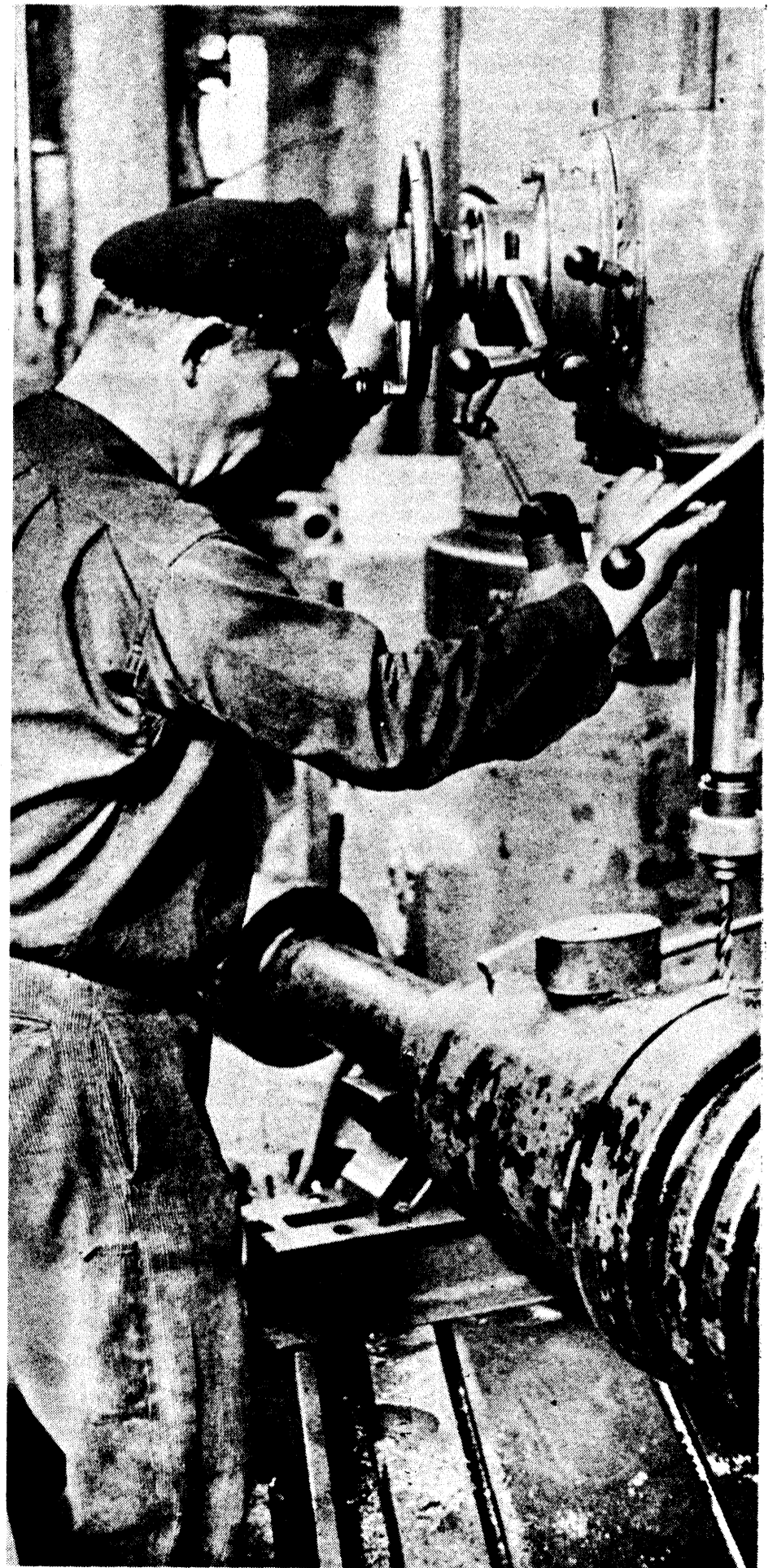
#### STRIKES

Rumors of sporadic strikes and protests were finally confirmed by the party controlled press when tensions mounted to the point where they could no longer be concealed from the population.

In the city of Halle the SED organ Freiheit of April 29 carried a report about a meeting called there by workers in the huge Zeitz plant to air their grievances:

"The worker Walter stood up and said: 'Fellow workers, what is happening here is embarrassing for us workers. Seventy years after the death of Karl Marx we still have to argue about the most elementary necessities of life. If Karl Marx had any idea about this, he would turn over in his grave!'...The worker Meyer then asked, 'How much of a bonus did the functionary Kahnt receive and just what did he produce?'"

Workers, like machine operator below, were pushed to breaking point by Stalinist speedup policy to increase productivity of labor, policy of "Socialism in one country."







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Stalin's death in 1953 contributed to resistance of German workers.

The Stalinist newspaper then screamed with indignation:

"This meeting was an open provocation against the party... Our party was attacked... Behind the words of the worker, Meyer, lies the assertion that the secretary of the party in the basic organization of the plant, Kahnt, had received unjustified bonuses from the plant management... And what did the comrades do? They did nothing. They watched and accepted the fact that the party, their party, was attacked, was defamed... What is that, that kind of behavior of comrades? In the final analysis it is betrayal of the party.

Clearly, the most painful blow to the tender sensibilities of the Stalinist hacks was the obvious bitterness of the workers toward the privileges of the bureaucracy. The privileges were supposed to have been sacrosanct and beyond criticism.

The newspapers were now forced to announce the occurrence of additional strikes in May around industrial centers such as Magdeburg and Chemnitz. The target for the protest actions was chiefly directed against the impossible work norms set by state planners.

How much Stalin's death in March, 1953 may have contributed to speeding up the growing and open resistance of the workers is difficult to judge. Certainly the death of the hated tyrant did not slacken the pace of their defensive activities. The East German workers sensed—correctly so—that the repressive apparatus, while it still disposed of all its organs of oppression, had been disoriented, for a period even veering off course by the loss



of its leading helmsman.

The surviving Kremlin bureaucrats realized that a publicly proclaimed change had better be announced, if a workers' offensive for all of eastern Europe was to be averted.

The German wing of Stalinism in the DDR broadcast its "New Course" on June 9. Concessions were granted all right, but not to the workers. Instead the beneficiaries were the "middle" social elements (peasants with holdings, independent artisans) and the church. Most of the concessions were in the form of reduction of delivery quotas (the peasants), granting of more generous credit while

reducing taxes (for peasants, artisans and small entrepreneurs), and greater freedom for the clergy to expand its influence among the general population. A promise of more abundant consumer goods was also made.

