

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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DEFEND ANGELA DAVIS

HOOVER
NOV 25 1970
INSTITUTION



*Labor Marches Against Alioto--
Two Full Pages On West Coast News*

AUTO WORKERS stop the sell-out!

**DEMAND THAT THE OCTOBER 24th
CONVENTION GO ON RECORD TO WIN:**

- \$1.25 an hour wage increase first year.
- \$1.65 an hour minimum in new money.
- FULL cost of living escalator, 30 and out, no deals on fringe benefits.
- No one back until ALL local issues are settled.

**MAKE THESE DEMANDS NON-NEGOTIABLE!
LET GM AND WOODCOCK KNOW THAT THERE WILL BE NO DEALS
AT THE AUTO WORKERS EXPENSE!**

**Militant
Demands
Mass March
Against Lindsay
To Answer
No Pay,
Speed-up
Plans
In
New York
City**



Dennis Cribben of Committee for a New Leadership speaks out against Lindsay.

What The Editors Think...



The elections this year are taking place in a period of great upheavals in the labor movement and among the youth. This year marks a political turning point as the employers and the government go on the offensive politically against the working class to drive back its living standards.

The real and present danger to the American working class is posed sharply with the emergence of the right wing campaign of James Buckley in New York State. This man who has received the support of a section of the trade union bureaucracy is openly the spokesman for the bankers. Behind Buckley's patriotism and flag waving, is the main plank of his program—the destruction of the trade unions.

The responsibility for the rise of Buckley must be laid at the doorstep of liberalism—in both the Republican and Democratic Parties.

Above all liberalism is based on the preservation of the capitalist system. The needs of this system today require that any compromise be broken, that the working class be driven back and smashed. This is precisely the theme of the Buckley campaign.

The liberals in the Democratic and Republican parties can only expose their subservience to the employers. In New York Republican Goodell assures Nixon that he is behind him. Lindsay tells city workers they will have to work without

pay to save the system. Democrat Goldberg calls for a wage freeze and Ottinger jumps on the law and order bandwagon. The so-called alternative of the liberals which is backed not only by a section of the trade union bureaucracy but by the Communist Party clearly means the working class will be delivered up to the employers.

The vicious and brutal attacks on the Panthers and the student militants, the determination of GM and Nixon to defeat the auto strike must serve as a danger signal for the working class as a whole.

The only way to put a halt to the plans of the employers and their political representatives is through the independent POLITICAL struggle of the working class.

This is why the Workers League is calling for a vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

This is why the Workers League is urging all workers and militants to vote for an alternative to the capitalist parties, to vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, and take up the fight for a labor party. The vote for the SWP can be a tremendous step forward in the fight to construct a labor party, a powerful political weapon of the labor movement.

The Workers League has launched a nationwide campaign for the SWP's candidates. We have approached the SWP and have offered to organize meetings for their candidates on many campuses including New York Community College in Brooklyn, the New School, Cooper Union in New York, Stony Brook, and Penn State. Similar work is being done in other states.

We are taking up the fight in the unions to pass resolutions of support for the SWP's candidates as well as for support from individual union members.

We urge all our readers and supporters to join us in this campaign. Please write or call the Bulletin office for more information.

Nixon Attempts To Impose Middle East Deal In Vietnam

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

Nixon's peace plan represents a desperate attempt to impose in Southeast Asia the kind of deal imposed on the Middle East. It is not to be taken lightly. The role of the Soviet Union in the recent Middle East sellout of the Palestinian revolutionary struggle could well be repeated in Vietnam.

It is equally clear that a ceasefire which would leave American troops on Southeast Asia soil could only be a prelude to a settlement of the war which would leave imperialism in the saddle, with perhaps the NLF in a minor role in a coalition government.

Just as a ceasefire in the Middle East is linked to a peace settlement which would deny the Palestinian right of self-determination and leave the imperialist front regimes in power in the region, so a cease fire in Vietnam could only be a prelude to a sellout of the aims of the workers and peasants of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos who wish countries free of imperialist domination and of capitalist exploitation.

FEAR

As the Middle East makes clear, the Soviet bureaucracy is ready and willing to bargain away the liberation movement of the masses. But there is another lesson in the Middle East events. Nixon moves now quickly to try to settle Vietnam following a massive revolutionary movement in Jordan which almost succeeded in toppling the Jordanian regime and thus bringing the whole Middle East to the point of socialist revolution with American troops deeply involved in a new front. Nixon today acts out of fear of the masses, not out of confidence. In this fear he is joined by the Kremlin bureaucrats.

At the same time Nixon faces a massive strike movement at home led by the auto workers, growing discontent among masses of the youth with the students in the lead, and the beginnings of a revolutionary movement among black and other minority workers. All this finds a sharp reflection within the army where the opposition which swept Vietnam is now sweeping the standing army in Europe.

On top of this the American economy staggers from bad to worse and international competition among the world capitalist bandits grows more and more vicious. Above all Nixon would like to free his hands in Asia and keep the lid on the

Middle East, so he can tackle the American working class and Europe as well.

BLOODBATH

Let there be no question about it—Nixon's policy is the opposite of peaceful. Any deal made with this criminal and his regime will be followed by a bloodbath. He wishes only to buy time, to demoralize the workers, to ride out the international offensive of the working class. Then he will strike back as he did in Cambodia, as his National Guard did in Kent, as his police did in Chicago, as his courts are doing to the Panthers across the country, as his Vice President has been urging. Nixon and his class will not be content until the workers' states are returned to capitalism and every organization of the working class is destroyed.

What is required now is a conscious fight to take forward the movement of the working class which strikes such fear in Nixon and unsettle any settlements Nixon and Company seek to make. This means a head-on collision with the middle class forces now lining up with Nixon. It is this that all the revisionists pull away from. In the last analysis they line up with Nixon.

THEORY

This is why the YSA in the SMC will not come out for victory for either the Arab masses or the Vietcong, nor carry forward a campaign in support of the auto rank and file.

Only the Workers League can carry forward the conscious struggle of the working class internationally against all those who seek compromises with the hangmen of the workers. This requires at this point above all a struggle for Marxist theory. This is the meaning of the Trotsky Memorial Lectures we are holding as well as our campaign in auto, around the Oct. 31st antiwar demonstrations, and in support of a vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates as a step forward in the fight for the labor party.

EDITORIAL

Auto Ranks Must Fight To Stop The Sell-out!

The UAW has called a special convention in Detroit for October 24 to consider financial assessments from the rest of the union as a means of enlarging the General Motors strike fund. The rank and file must now make every possible effort to bring a fight into this convention to stop the sellout now being prepared by the Woodcock leadership.

Rather than allow Woodcock to use this convention as a cover behind which he continues his policy of retreat from a fight with GM, all auto workers should demand that the convention escalate the battle against GM with a fight for: \$1.25 an hour wage increase the first year; \$1.65 an hour in new money over three years (the wage package won by the Teamsters despite the opposition of their international leaders); full cost of living escalator; 30 and out; no deals on fringe benefits; nobody goes back until ALL local issues are settled.

woodcock

While General Motors arrogantly sticks to its piddling offer which is an insult to every working man in the country, President Woodcock has beat a steady retreat. Before the contract, Woodcock claimed he would fight for a 15% yearly wage increase. At the same time he said that a strike would not be in the "national interest." By the time the negotiations got rolling he was far below that figure—down to 30.5 cents an hour in new money the first year. Now he plans even further concessions in "exchange" for some form of 30 and out in a blatant attempt to divide younger and older workers.

Woodcock's attempt to stampede local "settlements" in order to undercut the threat of local rank and file rebellions against ratification has fallen flat on its face. The "settlements" are not going to mean a thing if GM is able to call the tune on the national contract. But if the UAW can force GM to the wall, real progress can be made against speed-up on the local level.

The sellout can and must be stopped.

caucus

The United Action Caucus at the Fremont, Calif. GM plant which raised the demand for \$1.65 an hour over three years, and the militants of the \$1.25 an Hour Now Committee have taken the lead. This must be followed with the organization of a national rank and file caucus to fight for these demands against the Woodcock leadership.

Woodcock's recent statement that he has "nothing but the kindest feelings right now" for GM shows that he has no intention of fighting GM.

But more and more the ranks are showing that they want a real fight against GM, despite the Woodcock bureaucracy. This is highlighted by the recent reports of GM workers in Detroit employed in "non-essential" production defying the leadership's demand that they return to work.

A real fight, utilizing the power of the UAW to tell GM, "We've had enough, you had better settle on OUR terms or forget about making any more cars," can be sparked by the rank and file. Such a fight can unite all sections of the union—old and young, skilled and unskilled, production and clerical, black and white—against all attempts by the leadership, company or government to weaken and divide them.

offensive

We say, take the offensive against the entire Big Three and Nixon at this convention. The ranks must demand that the union shut down not only ALL of GM, but the entire auto industry to win the demands. If there are any injunctions or government intervention against the strike, this must be met with a campaign for a general strike of the entire labor movement in defense of the UAW. The rank and file cannot rely in any way on the Democrats or Republicans in this kind of struggle but need to build a labor party as a real alternative to the bosses' parties.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

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Detroit Militant Outlines Program

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—John Anderson, well known militant in the UAW has called for the mass mobilization of the GM strikers on the basis of a four point program:

1. An area wide strike committee representing each local union.
2. Weekly mass demonstrations around the GM building.
3. Weekly local union meetings.
4. A giant rally of all auto workers in Kennedy Square on Friday, October 30.

Anderson, former president of Cadillac Local 15, told this reporter that he feels that this will be a long strike, that mass pressure on Woodcock and GM is essential. He also says that the main issues are not

being raised by the leadership. These are paragraph 8 and 117 of the contract. Paragraph 8, he claims, concedes to management the right to control over the workers and working conditions. Paragraph 117 denies the right to strike. These two paragraphs are the major source, he says, of workers' discontent.

MINIMUM

Another pressing need, he says, is for \$5 an hour minimum pay. Anderson views the "30 and Out" not as costly nor crucial. The demand is important because of "the way the workers hate their work, they want to get out."

Anderson points out that unless you get rid of paragraphs 8 and 117 GM will go on "merely tolerating the UAW but not recognizing it."

UAW Leaders 'Educate' Ranks

BY UAW LOCAL 174 MEMBER

DETROIT—As local and national bargaining continues on the contract between General Motors and the UAW, the union bureaucrats are attempting to sell their brand of unionism to the strikers.

At Local 174 classes have been set up to indoctrinate the membership on why the UAW leadership thinks the strike is necessary.

Kermit Mead, a former time study man from a Ford local and presently a teacher of Labor Management at Wayne State University has been conducting the classes. At the last class he gave a brief history of the UAW. He then went into the cause of the present backlog of unsolved grievances. He stated that the biggest factor was our inexperienced local leadership.

His solution to this was to insert into our bylaws a proposal that all officers, from committeemen to plant chairmen, attend classes given by the UAW on the contract and how to implement it. He claimed that while he was at Local 600 at Fords there was never a time study grievance.

Indeed, that is very easy to believe. The contracts we have worked under give the company all that they want—the power to get as much production out of every employee as they can.

Now they are preparing us for the same conditions under the same type of management but represented by a more clever union representative who is better versed in enforcing every word of the contract and trained in time study methods.

SMC RETREATS FROM DEFENSE OF VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

BY PAT CONNOLLY

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 10—The Expanded Steering Committee of the Student Mobilization Committee met here today with approximately 250 persons attending. The main focus of the meeting was the October 31 demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

The meeting was held almost immediately after Nixon's new "peace plan" was announced. The SMC leadership, dominated by the Young Socialist Alliance, took little note of this, except to state that: "There is no basis whatsoever for believing that President Nixon's 'major new initiative' for peace is any more real or credible than previous ploys by Nixon or Johnson before him. What is new is simply the increased volume of platitudes about peace." They also went on to emphasize that the "peace plan" was aimed at improving Republican chances in the upcoming elections, and mainly to undermine and undercut the antiwar movement.

But what is new is not simply "platitudes about peace." What is new is the increasingly clear possibility of peace based on the betrayal of the Vietnamese Revolution. The peace plan offered by Nixon follows directly on the heels of the civil war in Jordan. In that uprising, the Soviet Stalinists played a conscious and despicable counterrevolutionary role. They engineered the acceptance of the imperialist "Rogers Plan," launched vicious attacks on the Palestinian guerrillas who refused to go along with this sellout, and backed Nasser fully in his attempts to strike a balance between imperialism, its Zionist agents, and the Arab masses.

The organization of the meeting itself was designed to avoid serious political discussion, with the meeting breaking down into workshops immediately after the opening remarks by Gurewitz and liberal lawyer Jerry Gordon of CAPAC. Workshops on "Organizing the Fall Antiwar Offensive, Building the 31st, the Antiwar University and Membership" were followed by workshops on campus, high school, women, GIs, Black, Brown, Asian-American and Native American movements against the war; Labor, the Antiwar movement and the UAW strike, the Middle East crisis and the Antiwar movement.

Rather than a political discussion and assessment of the relationship between Vietnam, the Middle East and the UAW strike, what it means for the struggle against the war, each of the workshop subjects was treated as separate entities which needed organizational discussion.

The Workers League intervention centered around the fight for the October 31st demonstrations to be built with the understanding that there was a sharp change in the political situation.

