

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 7, NO. 5-165 OCTOBER 5, 1970 103 TEN CENTS

## The East German Uprising Of 1953



# DETROIT UAW RANKS DEMONSTRATE FOR HIGHER WAGES

SEE PAGE 4



*Cops Attack Students During Bakery Strike*



## Nasser-- Imperialism Loses a Faithful Servant

BY THE EDITORS

The death of Abdel Nasser has thrown the imperialist world into a state of panic. They mourn the loss of their most effective servant. A ranking State Department official called his death "a critical loss at a decisive moment in history."

Most significant of all, President Nixon called off maneuvers of the Sixth Fleet and stated: "this tragic loss requires that all nations, and particularly those in the Middle East, renew their efforts to calm passions, reach for mutual understanding, and build lasting peace."

What Nixon states clearly is that Nasser's loss puts in jeopardy the plans of the United States to impose a peace settlement on the Middle East at the expense of the Palestinians and in order to secure imperialism's domination of the region.

NIXON

The gesture with the Sixth Fleet is most revealing. The Sixth Fleet is in the Mediterranean in case it is needed for direct military intervention in Jordan against the Palestinians. Nixon's whole trip to the Mediterranean is designed to bolster United States' dominance in the region threatened on one side by the revolutionary struggle of the Arab masses and on the other side by the strike wave sweeping Italy and Spain, a wave which could soon sweep through Greece as well which explains the U.S. decision to arm the Junta.

The New York Times in a bitter editorial, reveals that when it comes to the Middle East it stands with the most hawkish section of the capitalists. Even the Times worries about the "void" left by Nasser's death. It concludes: "the question is whether Egypt and the other Arab states are prepared to support the kind of moderate leadership that is required or whether the Arab masses will continue to demand—and get—the destructive demagoguery that poisoned Nasser's career."

What the Times urges is that the ruling capitalists of these countries resist what the masses "demand." What the masses are demanding is more than demagoguery from a Nasser about the struggle against imperialism and Zionism but actual leadership in this struggle. Whether Nasser had died at this moment or not is not critical. It is clear that ever since he signed his ceasefire deal with Israel, Nasser's time for demagoguery was quickly ending. With each passing explosive week he came more and more into collision with the demands of the masses. For his own reputation with the masses Nasser could not have died a moment later.

LEADERSHIP

The death of Nasser raises all the more sharply the need to build a leadership in the Middle East on a class basis, on a Marxist basis which sees the struggle against imperialism as part of the struggle for socialism. This is the policy of the Fourth International.

# Fight Federal Welfare Robbery Guards Replace SF Social Workers

## Guerrillas Hold Major Cities As Arafat, Hussein Sign Deal

BY THE EDITORS

As King Hussein and Arafat sign an accord, along with such "revolutionaries" as King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and Sheik Sabah al-Salem al-Sabah of Kuwait, the fighting continues in Amman. In no sense is the struggle over and in no sense has Hussein scored a decisive victory.

The truth is that prior to Hussein's bloody attack on the guerrillas and the Palestinian people he controlled the whole country though guerrillas moved freely within it. Now three major cities in the North are in guerrilla hands and whole sections of Amman are also in guerrilla hands. In addition, and most important, millions of the Arab peoples have learned a bitter lesson as to exactly who their friends and enemies really are.

Hussein's aim was to wipe out the guerrillas in 48 hours. This he failed to do in the course of a bloody nine days. In fact it is clear if it had not been for the traitorous role of the Soviet Union in collusion with the Syrian government to force the withdrawal of the Palestinian army of the North, the Hussein regime itself would have toppled and the possibility of the socialist revolution itself opened up for the Arab masses.

### DEAL

The present ceasefire has been arranged by Arafat of El Fatah in a deal with some of the most reactionary rulers of the Middle East despite the boycott of the meetings by Iraq, Algeria, Morocco and Syria. Arafat has emerged as the direct agent of Nasser, while Nasser with Soviet backing is the major factor in seeking to destroy the revolutionary Palestinian movement and come to terms with the imperialists and their Zionist allies.

While the Palestinian movement has not been destroyed and Hussein has been weakened in the course of the struggle, the movement is very much in danger. Hussein has signed the ceasefire only in order to gain time to strengthen his forces for a new pogrom. Meanwhile the New York Times reports his soldiers "are still searching for militant guerrilla leaders, including Dr. George Habash, head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which engineered four hijackings of airlines that were landed in Jordan, and Nayef Hawatmeh, head of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, who is said to have been badly wounded here. Prices have been put on the heads of both."

### OVERTHROW

Nothing will be settled in the Middle East without the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist regimes so necessary to the struggle to defeat imperialism and realize the self-determination of the

## WORKERS PRESS TO PUBLISH SIX DAYS A WEEK

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

The Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League has marked the first anniversary of its daily paper, the *Workers Press* by announcing a new leap for the whole world Trotskyist movement. Beginning October 12, 1970 the paper will appear six days a week instead of five.

Far from folding up as some sceptics and cynics predicted when the daily was launched, the *Workers Press* continues to grow and gain support among British workers and among important sections of students and intellectuals who support the working class.

The *Workers Press* has a solid base of regular readers who have consistently supported the campaigns of the SLL as seen in the tremendous turnout for the Trotsky Memorial meeting in London and the following lectures.

### LEADERSHIP

The fight to develop a Marxist leadership in the unions is only possible through the fight to expand the paper which can give leadership on a daily basis to the workers' struggles. With a six day publication schedule the SLL will be able to step up its fight against the anti-labor policies of the Tory government and the betrayals of the Stalinist and labor bureaucracies.

As the class struggle sharpens in Britain as well as in every other country the question of exposing and defeating the

Palestinian people as part of a socialist Middle East.

There can be no return to the old relations. It is not the same as before the bloodletting. The sheiks and kings and colonels cannot buy a little peace from the masses with money to the guerrillas and sell a lot of oil and cotton to the very imperialists who arm Israel to its teeth against the guerrillas.

The duplicity of the Soviet Union in the 1967 war itself, when knowing full well of the impending Israeli attack it left the Arabs defenseless, has come out in the open around its support of the ceasefire deal between Egypt and Israel, its open hostility to the hijackers, its pressure upon Syria at the behest of the United States and therefore in the service of Hussein, and now its obvious support of the Hussein-Arafat ceasefire.

### LESSON

The lesson we must draw from this is that we must sharpen up our own struggle against Stalinism. The American Communist Party has openly supported the Egypt-Israel deal and has refused to criticize any action of the Soviet Union in the Middle East. The *Daily World* in the September 26 issue actually goes so far as to see in the recent events "a Palestinian victory." That Hussein still rules in Jordan can be attributed to the *Daily World's* Moscow masters and the great slaughter of the Palestinian people must also be laid at the same door. The Palestinians will not tolerate another such "victory" but will determinedly fight on despite the Soviet Union and the American Communist Party.

### SWP

The Socialist Workers Party refuses to print one critical word on Arafat whose complicity with Nasser in attempts to sell out the Palestinian struggle has been so sharply revealed over the last few days. Perhaps Peter Buch on his current tour of the nation on this question will clarify the SWP's position on this question vital to the future of the Arab Revolution.

The Workers League will aid the Palestinians through an intensification of its struggle against Stalinism and for a revolutionary working class alternative in the United States. The Middle East events gives a new urgency to our scheduled meetings commemorating the 30th year since the death of Leon Trotsky.

plans of the Stalinists and their allies in the labor movement becomes the key to winning workers over to the revolutionary party.

The Socialist Labour League is appealing to all its supporters to join the party and contribute to this fight. The Central Committee has announced a campaign to win 1,000 new subscribers, to raise the monthly fighting fund from 1,000 pounds to 1,250 pounds and to raise an additional 1,000 pounds by October 18 to finance the six day paper. We are confident that they will meet their goals and go way beyond them.

## Trotsky Memorial Drive Gets Off To Good Start

BY THE EDITORS

We are happy to announce that the Trotsky Memorial Fund and Subscription Drive are off to a good start. As we go to press we have received pledges of \$11,400 towards our goal of \$10,000 by December 1. This means we have every opportunity of not only meeting the \$10,000 goal, but of even reaching \$12,000 if a real drive is made from now on in.

As of press time we have received \$2,443.71 on the drive. While this is below the one third needed by October 1 we are convinced that the mails for the rest of the week will bring us close to the one-third mark. We will need at

least \$7,600.00 in by November 1. It is extremely important that we not only receive the full amounts pledged but that we pace the drive to hit these targets so we can meet commitments made in moving to our new offices and in purchase of new equipment.

We are happy to announce that we have just installed a new leaflet and brochure press so that we can immediately start issuing printed leaflets as part of our campaign for the Trotsky Memorial Lectures, our fight for the auto workers, and in addition start production on a whole series of Bulletin pamphlets. This and related equipment must be paid for out of this fund drive. To the extent that we go over our \$10,000 quota we will be able to step up our printing schedule of these vital pamphlets.

On the circulation drive, while we have experienced a very sharp rise of over 1,000 in street sales, the subscription

drive is still lagging behind what it will have to be to meet our quota of 1,500 subs by December 1. Some 186 have been received so far when at least 500 should have been received. We must now aim at 1,000 subs by November 1. This can easily be done if each branch and all our readers begin serious subscription work.

At a time when the *Guardian* announces it hasn't paid its staff for four weeks and will fold if it does not raise \$17,000 immediately and when the *Daily World* drops color from its cover and announces it, too, will fold if it does not raise \$25,000 by October 10, the *Bulletin* can announce it is in no danger whatsoever financially. Our need for funds is to make it possible for us to expand the *Bulletin* and every aspect of our work.

We ask our readers to help out by sending contributions and subscriptions to: Labor Publications, 135 W. 14 St., 6th Floor, NYC 10011.

## EDITORIAL

# Labor Leaders Call For Revolt Against Meany

Victor Gotbaum, President of District Council 37, which represents 80,000 New York City public employees deserves the full support of labor's rank and file in his call for a revolt against the right wing drift of national AFL-CIO head George Meany and Raymond Corbett of the New York State AFL-CIO.

"The conservative building trades heads must not go unchallenged," he stated. "We need a progressive coalition in the labor movement to oppose the building trades and Meany."

"The building trades may becoming middle class, but that is only one segment of labor," he went on. "It doesn't hold true for the women working in the garment factories, the workers in hospitals, or seamen on American ships." We might add that it doesn't hold true for construction workers though it certainly does hold for Brennen and the other union bureaucrats.

### resolutions

Gotbaum's statement comes at a time when other sections of labor are also speaking up. Some 350 delegates representing 165,000 members of the United Electrical Workers passed resolutions calling the Vietnam War "intolerable," attacking the government for its shooting of Kent State students, and declaring its support for the defense of the Black Panthers. The recent Illinois AFL-CIO convention passed no less than three resolutions against the war. Jack Spiegel of the Shoe Workers stated:

"If we can demonstrate in our day to day life in our shops and on our picket lines that we are concerned with the unity of the blacks and the whites, then no Wallace, no Spiro Agnew and no Nixon can divide us."

David Livingston of District 65, affiliated with the ALA, has come out with a sharp attack stating that: "The national government is out to build a mass base for reaction" citing its attacks on the Panthers in particular. He noted its increased use of racism and "plain old anti-Communism."

### lead

In the light of the national auto strike and the preparations of the Steel Workers for what could be another strike in basic industry, there is the greatest need for a real lead from the labor movement to all workers, minority peoples and youth. These new voices from the labor leadership are welcome.

But more than voices are needed, more than resolutions, and a lot more than attempts to refurbish the old Democratic Party machine. Meany is right when he sees the Democratic Party in shambles and all of Gotbaum's horses and all of Livingston's men will not put it back together again.

### party

What is called for now is for the labor movement to strike boldly out in a new direction and start to organize its own party against the two major parties controlled by the bosses.

We say that if Gotbaum, if Livingston, if the UE, if Jack Spiegel will take the lead in this, the response from labor's ranks, from the minority communities, from students and youth will be overwhelming. This and this alone is the only way to beat back the right wing attempts to build a reactionary movement to destroy labor in America.

This is the struggle we intend to take forward now in the unions and on the campuses. As a positive step in this direction we urge all militants to vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party wherever they are on the ballot or running write-in campaigns.



# Young Lords Attack Peoples Front At Conference

BY JOSE REYES

NEW YORK—The Puerto Rican Students Conference called by the Young Lords Party and the Puerto Rican Students Union took place at Columbia University's Wollman Auditorium on September 22 and 23.

The attendance at this conference reflects the turn of a large section of working class youth to the fight against capitalism and to a socialist alternative.

This was made very clear in the Socialism workshop in the afternoon of the 22nd. In this workshop, Carlos Aponte, Education Lieutenant for the Bronx YLP and leader of the workshop, criticized one participant who said that a People's Front was needed. The YLP, Aponte said, is against any alliances with the bosses, either Puerto Rican or American. When a supporter of MPI (Movimiento Pro Independencia) implied that the fight for Puerto Rican independence came first, and we will worry about socialism later, Aponte spoke about the "permanent revolution" and said that the struggle for independence is the struggle for socialism.

WL

The Workers League intervened in the conference with a leaflet outlining the tasks that Puerto Rican youth must take up in order to take the struggle for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico and in the U.S. forward. The leaflet urged the development of a revolutionary youth movement to unite the struggles of

youth—black, white and Latin, students, workers and unemployed—with the struggles of the working class. It clearly posed the struggle for Puerto Rican liberation as a CLASS question which is vital to the entire U.S. working class, as well as to Puerto Ricans.