Such promises could only be kept, of course, by making even greater demands on the already overworked employees in production. In that deceptive manner so characteristic of Stalinism the workers were not even told about the new demands imposed on them, much less consulted in the decision.

The bureaucracy was not left untouched by the visible show of worker unrest growing throughout the country. Under



Stalinallee (above) was to be "Showplace" Its beginning in 1952 marked start of attack on conditions of construction workers, whose demonstrations (left) sparked 1953 rebellion which was crushed.

such pressures the leadership of the Stalinists was shaken. Differences at the top, as to how best to counter the inevitable clash with the working class, emerged.

One wing of Stalinism advocated an even more arbitrary, more relentless policy than so far applied against the working class. But a key section of the influential SED functionaries hoped to avoid a head-on clash with the proletariat and espoused a "softer" approach.

A voice reflecting this latter course was heard through the leading newspaper of the SED on June 14. This is what appeared three days before the general strike in Neues Deutschland: "It is time to put aside the wooden mallet now;" in other words the paper was warning its own officials to ease up on their provocative challenges hurled against the workers, specifically the construction laborers on the huge sites along the Stalinallee. Without mentioning the word "strike," the author of the article showed obvious concern about growing signs of workers "staying away from the job."

# WORKERS LEAGUE MIDWESTERN REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

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# Irish Young Socialists Call First Conference

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Southern Ireland may be separated from its northern neighbors by boundaries and government, but the youth of both countries face the same consequences of British imperialism's iron heel.

British troops do not patrol Eire's capital, Dublin, as they do in Belfast and Derry, but the Fianna Fail has its anti-trade union laws and its notoriously brutal police force.

The sunny advertisements in the glossy British Sunday magazines invite the reader to travel by Aer Lingus and get away from it all down by some picturesque lake.

But the youth of South Ireland have a different story to tell.

This is no country of pleasant simplicity and pretty scenery, with all the years of the "troubles" forgotten. The mark of British imperialist repression is the stark reality.

The official unemployment figure of 59,587—about 3 percent of the population—does not give a true picture of the conditions in South Ireland.

## PITIFULLY

Many youth who either cannot find a job or refuse to work for the pitifully low wages offered emigrate to England.

Others, on leaving school, may never have a job—they are not included in the Ministry's figures.

Today the youth in South Ireland find themselves in the center of a growing militancy on the part of the working class against Lynch's capitalist republican government.

Such an upsurge is personified in the 21-week strike of cement workers for a 7 pound (\$16.80) increase in wages.

Their determination was only finally broken by the actions of the Polish government in exporting cement to Ireland to help break the stoppage.

In the face of such a challenge from the working class the Lynch government faced a serious crisis within its own ranks earlier this year—two ministers were thrown out of the government for alleged gun-running.

In the build-up of these events the working class youth have surged into the forefront and their movement towards political action has been crystallized in the recent launching of the Irish Young Socialists, sister organization to the Young Socialists

in England, which embraces both North and South Ireland.

Led by YS National Secretary John Simmance, a special recruiting team visited Dublin from Britain to join the Irish Young Socialists in the building of their revolutionary youth movement.

Outside factories and on the housing estates the response they received was enthusiastic.

—The young people they spoke to were keen to help build new branches and work towards the IYS projected rally in Dublin on September 26, which will be attended by Young Socialists from all over Ireland.

At a plastics factory a group of young girls—Kay (16), Tina (14), Ann (15) and Bridgette (15) described typical conditions for youth their age.

Because of the low standard of living, they said, the large majority of young people had to work as soon as they were able—at 14—in order to help make ends meet at home.

## VICTIMIZED

One girl showed a wage packet of 2 pounds (\$4.80) for four-and-a-half days' work on a job which started at 9 a.m. and ended at 5:30 p.m. with only one break of 15 minutes in the morning and 30 minutes for lunch.

"When you start you are put on piece-work. The foreman is constantly looking over your shoulder.

"We have to do seven rolls of plastic a day and sometimes our hands get cut and burnt," the girls said.

Recently 15 girls were victimized at the factory for asking for trade union organization.

The Young Socialists' team centered most of its recruitment work on an industrial estate on the outskirts of Dublin with thousands of council houses and little else.

Only the Tenants' Association Bingo Hall, with its admission fee of 8 shillings (\$1.00), offers any kind of relief from boredom and frustration.

Coming from these kind of conditions



INTERNATIONAL  
YOUTH  
NEWS

—dictated through the Lynch government by the exploitation of British imperialism, chief investor in South Ireland—the youth are searching for a solution to the problem which has been with their parents and their grandparents for generations.

The IYS has found a ready response to its political campaigns among the working class who are seeking an alternative to the platitudes of reformism and the blind alley of Irish nationalism.

They have reported good sales of their own paper *Youth Bulletin*, as well as the Young Socialists' paper *Keep Left*.

They will hold their first conference in January 1971 and campaign around a

program of demands against anti-trade union laws, unemployment and for the nationalization of the basic industries within a unified Irish Socialist Republic.

As the only youth movement to oppose the presence of British troops and begin the building of revolutionary leadership to end partition, the IYS fights alongside the British Young Socialists to prepare the working class for the common struggle against the Tories.

In this fight they join hands with the international struggle of Trotskyist youth in the fight for the emancipation of the working class from the yoke of imperialist oppression.



Young factory workers in Dublin read Young Socialist newspaper, "Keep Left".

## Frame-up Trial Of Panthers Begin In Milwaukee

BY STEVE DIAMOND

MADISON, Sept. 21—The trial of the Milwaukee 3, Black Panthers framed on murder charges, has begun a full week early. This maneuver by the court, to prevent any sort of mass mobilization in defense of the Panthers, has been quite successful. The first demonstration, held today, mobilized only about 200 people.

## CINCINNATI COPS ARREST STUDENTS AT HILTON-DAVIS

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

CINCINNATI, September 11—Six arrests were made today by city police at a student-organized support demonstration at the struck Hilton-Davis plant, where Chemical Workers Local 342 have been up against police, security guards and scabs since June 8.

Those arrested included students from the University of Cincinnati and Antioch College.

The student demonstrators were protesting the use of several hundred students as strikebreakers.

At the same time, the union has filed contempt charges against Hilton-Davis—a court order against violence issued June 15 is still in effect—because of continual provocations and threats to strikers and their families by company guards.

Local 342's members must be wary of placing their trust in court decisions. The same court their attorney is now appealing to has just sentenced two representatives of the Molders Union to ten days in the workhouse and a fine of \$200 for violating court imposed limits on picketing at Retco Molded Products. The molders struck Retco's Oakley plant on June 15.

