A LOOK AT GERMAN SDS

Bulletin
bi-weekly organ of the workers league

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KENNEDY-NO!
MCCARTHY-NO!

THE REAL MCCARTHY
CIVIL RIGHTS
PEACE LABOR
CIVIL LIBERTIES

KENNEDY
FROM BAY
OF PIGS TO
WHITE HOUSE

----DISTRICT 65----SSEU ELECTIONS----CINCINNATI----CANADA----

PROGRESSIVE LABOR
BREAD AND BUTTER NOT ENOUGH
by Ivy Hacker

NEW YORK—The rank and file members of the Direct Mail local of the CIO’s District 65 have scored significant gains in their recently ratified contract with the Direct Mail Master District 65 contract. The new three year contract provides the following gains:

1. Salary increases of $7.50, $4.25, $4.25.
2. Improved pay fund established. Weekly payments of $600, $754, $1,000 per week, per person.
3. Escalator clause reflecting increases in cost of living from 1 to 3%, to be reviewed annually.
4. $3.00 per week retroactive pay for six months to reflect losses due to inflation, 5. Improved vacation provisions.
6. Sick leave increase to 4 regular days for the last year, 5 days at the beginning of the year.
7. Improved wording in several clauses (grievance procedures, nooreign pay, jury duty).

Direct Mail workers are among the best paid in the country with minimum demands. Compared to the previous contract, negotiated in 1965, which paid $7.25 for $7.00 over two years, and no cost of living review, this contract is a major升级 at first glance. On closer scrutiny, however, it is clear that these gains must be regarded as the beginning of a real fight to bring Direct Mail to the level of the best paying and most secure jobs in the country.

May 1st marks the beginning of the new contract and the workers are encouraged to take full advantage of the gains negotiated.

DIRECTIONS TO MEMBERS FOLLOWING THE NEW DIRECTIONS CONTRACT

1. Continue to observe the new contract and take advantage of all of the gains negotiated, including the improved pay fund.
2. Work diligently to keep the gains the workers have fought for.
3. Stay informed about the contract and be prepared to take action if necessary.
4. Support the workers’ efforts to protect the gains and improve working conditions.

by a SUEU member

NEW YORK—The upcoming election for SUEU (Welfare Workers) officers indicates the complete bankruptcy of the present union leadership and most of the oppositional forces within the union at a time when the very existence of the union is at stake and when city labor generally is in crisis.

Favored to win is the leader of the oppositional SUEU, Rudolph Morgansten, who has campaigned on virtually no program, will prove equally ineffective. The election has been greet

THE MAGAZINE

ISSUE NUMBER 2

This issue of the magazine is dedicated to the struggle of the workers in the Direct Mail industry for the basic rights and protections that all workers are entitled to.

The struggle is not just for the Direct Mail workers, but for all workers in all industries. The struggle is for the right to organize, the right to a fair wage, the right to a safe and healthy working environment.

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This is a struggle that must be won, and it will be won. The workers in the Direct Mail industry are not alone. They are part of a larger movement for justice and equality. Together, we can make a difference.

JOIN THE STRUGGLE

to support the workers in the Direct Mail industry in their fight for justice and equality.
from bay of pigs to white house?

By Fred Muller

In the last month Robert Kennedy has emerged the quite possible Democratic Party candidate and next President of the U.S. The deepening of the crisis of the capitalist system has literally forced Kennedy to speed up his well-known plans to win the Presidency, and it is important to recognize just what he is driving for.

The mass media have been working overtime on Kennedy's "freshness", emphasizing his youthfulness, freshness, willingness to try new ideas in the typical Kennedy "bump and grind", and so forth. In the weeks immediately preceding the nomination, Kennedy also sought to portray himself especially as a man of peace, as someone one ready to give his all to end the war.

useful

The usefulness of Kennedy to the U.S. bourgeoisie is that he can now mobilize such large sections of the population, among both the working class and the élite, who were previously against Kennedy, into a campaign which suits the present needs of imperialism. This is why the mass media have fostered public images of Kennedy as a man of peace, as someone one ready to give his all to end the war.