COUNTERREVOLUTION

At the same time as Nixon and the Soviet bureaucracy attempt to extend their cooperation in counterrevolution from the Middle East to Indochina, there is a tremendous upsurge in the class struggle in the United States. The UAW strike, which the SMC characterizes simply as "objectively anti-war" is part of an international class struggle which threatens the stability of capitalism as a whole. Nixon and the ruling class want a settlement in Vietnam and in the Middle East precisely so they can take care of business at home—the business of smashing down the American working class.

This tremendous upsurge in the working class in the USA, must be taken into the fight against the war. The Democrats and Republicans who to a man support the attempt to crush the Arab Revolution, which unanimously praise Nixon's peace plan, are the parties of war, racism, unemployment, inflation. The construction of an independent labor party based on the trade unions, which can mobilize the working class against these attacks is crucial if the fight against the war is to go forward. This demand must be taken into the October 31 demonstrations and given a concrete political expression with the call to vote for the Socialist Workers Party as a socialist alternative to the capitalist parties and as a step toward the labor party.

This is what is objectively required to take forward the fight against the war, to defend the Vietnamese Revolution, the Arab Revolution, the American working class.

OPPORTUNISM

The SMC-YSA fought against this kind of revolutionary program against the war with the crassest opportunism. Again and again they pointed to the single-issue, non-revolutionary, non-political character



SMC refuses to support NLF victory (soldiers shown above) or that of Arab revolution.

of the SMC to justify their refusal to take up the political issues.

This could be clearly seen in the workshops which the Workers League participated in. In the first series of workshops around "Building the 31st, the Fall Antiwar Offensive," the reports were of a totally organizational character, recounting the number of SMC chapters, the number of buttons sold on various campuses, the number of persons attending meetings. When the question of the peace plan, the role of Stalinism, and what it meant was raised, the response from one SWPer was: "This is nothing new. The Soviet Union has been betraying revolutions for fifty years." Will they continue to do so, or will the fight against Stalinism be taken into the student and working class movements? This is the question.

REFUSE

In a presentation by Peter Seidman, of the YSA, the official SMC position of "No troops to the Middle East" was put forward. Seidman, and the SMC, clearly and absolutely refused to raise the question of the defense of the Arab Revolution, or to expose the nature of Zionism as an agent of imperialism.

They refuse to raise the slogan "Defend the Arab Revolution" within the antiwar movement for precisely the same reason they refuse to support victory to the NLF. That is—the SMC is not a revolutionary organization. Its one and only concern is to bring the troops home now, and to fight against troops being sent anywhere in the world.

They say: "Of course our opposition to U.S. intervention in the Middle East does not solve the larger questions involved there. These larger questions are ones on which those of us in the antiwar movement may differ, even while agreeing on our opposition to the U.S. landing troops there. Despite our differences, however, the SMC and the antiwar movement in general have an obligation to the American people and the people of the Middle East in relation to these larger questions. Specifically we

have an obligation to continue to uncover the truth."

This is a concise expression of the doubletalk which was presented by the SMC-YSA on the question of the Middle East. The "larger questions" on which there are disagreements within the antiwar movement are the questions of Zionism and imperialism, and the struggle of the Arab masses for self-determination and socialism. This question must be fought out in the antiwar movement. **One cannot defend the Vietnamese Revolution while defending Zionism and imperialism in the Middle East.** It is the same struggle, and requires a forthright class stand, and the fight for that stand within the student and antiwar movement.

OCT. 31

The "obligation" which the SMC and the antiwar movement have "to continue to uncover the truth" is not simply to call for "No troops to the Middle East." It is the obligation to fight among students in the antiwar movement, and among the working class to expose the role of Zionism in the Middle East, to fight for the defense of the Arab Revolution, for the defense of the Vietnamese Revolution, for the victory of the working class internationally. **This is the only fight there is against imperialist war.**

The Workers League intends to take forward that fight on the campuses and in the trade unions in the struggle to build the October 31 demonstrations:

- Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina! Victory to the National Liberation Front!
- Full support to the rank and file auto workers, against any sellout attempts by the Woodcock leadership!
- Defend the Arab Revolution!
- For the construction of an independent labor party against the twin parties of war, racism, unemployment and inflation! Vote for the Socialist Workers Party as an alternative to the capitalist policies!

Free Angela Davis

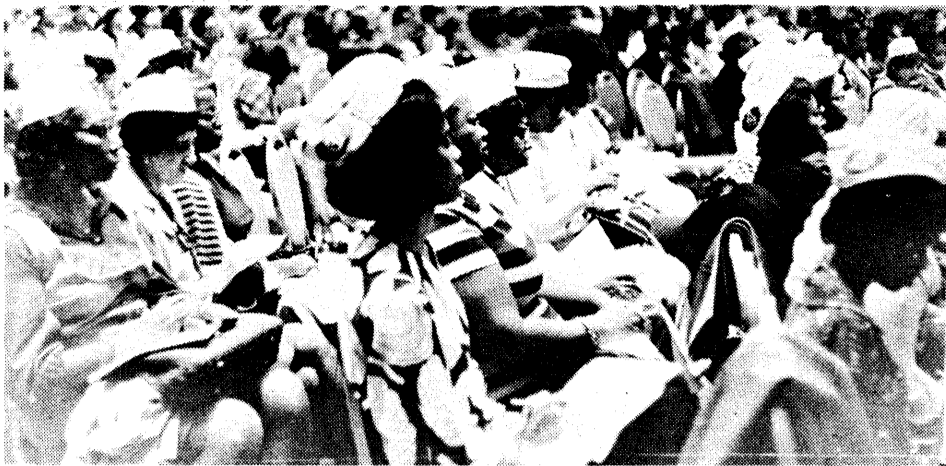
NEW YORK, Oct. 15—The labor movement must come to the defense of Angela Davis and demand that she be set free and that the lynching campaign against black militants by Nixon, Agnew, the cops, and the FBI be stopped. Angela Davis was taken here by the FBI after what has been the biggest and most vicious witchhunt yet against the radical and trade union movement.

The government has framed Angela Davis for murder which they alone are responsible for. Davis was charged with having bought the guns which were used by Jonathan Jackson in his courageous but futile attempt to free the Soledad Three in Marin County last August. It was the guns of the cops who shot Jonathan Jackson and the others just as it was the guns of the rulers who shot down the students at Kent State and Jackson, Mississippi.

The witchhunt for Angela Davis has been conducted in a lynching atmosphere which has portrayed Davis as a mad killer. She was put on the FBI's "10 Most Wanted Criminals" and described as "possibly armed and dangerous." This has been a conscious plot to whip up a racist hysteria against Davis and all black militants. It was revealed as such when Davis was quietly taken last night in mid-Manhattan.

The frame-up and witchhunt for Angela Davis is an attack on all militants and on the labor movement. It shows the hatred that Nixon has for the working class and his determination to crush any opposition to his rule.

Davis is now in the Women's House of Detention in New York. The New York City Labor Council can take the lead by demanding now that she be set free. Trade unionists must take up this fight immediately in their unions.



Members from all over the country gather to attend AFSCME Washington lobby.

AFSCME Members Oppose Welfare Bill In Washington

BY A CITY WORKER

Over one thousand members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees converged on Washington on Wednesday, Oct. 7. These welfare caseworkers, supervisors and clerks had come from as far away as Detroit to demonstrate their opposition to Nixon's Family Assistance Bill.

Under this bill, clerks face immediate loss of promotion, seniority and pension rights, pay cuts and layoffs. Social service workers face immediate replacement by paraprofessionals and voluntary staff. Recipients face a \$1,600 welfare floor and forced work schemes amounting to involuntary servitude.

The leaders of the AFSCME, DC 37, and SSEU-Local 371 made well known their intentions beforehand and at Washington not to fight the bill, but to fight for "amendments to protect job security." Rather than prepare a massive fight against Nixon's bill and against the schemes that are an integral part of it—such as the reorganization of the Department of Social Services in New York City—these bureaucrats perpetrate the fraud that amendments can change the nature of a bill whose only purpose is to cut jobs, cut pay, and produce slave labor.

COMPLACENCY

This complacent attitude was reflected in Washington. First, AFSCME President Wurf put a ceiling of 1,000 on attendance. Then, it was announced at the morning conference, the rally was cancelled in order to have an afternoon to lobby congressmen.

The presence of the SSEU-371 Committee for a New Leadership was felt from the beginning. The CNL arrived with a banner denouncing the Nixon bill and calling for the formation of a labor party, which it displayed at the back of the conference room. It passed out a leaflet (co-signed by the San Francisco Local 400 Rank and File Committee) demanding that a national welfare workers' strike be called by AFSCME if the bill is passed. Both the banner and the leaflet were very well received.

When Wurf announced the calling off of the rally, a spokesman from the CNL took the floor and took up the leadership for the inadequate preparation made for this important campaign to defeat the bill. He demanded that the floor be opened for discussion of how to fight the bill, since everyone's job was now on the line.

Wurf refused to open the floor for discussion, squirming out of the tight spot by saying that policy can only be decided locally and brought to the higher body. This meeting, he said, is not a policy making body.

LOBBY

The workers were then dispersed to lobby congressmen. Rather than go along with the fraud of begging congressmen for crumbs, the CNL went with the workers to the offices of those congressmen who could be found to give warning that there were many workers in AFSCME who are ready to prepare for a national welfare workers' strike if the bill is passed. Many workers quickly took a cynical attitude towards the lobbying "approach" of fighting the bill, as the politicians they met were responding with nothing but doubletalk. In addition they soon discovered that the AFSCME heads had sent them on a wild goose chase since the bill had already passed in the House.

After lobbying, the afternoon wound up with a series of speeches to the workers by Senators Javits, McGovern, and the secretary of Senator Goodell's secretary. To a man, these "friends of labor" announced that they intended to vote for

Nixon's bill, but would try to see that measures were included to protect the jobs of "those who have given so much." Feeble applause greeted these promises. Obviously wanting to avoid any discussion, Wurf then announced that everyone should now file out as the buses were waiting.

WURF

On our way out this reporter interviewed President Wurf. We asked him whether or not he supported the bill and if he was just for amending it. He said that he had "great misgivings about the bill," but had been instructed by national delegates to "reluctantly support it but to see job security as the more essential aspect." We asked him what he was prepared to do if the bill passes without amendments. He replied that he would call a national conference of AFSCME in Washington and on the advice and vote of local bodies he would call a national AFSCME strike. He said that he does not make policy. It is made locally and brought to the central body.

We asked him if he would call a strike if Local SSEU-371 voted for AFSCME to call a national strike. He replied: "If the locals took such a stand, I would go all out for strike."

What emerges from the conference and from Wurf's remarks is that the AFSCME leadership is completely unwilling to give any leadership in the fight against this vicious attack by Nixon and the politicians of both parties on the jobs of welfare workers across the country. Wurf can only pass the buck to the locals—where he hopes the fight will be squelched—and try to put the hopes of the ranks in bourgeois politicians—the very ones who very frankly come out for passing the bill. In this regard, Wurf's last remarks to this reporter are most revealing.

"FRIEND"

We pointed out to him that he had invited to this meeting the very Senator Javits, who was the first to call for the use of troops against the postal strikers. Incredulously, Wurf replied, "Is that really so? I didn't know that!" When we remarked that, "He's no friend of labor," Wurf dropped his incredulous look and said, "In things like this, it's all relative."

This opportunistic approach reveals just how far Wurf and the AFSCME leadership are prepared to go in allying with the very forces out to cut jobs and bury the trade unions, rather than lead the fight against them. This is the logic of trying to amend a basic job cutting plan—one of many that Nixon has in store—rather than launching the massive power of the trade unions against it.

At this writing the Family Assistance Bill has failed to pass in the Senate. The Committee for a New Leadership is continuing this fight, as the bill will come up again in November.

The CNL is demanding that President Wurf, DC 37 head Gotbaum, SSEU-371 head Hill, and other leaders immediately announce their intention to call a national welfare workers' strike if the bill is passed.

**SMASH NIXON'S BILL!
HANDS OFF OUR JOBS!
OUT WITH NIXON AND AGNEW, BUILD
A LABOR PARTY NOW!**

Lindsay Threatens City Workers With Payless Paydays And Layoffs

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

NEW YORK—Mayor Lindsay announced last week that in order to offset city revenue losses brought on by recessionary conditions he would hit New York's 300,000 city employees with "payless paydays," pay cuts, a job freeze and layoffs.

In 1934 Mayor Fiorello La Guardia actually imposed a "payless payday" scheme whereby each city employee was denied a month's pay in the course of that year.

What the Lindsay threat underlines is precisely the fact that the economic crisis which is tightening its grip across the country means labor now faces a return to the conditions of 1934.

The big difference today however, as DC 37 in response to Lindsay correctly pointed out, is the existence of the trade unions.

COMPLACENCY

What was expressed however by the leaders of the city's civil service unions like Gotbaum of DC37 and Maye of the Uniformed Firemen's Association is that they are facing this threat with utter complacency.

When this threat was raised several months ago Victor Gotbaum wrote in the Council's **Public Employees Press** that it couldn't happen, that this wasn't 1934.

Now rather than launching an all out counteroffensive against Lindsay, these leaders use the fact that Lindsay is preparing these blows on the eve of contract talks with police, fire, transit, sanitation, Social Service and Correction Dept. employees as an excuse to dismiss it as a gimmick. "It's all part of negotiations," says Michael Maye.

We say that Lindsay's threat must be taken in deadly earnest and that city labor

should not simply wait for Lindsay to press forward with his attack.

What is required is the immediate launching of a mass demonstration of all city workers at City Hall aimed at forcing Lindsay to take his threats back.