It proposed, on that basis, the following four points:

1. That it (the conference) support the auto workers' strike and the demand for \$1.25 an hour increase in the first year of the contract. This is a struggle of the whole working class.

2. That it sharply protest the vicious attacks on the Black Panther Party, the Chicano antiwar march, Los Siete de la Raza, and on other militants by the government, and that the fight against these attacks be taken into the trade union movement.

3. That it call on the labor movement to support the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico. This struggle must be the fight for socialism in Puerto Rico.

4. That it declare its complete opposition to all bourgeois parties and their Spanish-speaking lackeys and call for the formation of a party of all workers—a labor party based on the trade unions.

This leaflet got a very good response from many of the people at the conference, including some purple-bereted members of the Young Lords who said that the leaflet was "right on."

DANGEROUS

Also expressed at the conference was confusion and most dangerous of all a tendency on the part of the Lords' leadership to have a hostile attitude towards Marxist theory. Reformism and Stalinism feeds on this basis.

For instance the very same Aponte who had attacked two-stage theories and declared for the permanent revolution also launched a bitter attack on Marxism during the socialism workshop. He specifically attacked the notion of "class analyses" and stated that if that was part of socialism then "F--- you and socialism." He went on to say that scientific socialism was "white European mumbo jumbo."

REFORMIST

This attitude towards theory feeds the very strong reformist current within the Young Lords. Their strategy is the "long road through institutions." According to Aponte, "the most we can do now is take institutions of oppression and turn them around from institutions of oppression to institutions of struggle." This is in sharp contrast to Lenin's and Trotsky's strategy of the independent mobilization of the working class against imperialism, colonial oppression and capitalism, the strategy the Workers League fought for.

The attack on Progressive Labor that took place at the conference flowed from this point of view. PL was prevented from setting up a literature table outside the building where the conference was taking place, although other tendencies were allowed to do so, and the Communist Party youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, had a literature table inside the auditorium. The right wing basis of the attack was made clear by Aponte that morning when he announced the PL would not be allowed to set up a table because "PL is the enemy of black and Puerto Rican liberation." and then declared "We're not going to take any crap from any Old Left-sectarian, white middle class group who claims to be the vanguard and wants to lead our struggle."

While PL is totally wrong on the national question, denying completely the right of nations to self determination, the Young Lords only expose their own political bankruptcy when they resort to physical attacks and barring other groups.

URGENCY

The Young Lords Conference represents above all a turn of sections of minority youth towards socialism and the working class movement. It represents a similar trend to Huey Newton's declaration for socialism at the recent Panther conference. It also underlines the urgency of the struggle of the Trotskyist movement against Stalinism and for an international class struggle perspective. The forthcoming Trotsky Memorial Lectures take on special meaning in this light.

## General Ky Misses Chance To "Out-Agnew Agnew"

BY MARTY JONAS

Under great pressure from the Nixon Administration, South Vietnam's Vice President Ky has decided not to attend the U.S. March for Victory rally in Washington on October 3.

The whole affair was becoming more than embarrassing to Nixon and Co.—it threatened to expose further the rotten nature of the Indochina war and of the puppet regimes that imperialism maintains. General Ky is the dirty linen that keeps tumbling out of the closet.

Remember it was General Ky who remarked in 1965: "People ask me who my heroes are. I have only one—Hitler... We need four or five Hitlers in Vietnam." Just when it was hoped that everyone had forgotten these remarks, Ky went and accepted an invitation from Reverend Carl McIntire to attend the October 3 rally. McIntire then announced that Ky will "out-Agnew Agnew."

HIDE

But Ky's and McIntire's connections with Agnew are not just a question of rhetoric and this is what Nixon and the capitalist class want to hide.

Ky's openly joining with McIntire "to tell it like it is" threatened to blow the lid off of the rotten stinking regime in Southeast Asia as well as the Nixon Administration.

In order to understand why Nixon and

Agnew went through such histrionics over McIntire's invitation including dispatching Henry Kissinger to Paris to plead with Ky, we should see just WHO Carl McIntire is.

McIntire is a radio preacher in the tradition of the fascist Father Coughlin of the 1930s and 40s. He operates out of Collingswood, New Jersey, where he has his radio studios, his Bible Presbyterian Church, and the offices for his weekly newspaper and the various organizations he leads. McIntire now broadcasts his program, the 20th Century Reformation Hour, over 600 different stations five days a week. He thus has ample opportunity to spread across the United States his views, which are anti-semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-black, anti-labor, and anti-communist. All of the Reverend McIntire's ventures are tax-exempt.

CORPORATIONS

McIntire's beginnings in the right go back to around 1936, although it was not until the 1950s when his fortunes grew. This was about the time when many big corporations and foundations started pouring large funds into ultra-right groups.

McIntire has maintained his good relations with various fascist figures of the past few decades, such as Merwin K. Hart and Harvey Springer. Springer and he have exchanged pulpits.

As with General Ky, McIntire's associations are international. He has played host two times in the United States to clerical fascist Ian Paisley of Northern

Ireland.

McIntire is an enthusiastic promoter of the "right-to-work" laws proposed by fascists for smashing the trade unions. McIntire has said, "The closed shop violates freedom of conscience and the Eighth Commandment, 'Thou shalt not steal.'"

In 1949, McIntire's American Council of Christian Churches placed full page ads in many papers in Ohio opposing the Fair Employment Practices Code banning discrimination in hiring.

AGNEW

It is not surprising then to see what binds the bloodthirsty General Ky to Mr. McIntire...and even Mr. Agnew. It is also no accident that Mr. McIntire in fact comes forward with all the confidence to fly to Saigon to invite Ky to the U.S. It is precisely the Nixon Administration and Agnew who are openly encouraging the McIntires with their racism, with the witchhunts against the students and attacks on the working class which are key to their strategy today.

Let there be no mistake! Behind Agnew stand the Wallaces and the McIntires and the Kys. This is the real face of imperialism and the capitalist class. This is what is being exposed and would have been out in full display had Ky ventured to take his place on McIntire's podium. That is why Agnew who only a month ago went to Saigon to express his gratitude, support and friendship to Mr. Ky for his services in Vietnam now calls his visit a "mistake."

## Castro Goes All Out For Parliamentary Road To Socialism

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

The general turn to the right on the part of the Cuban government, expressed in their wholehearted support to the Peruvian military junta, has now gone further in the aftermath of Cuba's failure to reach its sugar target. This is the meaning of Castro's return of a hijacker and his attitude towards Allende in Chile.

For the first time since hijacking began, the Cuban government has returned to the U.S. a hijacker, Robert J. Labadie, who it claims to be a psychological case. At the same time Prensa Latina states that most hijackers are either CIA agents or "troublemakers." Thus the ground is being laid for returning most if not all hijackers who land in Cuba.

The United States finds Castro plugging up the major hijacking escape hatch right at a time when the hijacking problem has reached such great proportions in the wake of the Palestinian episode. Why,

we must ask, is Castro so acting and what does Castro expect in return for this act?

Next comes Castro's role in the Allende election. As the pundits of the Socialist Workers Party have told us countless times since 1961, Castro's distinguishing feature has been his rejection of the parliamentary road to socialism in favor of armed insurrection. Now we find him openly endorsing Allende's highly parliamentary and highly popular frontist road to power in Chile. Not only has Castro openly rooted for Allende but now his pressure on Allende is precisely in the

direction of compromise with the capitalists.

The New York Times of September 28 reports:

"Since the election, it is understood that Premier Castro has recommended to his friend Dr. Allende that the Popular Unity coalition negotiate with the Christian Democrats. It is further understood that he suggested that Gabriel Valdes, the pro-Cuban Foreign Minister in Chile's outgoing Christian Democratic government, remain in the Cabinet under Dr. Allende."

Then comes what seems to be contradictory news in the form of United States' announcement threatening Cuba over a possible Soviet submarine refueling base in Cuba. Considering the close relations so far developed particularly in the Middle East between the Soviet bureaucracy and the Nixon Administration it is difficult to see in this anything more than an action by a faction within the Administration which is fearful precisely because of the warmer relations developing beneath the surface between Washington and Havana.

TREACHEROUS

We must at this point warn all militants in South America that the role of Castro is becoming more treacherous than ever. Castro in the past contributed to the destruction and demoralization of a whole

generation of revolutionaries through his guerrilla adventures but at least he encouraged struggle against imperialism. Today he has abandoned guerrillaism for diplomatic deals with a military junta which jails Hugo Blanco and open support to bourgeois politics in Chile. Tomorrow his relations with the United States could involve a lot more than hijackers.

subscribe  
now!

\$1.00 for six month introductory sub

\$3.00 for a full year's subscription

NAME-----

STREET-----

CITY-----

STATE-----ZIP-----

Labor Publications, Inc., 6th Floor,  
135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

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

## AUTO STRIKE ROUND-UP

### Detroit: Ranks Demonstrate At GM

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER  
DETROIT, September 28—The ranks of the UAW here took a lead in the fight against General Motors last Friday when they demonstrated at the GM building for a big wage increase.

The demonstration supported by the United Caucus raised the demand for a wage increase 30 cents higher than the demand raised by the Woodcock leadership. This means 91 cents the first year as opposed to Woodcock's demand of 61 cents. The demonstration also raised placards demanding the cost of living escalator with no cap and 30 and out.

This action follows by three weeks the demonstration by UAW rank and file from GM Local 160 which called for a \$1.25 an hour increase the first year.

As the Chairman of the United Caucus explained to the Bulletin, the concept of the \$1.25 an hour movement had its origins at the Atlantic City UAW convention last April. According to the Nixon Administration a family of four, living moderately, needs \$10,800 a year to live on. The average UAW worker now gets \$3.75. The average worker should get \$5.00 because \$5.00 an hour for 50 weeks of 40 hours comes to \$10,000. This is where a section of the UAW ranks got the idea of \$1.25 an hour and raised it at the convention.

It is clear that this demand and similar demands being raised by rank and file groups in the UAW against the measly wage demand raised by Woodcock are key in the UAW's fight to defeat the auto bosses and their attempts to drive back the living standards of the workers.

This fight must now be taken into every local in the country and a real movement of the ranks built against the Woodcock leadership.

### Linden: Wages Are Central

BY DAN FRIED

LINDEN, N.J., Sept. 29—As the auto strike entered its third week, we talked to some of the workers at the huge GM plant here. Most of the men who were either doing picket duty or were at the union office to collect their weekly strike benefits were older workers who had put in anywhere from 11 to 34 years at GM.

While they all felt very strongly about the demand for "30 and out" (pension after 30 years regardless of age), they recognized that wages was the central question, not only for them but particularly for the younger workers. As one of the workers said, "for the last three years, I've actually been making less and less as far as keeping up with the cost of living. For years and years we were working overtime and doing all right. Now, with us working a normal 40 hour week due to cutbacks, everybody else is going above us. In 1940 I was making more than what 3/4 of what other workers are getting, but now they're all above me. From 1940 until about five years ago our standard of living held up—since then we've been going backwards."

When asked how he thought Nixon and the government would react to a big wage gain for the auto workers, to a figure like \$1.25 an hour the first year, he said:

#### CONGRESS

"This is the way I see it. I figure, what's good enough for the Congress—they voted themselves a 38% increase—that's what I'm willing to accept also. If it's all right for them, it's all right for me. They set the patterns, right? I would take that any day, 38%. That's all we want."

He felt that there was definitely a likelihood that the government would intervene in the strike after eight or nine weeks and that such intervention would be in order to keep the wage settlement down. The attitude of the workers he felt should be—to stay out until their demands are met.

Like many of the workers we talked to he felt that Nixon represented the corporations and was an enemy of the workingman. As far as the workers needing their own party, a labor party, he said: "The Democrats were supposed to be for the workingman—ha, ha. But we've had them in there for a long time, and didn't see any difference. They were supposed to be for the labor class—well they didn't show much. I think that in the years ahead, the labor movement probably will form its own party."

#### CENTRAL

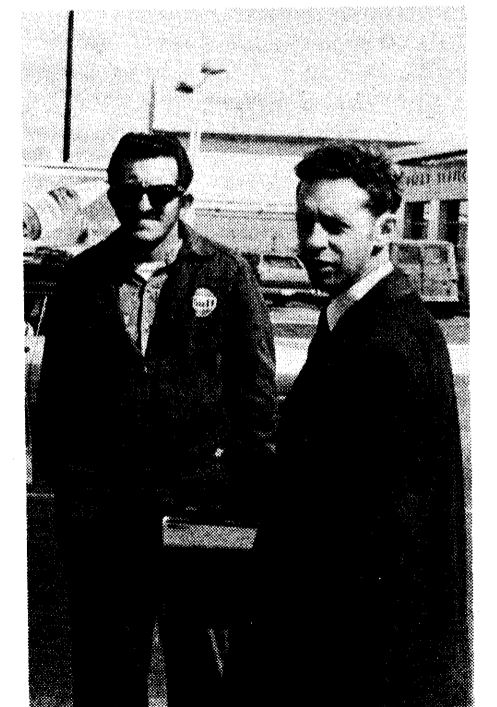
All of the workers we talked to realized that everyone was watching the auto strike because it was of central importance as far as the gains of all workers were concerned. One of the workers felt that not only did the auto workers need \$1.25 an hour but that all workers wanted and needed this kind of raise.

"There's no getting around it—the way things are today, people have to make money and with the unions involved there are going to be a lot of strikes. You've got to strike for it. That's the only way, otherwise these companies will run all over us. Without unions the average person wouldn't be anywhere near where he is today. You've got to have a union."

