

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

George Jackson
Murdered

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FIFTEEN CENTS

As Nixon Threatens All Of Labor's Rights

UNIONS MUST LAUNCH LABOR PARTY FOR '72

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What we think

Smash Freeze With General Strike

On August 16th U.S. capitalism declared war on the world working class. All of the crisis measures announced by Nixon are integral parts of the most vicious assault since the 1930s.

The working class is now facing the most decisive economic and political battles in its history.

In the U.S. today this is sharply posed by the wage freeze. The Workers League has warned continually that this was on the agenda and that capitalist repression was the preparation for open class war of the most brutal character in the immediate future.

This was and is the meaning of the civil war conditions in Northern Ireland, the ruthless campaign against the Black Panthers, all of Agnew's ultra-reactionary pronouncements, the attacks on the press and the determined policy to push ahead in the murderous war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Now this war is coming home against the entire American working class.

United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock said it himself: "If this Administration thinks that just by issuing an edict, by the stroke of a pen, they can tear up contracts, they are saying to us they want war. If they want war, they can have war."

How to wage and win this war—that is the basic question facing every worker today.

The employers repeat tirelessly the myth that the organized working class is responsible for inflation. The paid economic stooges of the capitalists inform us that this is a "cost-push" inflation, caused, that is, by the greedy workers who seek to win huge wage increases.

This is a vicious lie. The real cause of the inflation is the crisis ridden capitalist system and the measures taken as far back as Bretton Woods in 1944.

Inflationary measures were taken to prop up the system, to stave off a new depression and new confrontation with the working class. These inflationary measures were an expression of weakness, of fear on the part of the capitalists. At the same time they only postponed the day of reckoning, as the massive boom undermined the position of the dollar and the entire monetary system.

The wage offensive of the working class was from its beginning a fight to KEEP UP with inflation. When Johnson enormously increased spending for the Vietnam War without any tax increase, the working class began to pay for the war through massive rises in the cost of living. The wage offensive of the past few years expresses the determination of the working class not to pay for the war and the entire crisis.

This class struggle has now moved beyond the bounds of individual economic clashes. The strike wave was a premonition of what was to come. The fantastic budget cuts and layoff attacks on government employees all over the country were another signal of the impending war. Now the level of hostilities has been qualitatively changed with the entrance of the capitalist government in Washington into the battle openly as the chief strikebreaker and union-buster for the entire capitalist class.

As far as Nixon and the employers are concerned, it is no longer a question of politely ask-

ing the workers to tighten their belts in the "national" interest. They have made their move.

As the trade union leaders themselves have pointed out, there is no freeze on profits and Nixon clearly hopes that these soar upward while the workers are held back. The so-called freeze on prices has never been policed in the past when it has been instituted.

Nixon's aim is quite simply to break the strikes in which hundreds of thousands of workers are now engaged. Everywhere the workers refuse to return to work, and the government is now considering whether to proceed with injunctions, fines and jail terms.

According to George Taylor, vice chairman of the War Labor Board during the wage controls of World War II, it will be impossible to stabilize wages without curtailing the right to strike. Taylor also states that this will not be done on a voluntary basis, and on this he is certainly correct.

The future facing American workers if Nixon has his way is now becoming very clear: mass unemployment, anti-strike legislation and the smashing of the union movement, and the slashing of living standards on an unprecedented scale.

Nixon is preparing to extend controls in the form of a government board with enforcement powers, or the extension of the freeze itself. Administration spokesmen say that Nixon will not extend it after 90 days, but then two weeks ago Nixon was saying he would never institute it in the first place!

The trade union leaders' pro-

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Garment worker denounces wage freeze to Bulletin reporter.

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Rightists Take Over In Bolivia

BY MELODY FARROW

Colonel Hugo Banzer Suarez has taken power in Bolivia as a result of the rightist coup that overthrew Juan Jose Torres this weekend.

Banzer had been secretly preparing this action during the last six months in his stay in Argentina and Peru. There he secured the support of the bourgeois Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR) and the fascist Bolivian Socialist Falange.

His coming to power is the beginning of an all-out attack on the working class movement in Bolivia. Banzer himself has declared that his regime will model itself after the one of the ex-dictator Barrientos, who died in an aircraft accident some years ago. This is already being carried out as hundreds of workers and students have been arrested.

At present the fate of the leaders of the COB (Bolivian Labor Confederation), the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party), the Communist Party and the other forces in the working class movement is unknown.

Eight students were killed today by aircraft strafing the tower of the University of San Andres, where leftist students had been holding out against the take-over. Hundreds of students were later rounded up and held by the armed forces.

The military uprising began when the fascist Bolivian Socialist Falange and the National Revolutionary Movement organized demonstrations Friday in Santa Cruz. Friday night 35,000 armed peasants and workers were on the march against Banzer. At a rally in La Paz Friday organized by Torres to save his bankrupt regime, the workers demanded and got arms. 25,000 peasants began to con-

verge on Santa Cruz and 10,000 miners were gathered in Oruro, the heart of the mining district where the military sought to get control. Workers and students organized in commando groups took up positions around La Paz. Fighting broke out everywhere. Armed militias were sent out against Army command headquarters.

COLLAPSE

By Saturday night, with the collapse of Torres, the Bolivian Air Force and six out of nine military commanders came out for Banzer. Armored cars entered (Continued On Page 12)

Montreal ILG Goons Beat Militant

BY FRANK MARTIN

MONTREAL—Union hacks physically beat up a member of the Workers League on August 12th as he was handing out leaflets at an ILGWU demonstration. The demonstration was called to protest massive unemployment in the textile industry in Canada.

As 4,000 textile workers marched through downtown Montreal, the Workers League intervened with a leaflet calling for the nationalization of the textile industry and for the election of a New Democratic Party government to protect workers' basic rights. Immediately, union bureaucrats called in the police to try to intimidate Workers League members from leafletting the march.

Farinas Defense Plans National Tour

BY BRIDGET ELLIOTT

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee, expecting a decision in the case of Juan Farinas from the Court of Appeals within two to four weeks time, has planned four weeks time, has planned a four day tour for the defendant. He will be in Minneapolis September 9, 10 and San Francisco, September 11, 12.

This tour will be the culmination of a two month national campaign to collect from the youth and the labor movement statements and thousands of names on petitions to send to the judges demanding a reversal of the conviction of Juan Farinas.

Juan Farinas is the young worker who was convicted of violating the Selective Service Act and who was sentenced on January 29, 1971, to serve two years in jail, with bail set at \$5,000. His only "crime" was to hand out a leaflet condemning the Vietnam War at his induction center in the summer of 1968 at Whitehall Street. In a last minute move before the

summer court recess the U.S. Court of Appeals, 2nd Circuit, heard the oral arguments for the appeals.

This national tour will include parties, meetings, rallies. In preparation for the tour, the defense committee will be holding parties in East New York in Brooklyn and the lower east side in Manhattan to raise urgently needed money to get the tour started.

In the last week we have received a hundred signatures from the AFT national convention in Los Angeles, 100 from an Angela Davis rally, from the National Maritime Union and Local 3036 taxi drivers in New York City, and from Connecticut Teamsters, auto workers and members of 1199 Hospital Workers.

Abe Feinglass, the International Vice President of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen of America and Chairman of the Civil Rights Committee, sent a letter to the Court of Appeals judges urging them to reverse Juan's conviction. The Unionist, a publication of the Social Service Employees Union,

printed an article on the widening support to the Juan Farinas Defense case.

Nixon's wage freeze, and the greater attacks on the working class that it precedes, mean that this defense of Farinas and all victims of government repression and union-busting must be carried forward immediately within the labor movement and the youth.

FUNDS

To continue our campaign, to send Farinas on his tour, WE MUST HAVE MONEY! We urge all supporters of the campaign to send contributions for the defense campaign work. Also, send a statement to the Court of Appeals demanding the release of Farinas with a copy of the letter to the defense committee. Send statements to: Judges Feinberg, Mansfield, and Moore, United States Court of Appeals, United States Court House, Foley Square, New York, New York.

Please rush your contributions or requests for petitions to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14th St., 6th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.



Contingent of Rank and File Pilkington workers giving support to UCS workers at 50,000 strong anti-Tory demonstration in Glasgow.

50,000 March Against Tories

BY ED SMITH

Production stopped in the west of Scotland on August 18th as over 50,000 workers demonstrated in Glasgow. This was the biggest march since the Depression and is a manifestation of the big forces being assembled inside the British working class against the Heath Tory Government and its attempts to destroy the working class.

The issue of the government's threat to close the Upper Clyde Shipyards (UCS) and throw 6,000 men out of work has become the

focus of the determination of millions of workers to defeat Toryism before it destroys the rights and gains the British wor-

kers have built up over centuries.

As the tens of thousands of workers from throughout Britain assembled in Glasgow for the demonstration, delegations from Rolls Royce started to chant "Heath out!" The chant was taken up by the entire demonstration.