At the same time this must be combined with a joint announcement by the leaders of all Civil Service unions of their intention to shut down the city in a general strike should Lindsay implement so much as a quarter inch of his vicious program. This is the way to not only throw back "payless paydays" before they get off the ground but it will put the unions involved on the offensive in their respective contract talks.

DEMONSTRATION

Resolutions to this effect have in fact already been passed in local chapters of SSEU-371 on the initiative of militants associated with the opposition caucus, the Committee for New Leadership.

Not only must the fight go forward on this level, there must now be an all out political assault against Lindsay as well. During the last Mayoral elections the entire apparatus of DC37 was mobilized to put this swine Lindsay in office.

The bankruptcy of this policy is now completely exposed. DC37 members must demand that the Council break with Lindsay and take up the fight for the only alternative to this kind of political attack, the creation of a labor party now.

SSEU-371 Militant Calls For Mass March Against Lindsay

The following is an interview with Dennis Cribben, union militant and spokesman for the Committee for New Leadership, a rank and file caucus in SSEU-371 Local of District Council 37 in New York. Cribben speaks out on the statement made by Director of Labor Relations Haber that New York City workers will have to forgo wage increases.

Q. What is your reaction to the Haber statement?

A. This is clearly a declaration of war on the city unions, as some 94,000 employees enter into collective bargaining for new contracts in January. The workers I've spoken to are completely outraged at both this statement and the statement two days ago to the effect that there would be payless paydays in the city. It is clear the ranks will not stand for this attack.

It looks like the Lindsay administration is really setting up a situation where it will have the biggest strike on its hands that it has ever seen in the history of this city. The Haber statement is the most vicious statement ever coming out of the city administration. It contains a complete string of lies.

Haber contends that city workers should be content to accept no pay increases in their 1971 contracts because of their tenure, and job security, and pension rights. But in fact the Lindsay Administration over the past two years and particularly now is conducting the most ruthless campaign to attack jobs and throw thousands of city employees out of their jobs. This has been very much the whole thrust of the Lindsay Administration. It is very clear that the Lindsay Administration is out to try to smash and break up the city civil service unions as we go into the 1971 contract.

Q. What has been the response of the city labor leaders?

A. Well it is very clear that all the city labor leaders who have commented on this are completely complacent about the tremendous threat now being made to the city labor movement. The remarks just this morning from Sanitationmen's Union head, Delury, reflect a complete "business as usual" attitude. He dismisses the Haber remarks as a "trial balloon" and states that the city labor movement has heard this before and the city has come up with the money before. Victor Gotbaum, head of DC37, just a few days ago, in response to the payless paydays threat, dismissed it and said it couldn't happen here, as he had dismissed it a few months before by stating that, after all this is not 1934.

The fact is that this is not a business as usual situation. The city labor move-

ment is faced with a situation that is rapidly turning back toward what we faced in 1934. The whole economic crisis of the country is forcing the employers, including the city administrations, at the workers' throats more and more.

There are going to be some big explosions ahead. The old methods of these bureaucrats wheeling and dealing with the city administration to get a few concessions here and there won't work anymore. Unless there's a real fight to trust these unions into the sharpest struggles with the city, the city unions really stand to be destroyed.

Q. What do you think should be done in this situation? What does your caucus plan to do?

A. Our caucus on the first notice of the payless paydays, launched a campaign passing resolutions in work locations around the city, demanding that steps be taken to call a mass demonstration of city workers at City Hall against the Lindsay threat, aiming it at the demand that there be a general strike of all city workers effected if the payless payday threat was carried out.

Now that this threat has been compounded by Haber's warning of no pay raises in 1971, this whole perspective becomes even more urgent. What is now required is the fight for the organization of a mass labor demonstration at City Hall. The ranks of the city unions must demand declarations from their leaders that they are prepared to call a citywide general strike of civil service employees unions if the city tries to make good on its threats.

The task now is to throw the city administration on the defensive. The ranks in these unions are not only restive, as Delury says, but they're prepared if they're given half a lead, by their unions, to completely bury the Lindsay Administration on these issues, and to go forward to a big victory in 1971.

Whether or not this is done will depend upon the rank and file taking the initiative in their unions in the way the Committee for New Leadership has in SSEU-371 by organizing a real fight against the bureaucrats on these issues.

A sharp fight has to be waged to see to it that a common strike strategy is worked out for all the unions representing the 94,000 city employees that are coming up for contracts in January. There should be a Madison Square Garden rally like the one called a few years ago against the Taylor Law to plan such a strategy and to make sure that the unions face the city in a united way, prepared for united action in January.



THE 2



GERMANIES

SINCE WORLDWARTWO
A SERIES BY V. BARAT

Continued Part Four-West Germany Under Adenauer & Springer

Axel Springer's Bild-Zeitung of July 8 in Hamburg, (previously Springer, the most reactionary and most powerful press lord in Germany had been the staunchest supporter of Erhard) started its campaign thus: "The deuce with Erhard. Economic and financial circles agree: Appeals for retrenchment no longer suffice. Now action is what is called for." Springer, it should be noted, is nothing more than the voice of the big monopolists in Germany. By autumn the Springer press was really out for Erhard's scalp:

"The Chancellor has let the reins drag and let things go for too long. Now he's got to go. The problems have piled up like the coal on the Ruhr. Erhard sat at the feet of this mountain of problems and discussed. Now he himself is up for discussion." (Die Welt, October 27, 1966.)

Two days later Springer's Bild, the paper with the greatest mass circulation in all Germany, demanded categorically:

"We want no repetition of the conditions under Weimar. We don't want to enter into a crisis with a weak and provisional government. Therefore: Throw in the towel for Erhard without delay."

Finally on November 22 the hysterical, anti-communist Bild pronounced the end of Erhard and the demand for the SPD to begin functioning with these sentences:

"Clear out Bonn!—Stash the crises into the drawer! For that we need the CDU/CSU and the SPD. We need the Emergency Law to defend us from the external as well as the internal enemy."

No sentimental tears for Erhard on the part of the bourgeoisie. And no moral squeamishness about bringing the hated "socialists" into the executive branch of the government. They have a much too important job to perform. So just chuck the socialist scare stuff—for the present.

Axel Springer, the press magnate and spokesman for the largest monopolists, (below) threw in the sponge on Erhart warning: "We want no repetition of the conditions under Weimar." (Weimar Republic shown at right.)



And when they are no longer of service to the capitalists, out! And they will even help in that, as Wilson showed in England.

Oh, how expertly the ruling class can deal out its cards when it has such a compliant dummy for a partner.

GRAND COALITION

Well Springer got his Christmas present early. On November 28, 1966, the Grand Coalition was formed.

The SPD came in not to solve the crises. Springer knew that kind of miracle was not within the purveyance of the social demo-

crats. But, as he so clearly spells out in a quote above from the Bild of October 29, they were indispensable for battering down the hatches. And that is just what they did—and have done ever since.

If the bourgeoisie showed little squeamishness about having the "Sozis" (as the ruling class snidely refer to the Social Democrats) in the government, the SPD leaders reciprocated. They were not at all uncooperative about having an ex-Nazi (Kiesinger) as their Chancellor.

The SPD cabinet ministers very soon



demonstrated their statesmanship. Karl Schiller, the right-winger made Economic Minister in the Coalition government, proved what a giant he was. He did not hesitate to step on workmen's toes, even if they belonged to his party, as long as it was in the "national good."

So in agreement with Franz Josef Strauss, arch-reactionary founder of the Catholic CSU and now Minister of Finance with him in the Kiesinger cabinet, Professor Schiller declared from his august chambers in Bonn that there would be no wage increases in 1967.

This was his answer to the workers in a year in which inflation continued to plunder their take-home pay. And it was his answer to unemployment, which, in the two months the SPD had joined the capitalist government, had almost doubled (655,000).

No, it was not his or his party's whole answer to the crisis, which the workers were paying for not only in unemployment, but in short hours, and the inevitable speed-up accompanying job insecurity.

"SOLUTION"

Rather the Coalition "socialists" were forced to come up with a new "solution." When the workers heard "their" representative Schiller was proposing a wage freeze for 1967, they made it pretty hot for their local union functionaries. These in turn quickly passed the word up ahead to cool the guys down a bit in Bonn or they not be able to hold back the storm.

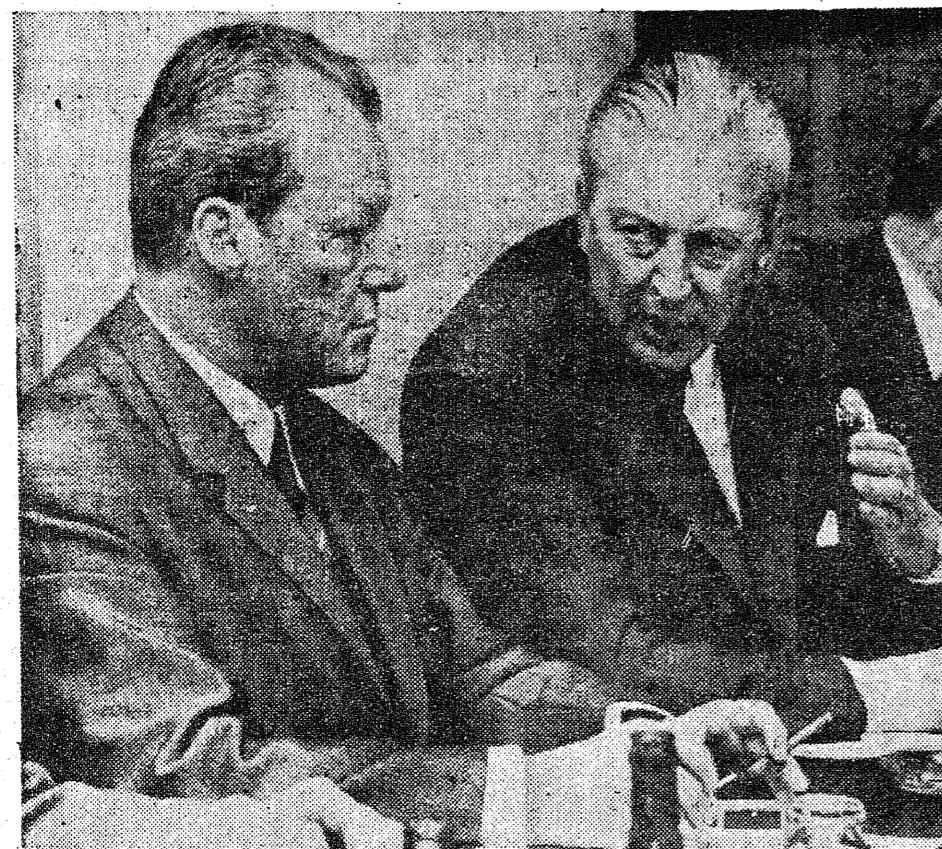
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The press generally but most of all in Germany has accepted, indeed created, the impression that this "liberalizing" attitude toward the Stalinist regimes of the East is the brain-child of the Social Democrat Willy Brandt. And the greatest foe of this policy is F. J. Strauss, who says so himself.

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What are the actual facts?

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There is no contradiction whatsoever in Strauss' insistence on atomic weaponry for use against the workers' states and for his policy of the peaceful penetration of the non-capitalist nations in Eastern Europe.

German imperialism at this stage can not take on the workers' states when it has been unable to settle accounts with its own working class. That has to come first.

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Moreover, the BRD exacts a heavy price, even when it agrees to "respecting the boundaries since Potsdam."

For one thing Moscow can do little about its bonds to these countries becoming looser as a result of the greater economic dependence on German capital.

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That is why the BRD's rejection of the Hallstein Doctrine (the policy during the Adenauer era when Bonn would have no

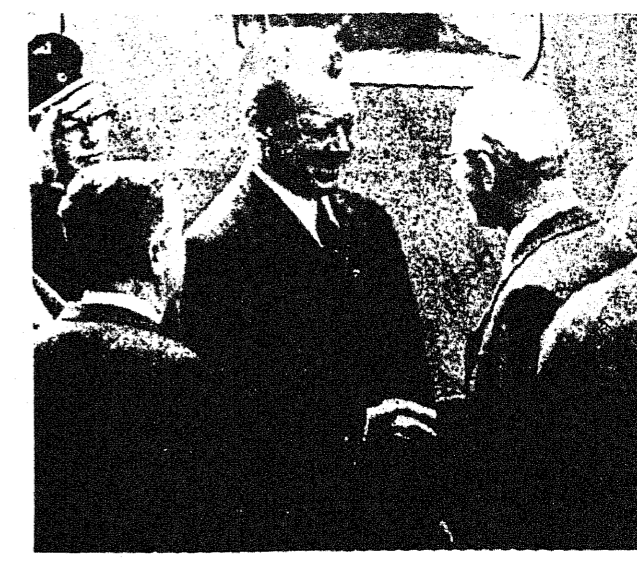


Internationale Arbeiter Korrespondenz

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Brandt und Stoph sind sich einig in dem Ziel ihrer Gespräche: die Aufrechterhaltung und Verewigung der Teilung Deutschlands, damit Sozialdemokratie und Stalinismus die Kontrolle über jeweils einen Teil des Proletariats behalten.

