REVOLUTIONARY WAVE SWEEPS U.S. PRISONS

UAW Leadership Prepares Sell-out

Current developments in the negotiations between the UAW bureaucracy and the General Motors Company expose that an under the table deal has already been made.

It is clear that GM went to the UAW leaders and proposed that they make local "settlements" before any national agreement in order to divert the attention of the rank and file away from a basic retreat on the money package. The talk of "victories" on the local level is being used by the UAW bureaucracy as a smokescreen behind which a sell-out on wages and the cost-of-living escalator is being prepared. Such a deal will leave the auto workers far behind the $1.65 an hour over three years which was won by the Teamsters.

The danger that GM and the UAW bureaucracy are trying to avoid this year is the UAW ranks using strikes over unsettled local grievances to overturn the national contract deal achieved at the bargaining table in Detroit—just as did the Teamsters.

It is clear that the UAW leadership and GM are developing a very cozy relationship in this effort, for two parties supposedly very far apart over the basic issues. As A. H. Raskin of the Times reports: "Talks have been pressed in 157 plants from coast to coast and a hotline system has been run into GM headquarters in Detroit so that top union and management officials can help break bottlenecks that develop at the local level. Troubleshooters from both sides are out in the field to speed the process of local agreement."

UAW officials have been trying to use a local settlement at GM's Detroit Diesel plant which makes truck motors mainly for non-GM manufacturers to snowball the local settlements.

horsetrading

Meanwhile, the script for the horsetrading between Woodcock and GM is being played out. Woodcock has set the stage for this kind of trading by hinting that he is willing to let the workers pay for future increases in medical insurance, as GM has demanded. In "exchange" Woodcock asks GM to agree on increased cost of living protection.

But this is only the first act. In the finale, General Motors agrees to the $500 pension after 30 years while the UAW leadership retreats on the central demands of the money package—wages and the full cost of living escalator.

(Continued on page 2)
Behind The Fight At The Steelworkers Convention

By DAN FRIED

The recent conclavized Atlantic City convention of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) reflects very much the same rank and file militancy that erupted in the Teamsters' strike of last spring and in the auto strike against GM.

The whole determination of the ranks to fight for what they believe is their right to simply accept what their leadership offers them, that has thrown the labor bureaucracy and its strike funds into the dustup with a virtual panic.

Steelworkers poor for Nixon is that even if he is able to hold back the auto strike (there are some 40,000 USWA members who are involved in the strike) Nixon, as long as he has the support of the steelworkers, can throw up the toad and bring the whole structure of USWA bureaucracy to bear on the rest of the working class.

We can be assured that the outcome of these struggles will have a profound and far reaching impact on these USWA contracts and on the entire working class. We can also be assured that as in the auto conflict, Nixon will use every weapon from the treachery of the USW bureaucracy to open government intervention against strikes in order to maintain the capitalist's profits.

At the convention USW President W. W. Abel attempted to adopt a militant stance on the question of USWA contract goals for 1971 as "a very, very substantial" one, re-establishment of the full c.o. c.l. elevator given up in 1959 and a shorter work week. But as in the auto strike, these demands mean more than empty words—they want the contract demands to be translated into real value, brought out in the open and a real strategy mapped out to win those demands. But of this, they heard nothing at the convention.

The Abel leadership discussed the contract demands simply as one among many issues. Likewise they treated the question of the international question (rather than THE central question) of the steelworkers' challenge to the American labor movement today.

The steel strike was marked throughout by conflict of many delegates with the Abel leadership, the dissident's demand for solutions to problems by bringing the contract questions to the central issues of the convention.

The dissidents limited their fight against the leadership to the local grievances and salary increases for the top officials. All the militant talk about "endorcing the contract," although reflecting the treacherous unrest among the ranks, is but a diversion unless it is put in the context of the paramount struggle for a national contract—the kind of struggle that will make the union face to face not only with the steel industry, but with Nixon and the US Constitution as well.

It must be pointed out that many of these delegates are presidents and other local officials who use the struggle with the steelworkers to obtain more concessions of the pressure of the ranks of their own back and to avoid an all out fight with the international.

CP

Of all the dissident elements at the convention, the Communist Party was a group which limits itself to the fight more for black officials and against the USWA bureaucracy and does not raise a basic fight on wages and unemployment. In the USCP, like to get to the situation of the trade union, there are leadership leaders who simply try to channel the militancy of the ranks into reformist channels.

Despite the domination of the convention, the CP is taking the right to put the failure of the dissidents to put forward any alterative program and leadership, in a little bit of what the workers back in the mines, mills and plants—from the erosion of This means the American labor movement must mobilize its power independently and against the rotting Democratic and Republican parties, and against a union weapon, a labor party.

Labor must give an answer to Nixon, Agnew and the bankers in this election by taking a step toward building this party for a socialist alternative—voting for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.
REVOLUTIONARY WAVE SWEEPS PRISONS

BY LUCY ST. JOHN
NEW YORK—To the obvious bewilderment of the officials and politicians in the courtyard of the Queens House of Detention in Long Island City, rebellion imminent, capitulation and purification negotiation dined in the uniform of the Arab fedayeeen. But their garb was not the only thing they had in common with the Arab fighters.

The struggle which broke out last week in five New York area prisons from Kitts Gardens to Rikers Island was more than just a gesture for prison reform but reflected the anger and hatred of hundreds of prison guards, wardens and Puerto Rican, with the capitalist system and its "justice." The situation facing the majority of the black and Puerto Rican workers and youth is crystallized and symbolized by the medieval conditions in the jails—the open discrimination, racism, brutality, living conditions are not fit for rats, bail for those prisoners is exorbitantly high and the incarcation period before trials can be over one year.

OPPRESSION

At the Queens House of Detention where the rebellions began last Thursday, the guards hung out a sign making their aims clear: "Equal justice? Stop oppressions, exploitation and persecution of the oppressed people." Among the demands raised by the prisoners were ones relating to the Panthers who are held on trial.

The hostages which the prisoners held were not the only ones who showed their solidarity for the "cause" of the inmates. While prisoners took over the Brooklyn House of Detention a crowd of inmates from the area gathered outside and on nearby rooftops. Rocks and bottles were thrown by the crowd at the police and patrolmen who were encircling the prison.

 COURAGE

What underlies this series of prison riots and those only a month ago in New York and other parts of the country is the growing frustration with the repression and oppression of the capitalist system. It is the struggle against the system which lies behind the rebellion. This is what ties the struggle of the New York inmates with the fight of the Arab guerrillas. It is their courage and determination which thousands of minority and working class youth seek to copy in the fight against their own class struggle.

The situation was also clear to the City of New York. Knowing full well that he had little or nothing to offer in the way of reform, Lindsay, the great "liberal," called for a show of violence of the police. The New York Times reports that in addition to nightsticks, the guards who invaded the Queens House of Detention last week were armed with "iron pipes, pickaxe handles, baseball bats, and even a few table legs."

CLUBBED

This is not to mean the tear gas and acetylene torches which were brought by the truckload. The prisoners were clubbed, kicked and beaten into surrender. This is the real answer the City had for the prisoners. It clearly exposed as sheer talk all the statements by Lindsay and fellow liberals on the need for "reform."

This is the real situation under capitalism. But the capitalist fears a written a tale of mutiny. From the prisons, to the factories, to the schools, the working class is taking up the battle against this decaying and bankrupt system.

BEHIND CAMPUS UNREST REPORT: FEAR OF WORKERS

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest was made public this week. The Commission was appointed last June after the student strikes which swept across the country in the wake of the Cambodian invasion in which six students were killed by National Guardsmen and police.

The report is essentially a variation on the Nixon campaign theme of "Bring us together," "lower voices." It calls for "a national ceasefire" on the campuses, "an end to harsh and divisive rhetoric." and "reconciliation." The Commission, which is dominated by conservative and moderate Nixon Republicans—former governor of Pennsylvania William Scranton, the New Haven Chief of Police, the President of Howard University, Dean of the Stanford Law School, Editor in Chief of the Christian Science Monitor—unwittingly exposes the underlying causes of campus unrest.