Then the crowd began to sing "If you hate the Tory Party, clap your hands!" The demonstrators also chanted "Launch UCS, Sink Heath," "Go to work on a Tory."

On the same day, a conference called by the Liverpool Trades Council unanimously demanded a General Strike to bring down the Tory government over UCS.

These actions fly right in the face of the reformist policies the British Communist Party and the trade union leaders like Victor Feather, head of the Trades Union Congress, want to foist on the movement.

This is the policy of the two Stalinist leaders of the UCS men, James Reid and James Airlie. At a Scottish TUC conference two days before the demonstration, Reid called for a "modification" of the capitalist economic system. But how can capitalism be "modified" when it is destroying itself, heading toward world economic chaos and slump?

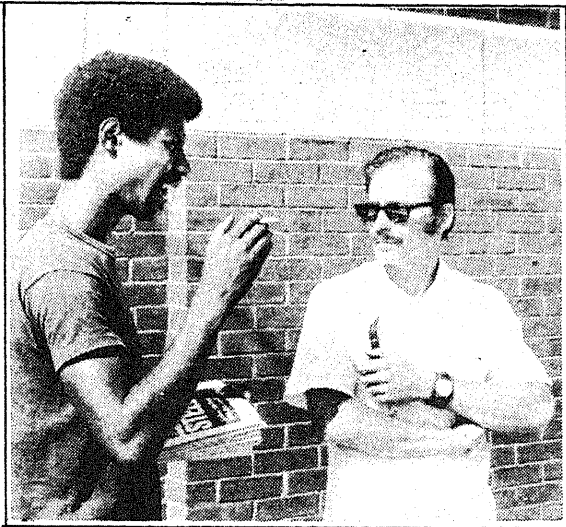
Similarly, Victor Feather said at the demonstration, "We're demanding no renunciations until we've spoken to the government."

Feather and the Stalinists have gotten together behind a scheme for the government to give interest-free loans to a "Clydeside development authority" to "save UCS." But it was precisely the adamant refusal of the Tories to grant money to UCS to keep it from folding that started the crisis in the first place!

The ranks of the UCS workers and the labor movement and their leaderships are now heading in opposite directions. The working class is moving to throw out the Tory agents of big business, while Feather and his Stalinist friends seek to "give them the opportunity to change their minds."

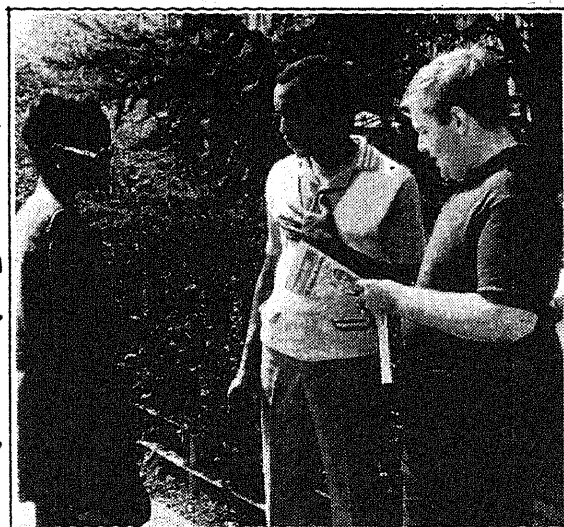
LEADERSHIP

It is only the Trotskyists of the Socialist Labour League who can overcome the contradiction between this powerful movement forward of the working class and the betrayals of its leadership, by fighting for a new leadership, for a General Strike to bring down the Tories and install a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.



Workers Attack Nixon's Freeze

News of Nixon's wage freeze hit home sharply among workers throughout the U.S. Bulletin reporting teams interviewed steelworkers, longshoremen, garment workers, electrical workers and hospital workers in New York, Philadelphia, Bethlehem, Pa. and Baltimore. There was unanimous condemnation of Nixon's attack and a determination to fight back.



Bethlehem Steel Ranks

"Nixon's wage-price freeze is definitely going to hurt the workers who haven't settled their contracts yet. I'll tell you one thing else, if Nixon doesn't end this wage freeze in 90 days, the workers will be up in arms. I don't think Nixon's really talking about a price freeze. The bosses better not raise their prices here especially after Abel sold us out on our lousy contract.

"Both the Democratic and Republican parties demanded a wage freeze because they represent management. And anything that benefits management, both parties do."

"I've lived through the good times. From here on in it's down hill. Nixon's just out to help the big guy. I've just bought your paper because it's the only one that tells what's going on here. And I agree we need a labor party because Nixon is just a puppet.

"The Democrats are just the same. Right here they're going to limit the call back. I've been here since 1950 and at that time there were 625 Bricklayers and helpers and now there are not even 100 men left. And when you look at it from our point of view Nixon isn't helping us with his wage freeze, he's just trying to strangle us. Everything for the big guy and nothing for us except frozen wages."

New York City Garment Worker

"The wage freeze gives the impression of trying to maintain the 'status quo' in relation to wages and prices, but the present situation is rotten for workers because the present wages are a misery. We are maintained in the same situation but the bosses are getting the better part.

"Even with the little knowledge that I have of the history of the workers movement in this country I think we are at the doorstep of another depression. If we don't unite it's going to be worse than in the '30s.

"The idea of a general strike is magnificent. That would be the only way to express our hatred against measures, but I think that it would have to be until all these laws are repealed."

N.Y. Hospital Union Delegate

"I think that the inflation is caused by the big businessmen. There is control on wages, the little person, the struggling people are the ones who will suffer. The wage freeze won't stop the profits from going up. Big business won't be hurt.

"If their salaries are frozen it doesn't matter. They can agree with it because it's the working people, who still have to pay, and who do they buy from—the businessmen, and who do they make their money from—us. They should control prices, not freeze

wages.

"The freeze probably won't be over in three months, who knows how long. There is going to be a lot of labor struggles and strikes, maybe even a general strike. The government always comes to the help of the businessman. All the government officials are big stockholders in the corporations. If you vote now there is no choice."

Philadelphia Longshoreman

"The wage freeze is unfair. Dockworkers have been hit—they are way underpaid. On the Philadelphia docks, heavy equipment operators make about \$4.60 per hour—their labor is worth more than that.

"It only hurts the little guy. How could Nixon hurt anyone else. Look who it helped—all the owners of corporations, like U.S. Steel. You think the head of U.S. Steel cares about a wage freeze—now he can make more money!

"A lot of men can't get work on the docks anymore. But I guess I could get a job somewhere else—after all, jobs are plentiful—if you want to work for the wages they will give you. But a man with a family and bills can't work for those wages. I used to work for Boeing-Vertol. In 1969, they had about 15,000 men. By the end of 1970, they only hired 7,000 men. But the way it is, you're supposed to expect that. I mean, if you get a job, a good-paying job, you think to yourself, 'Well, I can't expect to have this forever.'

"Who's Nixon trying to kid about 90 days? What's going to be so different in 90 days? He's going to let us get pay increases then? I tell you, I see a civil war coming. I mean, we're not going to sit down and lose our wages. We just won't work. What are they going to do then?"

Sparrows Point Steelworkers

"I think they should have frozen Nixon's wages and all the congressmen's; then they should have frozen profits. This is a real attack on the workingman. Something has to be done."

"It must be fought. Nixon freezes wages, then he turns around and puts a 10% increase on imports, trying to get us on his side. But that imported steel is owned by U.S. corporations anyway. To keep profits we'll have to pay—it's all on us.

"I think we all have to kick Nixon out. Only when we get a workingman up there will we get any justice."

"For the past six years we have been getting gypped. When we first saw your paper I kept on telling the fellows, 'Whatever you may think of them, they're right.' They laughed then, but they aren't laughing now. We got double gypped—first the contract, now the freeze. If your readers will excuse me, I think that we ought to tell Nixon, and all his buddies regardless of their parties, 'Get -----'. It's your pro-

blem; freeze your own—but not ours."

Shop Steward Bakery Local 68

"This is a real attack on the trade unions. We've got a raise coming October 8th, and if it doesn't come through we've decided to strike and show these bosses and Nixon we mean business. But to win, we need all of labor—a general strike. After smelling rotting garbage for several weeks, they'd get the message."

Brooklyn Longshoreman

"I think the freeze stinks. We know Nixon. He hasn't changed for 30 years and he never will.

"Our contract deadline doesn't mean anything if the bosses don't have to talk about money. They're going to try to stall the negotiations.

"The union may try to postpone a strike, but I don't think we should. If they extend the freeze nobody's going to take it lying down. I don't know what will happen.

"What can you do? They say you can't fight City Hall. Nixon's the President, he gives the orders. He's the boss, the biggest boss.

"For a general strike, we must have the workers together. I came here from Italy 20 years ago. In Italy the workers are more united. Here the bosses use the workers of different nationalities and colors against each other."

