

Workers Fight Concentration Camps-

CIVIL WAR FLARES IN NORTH IRELAND

Page 2



What we think

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The bureaucracy which consolidated power in the Soviet Union after the ebb of the revolution in the 1920s sought to protect its privileges through collaboration with imperialism.

The bureaucracy, although it has not yet been able to destroy all of the conquests of October, has nothing to do with socialism. It is the gravedigger of socialism, the agency of the class enemy in the working class movement.

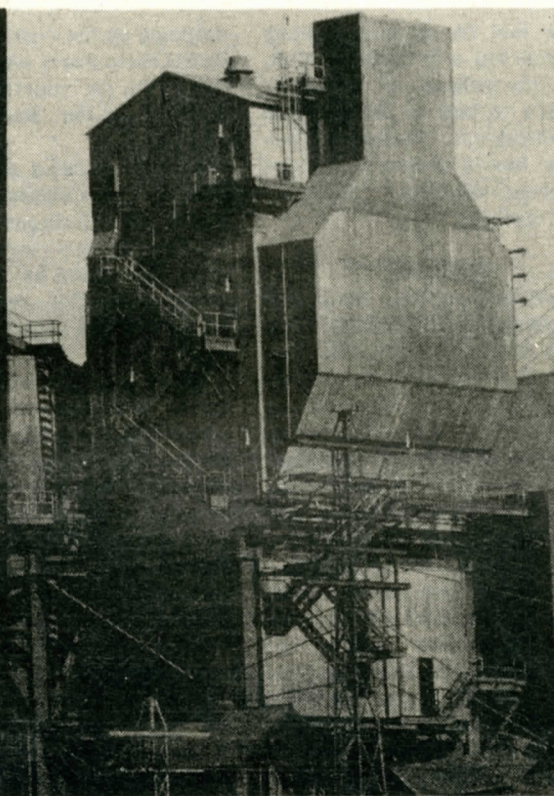
A corollary to the peaceful

(Continued On Page 6)

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Page 5





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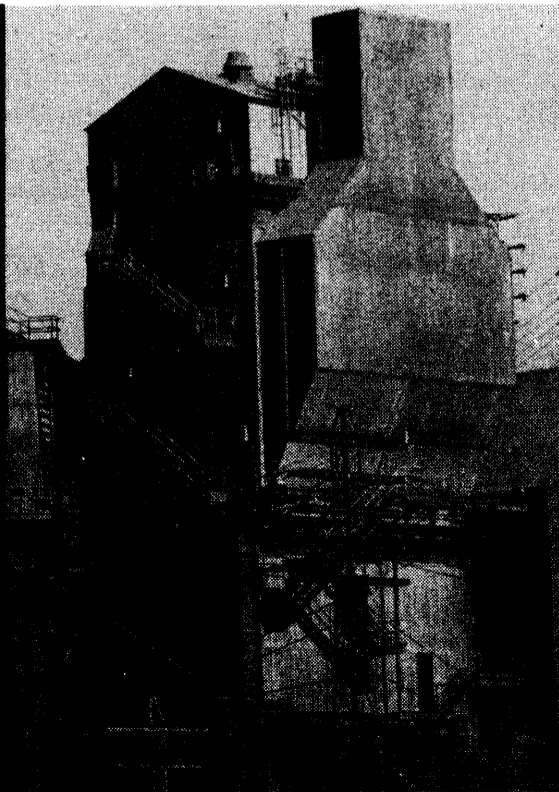
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(Continued On Page 6)

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Page 5



New War Erupts In N. Ireland

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The Tories of Northern Ireland invoked preventive detention powers on August 9th. At 4am British army and police seized more than 300 suspected leaders of the Irish Republican Army. Prime Minister Faulkner announced the detention move later that day.

In its August 7th issue, the *Workers Press*, daily organ of the British Socialist Labour League, warned prophetically:

"Under the Emergency Powers Act they can detain 'suspects' without trial and intern them in special concentration camps. There is ample evidence that this step is just around the corner.

"The Tories are simply biding their time until they have a favorable moment when they can catch the Republican leadership in their net: then they will pounce."

Less than two days later the Tories made their move.

Ulster has been in a state of civil war for some time. There are shooting and bombing incidents daily. It is a disaster area of huge unemployment, slum housing and religious tension fanned by the capitalist class.

The employers can only maintain their system by grinding larger and larger numbers of workers into abysmal poverty. At the same time they pit Protestant and Catholic workers against each other to prop up the regime.

The British forces in Northern Ireland are there for provocation and repression of the Catholic working class. Just last week a Catholic father of six was killed when his truck backfired as it was passing a Belfast police station, and soldiers came out immediately and shot him dead.

The Catholic workers and youth have reacted bitterly and immediately to the latest government move. In Belfast, Londonderry, Newry and Fermanagh prolonged street battles took place. In the first 24 hours at least 12 dead were reported.

Preventive detention is allowed by the Special Powers Act, applying only to Ulster. But the Tories are speaking more and more of applying these measures

in Britain, beginning in cities like Glasgow and Liverpool with high concentrations of unemployed workers and youth.

The Protestant-dominated northern counties were carved out of Ireland to divide the Irish working class and maintain an outpost for British imperialism. And the attack in Northern Ireland is only the preparation for Britain.

The Industrial Relations Bill means war against the unions and

the entire working class, and the employers are preparing to use the same measures against workers who fight back that they are presently using in Ulster. The British Trotskyists are therefore fighting today as they have from the very first for the removal of all British troops from Ulster.

Nixon is also not far behind the Tories of Britain and Northern Ireland. His own proposal for preventive detention is being kept in readiness, to be brought forward at the appropriate time as the capitalists prepare for all out war on the working class here in the U.S. Preventive detention means open class war, and poses the need to unite the working class in order to bring down capitalism.



Street fights turn into pitched battles in N. Ireland as Catholic workers struggle against Tory concentration camps and mass arrests.

CP Diverts Clyde Occupation

BY MELODY FARROW

The Upper Clyde shipyard workers in Scotland who have been fighting to save their jobs are now facing the gravest dangers.

The workers occupied the yards on August 1st after the Tory government announced that the Upper Clyde yards were bankrupt and that 6,000 workers would be sacked. Unemployment in the Clyde is already near the highest in Britain, and the latest Tory moves threaten to bring the unemployment rate in this area to as high as 18%,

according to some estimates.

The Tory move against the Upper Clyde workers marks a new stage in the class struggle in Britain. It coincides with the enactment into law of the Tory Industrial Relations Bill, which took effect on August 5th. This vicious law means essentially the end of independent trade unionism in Britain.



Upper Clyde Shipyards which workers have occupied against mass layoffs threatened by the Tories.

It contains every form of vicious anti-union legislation ever enacted. Through its provisions for registration of unions, heavy penalties for those not cooperating with state control, and moves to outlaw unofficial strikes, it aims to take the British working class back 171 years, to the Combination Laws against the unions in 1800.

The proposed entry into the Common Market, the Tory wages policy, the carve up of Upper Clyde and the layoffs of Rolls

Royce, together with the Industrial Relations Bill, are all part of the capitalists' aim of destroying the organized strength of the working class. For the employers and their government this is the only way to restore profitability to their system.

POLITICAL

The Upper Clyde workers cannot gain anything without a political struggle to bring down the Tory government. This vicious

(Continued On Page 12)

CIA Assassination Program Revealed

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

"Operation Phoenix" was started by the Central Intelligence Agency in 1967. Testifying before the House Foreign Relations Operations Subcommittee, William E.

Colby, former chief of American "pacification" in South Vietnam explained its purpose: assassination and murder.

"Operation Phoenix" was designed to identify political leaders of the Viet Cong, "persuade" them to defect, jail or kill them.

More than \$700 million was appropriated by Congress for these murder squads. The assassination quota for 1970 was 1800 "eliminations" a month, or 21,600 a year. This quota was met by the special police trained by the CIA—22,341 Vietnamese are listed as killed, captured or defected last year.

The secret police who carry out "Operation Phoenix" are able to jail anyone without evidence, charge or trial, and to hold suspects for two years without trial. They are trained and paid by the CIA, and the interrogation and operation centers which "Operation Phoenix" run in each district are staffed by U.S. Army advisors.

According to Colby, 60,000 Vietnamese civilians have been assassinated under this program.

The Viet Cong political structure is still intact. Now the CIA has announced bounties, of up to \$11,000 each, for the capture or murder of key NLF leaders in South Vietnam.

These murder squads run by Nixon and the CIA show the cold-blooded viciousness of the ruling class when it is confronted with the specter of defeat.

Wallace Opens '72 Campaign

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

George Wallace's announcement of his candidacy for the presidency comes at a time of the sharpest crisis of capitalism as the rulers prepare their war against the working class to save their collapsing system.

In the 1968 Presidential elections, Wallace based his platform on "law and order" and aimed his wrath at the Blacks and youth who he said were the cause of all the problems in America.

But it was these youth and Blacks who were struggling against the imperialist war in Vietnam, racism and the tremendous unemployment and misery facing the mass of Blacks in America. These forces expressed the beginning of the movement of the working class onto the stage of great class battles.

Now that the economic crisis has reached a breaking point, with the refusal of American workers to bow to the needs of the employers, Wallace's candidacy has a deeper and more dangerous meaning for the working class.

FEEDING

Since his election, Nixon has been feeding all the right wing forces in the country. He has attacked the school desegregation in the South, launched invasions of Laos and Cambodia, attempted to suppress the press, drawn closer to the fascist regimes in Spain and Greece and now has a bill before Congress directed against the transportation unions which is more deadly than the Taft-Hartley Act.

Vice President Agnew has been Nixon's mouthpiece in preparing "public opinion" for these and other moves in his galavanting across the country and the world, spouting racist and anti-working class epithets and

whipping up the right wing. The Democratic Party has also aided this with its courtship with Wallace and the Southern bourgeoisie.

Now Wallace is preparing to build on Nixon's groundwork. His brand of populism poses the most serious dangers for the working class movement as it becomes a center for the organization of fascist forces against the working class.

Large sections of the middle class feel threatened by the crisis and are disillusioned with Nixon. Wallace is preying precisely on these sections when he attacks Nixon for not being harsh enough with the youth. His denunciations of Nixon's maneuvers with China and on Nixon's inability to proceed further against desegregation serve the same purpose.

These sections of the middle class have always formed the basis for fascism and this movement can be seen developing today in Europe as well. The

growth of fascism in Italy is a sharp warning to American workers. It has been fed by the collaboration of the Italian CP with the capitalists and its refusal to lead the fight for power.

Wallace will take advantage of the break up of the Democratic Party which lies in shambles. The potential for smashing Wallace and his brothers in the Democratic and Republican Parties is great as more and more workers see the bankruptcy of the unions' ties to the Democratic Party.

The danger lies in the role of the trade union bureaucracy and its allies in the Communist Party which will seek to head off the independent movement in political struggle of the working class and the formation of the labor party into continued support to the Democratic Party or through coalitions with the "liberals."

This fight must be taken up by the ranks of the labor movement.

Dollar Crisis Threatens Collapse

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

Just two short weeks after Nixon's China coup, a renewed upsurge of the world monetary crisis threatens to throw U.S. and world capitalism into a collapse that will dwarf the crash of 1929. Nixon's policies are thus once again reduced to shambles.

The complete bankruptcy of all Nixon's remedies for this deepening economic crisis is now revealed for all to see. In fact it is no exaggeration to say that Nixon has now totally lost his grip on the economic situation and that it is raging out of control.

From the standpoint of the capitalist class, the record of the last two weeks is the most dismal to date. First came the revelation that Nixon had run the 1971 budget a staggering 23 billion dollars into the red. Then came the announcement that the American trade balance was for the first time in history in deficit for the first six months of the year.

The statistics, reflecting an unprecedented deterioration of the inflationary situation, were immediately supplemented with yet another set of dismal figures for the month of July 1971. These statistics showed that hand in hand with the continued plummeting of the economy towards slump and depression, inflation was continuing unabated.

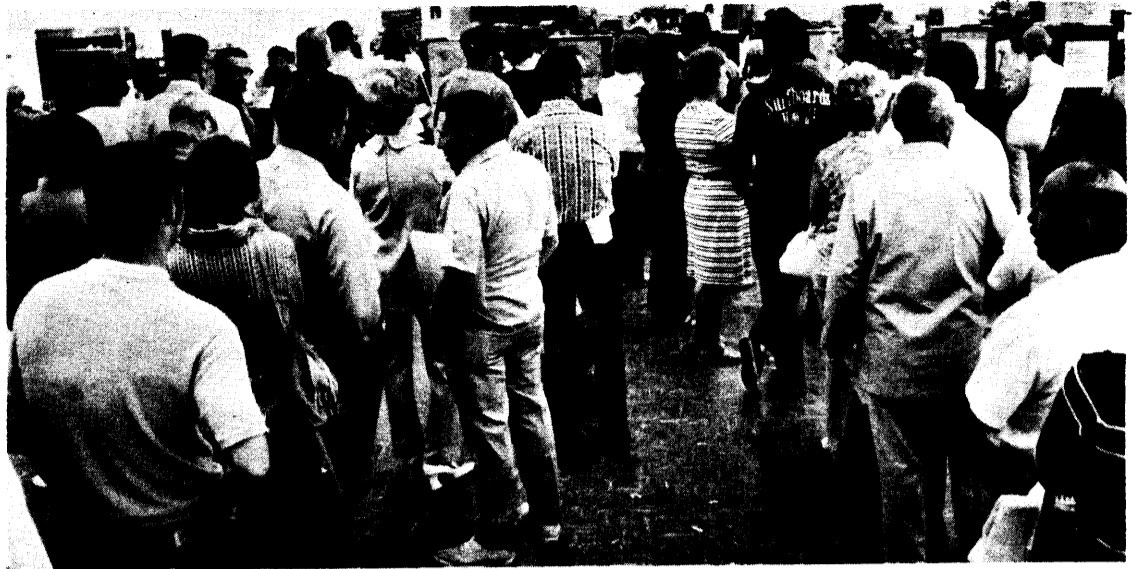
In July unemployment rose to 5.8 percent. This does not even include the recent massive layoffs in steel. At the same time the wholesale price index, a key index of inflation, rose in July a huge 0.7%, the steepest climb in 15 years.

The reaction of world bankers and speculators of all kinds to this situation now reflects the almost total loss of confidence in all quarters that the existing monetary arrangements established at Bretton Woods in 1944 can be preserved any longer.

Accordingly, while the price of gold on the London exchange soared last week to \$43 per ounce U.S. gold stocks were driven below their 10 billion dollar floor to the lowest level since 1938.

Simultaneously huge amounts of speculative dollars flowed into France in anticipation of either an imminent devaluation of the dollar or a possible revaluation of the franc, forcing the French government to slap on strict controls.

(Continued On Page 12)



As of July, unemployment figures show 5.8 percent of American workers out of a job. Now with the collapse of the dollar, Nixon's reflation is disintegrating and preparing the conditions for unemployment more massive than the 1930s.

Scotto Scabs On ILWU Strike

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEW YORK—As the West Coast longshoremen's strike goes into its sixth week, ILA President Gleason continues to allow West Coast shipping to be unloaded on the East Coast.

Japanese freighters are being unloaded on the Brooklyn docks without Scotto or Gleason saying a word. In the meantime these shippers are preparing the same thing for the ILA when its contract comes up on September 30th.

HOT AIR

All the talk about merging the longshore unions and solidarity between the ILA and the ILWU amounts to so much hot air when it gets down to the concrete meaning of unity.

At this level, these bureaucrats are more concerned about maintaining their own jobs and special interests than in uniting longshoremen nationwide against the shipping bosses and the govern-

ment's intentions to intervene on the side of the companies.

What is to stop Bridges and the ILWU bureaucracy from scabbing on the ILA strike if their strike is over by then, unless there is a conscious effort now to unify the struggle against the owners?

Instead, Scotto is using another serious matter in order to cover up the tracks of his retreat from this central question.

Four thousand longshoremen and at least 16,000 other workers may lose their jobs because of an increase in lighterage fees by the Penn Central Railroad.

CLOSING

These fees cover the use of barges which carry cargo from

unloaded ships to shore. Previously, they had been included in the original freight costs.

Now, the chronic financial crisis facing Penn Central is colliding with the crisis hitting the shipping industry. The result may be the closing of the Brooklyn waterfront and the destruction of 20,000 jobs.

ALLIANCE

So Anthony Scotto of ILA Local 1814 allies with the shipowners and Port Authority against the lighterage fees while ignoring the upcoming strike. On this, though, there can be no alliance with the owners. No matter how hard Gleason and Scotto may try to get one, the rank and file will not allow it.

The dockers have nothing to gain by taking sides in a squabble between two sections of the bosses. The ILA must demand and fight for the maintenance of the Brooklyn docks regardless of what happens—be it containerization or lighterage fees. No jobs must be cut!

PROGRAM

But this can only be won as the result of a struggle centered around the following demands and to carry forward a strike on September 30th with or without Gleason and Scotto:

- No more West Coast cargo to be handled through East Coast docks!
- No retreat on the Guarantee; Update the GAI to full 40 hour weekly payments, for ALL workers in all ports!
- \$7.50 an hour wage increase with a full cost of living escalator clause. Six hour day with no loss in pay!
- No cuts in gang size!
- \$500 pension after 20 years regardless of age!
- All benefits now based on man hours be based on the tonnage handled in the port!
- 15 days paid sick leave for ALL men whether working or on the GAI!
- Nationalize shipping and the docks under rank and file control and without compensation to the owners!
- No more support for strike-breaking Democratic and Republican parties—Build a labor party for the 1972 elections.

CAUCUS

The rapid retreat by Gleason and Scotto from any sort of struggle makes urgent the formation of a rank and file caucus in all ILA Locals to fight for this program.

CP Diverts Fight For Jobless

BY

MAXIMILIANO ARANJUEZ

Unemployment soared last month hitting out at all sections of the working class. The youth, in particular, have felt the real brunt of this. Youth unemployment now stands at over sixteen percent and among minority youth it is twice as high.