RECONCILIATION

The Commission states: To that end nothing is more important than an end to the war in Indochina. Disaffected students see the war as a symbol of their helpless situation, which in their eyes, deprives even law of the land of their rights. Their estimate of the Cambodian invasion was a measure of the intensity of their moral recoil.

We urge the President to renew the national commitment to full social justice and to be aware of increasing charges of repression at the universities. There are four steps to see if the words and deeds of Government do not encourage belief in such charges.

Nixon's "moral leadership" but not been properly exercised. Just before the Commission report was made public, both Nixon and Agnew went on the offensive politically. Nixon in his Kansas State speech, and Agnew in speech after speech around the country reproach with attacks on the "impeach" action. "pussatiousness, pussyfooting," and "radical." Increasingly it becomes clear that the Nixon Administration is quite not only on how to deal with students, but even more important, on what policy they should take toward the working class. While a section of the report is aimed at students, it is the report of the working class which is necessarily on the move. Troops have been used only against Kent State shootings, but against post office strikers, and wildcatting Teamsters. Above all the ruling class fear the unity of workers and students against them. This is the reason for the vicious attacks on students.

At the same time the Commission reported: A radical driven to use the weapons of war upon its youth is a nation on the edge of chaos. A nation that has lost the allegiance of part of its youth has lost part of its future.

This is precisely the case, truer than they realize. The ruling class is driven to use the weapons of war on the youth as they take a side in the class struggle. The fight is defended by the imperialist and to end U.S. imperialism is a class fight and it has taken these youth, many from the middle and upper classes, against the ruling class, on the other side of the barricades. Their allegiance goes not to "the nation" but to the working class in its struggle against imperialism. This is what drives the ruling class to shoot down student protesters. This is why they launch vicious red baiting and terrorizing attacks against students, and everything else that the students' allegiance, the guerrillas, the students fight for, the workers and peasants, to the American auto workers, to the American working class as a whole. The ruling class fears that what is at stake is the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, and hatred for the war will turn into hatred for the capitalist system and what is required to defeat it. The ruling class fears that the unity of the students toward the working class as a whole. The freedom that will follow this last spring will deepen and mature politically and spell the doom of capitalism.

STRENGTH

The policy of Agnew is the policy of the bourgeoisie. The report comes from working class. The mottos of theFunctional and about "reconciliation" reflects that momentary hesitation of a section of the capitalist class which is fully aware of the strength of its opponent, the American working class. This section does not reject Agnew's policy for the future, it only hesitates in the present hoping to milk out of the liberals and reformers every last bit of collaboration and compromise possible. Students and the working-class must prepare now to take up the struggle against Agnew and the whole capitalist class for which he speaks. Students must understand what the capitalists understand—that the American working class has the strength to crush Agnew and Company in a single blow if, and only if, it is consciously organized for this task.

It is already clear that the Commission's proposals will go unimplemented but that Agnew's proposals are already being implemented on the campus where we are now beginning to see the makings of a real witch hunt against radical students.

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This is the real situation under capitalism. But the capitalist fears a written a tale of mutiny. From the prisons, to the factories, to the schools, the working class is taking up the battle against this decaying and bankrupt system.
The military power of the Sixth Fleet was the real face of Nixon in Mediterranean.

Arafat Comes To The Aid Of Hussein, Nixon, Kosygin

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The real scope of Yassir Arafat's betrayal of the Palestinian guerrilla movement was starkly exposed last week when the Jordanian government announced that it would hereafter consider Al Fatah the sole legitimate Palestinian guerrilla organization and deal exclusively with it.

While Hussein and Arafat have formed a new relationship, Hussein has placed $15,000 worth of the heads of PFLP leader George Habash and Nayef Hawatmeh of the PFLP.

The meaning of the cordial relation between Hussein and Arafat is clear. In Yassir Arafat not only Hussein but Nixon, Kosygin, and the Egyptian interim leaders, like Nasser before them, have a man with whom they can deal.

In Cairo Arafat signed a truce agreement which by providing for the disarming and removal of guerrilla forces from Amman and other cities to positions on the Israeli border aims at accomplishing precisely the same thing that Husseim accomplished in nine days of bloody slaughter.

Hussein knows that if the guerrillas can be drawn out of the cities and stationed on the front, they will be sitting ducks, completely defenseless against his superior artillery and particularly against his air power.

The real scope of the Jordanian-Government towards it is further revealed by the fact that 30,000 guerrillas held by the Jordanian army only 500, mostly students from Europe, have been released.

The attitude of the Jordanian government towards the guerrillas was summed up by the Jordanian Information Minister Adan Abu Odeh. He is reputed to have compared the problem posed to the Jordanian guerrilla movement to that posed to a man who has swallowed a knife which will cut his stomach if he leaves it in his mouth or if he takes it out.

It is precisely because Arafat refuses to swallow the knife in these terms that he is so useful to the Jordanian government. Adan Abu Odeh says: "We believe in Al Fatah, because Al Fatah's ideals are based on nationalist ideas, not Marxist ideas."

The fact that Arafat is a petty bourgeois nationalism and not a Marxist is perfectly clear at the heart of the joint effort by the Israeli cabinet, the Arab League, and the Arab monarchs to lead the Palestinian movement into a final bloody trap.

Fortunately the guerrilla masses are breaking from Arafat. We warn those in the United States like the Socialist Workers Party who are supporting Arafat right now to take a hard line while overcome by petty bourgeois revisionism at the hijackings. Consider again on what side you stand, with Arafat or the guerrillas, before you are caught short.

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strike wave hits west germany

Workers fight for higher wages

BY MARTY JONAS

A wave of strikes in West Germany has turned out over 90,000 machinists, steel workers, and auto workers from many of the most important plants during the past two weeks.

Prices have been soaring in West German and the main demand by the national union--IG Metall, led by Social Democratic leader W. Heussler, is for a pay hike of 15% increase. Thus far the industry has only given 9% for the steelworkers and 7% for the machinists and auto workers.

Without any lead from the union heads, the workers replied to this insulting offer by putting down their tools all over the country.

At the Opel plant in Russelheim, 40,000 strikers marched through the city shouting, "15 percent and not a potato less!"

At the Demag plant in Duisburg, 15,000 went out; at the Westfalenhütte steelworks, 5,000 workers walked out. The Krupp factory in Essen has a total of 12,000; at Opel in Bochum, 9,000; at Hoesch in Wrexen in Mannheim, 8,000; and at Ford in Cologne, 12,000.

At the Ford plant, several workers were injured, two severely, after clashes were provoked by the management. This latest upsurge leaves little room for maneuver in the old workers league or the Social Democratic Party.

On the one side, the workers have joined the strike in solidarity with workers in the continent, Germany and the U.S. It is also a challenge to the workers of the West German workers that brought about the fall of Brandt's government.

On the other side, Brandt and the SPD are under great pressure from the rest of the coalition government and the employers to bring a halt to inflation. In a parlia-

In other words, Brandt is being told to bring the auto workers into the working class to put an end to the strikes and damps any more demands for wages.

After less than a year of a coalition government Brandt and the SPD are finding their class collaborative policies threatened by the movement of the German workers for higher wages.

Nixon Tours Under 6th Fleet Guns

BY TIM WOHLFERT

Nixon's trip to the Mediterranean taking in Titto and Franco in one swoop all the time under the protective guns of the Sixth Fleet, reveals much about the position of American imperialism today.

More meaningful than all the pious phrasemongering about cooperation and peace is the open display of the Sixth Fleet and Nixon's announcement in Ireland that if necessary, he would strike out of the Sixth Fleet even further. The Mediterranean is to remain an American pond if the U.S. has its way.