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By Marty Jonas

"My record is clean", Senator Eugene McCarthy has insisted repeatedly. But just how clean is the record of this liberal that the ADA's official liberal rating service could only give a mere 62%?

On civil rights McCarthy has the distinction of eurating the "new" vote that killed the Civil Rights Act in 1964. In 1965 he voted against withholding federal aid from southern school districts which had resisted integration. Also, according to the Congression disk Quarterly (Nov 17 1967) McCarthy was one of the few to vote against the 1965 Voting Rights Act. McCarthy opposed a controversial amendment which would have banned poll taxes.

To bring him up to date, he capitulated completely to racism in Milwaukee, to the extent of splitting his ranks. E.K. London writes in the N.Y Times, March 28th:

"At a staff meeting in Milwaukee last Saturday, Cursie Gane, the staff director, took the floor to protest the mayor's policy. "He should not take a major position on civil rights until after the election," he said. A factor in Mr. Gane's position was the fact that the mayor's staff is heavily Polish and German wards of Milwaukee. There is a clear attempt to placate these wards because of the demonstrations for improvement in slum conditions led by Rev. James Groppi.

"This is the campaign billed as "A Breathe of Fresh Air."

Indeed its the same rotten smell of capitalistic politics. Since Dr. King's assassination, McCarthy has been quoted frequently as saying "we must have civil rights but has ended up with the parade of politicians hiding behind King's corpse used to rationalize the rhetoric about "the dream."

liberties

On Civil Liberties McCarthy has not performed any better. He started out his career by helping Orville Freeman and Robert Humphrey purge the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party of Communists in 1948. He voted in Congress for every contempt citation against those who would not inform for HUAC (including Arthur Miller, the playwright). In 1954 he voted for a bill making Communist party membership a civil offense. In 1959 he voted for the Student Loyalty Oath Bill. He has been a consistent supporter of bills to Catholic schools and an opponent of the Supreme Court ruling banning prayer in the schools. He has been a member of the national organization witchhunted two SDS members out of his Wauku, Wisconsin headquarters. (This is certainly at odds with the glowing picture the "Worker" painted of a vital movement of youth ready to advance to anti-capitalism.

In Southeast Asia the kind of peace that McCarthy is for is best expressed in an Inquirer view of the Melanian issue of America, a liberal Catholic magazine. It is revealing enough to quote large chunks of:

"Peace, Johnson has said he would withdraw in six months...I think this would be precipitous. I think I would have done that just that fast. I would put the time limit at five years.

"I think you would have to insist on a significant pre- sentence of some kind there (Asia) even if we did withdraw from Vietnam, but I do not think there should be any American presence in that particular part of Asia. We are in the Horn of Africa and remain there for some time even though we did withdraw from Vietnam, we are in Japan. We are in Korea. Our navy is free in the China Sea."

"I did not start to critic the Vietnam action until the middle of 1966...if did not think they should resume bombing in early 1965, until it was found that the rumour of possible negotiations had some substance to them. But other than that, I went along with it pretty much. I felt it was a limited war and that maybe it would work out and that maybe it would work out and that maybe it would work out and then we spoke in Congress of the Vietnam, I was opposed to the Vietnam resolution on withdrawing troops from Germany."

"What, then, basically, is the difference between the President's position and yours?"

I think he should have held to the position when he had 400,000 men in there and tried to work out something.

This is McCarthy's "phased withdrawal" which is hard to distinguish from the polities of Johnson in maintaining imperialism throughout the world. He has voted for every appropriation for the Vietnam war. And then drags his feet and says that that he would run true to form, backing Israel all the way.