What is now essential is for the Cincinnati labor movement to demand the dismissal of charges against the arrested students to begin its own mass support demonstrations at Hilton-Davis to stop the strikebreakers.

The failure of the mobilization cannot, however, be completely attributed to the maneuvers of the ruling class. Although the Panther defense has won the support of broad layers of the youth throughout Wisconsin, this support is generally passive. The passivity has been generated by the lack of any viable strategy for the defense of the Panthers from the Stalinist Mother Jones Revolutionary League, which is leading the defense struggle.

The only strategy for the defense of the Panthers is to take the struggle into the unions. It was on this basis that the Madison Workers League intervened in the Milwaukee demonstration, carrying a banner which read: "Labor Must Defend All Panthers—Build a Labor Party Now!"

The defense of the Milwaukee 3 requires the mobilization of the labor movement in defense of the Panthers across the country. The masses of student and worker youth who support the Panther defense must take this fight into the unions in a national campaign to free all Panthers, breaking out of the parochial isolation of areas like Madison.

The Stalinist MJRL, on the other hand, has capitalized on all the youth culture idealism and anti-working class student powerism prevalent in a middle class

college town like Madison, in order to keep the Panther defense away from labor. The obvious futility of their approach has prevented their mobilizing even a significant segment of the student youth.

Those who came to the demonstration were led from high school to high school to yell "Jailbreak," or to chant "Mao, Mao, Mao Tse-tung; Revolution for the young." Such a frivolous attitude toward the defense of the Panthers by a group which uncritically supports the politics of the Panthers demonstrates the kind of treacherous force which Stalinism is.

The YSA, which also supports black nationalism, has not lifted a finger for the defense of the Milwaukee 3, although they claim to support the defense. These subjectivists feel betrayed that the Panthers, whose ideology the SWP nurtured, have turned to Stalinism. So they leave the defense of the Panthers in the hands of the Stalinists, who can only betray it.

The Trotskyist movement will continue its vigorous defense of the Panthers despite the betrayals of the Stalinists, revisionists and black nationalists.

## Czech Stalinists Supply Arms To Lon Nol Regime

BY MARTY JONAS

According to the September, 1970 issue of *Atlas*, an article in *Paris-Match* reports that a Czech factory is still making weapons in Phnom Penh for the Lon Nol government.

This is completely in line with the Soviet bureaucracy's maintaining diplomatic relations with the Lon Nol regime. Only recently, pro-Sihanouk forces occupied the Cambodian embassy in Prague, only to be starved out by the Czech government. The Czech Stalinists called the occupation "illegal."

By such actions as these and the shipping of coal by the Polish government to the strike-hit coal industry in Spain and cement into Ireland during the cement strike there, the Stalinists have provided imperialism with an international strike-breaking force.

Such things have their precedents. During the Chinese Revolution, Stalin was supplying arms to the army of Chiang Kai-Shek.

## NORTHWEST PILOTS SCAB ON CLERKS STRIKE

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL—Leaders of the Air Line Pilots Association, AFL-CIO (ALPA) filed suit in Washington, D.C. on September 16 against Northwest Orient Airlines for violations of the Railway Labor Act.

ALPA leaders contend that Northwest's participation in a ten airline mutual aid pact has delayed settlement of Northwest's strike by clerical workers, now moving towards its fourth month.

But what is really prolonging this strike is the refusal of ALPA leaders to back it, allowing several hundred of their members to cross picket lines to keep Northwest running.

The ability of the pilots to bring Northwest to terms was shown graphically last

year when their own contract expired. To get what they demanded, they needed to strike—for seven hours—before Nyrop gave in.

Northwest management knows that this is exactly the situation, that all the lawsuits in the world will not shorten this strike as long as the pilots continue to cross the picket lines.

If anything, this action by the pilots association has only emboldened Northwest. Northwest is now demanding that IAM-organized mechanics report for work on September 21. To a man they have supported the strike and refused to cross the lines, despite being given no benefits from their union, or the state unemployment and welfare agencies.



Strikers picket at gate of Hilton-Davis.



# Nasser, Arafat

Organization's permanent New York Delegation say to that? Whose side are they on?

We say that the Palestinian guerrilla movement under the guns of the Jordanian army has now come face to face with the complete bankruptcy of Nasser and Arafat and the necessity to go beyond these leaders to the actual overthrow of the Arab regimes, Hussein in particular, if they are to survive.

What the Jordanian civil war and the stand taken by Nasser and other Arab regimes that have abstained from this fight poses for the hundredth time is what is elementary for Marxists. The colonial revolution, in this case the Arab revolution and the Palestinian liberation struggle must come under leadership dedicated to socialist revolution in the Middle East. This leadership must be prepared to take on the Zionists and topple the bourgeois nationalists and feudal reactionaries alike if it is to succeed.

As Marxists we begin our assessment and base our intervention in the Middle East on an understanding of the permanent character of the revolution in this epoch.

The theory in its simplest form can be summed up as Trotsky put it:

"With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all its peasant masses."

This theory first elaborated by Trotsky, taken over by Lenin in his April Theses and confirmed in the October Revolution itself is the touchstone for all revolutionary strategy in the colonial world.

Every retreat from this theory, every attempt to separate the colonial revolution into two stages as grounds for leaving it under the leadership of bourgeois nationalist forces and abstaining from the fight to construct and bring to leadership Marxist parties based on the colonial working class has led to bloody defeat.

## SLAUGHTER

Stalinism's embrace of precisely such policies have in fact led to one bloody slaughter after another from the massacre of the Chinese revolution by Chiang Kai-Shek in 1927 to the slaughter of half a million Indonesian Communists by Suharto in 1965.

The Middle East is by no means excepted from these same historical laws as the Boumedienne coup showed in Algeria and the outbreak of civil war in the Middle East is revealing today.

The Arab revolution and the Palestinian struggle must now break out of simple bourgeois nationalist struggle and prepare to take on the Arab regimes both of the Nasser and Hussein types if it is to survive.

This means a break with both Nasser and with Arafat.

Your letter expresses in particular a great many illusions about the nature of the Nasser regime which you maintain has played a progressive role in Egypt and by example throughout the Arab world.

To state that it has played a progressive role in the Middle East is true in the sense that it has reflected the movement of the Arab masses against imperialism and feudal reaction; but the term progressive is far too general an abstraction for the purpose of the issues under dispute. These issues require that Nasser and Nasserism be subjected to a class analysis.