But the Nixon trip was an emergency move brought about by the growing strength of the Arab revolution in the Middle East, the deepening crisis of the workers' states, and the development of the class struggle in Greece and Iran. Titto and Spain. The brandishing of the Fleet exposes the real power and imperialist character of American influence in the region. That the brandishing was necessary reveals the real weakness of America when threatened by the movement of the working class.

The call by Arafat and Hussein for the guerrillas to return to the Israeli front is not only a call for the guerrillas to commit suicide but in all other respects is a complete force. This was revealed by the total absence of Jordanian soldiers in Amman.

Hussein has no interest in fighting Israel. The Jordanian army has, as far as he is concerned, one task before it—the smashing of the guerrilla movement.

The treachery of the Cairo truce and the attitude of the Jordanian government towards it is further revealed by the fact that 30,000 guerrillas held by the Jordanian army only 500, mostly students from Europe, have been released.

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Three Titto and the Stalinists embrace Nasser precisely at a moment when Nixon reveals his real reactionary future he is planning for workers of Europe and America. What is in the deepening of the international struggle of workers of Europe and America as well as the struggle which will culminate in the construction of the Fourth International.

NORTHWEST STRIKERS FACE NEW INJUNCTION THREAT

MICHAEL ROSE

MNNEAPOLIS, OCT. 5—The more than four months old Northwest Airlines strike is facing a new threat from the airlines. The company has applied to the U.S. District Court in Minneapolis for a new injunction to end the strike.

This is the third time Northwest management has lost all patience with the ability of the IATF to try to settle it. As state AFL-CIO President David Roe, said: "There is a settlement down the strikers' throats.

FAIRNESS

Now they are beginning to pull out all stops to get their way. If they force the state— injunctions, courts, police— to force the strikers to accept the so-called token contracts—which means the end of their union.

It also would mean the beginning of the end of all other unions on the airfields. The head of the company, Elmer Prakke, said earlier the BRAC lines told this reporter: 'We've lost $1,000,000 so far from this and won't gain a thing from it when it's over.' We're doing this not because we love the clarks, but because if they get bashed so will we.

The Seattle newspapers now are reporting that the management of the clerks are operating on a strategy that is at least five years out of date. An injunction against the IAM, if allowed to be enforced, will permit North-

The airlines' lawyers say that they will not allow the National Labor Relations Board to have a say in the airline workers' strike.

As a start, their leadership must announce that they will not allow the courts to show both Northwest management and the entire Twin Cities labor movement that the employees have won wage parity with the other airlines.
THE DEFEAT OF the East German workers in June, 1953, has been the first and most marked effect on the militancy of the West German proletariat. The refusal of the SPD and trade union bureaucracies in the BDR to bring out the ranks in support of the general strike of their brothers and sisters in the DDR on June 17 created a mood of passivity among the workers in the BDR. This in turn strengthened the forces of reaction in West Berlin as it did in all of West Germany.

The national elections in September, 1953, were utilized by the bourgeois parties to go on the offensive against socialism. On September 18 Chancellor Adenauer's newspaper Rheinischer Merkur struck a shrill, almost Hitler-like note in its undisguised gleefulness at the Social-Democratic betrayal. As the following extract from that paper shows, the occasion was used as an attack against its parliamentary foe (social-democracy) as well as against communism:

"The one great wish which we hope can be fulfilled is the rapid and definite destruction of Marxism, the decommunization of socialism not only in Germany but in all of Europe."*

The move to make the KPD illegal in West Germany was likewise accelerated. Not that this party represented any kind of revolutionary threat to the monopolists. But it did give the capitalists an exceptional opportunity to carry on a war against militants in the plants fighting for better wages and decent working conditions. To aid the capitalists in their offensive an Industrial Institute was erected in Cologne to keep tabs on all militants and "communists." This black list was made available to all employers and, of course, was designed to starve workers into submission.

In Hanover, indeed, any unemployed worker suspected of being a communist had his relief card stamped with a red "P."*

That there was real dissatisfaction in the factories can be seen from the fact that in 1953 the average West German worker had still not attained even the miserable standard of living prevailing in Hitler's Germany of 1938.

CRIPPLE

The bourgeois-inspired campaign to remove the KPD's legality should not only be seen as part of the Cold War strategy but as an essential maneuver to cripple working class militancy. Thus the following incident reported by a foreign correspondent in West Germany occurred in 1955, the year in which the Stalinallets were banned as a legal party by the Adenauer regime, clearly shows the real motive behind the banning.

"I spoke in the Ruhr Valley with a skilled worker from one of the large iron plants of the former United Steel Works. I asked him why freedom he had in his factory. "Fatigued, he waved me away. He was neither a communist nor a social democrat. He was not interested in politics. But he had his opinions. Up to recently he thought he could express them. But freedom of opinion goes only as far as the company owners permit. When he said something a short while ago to his boss about the killing pace for the workers on the job, the boss told him that he could certainly get him a transfer. "It did not take long. He was demoted from skilled worker to helplime, a job that was just as killing as the other but now he earned 1.82 DM an hour as against 2.64. "The union could not help him for the factory claimed that it was all 'a necessary step in rationalization.' But in his old department the men said: 'Willem has gone because he opened his yap.'"

"And what were the further consequences? He had previously made two purchases, both of them on an installment basis. A motor-bike for his son required a total of 24 payments and living room furniture was to be paid off in 36 months. More than half of the payments for both had already been made. But with a drop of 150 marks in his monthly income, he could no longer meet his obligations and the items were reclaimed and haled away."*

THE CHURCH

The churches took quick advantage of the demoralization that set in among the West German proletariat after the June uprising and the political gains made by capitalist reaction in the full elections of 1953.

Though their following was numerically small, the Christian bloc within the huge trade union federation (DGB) in October, 1953, issued an ultimatum to the cross-ranked organization demanding leadership under the banner of the democratic will of the workers was supplanted by the demand for the religious fraction within the DGB, especially the Catholic grouping, he gave it its own newspaper including the right to circulate it freely among the union membership.

Lack of workers' support led to numerous splits and a weakening of the church-sponsored forces in the union. To this day, however, these Christian bodies within the DGB represent an extremely reactionary political tendency and for that reason are a dangerous and divisive influence, even as they have assumed a "progressive" coloring.

How effectively the church can divert the workers from a struggle for their real interests, even when religious support from the ranks is minimal, is to be seen in the church's co-management (Mitbestimmung) scheme. But for the trade union bureaucracy it was a gift from heaven. Here is the background for co-management.

In 1949 to 1950, just over a year from the passage of the currency reform measure, West Germany began to show serious signs of economic stagnation. The hungry years were hardly over and unemployment began once more to plague the working population. Despite paying the lowest wages in Western Europe and despite the heavy profits made from the legal theft of the workers' money in the currency reform of 1948, the capitalists were demonstrating before the eyes of their own laborers their inability to keep the plants running.

Even the factories, which were returned to the bourgeois owners by the Western allies, were kept under pressure by the united struggle by the proletariat to prevent their dismantlement. Each day it became clearer to the ever-broadening sections of the working class that the capitalists were simply superfluous.

CO-MANAGEMENT

Seeing the growing determination of the workers to take whatever measures were needed to keep the factories operating, the union bureaucracy became frantic. Into this critical situation stepped the church through its agents within the unions.

For, like its bureaucratic allies, the church too saw that what was beginning to shape up was a struggle for state power, even if the workers were not yet fully conscious of this.

To the church suggested and the trade union tops immediately accepted the idea of co-management (also called co-determination). And it was placed in the very center of the unions' demands on March 10, 1950. Mobilizing the ranks in favor of co-management diverted what was becoming a struggle for workers' power into a peaceful accommodation with the employers.

Co-determination is an anti-proletarian conception. It is peddled by the agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class church, union bureaucracy, SPD, and, in West Germany, by the Stalinallets as well, for whom it is an industrial form of peaceful co-existence.