The fast growing unemployment lines raises sharply the necessity of the unions to take up the fight uniting employed and unemployed in a fight for full employment.

On August 4th a meeting was held in New York at District 65 for the purpose of fighting the growing unemployment. The meeting was sponsored by the Committee to Organize the Unemployed and by trade union officials such as Stanley Hill, President of SSEU-371 and Al Evanoff, Vice-President of District 65.

However, from the very beginning it was clear that this group, which is politically dominated by the Communist Party, only has in mind diverting the rising anger of the youth and any real fight against unemployment.

Their proposal to fight unemployment centered around the call for a demonstration sometime in September around the demand of free subway fares for the unemployed and welfare recipients.

Some of the CP speakers proposed that "pressure" be put on those politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties in the New York State Assembly that would be receptive to that demand and to the passing of legislation that would "alleviate" the problem of unemployment.

This is the same treacherous policy that the CP followed in the

1930s and which if not fought and defeated will certainly send the working class back to the '30s.

The Workers League fought for a perspective to eliminate unemployment through a fight against capitalism. Workers League spokesmen pointed out that the rising unemployment was a weapon in the hands of the employers and their government against the organized trade union movement and therefore it was the responsibility of the trade union movement to lead the fight against unemployment through a fight for jobs for all and a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. We said that Hill and Evanoff's involvement in the fight against unemployment was important but their attempt to hide behind the fig leaf of a single leaflet cannot mobilize the unions and the jobless in the fight that is necessary.

The youth must now mobilize with the trade unionists in a fight for the unions to organize a massive demonstration against unemployment as a first step in uniting the employed and unemployed. This demonstration must center on the fight for a labor party. The Democratic and Republican politicians in Albany and Washington have made clear where they stand with their budget cuts and calls for wage freezes.

It is the labor party which will bring together the youth, the unemployed and employed in a battle for full employment for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay and the nationalization of the corporations under workers control which say they cannot provide jobs.

Kahane Blesses JDL Gun-buying

BY ED BERGONZI

NEW YORK—A spokesman for the Jewish Defense League announced last week that the group is purchasing shotguns and rifles which are being sold at cost in the Williamsburg neighborhood of Brooklyn.

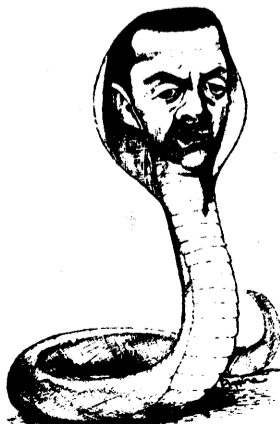
This announcement was made at the basement of a Williamsburg synagogue, while JDL leader Kahane stood "innocently" by. Kahane, who pleaded guilty last month to federal charges of conspiring to make bombs, was given a mere slap on the wrist; a five year suspended sentence and probation under an order to have nothing to do with guns, bombs or other lethal devices. His sentence was worked out directly with the Justice Department.

Yet, here stands Kahane, who had just arrived at the synagogue from a meeting with his probation officer in Brooklyn Federal Court House, flanked by armed JDLers. When asked by a reporter what he was doing, Kahane replied; "I'm not here. I don't know anything about it. I was here to pray today, that's all."

Thus, while Black and working class militants increasingly face frameup trials and jail sentences, the JDL is given the green light to arm itself for the tasks ahead. One does not need much imagination to visualize what would happen if the Black Panther Party or any other "left" organization made such an announcement.

Nixon by encouraging fascist thugs like Kahane to get off scot free, is consciously stren-

gthening the right wing, in preparation for hammer blows against the American working class. The JDL will play a front line role as armed thugs representing the interests of capitalism.



Meir Kahane

CWA HEADS HINT AT WAGE RETREAT

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—CWA Local 1101 and most other CWA locals in New York State are going into their fourth week on the picket lines after rejecting the settlement announced by the International union president, Joseph A. Beirne, on July 29th.

The CWA ranks are facing a very critical period in this strike. The 1101 leadership has pledged to maintain the strike until the demand for 25% in the first year is won as well as the increased cost of living demanded by the workers in the New York area.

However, at a rally called by several of the downstate locals on August 10th, Carnivale (president of 1101) made it quite clear that he has no intention of fighting on the national issues, for the 25% first year.

He said: "This contract may be all right if you live in Mississippi, but if you live in New York, it's no good." The fight for the 25% first year must be a national fight, and the regional cost of living as well cannot be won without national support.

UNACCEPTABLE

Carnivale and the other New York local leaderships are letting Beirne off the hook. Beirne has attempted to serve the ranks a completely unacceptable contract, and he has retreated on his promise that "if even one local rejects the contract, it is rejected nationally." The New York locals are in a good position to force a national rejection and send Beirne back to the bargaining table. The New York area is a key communications area, and the ranks here must take up this fight for national rejection and no retreat on the wage demand.

Last spring the Teamsters were faced with a similar situation. The Chicago Teamsters launched a campaign against a similar retreat by the International, for a national re-



President Carnivale of Local 1101, CWA.

Nixon Revives SACB Witchhunt Role

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Nixon Administration has taken another step in the direction of Bonapartist dictatorship and the destruction of the democratic rights of the working class.

Last month Nixon requested \$450,000 from Congress to extend the life of the Subversive Activities Control Board. At the same time he issued an executive order giving the SACB new powers to exclude from government employment those who belong to or even have "sympa-

jection of a \$1.10 increase, and finally won \$1.65 over three years, a real breakthrough in the wages fight.

MILITANT

The CWA leadership is faced with a militant rank and file, particularly in New York, but these ranks must not allow Carnivale to channel that militancy into a capitulation to Beirne. An all out fight must be begun to mobilize the rank and file on a national basis to fight for the 25% in the first year, full cost of living escalator on a regional basis, 30 years and out at \$500.

The ranks of Local 1101 must demand that their leadership do this immediately, calling on the other locals to join the fight. Carnivale must not be allowed to compromise by pitting the New York workers against those throughout the rest of the country. All CWA workers will be sold out if a national campaign is not begun, not only in the CWA itself, but all TTU locals as well, to shut down the communications industry, send Beirne back to the negotiating table, and win a decent contract!

BY BRIDGET ELLIOTT

Since the oral arguments were heard in the Court of Appeals on the Juan Farinas case, the Juan Farinas Defense Committee has collected over 5,000 signatures on petitions demanding the reversal of the lower court conviction. The vast majority of this support has come from the labor movement and the youth.

Juan Farinas, a supporter of the Workers League, was tried and convicted last December 10-11 on three counts of violating the Selective Service Act. On January 29 he was sentenced to two years in jail and bail was set at \$5,000. His only "crime" was to distribute a leaflet condemning the Vietnam War at the Whitehall Induction Center in the summer of 1968.

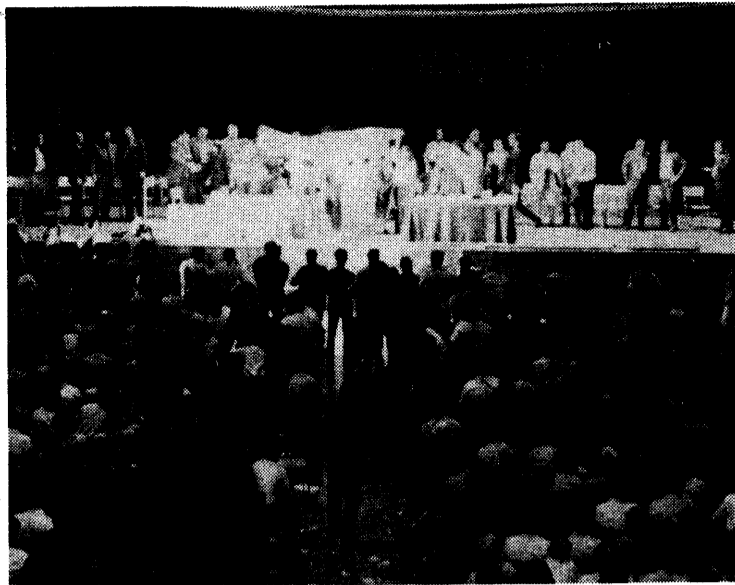
On June 30, in a last minute move before the summer court

recess, the Second Circuit of the Court of Appeals heard the arguments. A decision is expected at or before the opening of the fall term of the court.

The offensive against the Vietnam War is rapidly growing throughout the country. The Pentagon revelations blew the remaining shreds of faith of the working class in "their" government sky high.

The central strategy of Farinas' defense has been from the beginning that the only way to win for himself and all political prisoners was through the mobilization of the working class and youth against these repressive attacks of the government. This strategy is being put into practice as the working class says no to the war.

From the labor movement, representatives of over half a million workers are sending statements to the Court demanding the release of Farinas.



Meeting of Local 1101, CWA at Manhattan Center on July 29. The ranks overwhelmingly rejected the contract.

N.Y.C. WILL CUT MEDICAL CARE

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

A study done by the Federal government and released last week says that medical costs will rise by 50 per cent in the next three years. A worker's family will pay an additional \$200 for increases in health insurance.

The government's study was conducted in the light of two health plans being discussed by Congress, one proposed by Nixon and the other by Kennedy. Both of these plans will make the workers pay out of their pockets with varying amounts contributed by the employers and the government.

What benefits the unions have won over years of struggle in this area are now threatened. In New York City, the City has just simply announced it will unilaterally end its contract with Blue Shield.

In other words it is not the insurance companies, the hospital bosses nor the City that pay, but the workers.

The City health plan, as inadequate as it is now, is paid by the City and was won by the unions as part of the contract fight. As has been pointed out by the city unions, this move is just the beginning of further slashes in the health plan. This is part and parcel of the employers' and government's attack on the living standard of American workers.

The question of decent and free medical care is a question not only of defending the gains of the labor movement but part of the fight to free the productive forces from the fetters of private ownership to provide for even the very basic needs of the working class.

5,000 Sign Farinas Petition

Victor Gotbaum of District Council 37, Al Evanoff of District 65, Stanley Hill of SSEU-371, and the Executive Council of Local 1199 in New York have been joined by Abe Feinglass, International Vice-President, and Sam Pollock, President of District Union 427, of the Amalgamated Meatcutters. From New York City, Leo Brown, Head of the New York Branch of the National Alliance of Postal Employees, Ernest Weiss, Associate Educational Director of District Council 37, Sam Meyers, President of UAW Local 259, and Mr. Maxwell of the Joint Board of Fur, Leather and Machine Workers have all sent letters to the Court.

In Minneapolis Perry Tiller and Gary Rolstad of AFSCME Locals 1164 and 211 respectively have sent statements.

Among individuals and organizations in addition to those previously sending statements are: Dr. Benjamin Spock, the Young Workers Liberation League, and Frank Boehm, National Chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance.

YOUTH

Areas from which petitions have come include California, Ohio, Connecticut, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri and Minnesota. These include transport,

Pittsburgh Drivers Defend Angela

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Bus drivers in Pittsburgh struck on August 9th after one of them was forbidden to wear a "Free Angela Davis" button on the job.

Richard Irwin was suspended when he arrived for work and refused to remove the button. Forty drivers later began picketing a Port Authority Transit System garage and 150 other drivers refused to cross the picket lines.

The attack on Angela Davis, as the Bulletin has continuously explained, is part of the attack on the entire working class. The solidarity action of the Pittsburgh bus drivers is an inspiring example.

The bosses fear the understanding expressed in the determination of this worker to wear his button on the job. They fear the linking of the organized power of the working class to the fight against the political attacks on the vanguard or potential vanguard of that class. The strength of the labor movement can and must be turned into this fight to defend Angela Davis and all other victims of repression.

communications, steel and auto workers, and many hundreds of signatures from Local 1199 and SSEU-371 in New York, as well as support from electrical, maritime and garment workers. The campaign has also gotten a big response from unemployed youth in New York.

In the next few weeks the Defense Committee intends to collect thousands more signatures to send to the Court. We urge all supporters and readers of the Bulletin and supporters of the Farinas Defense Committee to sign and circulate the petition in your neighborhoods, schools and shops. Write to the Defense Committee for petitions, and send statements to the Court with a copy to the Committee, to Judges Wilfred Feinberg, Walter R. Mansfield, and Leonard P. Moore, United States Court of Appeals, United States Court House, Foley Square, New York, N.Y.

The Defense Committee also needs funds urgently to be able to maintain its staff and for publicity and travel costs. The Committee urges all its supporters to campaign for the defense fund immediately in your area.

Please send all inquiries, contributions and petitions to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 West 14th Street, 6th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.

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Steel Sellout Hits Ranks

BY DAN FRIED

Massive layoffs involving an estimated 100,000 workers and closings of entire units and plants of all the major steel producers follow in the wake of the sellout agreement negotiated with the steel bosses by USWA President I.W. Abel.

Indeed, it is Abel and the USWA bureaucracy who must take responsibility for these layoffs which the bosses are using both as a means to prevent the possibility of wildcat strikes against the contract and as a prelude to permanent layoffs based on increased productivity and speedup.

But the contract and the layoffs are also the prelude to an inevitable revolt of the rank and file against the contract despite all the efforts of the USWA bureaucracy to "keep the peace."

Far from seeing the layoffs as a welcome "holiday," the workers are understandably bitter and uneasy over the prospects that a layoff slip may mean a permanent displacement from the industry. It is clear that for the employers, the signing of the contract is the basis for a new leap toward the elimination of workers in the steel industry which in 1946 produced half as much steel with 800,000 workers than it did last year with 400,000 workers.

As far as the employers are concerned they have been given the go ahead for even more drastic reductions in the work force. This process will begin during this present period of layoffs and slack demand as the em-

ployers "permanently close some of their old, less efficient facilities," admits the August 5th Christian Science Monitor.

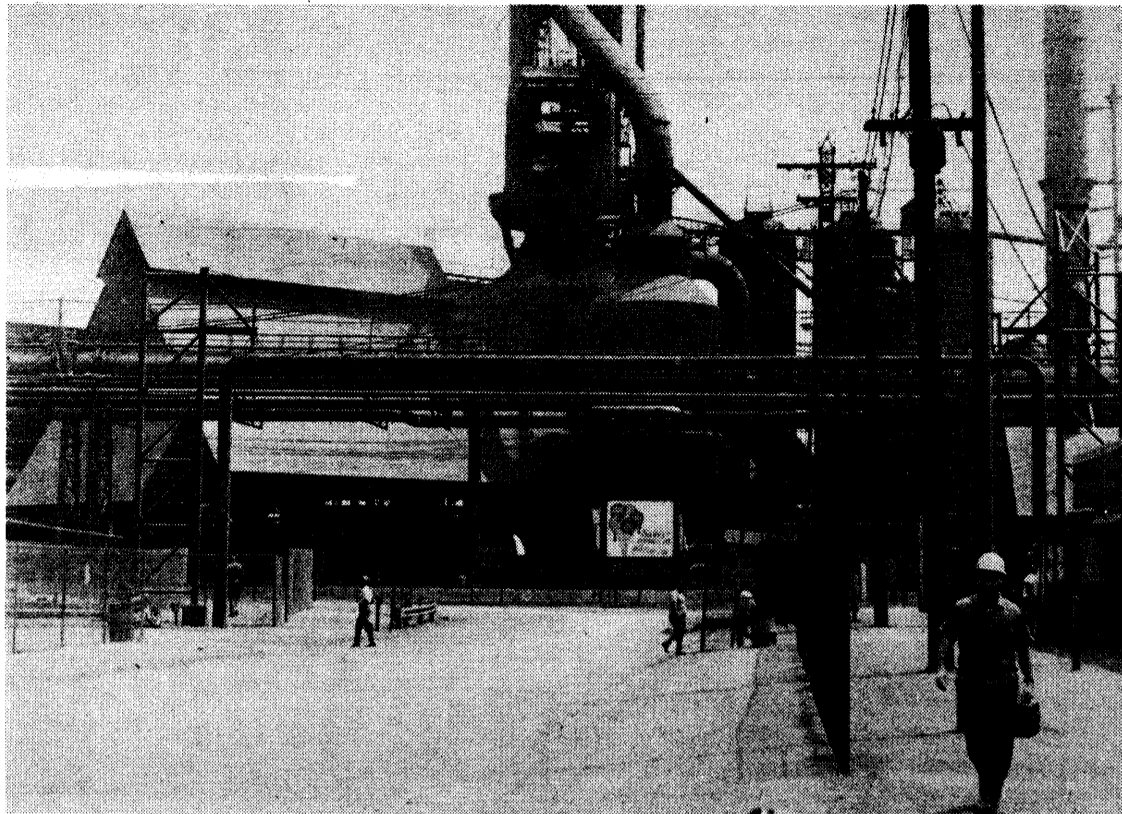
The steel barons have already more than offset the expected increased labor costs of the contract by raising prices 15% during 1971, including an 8% hike on the day the contract was signed. Now they plan to further boost their profits through permanent layoffs and increased productivity.

This will mean not only a sharp growth of unemployment among steelworkers and throughout the working class, but also an intensification of labor—speedup—for those still in the plants and mills who may be forced to do the work formerly done by two or three men.

PRODUCTIVITY

It is crystal clear that I.W. Abel and his cohorts are the willing accomplices in this plan. In return for granting the basic demands of the can and aluminum contracts which Abel needed to "sell" the pact to the local presidents, the employers demanded increased productivity. A union spokesman was quoted as saying the union would make "an honest effort" to increase productivity.

This is spelled out in section



Bethlehem Steel plant at Sparrows Point, Md. where new basic oxygen furnaces and other automation will throw at least 16,000 men out of work in a few years.

six of the contract, establishing "a joint advisory committee on productivity at each plant." The aim of these committees is to bring in the USWA bureaucrats as the cops who will police the workers while the bosses go about their plans of rationalization and speedup.

This aim of the joint committee is spelled out in point b) "Promote orderly and peaceful relations with employees and achieve uninterrupted operations in the plant."

The productivity committees are also charged with promoting "the use of domestic steel. This reflects the union's concern regarding imported steel." As during the period of negotiations, the USWA bureaucrats answer the employers' exaggerated complaints about foreign imports by trying to figure out ways and means to protect the bosses' profits at the expense of the workers. The answer to the complaint that the employers cannot make a profit due to foreign competition must be a campaign to promote better

wages and conditions for foreign steelworkers and the nationalization of the steel companies under workers' control.