## BONAPARTIST

The Nasser regime is in fact a military bonapartist clique balancing itself between the Egyptian masses and Soviet bureaucracy on the one hand and world imperialism on the other in the interests of the Egyptian nationalist petty-bourgeoisie.

While it has leaned on popular support of the masses at critical moments as when Nasser leaned on a massive transport workers' strike in 1954 to come to power over Neguib or when it armed the populace in 1956 to fight British tanks in Suez, its real relation with the Egyptian working class must be understood.

The Free Officers movement of which Nasser was a part and which came to power in 1952 did so with the knowledge and blessing of U.S. imperialism with involvement on the part of the CIA.

After three weeks in power the Nasser regime had its first confrontation with the Egyptian working class against the 10,000 striking textile workers at Kaf al Dawar. The workers who began their strike cheering the army and the new

revolutionary regime were soon suppressed by Nasser's troops. Six were shot dead, 20 wounded and 200 arrested. In the aftermath two of the strike leaders were hanged after sentence was passed in a football stadium with 1,000 of the workers rounded up by armed troops to hear the sentence.

## SUPPRESSED

In other words while Nasser is prepared to use the Egyptian masses as a pressure against the imperialists or the old feudal section of the Egyptian bourgeoisie, the movement of the working class against the regime is brutally suppressed. The Communist Party has been liquidated in Egypt (with the blessing of Moscow) and no trade unions are permitted independent of the state. The Egyptian masses are in fact permitted to join only the one state controlled organization, the Arab Socialist Union.

This situation prevails throughout those countries in the Middle East which have framed themselves on the Egyptian model. In countries like Iraq where outwardly a very leftist pose may be struck, the most ruthless and barbaric torture is carried out against communists who fill Iraqi jails. Such is Nasser's "progressive" influence in the Middle East.

With the collapse of the boom and the sharpening of class conflict on a world scale, the precarious balancing act of the bourgeois nationalists has become more and more precarious. Imperialism has demanded ever sharper attacks on the colonial masses from the likes of Nasser, threatening to topple such regimes as was the case in Indonesia and Greece where such attacks are not effectively carried out.

## JUNE, 1967

It was within this context of the new assault of imperialism on the Arab nationalist regimes in the Middle East that Israel launched its six day war in June, 1967.

It was precisely this war that signalled the beginning of the end, the complete bankruptcy of the Arab nationalists.

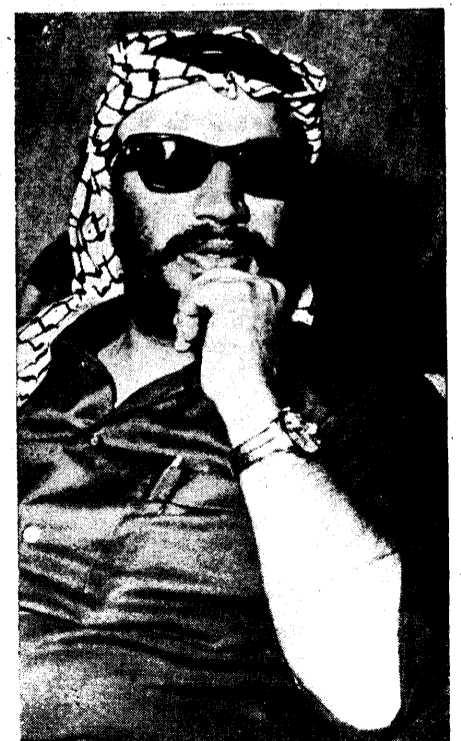
Despite Nasser's efforts to find scapegoats in the Egyptian armed forces for the humiliating defeat (and there were plenty to be had when one realizes that the top Egyptian command was unavailable to repulse the early morning assault as it was recovering from an all night party), the responsibility went deeper than this.

Nasser's entire air force was destroyed on the ground, and the war lost because Nasser never had an offensive plan. In fact he was incapable even of a defense so committed was his regime to dependence on imperialism, so steeped in the outlook of Stalinism, and therefore of years of peaceful coexistence with the Zionists.

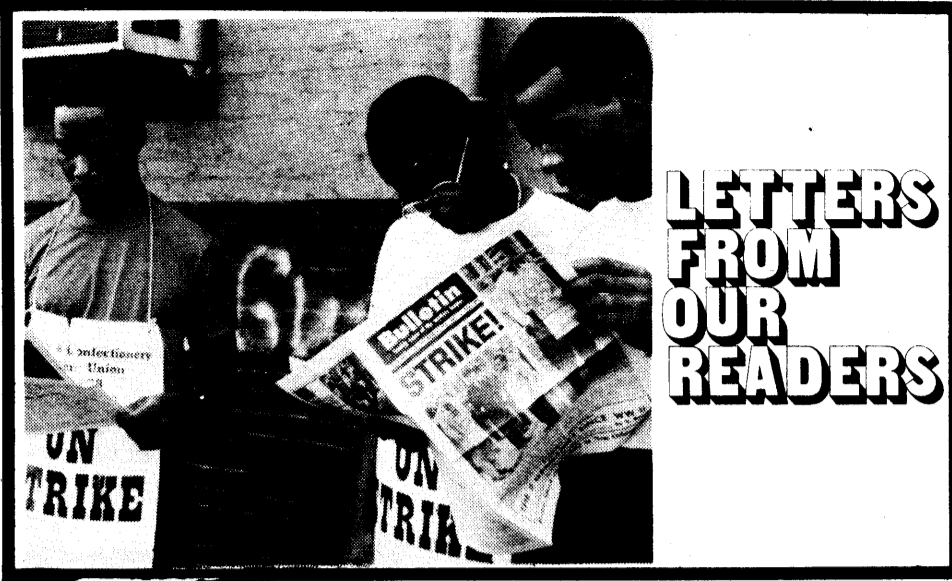
## INDEPENDENT

The huge growth of the Palestine liberation movement after the 1967 war is directly linked to the realization by huge numbers of Palestinian refugees that in regaining their homeland Nasser and his Arab counterparts were completely bankrupt.

The defeat of 1967, more than any of



Arafat of Al Fatah capitulates to Hussein.



New York, N.Y.

To the editor,

This letter is written in what hopefully will be accepted as a spirit of fraternal criticism, since we share common aspirations and hopes for all the people of the world, and in particular for the Palestinian people in their just struggle to liberate themselves from imperialist oppression. The criticism is not directed at the policies of the Workers League, but rather at the method in which these policies were elaborated in the Sept. 7 issue of Bulletin, specifically in the article by Dennis O'Casey entitled "U.S. Imperialists and Kremlin Agree to Police Middle East."