It creates the illusion that the workers can achieve 'industrial democracy,' that is, have a substantial say about their fate in the factories by friendly agreements with the employers. Like the Italian fascist corporate-state fraud, it assumes an identity of interests between the worker and his master.

A works council (composed of conservative functionaries and not elected shop stewards) represents the employees and is assigned a number of functions which it carries out in harmony with its partner from management. The time and place for paying-out wages (never determining the amount, however), the location of drinking water, when daily work starts, determination of piece rates, discussion on vocational training, etc. These constitute the kind of matters of concern to the 'peaceful and responsible citizen' who compose the works council and the staff from management.

FUNCTION

But what is the primary function of the works council? Here is a quotation from the Industrial Constitutions Act of October
With Khrushchev portrait in background Leipzig Trade Fair opens. While trade continued the West German Communist Party was outlawed and militants hounded.

11, 1952. It was passed into law by the Adenauer government without much opposition from the SPD parliamentary deputies thanks to the agitation by the union leaders for co-management.

To the employer and the works council, there are two basic functions of the works councils in the legal sense in the Federal Republic of Germany, as it develops under works council legislation. These two functions are (a) it is to consult with the employer on all matters of interest to the workers, and (b) it is to ensure the welfare of the workers and the employees, account being taken of the commonweal. They have to do everything possible to maintain the working peace. Labor disputes on the works level as well as by every form of political activity inside the works are forbidden.

If there should be a dispute between the employer, the decision of a body composed of equal numbers of representatives of management from both sides is final. So far as in social affairs the law has not conferred on the works councils the right of co-determination, it always has the right to be consulted. (emphasis added. B.H.)

Social peace and the bureaucrat's watchfulness is what the government wishes to see in return for the latter's support of the workers' right to state power. Not even the right to strike was left to the workers in a plant, so matter how provocative the employers.

To prevent their unions from being dissolved, the workers had not only the right to elect one of their members as a delegate, but also the right to conduct the entire works council, one of the reasons for so many wildcat strikes, especially today, in Germany.

It should be mentioned that the idea of co-management as a device to defraud the workers of their political rights was not really the brainchild of the church councils within the unions. The idea was a product of the social democrats, who had at that time a rather extreme socialization of the proletariat.

Then, too, it was a stop gap measure that the desperate industrialists adopted in the SPD replaced German capitalism. With the stabilization of the German currency in 1923, the American loans (Dawe Plan), the arrogant industrialists began to realize that their works councils cut out of their plants. And they will do what it takes to get their way. Today there is no way to get their way, for the master resembles slave even suggesting to him that war running water ought to be available in the shower stall.

In 1923 big U.S. capital helped German imperialism get on its feet, it was once again (this time indirectly) the son of the pond who in the Korean War of 1950, gave a leg down to West German economy (led by the armament industry).

Far co-management can hardly be as effective an answer when workers are being put out on the streets. That is what the men were prepared to wage a real fight for. The industrialists is shown by the 95% strike vote of the metal workers November 29, 1950, and the 97% vote of the miners some two months later. But the co-management route took the right only with the workers. It helps explain their confusion and paralysis when in 1953, their fellow workers in the other half of the country declared their "wildcat" strike against Stalinism.

MILITARY BUILD-UP

The tensions between the two superpowers having done their job in disorienting the working class through co-management schemes and refusal to support the East German workers' uprising, the bourgeois society could now enter on a new phase of its anti-proletarian offensive. It was all the more encouraged by its parliamentary victories in the autumn of 1953.

Up to 1952 the German bourgeoisie had no army of its own. It was not a sovereign but an occupied nation, even though it had declared itself a Federal Republic in September, 1949.

Brushing aside the feeble opposition of some "left" SPD parliamentary deputies and top union officials who had formed a loose bloc with pacifist clergy, liberals, and Socialists, the Adenauer regime signed the Paris Agreements of October 23, 1954.

No real effort had been made to mobilize the working class against a measure providing for the formation of a 500,000 man West German Army.

To have done so would quickly have demonstrated who had the real power in the land. It would have also revealed the role of the working class in refining that power. To May, 1955, when the Paris Agreements came into force, the revisionalist Stalin bloc continued to organize mere token demonstrations of protest, carefully refraining from mobilizing the industrial workers.

Curt Schmitt, a leader of the SPD, one whose eyes water at contemplating the majority of the capitalist state, expressed his own philistine nature and that of social democracy when he showed why it is incapable of arousing and leading the working class against its historic enemy. "There is but one legislator, and that is parliament, which in its decision, must be free from any outside authority, even one that can definitively call the government to account and give it instructions—and that again is parliament and only parliament."

Eulogistic, hypocritical words from a so-called democrat, but needed to convince the resistance of the workers to the bourgeoisie and its new repressive organ —the army.

The ruling class found it necessary to bring a new army to its campaign to prepare the anti-fascist masses for acceptance of the new military state of the church. No less than the very head of the Christian Communities, Reverend Cardinal Dibelius, made this spiritual contribution: "One should not belittle the capitalists were able to begin the building of a new German army under NATO auspices, that is under American imperialist domination. The western half of Germany was now to be converted into a military base of operations against its own workers as well as those of the workers' state."

Workfare, a military journal published in Munich and mouthpiece of big German brass, in 1956 unabashedly disclosed the aims of the new army: A "total surprise can only prove successful for an attacker during a period of friendly relations, a period of toleration, in a climate of extensive, mutual co-operation,

Beware Kossygin and Brezhnev! Stalin, too, had bounds and had faith in German imperialism's promises three decades ago.

MONOPOLIES

According to the Polisarp Agreement, in which Stalin was a prime mover and active participant, monopolies must be forbidden to be forever again taken root on German soil.

By 1956, that is three years after the East German uprising, an amazing leap in the growth of industrial monopolies occurred. We choose 1942 as a year of comparison because it was the period when German imperialism through its fascist means had not only all of Germany at its disposal but a large part of the entire European continent as well.

It can be seen that the largest percentage increase was the iron and steel monopoly with the highest absolute monopoly concentration in the chemical industry. It should likewise be borne in mind when examining the above figures that the incredible increase in the power of the huge trusts occurred in only one part of divided Germany.

Press Lord Axel Springer

And in comparison with 1942 industrial production in the former East Germany was greater than doubled what it had previously been industrial "miracle". In the GDP we include the following years for the comparison: 1958 (under fascist) 1954 (beginning of the economic "miracle"), 1965 (the last year for which we have this data). In 1965 the DM (Deutsche Mark) was worth about 25 cents, today it is about 30 to 35 cents.

In 1929 Germany's share in the world's total output of important industries was: Electric, Wester Electric, Babcock and Wilcox, General Dynamics, North American, General Motors, Ford, Chrysler (the list is much longer) and the majority of them are controlled by the leading stockholders' rostrum. Indeed, the U.S. is by far the dominant foreign investor in West Germany, sitting on 40% of total foreign ownership.

The futile of fighting the monopolists within the framework of capitalism, though it never hesitates to take the most radical action. It is highlighted by the case of I. G. Farben, the giant chemical company. With the rise of the crimes of its owners in working directly for Hitler and going with itself with wealth made from the unpaid labor of thousands of others. It was divided by the allies into three parts in 1945 amidst great fanfare. Today each of the parts U.S. is by far the dominant foreign investor in West Germany, power, more economic and political power than it ever experienced in the past, and its hold on the commerce and its height under the fascists.

In considering the mammoth growth of monopolies in Germany, one should not forget the little victims of the monopolists. These are the hum请点击desk to thousands of artisans, tradesmen, peasants, even farmers who, if not simply killed, was forced to give up their little shops and businesses. This is a contin-

Press Lord Axel Springer

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The old names of the Nazi era, like Krupp above, were among those who prospered. It is in this doomed petty-bourgeois strata that the neo-Nazi NPD (National Political Front; Germany) addresses its main demagogic promises of salvation. But more about the NPD later.