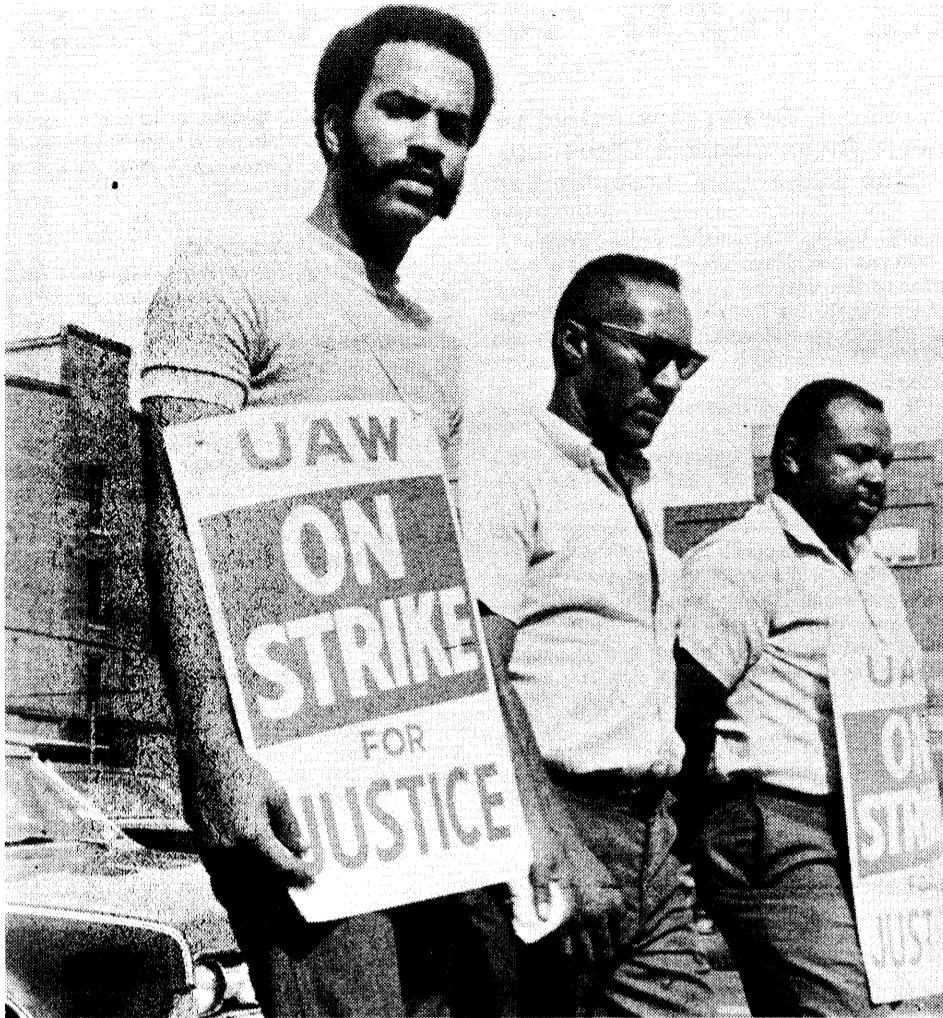
"But for GM, the \$1.25 is just a drop in the bucket. If the Teamsters got \$1.65 an hour that's what we want. The Teamsters started it when they got \$1.65 an hour. But Nixon is looking out for the corporations and there is no doubt that he will oppose this."

We talked to one worker, a veteran of many years of struggle in the UAW who was a former official of the Linden GM local. He felt that one of the problems in the strike was that the workers were really being kept in the dark as far as what was actually taking place in the negotiations. Although he felt that the demand raised by the rank and file group in Detroit for \$1.25 an hour the first year was a good idea, he remarked that they were being somewhat "idealist" about it. But he felt that the longer the workers were out, the more they would be watching Woodcock to see that he did not retreat beyond the \$.61 per hour. If Woodcock retreats, he said, "the younger workers especially will not tolerate this and all hell will break loose, particularly if the strike goes on toward Christmas."

What was clear from our discussions with the workers was that a real movement for \$1.25 an hour the first year could be built if someone in the union takes the initiative. The proposal attributed last month to Emil Mazey, that there should be a national special conference of General Motors delegates early in October, must be taken up. We feel that this should be a conference not only of GM workers, but an emergency conference of all Big Three workers to discuss the \$1.25 an hour now demand and the strategy for victory in the auto strike.



Linden GM worker speaks out to Labor Editor Dan Fried on wages and pensions.



Baltimore Chevrolet workers march the picket line. Wages is their top concern.

### Baltimore: Demand Full C.O.L.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE—As the GM strike enters its 4th week, all signs here show that the rank and file understand the need for an all out fight on wages.

The Bulletin interviewed auto workers at the Chevrolet plant in Baltimore last week.

The principal issue as far as the workers were concerned was the question of wages. We asked one worker what he thought of the GM wage proposal. He replied: "Well, it's like this. You've got a forest fire...and you try to put it out by spitting on it. I've got a family. You can't expect me to like getting less and less money for more and more work."

When asked what he thought of the demand raised by a group of Detroit militants for an immediate \$1.25 increase in the first year of the contract, he said: "Sure, why not? I've been working here 12 years; and I'll tell you I haven't been sitting in a rocking chair. I'm surprised that I haven't died from carbon monoxide. A \$1.25? That will do for a start."

Another worker who has been working at the Chevrolet plant 25 years was asked what local grievances there were. "That's

easy—ventilation. At the end of the line where they drive off the cars, the exhaust gets so thick it makes you dizzy. Also you don't have any room. The guys who make the crates have to work ten in a 10 x 15 space. Then there's the speed on the line. Lots of times they run by you so fast you don't have time to do what you're supposed to do."

When asked about the 30 and out demand this worker replied, "Sure. Of course I want it. Most of the fellows I know have died one or two years after they retired. I had a heart attack last year and I want to have some time after I'm retired to do something except wait to die."

#### ESCALATOR

Another worker brought up the demand for a cost of living escalator: "Look, there's one thing you left out and if we don't have it, well things won't be so hot. That is the cost of living clause. Everything costs more and more. We get what we ask for in wages and benefits. And then they raise prices on us and we're right back where we started from. We should have never let them put the cap on the cost of living clause."

### Framingham: 500 Grievances Filed

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

FRAMINGHAM, MASS.—The GM plant is situated just outside the town line here. The plant was built in 1958 and at present 4,600 men and women work in it.

Seventy percent of the workers are on assembly. Prior to the strike, the "ovens" or boilers were situated on the assembly line floor. They were removed to an area upstairs three months before the strike began. Temperatures on the floor reach 100 degrees and separate grievance demands were submitted from Framingham Local 422 to Woodcock as per instructions. In all, 500 grievances were submitted. This reporter talked with over twenty workers at this plant.

Q. What do you think are the basic strike demands?

A. Well, that depends. For me the main thing is the 30 year and out pension. I've been at this plant from the beginning and worked at the Boston plant 9 years; all together that's 21 years. When you're working the line you can't wait to get out. You're like a cog in there, like an animal. Also I think the escalator is important.

Q. What did you think about the lid put on the escalator in the last contract?

A. It was no good. Inflation ate up everything. I made out better wage-wise 10 years ago than now. I have three kids and I can't save anything. My wife got a small job to help me along.

Q. (Addressed to a young worker.) What do you think is the main demand? What about the \$1.25 per hour being raised in

Detroit and what about Woodcock's offer?

A. That suits me fine. I've been here 8 years and I'm making less than the workers at Denison's (paper plant) and Raytheon. That's a fact. Woodcock, I believe is asking for \$.40 an hour. That isn't bad but I'll still have to keep my part-time job. But the guys in Detroit who are asking a \$1.25 an hour first year—that is OK.

Q. What are conditions like in the plant? What about automation?

A. There's a monorail here. We work on 120 cars per hour. On the rail itself there are automatic hammers, screwdrivers and wrenches. We haven't had layoffs but this thing can almost make it on its own.

Q. What did you think about Reuther?

A. He put that cap on the escalator and that was bad. We need a full escalator. I'd strike until Christmas for that alone.

Q. How do the men feel about the war?

A. Last spring we saw an ad in the paper about the anti-war rallies. We knew that in New York a number of workers were having a rally against the war. Some of us decided to have our own demonstration. It was peaceful. Some of the other guys disagreed with us. They said we were selling the country out. We don't see it that way. Reuther was against the war, so is Woodcock. The local leaders don't talk about it. We aren't afraid. We're out on strike together. We're united. But that war is poison.

# THE 2



# GERMANIES

SINCE WORLDWARTWO  
A SERIES BY V. BARAT

THE GATHERING CLOUD that contained the elements of a social downpour was not suspended over the eastern half of the city alone. West Berlin, too, had become filled with labor unrest. Dissatisfaction among the construction workers there had led to struggles against the conservative union and SPD bureaucracies.

New rank and file leaders were elected to direct the strikes and conduct a battle against both their own strike-breakers (their union leaders) as well as against scabs. As though oblivious to its own peril, Neues Deutschland editorially urged the construction workers of West Berlin to adhere to its old militant tradition and shut their part of the city down!

It was advice, however, that made sense to the East German construction workers too. On June 15 workers at one of the sites downed their tools and passed a resolution to President Grotewohl, the SPD bureaucrat turned Stalinist, demanding immediate revocation of the arbitrary work-norm increases. The resolution expressed the bitterness of the workers at the New Course, "which benefited only the capitalists not the workers."

While this was going on an SED Party hack was addressing a meeting of workers in Block 40 of the Stalinalee urging them to adopt a resolution offering their thanks for the "New Course." Instead the workers demanded that the resolution show their opposition to the new work norms and their insistence on its repeal. They then elected two delegates from their ranks with instructions to be ready to bring the amended resolution directly to the government!

The next day, June 16, an article from a leading Stalinist union functionary appeared in the trade union paper brazenly warning the workers that the new work norms were here to stay.

The workers in Block 40 accepted the challenge and sent their two delegates off to the government with the resolution they had passed. To safeguard the two men,



East Berlin construction workers marching to demand end to speed-up work norms triggered rebellion by East German workers against Stalinist bureaucracy, June, 1953.

## Part Three- Meaning Of East German Uprising

the entire site decided to accompany them. Within minutes of their marching off, workers from other sites joined in and before long a column of 2,000 men was making its way toward the government buildings.

Efforts by party agitators to prevent more construction employees from joining in the ever lengthening procession were futile. The men were in no mood to listen to fine talk.

### MARCH

The first destination of the marchers was the FDGB (East German trade union) Headquarters. Because it was locked and apparently deserted, the column, now numbering several thousand, wound its way to the offices of the Government Ministries. Here they shouted and chanted, demanding the appearance of Ulbricht and Grotewohl. No sign from them. At last Minister of Industry Selbmann appeared and tried to

tell the mass of angry workers that the norms had been withdrawn. He was ignored by them.

Individual workers themselves mounted the rostrum and groped for a political answer to their frustration. One of them spoke in this vein: "Fellow workers, it is no longer a mere question of higher norms and of wages." He then turned to Selbmann: "What you see here is a popular rebellion... The government must draw the consequences of its errors. We demand free and secret elections!"

Another worker spoke with equal resolution and with a sense of what was politically required: "Fellow workers, we'll still wait for a half an hour. If by then neither Grotewohl nor Ulbricht appears, then let us march through the working class quarters of Berlin and call on all our fellow workers to go on a general strike tomorrow."

On the way back the demonstration en-

countered government sound trucks, which broadcast reassuring words about the FDGB's intention to re-examine the entire question of work norms. One of the vehicles was seized by the workers and utilized by them to announce the general strike for the following day, June 17. The entire proletariat of Berlin was summoned to gather on the Strausberger Square.

In the meantime a delegation of construction workers had appeared in West Berlin at the RIAS (Radiostation in the American Zone) asking to be allowed to broadcast a message to their fellow workers in Berlin and throughout the entire DDR. It should be recalled that such crossing between the zones at this time was relatively free since the Wall had not yet been built. The delegation made it clear to the station managers that they were utilizing this means of reaching the East German proletariat with the general strike message passed at the demonstration before the government offices because they had no other. In other words this committee representing the East Berlin construction workers were asserting their complete independence from the American agents in control of the radio facility.