First, in attacking Nasser as a counter-revolutionary, the article neglects to elaborate the role that Nasser has played in Egypt, in the larger Arab world, and until last month in the Palestinian revolution. Since 1952, Nasser has represented a progressive force in Egypt, and, through his example there, in the Arab world. His acceptance of the Rogers Plan has caused a serious division in the Arab world. It must also be noted that prior to the June, 1967, aggression, Egypt played a leading role in the arming and training of the Palestinian commandos. During that war, elements of the Palestine Liberation Army fought alongside their Egyptian brothers, bravely and against a vastly superior force. The early meeting of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestine National Council both took place in Cairo. Until last month, Nasser was the chief source of support on all levels in the Arab world for the Palestinian revolution. It is precisely the question of his apparent shift in policy last month that has created those divisions newly created in the Arab world. Among the commando organizations, there have been two lines on this question: one, held by those organizations which call themselves Marxist-Leninist, is that Nasser's policy comes as no surprise and was predictable on the basis of his petty-bourgeois ideology; the other, held by most of the other organizations, is that Nasser's acceptance of the peace plan is a tactical move designed to gain time for the rearming of the Suez front. In any case, attacks on Nasser, rather than on the peace plan, made by some of the organizations served only to drive a wedge between them and the others, something which at the present is dangerous to the future existence of the Palestinian revolution. Additionally, in view of recent Israeli statements on the possibility of another preemptive strike against Egypt (see, for example, Ben-Gurion's statement of 9/4/70 in the Jerusalem Post that removing Nasser from leadership would insure peace in the

area), Nasser is now in the same danger from Israel as he was just prior to June, 1970.

Second, the subject of the Palestine National Council bears further elaboration. Precisely why the site of the meeting was changed from revolutionary al-Wehdat to the Jordanian Lawyers' Syndicate was never fully explained, but the vulnerable position of al-Wehdat (which is presently surrounded by tanks and artillery of the Jordanian army) may explain the move to the Lawyers' Syndicate building (relatively safe, surrounded by important government buildings not likely to come under attack). One of the significant aspects of the meeting was the absence of any personal attack on Nasser, but the obvious emphasis on attacking the peace plan. This served the immediate purpose of commando unity, something which is desperately important at this critical time, when the total force of the Jordanian government is physically committed to the destruction of the revolution.

Finally, the attack made on Yasir Arafat was certainly not made in the spirit of comradely criticism. It must be recognized that while the Workers League may have political differences with sections of the Palestinian revolution and its leadership, Arafat is committed to a popular war of national liberation, and such a war fought by an oppressed nation is always progressive historically. It is the duty of all who support such progressive, anti-imperialist movements, particularly Marxist-Leninists, to avoid public attacks on them. Such attacks can only serve to feed the gristmills of the counterrevolution here and abroad. If there has been complicity on the part of any section of the leadership of the Palestinian revolution, it is the duty of the friends of the revolution to spell out that complicity in a concrete, objective way, while at the same time offering their criticism in a fraternal spirit. But simply to say that Arafat and other sections of the leadership of the Palestinian revolution are "up to their necks in complicity with Nasser" is to cloud the issue, rather than to clarify it in a Marxist way.

I hope that my remarks are accepted in a spirit of comradeship, and I think that the Workers League, in its formulation of Middle East policy, is on solid ground and moving in a healthy direction. If the office of the Palestine Liberation Organization can provide the League with any information on the Palestinian revolution, please call us.

Mike Sola  
The Palestine Liberation Organization  
Permanent Delegation

## BY DENNIS O'CASEY

In your letter you raise all the fundamental questions of a Marxist approach to the colonial struggle in general and the Middle East in particular.

To say, as you do, that we agree and share common aspirations for the Palestinian people in their struggle for liberation from imperialist oppression is, of course, true. The Workers League and the Marxist movement from the advent of the imperialist epoch has supported every struggle of colonial peoples for self-determination against imperialism and have done so unconditionally no matter how badly these struggles have been led.

While we support and participate in these struggles, we carry out the sharpest struggle against such misleadership.

We must completely reject your challenge to our right to criticize Nasser and Arafat. This represents an attempt on your part to cover up for forces which at this very moment are stabbing a knife in the back of the struggle of the Palestinian people against Hussein.

As the Jordanian army launches its bloody liquidation of the guerrilla movement, what has been the role of Nasser and Arafat?

While the Palestinian guerrillas resist Hussein, guns in hand, appealing for other Arab support, Nasser sends his envoys flitting about the Arab world on diplomatic jaunts condemning Hussein and the guerrillas alike as he pleads for a ceasefire based on continuing Jordanian army control of Jordan.

Arafat at the very moment when the combination of massive popular support to the guerrilla forces and Syrian tanks begin to turn the tide against Hussein capitulates to the ceasefire call issued by Nasser and Hussein. But the Palestinian guerrillas correctly defy Arafat, Nasser and Hussein and fight on.

What does the Palestine Liberation

# Betray Fight Of Palestinian Masses

the many criminal utterances of Nasser to the effect that he would be willing to accept the 1947 partition or more recently the pre-1967 boundaries, set off this new wave of independent organization by the guerrilla movement.

Since 1967 this movement has struck far more devastating blows against the Israeli aggressors than the actions of the Arab governments in the entire 20 years before.

Since 1967, therefore, at the same time Nasser has had to maneuver to keep the lid on the explosion building up in the Egyptian masses at home, he has had to conduct a continuous battle to keep the Palestine liberation movement from getting out of his control. Nasser, as well as the Kremlin bureaucracy upon which one leg of the Nasser regime heavily rests, is well aware that the independence of the guerrilla movement opens the door to an offensive against Israel which threatens to break up the whole equilibrium upon which imperialism, Stalinism, Nasserism and Zionism all rest—setting the stage for socialist revolution.

## ARAFAT

In his effort to keep the guerrilla movement within safe bounds Nasser finds his most solid base of support in the guerrilla movement itself in the person of Yasser Arafat.

A case in point is the struggle that broke out between Arab commandos and the Lebanese government in October, 1969.

In the course of two weeks of sharp fighting punctuated with huge strikes and demonstrations, the commandos had all but taken over the country when Nasser with the help of Arafat engineered an agreement. This deal not only handed Lebanon to the Lebanese bourgeoisie but specifically upheld Lebanese sovereignty and agreed to heavy restriction on the guerrilla movement to the point of agreeing that all offensive operations against Israel should be within the framework of the so-called "Arab Plan."