This is why McCarthy has in store for U.S. imperialists its continued existence and welfare at the same time the Middle East and Asian revolu- tions.

business

And what does McCarthy have in store for the American working class? McCarthy's interests, which have been ob- scured by his dovish posture, are those clearly tied to big business. He has expended great energy in Congress opposing efforts to legitimate the oil-depletion allowances. His actions as a legislator on behalf of this particular group of capitalists combined with his concern at the threat to imperialism to make him an enemy of the working class in this period when the losses of the working class are being taken off the backs of the workers here.

edil

Like McCarthy, the same kind of liberal as Adlai Stevenson--the intellectual politician, trying to save their system--are capable of anything but empty rhetoric; once in position, they are indistinguishable from the practical politician like John- son, who they scorn. They act as obedient servants of the necessities of the capitalistic system. McCarthy in the White House is the same as Stevenson in the U.N.

The empty rhetoric of Mc- Carthy, his attacks on the lack of program. Liberalism has no program—it has no solution. Its program is that of capitalism. Its candidates, however, are those who are most identifiable in their real political interests to those of the capitalists. The real politics of all of them are revealed in their working class tactics towards the workers of the United States and the rest of the world--the way the capitalists order the world. From the crisis it is plunging into.

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the working class.

This is very clearly seen in almost every major strike. The government intervenes with compulsory arbitration boards, with anti-strike legislation, with threats of the National Guard. The solution to these strikes is up to the hands of the capitalist politicians. Thus, we see political intervention in the railway, copper, teachers, and sanitation strikes. The character of struggles has changed; they objectively involve a struggle against the state and are therefore political.

This understanding is a Marxist understanding, a probing beneath the surface impressions, to the forces beneath. But for PL, Marxism is not a method of understanding material reality in order to intervene, it is just a set of rigid points, dogma, a set of recipes to quote at appropriate times from the red book. Thus PL is left with viewing reality as a series of imperatives. It seems only the militancy of the workers. It does not see the cause and cannot lead this militancy against the very system which creates the conditions that forces the working class to fight back.

PL Saw Teachers Strike as Victory

by Lucy St. John

Progressive Labor’s position on trade union struggles is most clearly revealed in an article on District 65, Direct Mail Division, in the current issue of Challenge. This article correctly attacks the Livingston leadership of the union and the Communist Party supporters who back the leadership because of that union’s deep involvement in capitalist politics. This was clearly shown in its heavy support for the Dublin “peace” campaign in Brooklyn.

In conclusion, however, is utterly reactionary. It seems Livingston should confine himself to “bread and butter issues.” Yes, they actually use this phrase. The Challenge writer then goes on to denounce the Workers League referring to “a tiny Trotskyist group that spreads the irrelevant cry of a ‘Labor Party now’.”

Thus rather than attacking the union’s involvement in politics on the grounds of the content of these politics it resorts to urging a la Comrades for the leadership to stick to “bread and butter issues.” Those who seek to counter bourgeois politics in the unions by fighting for a class political alternative are denounced as “irrelevant.”

dangerous

This syndicalism of PL is most dangerous in this period when each confrontation with the bosses raises the question of government intervention in one form or another. This intervention by the state is by its very nature “political.” With the end of the boom in the early sixties, the deepening of the economic crisis, the capitalists more and more require the intervention of the state against the movement of the left.

FOUR LEADERS OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR (l. to r.): FRED JEFF

long range revolutionary goals.” To build these coalitions you have to “start where the workers are at, not where one would want them to be.”

The task then of these Left-Center coalitions is to intervene in the “ferment” in the Center struggling around issues that the workers are ready to struggle on. In other words, struggle is to be limited to strictly trade union issues. The task of “revolutionaries” is to answer ideological confusion that exists around such questions as the war, “you can’t fight the government’; racism, unity with other workers, etc.” PL attacks the “ultra-lefts” for calling for “power now” or “revolution.”