Whereas the employers try to solve their "problems" through massive layoffs, productivity and speedup to increase profits, the workers must now begin to answer these sharp attacks by demanding nationalization and the operation of the steel industry at full production for the benefit of both the steelworkers and the entire public.

WAGES

The other side of the attack is seen in the holding of the steelworkers down to the wage pattern of the can and aluminum settlements. Concretely, this means that although the steelworkers union has given up the cost of living escalator clause in 1959 and have continually fallen behind in the race with inflation since that time, and were among the very lowest paid workers in basic industry—they are only getting an additional \$.75 an hour over three years plus a minimum

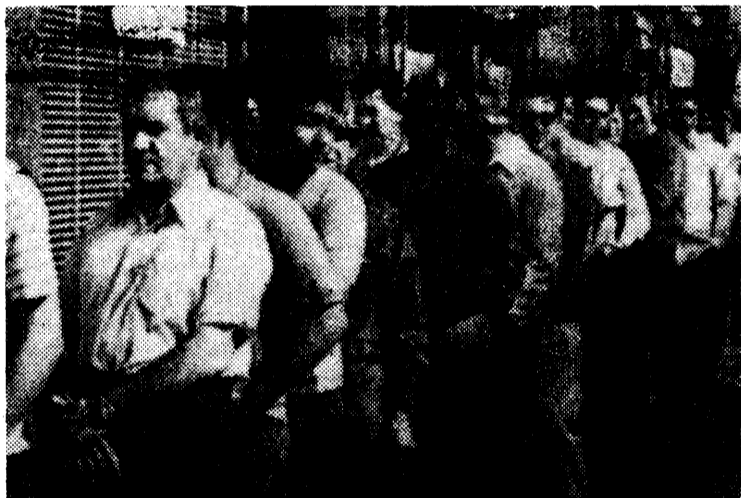
of \$.25 an hour for cost of living increases in the second and third years of the contract.

Nothing at all was gained on the all important issues of grievance procedure and job security. Abel long ago gave up any struggle for the right to strike over grievances or the shorter work week. Even the "concessions" made by the companies over fringe benefits are piddling and inadequate.

The contract provides for one additional paid holiday and on the critical question of pensions, even with the increase of the monthly benefit from \$6.50 to \$10.00 for each year AFTER 30 years, a man would have to work 50 years in order to qualify for a \$500 a month pension.

The "choice" presented to the older workers by the pension plan is either continued slavery in the mills or virtual pauperization on retirement. But even this "choice" is threatened by the new developments of massive layoffs and job cutting productivity. The layoffs have already

(Continued On Page 12)



Unemployment lines packed with steelworkers in Gary, Ind., where 50,000 have been laid off recently.

Steelworkers In Gary Denounce New Contract

BY MICHAEL ROSS

EAST CHICAGO, Ind.—A meeting was held here on August 6th of Local 1010, USWA, representing workers at the Inland Steel works where 8,000 workers out of 16,000 at the plant were laid off in the wake of the contract settlement. Several hundred workers attended.

District Director Germano and Assistant District Director Evett also attended the meeting. Evett gave a report on the contract in which he admitted that the union had capitulated to the company. While the leadership tried to divert the opposition to the contract in the discussion, it was clear that the feelings of the workers was that the "money was not worth anything."

When Evett reported on the agreement on joint productivity committees contained in the contract, workers in the audience

yelled out, "That's what you guys gave up." When he reported that in the committee that accepted the contract in Washington there were two votes in opposition, there was loud applause and one worker yelled out: "Find out who those guys were—we want to vote for them."

Significantly, an "opposition" spokesman from the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee, supported by the Communist Party, made an attempt to focus his criticism of the contract on secondary issues such as insurance, rather than on the central questions of wages and job security.

With close to 50,000 steelworkers laid off in the Gary area alone, there is a need for the immediate organization of a genuine rank and file caucus to raise the demand, No One Back Until Everyone Back—Renegotiate the Contract, in the Chicago and Gary areas.

Ranks Say 'Abel Is A Sellout'

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE—"Sure, I think it's a great contract. I love Abel. I'd rather draw unemployment than work, it's easier. I appreciate everything that's been done for me because now I can do what I always wanted to do—starve."

These words of a Bethlehem Sparrows Point steelworker waiting in line for his unemployment check express the situation facing steelworkers in the aftermath of USWA President Abel's settlement with the steel barons.

Thousands of permanently and "temporarily" laid off Sparrows Point workers line up each day at the Utah Street unemployment center to pick up their checks.

Any illusion that Abel would come through in the last minute has been completely destroyed. There is an atmosphere of frustration, but beneath that frustration lies a tremendous anger expressed by one worker who said: "I think Abel's done a great

thing. Just about my whole department is here. He has created unity. Now all we have to do is find some rope and go find Abel to thank him."

Today it is apparent that the leadership of the USWA has completely caved in to the plans of Nixon and the steel bosses to take away every gain won by the steelworkers since 1937.

Before the sellout, many steelworkers believed that the union leadership would fight against Bethlehem's attempts to cut employment at the Sparrows Point installation from 33,000 to 17,000. Times have changed.

"SELLOUT"

"I've got a friend; he's an office worker. He used to tell me that he didn't have to worry because he had connections. He said he would not get the axe because he had the most seniority and was the best worker in his office. You want to see how hard work and connections pay off? Well, he has worked himself up to where he will get his unemployment check before I will. There he is

up there in front of us."

"I know this contract is a sellout. I know that Abel is a sellout. I always figured they would sell out, but I never figured this. Well, I'm not going to take it any more. None of us are. I don't know what we are going to do or when we are going to do it. But when we do—Bethlehem watch out, Abel watch out, and Nixon watch out. We're not kids."

It is this worker and thousands like him who terrify Abel, the steel bosses and Nixon. They know the sellout contract is a time-bomb, and they are using every means at their disposal to defuse it before it goes off.

But the bomb will go off. The ranks will not allow their union and their gains won through that fight. What must be done now is to build a new leadership from the rank and file who will fight for a decent contract

This fight to build a new leadership can only mean the construction of a caucus which will wage an uncompromising fight against Abel and his ilk.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Ireland: A Warning For U.S. Workers

The events in Ireland are a sharp warning to American workers. A state of open civil war exists as the Irish workers and youth fight the police state and its concentration camps.

Underlying the crisis in Northern Ireland is the mass unemployment and misery created by the capitalist class. The outbreak in Ireland occurs in the midst of the deepest crisis of world capitalism whose center lies in the United States. The same battles are facing U.S. workers.

Nixon's strategy for saving the U.S. economy and with it world capitalism is at a dead end as the dollar is undermined and the whole system threatened with collapse. Now Nixon must prepare to take on the American working class directly. To do this Nixon must break the back of the trade unions and take away all the gains and rights American workers have won in decades of struggle.

The corporations, the government, and every single Democratic and Republican politician are saying that because they must preserve profits and capitalism, they are unable to provide jobs, decent wages and working conditions. In other words the workers are asked to starve so the big corporations can continue to make their millions.

More and more workers are being thrown onto the unemployment lines. The layoff of thousands of steel workers following the sellout by the Abel leadership adds to the soaring rate of unemployment reported in July. Nixon and the employers plan to use unemployment to divide the working class, employed against unemployed, young against old, Black against white in order to weaken and destroy the unions.

The labor bureaucracy has barely batted an eye as millions of youth have been denied jobs, as jobs have been slashed. While labor leaders such as Abel and Fitzsimmons have said that we are heading toward conditions like the 1930s, they have sought to hold back the wage offensive and refused to lift a finger against the rising unemployment.

But big explosions are now being prepared in the labor movement. As one unemployed steelworker put it last week, "We are not going to take it." The struggle in the unions on wages, jobs, and speed-up must now be directly connected to the fight to unite the employed and unemployed. The unions must take the lead in this struggle and must organize the unemployed. The youth have a critical role in this fight. In some of the major battles to form the CIO in the 1930s the unity between the employed and unemployed was key to victory.

This fight cannot be limited by the bankruptcy of capitalism. If the employers deny even the basic right to a job, if they say that they cannot provide a decent standard of life, then we must say that we the working people will run these industries and use them to fulfill the needs of the vast majority.

Today as the spectre of the 1930s is once again raised the central question facing American workers is the formation of its own political party based on its own CLASS interests. The crisis of capitalism now requires that the government and the Democratic and Republican Parties use all the weapons of the state against the working class.

The ruling class with the aid of the labor bureaucracy, the Stalinists and revisionists attempts to create all kinds of diversions to stop this movement. It is becoming more than clear that the American workers will not buy the Democratic Party. It is at this moment that Leonard Woodcock, head of the UAW, steps in calling for a "new coalition." At a recent meeting of the Urban League in Detroit, Woodcock made clear that the "The Democratic Party can be in this new coalition." This is of course praised by the Communist Party. What Woodcock and the CP have in mind is the kind of coalition that was built in the 1930s which tied the working class to the mercy of Roosevelt.

The measures being employed by the Tories in Ireland are being prepared here. This is the only way Nixon and his class can save their system.

The fight must be urgently taken up now in the unions to prepare for 1972 to call an assembly of labor of youth and minorities to build a labor party.



"But General Numeiry, you're to be an honored guest at the next party congress, too!"

What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

coexistence policy is the policy of collaboration with the national bourgeoisies in the colonial countries. This is a return to the Menshevik theory of revolution by stages—first the consolidation of capitalism, during which the communists remain a "loyal opposition" to the native capitalist class.

Imperialism cannot be defeated without the overthrow of capitalism in these countries. None of the tasks of the bourgeois revolution—the distribution of the land, achievement of independence and democratic rights for the working masses, and industrialization—can be achieved except through the leadership of the working class and the socialist revolution.

This is the great meaning of the Russian Revolution itself. The working class led by the Bolshevik Party translated the theory of the permanent revolution into practice. Theory was enriched and proven in practice.

From its beginning the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy has slandered this theory by which the Russian workers and peasants were able to win in 1917.

In China in 1927 Stalin instructed the young Communist Party to maintain full confidence in Chiang Kai-shek, who then turned round and butchered the leading sections of the working class movement.

In recent years the same pattern has been repeated. In Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Indonesia, Pakistan, Ceylon and now the Sudan, the national bourgeoisie and the Bonapartist regimes which balance between the working class and imperialism have over and over again jailed, tortured and murdered working class and communist militants and leaders.

This is the product of Stalinism. It is Stalinism in action. All the lies and protest of Moscow and its supporters cannot erase this fact.

The leaders of the U.S. Communist Party protest the killings of the CP leaders in the Sudan. From Moscow we also hear feeble complaints which subside after a few days.

What good is a protest if it is all the previous policies which make this protest necessary, and if these policies remain the same? Numeiry could not have built up the strength to move

against the CP, militarily and especially politically, if it had not had the aid of Moscow and Peking for over two years.

Brezhnev and Kosygin have supported the Numeiry regime fully since it came to power on May 25, 1969. They have supplied him with the arms and equipment which he is now using to kill communists. They even helped to train his secret police. And above all they have provided him with the political image required to disarm the masses, to lull them while the attack was prepared.

Now the Stalinists try to explain this on the basis of the "relatively progressive" nature of the Numeiry regime. According to Tom Foley in the Daily World, Numeiry was progressive compared to the right wing regime he replaced, but he is not progressive when he jails and kills communists!

We cannot allow this Stalinist sophistry to cover up decades of treachery. The job of communists is to expose the treachery of the bourgeois nationalists, to insist at every point that they back up their anti-imperialist rhetoric with deeds, to expose them at every point and warn the masses that an independent revolutionary leadership based upon the working class is an absolute requirement in order to smash the imperialists.

The Stalinists did none of this. They had ample opportunity, they were more aware than anyone else of the road on which Numeiry was embarked, but they kept silent, even at the expense of tightening the noose around their own necks as well.

They did not speak out when Numeiry made striking a capital offense on May 26, 1969, the day after he took power. This act was approved by a cabinet which even included a leading member of the Sudan CP, Joseph Garang. Garang has now paid with his life for his role in the unsuccessful coup.

At the same time as he outlawed the Communist Party, Numeiry brought two more CP leaders into his cabinet. Again there was no comment from Moscow.

Brezhnev and Kosygin sent Numeiry a letter praising him for his "responsible" stand after the Jordanian Civil War (he called for negotiations between the guerrillas and Hussein). Numeiry

used this correspondence to demonstrate his anti-imperialist credentials, and on November 16 arrested Abdel Mahgoub, the leader of the Sudan CP.

When he wanted to dissolve the General Federation of Sudan Workers' Unions, Numeiry called upon CP leader Muawiyah Ibrahim to take over the Labor Ministry. No comment from Moscow, again.

Numeiry warned in advance of the measures he would take. In a February 12, 1971 radio broadcast he launched a vicious attack on the CP.

During the spring Numeiry began rounding up CP leaders. At the same time he sent a fraternal delegation to the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in Moscow.

The Sudan CP leadership, in a final desperate attempt, sought to prevent its complete destruction. After months and years during which this destruction was thoroughly prepared without a voice being raised against it, the CP leadership moved desperately to save its own necks by supporting the abortive coup.

But empirical turns cannot make up for a policy of compromise and betrayals stretching over years. The heroism of CP leader Mahgoub in facing death at the hands of Numeiry only underlines the burning necessity for a revolutionary policy and a complete break with Stalinism. When the long campaign against the Sudan CP reached its bloody crescendo the masses were completely disarmed by the previous policy of all out support for Numeiry.

The Stalinist bureaucracy refused to expose the bloody plans of Numeiry because it consciously bartered the lives of workers and communists in the interests of collaboration with imperialism and the national bourgeoisie. Brezhnev does not care if Mahgoub and others die, so long as he can maintain diplomatic ties with the imperialists and bourgeois nationalists. This bureaucracy cannot and will not change its policy because its whole existence is tied up with the need for a deal with the imperialists.

For all who seek to build a communist leadership therefore the lesson of Sudan is absolutely clear: Down with Stalinist class collaboration! Build the Fourth International to defeat imperialism and its agents!



His reformist allies of 1926 were by 1929 being denounced as 'social fascists'.

Banned

United-front agreement between reformist and communist parties to fight fascism were banned (after all, there could be no united action by communists with 'social fascists'). In Germany this policy led directly to the victory of Hitler.

Then in 1935, as the new privileged layers thrown up by Stalin's industrialization programme began to congeal, there came the turn towards the 'popular front', a policy which involved class-collaboration between the parties of the working class and so-called 'liberal sections of the ruling classes in the main capitalist states in conflict with Nazi Germany.

Stalin took the Soviet Union into the League of Nations (dubbed by Lenin a 'thieves' kitchen') and signed a military pact with the leaders of French imperialism.

The social foundations of this openly reformist and, in practice, counter-revolutionary policy, were well understood by the most astute bourgeois commentators.

A report on the Soviet Union published by the London Royal Institute of International Affairs stated at the time:

'The internal development of Russia is tending to throw up a "bourgeoisie" of managers and officials who possess sufficient privileges to make them highly content with the *status quo* . . .

'It is possible to regard the various purges as part of a process by which all who desire to change the present state of affairs are being rooted out.

'Such an interpretation lends colour to the belief that the revolutionary period in Russia is over, and that henceforward her rulers will only seek to conserve the gains which the revolution has brought them.'

Khrushchev's rise to power and privilege inside the Party can only be understood against this broad setting of Stalin's political counter-revolution.

Khrushchev, himself, could only have been dimly aware of the role he was playing in the early years of his political career.

Each of these important stages in Stalinist policy passed Khrushchev by so far as their international implications were concerned.

Though deeply involved in implementing each internal policy decision of Stalin, he makes no reference to their international consequences until he reaches the Stalin-Hitler pact of August 1939.

Although the International was officially pursuing its 'anti-fascist' Popular Front policy right through to the summer of 1939, Stalin had begun to sound out the possibility of a deal with Hitler much earlier.

The military purges of June 1937, which wiped out a section of the Red Army leadership favouring military agreement with France anticipated Stalin's pact more than two years later.

But for Khrushchev, who was at this time excluded from the ruling clique around Stalin, the news of the pact was a bombshell.

And here too, he is very frank about Stalin's policies and motives. Official Stalinist histories refer to the pact as simply one of 'non-aggression'. But Khrushchev thought differently:

'It was very hard for us—as Communists, as anti-fascists . . . to accept the idea of joining forces with Germany. [Emphasis added.]

Paradox

It was difficult enough for us to accept this paradox ourselves. It would have been impossible to explain it to the man in the street.

'Therefore we couldn't admit outright that we had reached an agreement on peaceful co-existence with Hitler.

'Co-existence would have been possible with the Germans in general but not with the Hitlerite fascists . . .'

Not only was the Soviet Union terribly compromised in the eyes of millions of workers all over the world as a result of Stalin's deal with the butchers of the German labour movement, but it also enabled Hitler to prepare for his future invasion of the USSR.

The Nazis gained most from the trade and economic agreements which followed the signing of the pact, as Khrushchev admits:

'According to the treaty, we



Stalin with Khrushchev in 1937.

were supposed to give the Germans a certain amount of wheat, oil, and other products. We made all our deliveries punctually.'

The Nazis, on the other hand, did everything they could to slow down the deliveries of the goods to the Soviet Union.

Another side to the Stalin-Hitler pact kept secret by the Kremlin was its collaboration with the Nazi Gestapo after the partition of Poland.

Conference

There have been claims that Stalin's NKVD (successors to the GPU) met Gestapo leaders for a conference in Krakow, some time in 1940.

Though Khrushchev does not refer to such a meeting, he does mention the activities of NKVD boss in the Ukraine, I. A. Serov, who later added to his notoriety by carrying out Stalin's order to deport six Soviet national minorities to central Asia:

'Serov's duties required him to have contacts with the Gestapo. A Gestapo representative used to come to Lvov on official business. . . .