Arafat's refusal to lay hands on the Arab governments, his continual pleas that the commandos do not want to take the power from the Arab rulers, and his ever readiness to accept the removal of a few so-called reactionaries in one or another of the Arab armies when the commandos stand within inches of overthrowing Hussein—all this is being payed for today in a virtual river of commando blood.

## PFLP

This is why there are now big shifts taking place to the left within the commando movement reflected in the growing prestige of the PFLP.

While Arafat and the Palestine National Council passed a resolution in the Jordanian Lawyers' Syndicate, completely evading the fresh betrayal of Nasser, Hussein and the Stalinists in accepting the Rogers Plan, it was the PFLP which

sent the imperialist peace plan up in smoke along with three hijacked airliners on Dawsons field.

Arafat's attack on and expulsion of PLFP from the PLO for this courageous and audacious act lined him up with every counterrevolutionary force from Moscow to Cairo to Washington to Tel Aviv.

Far from we, who criticize Arafat, being responsible for breaking up the united stand of all guerrilla organizations against the Zionists and Hussein, it is Arafat who is undermining the struggle by attempting to isolate and set up the liquidation of the PFLP.

It is more and more Arafat who emerges the scoundrel as the U.S. and the Zionists prepare to intervene.

In this new situation it is inevitable that Arafat will be left behind by the upsurge. The Arab masses are rising from the Jordanian embassies in London and Moscow to the Zionist occupied Gaza Strip. The ground is now being prepared for the creation of Marxist parties in the Middle East.

## PROGRAM

The program around which this fight can go forward must be based upon a break with the purely nationalist program of the Arafats. Key to this strategy must be direct appeals to the Israeli as well as Arab workers for a joint struggle against Zionism, imperialism and its petty-bourgeois agents like Nasser as

well as feudal elements like Hussein for a socialist Middle East.

In the next to last paragraph of your letter you say:

"Arafat is committed to a popular war of national liberation, and such a war fought by an oppressed nation is always progressive historically. It is the duty of all who support such progressive, anti-imperialist movements, particularly Marxist-Leninists, to avoid public attacks on them. Such attacks can only serve to feed the gristmills of the counterrevolution here and abroad."

This we absolutely reject. We say that it is Arafat who is betraying the Arab and Palestinian revolution by agreeing to Nasser's criminal ceasefire and not we who expose this betrayal.

## CLASS

From your letter it is clear that you are aware of the existence of different trends and opinions in relation to Nasser's role in the Middle East but you seek to evade passing judgement for the sake of unity at all costs.

The fact remains that there is no unity between Nasser, Arafat and the Palestinian masses. The Jordanian civil war has driven a class wedge between the Palestinian masses and their petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership.

It is now up to you to have done with evasions, to reassess the situation in the light of the new events and take sides.

## Behind The Politics Of SDS: Is Progressive Labor Stalinist?

Dear Friends,

In your last two issues of Bulletin, you viciously attacked PL and SDS. I think this and your constant referral to "Stalinism" is uncalled for.

First of all, PL does not make an idol of Stalin. PL is Marxist-Leninist not Stalinist as you accuse.

Also, I do not understand your attack on SDS. Please explain in detail in your next issue, what you think Stalinism is.

Thank you,  
C. B.

## BY LUCY ST. JOHN

In your letter you correctly infer that Stalinism is not Marxism-Leninism. Progressive Labor, however, sees this question differently. But let PL speak for itself.

In its basic document "Road to Revolution" which together with "Road to Revolution II" has recently been published in a pamphlet entitled "Revolution, U.S.A.," PL makes the unequivocal statement that Stalin was a "great proletarian revolutionary" and made "enormous contributions" to Marxism-Leninism.

In relation to the revelations about Stalin made by Khrushchev at the 20th Party Congress, PL says the following:

"But in content and in the manner it was presented this report has nothing in common with a serious Marxist analysis and evaluation of Stalin's role. It does not place his enormous contributions and his serious errors in this historical context, but offered instead a subjective, crude negation of a great Marxist-Leninist and proletarian revolutionary." (our emphasis)

After admitting that Stalin made "serious errors" (an admission the Communist Party today makes), the author of this document, Milt Rosen, goes on:

"Stalin's contributions, which an overall historical evaluation of his life demonstrate to be primary, . . . In initiating and repeating their violent attacks upon Stalin, the present leadership of the CPSU sought to undermine the influence of this proletarian revolutionary among the people of the Soviet Union and throughout the world. In this way, they prepared the ground for negating Marxism-Leninism, which Stalin defended and developed, in order to introduce their own revisionist line." (our emphasis)

## DEFENSE

In "Road to Revolution II" PL again asserts the correctness of Stalin's policies and in particular takes up a defense of "Stalin's historic struggle to defeat

Trotskyism" and Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country." It was this theory which was developed by Stalin to justify the rejection of Leninism and the fight for world revolution.

More recently in an internal document entitled "National Committee report and guide for internal party discussion," a document which began a very brief internal discussion on the question of the "bloc of four classes," the PL leadership explicitly states that Stalin developed Marxism. According to PL contributions of Stalin and Mao have laid the basis for the victory of the working class.

"M-L (Marxism-Leninism) is very much the discovery of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao (MELSM). (sic!) Their discoveries were reflections of the activities by the masses, activities they themselves participated in and led. By analyzing the practical activities of the masses during their own time and historically, these giants of M-L were able to discard the old and the wrong and clarify what was right and coming into existence. Because of the discovery of M-L the mass of the people—the international working class—have entered the state of liberating themselves forward to a new stage in history. None of this would have been possible without the leadership of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao."