Lenin

PL with all its book waving and orthodoxy appears to have missed some basic points Lenin raised many years ago. PL is very fond of quoting “What is to be Done?” but appears to have missed the whole point. We quote Lenin here not to demonstrate that we are more orthodox than PL but because we believe Lenin’s assessment of the class struggle and the task of the revolutionary party are valid today. Lenin states very clearly that “there could not have been Social Democratic confusion among the working class had it been told that in the future there would have to be brought to them from without. The history of all countries shows that the working class exclusively by its own efforts, is able to develop only trade union consciousness.” The rank and file through their own decisions, cannot spontaneously, without understanding of the need to struggle for power. Lenin attacks the Eulers who resemble PL instead of answering the call to go forward to the consolidation of the revolutionary organization and the expansion of political activity, the call...
IONS - FROM LENIN TO GOMPERCS

was issued for a retreat to the purely trade union struggles.” The “watchword” in the working class movement for the Economists was “struggle for economic conditions.” Lenin points out that it is just these phrases which the bourgeoisie uses. Lenin says, “the adherents of the labor movement...pure and simple, worshipers of the closest ‘organic’ contact with the proletarian strug-
LABOR AND UNIONS - FROM LENA

I

The workers of the world unite..." socialism. The "Center" is the "mass of workers who oppose the bosses and their labor lieutenants who are ready to struggle and do not necessarily see beyond the immediate struggle between the classes."

PL then works out further tactics. They say to organize and unite with the Center, and at the same time to move some forces within the Center leftward, that is towards the understanding of more socialism. The "Center" is the "mass of workers who oppose the bosses and their labor lieutenants who are ready to struggle and do not necessarily see beyond the immediate struggle between the classes."

PL's great rationalization is that the "left" should not allow the workers and thus they cringe before the spontaneity of the working class movement. "All worship of the spontaneity of the workers, all belittling of the role of the conscious element...means quite independent of whether he who belittles that role desires it or not, a strengthening of the influence of bourgeois ideology upon the workers. Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology formulated by the working masses themselves in the process of their movement, the only choice is..." bourgeois or socialist ideology. Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology."

PL, in practice, for the purpose of alienating the workers leaves them tied to capitalist politics, leaves them tied to the very bureaucracy they so fiercely attack.

And what about the revolutionary party? PL sees the tasks of revolutionaries in the union in relation to these tactics is that in the process of building this Left-Center coalition it will "strengthen worker consciousness," the rank and file through their own decisions, cannot spontaneously, come to be able to understand the need for struggle for power.

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method

At the heart of this is the relation of theory and practice. PL probes beneath the immediate struggle for the workers' consciousness and cringe before the spontaneity of the working class, just as they seek to contain the workers within the capitalist class of the need to break with the bosses take power. PL does not understand the conception of what strategy is beyond their absolute separation of the workers from workers. Hence, they seek to prepare the ground and the guide to every step of the workers' movement through a guide to the workers' movement through a guide to preparing the path and the guide to every step of the workers' movement through a guide to preparing the path and the guide to every step of the workers' movement. Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology."

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England shows this in its sharpest form where the policies of the Conservatives carry out a new offensive against British workers. The Labour party has transformed the British Labour party from a striking corpse into an electoral machine. The capitalists have deserted this party in droves and now are outside of the struggle to political strugle against it. What is true of England will be the political policy of the United States. Kennedy, the man responsible for the anti-labor campaign against the strikers, is now the Teamsters seems to be being groomed by the capitalists to replace the Labour movement and to lead the offensive against the American trade union bureaucracy — in imped ing the political and social activities of a lean working class. The bureau cracy's role is to compromise the struggle of American workers thus postponing a central conflict between the working class and the ruling capitalist parties. As long as the capitalist government can hold down the working class by having the labor bureaucrat drive the workers around the unions through anti-strike legislation as well as the kind of armed force it has used against the Negroes. The capitalists know full well that a few strikes combined with unions would open the door to a real break between the working class and the labor parties as raising the danger of unions creating their own party "a new party of labor". But time is running out on the union bureaucrats. On this and many other files in general revolt against the American bureaucracy less and less room to maneuver. It is extremely important in this situation for the Workers League both to fight in the unions for a new union -- alternatively a labor party -- and at the same time lead the struggle against the union bureaucracy understanding that any serious action by the bosses will expose the hand of the ruling capitalist parties and create a situation which will enable the party demand develop real roots in the unions. Wohlforth therefore discussed the Negro struggle in the United States. The inability of the capitalists to take the first steps towards implementing the modest proposals of the Rusk Commission Report illustrates a complete bankruptcy of capitalism. There is no hope for the Negro masses to break forth a new socialist system. Black Power is extremely dangerous for rather than labouring the inability of the capitalists to liberate the Negro people and thus open the road for large industrial nation. From there he traces the early attempts of the American Communist party to develop a labor movement. He studies American Trotskyism from the beginning all the way to today offering the only existing history of this party which covers its whole development