CONTROLS - THE REAL HISTORY Hoffa Denied Parole Bid

BY DAN FRIED

American workers have had considerable experience with the type of policy spelled out in Nixon's current "wage-price freeze." The lesson of this experience is indisputable—wages are held down while prices continue to rise despite "controls."

Needless to say, the profits of the nation's largest corporations, the exorbitant incomes of America's 60 Families continue to grow unrestrained during such periods of "controls."

The best example of this all too bitter experience was during World War II when the workers were hit with a wage freeze and a "no-strike pledge" under the "equality of sacrifice" program demanded by Roosevelt. This was justified by the government in the name of patriotism, one of the false myths that the ruling class always uses to deceive the working class.

The reality of "equality of

sacrifice" for the rank and file union members and the rest of the working class was plenty of sacrifice and no equality. This was spelled out by the War Labor Board, the government agency with authority to rule on all wage increases. The head of the Board, Davis, announced in September 1942, that 75% of all workers were to be disqualified from any further wage increases. He said: "If workers want more pay they must work overtime to get it."

SUPERPROFITS

Beneath all the talk of patriotism and a "war for democracy" against fascism, the employers and government were in fact conducting a good old-fashioned war for superprofits and against unionism. The real face of the capitalists was revealed in a statement in October, 1942 by Admiral Ben Morell, chief of the U.S. Bureau of Yards and Docks:

"I will admit that no one can live without labor, but they certainly can live without labor unions. They are living without them in Germany, and in Italy,

and in Japan they seem to be doing right well—at least for the moment—and in my opinion they will damn well live without them here if all of us don't get in there and pitch."

The Office of Economic Stabilization under "economic czar," James Byrnes, was set up. It gave Byrnes the power to approve wage increases only to adjust "gross inequities." First of all, the wages of workers were held down to the level of real wages of January 1, 1941. This was really a depression level for wages. Later in 1941 a series of important strikes raised the workers' standard of living. This was known as the "Little Steel Formula."

Next, Byrnes ordered an absolute freeze on wages based on the prevailing rate of September 15, 1942, except for the adjustment of the so-called gross inequities. Since the decisions were left up to Byrnes as to what constituted "gross inequities," the workers were deprived of raises in most cases while prices (Continued On Page 12)

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Last Friday James Hoffa, former president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, was again denied parole by the United States Parole Board.

Hoffa has been in jail since March, 1967 convicted of jury tampering and pension fund fraud. He was put there by the infamous McClellan Committee and its foremost agent Robert Kennedy.

This is the third time Hoffa's appeals for parole has been rejected. After the last rejection in March of this year, there were hints dropped that if Hoffa agreed not to run for president of the union, he would be paroled. Tremendous pressure was put on Hoffa by the leadership of the Teamsters to comply. In June Hoffa resigned as president of the union and of the Detroit and Michigan locals.

Frank Fitzsimmons, newly elected Teamster head, has put Hoffa's freedom in the hands of the Nixon Administration. Fitzsimmons' election was greeted warmly by Nixon. It is clear that he owes his presidency in part to the Nixon Administration and

the deal worked out on Hoffa.

The price the Teamsters ranks are paying is Fitzsimmons' support to Nixon's wage freeze. He alone among the trade union bureaucracy has announced he will "cooperate fully."

Nixon's answer to this grovelling was to give the ranks of the Teamsters a kick in the face by denying Hoffa's parole. It is clear he fears the movement which last year broke through the stranglehold of the bureaucracy and gave a lead to the wage offensive.

The class character of "justice" in the U.S. is clear. The same day Calley, the mass murderer of workers and peasants in Vietnam, has his sentence cut, Hoffa is denied parole.

Hoffa and all political prisoners will only be freed through the independent action of the working class against the government.

Freeze Hits ILA

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEW YORK—At the first negotiating session here on August 19th between the International Longshoremen's Association and the shipowners, ILA President Gleason stated that he was willing to hold from the ranks any wage increase that is won until Nixon's wage freeze ends in November.

At the same time, he has asked the East Coast shippers to put forward the offer made to the West Coast ILWU. The offer contained a 35% wage increase and a 35 hour guarantee. The ILWU rejected this offer.

This offer would mean cutting the present ILA wage demands almost in half and actually re-treating on the GAI from the present 40 hour guarantee.

Just two days previously,

Gleason was still demanding the \$7.50 an hour and an extension of the 40 hour guarantee to all ports on the East and Gulf Coasts. And at the end of this session, Gleason once again promised not to strike when the contract expires on September 30.

Quite a bit for just one session of grilling from the shipping bosses!

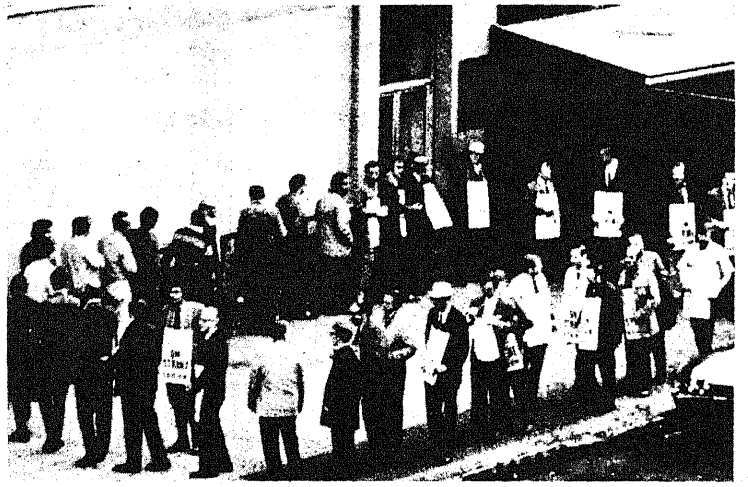
These actions on the part of

the ILA leadership show that they never had any intention of fighting for these demands.

But the ranks must now demand an end to this horsetrading. The West Coast dockers are on strike and defying Nixon's wage freeze policies, while the ILA continues to allow scab shipping to enter New York facilities.

The ranks of the ILA must demand that all West Coast shipping be stopped. At the same time, there must be preparation to close down all the ports nationwide in a joint strike with the ILWU. Only this with the support of the rest of the labor movement will defeat the govern-

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Picket line up at Newark News building. Strike is in fourth month.

Newark Strike In 4th Month

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEWARK—On Thursday, August 19th, the chief negotiator for the Newark Evening News called Nixon's wage freeze "new ground rules" for negotiations with Newspaper Guild Local 173.

This comes in the fourth month of the strike of the Newark News Unit of Local 173. With all other unions refusing to cross the picket line, the paper has not been able to print a single issue during the strike.

But now Nixon's freeze puts the strike in serious danger. The main issues have been centered on wages and job security.

DETERMINED

Media General, a giant corporation based in Virginia which bought the Newark News a year ago, is determined to use the editorial workers of Local 173 as a precedent for low wage increases—if any—and mass layoffs.

Already, they have stated that any contract must allow them complete control over hiring and firing. They are demanding the "right" to fire at least 50 editorial workers—one fourth of the work force—because of "economic difficulties."

Media General's negotiators broke off the August 19th session because they felt that the "new ground rules" had to be studied.

Obviously the company hopes to stall any wage increase, using the time to pressure the union leaders into compromising on job security.

DANGER

The danger is that the union leaders will go along with such a proposal. One leader told this reporter that he recognized that any wage increase will have to be postponed at least until Nixon's 90 day wage freeze is ended. He admitted, however, the real possibility that Nixon would extend the freeze.

But this attitude only plays into the hands of the company. The strikers must instead deepen the fight taken up on August 5th when the State AFL-CIO held a demonstration on the picket lines to support the strike. Over 250 trade unionists from over 20 unions rallied to support the Guild.

SUPPORT

Now the Guild must fight to break itself from its isolation and demand the active support of the trade union movement against Nixon as well as Media General.

Hill Pushes Sellout Through

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Despite tremendous resentment among the ranks of the SSEU-371 against the proposed reorganization contract, the SSEU leadership was able to whip up a big strike fear and demoralization and pass the contract by a four to one vote.

The contract proposed only a 9% wage increase for most workers, for three years, in exchange for allowing the transfer of three quarters of staff into clerical titles. The transfer was called "temporary," but there were no cut-off dates, and no protection offered for workers in clerical titles who will be federalized under Nixon's Family Assistance Plan.

To add insult to injury, the City now holds, that under Nixon's wage freeze, workers in the SSEU 371 are not entitled to their wage increase.

There have been emergency meetings in the local centers in

the past week to prepare a fight around this matter. Motions have been passed unanimously calling for non-participation in the reorganization if the City refuses to pay the workers.

The Committee for a New Leadership is fighting to force the union leadership to take this position. To date, the position of the leadership has been equivocal. Like other union bureaucracies, they have mouthed opposition to the wage freeze, but have made no real commitments to action.