INHALT

Bruch mit der Bourgeoisie s. 2
 Wiedervereinigung durch das Proletariat s. 2
 1. Mai 1970 s. 3
 Klassenkampfpolitik bei den Jungsozialisten s. 4
 Wahlkampf in Nordrhein-Westfalen s. 6
 Betriebsnahe Tarifpolitik - eine Seitenblase s. 7

Above Willy Brandt discusses with Gromyko and Kosygin laying the basis for the recently drafted pact. The German Trotskyists warned through their paper "Internationale Arbeiter Korrespondenz" that this pact meant the collaboration of the West German bourgeoisie with the Soviet bureaucracy against the rising German working class. Note photo of Brandt with East German Stoph on cover.

political relations with nations according diplomatic recognition to the DDR) marked no fundamental departure from a foreign policy as deadly as a dagger aimed at the very heart of East Berlin.

They all know this, most of all Ulbricht. But there is nothing Ulbricht can do about it. Despite his belated and lukewarm praise of the Bonn-Moscow agreement in August, he is terrified by its consequences. And well he might be.

It should be clear then that the Grand Coalition was necessitated by West German capitalism's weakness, not its strength. Only through bringing the SPD betrayers into the government, to rule alongside the bourgeois parties, could the ruling class survive this stage of its existence. For only with the services rendered by social democracy was it possible to pass the Emergency Law and concoct and seek to enforce the Action in Concert. And look at the loyalty to capitalism shown by Brandt and company in using their "socialist" image to undermine and strive to destroy by "peaceful" means the remaining conquests of October in the workers' states. Of course with the help of the Stalinists, whose "socialism in one country" theory has wrought such havoc for the workers.

Yes, one can hardly exaggerate the betrayal of these social democratic and Stalinist scum, who parade as socialists.

CRISIS

We need but look at the record to verify for ourselves the terrible crises which the leading bourgeois parties of the CDU/CSU had got themselves in after 17 years of rule. As we saw the bourgeoisie themselves were completely fed-up with a government in which their own parties

The 1969 elections was the turning point in modern Germany as the bourgeoisie prepares for new confrontations with the working class. Brandt (left) walks by a Kiesinger poster while below he talks with Walter Scheel (left), leader of the Free Democrats and President Heinemann.



were ruling. More important, the working class was to and hated them with a genuine class hatred.

This crisis of lack of confidence in the ruling class itself was duplicated in the army. On August 12, 1966, the Inspector of the Luftwaffe, General Panitzki, resigned from his post. He was followed by the General Inspector of the Bundeswehr, Trettnner. Then came the Inspector of the Army, General Pape.

More important than all these indications was the fact that the working class was ready for a showdown with the government. Even the state elections in the Rhine, in 1966, revealed a major turn away from the ruling party by Catholic workers who previously supported the Christian Democrats.

Everything was in their favor. Yet the social democrats turned their back on their own working class to rescue a dying capitalist government for the ruling class. Such was the magnitude of the betrayal of this "stinking corpse" (as Rosa Luxemburg called the SPD during the First World War) during the crisis year of 1966.

SMALL COALITION

Two weeks before the scheduled national elections in the BRD in September, 1969, the peacefully dull campaigning by all the parties was suddenly interrupted.

A wave of wildcat strikes, beginning among the Ruhr steel workers and spreading to steel workers in other areas, signalled the entrance of an important section of the working class onto the political scene.

In fact workers who had never in their life been on a strike and workers who had never shown any particular political interest were among the thousands in-

involved. And many an older worker got his confidence back. They all discovered something exciting. They had a colossal amount of power, power that was immediately and respectfully recognized by the employers, the labor leaders, and the coalition government.

Another discovery they made was that other workers thought it was a good idea too. So that a week before the elections public employees in a good many areas struck too, necessitating calling a second special government session to "take council concerning the wildcat strikes."

What had happened was that the workers simply got tired of waiting for "their" party, the SPD, to do something for them. They were tired of wage freezes, the threat of unemployment, attacks on their working conditions and their social benefits. They wanted no more Emergency Laws and no more Actions in Concert, which never performed their music, only the bosses'.

The workers wisely combined their political protest with some fine economic demands. The results were that even though wage contracts had been already signed (the bureaucrats had wanted no trouble during election time) or were not coming up at the earliest until November, big 11% increases were won.

As a result of the power shown by the working class in their spontaneous strikes, they captured the imagination of large sections of the population, including the Catholic workers, and the SPD won a tremendous vote. This inspite of the fact that its own campaigning had been completely lifeless and pedestrian.

The vote had also shown that the workers under no conditions wanted the SPD to continue its coalition with the reactionary parties of capitalism, the CDU/CSU. They knew all too well what to expect from that quarter.

CORPSE

Sighing with relief at not getting an absolute majority (the last thing they wanted was to rule alone), the social democratic leadership picked up the lifeless corpse of liberalism, the FDP, and formed the Little Coalition with it.

How useless this FDP is was proven in the last three state elections this summer, where they could not even win the minimum 5% of the votes to get into the state legislature. The truth is that this party's ancestor was already a political abortion as far back as the 1848 German revolution. Since its losses this summer, this party has begun to splinter so badly that the SPD may not be able to even hold it together with glue.

Still this alliance with what is left of the FDP allows the social democrats to pursue the same policies it did in the Grand Coalition. Not only have the social democrats kept the Emergency Law and the Action in Concert intact. They have proceeded along the course, begun under Kiesinger and Strauss, of undermining even further the non-capitalist property relations of the eastern states.

The capitalist class of Germany has not recovered from its economic and social crisis. This is reflected in the disorientation of the CDU/CSU. But by its running the government in the interests of German capitalism, the SPD is giving the bourgeoisie time to work out a strategy that will include, of course, the ultimate liquidation of the SPD itself.

Here are two examples (out of many more) of how the Little Coalition, which Brandt leads, is prolonging the life of capitalism.

PAY-ROLL THEFT

Under pressure of the Bundesbank (the national bank of German capitalism, in some respects akin to the American Federal Reserve Bank) the government with its social democratic majority agreed to levy a 10% wage tax on every worker. Touted to halt inflation, it hits the workers' pocketbook at a time when the wage-packet is already insufficient to purchase vital necessities.

In the years since the social democrats have shared in the government the industrial employee has suffered a steady decline in real wages.

The fact that now the spokesmen for the SPD and the union brass (who, of course, also support this thievery) promise that some day in the middle seventies this "saving" will be returned to those it was stolen from, has only infuriated the workers.

There have been innumerable spontaneous strikes, as in the Ford plant in Cologne, against the measure all over Germany. Occasionally the local press reports a local wildcat. But there has been a virtual press blackout of national coverage.

The German Trotskyists, as will be seen, have been campaigning through their paper IAK (International Workers' Correspondence) and through leaflets to publicize these protest strikes and to give leadership to the angry workers.

TREATY

The agreement signed between Bonn and Moscow in August has been proclaimed by both governments as a guarantee of peace

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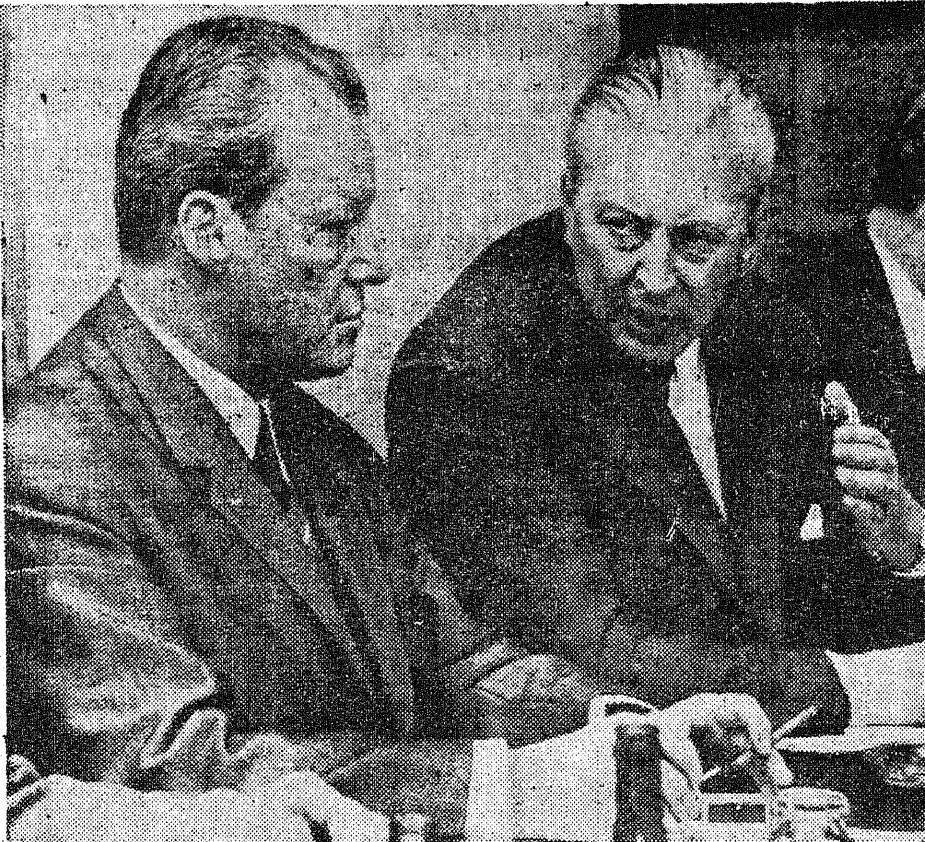
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ard of living. Only in this way does the German capitalist see himself capable of maintaining a competitive edge over his foreign rivals.

But, as the innumerable wildcat strikes have shown right up to this moment, the bourgeoisie still cannot invoke its own Emergency Law. It still needs the Social Democrats at home and as its negotiators with the bureaucracies of the workers' states abroad.

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Joseph Strauss, right shown above with Kiesinger, the most reactionary and far-seeing spokesman of the huge monopolists of West Germany, was the real author of Brandt's policy of a thaw in relations with the East. This shows clearly this policy was in the direct interests of these monopolists under conditions of intensified world competition and international economic crisis.

more. This is the kind of reasoning the workers were subjected to.

In the June, 1967, wage rate negotiations Otto Brenner, head of the I. G. Metall union said virtually that: "Plans for a new arrangement of things would only then have any sense if they also included the interests of the entrepreneurs and were then taken seriously by the public." Brenner was one of the main sponsors of this co-management scheme on a national level.

He is today indeed one of the most articulate spokesmen for integrating, that is to say, liquidating, the unions into the governmental apparatus.

This still was not enough. The bosses knew for a long time that they could count on cooperation from their junior partners (the SPD and union leaders) in virtually anything they proposed. In 1963 they had made the mistake of treating the union ranks like tame pussy cats only to discover they were wild cats when provoked.

So the problem still remained of how to cage this beast, let alone domesticate him. Again the only instrument that would have any effect was the Emergency Laws. But even with the labor fakers in their pockets, the bourgeoisie felt too weak to tackle the workers directly.

Yet, the whole "Action in Concert" scheme stood in constant jeopardy, indeed was being nullified, by the increasing "unofficial" strikes.

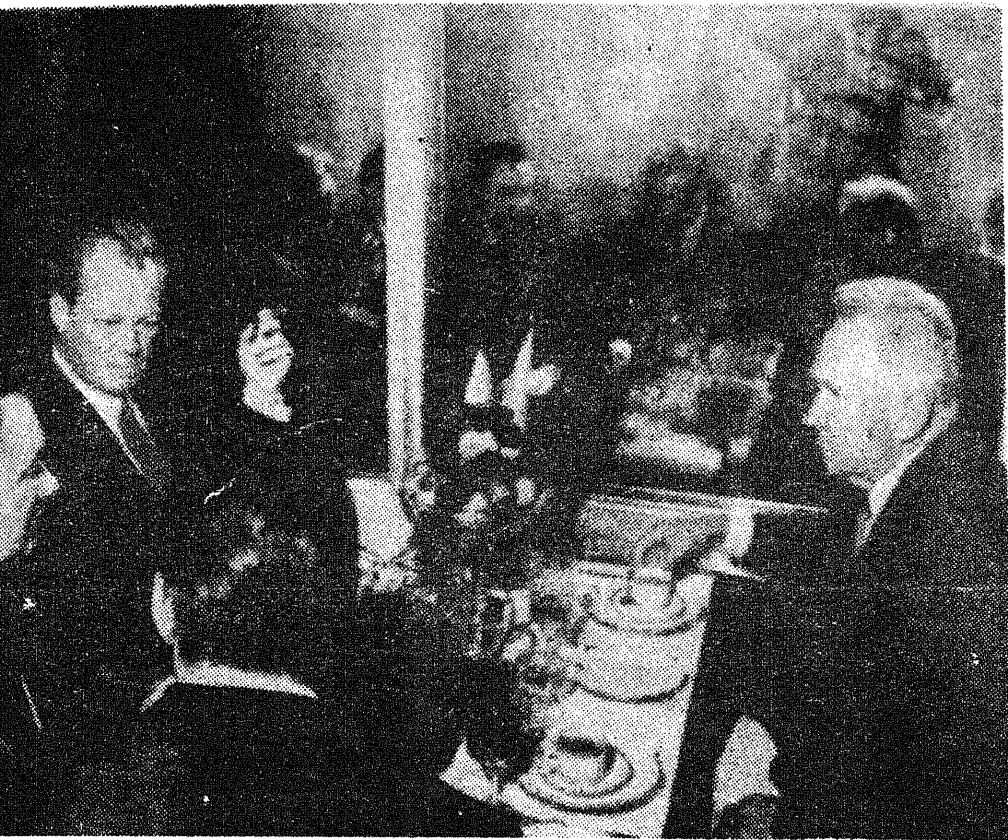
I. G. Chemie, the huge chemical union) forbid any of their officers from even participating in the action.