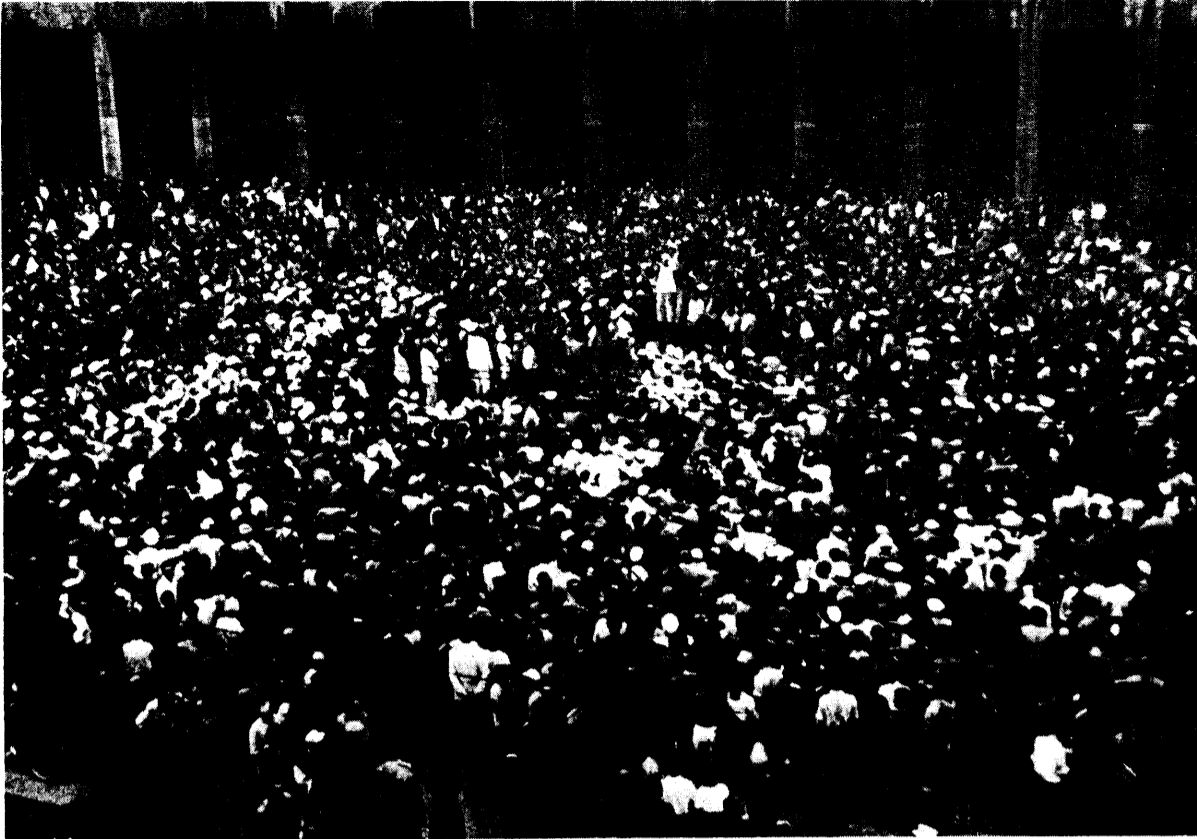
Their request was flatly turned down by the radio station. The announcers employed by the station were not even allowed to mention the call for a general strike the next day. They did broadcast a partial list of the workers' demands, however:

- 1) Payment of wages at the next pay day at the former rate.
- 2) Immediate reduction of the price of all necessities.
- 3) Free and secret elections.
- 4) No penalties against strikers or their spokesmen.

Shortly after the broadcast of these demands, the radio station personnel received instructions from the American main headquarters that henceforth nothing but "pure" news goes out over the air waves.

### GENERAL STRIKE

The working class in the DDR thus learned of the events in East Berlin initially through RIAS. But the call for the general strike was flashed directly to the population by East German workers themselves, those employed in the various government agencies handling communications: railway telephones, teletype, etc. By the evening of the 16th it was evident that the general strike for the 17th was



At Left, top and bottom: Massive meetings of striking workers in East Berlin, June 16 and 17, 1953. Right: Thousands of workers flocked to Berlin to join the rebellion and elect strike committees.

going to be heeded by the masses: the night-shift workers in the large East Berlin factory complexes stayed away from the job en masse.

Even as it became obvious during the evening of the 16th that the workers in the DDR were going to engage in an historic protest action the next day powerful enough to send shock waves through the entire Stalinist empire, the SED leadership was meeting in Berlin. But the events of that day—the demonstration of construction workers, the impending storm—none of these were even on the agenda!

Ulbricht and Grotewohl oblivious to what was happening all around them were discussing the need to make even greater concessions to the church, middle peasantry, and medium-sized capitalists. They were looking for points of support among the middle classes as counterweight to the workers.

That they should have so misjudged the workers' temper at this late hour is incredible. Certainly they knew of the deep, unconcealed hatred the workers exhibited toward them! In that same encounter between Selbmann and the construction workers during that day, this dialogue occurred and must have been reported:

Selbmann: "Fellow workers..." "—We aren't your fellow workers!"—"I am also a worker..."—"But that you forgot!... You are no worker, you are a betrayer of the workers!"—"Workers, look at my hands!"—"Man, your hands are really fat!... Scram, beat it! Get Ulbricht or Grotewohl over here!"

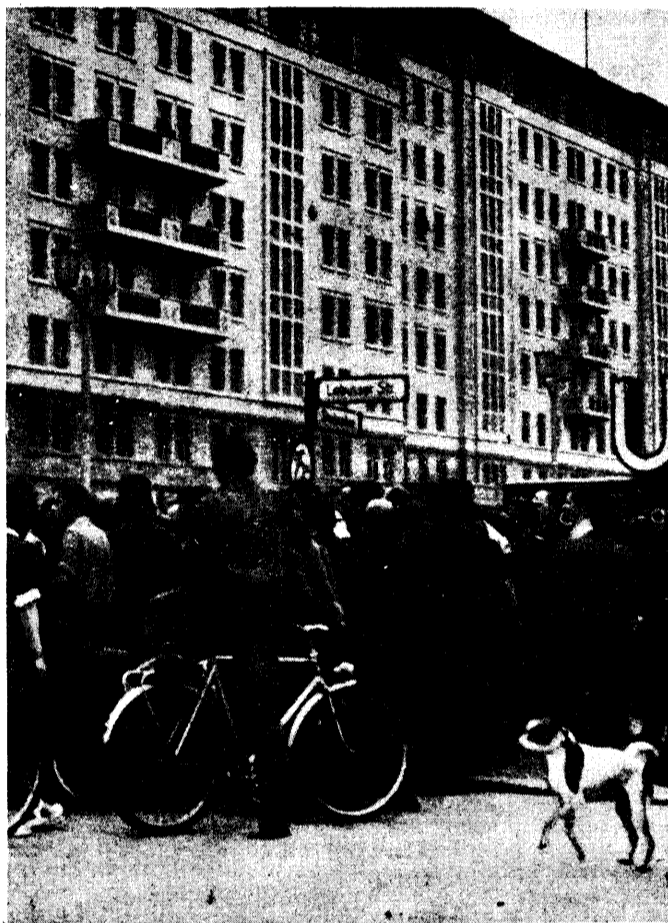
Minister of Interior (the top policeman in the DDR) Zaisser was one of those present at the SED evening session of the 16th, and even he reported nothing unusual to the top bureaucrats. That is how the party apparatus on the eve of June 17 prepared for the show of mass resentment.

The roots of the great strike movement were embedded in the same industrial centers that had in 1919 to 1923 nurtured the revolutionary movement: besides East Berlin, the middle German industrial area of Bitterfeld, Halle, Merseburg, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Jena, Gera, Brandenburg, and Goerlitz. What could the state do against the 28,000 men of the Leuna works, or the Buna plant (18,000 men), or against the employees of the factory complexes of Welfen and Hennigsdorf, each with 12,000 payroll?

Of ten large iron and steel producing plants, nine were out on strike. Though the construction workers had triggered the huge protest, it was the proletariat whose toil and sacrifice in the DDR had built a basic and heavy industry, the back-bone of any modern industrial economy, that had invested the events of June 17 with such an explosive, such a decisive content.

#### STRIKE COMMITTEES

In most cases the strike committees were elected democratically by popular vote. For example, one can cite the above mentioned Leuna Works with 28,000 employees, named the "Walter Ulbricht" plant by the bureaucracy in honor of its leading Stalinist representative. The huge meeting that was attended by 20,000 employees voted out the plant manager. The elected strike committee, besides setting policy to be followed by the workers that



day, also took necessary precautions to guard the works against any acts of sabotage. The committee went on then to formulate a number of demands: cancelling of the bureaucratic campaign to raise the work norms; disarming of the plant police; dismissal of the state-imposed management; dropping "Walter Ulbricht" as the name of the factory complex.

Missing from even the best organized local or area committees was any overall political goal and organization. Ad hoc committees representing the various plants often coordinated their activities, but with no clear objective in mind.

In Halle all the elected factory strike committees gathered in a factory in the center of the city and elected an executive body in which all the large factories were represented. But then they also elected a businessman, a university student, and a salaried employee!

In Bitterfeld the central strike committee was composed of the elected representatives of the large plants. Here again a university student (plus a housewife) were also elected to the central committee.

In Merseburg the employees of the two immense plants, Leuna and Buna, assembled their numberless thousands in an open square and by voice vote elected a central committee of 25.

These central committees in the various cities assumed the administrative functions of governing bodies, taking care to occupy radio and press establishments, as well as police stations. The next move of these committees upon taking over the police apparatus was to free the political prisoners.

Because the Stalinists had never made any serious effort to weaken the hold of

the clergy in the countryside, some of the peasants tended to follow the lead of the pastors, who organized nationalistic demonstrations. But in the vicinities close to larger towns, the leadership of the urban workers drew both poorer peasants and the landed proletariat over to their side. In some instances workers originally from the soil returned to their villages to make sure the peasants lined up with the revolutionists and thus undermined the influence of reactionary clergymen.

#### LEADERSHIP

To realize the demand of the East German working class that the government dissolve itself in favor of a popularly elected workers' and peasants' government required a central revolutionary leadership to co-ordinate the struggle.

Some of the more conscious workers saw the need for just such a nationwide executive organ. In some localities (for example, between Halle and Bitterfeld) intercity councils were elected and began to function. In numerous other areas delegations of workers were on the move, crossing from one section of the country to another in efforts to fashion a broad, representative executive council.

But the time was too short to construct a functioning executive revolutionary council in the heat of battle. It was precisely the absence of an experienced, trusted Marxist party that gave the Kremlin the precious interval to mobilize and order its tanks into the cities of East Germany. A delegation of striking metal workers from Hennigsdorf just missed being arrested by the Red Army in East Berlin, the city to which they had been sent to assist in erecting a new workers' government.

One other formation in the working class, besides the Stalinists, breathed a heavy sigh of relief when Moscow's tanks rolled in to break up the immense columns of weaponless workers marching arm in arm in the cities of East Germany. That was the SPD bureaucracy in West Germany. This treacherous group did not raise a finger to aid the heroic proletariat across the boundary.

A strike call to show solidarity with their class brothers would have brought the West German workers to their feet and would have united the entire German proletariat into the mightiest force in all Europe, a force that neither Kremlin clique nor the bourgeoisie of the west could have defied.

But that is exactly why the Brandts and the Wehners sat on their hands. The last thing in the world for them would be the prospect of leading revolutionary workers to smash capitalism once and for all.

Thus the smashing of the workers' revolt by the Kremlin's army was for the SPD traitors "fresh proof of the lack of democracy over there under the reds." Their hypocritical concern for the workers "over there" was no more than a pretext for their uninterrupted subservience to their real masters, the German and American capitalists.

Neither West German nor American imperialism for one moment neglected the opportunity to fish in troubled waters. But it was simply not in their power to have exploited the problems of Stalinism to restore militarily the eastern half of the nation to capitalism. The very attempt would have brought about the instantaneous mobilization of the West German working class and immediately have posed the question of which class rules over a





**Befehl!**

**Ueber die Stadt Halle ist der  
Ausnahmezustand  
verhängt. Demonstrationen,  
Versammlungen und Zusammenrottungen jeder Art sind  
verboten.**

**Jeder Aufenthalt auf den  
Straßen ist von  
21.00 bis 4 Uhr  
verboten.**

**Im Falle von Widerstand  
wird von der Waffe Gebrauch  
gemacht!**

**Halle, den 17. Juni 1953**

**Chef der Garnison und Militär-  
kommandant der Stadt Halle  
(Saale)**

Left: leaflet from the city of Halle forbidding demonstrations. Above: workers gather in front of Leuna factory, where over 20,000 workers elected a central strike committee during rebellion. At right: East Berlin workers express solidarity with West German workers during June days.

united Germany: the bourgeoisie or the workers?

Western imperialism knew perfectly well that in a contest with the unified German working class capitalism was doomed. They also knew that it would have been the spark to ignite the dry tinder of revolutionary force in the workers' states, as Poland and Hungary were to shortly demonstrate. And could one have left out the proletariat of France, Italy, and of the other nations of western Europe?

These considerations alone explain the frenzied efforts by American and German imperialism to "cool" the tempers of the East German workers. On the evening of the 16th, Adenauer had his Bundesminister Jakob Kaiser beamed the following radio message to "residents of the Soviet zone": "Don't allow yourselves by either distress or provocation to engage in rash acts!..."

And the very next day (the 17th) in parliament at Bonn Adenauer himself repeated the identical warning and added that only through "freedom of trade" (that is capitalism) could Germany be reunited, not through revolution. RIAS, America's Berlin station, beamed an identical message.

That growing sections of the East German workers understood the aims of imperialism is shown by the inscription on one of the banners held aloft at the railway station in Halle, directed at inter-zonal travelers: "Raumt Euern Mist in Bonn jetzt aus—in Pankow saubern wir das Haus." (Pankow is a section of Berlin where the Stalinists have their governmental offices.) A rough translation of this message reads: "Now in Bonn, clear out your crap—in Pankow we're doing just that."

The same theme of bizonal working class solidarity appeared on another banner raised up high so that travelers between Magdeburg-Helmstedt could see it. It depicted Ulbricht and Adenauer hanging together from a gallows, with this inscription below: "Unity makes for strength."

**SLANDERS**

To justify its ruthless crushing of the workers' revolt the Stalinist apparatus fabricated the slander it was merely putting down a plot instigated by imperialism and led by former Nazis. Let us see what substance this charge had, a charge still peddled by all varieties of Stalinism today, only now extended to include the Hungarian and Czech proletariat.

There is no point in denying that on the fringe of the movement reactionary-minded elements were active and attempting to direct workers along nationalistic lines. But as Trotsky demonstrated so effectively in a chapter devoted to this phenomenon in his *History of the Russian Revolution*, there never will be a social revolution without such elements. The revolutionary party know how to isolate and deal with them. any case they were not a serious force.