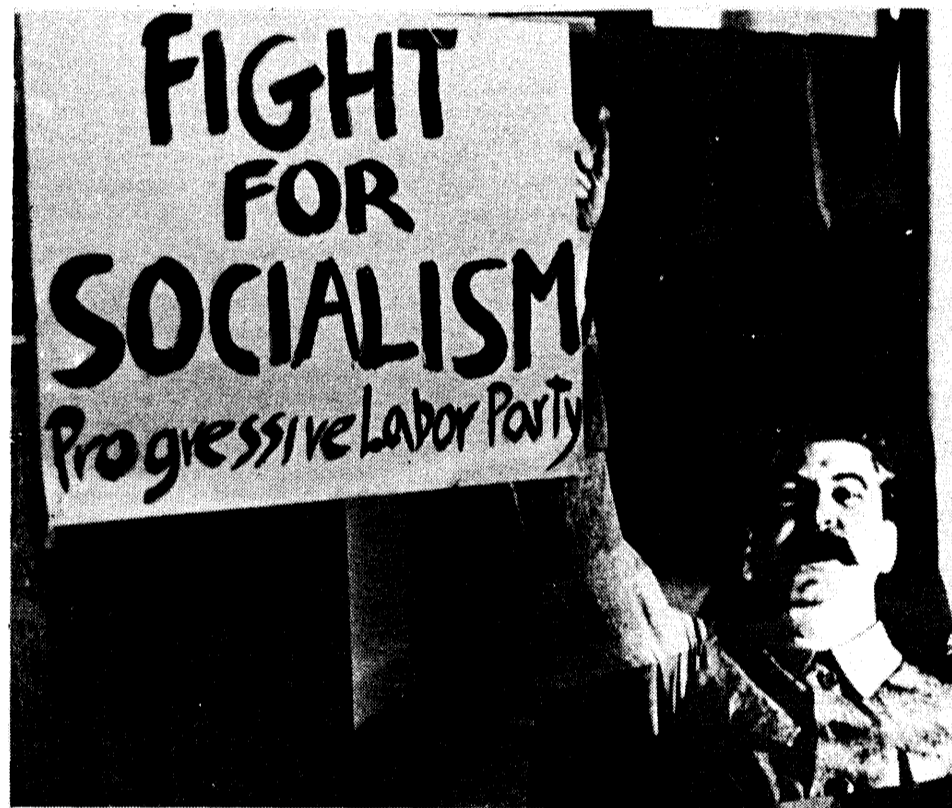
## FOUNDATION

But the clearest statement on PL's position and the very foundation of PL's theoretical understanding was made by Mort Scheer in this internal discussion when one of the members of PL raised the question of Trotsky and his correct struggle against Stalin. This statement only reveals that on the fundamental question of the development of the Marxist movement, PL stands full square with the Communist Party.

"While it is true that we are very critical of the weaknesses and serious mistakes in theory and practice of Stalin's leadership, our criticisms are within the framework of regarding Stalin as a Marxist-Leninist leader and the Soviet Union under his leadership a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. . . .

"The historic debate on the question of building socialism in a single country was brilliantly defended by Stalin. Trotsky was completely routed ideologically, politically and organizationally. . . .

"Stalin defeated Trotsky because Stalin defended Leninism against Trotskyism. In the period of the great debate, the questions were openly and thoroughly debated throughout the entire party. Trotsky was completely demolished and isolated. Stalin's line in this period was a mass line, a class line, a revolutionary and internationalist line."



PL considers Stalin "great proletarian leader" and defends policies of Stalinism.

It should be clear where PL stands on the question of Stalinism. Stalinism developed as the theory and practice of the Soviet bureaucracy which grew up after the October revolution. Stalin who had nothing but disdain for questions of theory and philosophy became the spokesman for the small privileged sections of the working class and peasantry which united with sections of the urban middle class and the functionaries in the government to form a bureaucratic caste.

The interests of this caste were reflected in the theory of "socialism in one country." The task of the Bolshevik Party and the parties of the International became to protect the Soviet Union from intervention through alliance with non-revolutionary forces. Stalin's adventurist policies in Germany and the Popular Front of alliances of the working class with the bourgeoisie led the working class into defeat after defeat and into fascism. In order to carry out these betrayals Stalin had to liquidate a whole generation of revolutionaries and the founders of the Bolshevik Party. This was the "enormous contribution" which Stalin made to Marxism-Leninism! The strategy mapped out by Lenin and the Communist International was developed, forged and tested by Trotsky in the fight against Stalinism.

## TROTSKYISM

There is no "third" ideology—there is no middle road between the philosophy of the bourgeoisie and the philosophy of the working class, Marxism. Stalinism represents the method and outlook of the

ruling class inside the working class, of compromise with capitalism and the subordination of the working class to the interests of capital. The continuity and development of Marxism historically has been carried forward only by Trotskyism.

While the leadership of PL broke from the Communist Party it broke empirically refusing to confront the roots of revisionism in Stalinism and Trotsky's fight against Stalinism. PL in fact has attempted to crush any opposition in its organization which has dared to raise this question. This is because PL bases itself on the policies of Stalinism.

## AUTO

PL today represents no more than a left version of the Communist Party and is incapable of posing a real alternative to that party. This can be seen most clearly in the case of the current auto strike. The Communist Party calls for support to Woodcock and the UAW bureaucracy as its form of a "student-worker" alliance just as they support the liberal section of the Democratic Party.

PL does not support the liberal Democrats and is opposed in words to the labor bureaucracy. But it refuses to raise the labor party—the slogan insisted upon by both Lenin and Trotsky as well as Marx and Engels—and refuses to raise any programmatic demands for the construction of an opposition to Woodcock within the UAW. Its purpose is clearly to build a student movement on the basis of the movement of the UAW rather than to build an alternative leadership within the labor movement itself.





## SF City College Administration Bans Student Newspaper

BY A SF CITY COLLEGE STUDENT

SAN FRANCISCO—Some of the repression in store for students this fall was revealed at City College here when the student newspaper, *The Guardsman*, was banned for its political content.

The paper, continuing to turn away from student affairs like fraternity news had scheduled articles on the Soledad Three, Irish radical Bernadette Devlin, and the labor movement in the U.S.

The banning of the paper is only the latest of a series of moves against it by the administration. These moves have included the removal of the previous head of the Journalism Department because of her inability to contain the students who put out the paper, and her replacement by a former head of propaganda for NATO who has been described as a "fascist" by some of the journalism students.

The first move was to ban the newspaper. The issue however runs deeper than the banning of the paper. It must be seen as part of the growing crisis of U.S. capitalism. Daily the situation in Southeast Asia worsens for the U.S., preparing the way

for renewed invasions by U.S. troops; in Jordan the civil war raging sets the stage for armed U.S. intervention. On the home-front a rapidly declining economy combined with growing militancy by the union movement make the current GM strike a show-down between government and labor.

In this situation the government has no intention of allowing the growing student movement to spread. On the contrary, the government will try to smash political activity on the campus, knowing full well that unchecked political action by students, like that which shut down 500 campuses last semester, combined with the hazards of thousands of workers already in the streets, could lead to a very dangerous situation.

### DISCIPLINING

Seen in this light the banning of *The Guardsman* at City is an obvious step in the disciplining of students and is an attempt to force them back. It is an attack on students and it must be met immediately. The student body must defend *The Guardsman*. Petition campaigns must be started immediately, rallying thousands of students to the defense of the paper. A rally must be built demanding hands off the paper.

## SF Paper Exploits Youth In Subscription Racket

BY MARGARET COCHRAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Youth in cities across the country are being exploited by companies specializing in getting periodical subscriptions.