From this study Wohlforth concludes that it was precisely the failure of the early Communists and the American Trotskyists to develop an understanding of Marxist method which led to the degeneration of those organizations. He brings out independent theoretical development these parties have not succeeded in American pragmatism no longer capable of leading any one group of people rather being buffeted around by the ebb and flow of surface development.

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**THE STRUGGLE FOR MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES**

by Robert Edelstein

from The Swept, May 1968, 76 pages.

Currently there is a definite increase in the study and interest in American radical and labor history on American radical and labor history in the works of the week and this is a healthy development. There are two in particular that are doing the work James Simon, James Weintraub's The Search for Socialism in America.

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German Student Radicals Need Link With Workers

by V. Barat

As we go to press Germany is once again in the midst of large scale students demonstrations following the failed attempt at resignation of the radical leader Rudi Dutschke by an admitted admirer of Hitler. This article gives an account of recent student struggles led by SDS in Germany with a critique of the serious programmatic weaknesses of this organization. It could not be more timely nor more important to the critical task of constructing revolutionary parties not only in Germany but throughout Europe. The student convulsions in Germany are an important part of the great class battles to come in that country. Once again Germany comes to the center of the European stage before the great danger of a new revival and the great hope of the triumph of Europe’s most advanced working class under revolutionary leadership.

In the fall of 1966 the SDS gave up the fiction of it being a genuine alternative to the bourgeois government of West Germany’s Christian Democratic Union (CDU). The SDS brazenly betrayed Germany’s working class by joining with capitalist minister to form the ‘Grand Coalition’. It came as a shock to the workers, but the students were the first to react.

As though to underscore their disgust with the social-democratic government, the youth pushed into leadership of SDS those who espoused the use of the most extreme tactics. This signaled their opposition to the government and to the defeat of the working class. The movement of the SDS has been an attempt to recover the prestige of the anti-fascist left, but more than that a desperate attempt to stir the conformist masses of students into action.

The SDS has been able to capture the imagination, even the loyalties of large masses of students is a most hopeful augury for the future. But it would be unprudently light-minded not to see the limitations and perilous to mere action, no matter how dramatic and heroic.

A national SDS leader, Jorg Schirotter admits that a growing number of workers, in anger and frustration at the betrayal of their own trade union and SDS leadership, are coming over to the SED. But he adds, these same workers reject the methods that are purely provocative, sensational, and lacking in class content.

The Berlin events of this past February further polarize the two aspects of this problem. On the weekend of February 17, 1968, the SED mayor of West Berlin, Siegfried Schenker, denied the right of the Berlin SDS to hold an anti-American, pro-Viet Cong demonstration in the city. The SDS refused to bow to the mayor and scheduled it anyway. The courts, sensing the determination of the students and conscious of the blood that was bound to flow in such a confrontation, overruled the mayor and granted SDS a permit to hold a parade along a strictly prescripted route. The demonstration was lined with people, mostly students, while noisy and full of enthusiasm, was self-disciplined and completely orderly.

Three days later the Social-Democratic Mayor Schulte supported a counter demonstration in the city in an attempt to curry favor with the Texas imperials in the White House. Not trusting the attendance to chance, he and his cohorts tried every promotion gimmick imaginable to bring in people. Every city employee had the day off with pay from noon on. Sanitation workers got overtime pay for attending. Authorities checked off their employees as they left work to insure their attendance at the parade. The bosses and the trade unions in bureaucracy in a heart-warming display of class harmony summoned the workers in the plants to down their tools so as to attend the ‘freedom’ demonstration. Even special buses were chartered all over town to pick up the workers before the factory gates.