In the June 17 uprising in so far as there was any real anti-socialist manifestation, it was in the countryside where, as was earlier shown, the Lutheran church had been left virtually intact by the regime. Compared to the mass movement in the cities, however, the social weight of the peasants in the relatively few instances where reactionaries led, was negligible.

In the cities there were reports of isolated cases of hooliganism, but in none of them was there even a hint of workers' participation or support.

The program adopted throughout the cities by the scores of mass meetings in factories and open air demonstrations reveals the genuine socialist character of the uprising. Here are some of the demands:

- 1) Immediate equalization of the standard of living (an obvious attack against bureaucratic privilege).
- 2) The freeing of all political prisoners (in the context of E. Germany it meant socialist opponents to Stalinism. When on the 17th the workers liberated the prisoners from their cells, they discovered that the prisoners had not only been subjected very often to torture, but that the tormentors were frequently the same vile creatures previously employed by the Nazis).
- 3) Immediate abolishment of all zonal boundaries (a clear demand for a socialist reunification of Germany).
- 4) The formation of a provisional workers' government and the immediate dissolution of the present Stalinist regime.
- 5) Free, secret, and direct elections within four months.
- 6) No repressions against strikers.

Obviously not every one of these demands appeared in every program. It was inevitable that some were contradictory showing the confusion of the workers in the preliminary states of the uprising, especially with the lack of a revolutionary party to give consistent guidance to the movement. For example, the workers of Bitterfeld demanded the erection of a workers' government while at the same time proposing the legalization of "all the large democratic parties of West Germany." In part such confusion sprang from the Stalinist tyranny they endured so long and a complete lack of political rights for the workers themselves. Hence, they wanted no political restrictions to safeguard their own rights. In part it reflected confidence in their own class strength. They were not in the least worried about any threat of restoration from the capitalists. But this generosity was also motivated by the desire to bring West Germany into the picture, permitting the unification of the entire German proletariat.

The record shows that amidst the admitted confusion there was not a single instance where a demand was raised to return the nationalized property to the

former owners.

**BACKGROUND**

Aside from the programmatic evidence of a basically pro-socialist while anti-Stalinist mass uprising, one can cite the political-organizational roots of the leadership of the movement itself.

The trade union functionaries, practically all members of the SED, in their majority went along with and even led the political strike against Stalinism. In Weissensee indeed, 31 out of 42 trade union leaders not only supported but officially endorsed the protest.

More revealing yet is the political background of the men who led the masses, men who were later purged from the SED and subjected to persecution and, in many cases, to arrest.

In Halle 71% of these comrades had held membership in the KPD before 1933. In East Berlin, 68%, in Bautzen 61%, in Leipzig 59%, in Magdeburg 52%. These percentage figures are exclusive of the impressive number of left social democrats who played key roles in the upsurge. Moreover, it is important to bear in mind that these cities of central Germany, all of them now within the DDR, were traditionally the bulwark of communism during the entire Weimar Republic.

But even what the Stalinists are fond of citing as "proof" for their allegation that the masses were "anti-communist" (the burning of pictures of Stalin, Ulbricht, in a few instances, the Russian-Soviet flag) has to be seen as anti-Stalinist not anti-communist manifestations. Thus pictures of Karl Marx were never dese-



At Left, top and bottom: Massive meetings of striking workers in East Berlin, June 16 and 17, 1953. Right: Thousands of workers flocked to Berlin to join the rebellion and elect strike committees.



# Befehl!

Ueber die Stadt Halle ist der Ausnahmezustand verhängt. Demonstrationen, Versammlungen und Zusammenrottungen jeder Art sind verboten.

Jeder Aufenthalt auf den Straßen ist von

21.00 bis 4 Uhr

verboten.

Im Falle von Widerstand wird von der Waffe Gebrauch gemacht!

Halle, den 17. Juni 1953

Chef der Garnison und Militärkommandant der Stadt Halle (Saale)

The same theme of bizonal working class solidarity appeared on another banner raised up high so that travelers between Magdeburg-Helmstedt could see it. It depicted Ulbricht and Adenauer hanging together from a gallows, with this inscription below: "Unity makes for strength."

### SLANDERS

To justify its ruthless crushing of the workers' revolt the Stalinist apparatus fabricated the slander it was merely putting down a plot instigated by imperialism and led by former Nazis. Let us see what substance this charge had, a charge still peddled by all varieties of Stalinism today, only now extended to include the Hungarian and Czech proletariat.

There is no point in denying that on the fringe of the movement reactionary-minded elements were active and attempting to direct workers along nationalistic lines. But as Trotsky demonstrated so effectively in a chapter devoted to this phenomenon in his *History of the Russian Revolution*, there never will be a social revolution without such elements. The revolutionary party know how to isolate and deal with them. In any case they were not a serious force.

In the June 17 uprising in so far as there was any real anti-socialist manifestation, it was in the countryside where, as was earlier shown, the Lutheran church had been left virtually intact by the regime. Compared to the mass movement in the cities, however, the social weight of the peasants in the relatively few instances where reactionaries led, was negligible.

In the cities there were reports of isolated cases of hooliganism, but in none of them was there even a hint of workers' participation or support.

The program adopted throughout the cities by the scores of mass meetings in factories and open air demonstrations reveals the genuine socialist character of the uprising. Here are some of the demands:

Left forbi work facto elect duric Berl with June

- 1) Immard of 1 bureau
- 2) The (in the socialist on the 17 soners for that the jected ve tormento creatures Nazis).
- 3) Imm boundary reunifica
- 4) The ers' gove solution
- 5) Fre within fou
- 6) No Obviou appeared evitable showing the preli especial party to movemen Bitterfel workers' time prop large de many." from the so long rights for they was safeguard reflected strength. worried from the was also West Ger the unific letariat. The re mitted c instance return th

One other formation in the working class, besides the Stalinists, breathed a heavy sigh of relief when Moscow's tanks rolled in to break up the immense columns of weaponless workers marching arm in arm in the cities of East Germany. That was the SPD bureaucracy in West Germany. This treacherous group did not raise a finger to aid the heroic proletariat across the boundary.

A strike call to show solidarity with their class brothers would have brought the West German workers to their feet and would have united the entire German proletariat into the mightiest force in all Europe, a force that neither Kremlin clique nor the bourgeoisie of the west could have defied.

But that is exactly why the Brandts and the Wehners sat on their hands. The last thing in the world for them would be the prospect of leading revolutionary workers to smash capitalism once and for all.

Thus the smashing of the workers' revolt by the Kremlin's army was for the SPD traitors "fresh proof of the lack of democracy over there under the reds." Their hypocritical concern for the workers "over there" was no more than a pretext for their uninterrupted subservience to their real masters, the German and American capitalists.

Neither West German nor American imperialism for one moment neglected the opportunity to fish in troubled waters. But it was simply not in their power to have exploited the problems of Stalinism to restore militarily the eastern half of the nation to capitalism. The very attempt would have brought about the instantaneous mobilization of the West German working class and immediately have posed the question of which class rules over a

united Germany: the bourgeoisie or the workers?

Western imperialism knew perfectly well that in a contest with the unified German working class capitalism was doomed. They also knew that it would have been the spark to ignite the dry tinder of revolutionary force in the workers' states, as Poland and Hungary were to shortly demonstrate. And could one have left out the proletariat of France, Italy, and of the other nations of western Europe?

These considerations alone explain the frenzied efforts by American and German imperialism to "cool" the tempers of the East German workers. On the evening of the 16th, Adenauer had his Bundesminister Jakob Kaiser beamed the following radio message to "residents of the Soviet zone:" "Don't allow yourselves by either distress or provocation to engage in rash acts!..."

And the very next day (the 17th) in parliament at Bonn Adenauer himself repeated the identical warning and added that only through "freedom of trade" (that is capitalism) could Germany be reunited, not through revolution. RIAS, America's Berlin station, beamed an identical message.

That growing sections of the East German workers understood the aims of imperialism is shown by the inscription on one of the banners held aloft at the railway station in Halle, directed at inter-zonal travelers: "Raemt Euern Mist in Bonn jetzt aus—in Pankow saubern wir das Haus." (Pankow is a section of Berlin where the Stalinists have their governmental offices.) A rough translation of this message reads: "Now in Bonn, clear out your crap—in Pankow we're doing just that."

### LEADERSHIP

alize the demand of the East working class that the govern- solve itself in favor of a popu- lected workers' and peasants' landed proletariat over to e. In some instances workers saw from the soil returned to their o make sure the peasants lined the revolutionists and thus under- influence of reactionary clergy-

y in the countryside, some of nts tended to follow the lead of rs, who organized nationalistic ations. But in the vicinities larger towns, the leadership of workers drew both poorer pead the landed proletariat over to e. In some instances workers saw from the soil returned to their o make sure the peasants lined the revolutionists and thus under- influence of reactionary clergy-





Above, and above left: Soviet tanks roll into East Berlin to crush the rebellion of workers who demanded workers and peasants government. Left: Unarmed workers flee.

crated but on the contrary carefully protected from damage.

No, every serious investigation of the Stalinist charges reveals them to be nothing more than slanderous fabrications. Here as in all other arenas of the class struggle, neither the Kremlin nor its agents can face up to the truth.

#### AFTERMATH

That there was bound to be a temporary retreat of the working class in both parts of divided Germany after the failure of the East German workers to unseat the Stalinist regime comes as no surprise to Marxists. The classic illustration of this tendency is the example of the reaction that followed in Czarist Russia after the defeat of the 1905 Revolution.

But before examining the concrete forms that the setback assumed in Germany itself, it is important to take note of the extremely positive effects on the workers in the other nations under Stalinist rule. For news of the gigantic protest spread with lightning speed to all corners of the workers' states and raised the hopes of every fighter against bureaucratic tyranny.

Even as far north as Vorkhuta, the infamous political prison filled with anti-Stalinist communists, the inmates reacted with such spectacular, persistent, and ingenious protests that the authorities were finally compelled to close down the camp entirely. Undoubtedly the news that only 21 German workers and four Soviet soldiers died in an uprising comprising hundreds of thousands of toilers showed how reluctant were the ranks of the Red Army to be used as counter-revolutionary forces.

In fact more Red Army soldiers were executed (18 of them, it has been reported) for refusal to carry out counterrevolutionary orders than died in the fighting itself.

There can be little doubt that such information imbued the Polish and later the Hungarian proletariat with the kind of optimism so necessary for the masses to spring into heroic actions.

#### PURGE

Weeding out of the SED those elements who had actively participated in the uprising on the side of the workers was no simple matter for the bureaucratic stalwarts. It is understandable, of course, in view of the fact that so many thousands of the lower echelon party members had turned against the regime. Even policemen had often proved to be unreliable, showing the virtual absence of any base of support for the state.

For months orders from East Berlin SED headquarters to root out all "unreliable elements" (Stalinist language for revolutionary-minded workers) from the party were either ignored or resisted. Ten months later the SED's official newspaper, Neues Deutschland, was still complaining about the reluctance to move on with the purge. Ultimately more than half of the party members in the lower ranks were thrown out of the SED.

Resentment to the regime often took an open, even defiant form after June 17 as

well.

On the 24th of June, for example, the Stalinists, desperate to prove to themselves and their Moscow masters that they were not as unpopular as June 17 proved they really were, determined to put on a great show. They trotted out their number one attraction before the largest plant, the 28,000-man Leuna Works, the one named "Walter Ulbricht." So after a great deal of advance fanfare and agitation, the great man himself, Ulbricht appeared on the podium, but not before 28,000 workers. No, he faced a mere 1,300, that is less than 5% of the plant. Even if every one of the 1,300 had been SED members, it revealed that less than half of those in the party attended.

Under conditions where universal hatred for the bureaucratic state was quite openly manifested by the workers, the regime in desperation looked elsewhere for even a hint of support.

They quite deliberately increased the wages of certain categories of skilled or technical employees, persons already more favored financially than the mass of the working class.

The Stalinist rulers then renewed their gesture of peace toward the middle class, granting even more favorable concessions to the traders and wealthier peasants than before the June days. They went so far as to restore to their former owners confiscated land and implements.

They even extended their bribery of the middle class to the church, presenting this reactionary force with new political and physical resources for maintaining and deepening its grip on the more backward strata of the population.

#### ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

Even before the uprising occurred, the East German rulers were under little illusion that the first Five Year Plan (1951-1955) of the DDR was incapable of fulfillment. For reasons already cited the bureaucrats were simply unable to double production. With the additional disruption occasioned by the June events and the ensuing resistance the original target was missed by a wide margin.

Compelled to lower their sights the heads of state drafted a far more modest second Five Year Plan (1956-1960). Here too the economic and political contradictions besetting all the workers' states in the Khrushchev era were even more virulently expressed in the nation attempting to achieve socialism not in one but in half a country.

The failure (this time recognized as early as 1958 and buried in the same year) occurred despite the efforts of even the Soviet Union to supply its satellite with essential raw materials.

The desire to construct a basic material industry in an area ill-fitted for it was certainly one of the causes for junking the plan two years after its inception. Simultaneously, the bureaucratic planners had put an additional weight around the neck of the proletariat by undertaking to increase machine construction 75% over its existing level.

This time the DDR planning commission hoped at least to defer its failures by allowing an additional two years for the fulfillment of its plan. Thus in 1959 a Seven Year Plan was conceived (or rather borrowed from the Soviet Union) and instituted the same year.

Once again the planners were reaching for the moon. Scheduled for 1965 was an increase in the basic raw material industry of 90%, machine construction 110-160%, consumer production 84%, building construction 100%, and an increase in labor productivity of 85%. Like targets were anticipated in other industrial branches, including agriculture.

By 1961 it became obvious to the Ulbricht clique that the goals of the Seven Year Plan had to be abandoned.