"ECONOMIC MIRACLE!" Despite shrinking production and a plummeting proportion for his bosses in 1956 over 1942, it was only in 1956 that the West German worker finally equalled the lean wages earned in 1936 of the brutal exploitation of Nazis. How about since 1956? How much has the working class shared in West German prosperity? For the proletariat of the BND are forever citing the fact that the German worker has progressed from his bicycle, later to a motor scooter, and now to owning a car.

This worker who now makes payments on an automobile increased his real earnings from 1956 to 1965 by 45%. But he increased productivity (and, of course, the profits) for his master by almost 100% in that same period! Thus his relative share in the gross product actually fell by about 50%.

An astounding indictment of the SPD's and union functionaries' betrayal of the workers for whom they boast to have done so much. Hence their bureaucratic excitement about such diversions, nay-in-the-eye schemes as co-management and Action in Concert (union-management and government sweetheart contracts).

Let us see what physical toll the West German proletariat had to pay for increasing production by 1965.

Even before the worker was feeling the full lack of the speed-up of the sixties on his back, as early as 1954, the Social Democratic, Neues Verwaltungs, in its November 5 issue, was constrained to recognize the daily hardships faced by men in industry.

"The more around the blast furnaces, at the rolling mills, the more in the mines or the chemical workers in the rubber plants breathe heavingly as they leave the plant as the new shift comes on. Their strength is used up. The workers can scarcely go out at night because they are too exhausted."

EXPLOITATION

Here is how that drive for profits by big business is translated in human terms. In 1956, the year in which the industrial employee finally caught up to 1938 in real wages, his accident rate compared to 1938 was 30% greater. That means that even more fingers and hands were cut off as a result of speed-up in the shops in a half a nation than had occurred in a whole one when Marx was alive.

Even the accidents are not the worst features of the systematic exploitation of the workers in the BND. His general health and well being have deteriorated to such an extent that for the first time in centuries (excepting wars) a worker's life expectancy in an advanced capitalist nation has actually dropped.

We quote from Metal, monthly organ of the West German I.G. in the largest in the world, of July, 1963:

"Increasing attacks of illness—growing pre-mature disablement—decreases in life expectancy: therein is expressed the pitter of a year and a half, to which the injured man is exposed today. We have to die earlier ever, even though medical art has made enormous progress for centuries. The office of health issued by the Federal Government show in the past a year's a steady decrease of the average life expectancy of the male population by 30 years on.

While 10 years ago a 40 year old man could, on the average, live to 72 years and 3 months, he now can but make it to his 72nd birthday. Life expectancy for the 55 to 60 year old man has actually been reduced by 9 months in a space of 10 years."

The SPD's and union functionaries' concern with the "in the office of health issued by the Federal Government show in the past a year's..."

What blessing the "Economic Miracle" has brought the worker!

While thirty monopoly capitalists in West Germany enjoy a monthly income of one million DM per month (remember that 80% of all the wealth is in the hands of 5% of the population), 10% of the population lives on the border or below the border of minimum existence. A tiny 70% of the working class from the ruling class exercises complete control over the means of production while among the 30 million wage workers and their families there are some two million living in sheds or improvised structures, without inside plumbing, kitchen or wash facilities and an additional 4 million citizens in virtual want.

We shall return to examine other facets of the life of the worker particularly the matter of job security in this "European Garden of Eden" as one publicist referred to the BND, after we have taken a look at the policies pursued by the SPD in the past fifteen.

BADMOSER

The crushing of the workers' councils throughout Hungary by Soviet tanks in the political revolution against Stalinism in October, 1956 speeded up the conservative drift of the SPD.

Those extreme right-wing elements in the SPD leadership, who have for so long been clamoring to jetronize the last vestiges of Marxism, now saw their chance. They took advantage of the abortive anti-communist press campaign and the confusion and disorientation of the workers resulting from a "cold war" mentality suppressing a proletarian uprising to use the social democratic creeps to smother definitively to the capitalist camp.

An analysis of the fact that the SPD had been historically since 1914 with the key financial support to the Kaiser at the start of the First World War. But for the Wehrmacht, the Schiffs, the Behrend all these machinery and "coercion" Marx was far too much. After an intense slander campaign against what remained of the left-wing in the SPD, the establishment boys got their way in the party's annual convention at Bad Godesberg, just outside Bonn, in November, 1956. With no political leadership and no perspective, not even a real will to fight, the left-wing was routed. The "respectable" tendency carried the day on every issue. They duly noted Marx, but as an historical relic of the 19th century.

In place of the SPD as a party of class struggle with socialism as its goal worth fighting for, they realigned the party in these terms:

"The Social Democratic Party is a community of men with different beliefs and ways of thinking. Their agreement rests on common moral values and the same political goals."

Instead of socialism the Godesberger Program speaks of an "immaculate ethical drive for freedom, justice, and solidarity (not even equality) in the basic values of a socialist will." Here was the only concession the authors made to socialism. They converted it into an adjective but with as little content as the other abstract platitude that fill the document.

"PEOPLES PARTY"

But in one respect they were concrete. They insisted that the SPD was no longer a workers' party but a "people's" (Volks) party. All social layers are included in it. Emphasis is placed on "agreement with one another," not hostility to anyone. It spelled out its relationship with the other bourgeois parties:

"No alternative program that competes with the ruling government party, but rather stresses on the common tasks of both the government and the opposition; and if there in any contention it is on the priorities of the tasks to be solved in common."

As one bourgeois German critic (Fischthiem) noted: "When you finally get down to it, this party is evolving into something that is not too unlike the Democratic Party of the U.S.A." Amen!

And so the German bourgeoisie could sit back and breathe even easier than before. Yet despite all the betrayals, despite the pro-capitalist orientation of its leadership, the SPD still depends for its existence, financial and personnel-wise on the working class. The bulk of its finances come from the trade unions. And notwithstanding the efforts of the bureaucrats to make a "people's" party out of the SPD, its membership is overwhelmingly working class. Almost 70% of its membership is composed of working people, some 55% of them industrial workers. This does not include the 10% housewives and 5% retired men and women. Only 3.5% have their own businesses.

It can be seen that as the crises intensifies, the course of the party (deep rifts are already visible) will be drastically effected. That is one of the reasons why the German Trotskyists are within the SPD and striving to build a revolutionary faction there.

ATTACK

Let it be thought that the increase in real wages was given to the workers by

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>2.4</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>0.8</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Tremendous industrial development, like gas turbine above, was paid for with low wages.
**GRAPH IV**

**INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION (1958 = 100)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>1965</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>June</td>
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</table>

Average for the first six months 157

Average for the second six months 167.5

**GRAPH V**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>September</td>
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<td>166</td>
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<td>November</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average for the second six months 167.5

The corporations out of feelings of generosity, or normal goodwill, the record chronicles it otherwise.

A production scare from year to year due to German industry's super-exploitation of its workers, allowing it to be one of the world's most competitive industries. The workers, however, were not getting their fair share of the output. The workers were even worse off than their counterparts in East Germany, where the state guaranteed a minimum wage and provided social benefits.

In theory, the workers' wages were supposed to reflect the cost of living, but in practice they were often inadequate. The workers were the main beneficiaries of the economic growth, accumulating savings and purchasing power.

In contrast, the profits of the capitalists and the owners increased significantly. The divide between the working class and the bourgeoisie was growing wider, leading to increased social tensions and class conflicts.

**THE WORKERS LEAGUE PAYS A TRIBUTE TO TROTSKY**

**MEMORIAL SERVICES**

In commemoration of the 30th year since the assassination of L.D. Trotsky.