'I don't know what sort of a network the Gestapo had in the Ukraine, but it was extensive. The cover [i.e., pretext] for this network was an exchange agreement whereby people on German-occupied territory who wanted to return to their homes in the former Polish territory now occupied by Soviet troops were allowed to do so. . . .

But there was also a considerable traffic in the other direction as well, a fact that speaks volumes for the repressive national policies of the Stalinist regime in the Ukraine.

Khrushchev goes on to relate a scene described to him by

the working classes into agreements with the Soviet bureaucracies.

While Stalin — together with Bukharin—allied himself with the rich peasant against the working class and against Trotsky, the International pursued a policy of collaboration with reformist trade union leaders (like the TUC General Council) and bourgeois nationalists in the colonial world (Chiang in China).

In each case, these alliances led the working class to defeat, and strengthened the imperialist enemies of the Soviet Union.

When Stalin broke from Bukharin in 1929 and launched his adventurist collectivization programme, the entire International was forced to swing to the ultra-left with him.



Stalin had reached a 'peaceful coexistence' agreement with Hitler.

Khrushchev Remembers

by Robert Black

THE narrow, parochial outlook that Khrushchev (or his Soviet 'ghost writer') displays in this book was also a characteristic of the entire caste that came to power under Stalin's leadership.

'Socialism in one country' was not just Stalin's programme, but the political expression of a whole philosophy which dominated the Bolshevik Party following the double hammer blows of Lenin's death and the temporary defeat of the revolution in Germany and the rest of W Europe.

Further defeats in Britain (the 1926 General strike) and China (Chiang Kai-shek's massacre of the Shanghai workers in April 1927) only strengthened the belief among Khrushchev's generation that the Soviet Union had to make its own way, unaided, to socialism.

The revolutionary role and potential of the western working class and the colonial peoples was paid lip service to, but in practice, written off.

Together with hundreds like him, Khrushchev's career as a loyal Stalinist prospered in direct proportion to the defeats of the working class in the imperialist countries.

We find, in these writings,

no echo of the British General Strike, the Chinese Revolution, the rise and victory of German fascism, and the titanic class battles in Spain and France.

Historic

All his energies during this historic epoch were concentrated on resolving the internal crises of the Stalinist bureaucracy, on beating back the challenges to Stalin's leadership mounted by not only the Trotskyist Left Opposition but the right opposition of Bukharin and Rykov.

And side by side with this vicious factional struggle (in which Stalin's GPU and not political argument, was the final arbiter) there developed the bureaucracy's struggle to defend its own economic foundations—the nationalized property relations created by the 1917 revolution.

But fearing the movement of the masses as much as the threat from the right, Stalin defended these property relations by reactionary means.

When the rich peasants (Kulaks) staged their revolt against the regime, the bureaucracy leaned on the working class and poor peasants for support, but made no political concessions to them.

Stalin's iron grip on the state and Party in fact tightened even more in the years of collectivization and industrialization (1929-1933).

These administrative, bureaucratic methods had their counterpart in the Kremlin's foreign policy, which based itself increasingly on manoeuvres between rival imperialist powers, using the working class of the capitalist states to threaten and pressurize

Serov:

"There are long lines standing outside the place where people register for permission to return to Polish territory.

"When I took a closer look I was shocked to see that most of the people in line were members of the Jewish population.

"They were bribing the Gestapo agents to let them leave as soon as possible to return to their original home . . ."

Bribes

Comments Khrushchev: "The Gestapo agents were eagerly accepting the bribes, getting rich, and shipping these people straight to the gas chambers. There was nothing we could do to stop them. . . ."

"Nothing we could do . . . and yet these revolting scenes took place on Soviet-ruled territory!

THE LITTLE that Khrushchev reveals about Stalin's relations with Hitler during the period of the Nazi-Soviet pact is quite enough to condemn it as the Kremlin's most squalid manoeuvre of all.

And though Khrushchev tries to argue that the Party leadership was prepared for war with Hitler, everything he reveals both here and in his 'Secret Speech' proves the opposite.

Hiding

Describing the events of June 22, 1941, the day that Hitler launched his 'blitzkrieg' across the Soviet frontier, Khrushchev writes:

"When the enemy first launched the invasion, we received orders from Moscow not to shoot back. Our leaders issued this strange command because they thought that possibly the artillery fire was a provocation on the part of some German field commander acting independently of Hitler [so Stalin saw Hitler as a restraining influence on the enemies of the Soviet Union].

"In other words, Stalin was so afraid of war that even when the Germans tried to take us by surprise and wipe out our resistance, Stalin convinced himself that Hitler would keep his word and wouldn't really attack us."

While Stalin went into hiding from his other Politbureau members, giving up the war as lost, the Soviet working class stepped into the breach:

"The workers from the 'Lenin Forge' and other factories around Kiev came to the [Ukrainian] Central Committee in droves, asking for rifles so that they could fight back against the invaders."

But when Khrushchev phones Moscow for weapons, all he gets is Malenkov's scornful reply:

"You'd better give up any thought of getting rifles from us . . . [They've] all been sent to Leningrad . . ."

Slave camps

And so Kiev was lost, with the Nazis taking around half a million Soviet prisoners of war. Nearly all of them were either killed on the spot or worked to death in the slave camps of Nazi Germany.

The bulk of what Khrushchev has to say about the war itself is non-controversial and largely confirms the accounts published in the war memoirs of Red Army leaders.

Almost without exception, theirs and Khrushchev's account of the war gives even more weight to Trotsky's thesis that the Stalinist bureaucracy, because

it defends the nationalized property relations of the Soviet Union by its own, reactionary methods, only prepares their eventual overthrow by imperialism unless the working class of the advance capitalist countries achieves a decisive breakthrough.

This position, confirmed to the hilt by the near-defeat of the Soviet Union during the last war, is given added emphasis now that imperialism possesses the means to obliterate the workers' states from the face of the earth.

The only long-term, sure guarantee against the imperialist overthrow of the Soviet Union remains the spread of the 1917 revolution to advanced imperialist states.

Stalinism strikes two blows at



Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill meet in Teheran Conference, 1943.

the Soviet Union. First it undermines the USSR's defence capacity and the functioning of the economy, both by continued bungling and its repression of all political initiative in the working class, youth and intellectuals.

Secondly, by pursuing its goal of a world-wide agreement with imperialism to maintain the status quo (this was the essence of all Stalin's diplomatic deals), the bureaucracy acts as a counter-revolutionary force inside the workers' movement of the capitalist countries.

Breaking strikes and betraying revolutions in order to preserve the status quo with world imperialism is a necessary and logical consequence of Stalinism.

Acting as world policeman for imperialism, it encourages the imperialists to mount new attacks on their own working class, so clearing the way eventually for an offensive against the Soviet Union itself.

'Excesses'

This was the path followed by Hitler, and the present leaders of world imperialism undoubtedly plan to succeed where the Nazis failed.

Khrushchev quite accidentally helps to throw light on these aspects of Stalinist policy.

Though critical of his mentor's so-called 'excesses', he pursued the same policy of 'socialism in one country' (only now it was called 'peaceful co-existence') once he seized the reigns of power.

We find Khrushchev at his most interesting when he is talking about his contacts with imperialist statesmen.

Like Stalin, he is obviously flattered to meet them on equal terms, and also like Stalin, pleased to find out that there are many problems they seem to have in common.

For example, he takes up a whole chapter trying to prove that the Hungarian workers' revolution of 1956 was a fascist—and/or imperialist—inspired putsch from beginning to end.

His arguments are so putrid it is not worthwhile even refuting them. For in the very next chapter, he does so himself!

The whole passage must be reproduced to capture the full flavour of secret diplomacy at its most cynical:

"I won't deny that it created certain difficulties for us when anti-Soviet elements stirred up a critical situation in Poland and Hungary.

"While we were dealing with those problems [Khrushchev refers here to the killing of 20,000 Hungarian workers by the Kremlin's invasion force] second echelon English and French diplomats in London and Paris met with our embassy people over a cup of coffee or a glass of wine and said:

Liquidate

"You seem to have some trouble on your hands in Poland and Hungary. We understand how it is sometimes. We're having some troubles of our own in Egypt [this was of course the time of the British-French-Israeli

little mixed up (the Tories came to power in 1951, more than a year before Stalin's death), the following passage is also very indicative of the Kremlin's approach to the leaders of the world's oldest imperialist power:

"Our relations with Great Britain were only slightly improved after Stalin's death, when the Labourites came to see us and opened discussion on various matters.

"Then the Conservatives replaced the Labourites, and Eden became Prime Minister. [In fact, Eden only took over from Churchill as PM after the Tory's 1955 election victory].

"We considered Eden relatively progressive for a Conservative'. (This is the Stalinist myth of the 'progressive Tory' so pursued and beloved by the leaders of the British CP.)

"... Eden's return to power gave us hope that we would be able to improve relations with Great Britain."

The Kremlin so clearly prefers direct dealings with the leaders of British imperialism, it rejoices when the Tories inflict election defeats on their Labour opponents.

True to this policy, the British CP called for a continuation of the National Government under Churchill after the last war.

Today we see the leaders of the same Communist Party (and in many cases they are the same leaders!) refusing to fight for the mobilization of the working class for a General Strike to make the Tories resign.

Moscow wants the Tories in, and the Gollans and the Ramelons, with their dangerous slogan 'kill the Bill', are doing their best to keep them there.

Settlement

They are calling, in effect, for a Tory government minus the Bill, or in other words, a Tory government of Edens.

But with the British and world imperialist system going into ever-deeper crisis, a crisis that demands a settlement of accounts with the working class, there can today be only a Tory government of reaction, preparing the way, if it is not defeated, for even more dictatorial forms of rule.

THE DEGREE of intimacy reached between the so-called 'communists' of the Kremlin and the Tories of Downing St is a source of

Progressive

Though he gets his dates a



Churchill and Stalin, flanked by Eden and Molotov in Moscow, 1944, map out division of Europe.

pride, not shame, for Khrushchev.

After his famous clash with the Labour Party Executive (Stalin's arrest and murder of E European Social Democrats after the war had been the cause of the row), Khrushchev was approached sympathetically by Eden:

"I told you that you'd be better off dealing with the Conservatives. Those Labourites are just impossible."

Eden's attitude was perfectly understandable. After all, Stalin hadn't shot any Tories!

Then there ensued the celebrated exchange that has since become part of Stalinist folklore:

"We jokingly told Eden that we were trying to make up our minds about which Party to join. He laughed and said, 'I'd strongly urge that you choose the Conservatives'. 'We'll think it over. Perhaps we'll do as you suggest'."

Khrushchev's attitude towards the British Tories was typical of the Kremlin's dealings with imperialism.

Given the choice, it would almost always prefer to deal directly with the ruling class of a capitalist country, preferably with a regime firmly in the saddle.

This was certainly Stalin's policy towards Germany, where he actually helped Hitler to power by his ultra-left policy of attacking the social democrats (called 'social fascists') as the main enemy.

Once in power, Stalin hoped that Hitler would be encouraged to turn westwards against France and Britain, hitherto the Soviet Union's most determined enemies.

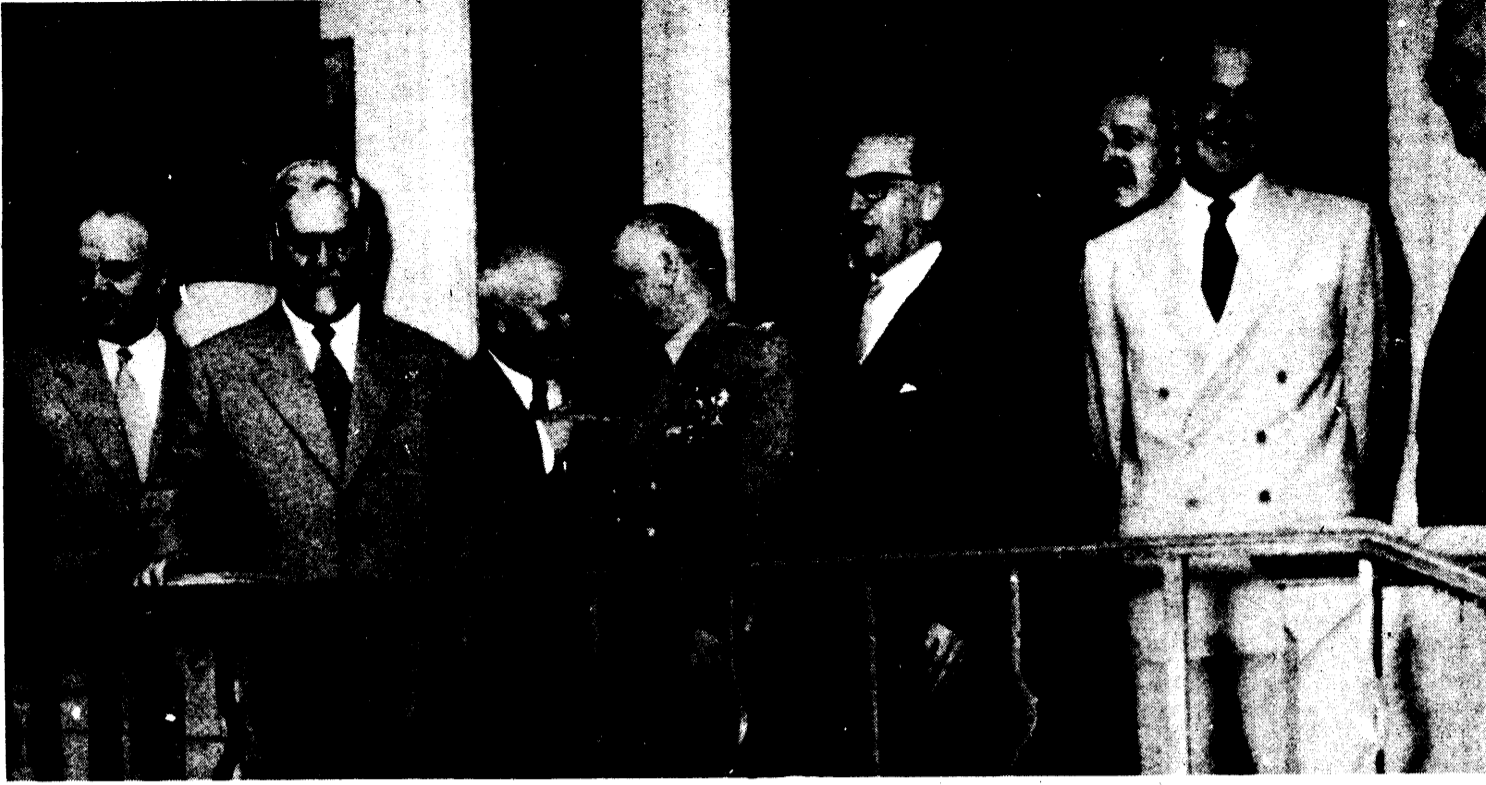
The policies of the Communist International during this period (1930-1934) were designed to promote Stalin's secret diplomacy.

They had nothing to do with the actual course of the class struggle in each capitalist country.

After a three-year period of flirtation with the 'democratic' imperialists of France, Britain and the USA, Stalin finally consummated his German policy with his Hitler pact—with results that Khrushchev describes in earlier sections of his book.

In these later chapters, Khrushchev lets slip a phrase that shows him to be trained in the same strategy school as Stalin.

Commenting on the 1955 Geneva Conference (his first venture into the field of world diplomacy) he makes this remark about the French delegation:



Geneva, 1955. mapping out Vietnam deal: (L to R) Molotov, Bulganin, Khrushchev, Faure, Macmillan, Eden, Dulles.

'Our best relations were with the French... However, in those days there was a rapid turnover in the French government and, therefore, there was no point in paying serious attention to the French delegation at the Geneva meeting...'

Once the semi-fascist military and settlers' revolt in Algeria installed de Gaulle in power (in May 1958), this problem was solved.

And sure enough, it was none other than Khrushchev who was the first world statesman to congratulate de Gaulle on his victory over the French working class and its Communist Party.

When it came to manoeuvring with rival imperialist powers at the expense of the working class Khrushchev proved he had very little to learn from Stalin (Neither have his successors Brezhnev and Kosygin.)

Khrushchev even mourns the death of that dedicated anti-communist and enemy of the Soviet Union, Foster Dulles, Eisenhower's State Secretary.

'When Dulles died, I told my friends that although he had been a man who lived and breathed hatred of communism and who despised progress, he had never stepped over: that brink he was always talking about in his speeches; and for that reason alone we should lament his passing...'

It was Dulles who openly defended the right of the Kremlin to use its troops against the working class of Poland and Hungary.

He insisted that they were lawfully there under the terms of the Warsaw Pact!

Although, as Khrushchev says, he was an enemy of communism, Dulles understood and exploited the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism.

International class-collaboration is the very essence of Stalinist politics.

Stalinism is, at rock bottom, the most pernicious species of opportunism ever inflicted on the international workers' movement—pernicious because it attempts (with less and less success) to assume the phrases and traditions of communism.

What is opportunism?

Lenin, who fought it like a tiger all his political life, gave us the most succinct answer in his 1915 article 'The Collapse of the Second International':

'Opportunism means sacrificing the fundamental interests of the masses to the temporary interests of an insignificant minority of the workers or, in other words, an alliance between a section of workers and the bourgeoisie, directed against the mass of the proletariat.'

Lenin points out, in this same article (which is, by the way, essential reading for understanding the conduct of our present day Labour and trade union leaders), how class collaboration—the core of opportunism—has a definite social, historical and

economic basis:

'Opportunism was engendered in the course of decades by the special features in the period of the development of capitalism, when the comparatively peaceful and cultured life of a stratum of privileged workers "bourgeoisified" them, gave them crumbs from the table of their national capitalists...'

Lenin then shows how the labour bureaucracy, and in its turn imperialism, leans for mass support on this privileged layer in the working class.

Can we apply this same method of analysis to the Soviet bureaucracy, which arose not on the foundations of capitalist economy, but on the nationalized property relations established by the 1917 Revolution?

We can. In fact, Lenin had already begun to tackle the problem of Soviet bureaucracy, and formed a bloc with Trotsky to fight it, when a stroke ended his active political life in March 1923.