In their panic over economic failures the Stalinists of the DDR in 1961 began an experiment which threatened one of the basic achievements of October: nationalized planning. But with a sure class instinct the East German working class resisted the regime's introduction of decentralization. It is a struggle that is still not resolved. In fact it will be in all likelihood one of the issues around which the proletariat of the DDR will rally in finally crushing the tyrants in Pankow.

#### JEOPARDIZING

The workers were more than justified in their suspicion that the heirs of Stalin could not be trusted to safeguard their hard-won conquests. For at the same moment that the epigones were undermining national planning, they were jeopardizing another pillar of the workers' state: nationalization of the means of production. It was at the beginning of the sixties that the DDR began the greatest trade with foreign capitalism in its history.

Such a development signified opening the door to the penetration of capital from the imperialist nations, a process made all the easier by decentralization and the private initiative of the individual plant managers, an inevitable feature of decentralization.

In this way did the utopian theory of socialism in one country and its legitimate offspring, peaceful co-existence, peril the very foundations of the workers' states.

#### LIBERMAN

If the idea of Seven Year Plans (loosely conceived "perspectives" and thus a retreat from the concretely posed goals of the Five Year Plans) originated in the crisis ridden Soviet Union, so did the so called Liberman Plan. An economics professor from the University of Charkov, Liberman published an article on September 9, 1962, elaborating his conception of decentralization as a solution to the growing economic woes of his country.

The fact of its publication in the pages of Pravda is sufficient to underscore its importance. It must be construed—and was—as a document endorsed by the highest authorities, that is the Kremlin itself.

Now decentralization with its dissolving of central state planning specifically aims at the elimination of unprofitable enterprises: "Premiums based on profitability are the only source of rewards. . . It is important to link all collective and individual material interests into a unified whole. Therefore any factory is entitled to enjoy more freedom in the application of 'its' part of the profit." (J. Liberman, Pravda, Sept. 9, 1962.)

As in all changes involving the basic economic and political fate of the state, the Soviet bureaucracy was far from unanimous. But since Khrushchev, who at that time favored such "reforms," was supported by the right-wing majority of the Kremlin chiefs, the Liberman Plan was pushed through and became official policy of the highest planning body in the Soviet Union. The effects on the economy, however, became so critical by 1965 that the Kremlin pragmatists were forced into another violent turn to avert disaster. But decentralization as such has not been abandoned, it has continued to the present whatever the intentions and fears of the Stalinists in Moscow.

After a discussion among the tops in the DDR certain features of the Liberman Plan were officially adopted at the sixth national conference of the SED meeting in East Berlin in January, 1963.

Here is a part of the SED program adopted that year: "...the continuous development and perfection of production on the basis of the most advanced science and technique and the raising of labor productivity with the aim of constantly improving the material and spiritual needs of the toilers and of the all-sided development of man in the socialist society (is the task of the SED)" (Program of SED, 1963, p.74).

The meaning of such bombastic phrases amounts to this:

1. Increase of production.
2. Increase in labor productivity.
3. An improvement in the workers' standard of living.

Not a word appeared, however, to reveal how this ambitious goal was to be implemented.

In one of his speeches two years later Ulbricht exposed the utopian and reactionary nature of the bureaucracy's panacea for paradise. To achieve greater economic stability the rulers were prepared to sacrifice entire branches of industry that were not "profitable" and concentrate instead on the "leading" plants. (11th session of the SED Central Committee, Feb. 15-18, 1965).

Concentration of this kind signifies the dissolution of planning on a total, national basis in favor of selective growth. Ulbricht discreetly omitted any mention of what he regarded as the "non-leading" units in the economy.

Such unit concentration likewise requires the procurement of credit on an individual basis rather than on one embracing the entire economy. Implicit in such an arrangement is separate trade conducted with foreign capitalist firms, a blow against the state's monopoly of foreign trade.

A system of competition between plants is erected, but the losers are the workers themselves. For those factories and branches of industry that are—for whatever reason—less capable of showing a profit are threatened with closure and ensuing unemployment.

All the evils resulting from anarchy of capitalism now haunt the proletariat of the DDR: overproduction, economic crises, unemployment. That these are not yet a severe but only a threatening problem in the DDR is due to the favorable growth rate that prevailed up to this point. But now a decline has set in. And as unemployment in Yugoslavia and now Hungary reveals, the bureaucracies are incapable of defending the most basic conquests of the working class stemming from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

## Teachers' Leadership In Philly Agrees To "Cool Off" Strike

BY A PFT MEMBER

PHILADELPHIA—The Sullivan-Ryan leadership of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers has clearly demonstrated that it will not fight for its membership and will collaborate with the Board of Education's attack on the teachers and the entire school system.

## PANTHERS CONVICTED AT MILWAUKEE TRIAL

BY STEPHEN DIAMOND

MADISON—Three Black Panthers in Milwaukee have been convicted on frame-up attempted murder charges and sentenced to long prison terms. Their conviction in a matter of a couple weeks reflects the determination of the ruling class to crush the entire Black Panther Party.

Unfortunately this determination was not equalled by those who led the defense campaign. The Panthers virtually handed over their defense to the Revolutionary Youth Movement in Milwaukee and the Mother Jones Revolutionary League in Madison. It is now apparent that these groups were not concerned with defending the Panthers but wanted to use the defense to "raise consciousness." While they supposedly worked all summer on the defense, they never got more than 200 people to a Panther defense demonstration in Milwaukee.

The last series of demonstrations, held after the Milwaukee 3 were convicted, was built largely through guerrilla theater. At a rally the day before the demonstration, the guerrilla theater troupe presented a skit on women's liberation. Then a speaker said the defense of the Panthers was basically an ecological struggle, between the life forces and the death forces.

The Panthers will neither be defended nor "consciousness raised" through this kind of circus. The presence of the WL contingent at the demonstrations marked the beginning of a real fight to free the Milwaukee 3, based on the need for labor to take the lead in the defense of the Panthers.

### MUST READING!

Leon Trotsky On  
Labor Party

20¢

Labor Publications, Inc. 6th Floor,  
135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

## Police Beat Up Students Supporting Schmidt Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE, Sept. 27—The mailed fist of police repression was revealed yesterday as the police suppressed a strike support demonstration at the Schmidt Bakery. The demonstration was abruptly ended in an outbreak of police clubbing and the arrest of 12 persons including this reporter.

The demonstration was called by the Mother Jones collective to demonstrate solidarity with the strikers and encourage "community support."

The picketing proceeded peacefully if somewhat sparsely until a scab delivery truck appeared on the scene. At that point the demonstrators broke ranks and ran toward the truck, throwing paint bombs and bottles at it. The driver jumped off the truck and was heard to exclaim that no job was worth that much. He ran off with the day's receipts and has not been heard from since.

### BEATING

The demonstrators then returned to their station across the street from the Schmidt plant, and began chanting again. When one of the cops attempted to arrest a demonstrator a short scuffle broke out. The

Many teachers are well aware that the city is out to weaken and destroy the PFT but the union heads refuse to prepare for any serious struggle and go out of their way to prove their willingness to compromise. This is the real meaning of the thirty day "cooling off" agreement reached with the Board and the state government.

Although it was given almost total support by the rank and file for strike action, the leadership is determined to avoid a strike when the "cooling off" period expires on October 14.

Sullivan and Ryan hope to work out a compromise with the Board which they will pass off as a victory. Any compromise on the key questions of wages, length of the school day, accountability and extra duties will open the road to further destruction of the PFT and plunge the school system into total disintegration.

### FEARFUL

Confronted with the threat of an effective and militant strike, the Board of Education refused to open the schools the first week of classes. The PFT leadership was just as fearful of the mobilization of its ranks. Rather than calling a strike as it was authorized by the membership to do and exposing the tactics of the school board, it pursued the phoney "lock out" strategy. This is what prepared the way for the "cooling off" agreement.

The Ryan negotiating team has taken every opportunity to display its willingness to cooperate and comply with the Board of Education. Every teacher, paraprofessional and Get Set worker must understand that the stage is being set by the leadership for a sellout. The ranks must demand that the union's demands be made non-negotiable!

The attacks on the Black Panthers and other militants are part of the government's and employers' national strategy to divide workers by whipping up racism. In Philadelphia the use of the community control issue by the Board serves this end and is aimed at destroying the PFT. The PFT must go on the offensive against this by taking up in its struggle the fight against racism and the defense of the Panthers.

While the teachers are under attack the city has announced that it plans to lay off 2,000 non-uniformed city workers from Philadelphia General Hospital and the Sanitation Department. This is an open challenge to the entire city labor movement. The PFT must close ranks with its fellow workers and prepare for a fight.

On October 14 the schools must be closed down if the Board of Education does not yield. The ranks of the PFT must take up a fight now around the following demands:

- No compromise on wage demands and the length of day!
- For 20 pupil class size and 20 instruction periods per week!
- Defense of Panthers. End political repression!

demonstrator was held down by two of the cops as a third worked him over with his club. This reporter was photographing this brutal beating when a cop snatched the camera and opened it exposing the film. The camera was grabbed back and the cop said that if any more pictures were taken "something might happen."

The scuffle ended with the arrest of three demonstrators. At this point the remainder of the demonstrators took up their previous station across the street from the Schmidt plant. An international representative of the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union began to argue with a police major at this point, stating that the action of the police could only be interpreted as sadism.

This reporter moved in to get a photograph of the argument, whereupon a plainclothesman pointed to me and said "arrest that man." In the course of being led to the paddy wagon, "something happened," in the sense that the camera was struck by a nightstick, breaking the rewind mechanism.

### DEMAND

The brutal attack on the demonstrators by the police is only the latest page in

## St. Louis Firemen Celebrate Victory In Wage Parity Election

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—In a hard fought special election to change the city charter, St. Louis firemen have won equality of pay with the police department. Despite the bitter opposition from Mayor A. J. Cervantes, Firefighters Association Local 73 mobilized its full membership to petition for a special election and then go on to win the 60% majority required. Cervantes used blatant racism and threats of tax increases and job cutbacks to attempt to defeat the proposal which would give substantial wage increases to firefighters.

The mayor had just recently scared the voters into a city sales tax increase to "fight crime." Although the cops received a substantial wage increase from this new tax on working people, the firemen still continued to lag behind national wage scales.

Other St. Louis city employee unions such as the water workers and stationary engineers are greatly encouraged by the firemen's victory. They are now threatening strike action if they don't get big wage increases by the beginning of October.

President Joseph McMahon of the firemen's union stated that his union would support the demands of other city employees' unions and told television reporters "that this is a militant age, and if you are not militant, it's your fault."

When the news of the parity victory was announced, hundreds of firemen and their families danced in the streets with chants of "we beat the mayor!" and signs calling for "McMahon for mayor." This demonstration was a manifestation of the growing discontent of the St. Louis working class with Mayor Cervantes and his underworld connections.

The St. Louis labor movement must



Workers parade for union man for mayor.

demand parity or better for all city employees and concretize the demand for a labor mayor by fighting for a labor party.

## Construction Bosses Demand Laws To Legalize Lockouts

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—America's major general contractors are now demanding new federal legislation that would give them the whip in hand in future construction strikes.

A board meeting here of the Associated General Contractors on September 21 made clear what these laws will mean. First, they would require all general contractors to shut down and lock out their employees in an area if any strike action was taken against any of them.

Second, they would make it illegal for any contractor to keep working during such a lockout action and would force multi-union, multi-employers' association bargaining, with a single expiration date, whether the unions agreed to this or not.

Construction employers are solidly behind these proposals. Some 1,100 of the 9,000 AGC members showed up for this board meeting, about one out of eight.

Last February, a statewide AGC meeting in Minneapolis heard outgoing AGC national president Carl Halvorson call for

one million layoffs in the industry within a year to supposedly stop inflation.

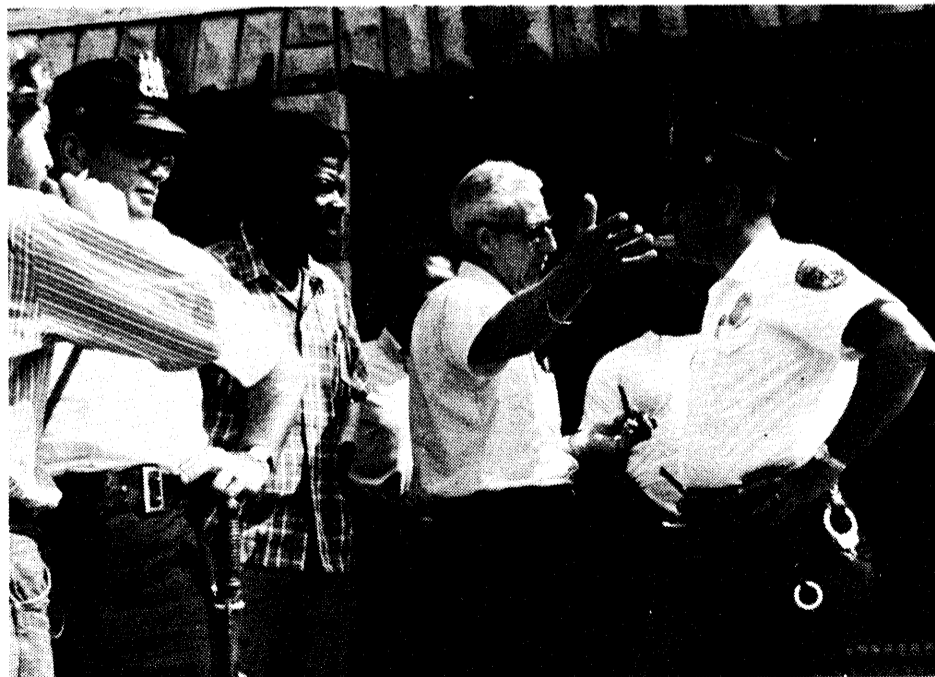
These warnings to building trades workers are unmistakable. But their union leadership, to a man, have continued to behave as if they were still in the 1950s.