**October 12, 1970**

**THE WORKERS LEAGUE PRESENTS:**

**TROTSKY MEMORIAL SERVICES**

**ACCOMPANIMENT:**

**TUNKY'S 18**

**CUBAN CIGARS**

**DINNER**

**ACCOMMODATION**

**TICKETS $150**

**RESERVATIONS:**

**FRED MUHLER**

**135 W. 41st St. 6th Floor**

**CONTRIBUTION EACH LECTURE $150**

**TWO LECTURES $250**

**iscuss us Husl**

**LABOR ALL 135 W41 STREET 6TH FLOOR**

**CONTRIBUTION EACH LECTURE $150**

**TWO LECTURES $250**
Workers League Holds Conference In Midwest

Midwestern Regional Educational Conference

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
Baltimore, Oct. 4.—As the Schmidt Bakery strikers entered the eleventh day of their strike, the question is: Where do we go from here?

The Labor Committee, in coalition with the Communist Party's youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, calls for organizing the sustained support of some discontented social levels to win the strike. This call to action is virtually unprecedented in the nation, according to the Mother Jones Collective for "common support."

Towards winning this "support" these groups have organized the University Committee for Fair Labor Practices (a subcommittee of the Johns Hopkins strike committee) to call a demonstration for "common support of the strike" and to protect the pickets on students supporting the strike the previous weekend. Approximate youth support was estimated at 1,000.

Philly Teachers Must Prepare For Strike Oct. 15

Fred Mueller (custo) who gave presentation on Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism, speaks informally with some of the more than seventy participants in conference.

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, addresses the Midwestern Educational Conference in Madison.

The Program For Victory In The Schmidt Bakery Strike

When a plainclothes cop grabbed a youth he accused of throwing a bottle.

The police then tried to provoke the demonstrators by marching a six man squad of helmeted Tactical Squad cops to a position across the street from the pickets. These cops stayed in position throughout the remainder of the demonstration.

After the demonstration was over a group of "community" and clergy went to see the Schmidt plant to negotiate with management. The pressure" threatened by these militants was that they would declare all Schmidt products "anathema" if management did not recognize the union.

Needless to say, the way to union recognition at the Schmidt plant is not by threatening to declare a product "anathema" or by holding students and demonstrators at Schmidt demonstrations make some of the more dramatic activities of the pickets to work as priests as an alternative to the difficult task of organizing their fellow workers, which is essential to carry the strike forward to a victorious conclusion. This is not meant however to say that we must not support the extremely important role students can play, but rather to put the intervention of students in these struggles in its proper perspective.

It is necessary that the strikers at Schmidt Bakery carefully consider what the history of the strike and the previous attempts to organize Schmidt's have been. Several times in the past Schmidt has made use of procedural delays in NLRB election procedures to stall the strike and thus defeat organizing attempts. It should also be noted that several major bakers have a vested interest in seeing Schmidt smash the strike. We will not let any platitudes about "free competition" prevent them from helping out Schmidt.

Finally, the fact remains that production is still being made at Schmidt. Delivery trucks may receive some harassment but they still cross the lines to make pickups and deliveries. The strike is at a crossroads. Victory in this strike can be won if the rank and file take up a fight around the following demands:

1. All out until Schmidt gives union recognition.
2. No picketing at all entrances.
3. Area labor must give active support.

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN
MADISON, Wisc.—Over 70 people from throughout the Midwest attended the Workers League Educational Conference here on Oct. 3-4. Areas represented included Detroit, Mich.; Champlain, Ill.; Chicago; III.; St. Louis, Mo.; Minneapolis and Northfield, Minn.; as well as Madison.

Yesterday Fred Mueller gave a presentation on "Trotsky's Struggle Against Stalinism," noting that the Workers League Secretary of the Workers League, announced that the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist League had been invited to participate jointly with Trotsky's Memorial in Trotsky Memorial Meetings so that a common front could be built in the international movement with a report on the German working class, and films on the Young Socialists, the Workers Press and May-June 1968 in France.

Tim Wohlforth laid the burden of discussion on "Trotsky's Fight Against Revisionism." Wohlforth analyzed Trotsky's central struggle against pragmatism in 1940. "The very fate of the Fourth International was at stake in this discussion in which the CP offered to unite with the Trotskyite group. This is not a matter of right or wrong, but of the central fight for us today as well."

Wohlforth also analyzed George Novack's contributions to Marxist philosophy. He claimed that Novack took an ambiguous position on both formal logic and materialism, seeing the former as somehow essential, the latter as a negatively opposed to materialism. In the turn reflected a position on class struggle. The CP's attempt to change its tactics was in the same direction. The party is split."

The conference was part of nationwide activities commemorating Trotsky.

Fred Mueller (custo) who gave presentation on Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism, speaks informally with some of the more than seventy participants in conference.

They're not a matter of whether or not the Communist Party is weak or strong on a particular campaign. All those groups like PL and Mother Jones feed into the Communist Party, and reformism grows on the basis of the anti-theory pragmatism prevalent today.

The fundamental battle for leadership of the working class will be between Stalinism and Trotskyism."

At the beginning of the afternoon session, Tim Wohlforth announced the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists International Alliance had been invited to participate jointly with Trotsky's Memorial in Trotsky Memorial Meetings so that a common front could be built in the international movement with a report on the German working class, and films on the Young Socialists, the Workers Press and May-June 1968 in France.

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especially the slynesses of their style and other objections to the sharpness of some of the discussion. They did not see that this method reflects social classes and that sharpness is an asset in the class war. A battle is not a personal and not a substantive one.

EXTRACTION

The Program For Victory In The Schmidt Bakery Strike

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Towards winning this "support" these groups have organized the University Committee for Fair Labor Practices (a subcommittee of the Johns Hopkins strike committee) to call a demonstration for "common support of the strike" and to protect the pickets on students supporting the strike the previous weekend. Approximate youth support was estimated at 1,000.

Philly Teachers Must Prepare For Strike Oct. 15

BY A BULLETIN MEMBER
PHILADELPHIA.—As the Oct. 14 strike injunction deadline nears, the leadership of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) has shown that it will do everything in its power to avoid mobilizing the ranks for an effective strike and will back down on every key issue in the negotiations.

The city administration is going all out to break the teachers' union and yet the union leadership is bending over backward to find a compromise to the school board. The leadership has already demonstrated its willingness to sell out by giving to the school board much more than the longer work day, the right to discipline teachers through a far from accountable scheme, and by capitulating to community control.

An equally criminal role in this situation has been played by the so-called Progressive Caucus, which is supported mecifically by the Communist Party. By posing as "progressive" it has attracted many teachers who wish to fight and are looking for an alternative to the present PFT bureaucracy. But it has disarmed them through its support for community control. During the recent four day strike the leadership was taken by the conclusion— the Progressive Caucus stood for teachers in "community schools." Their responsiveness is nothing more than strikebreaking and union busting.

The recently formed Committee for New Leadership is fighting to mobilize the teachers to build the strike by opening the union to out of school teachers and to build a new leadership in the teachers' union around the following program:

1. $8,500 minimum pay now and a full cost of living escalator clause.

The leadership has raved in on this demand that clearly will only just meet the needs for raising teachers much less keep them abreast of inflation. The escalator clause, with no ceiling, is a contractual necessity if teachers' real wages are to keep abreast of inflation.

2. No accountability deals. This scheme of the Board of Education, which the present leadership was willing to negotiate, would impose a "community control" on the teaching over control, not only of the schools, but of society in the interests of both black and white workers. The only way forward is through the building of a political party of the entire working class, black and white, based on the trade unions.

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Eastern European

Comrades,

We are convinced that the Revolutionary International of Youth will be built! That it will attract the youth under the control of the Kremlin bureaucracy to the side of the young revolutionaries of the capitalist countries for the RIV answers their profound aspirations.

These youth, trapped in bureaucratic organizations, are seeking to create independent organizations. Excluded within these boundaries planted with mines, they are also seeking, more than any other youth, to form organic bonds with the youth of the whole world. The history of the political revolution in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union since 1953 is striking testimony of this. Even to this day, the resistance of the Czech workers continues, in the same way the youth play an important role in Yugoslavia, since the student struggles policy.

The bureaucratic system was forced to dissolve not less than eight youth organizations, and to complete these attacks with the liquidation of student, the newspaper of the revolutionary students.