Despite these and many other kinds of pressure and threats only 80,000 were turned out, that is less than 10 per cent of the Berliners! To the world the figure of 150,000 was broadcast. Later the head of the Berlin police department admitted that the actual figure had been double by his men.

The mayor started his speech by saying that this was not the Walter Ulbricht Stadium. The square around which they were assembled, he said, was named after John F. Kennedy. Such remarks were a continuance of the anti-communist, lynching spirit that had been whipped up for days. In front of the city hall a girl was beaten up and knocked to the street by the mob. A local pastor, a supporter of the capitalists, tried to come to her aid. He was sworn at, called a communist swine, and, as he stated in his letter to the mayor, he was himself beaten before a crowd of rowdies. At least a hundred people, mostly youth, received physical beatings at this ‘freedom’ rally in support of America for nothing more than wearing flameless gloves, having a beard, or wearing jeans.

Shouts of ‘beat him dead’, ‘lynch him’, ‘hang him’, were heard amid the pealing of the ‘freedom bells’. One young public official with the misfortune of resembling Dutschke a bit too closely, was slashed on Kennedy Square. When he finally took refuge in a police wagon, the mob tried to overturn and destroy it.

Ironically some of the trade union bureaucrats led columns in which actual fascists marched, some of them carrying banners demanding concentration camps for students or proclaiming: ‘Such things (meaning student demonstrations) would not have occurred under Adenauer’.

In sum

This reactionary counterattack against the SDS though aimed at them in the first instance, was really directed against the German labor movement, no matter how the SDS seeks to cover its treacherous role in this affair. Nothing can or should be forgiven from the official leaders of the SPD. The weakness of the SDS is basically that of revolutionism. It has adopted much too uncritically the positions of those who like Herbert Marcuse, Sartre, Debray, and others assign a revolutionary role only to the colonial and semi-colonial peoples to the so-called ‘third world’. Much too often guerilla tactics, appropriate for jungle warfare, are attempted in the metropolitan cities of Germany. The weapons to defend itself can not come from the arsenal of petty-bourgeois revolutionaries and neo-anarchists but can only come from the working class movement which a Marcuse has pronounced dead.

Camps of the SDS centered around slogans such as the expropriation of the Springer press are futile and dangerously illusory. The working class does not lend itself to the formation of revolutionary parties, it forms a solid front of unity with the working class of other countries. The SDS can not be separated from the movement of their own unions. Unless SDS bases itself upon a scientific program of class struggle and helps to construct a revolutionary proletarian party to fight for socialism, its present following will decline and demoralization is bound to follow.

The next article on Germany will examine the trade union movement of that country.
TRUDEAU-A CANADIAN EDITION OF KENNEDY

by Robert Hartley

TOBY ATTWOOD-Toby Attwood, Trudeau is the new Liberal Prime Minister of Canada. His victory at the Liberal Party leadership convention followed the "resignation" of Pearson and the inauguration of a major attack on the standard of living of the working class. The government's austerity program which will greatly affect welfare recipients, farmers and workers.

In a more candid moment prior to his victory, Trudeau stated "the government is a social welfare." If this may seem like an isolated comment, let's study the depth of that definition of "social welfare." Relative to the United States Canadian productivity has been dropping for the past several years. Even the evaluation of the Canadian dollar in 1962, and the negotia-
tions of the auto industry to save jobs and provide a block to the slide in Cana-
dian industrial productivity. The run on the Canadian dollar several months ago came because of a widespread feeling the economy was extended and terms of govern-
ment spending, private and public debt, and in the long range in future profits, the prime example being land. In the last month industri-

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able) declined 11%, rail freight-
ton 10%, and the cash on hand situation in the banking system declined noticeably. As a result, according to Labor economists the power of the workers remains a major question.

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