Likewise, the CNL has been fighting for the union leadership to publicly call for national general strike action against the freeze.

But this fight must go onto a political level. The Nixon Administration, the Democrats and Republicans, must be defeated. The ranks of the unions must demand that the labor movement call a convocation of labor, youth and minorities in the fall, to announce the formation of a labor party for the 1972 elections.



Stanley Hill, president, SSEU-371

The SSEU bureaucracy has, for the past several months, been waging a campaign to register its members to vote. Behind this, of course, is their support of reform Democrats (or Republicans). This bankrupt policy of relying on bourgeois liberals was exposed in the union's inability to defeat Nixon's Family Assistance Plan in the Congress.

The CNL will now step up its campaign to rally the ranks around the call for a break from the Democrats and Republicans and the building of a labor party for 1972.

1199 Ranks Face Job Cuts

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—There is no longer any question that a showdown is rapidly approaching between Local 1199 which represents hospital workers and the hospital administrations backed by Lindsay and Rockefeller.

Two weeks ago the Hospital Corporation which now runs city hospitals and the private hospitals that they are affiliated with attempted to negotiate a contract with these hospitals that would eliminate all 1199 clerical jobs. They proposed that these workers might get another job if they chose another union.

One hundred delegates and the 1199 leadership forced their way into a meeting where these secret negotiations were taking place and threatened to call a citywide strike if there were any layoffs.

While Davis may say that such a deal is not acceptable to the union, this solves nothing. The Corporation will continue to seek a way to lay off workers and go ahead with these plans at any time.

Their strategy is to try and pit the workers in 1199 against the members of District Council 37, the other hospital union. The Corporation has promised to leave the DC 37 jobs alone while attacking 1199. Its real intentions are to wipe out both unions.

These attacks are not limited to the affiliations. At Flower

Fifth Avenue four lab technicians including a delegate were laid off and only reinstated after the union made another strike threat.

Working conditions have become intolerable. The X-Ray delegate at Flower Fifth said: "They don't have enough staff. The facilities are improper. We have only four technicians and there are fifteen tests in the morning. I hate to see all those people waiting on line. They use our concern for the patients to get us to work harder. I think the union should have a say as far as hiring the right amount of people."

CLOSE

At Beth Israel Hospital, the City threatened to close a special youth clinic funded by the Ghetto Medicine Act which is scheduled to expire. Not only did the hospital propose to lay off the clinic workers and dump the patients onto overcrowded Bellevue but they proceeded to raise the price of the first clinic visit to \$45. The clinic staff and union officials met with the City but the situation is still a stalemate.

In every department the union leaders have given the hospital

a free hand to change working conditions and staffing, leaving the door open to layoffs.

Hospital workers must demand that the union leadership call a halt to all forms of reorganization and that full rehiring begin now. The workers will not pay the price for the financial crisis of the employers and their system.

For months 1199 officials have denied that there was any danger

Brass Reduces Calley Sentence

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The life sentence of Lieutenant William Calley Jr., who was convicted earlier this year of the murder of at least 22 villagers in the Vietnam hamlet of Mylai in 1968, has been officially reduced to 20 years by Lieutenant General Albert O. Connor.

Calley will now be eligible for parole in six to seven years. But this is not all. The case is still to be reviewed by the U.S. Court of Military Review and then the Court of Military Appeals and finally, if necessary, by Nixon himself.

At the same time Connor said that Captain Ernest Medina, now on trial for his responsibility in the Mylai slayings, should not be tried for "ordering" the attack or for dereliction of duty in failing to report the murders

of layoffs and now when rumors are becoming a reality, they refuse to prepare the ranks for a confrontation. Instead of mobilizing a fight against the cutbacks they content themselves with a few verbal threats.

Immediate action must be undertaken together with District Council 37 to fight any elimination of jobs by the Hospital Corporation with a strike.

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although Medina himself admitted at the Calley trial that he had covered it up.

So after the longest military trial in history in which mountains of evidence was produced that Calley, consciously and in cold blood, murdered Vietnamese men, women and children, General Connor calls the reduction in sentence "appropriate for the offenses for which he was convicted."

This action shows that the military courts only exist for

the purpose of victimizing soldiers who fight against the war and the Army brass and certainly not to prosecute the Army's faithful servants like Calley

If the military and Nixon are now arrogantly and blatantly dropping any democratic cover, it is because they are preparing for open dictatorship and civil war against the workers and youth who threaten their system. For this, they need men like Calley.

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Unemployed Rally Called In New York

NEW YORK—Each month now the unemployment figures soar. Millions of youth are denied jobs now and in the future while their brothers in the shops are thrown into the streets.

A demonstration is being called in New York on September 9th at City Hall against unemployment. The demonstration is being sponsored by a "coalition" which includes trade union leaders such as Stan Hill of the SSEU-371, the National Federation of Social Service Employees Unions, Al Evanoff of District 65, the Furniture Workers Union, the Urban Coalition, and the Communist Party's New York Committee For Trade Union Action and Democracy.

Representatives of this coalition met on August 9. The Communist Party and its supporters who controlled the meeting made clear that they were seeking to limit the fight against unemployment to reformism to pressuring so-called liberal City Councilmen like Ted Weiss. The demands of the demonstration they said were to be free transit fares for workers, unemployed increased unemployment insurance and jobs.

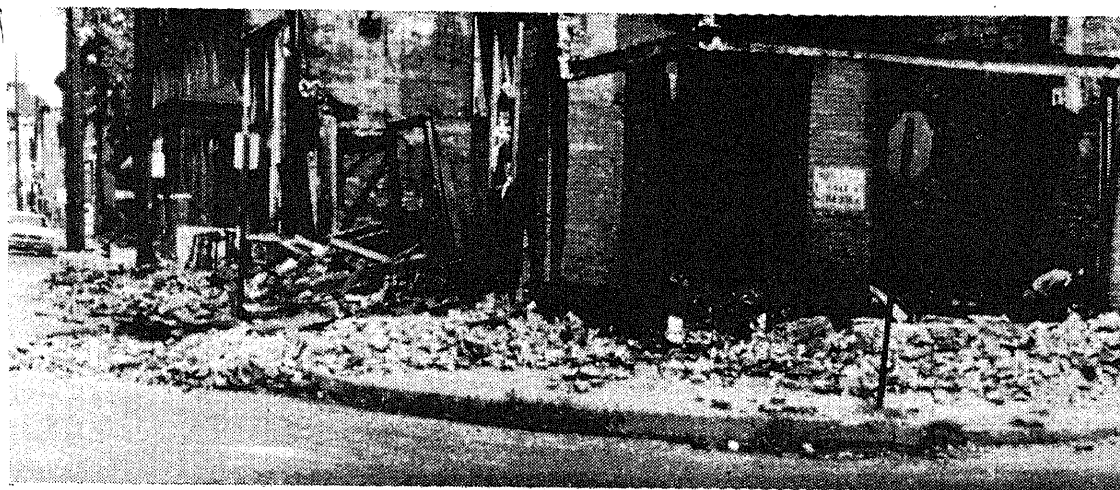
This perspective was attacked by members of the Workers League and youth from East New York. A Workers League spokesman pointed out that the wage freeze now brought the unions into a fundamental confrontation with both the Democratic and Repub-

lican Parties. It was very critical that a section of the unions were sponsoring this rally. The fight against unemployment must now be taken up by the unions, raising demands for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, unemployment benefits for youth when they leave school and training for youth at trade union wages. This fight had to be centered on the building of a labor party for 1972 to unite the workers, youth and unemployed in a fight against the government.

A CP supporter in the ILGWU said he agreed with this but this was not a "revolutionary situation" and so we could not raise demands like 30 for 40. A youth from East New York answered him by saying that the attacks on the unions and the youth was creating a "revolutionary situation." The youth were ready to fight back. He attacked the CP's demands "for crumbs," saying "What good is a free fare if we have no jobs, no money, nowhere to go," and he attacked their support to the Democrats.

The Stalinists sought to prevent discussion as the youth together with the Workers League fought for a program to mobilize the trade unionists and youth.

The Workers League is taking up the fight in the unions and among the youth to march on September 9th calling on the unions to take up the fight against the unemployment around a political program which can defeat Nixon and his friends in the Democratic and Republican parties.



Burned-out buildings in Camden, N.J. after rebellion of workers and youth against police repression.

Brutality Sparks Camden Revolt

BY FRANK ELLIOTT

CAMDEN, N.J., Tuesday, August 24—The movement of the workers and youth against the conditions of capitalism found explosive expression in the rebellion here last week.

The brutal repression by the police of this movement shows the real meaning of Nixon's wage freezing policies.

What started this rebellion in motion was the police beating of a Puerto Rican worker, Horatio Jimenez, for a supposed traffic violation on July 30. Jimenez is still in critical condition in the hospital. For some time the Puerto Rican youth and workers in Camden have been demanding that the cops responsible for this beating be suspended and for several weeks the mayor of Camden, Mayor Nardi, absolutely refused to do

this.