But all his writings and letters of that period—and especially his onslaught on Stalin—prove he was already feeling 'his way towards theoretical conclusions drawn by Trotsky in his fight against Stalin's faction over the next four years.

Trotsky returns to these questions in his 1938 article 'A Fresh Lesson—on the character of the coming war'.

'In order to understand the present role of the social democracy and of the ex-Comintern [Trotsky here refers to the ghost of the Communist International murdered by Stalin], it is necessary once again to recall the economic foundations upon which opportunism in the world labour movement rests.

'The flowering of capitalism which lasted, with inevitable oscillations, up to 1913, enabled the bourgeoisie on the one hand to raise slightly the living standard of certain proletarian layers, and on the other to throw rather juicy sops to the bureaucracy and aristocracy of labour, thus raising them above the masses.

'The trade union and parliamentary bureaucracy, whose "social problem" appeared close to a solution, was in a position to point out to the masses the beginnings of a change for the better in their own lives.

'This is the social basis of reformism (opportunism) as a system of illusions for the masses and a system of deceit on the part of the labour bureaucracy. [The distinction Trotsky makes in consciousness is also important in relation to Stalinism.]

'... The monstrous and rapid development of Soviet opportunism finds its explanation in causes analogous to those which, in the previous generation, led to the flowering of opportunism in capitalist countries, namely, the parasitism of the labour bureaucracy which has successfully solved its "social question" on the basis of a rise in the productive forces in the USSR.

'But since the Soviet bureaucracy is incomparably more powerful than the labour bureaucracy in capitalist countries, and since the feeding-trough at its disposal is distinguished by its almost unlimited capacity, there is nothing astonishing in the fact that the Soviet variety of opportunism immediately assumed an especially perfidious and vile character...'

Behind a leadership proclaiming its adherence to communism, Khrushchev shows us a corrupted stratum raised above the working masses of the Soviet Union, entirely divorced from economic and social problems, and enjoying a style of life that would be the envy of even the most exalted trade union bureaucrats in the United States.

THE VALUE of 'Khrushchev Remembers' is that it shows just how corrupt and divorced from the Soviet working masses is the bureaucracy — especially its uppermost reaches.

To capture the flavour of life in the Kremlin, it is only necessary to read the chapter aptly entitled 'Feasts and Holidays with Stalin'.

Every night Stalin and his cronies used to watch films imported from the 'decadent West'.

Khrushchev tells us that Stalin especially loved to watch cowboy films, never tiring of their banal plots and inevitable denouements.

The great feasts and drinking sessions used to take place at Stalin's 'Nearby Dacha', where the 'father of the peoples' barricaded himself in behind a veritable maze of defence works and security systems.

Once they were all safely locked inside the Dacha, the corks began to pop and the wine to flow:

'I remember Beria, Malenkov, and Mikoyan had to ask the waitresses to pour them coloured water instead of wine because they couldn't keep up with Stalin's drinking...'

So 'plotters' even managed to penetrate into Stalin's drinking circle! But, as Khrushchev relates, the 'vigilance' of a loyal Stalinist soon 'unmasked' them:

'Once Shcherbakov even went so far as to expose Beria, Malenkov and Mikoyan's arrangement with the waitresses to be served coloured water instead of wine.

'When Stalin realized he had been deceived he fumed with anger and raised a terrible uproar... Shcherbakov ended up drinking himself to death—

and he drunk not so much because he had a craving for alcohol, but simply because it pleased Stalin when the people around him drank themselves under the table...'

Dance

Then Khrushchev relates how he was made to satisfy a passing whim of Stalin's:

'I remember once Stalin made me dance the Gopak [a Ukrainian folk dance] before some top Party officials.

'I had to squat down on my haunches and kick out my heels, which frankly wasn't very easy for me. But I did it and I tried to keep a pleasant expression on my face.

'As I later told Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan, "When Stalin says dance, a wise man dances".'

And how the 'wise men' of the Kremlin did dance!

While peasants in outlying areas were actually taking to cannibalism, such was their hunger, Stalin and his cronies drank and feasted.

But the bureaucracy is not a class. Even during the height of Stalin's despotism, bureaucrats could never use their inflated incomes (further supplemented by all sorts of 'perks' and concessions) for investment purposes.

Their considerable wealth —

plunder from the state exchequer—served to sustain only their luxurious living standards, their 'Dachas' (country houses), etc. etc.

Most of their privileges—chauffeurs, batmen, servants and other flunkies—went with the official state or Party posts held by Stalin's clique and their underlings.

Trotsky was right when he wrote in 1939 that 'the Bonapartist apparatus of the state is an organ for defending the bureaucratic thieves and plunderers of national wealth...'

'To perpetuate the systematic theft of the bureaucracy, its apparatus is compelled to resort to systematic acts of banditry. The sum total of all these things constitutes the system of Bonapartist gangsterism...'

This analogy with gangsterism is very apt, and Trotsky returns to it many times in illustrating the utterly parasitic, corrupt and morally depraved nature of the bureaucracy and its predominant psychology.

Opportunism

Stalin dealt with all his political opponents (and even his allies) with methods that Al Capone would have envied.

Class-collaboration, the very essence of opportunism, took—and still does take—a uniquely violent form when practised by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

It is this violence that has enabled liberals and bourgeois publicists to equate Stalinism (which for obvious reasons they choose to call communism) with fascism.

But in fact the brunt of Stalinist violence has been born by the advanced guard of the international working class, from the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party to the leaders of the workers' councils in the Hungarian revolution of 1956.

This also was well understood by Trotsky, himself fated to become the most famous victim of the Stalinist murder machine:

'At the beginning of the last war, Jean Jaurès was assassinated, and at the end of the war, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

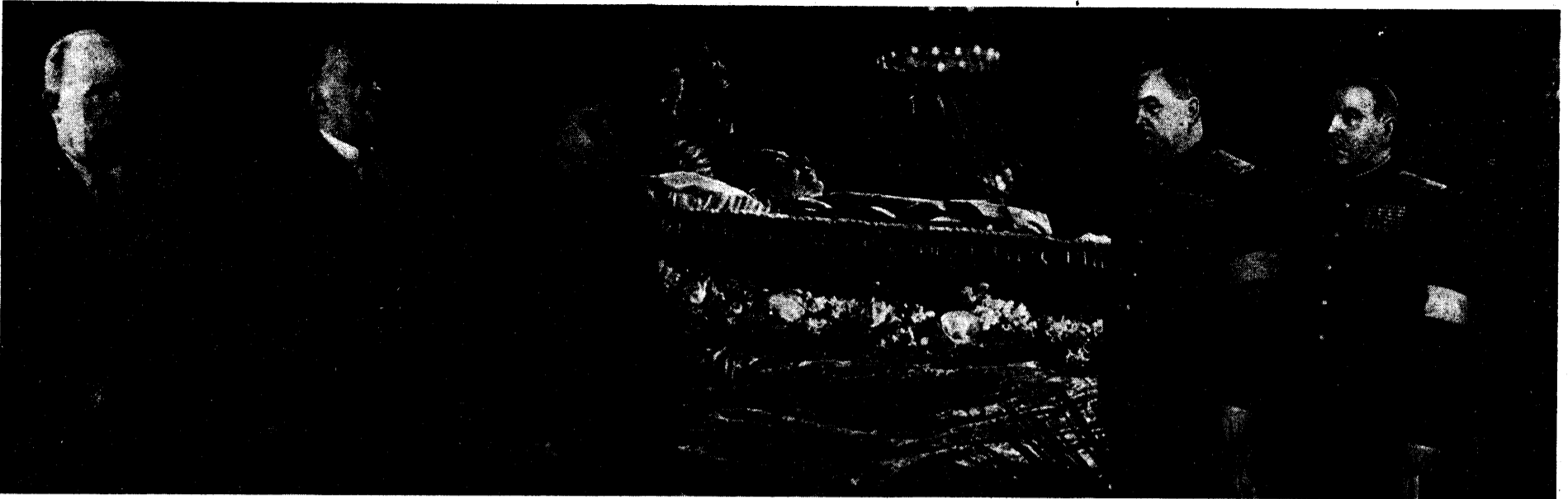
'In France the assassination of the leader of the French Socialist Party did not deter other leaders from entering the government of imperialist war.

'In Germany the murder of two great revolutionaries was accomplished with the direct participation of the social-democratic government.

'The actual murderer in France was an obscure petty-



Molotov signs nonaggression pact with Nazis as Stalin watches.



At Stalin's side after their leader had fallen. Malenkov (left of Stalin) would emerge as first successor only to be replaced by Khrushchev (on the far left in above photo).

bourgeois chauvinist, while in Germany, counter-revolutionary officers did the killing. The situation today even in this respect is incomparably clearer.

'The work of exterminating the internationalists has already commenced on a world scale prior to the outbreak of the war.

'Imperialism no longer has to depend on a "happy accident". In the Stalinist Mafia it has a ready-made international agency for the systematic extermination of revolutionists . . .

'Through its Stalinist gangsters imperialism indicates beforehand from what side mortal danger will threaten it in time of war.'

And precisely because the Stalinist ruling clique resorted to such methods in its fight for survival, they found their depraved reflection inside the Kremlin.

Temporary

Khrushchev, commenting on the atmosphere of permanent terror which hung over the centres of Soviet power during Stalin's rule, says:

'All of us around Stalin were temporary people. As long as he trusted us to a certain degree, we were allowed to go on living and working.

'But the moment he stopped trusting you, Stalin would start to scrutinize until the cup of his distrust overflowed.

'Then it would be your turn to follow those who were no longer among the living. That's what it was like for all the

people who worked with him...'

IF THE reader really wants to plumb the depth of Stalinist degeneration, then he should read what Khrushchev has to say about Stalin's anti-Semitism.

First Khrushchev tells about the fate of S. A. Lozovsky, the old leader of the Red Trade Union International (dissolved by Stalin during the 'popular front' period).

As a Jew, he was appointed to head the Jewish anti-fascist committee, formed during the war to expose Nazi war crimes.

But once Stalin's anti-Jewish campaign got underway (thinly disguised as an attack on 'cosmopolitans without kith or kin') the committee was doomed.

'The committee members, he [Stalin] declared, were agents of American Zionism. They were trying to set up a Jewish state in the Crimea in order to wrest the Crimea away from the Soviet Union...'

'Stalin let his imagination run wild in this direction. He was struck with maniacal vengeance.



Mao Tse-tung, Khrushchev and Mikoyan laugh it up in the period before the open conflict.

Lozovsky and Mikhoels [a leading actor in the Yiddish theatre] were arrested...'

'In the end almost all of them came to a tragic end. Lozovsky was shot...'

Even Khrushchev, whose claims to being a life-long enemy of anti-Semitism are dubious, is revolted by the pogrom that Stalin unleashed after 1947.

'... typical was the cruel punishment of Mikhoels, the greatest actor of the Yiddish theatre, a man of culture. They killed him like wild beasts. They killed him secretly. Then his murderers were rewarded and their victim buried with honours. The mind reels at the thought!

'It was announced that Mikhoels had fallen in front of a truck. Actually, he was thrown in front of a truck... And who did it? Stalin did it...'

In the classic tradition of all reactionary movements, Stalinism singled out ethnic groups as scapegoats for its own failure to satisfy the demands of the people:

'Beat Jews'

'Later, a group of Jews at the Stalin Automobile Factory were put on trial. In this case, too, Stalin was looking for schemes of American imperialism operating through Zionists...'

We know such things happened—there is ample evidence (some of it provided by a British Communist Party delegation that visited the Soviet Union in 1956 to investigate charges of anti-Semitism) to corroborate the horrors related in this book.

Of Stalin's attitude to Jews Khrushchev says: 'As a leader and a theoretician he took care never to hint at his anti-Semitism in his written works or in his speeches... [But] when he happened to talk about a Jew, Stalin often imitated in a well-known, exaggerated accent the way Jews talk.

'...I remember when I was working in Moscow, some kind of trouble at the Thirtieth Aviation Factory was reported to Stalin... During a meeting with Stalin, while we were sitting around exchanging opinions, Stalin turned to me and said:

"The good workers at the factory should be given clubs so they can beat the hell out of the Jews at the end of the working day..."

It is scenes like this that convey the utter degradation and depravity of the ruling caste in the Soviet Union, which at its uppermost summit concentrated in a handful of people all that was backward and reactionary in Soviet society.

For more than 30 years, the leaders of the British Communist Party have tried to present this regime as the custodian of Leninism.

Until 1956, they would not countenance the least criticism of Stalin, and even today, they defend his role as the purger of Trotskyists and as pioneer of the revisionist theory of 'socialism in one country'.

For those who still worship at the altar of Stalin, one more book about his crimes is hardly likely to shake their faith in the 'greatest genius of mankind' as he loved to be called.

But there are many others in and around the British Communist Party, or who work quite closely with its members in the trade unions, who would say they abhor the crimes described in this book.

Surely, then, it is high time for a thorough-going settlement of accounts with the bloody legacy of Stalin and Stalinism?

Innocent

Khrushchev says that all the old Bolsheviks framed by Stalin were completely innocent, and that his only reason for not saying so at the 1956 Congress was his fear that it would embarrass

those CP leaders in the West who had endorsed the verdicts of the Moscow Trials and the military purges.

If this is in fact the case—and the present leadership of the British CP is surely in a position to verify it—now is the time to make Gollan, Klugman, Ramelson, Matthews, Dutt, Rothstein and company come clean.

When Stalin killed the leaders of the Russian Revolution and the Communist International, the heads of Soviet industry, the armed forces and the national republics (all 30 were shot), and last but not least, the precious cadres of the Fourth International (Sedov—Trotsky's son—Klement, Reiss, and Trotsky himself) what class forces did he serve?

This is the number one question that all members and supporters of the British Communist Party will sooner or later have to face up to and answer.

Was Stalinism a series of tragic 'mistakes', as Stalinist 'liberals' like Monty Johnstone assert, or was it the reflection of imperialist pressure on the backward workers' state isolated by the failure of the revolution in the West?

Once the opportunist nature of Stalinism is understood, once the social and economic basis for its collaboration with world imperialism is grasped, then workers and intellectuals are armed to fight its pernicious influence in the workers' movement.

This, in turn, requires a thorough study of Trotsky's basic writings on Stalinism and the tasks of the Fourth International.

If 'Khrushchev Remembers' can, despite the intentions of its author and publishers, be used to stimulate such a study, then our examination of the book's contents has been worth while.

When all the Kremlinologists have finished their deliberations (most of which are influenced, to put it mildly, by professional jealousy), the basic fact remains: every word of this book rings true. The onus is on the doubters to prove it a forgery.



Castro and Khrushchev find a common interest against working class.

BOOKS

DAVE GREEN

Prelude To Revolution France In May 1968

PRELUDE TO REVOLUTION : FRANCE IN MAY 1968, by Daniel Singer (New York: Hill and Wang, 1970).

If there is anything unfavorable that can be said about a revolutionary crisis, it is that it inspires many ungifted historians. Agitated by events that are beyond their powers of analysis, they rush to their writing desks to misinterpret and distort what occurred in the streets.

Daniel Singer, who lived in Paris during the greatest political crisis of the Fifth Republic, unfortunately has added another volume to the growing library of inadequate studies of the events of May 1968.

As one would expect with a book that puts forward all sorts of revisionist attitudes, *Prelude to Revolution* has been received quite well by the liberal press. One reviewer suggested that "If Marx had been living in Paris during May 1968, he might have written this book." We invite the gentleman from the New Republic to acquaint himself with *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. It is not enough to simply dismiss Daniel Singer as ungifted. He holds political opinions that are sympathetic to socialism and which he would consider to be Marxist. But because Singer is little more than a revisionist poseur, it is important that his book be answered before it winds up on a Pabloite literature table.

DEUTSCHER

In his preface, Singer states that it was Isaac Deutscher who guided his political development. This autobiographical note informs us of the source of Singer's revisionist tendencies. Deutscher drifted away from Trotsky over the question of the Fourth International. In spite of his bitter political experiences—or perhaps because of them—Deutscher could never absorb the principal lesson of the decades after the Russian Revolution: that the defeat of the working class was rooted in the degeneration of the revolutionary



Singer sees May 1968 (Renault workers above) in an idealist and separated way.

leadership of the Third International. The cataclysm of the thirties left him incurably skeptical about the ability of the working class to regain the offensive. He approached Trotsky with veneration and pity; Deutscher referred to his hero as the "prophet" because he considered Trotsky as principally a voice for the distant future.

Isaac Deutscher never understood that Trotsky left behind not just political ideas, but also a material force: the Fourth International. The great failure of Deutscher as a biographer was that he did not perceive the continuity of Trotskyism, and therefore failed to realize that only the development of dialectical materialism through the development of the Fourth International could purge Stalinism from the leadership of the working class.

Singer reflects many of Deutscher's shortcomings and none of his talents. The author of *Prelude to Revolution* is caught in all the contradictions that stem from a revision of Marxism. He proclaims the necessity of socialism but not of the revolutionary party. He de-

nounces the betrayals of Stalinism but fails to struggle for the movement that can destroy it. The philosophical method for which Trotsky fought and the International which he built are foreign to Singer. In short, he identifies with Trotsky only through admiration.

WORKERS

Although Singer speaks with excitement of those times "when history quickens its pace," he seems to be surprised by the vitality of the working class. Content with the handy phrases that express something to the effect that we are living in the highest stage of capitalism (something with which even bureaucrats in an exclusive Moscow steambath would agree), Singer makes no effort to relate Lenin's theoretical triumph to the period of the May explosion. There is not a word about the meaning of the 1967 monetary crisis that served as the introduction to the French events.

Although Singer assures us that May 1968 proclaimed a new dawn for the workers of the world, he expresses quite often

the view that France was somehow abstracted from the rest of the world. The relationship between Europe and the United States is not seen. For example, in stressing how different France is, Singer states that we must recognize "the difference between the daily struggle and the historical occasion" and that one should not "confuse the general strike, political by its very nature, with an industrial conflict in, say, the American steel industry."