The Revolutionary International of Youth not only correspond to the profound aspirations of these youth but at the same time constitutes a pole of political attraction on an international level.

Comrades,

This youth is not able to join you. Go to meet them! Go forward to build the Revolutionary Youth International everywhere in Eastern Europe!

Faced with its mortal crisis, imperialism has no other solution than the destruction of the working class and particularly its youth, as the bastion of the war against the workers and peasants of Indo-China shows. The bourgeoisie wants to expel millions of workers, youth, by various means, from production, from education, culture and leisure.

At the same time they increase their pressure on the countries of Eastern Europe in order to penetrate them and destroy the socialist conquests. In these countries where the bourgeoisie was expropriated and where its power was overthrown, the Kremlin bureaucracy and its satellites in order to preserve their privileges, transmit this pressure onto the backs of the workers and youth. This policy is a direct attack against the socialist conquests of the October Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky.

By its cooperation and class collaboration with world imperialism the bureaucratism is the agent of imperialism and its attack on the socialist conquests.

In these countries also it is the youth who are most affected, a number of places in secondary and higher education is shrinking in relation to needs, the number of places for children from working class or poor peasant backgrounds is increasingly smaller. Housing conditions are

Real Politics Of Labor Committee

PART TWO OF A TWO PART SERIES

BY FRED MUELLER

IN THE MOST recent issue of The Campaigner the Labor Committee's editorial in its editorial reveals its false conception of labor history when it takes up what it calls "The First Congress of the Communist League" on p. 11, as far as a Marxist approach to the labor movement is concerned.

The big blunder, it seems, is the slogan of a labor party based on the unions.

The message, according to the editorial, is the "most systematically developed blunder." Trotsky was correct in advocating it in 1938, but it is no longer correct because now the labor movement is reactional, parochial, not a mass political strike movement.

As we can see, however, the slogan of a labor party was based upon a conception of the trade unions in an entire epoch.

If, as the Labor Committee wishes to have this slogan viewed, it must also show that Trotsky's conception of the trade unions for this epoch was incorrect, or that we are in a different epoch.

The Labor Committee's agreement with the slogan of the labor party for 1938 is thus not an agreement on method at all.

TROTSKY

We must refer back to Trotsky's 1938 discussions once more in order to clarify this. The Labor Committee claims that Trotsky's incorrect conception of the labor movement was to blame for the incorrect or incorrectness of this assessment for the moment, let us see how Trotsky approached this question:

"I say here what I said about the whole program of transitional demands. The problem is not the mood of the masses but the objective situation, and our job is to confront the backward material of the masses with the tasks that labor is only by objective facts and not by psychology. If the class struggle is not to be crushed, replaced by demoralization, then the movement must find a new channel and this channel is political. That is the fundamental argument in favor of this slogan.

Marcus and the Labor Committee are prepared to recognize the need of the labor movement to go beyond pure and simple trade unionism. But they reject the fight against the bureaucratic tendencies on the ground that they reject a fight within the unions against the bureaucracy.

The Labor Committee begins as we have shown with a formal conception of the trade union, not from the actual development of the class struggle and working class organization. Let us consider this with formal schemes which they counterpose to the actual struggle and development of the existing organizations of the class. The method in both cases is exactly the same. They take with schematic imposed upon reality from outside, not with the actual struggle and development in its self-movement, through internal contradiction.

The disregard for the existing organizations and gains of the working class, gains which have been won through decades of bloody battle, corresponds to the pragmatic concern with the "concrete political questions." The history of the labor and socialist movement is approached by the Labor Committee only in order to deny its importance, in order to conclude that there is nothing more but a real guide to determine that the struggles of the 1930s are not really relevant.

IDEALISM

This "theoretically nothing but contempt for theory. It is pure idealism, the method begins with the battle of ideas in the abstract, ideas which are not a reflection of living class forces but which have an independent existence themselves. And the Labor Committee proposes, for "cross-union caucuses" and "socialist reindustrialization," with which we will deal further, are nothing but expressions of pragmatism, of "better ideas" which they openly say it is their job to explain to the workers.

It is necessary to go into some detail on the consequences of the Labor Committee's contempt for history. It approaches the tendencies in the working class movement by abstracting these tendencies and their perspective role from their history, from the tragic consequences of the betrayal of working class leadership in the last four decades.

As we have pointed out, the Labor Committee does not deem it necessary to take up the tendencies of Stalinism for a large, clear and at their best concept, or their battle today. It is merely a matter of comparing the present programs of these organizations which claim to be Communist or Trotskyist. The Labor Committee finds the programs difficult --that is all! As to the role played by these organizations, including the SWP, and the CP, which is not really important.

In the above mentioned editorial, for instance, there is a reference to the "two... variations of a transitional movement most likely to become popular, therefore visible, in the theory of Fascism in the U.S. in the coming period." Now one of these great blunders is the labor party slogan, with which we have dealt in some detail. The other "variation" --is incoherent to both the Old and Trotskyist organizations and their programs.

That is in the business of forming organizations which consist only of trade unionists.

STALINISM

Now this is truly a pitiful sounding. Discussing the two most likely traps for the working class, the major blinder is the "Trotskyist tactic" of the labor party.

Missing only is the Stalinist (not Communist, Mr. Marcus) policy of the popular front, of class collaboration, of alliance with the trade union bureaucracy against the working class. This is the betrayal of the CP which would certainly guarantee the victory of Fascism.

Further, the editorial states that the Communist Party has moved "decisely to the Socialists Workers Party and most other socialist groups to the extent of attempting to organize a new political alliance of 'rank and file' labor forces and certain of their allies." But, according to the CP seems to have learned absolutely nothing from the experience of the late 1930s and early to mid-1940s; the CP has, essentially, "supported Trotskyism."

Thus the CP has moved "decisely to the left!" but this takes the form of reformism, the most treacherous adaptation to the labor bureaucracy and the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie.

ROLE

The answer to the puzzle of course is that the CP has not moved to the left but has in fact moved towards the left in order to preserve its policy of the popular front in a modern version, that the bureaucratism there is a class role which is required by capitalism and which the Stalinists are ready willing and able to fill. The bourgeoisie requires a left, "Communist" tendency which will serve as a cover for the bureaucracy and the liberals, become a part of the bureaucracy, and prevent a political confrontation between the workers and employers. That is, in fact, the growth of the CP is both symptomatic of the developing crisis and a grave danger to the American working class which must be combatted day in and day out by the revolutionary movement.

In the Labor Committee prepared to do battle along these lines? The answer should be evident. Precisely because the questions of Stalinism and Trotskyism are unimportant, they can report that the CP "seems to have learned absolutely nothing." How can we expect the Stalinist bureaucracy and its agents to learn, when
Millets And The 4th International

In the resistance to the invaders and to the "normalization"—which have showed the extraordinary aggressiveness of the youth and the primary role they play in these struggles. Today in the Soviet Union itself, there is a growing communist opposition: the young worker Anatoly Marticheko, the workers' activist, Yuri Daniel and Boulevestri, the trade unionist of Leningrad, and they have joined the older ones like Grigoranko and who have made this new wave of opposition whose courageous fight heralds the entry into struggle of the Russian youth.

Comrades,

The bureaucracy has no other answer to the demands of the workers and the working masses. Two of the main pillars of the bureaucratic regime have fallen: a number of thousands of militant communists and youth are threatened, whitewashed, arrested and put in jail in the Czechoslovak, in Poland, in Yugoslavia and in the Soviet Union.

Comrades,

We shall never accept the "normalization" that the bureaucracy wants to impose, especially on the workers and youth of Czechoslovakia. It is one of the most decisive measures of the bureaucratic regime.

Czechoslovakian students demonstrate against Soviet invasion in Prague, 1968.