The situation finally developed into open struggle in which all the pent up frustrations of the youth and the young workers was expressed. In the course of these few days, hundreds of youth were arrested, many were beaten by the police, police patrolled the neighborhood areas with tear gas, and an 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew was set up.

The youth that this reporter spoke to placed the blame for the events right on the government's policies.

As one Black youth put it: "I've been trying to find a job for three months now and I haven't found one yet." A high school student, Jose, told us that after looking for work for

six months he finally got a construction job in which safety conditions were so bad that one of his fingers was chopped off. He is back on the street again, unable to work.

He said: "Nixon is a punk. We want jobs." Another youth agreed that this was all part of a conscious policy on Nixon's part. "Nixon's doing this on purpose. He's cutting back on welfare, increasing unemployment and making life impossible for us."

DEAL

In the early stages of the struggle Mayor Nardi refused for some nine hours to meet with community leaders. Finally meetings were arranged between Nardi, community leaders and Mario Rodriguez, a former city councilman and a "community

(Continued On Page 12)

FBI, Cops, Provoke Shootout

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

A large force of police and FBI agents raided the headquarters of the Republic of New Africa in Jackson, Mississippi last Wednesday and charged members of the organization with assault with intent to murder.

Armed to the teeth with guns, tear gas and an armored car, the cops ordered the members at the headquarters to come out, claiming that they had fugitive warrants for their arrest. After what the head of the Jackson FBI said was "a reasonable period of no reply," the cops launched tear gas into the house. In the ensuing battle three cops were shot, one fatally.

WIPE OUT

This attack, like the raids on the Panthers in New Orleans, Chicago and Philadelphia, is a blatant attempt to wipe out these organizations. The cops launched an attack deliberately to provoke a shoot out precisely in order to slap everyone with a murder warrant. A total of eleven members were arrested including the organization's leader, Imari Obadele.

Republic of New Africa is a Black separatist organization



Supporters of Republic of New Africa chained by cops after FBI raid on headquarters. Nixon aims to destroy all opposition to his policies.

which seeks control of five Southern states as "reparation" for the oppression of Black people. Last spring the group bought a 20 acre site to set up a "capital." A state court issued an injunction prohibiting Republic members from setting foot on the property.

The raid took place only six blocks from Jackson State College where two Black students were killed last May when the same cops opened fire on the dormitory.

ENCOURAGE

There has never been any prosecution of these murderers. Daley, Mayor of Chicago and engineer of the Panther raid that killed Fred Hampton, openly blocked a grand jury investigation and now the case of the

Kent State killings has been officially closed by Mitchell.

PRETENSE

The Nixon government is giving the green light to wipe out all organizations that fight back while throwing away any pretense of justice. Now the presidential campaign of Wallace will seek to deepen the racial divisions and encourage these attacks.

The police state repression of these organizations occurs at the same time that Nixon opens his broadside attack on the unions.

Labor must defend all Black militants who have been framed by the government and demand their immediate release.

Veteran Attacks War

BALTIMORE—The following is an interview with Clarence, a Black Vietnam veteran who has been unemployed since his discharge in April of this year.

Bulletin: What unit were you with?

Clarence: I was with the Fourth Infantry in the Central Highlands.

Bulletin: How did the men feel about the war?

Clarence: Our whole division decided not to go into the field. After awhile they didn't even ask us to do things. We had sort of an agreement with the Vietnamese. Nothing was said but as long as we didn't shoot at them they didn't shoot at us. It was pretty good. Of course, once and a while we'd get some gung-ho dude in charge and we'd have to go on ambush patrol.

Bulletin: What is the drug situation in the Army?

Clarence: The situation is bad. I stayed high all day long. That's the only way you can face what's going on.

Bulletin: What news did you get from the States?

Clarence: All the news we got was censored. The only way you could find out the truth was in the political newspapers. I got the Afro-American with the Panther paper rolled up inside. If you get caught with a political paper they fine you \$100. So you just don't let them catch you.

Bulletin: Do many of the men get political newspapers?

Clarence: Yes.

Bulletin: What was the reaction to the police attacks on the Panthers and the shootings at Kent, Augusta and Jackson State?

Clarence: When we heard about Kent State everything blew up. There was fighting, shooting, fragging. I was in demolition so I got a couple of mines and got in on it too. We were furious.

Bulletin: How long were you in Vietnam?

Clarence: I was over there for 15 months. You see I was in LBJ (Long Binh Jail) for three months and they don't count jail time in the 12 months you have to stay in the Republic of Vietnam. In jail they feed you slop and the guards are all pigs. They harass you all the time. One thing though, there's no racism there. The pigs come in black and white.

Bulletin: What do you think of the Juan Farinas case?

Clarence: I'm for him. Anybody who is against the war I'm for. I've seen it. Before I went over I really didn't care about much of anything. Then I got sent and I saw what was happening. I don't see why I should fight over there when there's so much wrong at home. This man Farinas, what they did to him wasn't right. He was passing out a leaflet, that's all. I think a man's got a right to do that. Then they trumped up all those charges after he left the center. He may not be all right in the eyes of the government but I think he's all right.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Unions Must Launch Labor Party For '72

It becomes clearer everyday what Nixon has in store for the working class. Secretary of Commerce Stans said on Tuesday that "phase two" of Nixon's attack will be "strict controls."

This will mean "strict controls" on the unions. Nixon and the entire Democratic and Republican Parties have frozen wages, denied the basic right of the unions to collective bargaining. Nixon has ordered all strikers back to work.

The next step will be the legislation to deny the unions the right to strike, the right to exist as independent organizations to defend the living standards of the workers.

The labor movement has hit back against Nixon's freeze and his orders to return to work. The denunciations by even the very right wing trade union leaders like Meany reflect that big changes are going on in the relationship between the government, the Democratic and Republican Parties and the unions.

The labor movement needs new policies and a new outlook. In the past the unions were able to win wage gains through collective bargaining and struggles in the plant. But Nixon has changed all that. It is now the government made up of the two parties that trade unionists face. The unions cannot fight this government without forming their own party, a labor party.

A big crisis is shaking the Democratic Party which for so long has based itself on its relationship with the working class. These ties are now at a deadend. Democratic state chairmen admit they cannot agree on a presidential candidate. In this situation Lindsay steps into the Democratic Party calling for a "new coalition." The Black Caucus inside the Democratic Party calls for a "new coalition." These politicians fear the development of an independent party of the working people because it will mean their doom.

The role of the Communist Party is critical in this new situation. Two weeks ago it was supporting various Democratic "liberals" while reserving the right to "criticize" them on one issue or another. In 1964 it supported Johnson, in 1968 it boosted Kennedy and McCarthy, now it boosts McGovern.

But the movement of the working class calls for some fancy footwork from the Stalinists. In order to contain the struggle within the framework of capitalist politics, they shift their line a bit to avoid the decisive question of a class break.

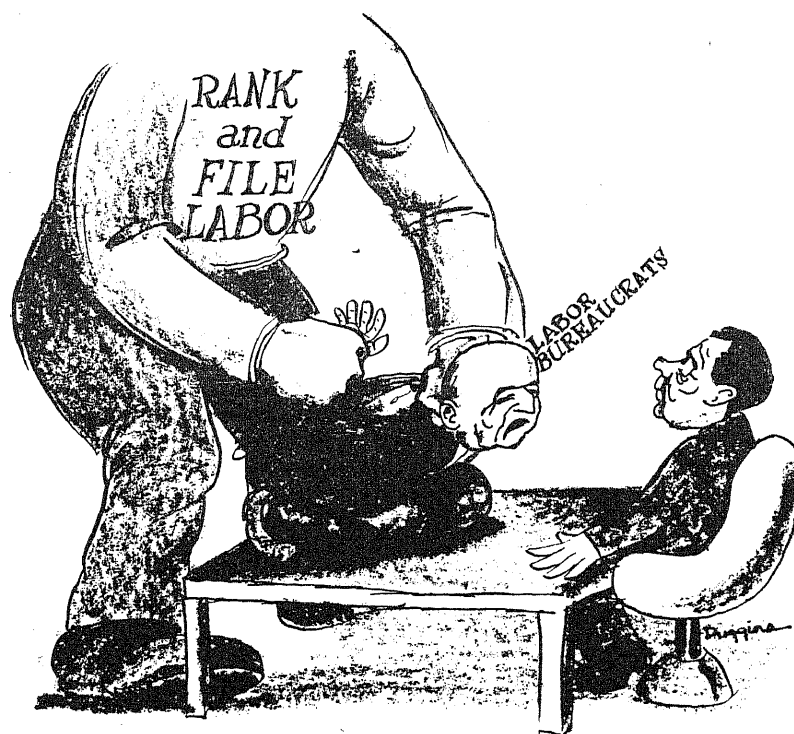
The CP's Daily World has suddenly announced that every leading Democrat was for the wage freeze. "It is time," the CP says, "for labor to tear loose from the two-party trap and to launch its own independent political action, heading up a peoples' coalition of struggle."