A group of "left" trade union officials appeared on the march as individuals. Not a one of them, however, had made any effort to call out the ranks to march with them.

Prior to the march itself some sporadic strikes, mainly in the area around Frankfurt, had broken out in protest of the proposed law. When that happened the Stalinists, who have some strength in the shops, immediately went into action to participate in the leadership of it. But in no case did the Stalinists initiate any actions of their own. In the Ruhr Valley, where the KPD (German CP) has considerable influence and control of some of the big shops, not one plant came out. The Stalinists were not going to jeopardize their standing with the bureaucrats of the DGB.

The passing of this law was unquestionably a defeat for the working class. for the bourgeoisie was able thereby to strengthen its political power. The government now has the constitutional right to abrogate all civil and union rights and rule with dictatorial powers if it perceives any "danger." It needed the law as a club to hold over the workers' heads to force it to accept a lower stand-





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INHALT

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 Wahlkampf in Nordrhein-Westfalen s. 6
 Betriebsnahe Tarifpolitik - eine Seifenblase s. 7



Brandt und Stoph sind sich einig in dem Ziel ihrer Gespräche: die Aufrechterhaltung und Verewigung der Teilung Deutschlands, damit Sozialdemokratie und Stalinismus die Kontrolle über jeweils einen Teil des Proletariats behalten.

involved. And many an older worker got his confidence back. They all discovered something exciting. They had a colossal amount of power, power that was immediately and respectfully recognized by the employers, the labor leaders, and the coalition government.

Another discovery they made was that other workers thought it was a good idea too. So that a week before the elections public employees in a good many areas struck too, necessitating calling a second special government session to "take council concerning the wildcat strikes."

What had happened was that the workers simply got tired of waiting for "their" party, the SPD, to do something for them. They were tired of wage freezes, the threat of unemployment, attacks on their working conditions and their social benefits. They wanted no more Emergency Laws and no more Actions in Concert, which never performed their music, only the bosses'.

The workers wisely combined their political protest with some fine economic demands. The results were that even though wage contracts had been already signed (the bureaucrats had wanted no trouble during election time) or were not coming up at the earliest until November, big 11% increases were won.

As a result of the power shown by the working class in their spontaneous strikes, they captured the imagination of large sections of the population, including the Catholic workers, and the SPD won a tremendous vote. This inspite of the fact that its own campaigning had been completely lifeless and pedestrian.

The vote had also shown that the workers under no conditions wanted the SPD to continue its coalition with the reactionary parties of capitalism, the CDU/CSU. They knew all too well what to expect from that quarter.

CORPSE

Sighing with relief at not getting an absolute majority (the last thing they wanted was to rule alone), the social democratic leadership picked up the lifeless corpse of liberalism, the FDP, and formed the Little Coalition with it.

How useless this FDP is was proven in the last three state elections this summer, where they could not even win the minimum 5% of the votes to get into the state legislature. The truth is that this party's ancestor was already a political abortion as far back as the 1848 German revolution. Since its losses this summer, this party has begun to splinter so badly that the SPD may not be able to even hold it together with glue.

Still this alliance with what is left of the FDP allows the social democrats to pursue the same policies it did in the Grand Coalition. Not only have the social democrats kept the Emergency Law and the Action in Concert intact. They have proceeded along the course, begun under Kiesinger and Strauss, of undermining even further the non-capitalist property relations of the eastern states.

The capitalist class of Germany has not recovered from its economic and social crisis. This is reflected in the disorientation of the CDU/CSU. But by its running the government in the interests of German capitalism, the SPD is giving the bourgeoisie time to work out a strategy that will include, of course, the ultimate liquidation of the SPD itself.

Here are two examples (out of many more) of how the Little Coalition, which Brandt leads, is prolonging the life of capitalism.

PAY-ROLL THEFT

Under pressure of the Bundesbank (the national bank of German capitalism, in some respects akin to the American Federal Reserve Bank) the government with its social democratic majority agreed to levy a 10% wage tax on every worker. Touted to halt inflation, it hits the workers' pocketbook at a time when the wage-packet is already insufficient to purchase vital necessities.

In the years since the social democrats have shared in the government the industrial employee has suffered a steady decline in real wages.

The fact that now the spokesmen for the SPD and the union brass (who, of course, also support this thievery) promise that some day in the middle seventies this "saving" will be returned to those it was stolen from, has only infuriated the workers.

There have been innumerable spontaneous strikes, as in the Ford plant in Cologne, against the measure all over Germany. Occasionally the local press reports a local wildcat. But there has been a virtual press blackout of national coverage.

The German Trotskyists, as will be seen, have been campaigning through their paper IAK (International Workers' Correspondence) and through leaflets to publicize these protest strikes and to give leadership to the angry workers.

TREATY

The agreement signed between Bonn and Moscow in August has been proclaimed by both governments as a guarantee of peace

The 1969 elections was the turning point in modern Germany as the bourgeoisie prepares for new confrontations with the working class. Brandt (left) walks by a Kiesinger poster while below he talks with Walter Scheel (left), leader of the Free Democrats and President Heinemann.



practical an initiative for the grand outline of a German European policy; and for this very reason would be desirable!"

He obviously refers to the social democrats' carrying through "peaceful penetration" of the East since they were not as associated with the hard line politics toward the Stalinist regimes as were the openly bourgeois parties. But let us continue to quote.

"A Grand Coalition could execute necessary reforms not possible with another constellation."

Here he has in mind the repressive laws which the CDU/CSU attempted to pass in 1958 and 1963 and were rebuffed by the workers. Indeed, he expressly states that the "country" needs the SPD "...for Emergency legislation, a question for whose solution precisely the Social Democrats, bearing responsibility for the government, should cooperate."

All nicely summed up—and carried out since: coalition of the SPD with the bourgeois parties, a new "peaceful" policy toward the East, and a get-tough policy toward the trade unions.

We can see from where Springer took his lead in 1966.

There is no contradiction whatsoever in Strauss' insistence on atomic weaponry for use against the workers' states and for his policy of the peaceful penetration of the non-capitalist nations in Eastern Europe.

German imperialism at this stage can not take on the workers' states when it has been unable to settle accounts with its own working class. That has to come first.

In the meantime the capital-famished satellites of Moscow cannot get from the Kremlin what their economies so badly need. And the German bourgeoisie just as badly needs to export its capital to these countries and, while tightening the capitalist noose around the nationalized industries, opening its own inner markets for the products of these countries.

It is of interest that West Germany is the most important non-socialist trading nation for each of the workers' states, and in some cases more trade is carried on with Bonn than even with some of their own COMECON partners.

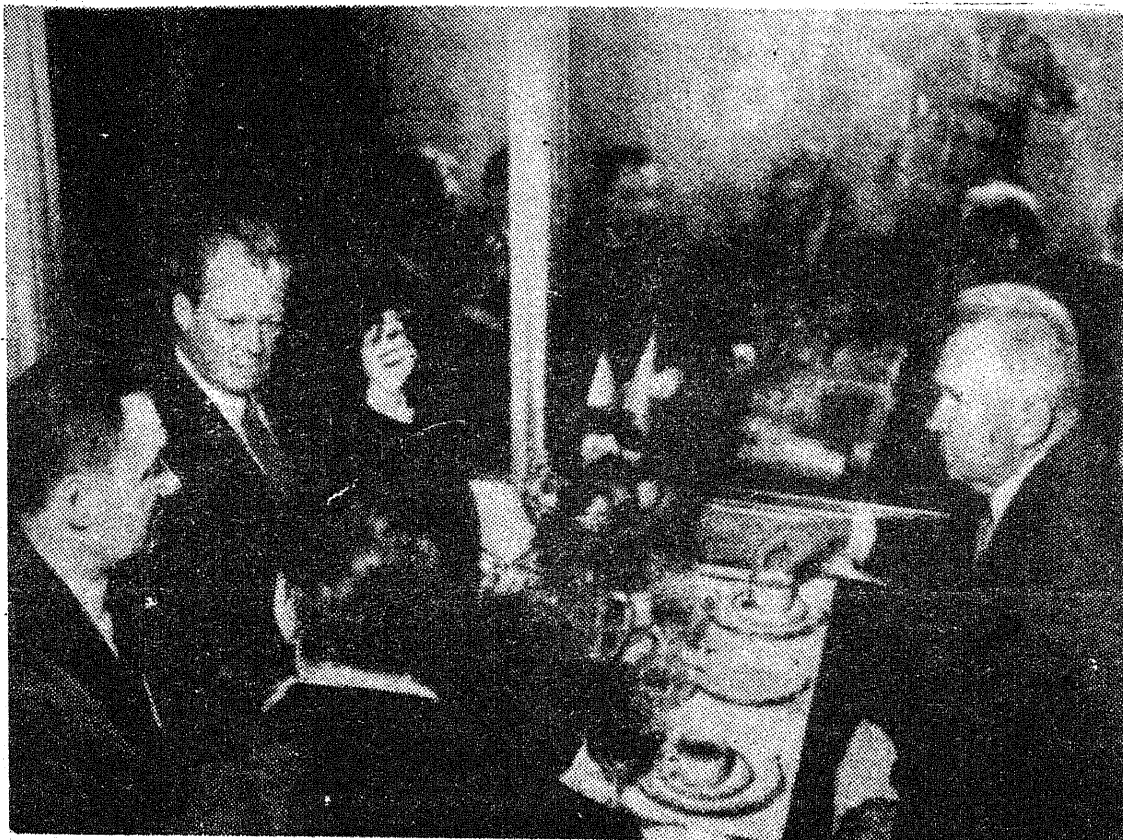
HEAVY PRICE

Moreover, the BRD exacts a heavy price, even when it agrees to "respecting the boundaries since Potsdam."

For one thing Moscow can do little about its bonds to these countries becoming looser as a result of the greater economic dependence on German capital.

Then since Bonn knows that each of these countries suffers critical, absolutely critical, capital shortages, Bonn forces them to accept it as the leading power in central Europe, including its having final political determination of the German question.

That is why the BRD's rejection of the Hallstein Doctrine (the policy during the Adenauer era when Bonn would have no



Above Willy Brandt discusses with Gromyko and Kosygin laying the basis for the recently drafted pact. The German Trotskyists warned through their paper "Internationale Arbeiter Korrespondenz" that this pact meant the collaboration of the West German bourgeoisie with the Soviet bureaucracy against the rising German working class. Note photo of Brandt with East German Stoph on cover.

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Walter Ulbricht (shown in left photo shaking hands with Breshnev on left) wholeheartedly supported the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution (above). The crushing of the Hungarian Revolution in turn strengthened the hand of the Brandt-led right wing within the SPD. It is important to note that the current friendly relations of Brandt with the Soviets thus has its origins both in the fear of the West German working class and in the crushing of the workers in the East European workers states.

was called SOPO (Socialist Politics).

The axis around which this paper was published was trade unionism, trade union questions and the wage struggle. The editors intended to intervene directly into the shops by offering practical advice to workers in struggle or on strike.

What was very noticeably missing from the pages of SOPO was the socialist alternative to capitalism itself. Oh, mention was made about the revolutions in the colonial countries, in the Third World. But that was in passing, as it were, and had little if any relevance as such for the German workers.

Nonetheless, with this half syndicalist, half commentary sheet, they did manage to win gradual influence in a few shops and even among some shop stewards.

Their happy home life in and around the SPD gradually became clouded by the SPD's leadership's efforts to steer the party sharply to the right.

The Stalinist massacre of the Hungarian workers in the autumn of 1956 accelerated the rightward drive. By 1959 at Bad Godesberg, the Wehner-Schmidt-Schiller-Brandt ticket was prepared to liquidate whatever remained of the Party's working class tradition and past.

The vast majority of the youth and a respectable number of older SPD'ers wanted to fight the betrayal of these top functionaries. But they lacked a perspective.

EXPULSED

They did what they could and were expelled wholesale from the SPD. The youth federations were all expelled. So

Below, holding a poster of Trotsky is Peter Brandt, Willy Brandt's son. Peter Brandt belongs to a group which is seeking to reach a theoretical understanding of the roots of revisionism as it developed within the Fourth International.



was the SDS (German Socialist Student League). Likewise a whole series of left wing socialist youth organized in what was called the Falken (Falcons).

In this situation where leadership was such a crying need, the Pabloites simply turned their back on the entire movement and met all the conditions for staying within the SPD. They would not take up any kind of fight against the bureaucracy.

They did something worse, something unpardonable. And something which has tarnished the reputation of German Trotskyism (for that is how they were regarded) to the present. To ingratiate themselves with Wehner, the most repulsive right-winger of them all (a former KPD-man and bosom friend of Stalin's), the leading Pabloite from Berlin, W. Hohmann, turned over to him in confi-

dence the names of all those who had been in the revolutionary wing of the SPD. And Wehner, who cares nothing about confidences, carried out a neat little red-baiting witchhunt of his own.

Later, through a close contact, the Pabloites found a way to become members of the "Foerderergesellschaft" (Promoters' Society), the organization that aided the SDS with financial and political direction. That is how they also participated in SDS and uncritically entered into alliances with and supported the policies of such SDS'ers as Dutschke, Krahl, Salvatore, Schmitz-Bender, G. Amendt, and others.

Then right in the midst of West Germany's worst crisis year, the end of 1966, when the SPD was begged by the bourgeoisie to enter the Grand Coalition, the Pabloites folded their journal SOPO.