A Bridge to Stalinist Betrayal

their function has been to betray the working class for the last 40 years. It is not a question of a political movement, but of exposing and fighting it mercilessly. For that is the only road to clarity in criticizing and eliminating it. This is the decision of the CP, the SWP, the CPSU, the Workers League, et al. After re-gretting the blackheads of the Stalinists, the editorial, actually excludes the possibility of any common activities of the Fourth International.

The question that does not see any class difference between Stalinism and its critics is the question of the Union of the Catholics and the hard core of the working class. This is the question of the Left, of the CP, the SWP, the CPSU, the Workers League, et al. After re- gretting the blackheads of the Stalinists, the editorial actually excludes the possibility of any common activities of the Fourth International.

The Bridge

These cross union caucuses are evi- dence of the struggle for socialism, not employed, minorities and students. The labor movement that shares the Left, the concept of the organized workers out of their own initiative. In the guise of ordaining towards the entire working class and the oppressed masses, they obscure the question of the decisive leadership role which can and must be played by the working class and the working movement.

Left to the Bridge is proceeding from the surface appearance of class fractionalism the theoretical, and not sections of the class, not from objc- tion of the masses.

We do not counterpose union caucuses to broader forms encompassing trade unions and the genuine labor movement. The work of a few members of the CP, the SWP, the CPSU, the Workers League, et al. After re- gretting the blackheads of the Stalinists, the editorial actually excludes the possibility of any common activities of the Fourth International.

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Fremont Auto Worker Speaks Out on Strike

Herrera has issued press statements in which he has attempted to link the recent bombings that occurred at both the American Dye and Fremont Ford plant in Milpitas to "inflammatory literature distributed to the workers outside the plant by a Socialist Workers Party and SDS." He has established a "leadership liaison committee," of local workers to work with the Fremont Police Department and Bay Area Mofo! Black Panther Squad in a blatant effort to intimidate those of this local in preparation for the settlement.

Management can only be seen joining hands with Herrera and BOM officials in the back room of the Fremont Police Station to help mark out this campaign by supplying full police cooperation.

As a result of this action, which is being threatened by Herrera's goon squad and run off by Fremont Police under threats of arrest, as well as other political tendencies who attempt to hand out their red literature, Herrera has also run our union property into a garrison in order to stop security squads of the unions who are with clubs under the pretext that the union is under attack from "jailbirds, rumblehead students" who want to blow up our union building with a bomb and therefore it must be guarded 24 hours a day with squads ranging up to 50 men. The absurdity of all this is that the good workers are being attacked by the management, who are trying to create the illusion that they are under attack from the "left" that are in the union.

A result of all this is that there is a split in the union, and in the plant, and in the company, and in the community.

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Marxism and American Pragmatism

Lecturer: Tim Wohlforth

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October 12, 1970

West Coast BULLETIN

Page 32

Q. What is the situation on the wages question in this strike?

A. Wages are very important, the workers are aware of their union benefits in this strike. The workers watched the GE strike feeling a common identification and not only on the struggle for a better settlement. When the GE MoCo Committee appeared with their basket, they got $300.00. The postal strike came right on its heels and established real strong idenity with the auto workers who defined the strike.

Q. Why couldn't any one on the line who defended the government or union bureaucracy. The government was thoroughly exposed over an employer, a red union, and with the postal strike came the Teamsters' struggle which raised hopes that auto workers could duplicate what the Teamsters did. Auto workers thought the first offer of a $15 was a good offer. When the Teamsters turned it down, the auto workers threatened to throw the whole plant, saying: Why can't we wage a real struggle?

A. A militant Teamsters came into the auto workers and after the down trucking the workers at the plant went on strike, and the parts delivery would shut down the plant. When workers brought up the idea that if the part delivery was shut down, the part delivery would be on the plant entrance idea spread to support the Teamsters by shutting down the plant. At lunch the workers thought to talk to the pickets and throw up a support line.

Q. What were the conditions in the plant like before the strike?

A. In 1968, 100 workers we have a grievance backlog of 3,100 grievances that lay dormant some as long as three years. The majority are hard core grievances involving retaliation and suspension. The thing that worries management and union is that the majority of the union members have little faith in the grievance procedure. This leads to the development of cynicism and individual forms of resistance to speed-up and working conditions.

The grievance procedure no longer serves its function as a safety valve to keep the steam hammer away from the factory floor that takes on very violent aspects. The grievance file represents the visible tip of the iceberg.

The invisible grievances that go unfiled have hardened minds into an atmosphere of violence and sabotage become common as the class struggle intensifies in the plant. The worker is acutely aware of his lack of power over all aspects of work life: pace and production.

This work is agonizingly boring. The happiest moment in the life of an auto worker is when the line breaks down or the work is held up. Workers are increasingly ready to wage a class struggle with the workers assembled on this line. They were promising on this really respond. One worker said he was prepared to man barricades for 24 hours, not to back down, but that he had a chance for the shorter work week.

In two years there has not been a quorum at union meetings more than six times which shows complete lack of confidence in the bureaucracy.

Q. Could you explain just what your union leadership is planning to do about the Fremont, does a real threat exist or is in being manufactured?

A. The UAW leadership has generated a witchhunt atmosphere by initiating goon squads and bail bondsman, Chairman Clifton in his local in order to intimidate the militants and prepare the rank and file for a jailbreak.

They further reveal their full potential as policemen for the capitalist system in a role that they will have to play from here on out more openly.

This is clearly a crisis of leadership that has the UAW bureaucracy frightened of how they can protect the ranks by bleeding off their fighting militancy in a lengthy strike without damaging their control over the rank and file. Above all else they must isolate the ranks against Marxist ideology. The political tendencies and their press have enjoyed stepped-up sales at the plant in the preceding strike of this year.

Even new workers are coming into the plant, the auto workers threatened to throw the whole plant, saying: Why can't we wage a real struggle?

A. Widespread Teamsters came into the auto workers and after the down trucking the workers at the plant went on strike, and the parts delivery would shut down the plant. When workers brought up the idea that if the part delivery was shut down, the part delivery would be on the plant entrance idea spread to support the Teamsters by shutting down the plant. At lunch the workers thought to talk to the pickets and throw up a support line.

Q. How can a fight be carried out to win all these? What are the strategies that we have to carry out? We are talking about putting down the industrial society, making the local an industrial base.

A. As a result of this action, which is being threatened by Herrera's goon squad and run off by Fremont Police under threats of arrest, as well as other political tendencies who attempt to hand out their red literature, Herrera has also run our union property into a garrison in order to stop security squads of the unions who are with clubs under the pretext that the union is under attack from "jailbirds, rumblehead students" who want to blow up our union building with a bomb and therefore it must be guarded 24 hours a day with squads ranging up to 50 men. The absurdity of all this is that the good workers are being attacked by the management, who are trying to create the illusion that they are under attack from the "left" that are in the union.

A result of all this is that there is a split in the union, and in the plant, and in the company, and in the community.

A. This is precisely the duty of this government, railroad workers on the offensive and pinning the employer with the offensive. Get the right to use court injunctions, back to work orders, wages and working conditions, as a last resort the army and National Guard could be put on standby to rescue the bosses.

We would then have to match this kind of struggle with a working class struggle by all of labor to offset this serious threat and take the offensive against the political party of labor based on trade unionism and political party settlement to this struggle.

Many misconceptions about the struggle which are being dispelled will be on the line now taking place.

Q. What has been the response to the picketing?

A. Herrera was projecting in the press that there might not even be a strike, he played up the possibility of the strike. Workers while the UAC was fighting to stop the strike, the UAC charged with a solid red flag, the leaflets were not even available, not, skirts, a common language, had a common identity.

A. Herrera has issued press statements in which he has attempted to link the recent bombings that occurred at both the American Dye and Fremont Ford plant in Milpitas to "inflammatory literature distributed to the workers outside the plant by a Socialist Workers Party and SDS." He has established a "leadership liaison committee," of local workers to work with the Fremont Police Department and Bay Area Mofo! Black Panther Squad in a blatant effort to intimidate those of this local in preparation for the settlement.

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