One must correct Mr. Singer: the task of a Marxist is to understand the relation of the "daily struggle" to the "historical occasion." Were Singer able to grasp that relationship, he would have a deeper understanding of the contemporary form of the collapse of international capitalism, and therefore a more sensitive appreciation of the political issues involved in an industrial strike in, say, U.S. Steel.

IDEALIST

Without a clear analysis of the character of the crisis of capitalism, Singer is forced to deal with the May 1968 events as an idealist. He attributes the revolutionary vitality of the working class to its response to the traditional petty-bourgeois complaints about capitalism. Hardly anything is said about the illusory stability of the Bonapartist Fifth Republic whose foundations rested upon the sharp struggle of the bourgeoisie and proletariat.

Singer waxes eloquent about the visionary role of the students. He does not deny that the working class provided the muscle, but Singer assigns to the students the credit for having advanced socialist objectives. In presenting the students as the original apostles of socialism, he negates the material base of the Marxist analysis of the class struggle.

It is the working class—not the students acting upon that class—which determines the very character and objectives of a revolution. Rather than understanding how the many layers of the petty-bourgeoisie formulates its political attitudes in response to the movements of the two great classes, Singer presents it almost as an independent force.

STALINISTS

Prelude to Revolution devotes considerable time to the role of the French Communist Party (PCF) in the betrayal of the working class. Singer chronicles the determined struggle of the leadership of the PCF in defense of the capitalist order against the onslaught of the French proletariat. As their world crumbled around them—the military announced itself unequal to the task of crushing the working class and the police proclaimed itself unreliable—the capitalists regained their composure only when it became clear that the Stalinists had channeled the general strike into the untroubled waters of parliamentary elections.

Singer is prepared to expose the betrayals sponsored by the Stalinist PCF, but he has no strategy with which to lead a fight against the PCF. The need to fight for dialectical materialism within the working class is never put forward. Because Singer does not understand the strategy that guided Trotsky's battle against the Stalinists, he winds up with something of a separate peace with Stalinism.

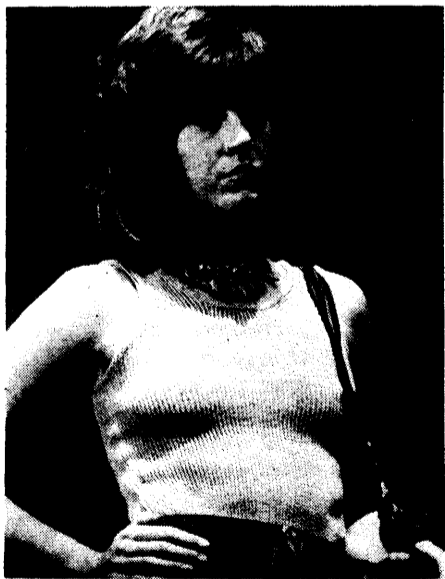
Singer waits until the end of his book to state most nakedly his liquidationist position. His capitulation to Stalinism (i.e. his failure to conduct a struggle against it) is followed by a capitulation to every other leftist tendency. Throughout the book, chapter headings had been buttressed suspiciously by quotes from Rosa Luxemburg. Once again, the revolutionist is being used against Lenin. He quotes her in order to disparage the Leninist party. Claiming her authority, Singer calls for "a somewhat more organized version of the French March 22 movement."

No, Marx would never have written a book like Singer's. But perhaps Mandel?

FILMS

KLAUS KNIGHT

Klute



Jane Fonda

KLUTE. Jane Fonda, Donald Sutherland. Warner Brothers. Produced and directed by Alan J. Pakula.

The stories of prostitutes and call-girls seldom find graceful treatment in films; seldom are these people ever depicted as human beings. They are either one-dimensional venom-tongued bitches who serve to decorate a plot, or venom-tongued bitches with a "heart of gold" who really are quite wonder-

ful individuals who somehow became corrupted.

"Klute" makes an attempt to deliver an honest, incisive portrayal of a New York City call-girl. Jane Fonda plays Bree Daniels as she goes from one frustrated petty-bourgeois bachelor to another, charging fistfuls of money for an hour of pleasure. Bree lives in a modest apartment in a modest sector of New York. Tired after a long day of play-acting to please her "customers," she lights a joint at home, or maybe has a chat with any one of an assortment of pimps, whores and junkies with whom she works.

BRAINS

But importantly, producer-director Pakula has not chosen to leave Bree in that rut. That would have made her character just another Fanny Hill-type street-walker amidst the glitter and glamour of the "in" scene. This movie has brains and its main character has brains. The effort to exploit Bree's life-style is conspicuously absent. We get instead a balanced, realistic personality portrait, a true reflection of a subject much misunderstood.

In discussions with her analyst Bree raps about her joyless profession, her power over men, and why she wants to escape the whole rut. These periodic visits to the analysts give us a documentary-like rundown of Bree's psychology throughout the film. That this film's virtue lies in its creation of a fantastic

character is revealed in the scenes with the analyst. This is because Bree never talks about the plot in these visits, just about herself. The plot of "Klute" is just a standard suspense vehicle for Jane Fonda to ride on.

Donald Sutherland plays Klute, a detective who runs across Miss Fonda in pursuit of a sex-killer. This killer is out to get Bree and at the last moment when she is (ho-hum) trapped alone with the madman, she is miraculously rescued by the good defender of law, order, justice, etc. Even though such a plot rigidly imposes a certain hackneyed structure to the film, the director purposefully avoids its consequences. He successfully tries to be original even in the most minor scenes.

Now Bree has been through it all, except she's never been in love. Klute is a square cop who's been through a lot of square stuff—but he's never found love either. When their relationship clicks Bree just can't believe it.

She tells her analyst that something inside her, that tough whore selling herself for a hundred bucks to any creep willing to pay, doesn't want to admit that she is really feeling something. Bree and Klute do get each other at the end of the film and we have gotten to know them too well to wish otherwise.

Maybe in a sneaky way the makers of "Klute" are trying to tell us that "love conquers all." But fortunately for us, the ending doesn't conquer the rest of the movie.

STEEL . . .

(Continued From Page 5)
hit men with as much as 35 years seniority, who may find that the employers permanently close their units during the period of layoff in line with their drive for productivity. This means that, with the system of unit seniority rather than plant wide seniority, these workers would be at the bottom of the list for other units and would be forced onto retirement once their S.U.B. payments run out.

Even the concession by the employers on these S.U.B. payments, establishing a \$30 weekly increase was only granted because the employers have a perspective of permanently eliminating many thousands of workers from the industry over the next three years.

Even these payments which extend for one year but are considerably reduced after nine months, are dependent on the employers' payments into a fund which may well become depleted because of the tremendous number of layoffs in a period of deepening recession now developing. With the depletion of the S.U.B. fund, the laid off workers are simply out of luck.

The plan to ramrod this contract down the throats of the steelworkers, was, from the very beginning of the negotiations, a conscious conspiracy of I.W. Abel and the top leaders of the USWA with the employers and the Nixon Administration.

Herbert Stein and other representatives of the Administration literally breathed a sigh of relief after the steel settlement was announced, following the 24 hour extension. This was undoubtedly demanded by the White House to avert a strike. Stein commented on the fact that the steel pact did not break the aluminum pattern: "There was some fear that steel would break the pattern and set a new target others would aspire to. They have not done that. I personally find that encouraging."

For months before the contract was signed, Abel and the employers did everything possible to boost the can and aluminum settlements as a model for the steel industry. The objections of the steel corporations to this pattern were played up and the industry spokesmen tried to give the impression that it would only give this pattern after a bitter struggle. The stage was being set for the deal in which Abel claims a big "victory" for the workers after the employers "back down."

In reality, the steel corporations got the pact that they and the Administration figured they would have to concede all along—but the employers got their pound of flesh as well, in the form of the productivity agreement and the green light to go ahead with massive stockpiling of steel, and layoffs which began before the settlement.

ABEL

The stockpiling, the agreement to allow the continuation of 25% of domestic production in event of a strike, the refusal to call for a boycott of foreign steel in event of a strike, and above all the cooperation with the layoffs—all this was part of a conspiracy of Abel and the employers to weaken and demoralize the workers to prevent a strike and to undercut the threat of wildcats following the settlement.

The employers had learned a lesson in 1968 when there had been full production right up to the strike deadline and a continuing demand and high level of production following the pact. Under these conditions, and with the signing of a completely rotten agreement, the workers staged some 20 wildcats.

It was only with considerable difficulty that the bosses were able to isolate the wildcats and prevent the overturning of the contract. The massive layoffs together with the agreement of the union to schedule most vacations during the month of August effectively undermined the wildcat movement in 1971.

In opposition to Abel during this whole period, only the Workers League fought for the establishment of rank and file committees such as the Committee for a Decent Contract at the Vernon, Calif. Bethlehem mill based on an alternative program and leadership in the interests of the workers.

The Communist Party and its newspaper the *Daily World* did everything it could to take the heat off Abel and promote the fraud that the can-aluminum pattern was a model for the steelworkers.

Following the settlement, the *Daily World* reported the dissatisfaction of the ranks with the contract and with the layoffs but had no perspective of a struggle against the layoffs or against Abel who was responsible for the sellout. Instead the *Daily World* in its Aug. 3rd and Aug. 5th issues tried to make it appear that there was a victory on wages and states that the "unlimited (?) cost-of-living escalator does lend a feeling of relief to the steel workers." What the Stalinists of the *Daily World* never explain is how there can be "relief" both for the steelworkers and for the Nixon Administration at the same time.

The steel contract is not just another sellout but is a pilot project by Nixon and the employers to take a leap forward in the destruction of jobs and working conditions both in steel and throughout basic industry.

Despite the political difficul-

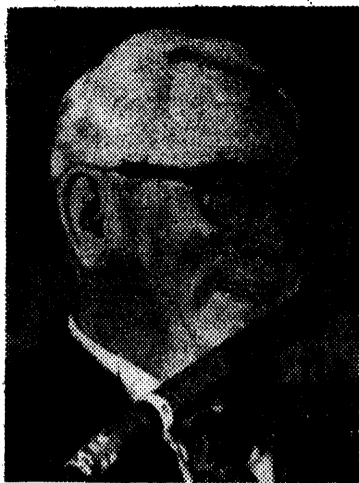
UPPER CLYDE . . .

(Continued From Page 2)
government of the class enemy cannot be pressured or pleaded with. It must be thrown out by general strike action of the working class.

In the face of this tremendous class confrontation, however, the trade union leaders refuse to take up a political fight. The leading shop stewards on the Clyde, James Airlie and James Reid, are leading members of the Communist Party. Their policy from the beginning has been to prevent the battle on the Clyde from turning into a political struggle against the Tories and their bankrupt system.

These leaders have used the occupation of the yards as a diversion from the political fight. Thousands of workers have determinedly taken up the battle but have been left high and dry by the Stalinists and the trade union leaders.

There is no way forward without the fight for a general strike to force the Tories to resign and for the election of a



I.W. Abel

ties, Nixon has no choice but to encourage these layoffs and productivity drives and to lay the basis for an all out smashing of the unions and the bringing in of wage controls. The steel contract represents an attempt to enlist the labor bureaucrats in the carrying out of this strategy. But where the bureaucrats are complacent about the layoffs, the rank and file cannot live with it for three years.

The layoffs are aimed at every worker in the industry whether he is working or not. The strategy of the employers can be stopped through a united fight of the rank and file under the slogan, "No one back until EVERYONE goes back—rescind the layoffs." Demonstrations of the rank and file should be organized at local USWA offices in support of this demand.

The fight to stop the layoffs must be coupled with the demand for the rank and file to have the right to vote on the contract and a call for renegotiation such as the Teamsters were able to get in 1970, aimed at winning:

- \$2.00 an hour wage increase over three years; FULL cost of living escalator beginning the FIRST year.
- 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to spread the work.
- \$500 pension after 30 years.
- The right to strike over grievances.
- An end to all productivity deals, committees and speedup.

A campaign must be started to nationalize the steel industry under workers control with no compensation to the employers and for the formation of a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans in 1972 to fight for this program.

Labour government pledged to socialist policies, including nationalization of industry under workers' control.

Instead of fighting for this, the Communist Party leaders on the Clyde have gone begging to Tory Minister of Trade and Industry John Davies for an agreement that would preserve the workers' jobs.

Airlie and Reid invited Davies to a talk at the yards but were forced to walk out when it became clear that he was going ahead with the layoffs no matter what.

Even after this kick in the teeth the CP stewards invited Davies back for another meeting. Airlie stated hopefully: "We are not optimistic on any of our demands but we feel we have moved this government—we have shaken them."

The British Trades Union Congress and the Scottish TUC have expressed their support for the occupation but have not lifted a finger to carry the struggle forward. The occupation is a farce

DOLLAR CRISIS . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

Now it is by no means assured that the dollar will even be maintained at its current parity until the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Washington in September. So deep is the despair of its being maintained for any considerable length of time that whole sections of the American ruling class are themselves now resigned to dollar devaluation.

This was sharply expressed last weekend in the recommendation, backed by Humphrey and Javits, of the International Exchange Subcommittee of the House Senate Joint Economic Committee, that devaluation of the dollar now be undertaken.

Beneath the new upsurge of the monetary crisis stands the continued wage offensive of the American working class and the inability of Nixon and the employers to deliver it any really fundamental defeat.

Nixon with the treacherous complicity of the trade union bureaucracy has succeeded in imposing sellouts like those just achieved in steel, rail, and telephone on American labor. These sellouts mean a continued deterioration of the living standards for tens of thousands of workers already sharply crushed by inflation. Thousands of more workers are being thrown onto the already long unemployment lines.

At the same time sellouts of this order are, as against the enormity of the inflationary crisis American and world capitalism has allowed to build up, completely inadequate. What Nixon and the employers require are not wage settlements of 6% to 9% but the imposition of outright wage slashing, unprecedented speed up, and the absolute destruction of the trade union movement so that they can push labor back to where it was in the thirties.

It has been precisely this that the Nixon government up until now has been completely unprepared to do, so powerful is the working class that it now confronts. Nixon's fear of a frontal attack on the trade unions has been complemented over the past year by his return to an openly reflationary monetary and fiscal policy.

and a fraud if it only serves to cover up for the trade union leaders.

"EDUCATIONAL"

Left Labour MP Anthony Wedgwood Benn now calls the occupation a great "educational experiment" in workers control. Wedgwood Benn as part of the last Labour government was the architect of the Upper Clyde consortium which now lies in ruins.

He now poses as an opponent of closure of the yards, but he refused to fight either inside or outside the government for nationalization of the shipbuilding industry.

The Stalinists, trade union officials and parliamentary reformists are all seeking a way to preserve jobs without upsetting the rule of the Tories and without attacking the capitalist system itself whose drive for profits is responsible for the layoffs.

The fight to defend the Clyde workers is a fight to defend every worker in Britain who faces the

The huge handout of 250 million dollars to Lockheed to keep this corporation from going bankrupt is simply the latest in the series of maneuvers which have now precipitated the most serious outbreak of the currency crisis to date.

BATTLE

What the renewed outbreak of this crisis now poses to Nixon and the employers is a sharp reversal of the reflationary trend and above all a head on battle with the American working class that has been thus far postponed.

In fact over the past weeks larger and larger sections of the capitalist class have been stridently demanding that Nixon break with what appeared to them to be a policy of doing nothing and that he proceed forthwith to institute a wage freeze.

It is significant that in the wake of this crisis Nixon has now come forward in his press conference last week and stated that he is now preparing to "consider" the imposition of controls if Congress can convince him of their workability.

Nixon, it should be remembered, has long disparaged the imposition of controls on the grounds that they would be almost impossible to enforce, citing the experience of the European ruling class.

If Nixon is now considering imposing controls, it means that he is also considering undertaking the massive use of police and military violence against the trade unions that would be necessary to enforce such controls against American labor.

Nixon well knows that in a situation where whole sections of the American labor movement are already in rebellion against the trade union bureaucracy that simply the assent given by George Meany would not be enough.

The meaning of the latest crisis is that the employers, Nixon, the Democratic and Republican parties are preparing for unprecedented assaults on the unions.

This now requires on the part of the American labor movement a sharp break with the Democrats and the Republicans, and an all out drive to build a labor party for the 1972 elections.

same fate. The American working class will also be facing these kind of attacks in the immediate future. The Socialist Labour League's fight for a general strike and a campaign to force the Tory government to resign has won tremendous support among Clyde workers.

One worker from Scotland told the *Workers Press*: "I don't think much will come of this. The men are doing the right thing to occupy and there will be a riot if they try and get them out."

"We need to dump that crowd in Parliament out. A General Strike is the only way."

Amsterdam shipyard workers have formed solidarity committees at three yards to launch a financial and political campaign in support of their Scottish brothers.

The struggle against the Upper Clyde layoffs can be the opening shot in the fight against the Industrial Relations Bill and the Tory government. This fight is just beginning.

Bangla Desh

Mass Defections Shake Khan Regime



BY A
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT
THE WEST PAKISTAN regime of Yahya Khan has been dealt another blow with the defection of fourteen West Pakistan diplomats at the embassy in Washington and the U.N. mission.

The diplomats, all of Bengali origin, accused Khan of "crimes against humanity" and declared their support for the independence struggle of Bangla Desh.

These defections come only a week after the resignation of two top Bengali officials from Khan's government.

At a 20,000 strong demonstration of East Bengalis in London August 1st, Mo-hiuddin Ahmed, former Second Secretary of the Pakistan High Commission in London announced his break with Khan.

In an exclusive interview with the *Workers Press* in Britain, daily paper of the Socialist Labour League, Ahmed, son of a Bengali village school teacher, explained his shock at the March 25th massacre

in Dacca. All the massacres in East Bengal were brushed aside as "Indian interventions."

On the possibility of a United Nations intervention in Bangla Desh Ahmed declared: "We would never accept that. If we can drive out 70,000 Pakistani soldiers we can deal with the U.N."

Ahmed praised the *Workers Press* which he said "is the only paper which has supported the cause of Bangla Desh." He concluded the interview by stating:

"Our cause is a just cause. We do not want to usurp anyone else's rights. We want to determine our own fate. All people of the world who believe in democracy and human values—you should now come forward to help us."