And who is going to be in this coalition? Gus Hall, head of the CP, in his new pamphlet, "Out of Indo-China! Freedom for Angela Davis" makes it clear that the heart of the coalition will be the "independent movements" in the "two party orbit" like the ones behind Lindsay and McCarthy.

This new "people's coalition" is designed to rescue the Democrats, to find a vehicle through which the capitalists can continue to rule. This week the Stalinists talk of independence from the Democrats, next week they may discover their virtues again. In every instance they will fight to the last against a political struggle against capitalism.

These moves towards a coalition with a section of the capitalist class raise the greatest dangers to the working class and can only strengthen Nixon's hand. More and more this class leans on the rightist forces to use as a bludgeon against the working class. Wallace is coming forward now with Nixon's encouragement to confuse the middle class and sections of the working class. He is whipping up a racist hysteria and gathering the forces whose sole desire it is to smash the unions.

All these forces are preparing for 1972. The basic rights won by the unions in the past, the very existence of the labor movement is now at stake. We too must prepare. We must answer the government's attacks by beginning by preparing for an assembly of labor, of youth, and minorities to build a labor party for 1972 and to launch the fight for power.



"OK, OK, I'm against the wage freeze!"

What we think

(Continued From Page 1) test against the wage freeze are only the very palest reflection of the anger within the working class. The union officials have suddenly discovered that they have a fight on their hands. Woodcock of the UAW has suddenly discovered that not only the Republicans are to blame:

"Mr. Nixon's hand wielded the dagger, but the dagger was put there by the leading Democrats in Congress, who advocated a law to put in the restraints."

This raises some very important questions. If the Democrats called for the freeze and passed legislation making it possible, why was Woodcock and every other major union official calling for support to the Democrats in the last Congressional elections?

We must recognize our enemies, and we must then insist that certain lessons be drawn on past policies, and that new policies be acted upon.

Yes, every Democrat called for the wage freeze. What Woodcock neglected to add was that George Meany called for it too.

With each passing day and the indication of massive anger and determination to destroy the freeze within the labor movement, the Democrats have begun to talk against the freeze. On August 17th Lindsay called it a step in the right direction, but by August 21st the Democratic National Committee has discovered that it was "pro-business" and was quoting none other than George Meany against it.

Every worker must learn the lesson of this disgusting spectacle. These Democrats are the ones, in Woodcock's words, who put the dagger into Nixon's hands. Having done their dirty work they try to evade responsibility in order to continue to pose as "friends of labor."

Of course they can find specifics here and there with which to attack Nixon. What are they really saying? Only that they would not wish to stab quite so deeply with the dagger! And even that should not be believed, should not be taken as anything but the most tricky maneuvers of capitalist politicians with many years of experience in tricking the working class.

What about the union leaders? These men have devoted a lifetime to serving the capitalist system within the labor movement. They have consistently upheld the view that class partnership, class col-

laboration was the way to prosperity and security. But now their "partners" have bared their fangs and taken out their knives.

Meany himself has been most bitter in denouncing the freeze as a savage attack on all workers. What is he or any of the others going to do about it? To this question workers must demand an immediate answer.

Are the union leaders going to swing behind the Democrats again, behind those who willingly armed Nixon for his attack?

Are they preparing to sit on a tripartite control board or some such body in order to police the working class and seek to hold down wages, much as the British Prices and Incomes Board attempted several years ago?

Are they just going to wait out the 90 days, as Woodcock suggests, and THEN fight when Nixon tries to extend the freeze?

Are they going to limit themselves to court tests of the freeze, or a one day general strike to protest it?

Trade union militants must be on guard immediately against diversions and betrayals. They must demand of their leaders a program of struggle against the wage freeze.

We must insist on no collaboration whatsoever with the freeze or wage controls of any kind. We must insist on a complete break with the Democrats and their two-faced attacks. We must insist on action now, not just verbal protests, and not just limited protests which leave Nixon and the bosses completely free to proceed.

Nixon can only be stopped by massive action of the working class. Meany says he is under "increasing pressure from our people in the field" to call a general strike. This fight must be taken into every union.

To talk of a one day protest action, as some leaders have, is a dangerous diversion at a time when Nixon has put all of his cards on the table and gone as far as to insist that all workers now out on strike go back to work defeated and empty-handed. Nixon cannot be fought with a gesture, with a protest.

The longshore, telephone and other workers now out on strike together with those who face contract deadlines must defy Nixon's freeze by striking and staying out. These unions must be defended by a general strike of the entire labor movement. The country must be completely

closed down until Nixon's freeze is smashed.

Nixon aims to use racial divisions and unemployment to smash the organized working class. The unions must seek to organize the unemployed now, mobilizing the full strength of the working class in the fight for jobs for all.

Nixon seeks to gain support for his attacks in the name of the "national interest." He means the interest of the capitalists. In order to preserve their system these gentlemen must now plunge the world into trade war and imminent depression. The working class faces unemployment, wage-cutting, poverty, and the threat of a new war.

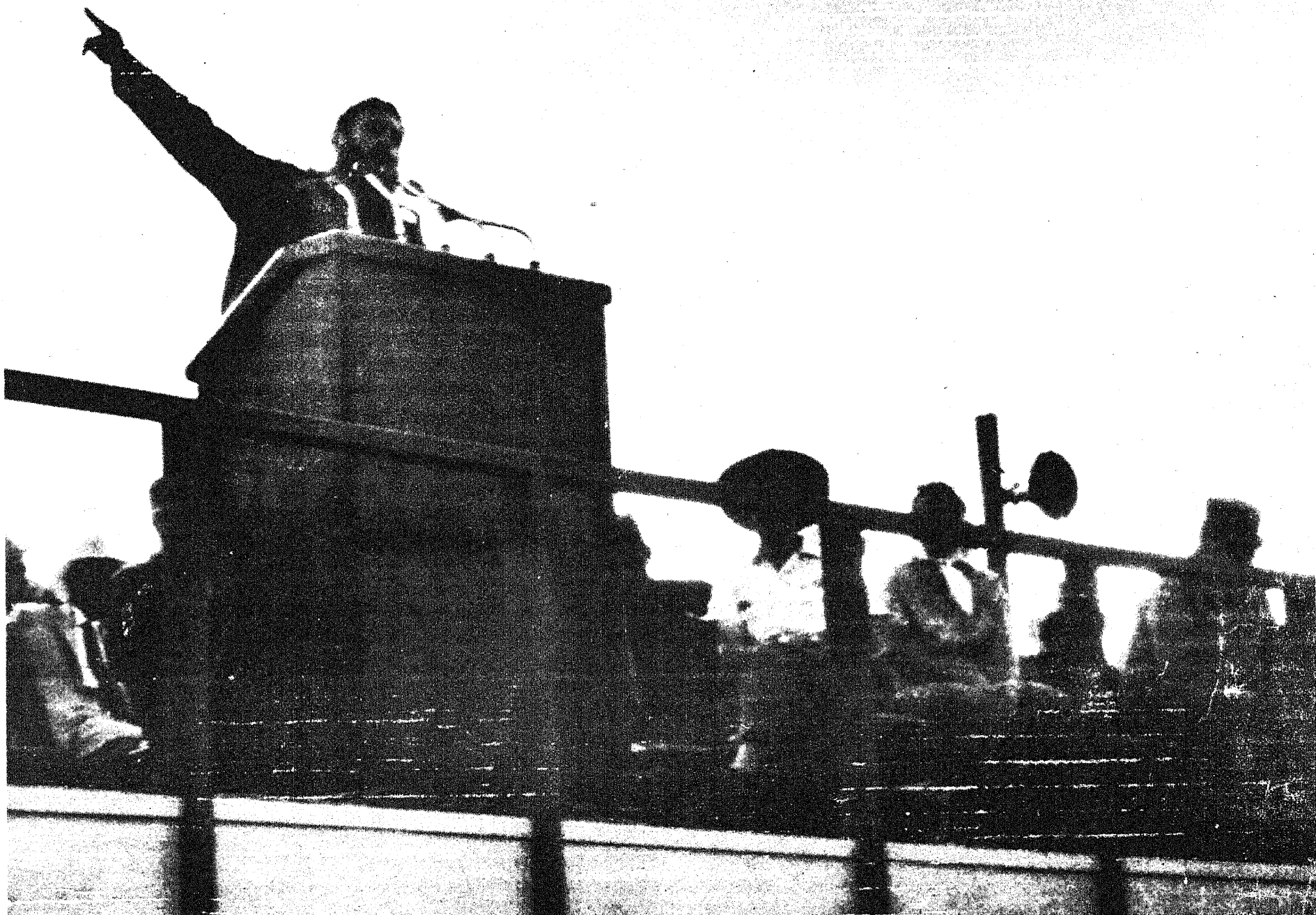
In answer to this the labor movement must demand that no worker be thrown onto the scrap heap or the welfare rolls, that no worker see his living standards cut drastically in order to avert bankruptcies for large capitalist firms. The only answer to the admission of bankruptcy on the part of the capitalists is the fight to nationalize the banks and major industry without compensation and under workers' control.