Confirmation of this trend towards mass unemployment in the building trades came again on September 25. Twin Cities-based Barton Contracting Co. announced that it would quit the highway construction field by the end of October. This will mean the end of between 500 and 600 jobs out of a normal work force of 700 to 800.

### TIED

But the building trades union leaders, the Meanys, Haggertys, and Hutchesons are so tied in to this system that they continue to work to delude their members into believing that an upswing in the economy is just around the corner.

A fight against mass unemployment in the building trades by the ranks must be part of a struggle to build a new leadership in the unions.



Union official protests to cops over brutal treatment of student supporters of strike.

the book of crimes against workers, perpetrated by the Democratic Party regime of Mayor Thomas D'Allesandro.

It should be clear that the way forward to smashing the union-busting Schmidt management is for the rank and file

strikers to demand that their union call for the active support and intervention of organized area labor to form these picket lines. These lines must be defended against all attacks and harassment by the police.

# The Real Politics Of Labor Committee

BY FRED MUELLER

THE THEORETICAL AND practical tasks facing American Marxists are growing along with the crisis of U.S. capitalism. This crisis is finding its reflection more and more sharply within the labor and socialist movements. All tendencies are being put to the test of the class struggle. It is in this class context that we must understand the recent development of the National Caucus of Labor Committees.

What brings up the question of the Labor Committee quite sharply now is its recent turn, in preparation for the auto strike, toward a bloc with the Stalinists and their youth movement. This was expressed quite openly at a meeting of the Communist Party-dominated National Rank and File Committee in New York several weeks ago. The meeting was given a report on the Chicago Rank and File Conference held last June. A resolution was presented on the forthcoming auto strike.

This resolution provided absolutely no lead for the auto workers, confining itself to pious statements about the need to support the workers without any program or warnings about the role of the UAW bureaucracy. The Labor Committee spokesmen at this meeting stated at the outset that they agreed with this resolution, and simply wanted to add some proposals for its implementation.

Furthermore when the proposal was made from the floor that we support the auto workers on the program of an all out fight on wages, the shorter work week, and the call for nationalization of the auto industry and the building of a labor party in answer to the employer-government attack, the Labor Committee voted for the official resolution. When it came to a choice between the class collaborationist policies of the Stalinists and the class struggle alternative of Trotskyism, the Labor Committee openly and unashamedly sided with Stalinism.

This can only be understood through an objective political and theoretical analysis of this tendency, not in terms of bad intentions or any other subjective aspect. It is only through this analysis that we will be able to combat Stalinism and all its witting and unwitting accomplices.

## ORIGINS

The Labor Committee had its origins in the student movement. It is one of the products of the disintegration of SDS in the past several years.

From its origin the Labor Committee was torn by contradictions which it was unable to recognize and resolve. It proclaimed its concern with theory but it ignored its own history. Its most prominent leader, Lyn Marcus, came from the Trotskyist movement. Most of the others were students who had been sympathizers or supporters of Progressive Labor. But the Labor Committee never studied the history of these tendencies.

The fight for theory is not an abstract question. It cannot be divorced from the actual history and struggles of the international working class. Every lesson of the life and death struggles of the working class must be understood by those seeking to build a revolutionary party today.

To us this is one of the most fundamental conceptions, but not to the Labor Committee. As far as they are concerned the questions of Stalinism and Trotskyism are irrelevant. There is nothing to indicate that membership in the Labor Committee is not open to those who think that Stalin was correct as well as those who think Trotsky was correct. We assume that most of the Labor Committee has simply not gotten around to pronouncing themselves on this "ancient history."

This attitude toward the revolutionary movement masquerades under the name of theory! In *In Defense of Marxism*, Trotsky explains how Lenin mercilessly

## PART ONE OF A TWO PART SERIES

criticized the August bloc of 1912, and Trotsky in particular. This was a bloc of Mensheviks, "left" Bolsheviks, and Trotsky, and the documents of the bloc, writes Trotsky, "through avoiding principled differences had as their aim the creation of a semblance of unanimity upon 'concrete political questions.' Not a word about the past!"

This concern with concrete political questions divorced from the past is exactly what moves Lyn Marcus and the Labor Committee in their modern assault on Bolshevism and its continuators in the

party must be based upon the proletariat and on Marxist theory. This is a dialectical process. The party builds up a vanguard of the class which leads the entire class as well as the non-proletarian masses in the fight to overthrow capitalism.

As against this dialectical process, the Labor Committee proposes its own version of Fabianism and social work: "A competent program can be developed only by a revolutionary intelligentsia, which then propagates, explains and proves the validity of its proposals to the majority



Trade unionist carries labor party banner during last Spring's labor-student rally.

Fourth International. Yes of course the Labor Committee is capable of writing about history, but it evades precisely the principled questions, the history and meaning of Bolshevism, the fight to defend Bolshevism against Stalinism, the fight for the Fourth International.

Just as it is impossible to begin the struggle for the revolutionary party without an historical accounting of the international working class movement, without seeing oneself as a part of this movement and a partisan of the revolutionary trend within it, so it is also impossible to begin without the most careful attention to questions of philosophy. The fight for philosophy is the fight for the revolutionary party, the fight to understand reality through the struggle to change it.

## PHILOSOPHY

In the United States this requires an all-out fight against pragmatism, the dominant philosophy of American capitalism. The pragmatic method justifies the status quo with its narrow conceptions of workability and the denial of material reality and our ability to know it. It is impossible to understand or to change the material world with this method.

The fight against pragmatism means first of all the recognition of this method in ourselves. The beginning of wisdom is the recognition of the social roots and problems within the revolutionary party itself. Both the working class and the middle class bring the philosophy and ideology of the bourgeoisie with them when they come toward the revolutionary movement. With the middle classes, as Trotsky said, "it is worse." The "academically trained petty bourgeoisie" is that much more a prisoner of pragmatism, while the worker gains from his own thinking what Trotsky termed "an inclination toward dialectical thinking."

This "inclination" does not at all mean that the revolutionary party is a spontaneous creation of the class struggle. There must be a conscious fight for this party, for dialectical materialism, as the conscious expression of an unconscious process.

The Labor Committee utilizes the conceptions of Lenin's *What is to Be Done?* in a one-sided manner which destroys their meaning. The battle against spontaneity means according to them that the revolutionary party is equal to the "revolutionary intelligentsia." Exactly the opposite is true. As Lenin and Trotsky both showed

of working people and their allies."

This "theory" of the Labor Committee's is nothing but the capitulation to bourgeois ideology. It expresses the extreme arrogance of the American petty bourgeoisie toward the working class.

## ARROGANCE

The Labor Committee ridicules the claim of the Fourth International to represent the continuity of Marxism. To the Labor Committee this is hollow. But on the decisive questions of history and philosophy it is the Labor Committee which exists in a void and which reveals the most colossal arrogance. It begins without even the faintest recognition of its own history, its own social roots and method. It cuts itself off from material reality and dictates from on high.

The Labor Committee's deepening hostility toward Marxism can be seen quite clearly in recent issues of *The Campaigner* and of their newspaper, *Solidarity*. In the most recent issue of *The Campaigner* an editorial on the "Lessons of the Strike Wave" outlines the Labor Committee perspective.

The editorial speaks of the need for understanding labor history but then proceeds to misunderstand every aspect it touches. "It is pure myth," says the editorial, "to report that the labor movement progresses through a stage of 'trade union' organization and 'consciousness' toward a possible political stage. In fact, trade union forms and organizations have come into existence only as the aftermath of previous mass political struggles. In sum, the trade union form of organization and consciousness occurs in labor history during the past century as the new forms left on the beach when the tide of the revolutionary movement has run out. They exist as apolitical forms of rear-guard organizations whose function is to defend the principled gains previously obtained for labor by mass political strikes."

This may sound very scholarly, but it is completely wrong. Marcus and the Labor Committee substitute one-sided impressions for a dialectical analysis of the labor movement. They present us with a completely mechanical and artificial separation between the economic forms of organization of the working class and the political struggles.

In order to show this clearly we will quote at length from Trotsky's discussions with the leaders of the Socialist Workers

Party in 1938:

"I believe that it is necessary to remind ourselves of the most elementary facts from the history of the development of the workers' movement in general and the trade unions in particular. In this respect we find different types of development of the working class in different countries. In Austria and Russia especially the workers' movement began as a political movement, as a party movement. Another type of development is that disclosed in the Latin countries, in France, and especially in Spain. Here the party movement and the trade union movement are almost independent of one another and under different banners, even to a certain degree antagonistic to one another."

"The third type is provided by Great Britain and the United States, and more or less by the dominions. England is the classic country of the trade unions. They began to build trade unions at the end of the 18th century, before the French Revolution, and during the so-called industrial revolution. In England, the working class didn't have its independent party. Only after a hundred years did the trade unions begin to build up a political party. This is absolutely contrary to Germany and Austria. There the party awakened the working class and built up the trade unions. In England the trade unions after centuries of existence and struggle were forced to build up a political party.

"What were the reasons for this change? It was due to the complete decline of English capitalism which began very sharply. The bourgeoisie lost the ability to give the leading strata of the proletariat a privileged position. The trade unions lost the possibility to improve the situation of the workers and they were pushed onto the road of political action because political action is the generalization of economic action. Political action generalizes the needs of the workers and addresses them not to the parts of the bourgeoisie but to the bourgeoisie as a whole organized in the state."

We have quoted at length to show the outline of a Marxist analysis of the role and history of the trade unions. We can see that for Trotsky this is a rich, all-sided question, and he outlines the fundamental considerations in all their variety and concreteness.

For us trade unions are not "forms left on the beach" because we do not start with an ahistorical formal conception which divides political and economic struggles instead of unifying them. As Trotsky points out political action is the generalization of economic action. We must see the transition from the one to the other.

It is precisely in the struggle to defend the trade unions against employer attacks that the consciousness of the working class will be raised and the political struggle for power will be taken up in earnest. This question is posed by the decline of capitalism itself. Just as the decline of English capitalism prepared the way for tremendous political developments in the working class, the crisis of American capitalism is already posing the most explosive struggles before the working class.

The Labor Committee does not see the dialectical development, the way in which the workers proceed first through all the old forms, exhausting these forms and all the illusions built up over decades of imperialist plunder and the consequent bribing of a section of the working class.

Thus the Labor Committee outlines its objective as "...to defend existing trade unions only as the rear-guard form of organization of working people, which must be preserved until they can be superseded by a political mass organization of working people and their allies."

Once again, even more clearly, we are given a formal and lifeless conception of defending "until" rather than defending in order to build the consciousness and organization necessary to overthrow capitalism. By separating the defense of the trade unions, which they so grudgingly concede is necessary, from the political struggle, the Labor Committee misunderstands the whole question, the objective tasks posed before the working class by the crisis.

We cannot imagine the Labor Committee or anyone else convincing worker militants that it is necessary to defend a "rear-guard" organization. What a bankrupt and defeatist schema! It is precisely through the defense that we go over to the offense and make the trade unions into the vanguard that they can and must be.

# Nixon's Welfare "Reform" Is Return To Slave Labor

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

Nixon's anti-union offensive has become clear to the thousands of workers in the social services agencies across the nation. The Welfare Reform Bill pending in Congress is the most recent example of the Administration's desire to smash the trade unions and attack the jobs and the living standards of both the workers and clients.

The bill would federalize the income maintenance part of the social workers' job. This part will be done by clerical workers at lower pay and will open the way for the federalization of services. The bill would increase the work week by five hours, reduce holidays by two days, end promotional opportunities, take away time accumulated toward pension, require workers to pay half on their health plans, restrict collective bargaining rights, grievance procedures, right of representation, and some measure of due process in disciplinary hearings.

This, however, is only the immediate effect of the bill. The overall aim of the bill will be to turn the social service agencies into federal bureaus organized along the lines of the Social Security Administration.

## REDUCE

The longer range plan is to drastically reduce and eventually abolish the service end of the social workers' job, and thus, greatly shrink the number of jobs. Furthermore, the bill would require states to set up a program of unpaid or part-paid volunteer workers who would take over whatever services had to be done. This would enable the government to drive a wedge into the trade union movement, and set a precedent for the legitimized whittling away of trade union control over jobs, reducing pay scales and taking away benefits hard won through years of trade union struggle.



Militant hits Nixon plan at SSEU meeting.

The riders to the Family Assistance Plan bill make this crystal clear. One amendment, submitted by Senator Ribicoff of Connecticut, mandates the use of physically able welfare clients to clean the streets, under penalty of the loss of their right to receive public assistance. This literally means a return to slave labor, i.e., involuntary servitude in exchange for sustenance sufficient to keep the laborer alive. It will be used as a weapon against the organized trade union movement, specifically the sanitation department in this case. The government will attempt to use the clients as a scab force.

## SLAVE

Another amendment submitted by Senator Long of Louisiana pertains to the working poor. His amendment provides for subsidies to employers who hire people below the federal minimal wage, rather than the subsidization of the worker's income directly through the agency. This will mean, rather than a crackdown on violators of the minimum wage law, encouraging the sweatshop employers to hire at below minimum wage. It would also create slave labor conditions. If the worker quits, his welfare money could be cut off altogether.