Almost simultaneously West Pakistan's top Bengali civil servant, Abulmaal Muhith, economic counselor at the Pakistan Embassy in Washington, announced his break with Khan on NBC television. He is the leader of the fourteen diplomats.

He explained that he had wanted to break since March 25th but kept hoping that there would be a peaceful settlement.

Muhith, who handled all aid from the United States to Pakistan was in a position to know how this aid was being diverted away from East Bengal and what economic measures Khan was taking.

Muhith declared that the "atrocities that this government is committing in East Pakistan (Bangla Desh), the frenzy with which it is driving Bengalis out of the country and its suppression of dissent in both wings of the country, not only forfeit the right of the government to a place in a civilized world but also make it responsible for dismemberment of the country."

He accused Khan of "desperately trying to establish a colony in East Pakistan

through a reign of terror and a massive transfer of officials from the West."

TOLL

Muhith said that the death toll in Bangla Desh "is going to be multiplied by three times." "That means," he went on, "between 7.5 and 15 million people will starve within the next three months."

These defections reveal the deep crisis in the highest circles of Khan's government, a crisis brought about by Khan's failure to crush the growing liberation movement of Bangla Desh. The Bengali guerrillas have been delivering numerous blows against Khan's troops.

It is this failure that is behind all the diplomatic maneuvers of the United States and the Soviet Union to seek to establish a United Nations force in Bangla Desh which would aid Khan's troops in suppressing the independence struggle. Sixty U.N. officials have been installed in Dacca with the agreement of Khan, the United States and Britain.

All the imperialist powers together with the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union and China are seeking a political deal that would end the war and keep East Bengal under control of West Pakistan.

Figuring in such a deal is the proposed release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, head of the pro-autonomy Awami League whose overwhelming victory in last December's elections in East Bengal brought in Khan's troops.

However the movement has now gone beyond autonomy. Bangla Desh liberation forces have made it clear they will accept nothing short of full recognition as an independent country. Mohammad Hussain, convener of the Students Action Committee in London told the *Workers Press*: "If the Sheikh becomes involved in such a

compromise, other leaders will have to come forward to replace him. No leader is more important than the 75 million people of Bangla Desh."

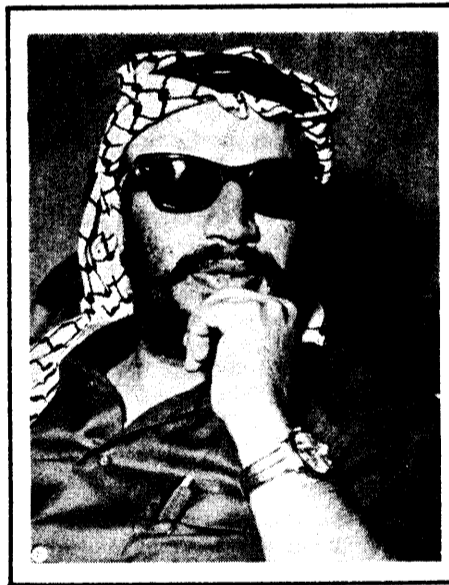
Frightened by the strength of the Bangla Desh freedom struggle the United States and the Soviet Union are having high level talks with India to work out a political deal at the expense of the Bengali people. This is the meaning of the visits of Edward Kennedy and Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union only a week apart to Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India.

Khan's shelling of the Indian border and his threats of war against India are not out of fear of Gandhi's support to Bangla Desh.

Khan, assisted by right wing Moslem fanatics, is attempting to divert attention away from the massacres and civil war raging throughout East Bengal and Pakistan into a war against India. India's threats to intervene in East Bengal would be solely for the purpose of keeping the struggle from spreading to West Bengal in her own country.

The American Communist Party's paper the *Daily World*, is silent about all this. Its August 6th editorial states: "The situation demands that Congress ban all aid..." Not a word about the independence of Bangla Desh or support to the armed struggle. The *Daily World* is urging a ban on aid so that there is more room to work out a deal.

At a time when Stalinism and imperialism are openly conspiring against Bangla Desh, American workers must follow the lead of the Baltimore longshoremen who refused to load arms for West Pakistan. Only the international solidarity of the working class will come to the aid of Bangla Desh.



BY A CORRESPONDENT
RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN the Middle East demonstrate with brutal force the tremendous price which has to be paid for the lack of revolutionary leadership in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The Palestinian guerrilla movement lies in ruins. Last month, after six days of bloody fighting in North Jordan and uninterrupted attacks by 30,000 government troops backed by tanks, artillery and aircraft, the surviving guerrillas had little choice but to cross into Israeli-occupied territory and surrender.

A Palestine Liberation Organization communique stated at that time: "On Saturday morning, the troops used loud-speakers to persuade our men to assemble in the name of the Syrian military delegation. After a number of them obliged they were cut down by heavy machine guns. This treachery and criminal action forced a number of our men to head for the Israeli-occupied territory."

The latest and heaviest defeat for the Palestinian guerrillas was followed by

Middle East

Commandos Betrayed By Arab Leaders

another "summit" meeting of Arab leaders. The meeting was convened by Libya's Colonel Gaddafi, and attended by Egypt's Sadat, Syria's al-Assad, the presidents of the two Yemeni states and Yasir Arafat of Al Fatah.

Guerrilla leader Arafat's policy of compromise with the national bourgeois leaderships of the Arab states has led to the virtual crushing of the commando movement, or at least its removal as an organized force in Jordan.

ARAFAT

Arafat refused repeatedly to call for the overthrow of the open imperialist stooge Hussein. After the Jordanian Civil War last year he signed a pact with Hussein agreeing to the disarming of the guerrillas in the cities and the dispersal of the rest to various locations along the northern border.

Over the next nine months Hussein persistently and systematically took advantage of this deal to return from near defeat and to chip away at the remaining guerrilla strength and set the stage for his final attack. While he openly prepared, with imperialist and Zionist sympathy, to crush the guerrillas, the Arafat leadership set the commandos up for defeat by its continued policy of reliance on the heirs of Nasser.

After Hussein's latest repression the governments of Egypt, Libya and Syria confine themselves again to words and Arafat once again accepts this. At the Tripoli summit meeting vague plans to intervene on behalf of the guerrillas were quickly dropped in favor of mediation efforts by Sadat and King Faisal of Saudi Arabia.

The convulsions in the Arab world reflect the enormous crisis of imperialism and its allies. The tremendous movement of the workers and peasants

calls forth a frenzy of repression, and sharp moves to the right by all the Arab regimes.

When pro-imperialist King Hassan of Morocco crushed an officers' coup last month he accused Libya of seeking to overthrow him. Now Libya's Colonel Gaddafi, however, lashes out viciously at all independent working class tendencies throughout the Arab world.

At the Tripoli summit Gaddafi instead of pledging armed support for the guerrillas launched a vicious attack on the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

"Not commandos but stooges...once the advocates of Arab nationalism they have now become involved in Marxism-Leninism. They have thereby committed a big mistake because the Palestinian people are waging a liberation struggle in which all forces must join against foreign colonialism."

Gaddafi shows what he is preparing to do for the Palestinian people by not lifting a finger in their defense. Furthermore the Libyan government forced down a BOAC airliner in order to kidnap two left wing Sudanese officers who had taken part in the short-lived overthrow of dictator Numeiry. Gaddafi turned these two over to Numeiry for immediate execution.

Egypt's Sadat has followed his own crackdown on dissidents in the Arab Socialist Union with continuing attacks on communists. He recently announced that there was no place for communism in the Middle East. In a speech to labor leaders on August 7, Sadat stated very clearly that what Egypt needed was national unity, not class struggle.

At the same time two more figures have now joined the long list of those in jail or under house arrest. Khaled Mohieddin,

the most radical of the officers who participated in the 1952 revolution, and Ibrahim Saaduddin, head of the Socialist Institute, have been placed under house arrest.

The third of the partners in the Arab Federation, Syria, closed its borders to the guerrillas during Hussein's latest repression. The Syrians are of course completely united with Sadat, Gaddafi, and Numeiry, who is now expected to move closer to joining the Federation, in their opposition to communism and any independent working class organization.

While using left phrases to preserve their anti-imperialist images as long as possible all of these leaderships are more than happy to see the crushing of the guerrilla movement. At the same time they seek to crush all opposition and even potential opposition within their own countries. And they move into the Arab Federation not to coordinate the struggle against imperialism and Zionism but to prepare the defeat of the masses through a deal with the Zionists and imperialists.

The Communist Parties, following the policies of Moscow, faithfully offer their services to all the bourgeois nationalist regimes. This does not prevent these governments from jailing, torturing and executing the leadership and membership of the Stalinist parties, in their drive to exterminate all possible instruments of struggle on the part of the masses.

The heroic workers and peasants of the Middle East will continue to struggle, but they will not be able to avoid bloody and tragic defeats until they construct a revolutionary leadership based on the program of an uncompromising battle with imperialism and Zionism, and their defeat through a socialist revolution.



(The following is an interview with a Yugoslav socialist from Ljubljana in Slovenia. He was recently at the scene of some of the recent struggles in that country.)

Q: Can you tell us something about the struggles of Yugoslav students in the last period?

A: In Belgrade last year, Mijanovic, a leader of the philosophy faculty (graduate students) at the University, was charged with treason, for allegedly having given information to foreign agents. In October 1970 he was jailed for 20 months.

A strike to protest this took place on four faculties of the university. But the strike was isolated in Belgrade, and it was opposed by the university union and the Communist Party youth of all but one faculty. After one week the strike was defeated, although the jail term was lowered from 20 to 12 months.

In Zagreb the students union was destroyed, having been taken over by

Yugoslavia

Direct Report On Recent Struggles

Croatian nationalists in the so-called Cicak affair. Cicak was the nationalist candidate for pro-rector of Zagreb University. His election reflected the growth of nationalism among the Croatian students in Zagreb.

Q: What do you think of Croatian nationalism?

A: It is a very conservative tendency. It is a reaction to Serbian chauvinism. Instead of fighting chauvinism, it feeds it. The bureaucracy speaks of the danger of nationalism even though it has encouraged it. Nationalism has been used to divert attention away from the real crisis and the tasks facing the working class.

Q: Could you tell us something about recent struggles of the working class?

A: Many strikes have taken place in individual factories. 500 railway workers recently demonstrated against low wages. Most strikes are one-day strikes for higher wages. The newspapers print information on these struggles.

In Ljubljana alone there have been strikes of textile workers, miners and metal workers in the last year. Sometimes these struggles take the form of demonstrations which threaten strike action.

Thus far there has not been any repression against these workers. The managers have so far promised improvements, but the workers are still waiting to see most of them.

Q: Ljubljana has recently become the center of student actions as well as workers' strikes. Could you describe the most recent developments?

A: With the growth of Croatian nationalism in Zagreb and the retreat for the time being of the Belgrade students, the student movement in Ljubljana is the most active. A teach-in was held over the Mijanovic affair last year.

This was just the beginning. The recent demonstration against French Premier Chaban-Delmas was the first time the students came directly into conflict with the police. When Chaban-Delmas came to Yugoslavia, 50 students demonstrated their solidarity with the French workers and students. Many were detained briefly by the police at that time.

A students-action board printed some newspapers, which were later banned by the government and confiscated. No other action was taken against the students at that time.

In the philosophy faculty the students began an "open blackboard," a place where the students could write their views and engage in discussion. A student wrote, "Students—the time for the guerrillas is coming, unite against capitalism and authoritarianism," was arrested and held for 14 hours. He was then released but kept under surveillance and probation.

At the end of May the students occupied the philosophy faculty. The police have so far tried to pick off one, two or three students at a time. The students are fighting to prevent this.

Q: What perspectives has the student movement been discussing and developing?

A: The student movement is concerning

itself not only with university rights but more and more with social problems.

There is also a growing social differentiation within the student movement. This is reflected not only in the nationalist tendencies, but in the discussion of how to come closer to the workers and their struggles.

There is discussion of "revolution within the university," by which is meant within the entire university system. Children of workers and of farmers cannot go to the university in large numbers at the present time.

Q: Do you see the need for the building of a new revolutionary leadership?

A: Many see the need for a revolutionary orientation within the Communist Party. A renewed CP means reaching out to the workers. There are few workers now in the CP. There must be a fight to bring in workers, to listen to them, and to lead.

Q: Do you know about the Essen Conference of International Revolutionary Youth, held on July 2-4, 1971?

A: Some friends were intending to go there. It is extremely important that a movement encompassing the youth of both Eastern and West Europe is built. The struggles of the students and youth in those societies where capitalism has been overthrown is very different in many ways from that in the capitalist countries. But there is no possibility of creating a socialist society without the close international collaboration of revolutionary forces.



Leopold Trepper

BY JOHN SPENCER

LEOPOLD TREPPER, president of the Jewish community in Poland, is reported to be seeking permission from the Gierek regime to leave the country and settle in Israel.

His request follows three years of persecution by the Polish Stalinists which began when he wrote to Gomulka protesting at the anti-Semitic measures set in motion in Poland after the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Since then, Trepper has been kept under police surveillance and his telephone tapped.

REVOLTING

For Gierek to harass a 68-year-old Jew because of his nationality would be obscene enough in itself. But the anti-Semitic attacks on Trepper are a thousand times more revolting in the light of his 47 years in the Communist Party and his outstanding wartime achievements as head of the Soviet Union's most successful European spy-ring.

For it was Trepper who built and led the "Red Orchestra"—the vast European espionage ring which penetrated the highest echelons of the Nazi war machine, kept Moscow informed of the preparations to invade the Soviet Union, of the intrigues within the fascist hierarchy and detailed the blow-by-blow progress of the German war effort.

Poland

Stalinists Persecute Jewish Communist

Trepper's espionage coups drew from Adolf Hitler the reluctant tribute: "The Bolsheviks are our superiors in one field only: espionage."

Trepper's political struggles began in Poland in the early 1920s. As a young communist he played a prominent part in the Dombrova uprising of 1926, and spent eight months in one of dictator Pilsudski's prisons as a penalty.

On his release, he set out for Israel with aid of an American charitable organization, and soon joined the Central Committee of the Israeli Communist Party. He built the Unity Group to unite Jews and Arabs against the British administration in Palestine and was rewarded with another spell in jail.

DISHWASHER

Released by the British, Trepper made his way to France, entering the country illegally in 1930, to work as a dishwasher in Marseilles.

He narrowly escaped arrest when the police broke up the "Fantomas" spy-ring in France, and fled to the Soviet Union.

For six years he trained as a secret agent, leaving for Brussels in 1938 to establish the spy-ring which later became famous as the "Red Orchestra."

Operating right under the noses of the Gestapo, the "Orchestra" even managed to get the German army to finance its espionage activities through a cover company called Simex, which did black market deals with the occupation forces.

Stalin paid no attention to Trepper's repeated warnings of invasion. Like Richard Sorge's information from Japan, Trepper's exposure of the Nazi plans obtained at the cost of so much sacrifice was relegated to the waste-paper basket.

Stalin preferred to trust Hitler, endangering the very existence of the Soviet Union which was only saved at the cost of 20 million lives.

When Trepper returned to Moscow after the war, having effected a daring escape from the Gestapo, he was promptly flung

into prison because he demanded an explanation of this policy.

The Stalinists regarded him as a dangerous man: a "cosmopolitan" and old communist, and one who knew too much.

He was not released until 1955, when his conviction was reversed by the Soviet Supreme Court as being "entirely without foundation."

Still a convinced communist, despite his suffering, Trepper settled in Warsaw as a publisher of classical Jewish literature. He became president of the Jewish Cultural Committee. But the Stalinists could not

leave him to live out the rest of his years in peace.

In 1968, the Gomulka regime began a series of attacks on prominent Jewish intellectuals, and Trepper protested vigorously.

He wrote a sardonic letter to the Polish premier, thanking him for his "final solution" of the Jewish question.

Gomulka's reply was to set his bloodhounds on the old man and place him under secret police surveillance. That is his reward for a lifetime of self-sacrificing struggle.



THE STRUGGLE FOR MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES

by Tim Wohlforth

JUST OFF THE PRESS! \$2.45

Mistrial Declared In Huey Newton Case

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The manslaughter retrial of Black Panther Party co-founder Huey Newton ended in a mistrial on August 8. Newton now faces a third trial on charges arising from the death of an Oakland policeman in October, 1967.

The jury, consisting of 10 women and 2 men, had deliberated for 6 days without reaching a verdict.

Newton was originally convicted in September 1968, after an 8 week trial. He was then sentenced to a 2 to 15 year prison term on the voluntary manslaughter conviction. But this conviction was overturned by the California Court of Appeals in May, 1970. By that time Newton had already served nearly 2 years of the sentence.

Newton was released on \$50,000 bail after the first conviction was overturned. Date for a new retrial is expected to be set shortly.

The prosecution case rested almost entirely on the testimony of one of the two police officers who stopped Newton on the night of October 28, 1967 to check the car he was driving.

The prosecution alleged that Newton was responsible for the death of Patrolman John Frey, the other officer who had stopped Newton. Newton testified that he did not have a gun, that he had been wounded in the abdomen and became unconscious. The defense claimed that the other patrolman, Herbert Heanes, had shot Frey.