If the Democrats prepared the dagger and the Republican President now wields it, the only answer, the only way forward for all workers has to be a complete break with the parties of the capitalists, the formation of a labor party and the struggle for power.

The choice is clear: either police state dictatorship, including the banning of strikes, smashing of the trade unions and massive repression of the entire working class—or the taking of power by the working class and the overthrow of the decaying capitalist system.

The single most pressing question facing the working class today, without which no step forward can be taken, is the struggle to construct its own political party. This requires a fight now to prepare a congress of labor, youth and the minority people, to build a labor party for the 1972 elections.

This must be a party which fights for the working class, for a socialist program encompassing the fight for jobs for all, the outlawing of racism and discrimination, the complete withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam, the nationalization of basic industry under workers' control.



CUBA 12 Years After by Rumi Yajuar

TWELVE YEARS have gone by since the vicious dictatorship of Gen Fulgencio Batista was militarily defeated.

Years of tyranny awoke thousands of peasants and workers under the leadership of the petty-bourgeois nationalist 'July 26 Movement' to wage successful guerrilla warfare.

Yet this year, the May 1 anniversary was celebrated in the middle of a furious campaign against intellectuals and 'scoundrels'—the name given by Communist Party officials to workers refusing to sweat in the name of Messianic production goals.

Heberto Padilla, a Cuban poet who deserved the unanimous vote he received from an independent jury of Latin American writers giving him the Poetry Prize, in spite of the active opposition of the Communist Party officials, was arrested ten days before the May 1 celebrations.

He was released more than a month later only on the condition that he 'confessed' publicly his 'crimes'.

He was forced to make a public 'confession' reminiscent of the Stalinist trials against revolutionaries in the Soviet Union, E Europe and China.

In a meeting of the Writers' Union he denounced his 'counter-revolutionary errors', accused himself of having 'fed his egocentrism' by giving an interview to the BBC and denounced his own prize-winning poems as 'insidious' and as 'provocations'.

In his 'self-criticism' he also 'denounced' the well-known French writers Rene Dumond and K. S. Karol as 'CIA agents'.

The official 'summary' of Heberto Padilla's 'confession', distributed by 'Prensa Latins',

does not reproduce this accusation of 'CIA agents' against Dumond and Karol reported by 'Le Monde' correspondents. It includes instead an accusation as an 'enemy agent' directed against Kisler, a German sociologist.

The 'confession' of Padilla includes accusations against his own wife and eight other writers advising them to 'rectify their errors'.

The attacks against Padilla, Dumond and Karol are not isolated events. The failure of the

slogan of the 'Ten Million Tons of Sugar' imposed by imperialist encirclement has created deep conflicts in the Cuban petty-bourgeois government.

The 'CIA agent' Rene Dumond has consistently criticized the way the Cuban leadership has handled its agricultural and industrial problems, in particular its sugar policies.

Dumond is certainly not a Marxist critic or anything near to that. His advice is purely that of a technician, of an agricultural

expert.

But when one puts together Dumond's criticism of the sugar question and the anti-bureaucratic message of Padilla's poems, the similarity of the attacks becomes rather significant.

It is obvious to us that in the context of serious economic problems (not restricted to the sugar question) and of growing resistance of the working class expressing itself through absenteeism and sabotage, and occasional strikes, the petty-bourgeois

leadership of the Cuban revolution is finding its rule rather shaky.

In order to maintain its political power unchallenged it has to resort to repression and slanders.

The considerable gains of the working class and of the peasantry brought by the revolution cannot be underestimated. Vast educational campaigns have virtually wiped out illiteracy and increased the number of primary, secondary, technical and university students considerably.

The health programme has allowed the masses to have access to hospitals, doctors and medicines which before were a luxury product. Some industries have been installed, even if some cannot function due to lack of qualified workers and technicians or lack of materials.

But the recognition of these gains, along with the nationalizations which made them possible, cannot prevent us from mercilessly criticizing the shortcomings and dangers that the Cuban revolution faces due to the social nature of its political leadership.

The defence of the gains of the working class and of the poor peasants in Cuba passes through the uncompromising attack against its petty-bourgeois government.

For even if a number of industries have been established, the erratic policies of the 'planners' have caused serious problems.

Charisma is no substitute for Marxism and 'Machismo' is no substitute for proletarian democracy.

First, their ambitious industrialization programme coupled with the agricultural diversification of the first years resulted in the installation of industries that could not function due either to lack of technicians or to lack of supplies denied them by the



Castro speaking at the tenth anniversary of the defeat of U.S. imperialism in the infamous "Bay of Pigs" invasion in 1961. But what Kennedy could not do with armed force the world economic crisis will do as Castro seeks Nixon's aid against the Cuban working class.

E European or Soviet Stalinists.

Scarcity

Many of these industries relate to processing food and their products are exported to the world market in spite of its obvious scarcity in Cuba.

It was revealed personally to the author by Cubans (probably 'CIA agents' too) that there have been some cases where dockers infuriated by the long queues and food rationing refused to load food in cargo ships destined for export markets.

The industries installed, as Castro himself has repeatedly said in his speeches, are antiquated, based on relatively backward technology and often break down and require extensive repairs.

Hugh Thomas, author of 'Cuba or the Pursuit of Freedom', a vastly-documented book, had this to say as a summary about production in Cuba:

'The shortage of statistics and the unreliability of those that do exist make it difficult to speak of general production figures for the years between 1960 and 1970 in Cuba.

'But it seems likely that whereas between 1959 and 1961 there was probably a rise in the Gross National Production and between 1961 and 1963 at least nothing worse than stagnation, since 1963 there has been a drop

amounting to at least an average of 0.5 per cent a year.

'Considering that the government has, according to its own statistics, failed to ensure much more than an average four-hour day or work from its citizens, it is perhaps surprising that the fall of production has not been greater still.' (p. 1452.)



Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa (l) and Polish Stalinist chief, Edward Gierek.

We wonder if in the near future Hugh Thomas will not deserve also the title of 'CIA agent' for daring to relate such 'counter-revolutionary' facts. The possibilities are not so remote when we see how many times Hugh Thomas quotes Karol and Dumond.

The drop in production by it-

self is not a damning criticism. A workers' state in Cuba could have been faced with the same problem, in particular if the revolution failed to extend to other advanced capitalist countries.

But the revolutionary leadership of a workers' state would have never raised Utopian production goals and imposed them

ducing less sugar per head of population than she was in 1925'.

And when haranguing the Cuban masses for this predictable failure, Fidel Castro called for every worker to 'act as he would in the face of an enemy attack . . . feel like a soldier in the trench with a rifle in his hand'.

revolution in becoming, by a mysterious process of 'substitution', a 'workers' state' in spite of the absence of a Marxist revolutionary party.

The so-called 'objective forces' had, they claim, led the revolution to the path of socialism as a 'natural' process.

For us, revolutionary Marxists engaged in the implacable task of building revolutionary parties of the working class, sections of the Fourth International, the theory of the permanent revolution has indeed been confirmed in Cuba.

'With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, said Trotsky—especially, the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses.' (L. Trotsky, 'The Permanent Revolution'.)

Did a proletarian party lead the masses of Cuban workers and peasants and establish a proletarian dictatorship? Certainly not. From its first political manifesto to the very last, the petty-bourgeois character of the Cuban leadership is more than obvious.

And in effect none of the tasks of the national and democratic revolution has been achieved, on a secure and irreversible basis.

It was only due to the military and economic pressures and threats of US imperialism that the very exigencies of national defence and of preservation of the short-lived democratic gains led to the radicalization of the petty-bourgeois leadership of the revolution.

It was only under such pressures that Castro called for the support of the working class. But certainly not only the working class.

Castro's appeals were addressed first and foremost to the Latin American movements of the same nature as his own.

bureaucratically upon the working class.

In the absence of a revolutionary party pledged to an internationalist stand, the mass of peasants and urban middle class, and to some extent the working class of Cuba are open to directly counter-revolutionary propaganda and the defeatist slogans of the Communist Party bureaucracy preparing the way for compromises with US imperialism.

The Kremlin bureaucracy could not want any better.

AFTER THE failure of the industrialization and agricultural diversification programmes, the mobilization of workers and peasants around the Messianic slogan of 'Ten Million tons of Sugar' for the 1970 harvest only exacerbated the crisis of Cuban economy and increased its dependence on the world capitalist market.