The youth from the ages of 12-15 are picked up after school and taken to another town where they are dropped off one by one at street corners with orders like "do four blocks down and back."

The crew boss gives the youth their "speech:" "Keep pushing until they slam the door in your face" and "remember, the customer doesn't give a damn about the paper, she will buy because she wants you to win that racing bike you're competing for—and the contest is over in 20 minutes, got it! Now get out there and push!"

To spur the youth on a system of bonuses is used—these are "given" early in the week but do not appear on their paychecks unless they make their quotas during the latter part of the week. Besides these elusive bonuses (\$8 for 10 subs) the boys are paid a grand total of \$1.00 for each sub they get. The boys who sell none are paid \$3.00 for about seven hours of work.

## UAW Leadership In Fremont Uses "Hard Hat" Tactics Against Ranks

BY STEVE ZELTZER

FREMONT, CALIF.—Backed by seventy union goons with baseball bats, John Herrera, UAW Local 1364 Shop Chairman, and Paul Shrade, Western Regional Director, UAW, attempted last Friday to stifle and rebait any opposition to their paralysis in fighting for a victory in the UAW strike.

This attempt by the union bureaucracy came on the heels of the shutdown of the Fremont plant by workers on Monday the 18th. The shutdown came after auto workers saw that Herrera had failed to organize pickets at the plant gates at the 12 a.m. strike deadline and that GM was trying to move recently assembled trucks out of the plant.

The workers on their own moved in front of the gates and were successful in turning the trucks back. Later they massed in the streets after setting fire to a garbage truck that was leaving the plant. While congregating in the street, two police cars followed by an ambulance headed toward the crowd. The police cars with lights on and sirens wailing had no trouble getting through the crowd. However the ambulance which followed twenty-five yards behind the police cars had no lights on or operating sign. The auto workers seeing and hearing the two police cars, opened up the road and the two cars went quickly through unmolested. The lines however closed up again as UAW members walked toward their hall.

### INFURIATED

The silent ambulance did not wait for the auto lines to open up again. The driver of the ambulance ploughed into an unwary worker who was walking towards the hall. The worker was driven about ten feet by the car and was carried away by other workers after the ambulance came to a halt. The response to this was that infuriated workers on both sides of the ambulance pulled out the driver and a fight ensued.

The response of Shop Committee Chairman Herrera the next day is critically important. Asked by newsmen about the incident, Herrera said that "both the

union leadership and the Fremont police" had investigated this incident together and both found that "Berkeley rabble rousers" were the cause of it.

This is the response by the union bureaucracy to a vicious attack on auto workers. Unable to even close down the plant at the deadline, Herrera, taking his cues from Agnew, along with the police now attack students and "leftists" as the reason for the fight with the ambulance drivers.

### REASON

Herrera has good reason though, for launching this anti-red campaign. The ranks of the local are demanding that Herrera state whether he is committed to fighting for a \$1.65 an hour raise, union control of the lines, and the total shutdown of the auto plants to throw the auto makers back. This is the reason that the United Action caucus, a group of rank and file auto workers who are calling for these demands, was forced by Herrera's goons to call off a rally on Friday the 18th during dunning out pay for last weeks' work.

Herrera and Shrade are frightened, afraid they cannot control their ranks. They openly showed their contempt for the strike when they called off night picketing at the plant because of "student troublemakers." However, this maneuver was thwarted after a sharp protest from the workers.

### DEMAND

These bureaucrats will stop at nothing. In addition to ordering the United Action Caucus not to hold their rally, the union leadership has given orders to the Fremont police, who are quite willing to comply, to arrest any person handing out leaflets to auto workers on the public boulevard next to the auto plant. On Friday the International Socialists, the Black Panther Caucus and the Workers League were ordered at the point of arrest to discontinue leafleting and leave the area.

The ranks must demand weekly union meetings with an open microphone for discussion of the demands and issues in the strike. In addition, Fremont workers must demand that Herrera and Shrade end their red baiting attacks. The purpose of these attacks is to stifle opposition to their rotten leadership.

## United Action Caucus Takes Militant Lead In UAW

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

FREMONT, CALIF.—Auto workers at GM's Fremont plant not only face the auto bosses and a vicious red baiting campaign, but a strong arm squad organized by the bureaucracy to keep "outside agitators" away from the rank and file.

Herrera, Local 1364 Shop Chairman, lives in such fear of his militant ranks that he refused even to call a strike vote meeting, organizing instead an all day ballot. Absolutely no discussion of the union's demands has been permitted.

It is also clear that it is not "the student radicals from Berkeley" that are panicking Mr. Herrera, but the growing opposition with his own local which has given a very important expression with the organization of the Local 1364 United Action Caucus.

This caucus has posed very sharply a number of the key questions facing auto workers. In a number of leaflets it has warned against government intervention, exposed the betrayals of the Woodcock leadership, demanded the shutdown of the entire industry, and raised the call for a labor party.

The caucus has supported the fight for 30 and out, \$500 a month, and for union control over line speed, work rules and conditions. It has refused to compromise on the wage question:

"We say that not one cent less than the Teamster settlement of \$1.65 per hour over a three year contract plus 26 cents wage increase as old money owed us in cost of living on the old contract be paid us in money, not fringe benefits, and the reinstatement of the full escalator clause on non-negotiable wage issues. This means that Woodcock must not sit down at the table and bargain on these wage issues because to 'compromise' on these reasonable wage demands would be a sellout and the ranks would have to turn thumbs down on this type of offer."

### MILITANT

By posing such a militant lead this caucus has already been able to rally a number of workers and there is no doubt that Herrera and Company are well aware of the danger of an alternative leadership emerging in the course of a long strike struggle and are desperately seeking to head off such a development.

Precisely because it is so important we think it is necessary to warn that a serious danger of disorientation is developing in the caucus.

While this caucus has put forward a program which poses the road to victory in this strike, it is retreating from the real struggle to mobilize the ranks of the UAW against the Woodcock leadership. This problem has been raised over the perspective in the caucus of turning the fight around a consumer boycott of GM products, turning away from the fight in the union to forces outside—to the "community."

This outlook reveals the real pessimism among some members of the caucus about the ability of the ranks to defeat the auto bosses. The real strength and power of the workers lies in their independent fight in the UAW around the program raised by the caucus. This means the fight must center on mobilizing the ranks not only in Fremont but throughout the country involving the auto workers at Ford and Chrysler, as well as GM. On this basis the United Action Caucus can and must take the lead in this fight.

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