MANDEL

The paper had been founded on the Mandel conception that the conjunctural prosperity of West Germany was part of a generations' long stabilization of post-War II capitalism. Under this theory of neo-capitalism, there would be no crisis in our lifetime. Hence, what purpose is there in building a revolutionary party to lead the masses?

One was a socialist out of moral conviction since there was still inequality and injustice around. Such vulgar revisionism of Marxism suffered the same fate as did the conjuncture in 1966. Both burst like bubbles.

The folding up of this newspaper was followed by the splintering of the German

for Europe. It is, of course, nothing of the kind.

Brandt here has entered into a deal with the Kremlin for the purpose of securing class peace for both countries.

Breshnev and Kosygin are terrified at the growth of resistance to Stalinist rule in all the workers' states. It is this and their own need for capital and industrial products that drive them to making "peace" with German imperialism. For both of them know that Brandt and the social democrats are nothing but messengers for German big business.

But it is easier to sell the Soviet workers on this kind of treachery since it is being negotiated by German "socialists." That is what Strauss had in mind when back in 1965 he wrote about the indispensability of the SPD for making "more practical an initiative for the grand outline of a German European policy."

The Kremlin's dire need for foreign capital and trade refutes the whole petty-bourgeois premise of socialism in one country.

The entire counterrevolutionary nature of the treaty is further revealed by the tacit silence by both as to what happens to East Germany, which after all has a social system in which capitalism has been eliminated. But Ulbricht knows what this means and he is terrified. Evidence is conclusive that Brandt does not—and cannot

—oppose his masters' desperate need to return East Germany to the capitalist fold. Its return would no doubt give German imperialism a breathing spell from its implacable crisis, which has been so exacerbated for the very reason that the central and eastern regions of Germany (the DDR) have always been an integral part of the entire German economic and social framework.

To reincorporate the working class of the DDR into a capitalist Germany peacefully is completely excluded. The East German workers are simply not going to allow the industry they built up at such sacrifice to be taken from them and turned over to private banks.

Only an armed bourgeoisie has a chance of doing that. And the first hurdle is the working class at home. That was at least in the background, if not on the formal agenda, at Moscow. In other words what services can the KPD in Germany perform for Brandt and the bourgeoisie to keep the workers within bounds, at least long enough for the Emergency Law to begin to have a chance of being enforceable when the time comes.

Such is the nature of social democracy's double bonus to its capitalist lords.

PABLOISM

Closely tied in with the right-wing turn of the SPD at Bad Godesberg in 1959 are the German Pabloites, followers of Ernest Mandel.

As early as 1945 a group of young Germans with Georg Jungclass as their leader, made a turn toward Trotskyism. The man they began to collaborate with was Ernest Mandel, known at that time as Germain, a leading figure in the International Secretariat of the Fourth International.

From the very beginning of that collaboration no perspective of building an independent Trotskyist movement for either section of divided Germany was ever developed.

Entrism into the SPD was never for them a tactic but an iron strategy.

They gradually won a number of positions, particularly in the youth and student federations, which were at that time still within and financed by the SPD itself.

One characteristic manifested itself early in their activity and, indeed, has never changed: this was their predisposition to attach themselves to centrists.

They collected and worked with scores of such sociologists and academic commentators as W. Abendroth, Peter von Oertzen, Erich Gerlach, Wyszchewski, F. Gebhardt and one could cite a dozen more like these.

CENTRISTS

The Pabloites had found an idyllic home within the various formations of the SPD. They even founded a newspaper with fellow centrists in September, 1954. It



Ernest Mandel led the German Pabloites to directly serve the SPD bureaucracy in its suppression of the SDS youth group.

PILOTS FINALLY DECIDE TO SUPPORT BRAC STRIKE

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL—October 11—Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC)-organized strikers at Northwest Orient Airlines have every reason to be skeptical of the Pilots Association (ALPA) decision not to cross their picket lines after October 13.

This decision comes over twelve weeks after the strike began, over twelve weeks in which those pilots not laid off were crossing the picket lines. The decision is not so much of one of solidarity with BRAC, but reflects the desire by many laid off pilots to get back to work.

The leaders of ALPA are trying to put pressure on Northwest to settle the strike. This is why they took their decision on the 9th, but did not make it effective until the 13th.

The use of this four day waiting period is a way of giving the pilots' leadership time to find a way out of their decision. Northwest management is being given the time to file legal action against the pilots, just as they have filed for an injunction against the machinists, who have stayed out with the clerks from the beginning.

What is keeping the strike going is the tremendous determination of the ranks of the clerks to fight for a living wage. In this they have been supported by the machinists and stewardesses who have made many sacrifices.

What is now essential is that this fight be taken into the labor movement. The clerks must now work to develop a new leadership that can fight for mass labor support that will ground Northwest until the union demands are won.

UFT Must Defend 6000 Aides Facing Layoffs

BY LOU BELKIN

NEW YORK—Let no one be taken in by UFT President Albert Shanker's militant huffing and puffing displayed at the UFT rally called on Oct. 6 to protect paraprofessional teachers' aides' jobs.

The rally preceeded by fanfare advertisements in the Times, Post and News, was called because Lindsay and the Board, shattered by Nixon's \$30 million educational cutback for New York State, announced that the money would be taken off the backs of the lower paid sections of the UFT, the paraprofessionals. Already some 1,500 teacher aides have been asked to resign. The Board of Education has declared bluntly, in letters sent to the UFT and paraprofessionals two days before school began, that 6,000 juniority workers would have to go.

The rally itself was disappointing. Shanker refused to build the demonstration and the bulk of the protesters, numbering about 1,500, were paraprofessionals. The teachers in attendance were dismayed by Shanker's performance in building the rally, and were skeptical about the bureaucracy taking up any struggle on behalf of their fellow unionists. Shanker, assisted by paraprofessional representative in the UFT, Velma Hill, and by Bayard Rustin tried to cajole teachers' aides into believing that the UFT leadership was behind their struggle. Yet they made not one reference to strike action against the layoffs, to demand rehiring of the



Teachers and other workers join demonstration in support of paraprofessionals.

1,500 teachers' aides already given notice, and job security for the 4,500 on the chopping block. One teacher who attended the rally told the Bulletin:

"I'm dismayed by the turnout. No UFT representatives went to my school to build for this thing. The UFT sent letters to paraprofessionals but held no membership meeting or sought to mobilize teachers except through the ads placed the day of the rally."

A teachers' aide at PS 274 where three paraprofessionals have been fired told us:

"The rally is too small. This issue is important for all of us. I was hired in February, 1969 and so I am not going to be cut. We have a big part to play

in the schools. Things are getting worse. Our school at least has enough books and materials for the kids, but we're on split session from 8:00 until 4:20 and my class has 31 which is definitely too high."

In relation to the leaders of the UFT and the paraprofessionals, Shanker and Hill, one militant told us:

"They're both bureaucrats. They don't give a damn about us. They've done nothing to bring the issue to regular teachers. It's important that we, the teachers and the community fight together on this thing. If they get some of us, they will get everybody."

ACTION

Clearly what is posed for the UFT, is an immediate call for a UFT delegates' meeting to demand of Shanker and Velma Hill that if the firings continue, the union must be mobilized for full strike action around the demands for the rehiring of all paraprofessionals fired by Lindsay, job security for teachers and paraprofessionals alike, end to the job freeze.

Anti-ROTC Defendants Acquitted in Minneapolis

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS—Fifteen persons charged with unlawful assembly at an anti-ROTC demonstration at the University of Minnesota last May were just acquitted at a jury trial in Minneapolis.

The arrests came after the mass upsurge last May had subsided and were an attempt by the University administration and the police to pick off and isolate militants.

Six of the defendants ran their own defense and attempted to bring out the political nature of the attack on them. Most of the questions they asked, however were stricken from the record.

That they were acquitted on the fairly minor charges is a victory of course. But no sooner was the trial over than University of Minnesota President Moos declared that the outcome of the trial proved that the system can be made to work. He revealed the real nature of the trial as a sop to the student militants, in line with the whitewash of the "system" coming out of the Kent State Commission.

We warn that rather than proving that the "system" can be made to work, these skirmishes are only the smokescreen for big attacks coming on the youth in the immediate future.

Juan Farinas On Trial For Opposing War

BY THE EDITORS

An extremely important trial involving the Selective Service System is scheduled for December 10 in Federal District Court in New York. The defendant is a 23 year old worker, Juan Farinas.

The charges against Farinas include refusal to report for induction and hindering and interfering with the Selective Service System. There are 5 separate charges, all stemming from an incident which took place over 2 years ago. Farinas, then a supporter of Progressive

Labor Party, had been ordered to report for induction. He appeared at the induction center prepared for induction, and also distributed a leaflet. In this leaflet he denounced the war in Vietnam and the U.S. government as the enemy of both the Vietnamese and U.S. working class.

Farinas is charged with violation of the Selective Service regulations and faces a possible 5 years in prison and \$10,000 fine on each of the five counts. He is challenging the constitutionality of the regulations and insisting on his right to oppose the war.

ATTACK

Farinas is a native of Cuba. He is the former editor of *Desafio* and is now a

supporter of the Workers League. He is an employee of Columbia University and is married and the father of one child. He has issued the following statement:

"The charges against me are a vicious attack on the rights of the entire working class and especially on the youth who are more and more openly opposing the imperialist war.

"This attack must be answered by all militant workers, students, socialists and antiwar fighters. I urge individuals and representatives from the unions, campuses, and all left wing organizations to attend a meeting Friday, October 23 at 8 p.m. at 135 W. 14 St., 6th floor. This meeting is being called to form a defense committee and organize a campaign to fight back against this attack."

Phila. Teachers Prepare To Strike Despite Government Injunction

BY A PFT MEMBER

PHILADELPHIA—The teachers here are ready to close the schools on October 15 if the Board of Education does not meet the contract demands of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers.

The state has joined the Home and School Association (made up of parents and administrators) in invoking an injunction to prohibit the union from striking.

Union meetings held the week of October 5 in every school district demonstrated the militancy of rank and file teachers and their determination to fight. At the same time the PFT leadership exposed its intention to sell out the ranks.

This is a situation fraught with great dangers for the teachers. While it is generally acknowledged by most teachers that the city is intent on busting the PFT, the Ryan-Sullivan leadership seeks to consolidate its control over the ranks around a program and strategy which can only mean defeat.

DEMANDS

For this reason, the newly formed Committee for a New Leadership composed of rank and file teachers has begun a campaign around a program of demands which will lay the basis for victory.

The CNL urges all teachers to make the following demands the central demands of the strike:

- 1. \$8,500 base pay now, full cost of

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369. Title 39, United States Code)

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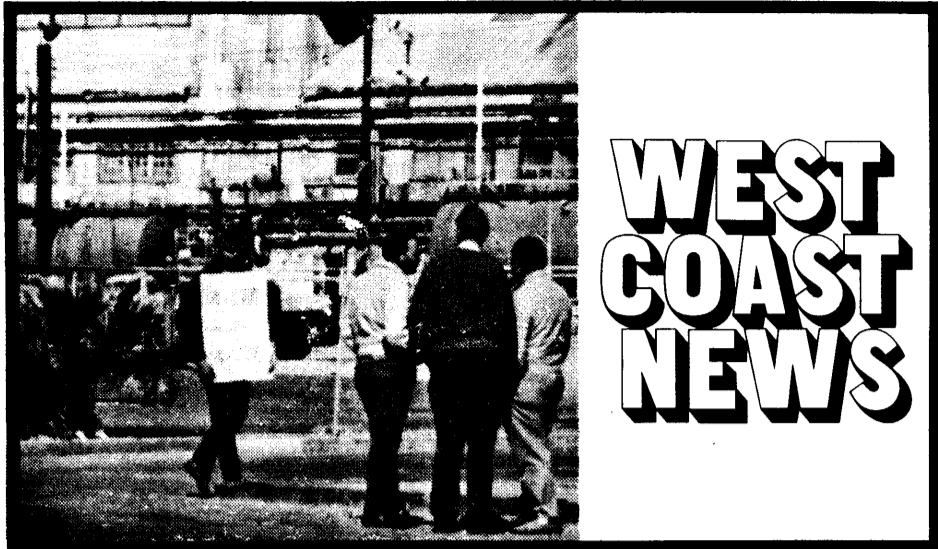
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WEST COAST NEWS

Militant Teamsters Local 208 Put In Receivership For Wildcats

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons has announced Los Angeles Local 208 has been put in receivership by the international. The reason for this move, Fitzsimmons claims, is that 208 has a history of breaking contracts by wildcatting over local issues.

Despite what Fitzsimmons says, the local has the contractual right to strike during the duration of the contract over certain issues which cannot be resolved by negotiation. Vice President of this local is John T. Williams who is chairman of the Oct. 31st Out Now Committee. It is clear that the moves against the local leadership are taking place because it cannot control the ranks.

In order to understand what the Teamster bureaucracy is up to it is necessary to understand a short history of the fight by the 208 ranks against their international and local leadership. When the national sellout contract was negotiated, members of 208 were instrumental in leading a wildcat in the Los Angeles area. A major issue on the local level was sick leave, an issue the local and international leadership again failed to win for the Teamsters in this area.

STRIKE

For the first nine weeks the strike was not sanctioned by local leadership. During the tenth week, the local leadership sanctioned the strike and called it off one week later without having won sick leave for the ranks and with 700 militants, 350 from 208 alone, fired for strike activities. That is, the local leadership effectively disoriented the strikers who were just beginning to reach out to other sections of the labor movement and to other Teamster locals in California to spread the strike.