This bill set for enactment on July 1, 1970 also provides for:

1. Mandatory work requirements for welfare recipients. Mothers must report to employment agencies each Friday and take any available job;
2. A \$1,600 annual income for family of four;
3. Excludes working poor from relief rolls.

## DEMONSTRATION

Because of the dangers in this bill posed to the trade union movement, Social Service Employees Union, 371, Local 1549 clerical workers, District Council 37 of New York and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees is calling a demonstration in Washington on Wednesday, October 7.

This is a very important move. However, the perspective the union leadership is putting forward is wholly inadequate. They intend solely to amend the bill to make it more palatable.

What is really called for is to completely throw out this rotten bill and with it all the reorganization schemes being instituted across the country.

AFCME must take the lead together with the other welfare unions and call a strike nationwide to defeat the bill.

- All out on October 7!
- Down with Nixon's welfare plan!

# Tories Campaign To Deport Rudi Dutschke From England

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

The Tory Government in England has opened a vicious witchhunt against radicals and revolutionaries with its campaign against Rudi Dutschke.

Rudi Dutschke, former leader of the German SDS who led some of the first major student demonstrations, was ordered by Home Secretary Reginald Maudling to leave England by September 30. According to Maudling, Rudi's continued residence in the United Kingdom "would not be in the public interest."

What Maudling is really concerned with is the Tories' interests. Clearly Rudi is no friend of the Tories.

Rudi, who is now 31 years old, is a victim of the repression and terror of the West German ruling class whose campaign against SDS and Rudi two years ago spurred on a reactionary fanatic who shot him twice in the head as he was riding his bicycle home. He survived though his speech and vision were impaired and came to Britain with his family for medical treatment.

He gave the authorities all the guarantees they required, regardless of his subjective feelings about this, including the ridiculous demand that he should not take part in

politics in Britain. He carried out this agreement.

The day before he was to enter Cambridge University where he had been admitted, he was told he could not continue his education and must go back to Germany.

The Tories' attack on Dutschke must be seen as an attack on rights of the British working class and a provocation to it as the Tories go on the offensive politically against the working class.

The London Trades Council representing over 300,000 trade unionists has answered this attack by unanimously carrying a resolution defending the right of Rudi Dutschke to remain in Britain.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League issued a statement in its daily organ the *Workers Press* urging all sections of the labor movement to follow the example of the London Trades Council in demanding that the order to deport Rudi be revoked and all restrictions on his political liberties be lifted.

The brutal attack on Rudi must be seen as the same kind of attack that Nixon and Agnew are waging against the Black Panthers and against student militants. The American labor movement must come to the defense of Dutschke, a victim of the international terror of the capitalist class.

# THE WORKERS LEAGUE PRESENTS: TROTSKY MEMORIAL LECTURES



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

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

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

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

# USSR Moves Toward Spain Opens Press Office In Madrid

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The Soviet bureaucracy has taken another step toward recognizing the fascist Franco regime in Spain by establishing an office of the Soviet news agency Tass in Madrid. Franco's news agency EFE will open a Moscow office in October. The last time EFE journalists were in the USSR was when they accompanied Spanish fascist troops fighting with the Nazi invasion forces in the Second World War.

In the last nine months, fascist Spain has been swept from end to end by strikes against the Franco regime. Railroad, transport, building and mining workers have been out in strike action, and shot down by Franco's fascist police. The Asturian miners were out on strike for a

month before they were driven back by starvation, and the arrival of scab coal from Poland. Today Polish and Soviet mining technicians are in the Asturian mines aiding the Franco regime in speeding up production.

Late in July, fast on the heels of Polish Stalinist scabbing, Czechoslovakia extended diplomatic recognition to fascist Spain, making the list of Stalinist countries to do so almost complete: Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania. The Soviet Union will be next.

Fear of the upsurge in the class struggle and the approaching revolution in Europe which will strike both at capitalism and at the Stalinist bureaucracy drives counter-revolutionary Stalinism into the arms of Spanish fascism.



## ILWU Ranks Must Demand Bridges Call Boycott Of Container Cargo

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The ILWU early caucus for the 1971 contract takes place at a time when the union faces the greatest crisis in its history. The union leadership stands absolutely bankrupt before the rank and file without a program and without the slightest confidence in its ability to wage a struggle.

The recent Local 10 stewards' workshop sharply exposed the entire situation. President Bridges virtually announced his intentions to prepare the greatest sellout of his career. On the central question of defending the strength of the union from decimation through automation, Bridges made it crystal clear that he is fully the agent of the PMA:

"There's been a lot of discussion on this and we already have a lot of resolutions. Now as it stands, I don't think you'll get what you are talking about. I mean, you won't be able to maintain the present work force. You at least have to allow for attrition." In other words the rank and file can say anything it pleases, but Bridges stands committed to carry out the PMA policy of destroying the union by permitting the mass elimination of jobs.

Petrified at the prospect of a real fight from his ranks Bridges runs squealing to the employers to beg for a few concessions. "I feel that the employer has an obligation to the present work force. We gave them a lot of leeway and they've made a whole hell of a lot of money. There has to be an open-ended obligation on their part which would mean that there's no running out of money."

### APPEALS

In other words the union gave the PMA everything it wanted on a silver platter and Bridges now appeals to the moral obligations of the employers to be generous to its workers. All of this rubbish completely misses the point. The employers have no intention of doing anything but pushing for more and more concessions from the union. It is not a question that they have made their pile and will now pay off the workers for helping out.

The current state of Matson Lines which is being forced to close its passenger runs and curtail its Far East operations makes it all too clear that the employers are in a dog eat dog struggle for survival and that survival depends on their ability to smash the strength and organization of the union. Pressure from foreign rivals, domestic competitors and growing com-

petition between ports forces them to introduce automation at breakneck speed. Companies like Matson are threatened with bankruptcy and smaller ports face virtual extinction.

### ERODE

Any agreement from the unions to go along with attrition schemes are seen by the employers as temporary agreements which erode the union's strength and prepare the way for mass layoffs. As recent announcements show even vesting payments and disability and death benefits are under the gun. The pressure now becomes enormous to seek out every area of weakness of the union to push it back. The employers are hell bent on reversing all the working conditions built up over the years, challenging union jurisdiction in every area. Their central strategy is to create a small mobile highly skilled group of workers, tightly disciplined and subject to the intense exploitation and speed-up of the new automated equipment.

The ILWU leadership refuses to confront this crisis. Bridges openly states that there are too many "B" men, talks about heating up the jurisdictional dispute with the Teamsters again and moans about the financial plight of a number of the employers.

### BOYCOTT

Longshoremen must take up the fight at the October 5 caucus meeting to expose Bridges' policies and present an alternative. There must be a decisive rejection of any acceptance of attrition schemes with the demand for a guaranteed forty hours pay for all longshoremen and no elimination of jobs with full replacement of all men who leave the industry.

Longshoremen must break once and for all with the idea that the automation schemes of the PMA must be accepted. This is the road to defeat and mass unemployment. This caucus must prepare the fight to totally boycott containerized cargo until wages and jobs are completely protected.

## NIXON CALLS OUT FBI AS POLITICAL REPRESSION SWEEPS CAMPUSES

BY STEVE ZELTZER

The recent demand by Nixon for 1,000 additional FBI agents to deal specifically with "campus disorders" must be warning of the massive political repression that is being prepared against the student movement.

The recent bombings on the campuses are only being used as an excuse by Nixon to conduct massive infiltration, intimidation and criminal persecution against the student movement.

Already this semester at Stanford and a number of other universities, students will be required to carry ID cards with photographs and full time administrators and lawyers are being assigned to gather evidence and prosecute cases involving trespass, "campus disruption" and new and stiffer rules of "personal conduct."

At many schools even capitalist "due process" is being thrown by the wayside. In Ohio a new law affecting all public institutions provides immediate, mandatory one year suspension for any student or faculty member convicted in a court of campus disruption.

"Offenders" within five days will be given preliminary hearings after which they may be suspended temporarily. The hearing officers will be local lawyers picked by the administration and other "qualified" persons.

In addition to enlarging campus police forces and equipping them with guns and mace, the use of student police is being tested at a number of schools.

One idea Los Angeles Police Chief Davis has is to swear in faculty and students to police the campus during political demonstrations or other political activity.

Davis has even suggested that in "critical periods" males over 18 be deputized.

## SF Welfare Workers Laid Off Guards Take Their Place

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—The last vestiges of the liberal belief in personal solutions and of the social worker helping the poor is being destroyed in the San Francisco Welfare Department. Last Thursday it was announced that nine social work supervisors were being replaced... by five armed guards!

Rather than protecting social workers, these guards can only aggravate the tense situations which abound in the welfare department. The nine supervisors who are being laid off, once "professionals" with masters' degrees, now join the ranks of the clients they once advised.

### LAI D OFF

The day after the above announcement was made, a social worker with twelve years experience was laid off. She was one of the four people classified as N.C.S. (non-Civil Service) laid off that day. She was N.C.S. because Civil Service refuses to give social worker examinations to qualify workers for permanent positions.

Another worker was laid off even though he had passed the last examination given a year ago. In this situation it does not matter if a worker passes or fails an exam, or if the worker leaves a desk piled up with cases which remains just as he left it.

San Francisco Civil Service regulations have been made so complex that few, if any workers understand them. In fact, in view of the muddle which Civil Service has made of its own regulations, one must question whether Civil Service understands

its own rules! A short time ago a General Assistance worker was laid off on Monday afternoon, rehired on Wednesday, told she was laid off on Friday, and then was told it was all a "mistake."

General Assistance workers marched to the Mayor's office to demand a meeting. Mayor Alioto agreed to meet with eight representatives only, although there were many other workers attempting to get into the room. The Mayor sat behind his black carved desk and feigned astonishment at the layoffs.

Jeffries, head of Local 400, attempted to protect the Mayor from the workers by interrupting workers who were speaking. Alioto admitted he had frozen more than thirty positions, but stated it was not his job to lay off workers. He made a solemn promise that there would be no further layoffs as long as there was work to be done. A week later the layoffs began all over again.

### MOBILIZATION

Almost symbolically as the workers walked out of the Mayor's office, they had some trouble finding the right exit—until Jeffries, who has had long experience, found the right door out.

It has become clear that delegations to the Mayor's office have become pointless. Nor will appeals to the "taxpayer" or the Chamber of Commerce change the situation. What is now posed is a mass mobilization of city workers, including hospital workers and janitors who are also affected by the same conditions, around a struggle against all layoffs.

## San Diego Ironworkers Threaten Strike Over Wages, Work Week

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO—Prodded by the pressures of rising living expenses and shrinking incomes, ironworkers of Local 627 employed at National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO), are poised on the verge of a strike with the October 1 expiration of their contract.

NASSCO is a subsidiary of Kaiser, and of Morrison-Knudsen, both steel and construction giants in the West. There are a number of unions represented at the plant. Three years ago the ironworkers here went out on strike for four months, but were forced to return to work on the company's terms.

This year the ranks are ready for a fight. The principal demands the union is raising are for a \$1.50 wage increase over the three year life of the contract and the demand for a four day work week.

### CUTBACK

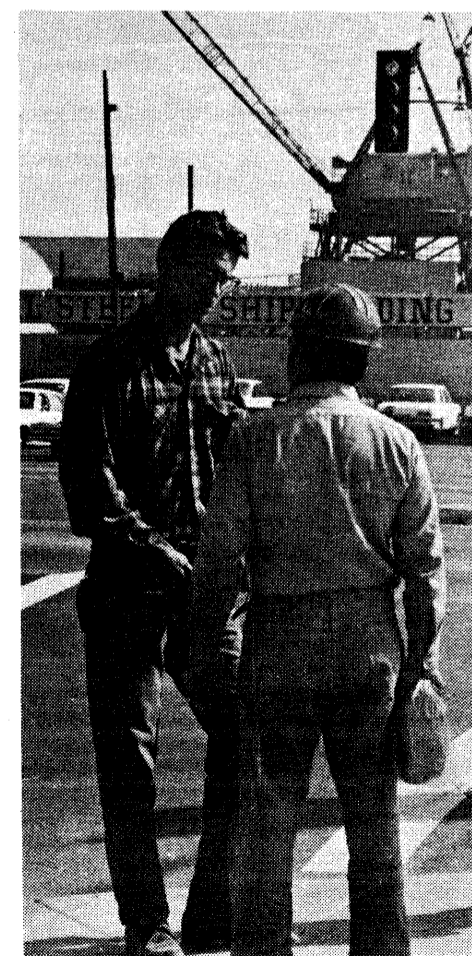
One worker at the plant told the Bulletin: "The conditions here are lousy. There have been a lot of layoffs recently with the cutback from 3 to 2 shifts and work speedup has increased tremendously with the approaching strike deadline. The key issues are the work week and wages. Prices just keep going up and up. The government contracts haven't helped us much either. If there is a strike the company intends to use it as an opportunity to install some new ways (automated shipbuilding facilities)."

The company has taken a hard line and has offered the union practically nothing.

The union leadership has done little to prepare the ranks for the struggle. A pre-strike rank and file meeting was cancelled by the union leaders. And the workers have been kept in the dark about the issues before the October 1 expiration date for the old contract. Instead of going out on strike if no suitable agreement is reached, the NASSCO ironworkers are being told they must work on a day to day basis for the next 80 days under their old contract.

### ACTION

The ranks must demand that the plant be shut down on October 1 if the demands are not met. The auto workers are showing the way to take on the employers. This is the kind of action that is required. The ranks must fight for at least the wage pattern set by the Chicago Teamsters together with the demand for a full escalator clause and the four day week at five days' pay.



Bulletin reporter (left) interviews steelworker at National Shipbuilding facility.