DIFFICULT

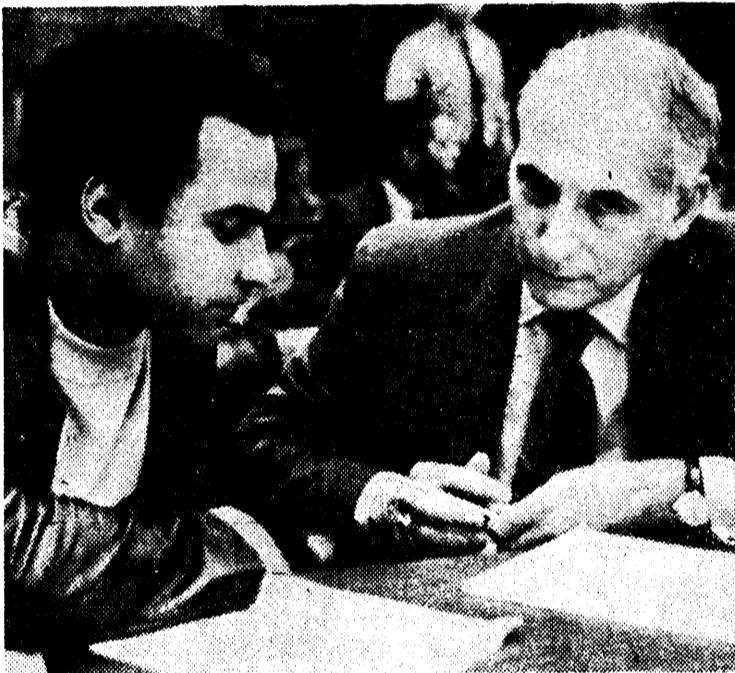
The outcome of this trial, quickly following the acquittal of 12 New Orleans Panthers and acquittals in Detroit, New York

and New Haven, shows how difficult it is becoming for the government to get convictions despite its campaign of terror and hysteria against the Panthers and other militants.

The working class as well as sections of the middle class is becoming more and more distrustful of the capitalist government and the judicial system. The tremendous crisis over Vietnam, reflected in the uproar over the publication of the Pentagon Papers, shows millions of workers that this go-

vernment is based on lies and trickery. And the judicial system is seen more and more as the means of silencing political opponents of the system.

Newton as well as Bobby Seale, Angela Davis and other militants have now spent years in jail on charges for which they have not been convicted. The government can now be expected to move even faster towards preventive detention and the abolition of jury trials themselves in order to achieve its repressive aims. While the jury trials also show that the government repression can be beaten back, this can only be taken forward through a political campaign to mobilize the working class and youth.



Huey P. Newton and his attorney, Charles Garry.

AFSCME Fight Against Job Freeze

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—"We have a special order of business tonight, brothers and sisters," AFSCME Local 829 President Bob Runnels intoned. There was an article in the *San Jose Mercury* stating that the Rank and File Caucus was going to demand the firing of Council President Frank Gillis at the regular July Local meeting.

Runnels went on to say that this article was obviously planted by the County Manager's Office in order to break up the unity of the union against management's refusal to negotiate the elimination of 110 positions by attrition in the Mental Health Department, the demand of \$50 per month increase across the board to all county workers, and no lay offs for any county worker, whatever his classification.

The Rank and File Caucus, through a six week struggle had forced the Local's Executive Board to make lay offs and program cutbacks the chief part of the union's negotiations with management by mobilizing hundreds of workers to the membership meetings. This fight had also resulted in the addition of three rank and file members added to the three Executive Board members to bargain with County

management.

Runnels, with mock indignation, said, "I am sure no member of this Local would have tried to split the unity of the Union by giving such a report to the *San Jose Mercury*." The spokesman of the Rank and File Caucus took the floor and denounced this article as being completely malicious and untrue.

The spokesman said that the question of an immediate program to defend county workers' jobs had been decided by the last general membership meeting, and it was up to the Executive Board to carry that policy through. If the Executive Board under the leadership of Council President Frank Gillis fails to carry that through they will be dealt with accordingly in the upcoming local elections in the fall.

The Rank and File Caucus, he said, will not allow the reactionary bosses' rag, the *San Jose Mercury*, to split the union during negotiations with county management. At that point the reporter from the *San Jose Mercury*, red faced, ran out of the hall.

Runnels then asked for a vote of confidence in Council director Frank Gillis in the wake of this "vicious attack" initiated by County management. This vote of confidence was passed with no dissenting votes while Council President Gillis grinned like a stage director whose production had gone on according to plan.

Frank Gillis then was given the floor to report on negotiations with management. He said that because the Local had but one out of every four county workers that County management was not afraid to refuse to negotiate seriously. He complained that when asked at a Central Labor Council meeting whether labor had any friends on the Board of Supervisors, he had to report that after his years of lobbying the Board, that there were no friends there.

Again, the spokesman for the Rank and File Caucus took the floor and denounced the Executive Board, under Gillis' leadership, for its refusal to organize workers around a militant program eight months ago when the cutbacks were first made known.

It was now overripe for the Executive Board to organize non-union county workers. This must be done by issuing a call for support of this program, with union membership, and a preparation for a strike of all county workers supported by a general strike of all organized workers in San Mateo county.

The Rank and File Caucus has resolved to organize workers in AFSCME Local 829 around the demands of restoration of all jobs cut by planned attrition, no layoff of any county worker regardless of classification, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, and 1000 new public service jobs for the unemployed.

CSEA MEMBER SPEAKS ON BUDGET

The following is an interview with a member of the CSEA (California State Employees Association) who works for the highway division.

Q: How has the hiring freeze affected you?

A: Well, as soon as a person is laid off or quits, his work load is put on the other members of the department. If this keeps up, in a few years instead of doing your regular six to seven hours of work a day you will be doing the equivalent of 12.

Q: What do you think of Reagan's Budget?

A: I think it is really bad. But I think it represents the fact that Reagan thinks that he can do this kind of thing without some backlash from the state workers.

Q: How do you think CSEA should fight Reagan's Budget?

A: I think we should strike, but only if we can get the support of CSEA workers all over the state. Because any isolated strike like here in Santa Clara county, would be defeated.

Q: Do you think CSEA should

strike despite a very probable injunction?

A: Yes, and if we were forced to go back there would definitely be a work slowdown. A strike will show Reagan and the others we mean business.

Q: What do you think of the CSEA leadership?

A: Personally I think the whole organization is a farce. They haven't done anything for us. You pay \$2.50 to go to picnics, play baseball or go bowling, while your wages keep going down. I think that the leadership has made a deal with the Reagan administration to keep everything quiet. All they're doing now is asking Reagan to give us five percent which is like asking them to throw some bones to the dogs. Right now I would like to see us get a 12 or 13% increase and full fringe benefits.

Q: What do you think of the idea of a labor party based on the trade unions?

A: I don't really know. But I know that there has to be some changes fast or this country is going to be in a depression like the 1930s.

CSEA Must Beat Back Reagan's COL Veto

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—The CSEA bureaucrats and their puppets in various locals across the state are now waiting, like Godot, for the swearing in of one more Democratic senator, who makes a bare Democratic majority in the State Senate in Sacramento.

These bureaucrats cling frantically to the hope that their friends in the Senate and Assembly will override Reagan's veto of the 5% cost of living increase for state workers. The CSEA bureaucracy, which disdains being called part of the labor movement, has refused to mobilize the state workers to override the Reagan reactionary veto of cost of living increases.

The paltry 5% increase passed by the Democratic controlled California legislature does not begin to meet the past year's rabid inflation or to correct the completely inadequate level of state workers' salaries incom-

parison to workers in private industry.

STRIKE

Democratic and Republican legislators should be put on notice by this mass rally of state workers that the CSEA and the labor movement are not going to put up with this nonsense any longer. The CSEA must call for a statewide convention of all organized labor for the purpose of building a labor party.

The State Executive Board of CSEA has been forced to say it will initiate a mail ballot for a statewide strike should the Legislature fail to override Reagan's veto. The San Francisco local of CSEA has been forced by its rank and file to issue an immediate strike ballot to its membership regardless of what the State Executive Board decides.

The State prison guard organization, organized by the Teamsters, and the Association of California Highway Patrolmen have also pledged themselves to strike should their pay increases be excluded by Reagan's veto.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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West Coast News

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Steel Ranks Rebel Against Layoffs

BY STEVE CHERKOSS USWA LOCAL 1845

VERNON, Aug. 10—The strike vote was almost 100% in this local. The sentiment among the ranks was for closing it all down against Abel's contract extension.

From 900 to 1000 guys have been laid off now and there are more layoffs to come, many of them permanent. The last layoff day was August 6 when 100 men were thrown out of work.

There is tremendous anger among the ranks. Men are taking down bulletin boards. The fore-

man has been giving out discipline slips for workers who take time off.

There is a revolt against layoffs. The rebellions were spontaneous, not organized. The men tore up the warning slips.

On Saturday night, July 31, the plant was essentially closed. If

it had been open there would have been a walk out. The company closed the plant down. There was only a skeleton crew working.

At the union meeting last night, the local president, Frank Panzarella, did not show up. The leadership said he was too sick. Probably too sick because he knows he cannot sell this kind of contract to the ranks. The meeting was poorly attended. None of the young workers were there.

Dock Fight Deadlock

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The meeting between the governors of the West Coast states, the leadership of the striking ILWU and an official of the federal mediation and conciliation service was called off last week.

The reason given was that the discussions on the local level were making progress so they could afford to wait on the coast-wide issues such as wages, the Modernization and Mechanization agreement and the guaranteed work week. But Bridges later denied that there had been any progress.

MOOD

It is clear however that Bridges feared the reaction of the strikers who have been out for seven weeks now and are in no mood for a sellout. Such a meeting would have meant a sharp confrontation between the union and the government.

In the meantime the government is attempting to put the pressure on the strikers. Since July 31st longshoremen have been refused food stamps. An official from Alameda County said that the state had requested that the county comply with federal regulations in relation to distribution of food stamps. There is a federal regulation saying that

there must be a waiting period of 30 days, but there is no compulsory rule on the county level. The state is obviously trying to stick a knife into the strike.

STARVE

The intention of the employers and the government is to starve the workers into submission. Bridges is not helping the situation a bit. He continues to allow shipping from ports in British Columbia and Mexico and has refused to mobilize a fight for the mobilization of the entire labor movement behind the dockers.

Bridges has called a coast-wide meeting to be held in two weeks. The ranks of the ILWU must stand fast on their demands on wages and the 40 hour guarantee. The scab ports must be shutdown and a campaign taken up in the labor movement. The ranks must answer the employers' job slashing plans with the demand that the industry be nationalized under workers control. This must be taken up within the context of the fight for a labor party.

CWA Locals Must Throw Back Beirne's Latest Deal

BY A CWA MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—CWA's half million members were to vote this week on a contract offered by the Bell System. Almost all telephone workers are now working without a contract since ordered back to work by the CWA national leadership.

CWA President Joe Beirne, terrified at the prospect of federal investigation, called everyone back at the "suggestion" of the federal mediation service. The heavy hand of government intervention is being felt with every major strike as the ruling class

becomes more and more worried about the unabating wage offensive of workers in this country.

The contract offer now made by the company (about \$10 a week for most operators the first year) is no better than previous offers which were rejected out of hand by the union leadership.

This time however, the national CWA leaders feel it is a red hot offer that we should gladly accept. At the same time the government denounces this puny offer as "inflationary." The Pacific Telephone announces another raise in customer rates because the old rates "didn't take into account the 1971 wage settlement."

All of this pressure is a reaction to the fighting militancy of communications workers who are being driven against the wall by their low wages and the skyrocketing cost of living. Beirne's fear that he could not keep the ranks under control proved correct during the strike. Various locals across the country refused to go meekly back to work when the strike was "called off."

DEFY

Local 9410 San Francisco unanimously voted to defy the national leadership's directives and refused to cross picket



Steve Cherkoss, member of USWA Committee for a Decent Contract, selling Bulletins to co-workers in Vernon, Ca.

making it a talk session with the company.

There was big opposition in the Local around pensions, the right to strike, cost of living clause, and layoffs. The most opposition centered on the layoffs.

The fight to reverse this contract must go forward. The workers are not going to take this lying down. Rank and file committees must be organized in the plants. The men are scheduled to go back to work on August 30 after the summer close down. The ranks must demand that no one goes back until everyone is back.

Gravedigger Leaders In Secret Talks On Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—A ten week old strike of cemetery greens keepers and grave diggers has stacked more than 1200 unburied bodies at the San Francisco mortuaries.

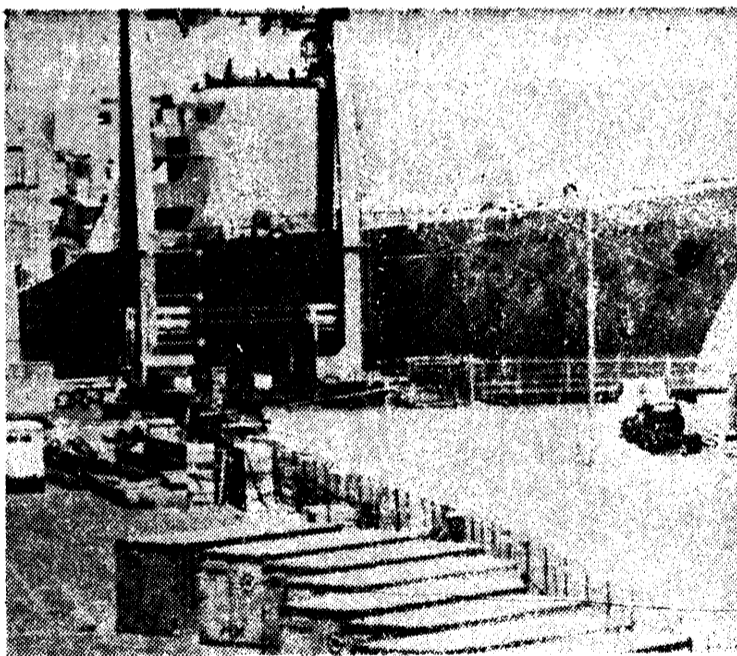
Cemetery Workers Union Local 265 is demanding a \$40 per day scale from the ten struck cemeteries, \$6 per day increase over the present contract. The cemeteries have said absolutely no and negotiations in the bitter dispute have not taken place for weeks.

Now into the picture has stepped Mayor Alioto ordering closed door discussions in his office with both sides present. Alioto is the "friend of labor" and part time crook who inflicted, through his mediation efforts, defeats upon San Francisco teachers and city workers.

It is on the basis of these faithful services to the capitalist class in San Francisco that a man who is on trial for double dealing in the state of Washington can simultaneously announce his candidacy for second term as mayor with virtually no opposition.

But this situation could not have developed without the 100% aid of the entire San Francisco labor bureaucracy. These bureaucrats have called everyone of the Alioto mediation setbacks, victories, and true to form the CWU leadership has agreed to meet with the cemetery owners and Alioto in his office.

It is not from fake friends like Alioto but from the rest of the Bay Area labor movement that the cemetery workers will get the power to win this strike. The ranks must turn thumbs down to any such talks with the mayor and must be ready to immediately reject any sellout which emerges from these talks.



Containerized port on strike in Oakland, Calif.

lines set up by the Yellow Pages workers.

SUPPORT

If the contract offer is rejected nationwide the strike will continue August 19. CWA workers must not let themselves be betrayed by cowardly bureaucrats. We must call on the rest of labor to support what is clearly a political strike against the combined forces of the capitalists.

- Reject the contract offer
- 25 percent wage raise in the first year
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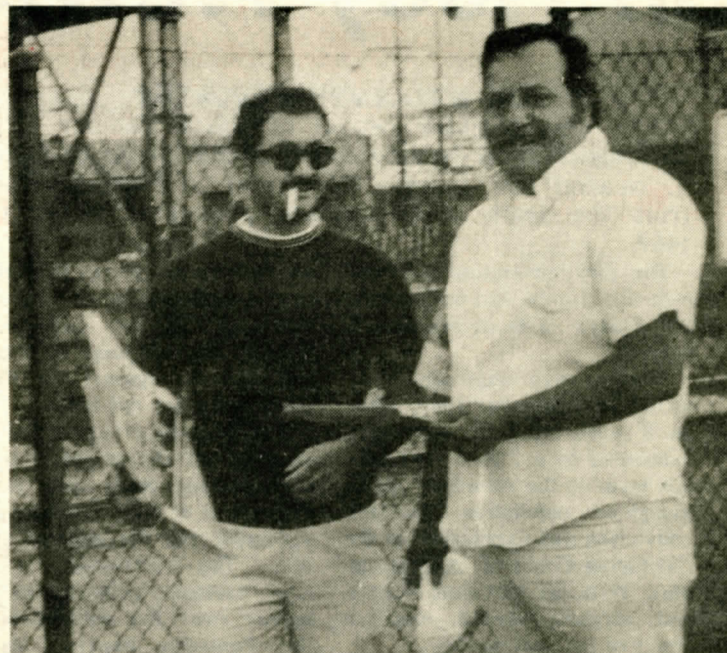
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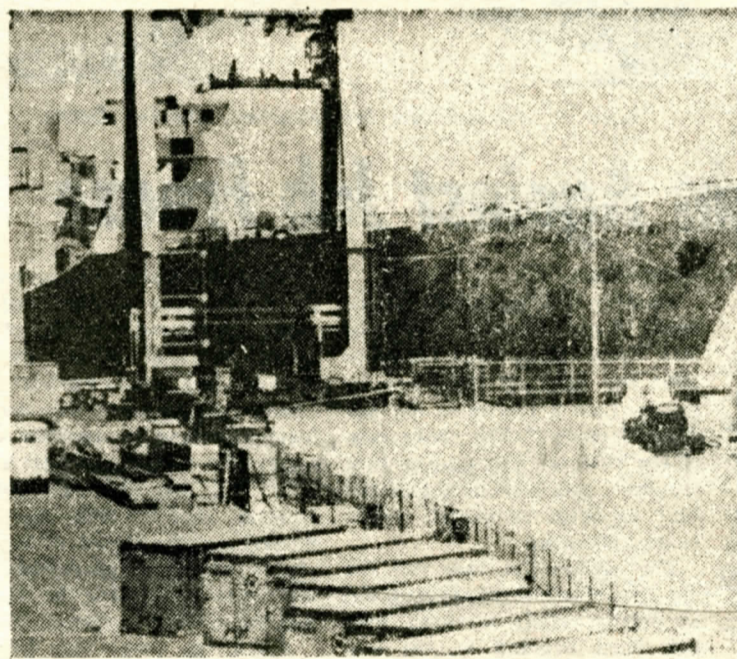
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ADMIT

The main report on the contract was given by an International staff representative. He was forced to admit that the new productivity clause in the contract was not just a speed up clause but was mutual trusteeship—bosses and workers cooperate on production.

On the basis of this attack he had to admit that the productivity clause was a speed up clause and would mean the loss of a significant amount of jobs. He said that the grievance man on this committee would have to fight not to comply with it by



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