After the sellout in Los Angeles the local officials began discussions with the trucking companies over (1) restoring seniority rights for the strikers, and (2) rehiring the fired militants. The companies had agreed to restore seniority rights for the strikers and talks concerning the fired militants were in process when the international moved to take control of 208.

POLICE

Thus the move by the international has both an obvious and a concealed purpose. Fitzsimmons clearly announced that the international would police the ranks and not allow any locals to upset contracts. Fitzsimmons' pious twaddle about contractual relationships would sound better in the mouth of a Rockefeller but is perfectly appropriate in one of the bosses' labor lieutenants.

Moreover, the militants in 208 and everywhere represent a threat to the bureaucrats. Militants like the 208 rank and file blew Fitzsimmons' sellout to pieces on a national basis. The move by the international to discredit 208 and undercut them leaves those 350 leading fighters stranded. And this, no doubt, is supposed to get around. Not only is the international going to play policeman for the companies by enforcing intolerable contracts, but it is going to attack locals which either will not or cannot keep their members in line.

The initial reaction of the ranks has been confusion. One member of 208 interviewed by this reporter said that the whole thing was a complete surprise and that no one either had any information or knew what it meant in terms of the

operation of the local. Whatever the details may be, this is clearly an attack on the rank and file of 208 and a warning to other militants that the international intends to fight against them and not with them.

There must be no confusion about legalities or powers or any obfuscations that come from the international. The ranks must throw back Fitzsimmons' attack and demand:

- Full and complete rehiring with seniority of all strikers!
- Hands off 208!

Steelworkers Fight Sellout Demand Ouster Of Leadership

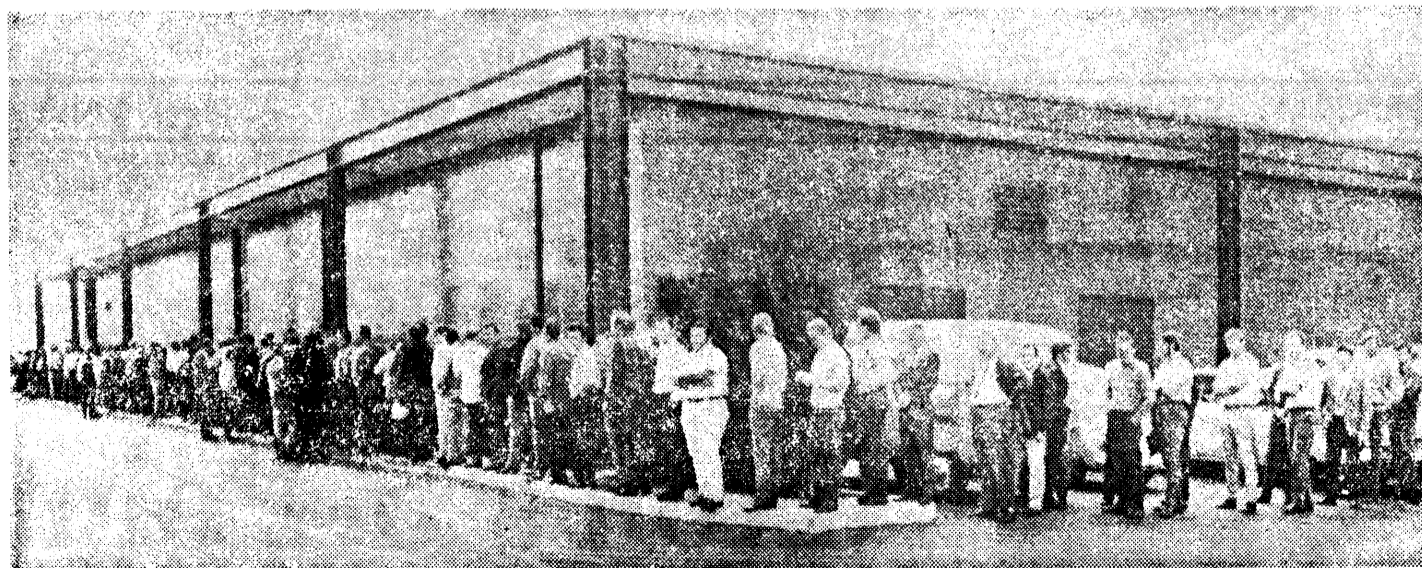
BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO, Oct. 13—Serious developments have taken place in the course of an iron workers strike here at National Steel and Shipbuilding. The ranks unwilling to be forced back to work under the terms of a 98 cents wage increase over the next 5 years, opposed their sellout leadership by a walkout on the morning of October 6.

Panicked by a membership that responded to the insults of the company with a wildcat, Local 627 officials and the international in St. Louis were forced into sanctioning the strike in an attempt to contain the militancy of the rank and file.

INCAPABLE

The question now facing these men is one of how to secure a decent standard of living in the face of spiralling costs and a company that intends to starve them into submission. The present leadership with its cowardise, and which one striker estimated "95% opposed," is incapable of guiding its ranks to victory in a situation where there are only two sides: the workers' or the bosses', they have con-



Those who talk of the 1930's never returning should visit the San Fernando Valley. Hit hard by unemployment in the aero-space industry, even engineers have been thrown

on welfare. Above 700 persons line up for four job openings as \$133 a week meter readers for the Southern California Gas Company at the firm's offices in the Valley.

'Christian Liberation' Invades SDS Conference

BY STEVE ZELTZER

SAN FRANCISCO—The latest SDS-Progressive Labor western convention was left paralyzed and stunned in its first session because of a disruption caused by over fifty Christian religious fanatics. The fanatics, members of the Christian Liberation Front had mobilized from all over California to "participate" in the conference.

A forum to discuss the Arab revolution was the first point on the agenda. The panel consisted of a representative of the Democratic Popular Front, a left wing split from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and a SDS student who had done research on Israeli imperialism. Before the panel started, the chairman of the conference asked for suggestions to enlarge the panel.

The Christians had come prepared. They immediately demanded a place on the panel and declared that they were a legitimate tendency of SDS and entitled to all the rights of SDS members. It was at this point that the bankruptcy and right wing turn of SDS exposed itself quite sharply at the conference. Citing the democratic character of SDS, the chairman agreed to allow a speaker on the panel from the Christian Liberation Front. An SDS member immediately demanded to know what the Christian was to speak about.

The Christian Liberation Front's answer was that the presentation would be on "Christ and the Arab Revolution." This however was too much for Mr. Mallock, the panelist representing the DPF.

Declaring that the liberation movement

was fighting these same Christians in the Middle East, Mr. Mallock said that the conference would now have to make a choice either between himself on the panel or the Christian on the panel.

UPROAR

The conference was now in an uproar and the SDS leadership retreated. They proposed that a vote be taken on the right of the Christians to a representative on the panel. The vote was taken and the Christians were defeated. However, the SDS chairman of the conference attempted to smooth the defeat by explaining that after the panelists were through, the Christians could give a three minute presentation.

This was not enough for the Christians. At the end of the presentations they demanded thirty minutes for themselves. When they were refused, they held a sit-in in front of the stage singing hymns. They were later carried off when the SDS-PL leadership saw that the conference was at the point of collapse unless they were removed.

The support for the "democratic rights" of the Christians by SDS-PL expresses a sharp right wing turn towards the middle class. It follows closely the opening up of discussions between Herbert Aptheker of the Communist Party and the Pope.

Reacting to the intensive political repression on the campuses and the deepening class conflict between the trade unions and the government SDS-PL now centers its major political campaigns on the campuses around ecology, women's liberation and child care centers. At SDS meetings, members openly proclaim that SDS must campaign for the liberal Democrats as a defense against the Republicans. Others demand that SDS pressure the presidents of colleges to petition the state legislature to provide money for day care centers.

AUTO

The second panel at the conference was on the auto strike. A speaker from the PL auto caucus at the GM plant at Fremont gave the presentation. After explaining the rotten conditions and racist practices at the auto plant, the worker declared that what was needed was "communism" and a boycott of GM products for a successful victory in the strike.

The Workers League intervened by demanding to know if the auto worker and his caucus had a program to confront the bureaucracy and mobilize ranks in the UAW. His response serves as a lesson in Stalinism and the popular front.

He exclaimed that since he "was organizing seven days a week" around the boycott and communism "there was no need to go to union meetings and fight for a program." "In fact," he said, "all that was necessary for a victory was for the students and workers to join together" supposedly in a boycott.

This then is the role of both the Communist Party and PL in the auto strike. Their only difference lies in the fact that PL criticizes the union bureaucracy. Both, however, turn the fight away from a program for victory in the auto strike which means a fight against the bureaucracy.

It is around this program that students must be organized to support the auto strike. It is around this program that a caucus must be built in the UAW to take on the Woodcock leadership.

UAW United Action Caucus Maps Out Fight On Wages

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

FREMONT, Oct. 12—The United Action Caucus of the UAW held a social on Saturday, where a movie on the 1937 sit-down strike was shown and a discussion was held.

The movie was made by the UAW bureaucracy a few years ago and narrated by Woodcock and Mazey. While the whole struggle of the auto workers was put in the background and a lot of attention was paid to "humanitarian" Governor Frank Murphy, who was the governor of Michigan at the time. Even though there were shots of the big struggle in Flint, the idea conveyed in the film was that Gov. Murphy so loved the auto workers that he ordered his National Guard troops not to shoot them.

The movie brought the present struggle into sharp focus. It really showed what the rank and file are up against with the bureaucracy.

The discussion which followed the movie was on the wage issue and the strategy for taking the auto strike forward. There was discussion on the deal being cooked up behind the scenes between Woodcock and GM and on the necessity for a nationwide fight to hold firm on the question of wages.

The Caucus discussed these issues and decided to begin a petition campaign to force the Fremont leadership to hold a meeting where the whole question can be brought into the ranks and plans laid for a national campaign on wages.

State To Shut Merrit College As Education Funds Are Slashed

BY FRANK O'NEILL

OAKLAND—Merrit is a junior college with an enrollment of over ten thousand students, mainly from black and working class backgrounds. The school offers courses in subjects ranging from vocational skills such as printing technology, auto mechanics and nursing, to standard liberal arts courses like English, and history.

But now, because of the state education cuts, Merrit is being shut down completely and a different school, which can accommodate half of the students is being hastily thrown together. Thousands of students will be thrown out into the streets to join the swelling ranks of the already unemployed.

The shutdown of Merrit is just the beginning. Following closely on its heels is the announcement that three junior colleges in San Mateo are being cut back one third in enrollment and faculty and that two, Skyline and Canada, might shut down altogether. Three state colleges, San Diego, Irvine and Santa Cruz, originally planned to expand to enrollments of 27,000 each, are being frozen indefinitely at 5,000. The cutbacks and school closures threaten to destroy California education totally and throw students into a life and death struggle for survival.

During the boom period of the 1950s and early 1960s California went through an extraordinarily rapid period of growth which turned it into the wealthiest and most populous state in the country. In order to provide the mushrooming industries of California with a steady stream of technical and managerial personnel, and in order to relieve the pressures of overcrowding at the state colleges and universities, the junior college system was expanded from a series of unrelated community colleges to a massive statewide network. Over eighty junior colleges were operating by 1970, with an enrollment of over 600,000 students. Plans were made by the state to expand the system to over a hundred schools with a projected enrollment of between eight and nine hundred thousand students.

CUTBACK

But the boom period is over. The present crisis has resulted in an economic contraction which is reflected in a recession, severe unemployment (7% in California) and a drastic cutback in spending on health, education and welfare. The state of California, feeling this contraction most acutely, literally faces bankruptcy and must now not only dump any plans for expansion but must also eliminate many of its existing financial responsibilities. It is only in this context that the closing of Merrit can be seen in its true perspective, as an attack on the rights and future of the working class youth and students who attend junior college.

What is needed is the mass mobilization

SF Local 400 Fights Alioto Job Cuts

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Over 200 social workers stretched out over the plush carpeted floor of the Mayor's anteroom on October 6. The Mayor was engaged in "important business" and couldn't see them. The plainclothes cop who guards the office mumbled to his superior over the phone: "You've seen them all before, but there's more of them now."

The overwhelming majority voted to remain in the office after one o'clock (in the past most protests have flopped because they lasted only the duration of the lunch hour). Finally word came that the Mayor would see a delegation of six workers the next day. The sit-down was adjourned.

The workers were making three demands on the Mayor: (1) that all layoffs stop and those laid off be rehired, (2) that all vacant positions be filled immediately, (3) that 380 additional workers requested by the General Manager and refused by the Mayor be granted through an emergency appropriation.

The Mayor treated the delegation of workers like naughty children: "I don't like 200 people to storm an office... It doesn't work when you're dealing with a guy who by nature agrees with your demands... I don't want it to happen again."

When asked why additional workers could not be hired, Mayor Alioto responded: "We're kind of operating on a turnip theory around here. You can't get blood out of a turnip. I know you're going to make a crack about Candlestick Park." (Alioto is proposing to spend

thirty million dollars to modernize a baseball stadium, but is freezing jobs and refusing to hire anywhere else.)

Alioto finally acceded to the rehiring of the twelve workers layed off. The workers had won a small victory and had upset Alioto's usual method cocktail lounge negotiations, upsetting his regal splendor. He agreed to meet again with the workers' committee the following Friday to discuss the other demands. However, Mayor Alioto threatened refusal to meet with the workers in the future if there are further marches on his office. He warned that mass march tactics "won't work around here."

The Mayor's warning clearly indicates that if welfare workers and other city workers are to obtain salary increases, adequate staffing, manageable workloads, and security against layoffs, "turnip" politicians have to go.

It is no longer a question only of welfare workers. Workers in the Probation Department now have caseloads of around

350, although they have a letter signed by Alioto promising caseloads would be reduced by half. So much for promises...

Instead of preparing for a citywide strike, the union leaders can think of nothing better to do than endorse the usual Democratic candidates. At a recent Executive Board meeting of Local 400, one union bureaucrat said of one candidate: "Don't ask too much about him, or else you won't endorse him." Another candidate had never heard of the Taft-Hartley law and had told a union leader that he thought collective bargaining for city workers was "illegal."

The Rank and File Caucus of Local 400 is calling for a mass rally of all city workers as a step towards mobilizing for the coming strike. With "friends of labor" like Alioto, city workers do not need enemies. We must demand that the union bureaucrats break with the anti-labor Democratic and Republican parties and beat back Nixon's anti-labor offensive by building a labor party now.



This is a small section of the massive march of city workers on Alioto's home.

WOMEN WORKERS MUST FIGHT FOR UNITED CAUCUS

BY DENISE ALEXANDER

The West Coast recently has seen the growth of Woman, Inc., a women's caucus in several locals of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers in Stockton and Antioch, California.

It began in 1966 when women were laid off their jobs for lengthy periods of time even when they had seniority rights over men in the plant.

A not uncommon story was told by one woman who bid on a desk job in one of the plants. She had 16-1/2 years seniority and was the only woman to bid. The four or five men also bidding for that position each had under one year seniority. The job description was changed to include heavy lifting which served to exclude women under the state protective laws which have a maximum lifting requirement for women. She did not get the job.

Her grievance was lost at arbitration on the grounds that it was not a violation of the contract. Other problems that women face are separate seniority lists, an exclusion from progression ladders, again because heavy weight lifting has been written into the job description purposely to exclude women.

These layoffs are occurring at a time when other workers are required to work overtime and take double shifts. Management is trying to use women as a reserve labor force giving them as few rights as possible. Some women have turned to the women's liberation movement and to the National Organization of Women for assistance.

The feminists groups end up diverting the struggle by dividing the women from the men in the union and naming men as the prime enemy, rather than the employers. These feminist groups only serve reactionary ends against the interests of working women when they say they are being attacked as women rather than as workers.

CONTRACT

A new contract is coming up in March 1971 for the AWPPW. The demands which affect women should be seen in the context of the fight of the union as a whole. For instance, demands must be raised for the reinstatement of employees with full back pay who lost their jobs as a result of being deprived of their full seniority rights; that there be alternative ways of progressing on seniority ladders when a job on one level cannot be performed by an employee due to physical limitations. Benefits included in the state protective laws such as weight lifting maximums, proper lighting and ventilation, paid hour lunch periods instead of the present system of three ten minute breaks be extended to all employees and should be a part of the contract. The 30 hour week at 40 hours pay should be a major demand to unite all workers against layoffs.

It should be clear that a fight for this program requires not a separate organization for women but above all a caucus in the union which unites all workers and which poses a common struggle against the employers.

'Radical' Democrat Dellums Caves In To Agnew's Attack

BY FRANK O'NEILL

BERKELEY—Democrat Berkeley City Council member Ron Dellums, who was able to gather support for his coming congressional race with Republican John Healy by posing as a radical, clearly exposed himself as a puppet of the bourgeois parties when he retreated from his "radical" positions when attacked by Vice President Agnew as being an enthusiastic supporter and backer of the Black Panther Party.

Dellums hastily called a press conference the next day to disavow himself from the Panthers ("They have their way of doing things, I have mine, the democratic process") and denied that he was a revolutionary. ("When I say my politics are to bring the walls down I don't mean the walls of society but, rather, the barriers between races and classes.")

Agnew's attack comes at the same time gubernatorial candidate Jess Unruh proudly proclaims he represses students more

viciously than Governor Reagan, and Democratic Senatorial candidate Tunney calls student activists "assassins and law breakers."

Dellums' cowardly retreat shows that he too, in spite of his rhetoric, stands four square with the Agnews and Unruhs in the fight against the working class.

The despicable role of the Communist Party emerges very clearly. In an editorial in the Oct. 10 Peoples World Dellums is praised to the sky as a living example of how to conduct "independent politics" by working through the Democratic Party. The Peoples World says of the man who is for breaking down the barriers between the classes that "Now it is Dellums' politics and message that will be going into the homes of hundreds of thousands of trade unionists with the backing of the official labor movement in the county."

Break with the Democratic and Republican fraud. Vote for an independent labor party by voting for the SWP candidates in 1970.

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Greek Student Is Victim Of Colonels' Violence



The funeral of Georgakis became rally point for opponents of Greek Junta regime.

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

At three in the morning of September 19 a young Greek student, Costantino Georgakis, poured petrol over his clothes and set himself alight in Matteotti Square, in the center of Genova.

The only witnesses, four street cleaners, heard him shout "Long live free Greece!"

They put out the flames and rushed him to hospital, but he was terribly burned and died later the same day.

His death was to reveal the existence of a widespread network of spies and provocateurs of the Greek colonels at work in Italy, with the connivance of the Italian police, NATO, and the main Italian fascist party, the MSI.

Costantino Georgakis was a native of the Greek island of Corfu, lying between the Greek mainland and Italy.

MAGAZINE

Before the colonels' coup he wrote for a student magazine, which was then banned by the military regime.

Three years ago he left Corfu for Genova—one of the main centers of resistance to Italian fascism—where he found a

job with an insurance firm and resumed his studies in geology.

On the day before he died he received an express letter from Athens—which was read by a number of his friends among the other Greeks exiled in Genova, but after his death could not be found. It was an official order to return to Greece for military service.

Costantino left in his room a farewell letter to his father—a tailor—which said in part:

"After three years of violence I can no longer go on. I don't want to make you run risks on my behalf, and I cannot do less than act and think as a free person... Long live democracy! Down with the tyrants! Our country, which gave birth to freedom, will abolish tyranny! Pardon me if you can."

The following day the Italian press published extracts of an article he had written for a Greek anti-fascist magazine, *Sigla a*.

In it he wrote of the existence of the Greek spies in NATO and the police and their helpers and the threats made against Greek exiles and their families at home.

Despite the precautions taken by the editors of *Sigla a*, the text of the article and its authorship had become known to the Greek consulate in Rome.

VICTIMIZE

Costantino's friends in Genova were emphatic that his suicide followed on the leaking of this article and subsequent threats by the Greek regime to victimize his family if he refused to return. The events which followed confirmed their statements.

The only relative to come for the funeral was his father. Everywhere he went he was accompanied by Greek diplomatic officials, in particular one Giorgio Niakas.

DETAILS

These damning details, which the Italian capitalist press did not have the impudence to conceal completely, were not broadcast by the (state-controlled) Italian radio and TV.

One good reason may be that Italian TV transmissions can easily be picked up in Corfu.

As Greek left-wing students warned newsmen at a press conference after the funeral:

"Tomorrow you could be put in jail by the same forces that are strangling Greece. Why do you not write about NATO, the CIA, the Prometheus plan (the US-devised computer-organized plan of operations which the colonels used to take power in Greece), of Nixon, who is about to visit your country."

(The same Nixon has recently resumed sales of heavy armaments to the Greek regime.)

For the same reason, scarcely a whisper of Costantino's death appeared in the capitalist press in the rest of Europe.

Bolivian Miners, Students Shake New Government

BY MELODY FARROW

Bolivian miners and students have seized police stations and the right wing newspapers *El Diaro* and *Hoy*, in a series of actions which are already shaking the new "leftist" military government of Jose Torres Gonzalez.

General Torres overthrew General Candia Ovando in a coup d'etat on Oct. 7. The struggle between the left and right wing sections of the army has unleashed the hatred of the Bolivian workers for capitalism and imperialism, a hatred which will not be easily curbed by the new government.

The U.S. Information Center in Cochabamba was sacked and everything removed. Miners have threatened to expel the foreign technicians of the Bolivian Mining Corporation. It was not the scheming at the top which brought down Ovando's government but the struggles of the Bolivian working class whose confidence and political awareness continues to grow. Not one inch of South American soil is stable for U.S. imperialism.

Ovando's regime was paralyzed and in complete crisis. Ovando, who began as a "leftist" and had nationalized Gulf Oil was rapidly revealing his true colors as the enemy of the working class. Just prior to the coup he had announced his decision to compensate Gulf Oil by \$73 million, setting off a wave of protests and demonstrations.

DEMAGOGY

Faced with a combative working class which demanded that he make good on his left talk, Ovando steadily retreated and made more and more concessions to the right wing. This was the logic of a regime which for all its demagoguery stood firmly for defense of imperialism's interests.

The struggle for power between the right wing led by General Miranda and the left led by General Torres was a struggle over how best to preserve these interests, whether to ruthlessly crush the working class or to contain its militancy by promises of "participation." This was clearly expressed by Ovando's Information Minister who stated that the victory of Miranda would increase "the danger of civil war" because his regime would be so unpopular.

Neither solution, the carrot or the stick, is capable of resolving the crisis of capitalism in the underdeveloped countries. This crisis is at the root of the seeming absurdity of a military dictatorship which calls itself "revolutionary." While they try to avoid civil war with talk of revolution they cannot allow the

slightest opening that would allow the masses to play an independent role and go beyond the generals.

MINERS

It was ultimately the workers and youth, who poured into the streets in defense of General Torres which determined his victory. Miners were killed in Oruro during these demonstrations. Military homes have been sacked and a right wing professor of medicine was machinegunned while Torres' police, no doubt with some gritting of their teeth, stood by.

The Bolivian miners have decided to immediately press their demands and will be asking for wage increases from General Torres who has called for "Fair Salaries for Workers." No sooner has one regime replaced another than it is faced with the same contradictions. The new government must now attempt to contain the powerful class struggles that have been unleashed. The same workers and students who now march for General Torres will tomorrow bring his downfall.

TORRES

Who is General Torres? He is the man who was instrumental in mapping out the strategy which led to the murder of Che Guevara. This butcher, the bitter enemy of the Bolivian workers is now promising a government based on "four pillars, the peasants, workers, students and the army." Not only does his Cabinet contain four former members of Ovando's government, but General Torres has decided to honor all "international commitments," i.e. carry out the decision to compensate Gulf Oil.

While things may have seemed to have come full circle, the Bolivian working class has gone through important experiences. The leftist army regimes are coming under increasing pressure and are daily being exposed as the servants of imperialism. The whole Latin American continent is now on the brink of civil war.

PARTY

The task is to go beyond nationalism in which workers are only one pillar, to an international socialist perspective that links up with the struggles in the other South American countries. What is needed is a Marxist party that will uncompromisingly wage this struggle.

This party will be built in ruthless battle with the Stalinists and Castroists who give active support to these "left" regimes. The generals who now have Castro's blessings are the same men who shot down Guevara and other guerrillas.

The students in Bolivia have declared the week of Oct. 8 a week of tribute to Guevara. Last week's events have shown that Guevarism is dead. The power throughout South America is the working class which is now on the offensive.

Trotskyists Take Up Struggle On French Island Of Reunion

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

On March 16, 1970 the General Assembly of the Bolshevik Communist Group of Reunion declared itself in solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Reunion is a French island of 450,000 people off the coast of Madagascar in the Indian Ocean.

The development of the CCBR is an important step forward for the Fourth International and shows the great potential for building Trotskyist parties in the colonial and underdeveloped countries.

The crisis of capitalism is reflected in its most brutal and naked way in Reunion, a French department which is totally subservient to the needs of French capitalism. The masses of workers and farmers live in poverty while a tiny minority controls the entire economic and political life of the island. All the mayors are huge property owners and electoral fraud is openly tolerated by the government. It is quite common to find bodies turn up in fields and rivers with no questions asked.

RUTHLESS

The "underdevelopment" of Reunion is of course the direct result of the ruthless exploitation by France which destroyed all the natural products of the island and instituted a one crop economy, sugar. Because Reunion must deal only with France, prices are three times higher than in the "mother country."

Reunion is now facing the biggest crisis

of its history. President Debre has launched his plan to drive down prices in preparation for entry into the Common Market, a plan which will mean mass unemployment and the virtual destruction of the sugar worker and the small farmer. The twelve sugar factories are to be merged into four "super factories" and a quota system is to be imposed which makes payment for sugar proportional to the amount produced. This will insure the survival of only the big sugar concerns. Four factories have already closed and unemployment as of 1969 was already 40,000. The youth face absolutely no future and even if they migrate to France their prospects are not much better.

STALINISTS

The Reunion workers have a long history of struggle. But the trade unions which they built are closely tied to the bosses in each factory. The Stalinists (Communist Party of Reunion) have important influence among the workers and recently won four seats in the General Council. Their program for the crisis is self determination and autonomy which will gradually bring socialism, as if Reunion's problems could be separated from capitalism's crisis world wide. They have in fact accepted the factory closings.

Now for the first time the leadership of the Stalinists will be challenged. The CCBR has begun a campaign to form committees to fight the factory closings and to force the Stalinists to take up this fight. The struggle against the Stalinists is the key to building a Trotskyist party on Reunion, a struggle which is inextricably linked to the fight for the Fourth International in every other country.