And when the failure of the crop was evident Castro looked around for a scapegoat and began a vicious attack against worker 'scroungers' and 'saboteurs'.

These are the bitter complaints of a 'General' whose defeat he attributes to his soldiers because he will never recognize the hopelessness of the battle in which he had thrown them.

Moreover, in this case, the Comandante, Fidel Castro demanded from the militarized workers, from the bureaucratically controlled workers, from the 'voluntary' workers, that they fight for a policy that could in the end only benefit imperialism.

For the industry in which Castro intended to 'defeat imperialism with a *de facto* dumping on the world market, is a very shaky one.

If one examines the world-trade statistics of sugar from 1956 to 1968 two facts come out clearly.

On the one hand the advanced



Castro and Argentine President Arturo Frondizi. Frondizi's bourgeois government made many attacks on struggles of Argentine workers.

Nearly half of the industrial workers of Cuba, hundreds of thousands of 'voluntary' cane cutters recruited everywhere and hundreds of thousands of militarized workers (soldiers of the Rebel Army), were mobilized to increase sugar production.

They reinforced the situation of the heavy dependence on a single crop just as in any colonial or semi-colonial country.

The return to sugar as the basis for the sugar economy was started in 1963, the year where production figures for sugar were the lowest, to be compared only with the 1945 harvest.

But after the 1963 decision, only in 1965, 1967 and 1970 did the sugar harvest actually surpass the last years of Batista's harvests.

And if we compare them with Batista's best harvest in 1952, only in 1970 can the Cuban government claim to have surpassed it, if their doubtful claim of a 9 million ton harvest is correct.

But as Hugh Thomas points out in his book on Cuba 'much of the [9 million tons of] sugar came from cane left over from 1969 or prematurely cut from the harvest of 1971 . . . even if the 10 million tons had been achieved, Cuba would still have been pro-

capitalist countries particularly in Europe (with the exception of England) have vastly increased their own sugar production based on whitebeet.

Saturated

From 1956 to 1963 many advanced capitalist countries had reached levels of self-sufficiency. From 1963 to 1970 the decline in prices was accompanied by a very slow growth in sugar exports as the markets became saturated.

Where were the 10 million tons of sugar going to be exported? Only US imperialism could provide the outlet. The logical conclusion of such heavy dependence on sugar is the total reintegration in the US market.

The stagnation of the whole Cuban economy, including the failure of the sugar harvest, is but another case where the theory of the permanent revolution finds its confirmation in historical events. Revisionists of the so-called United Secretariat of the Fourth International like to say the same, but for completely different reasons.

For the revisionists, the Cuban revolution 'confirmed' the theory of the permanent

Sympathy and support was sought first from nationalist petty-bourgeois movements in Peru, Bolivia and in Venezuela. Figures in Costa Rica, Quadro and Goulart in Brazil.

As different from Castro's movement, these petty-bourgeois nationalist movements had long since sold out completely and became US imperialism's most precious allies.

Kremlin support for the petty-bourgeois leadership of the Cuban revolution allowed the temporary stabilization of the regime, and also arrested the development of the revolution.

The necessary next steps—if the workers' and peasants' gains are to be preserved—were and are clear: establishment of a proletarian dictatorship and international extension of the revolution.

This can only be realized by a proletarian party with an international perspective for the revolution. If this doesn't happen, the revolution cannot advance, and all the gains of the workers and peasants are endangered.

THE PETTY-BOURGEOIS character of the Cuban leadership becomes quite

obvious when one examines both their 'theories' and practice.

The 'theory' of guerrilla warfare, more specifically of guerrilla 'focos' (groups) as a revolutionary method to which all others should be subordinated is a perfect example of petty-bourgeois radicalism completely alien to the working class.

Guerrillas can, and in many backward capitalist countries must form part of the revolutionary upsurge led by a proletarian party but never its substitute.

To substitute guerrillas for the workers' party, as the Cuban leaders advocate, amounts to a conscious fight against the development of the working class as a revolutionary class capable of leading the social and economic transformation of society.

For the working class achieves such maturity as a class only by means of its revolutionary advanced guard—the revolutionary party.

Betray

But what Cuban leaders preach is nothing but a bourgeois revolution, no matter what name they give to it.

For if the proletariat does not lead the democratic revolution, no other class can lead it. The bourgeoisie or its petty-bourgeois representatives can only betray the revolution—they cannot lead it to victory. This is a universal law, from China in 1927 to Cuba today.

As the Latin-American bourgeois has long ceased to be able to lead such a revolution, the Cuban leaders' objective position is that of advocating the substitution of a petty-bourgeois leadership for a bourgeois one.

policies of Castro can be increased ten-fold. One has only to remember Castro's complicity not only with the Stalinists but with de Gaulle during the revolutionary strikes and factory occupations in France in May-June 1968.

Silence

Castro's silence did not issue out of the requirements of diplomacy. It was an eloquent

more recently, Bangla Desh. Cuba is no exception.

The fact that the Cuban leadership was forced to go much further in its radicalization does not make it an exception.

So did Syria under the 'Marxist' Ba'ath leadership. It went as far as Cuba in the expropriation of even small shopkeepers and for doing so, just as in Cuba, it had to call for the support of armed workers.

the formal democracy of the bourgeois parliament has been smashed.

Guevara summarized this essentially Bonapartist philosophy in 1965 in his book 'Socialism and Man in Cuba'.

'We are seeking something new which will permit a perfect identification [sic] between the government and the community as a whole, adapted to the special needs of socialism and avoiding to the utmost the

the proletariat in this field, what is the way out of parliamentarism? How can it be dispensed with?'

Lenin answers categorically:

'The way out of parliamentarism is not, of course, the abolition of representative institutions and the electoral principle, but the conversion of the representative institutions from talking shops into "working" bodies.'



Cuban workers militarized by Castro only to be disarmed later as Castro began to lose their support.

demonstration of bourgeois solidarity in the face of the proletarian revolution.

The same malevolent and unconcealed hostility to the working class was revealed in his infamous attack on Trotskyism at the Tri-Continental Conference at Havana and his fulsome support for the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The issue of Cuba, and, more

Disarmed

But workers have been disarmed just as they have been disarmed in Cuba. And the recent 'coup' has shown how feeble this 'workers' state' of Syria was (for unbelievable as it may sound, some revisionists, such as those grouped around the monthly journal 'Militant' had promoted Syria, and even Burma to the category of a state as a bourgeois or a 'workers' state!).

A workers' state cannot be established by a petty-bourgeois leadership! No amount of arithmetic calculations by Ted Grant, or any other revisionist, on what percentage of production has been nationalized can be used as a 'criterion' for defining workers' state.

Certainly all workers' states necessarily lead, after their creation, to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. But the opposite is not true. No matter how drastic nationalization takes place, their presence does not suffice for defining the character of the state.

Another favourite argument used by the revisionists is that Cuba is a workers' state because

commonplace of bourgeois democracy (such as Houses of Parliament) . . .'

This, according to the Hanzenite revisionists, was some sort of enrichment of Marxism and Leninism.

Violating

In fact — and in theory — it proves the opposite. The question is not whether parliament exists or not, but what institutions replace it. Those who try and make a virtue out of the absence of representative institutions are guilty of violating some of the most fundamental Leninist principles.

In 'State and Revolution' Lenin warns his readers against the anarchist fallacy that rejection of reformism implies rejection of all forms of state power.

He writes:

'But if we deal with the question of the state, and if we consider parliamentarism as one of the institutions of the state, from the point of view of the tasks of

Distorted

Lenin points to the Commune as the model of such a working body which united executive and legislative functions at the same time.

Is it any accident that nothing comparable to the Commune has emerged after ten years of Castro's so-called 'socialism'?

Is it any accident either that the ruling junta has not been able to produce a constitution for Cuba, despite the existence of a constitutional commission for the last six years?

The revisionists cannot even attempt to answer these questions because they have distorted Trotsky's theory beyond recognition in their analysis of Cuba.

False

The absence of any kind of representative institution—even a deformed one like the Russian Supreme Soviet — cannot be explained away on the basis that Cuba is a 'peculiar and unique workers' state' as some revision-



Castro confers with Che Guevara in 1960.

Revisionists, of course, will jump in despair when this reality reveals itself clearly in Fidel Castro's present policies.

This despair is understandable since they have given full and uncritical support to Castro and his followers in Latin America, to the extent of dissolution or mergers of some of their groups with Castroites.

Castro's support of the guerrilla movements in Latin America has been quite obviously replaced by support for undisguised bourgeois regimes such as the Peruvian military 'junta' or the Chilean 'Popular Front'.

This turn can only be another form of attack against the working class. By supporting these regimes the Cuban leadership only gives a 'left' cover to governments pledged to the preservation of bourgeois rule.

The list of anti-working class

specifically, the question of the class nature of the Cuban state, is not an academic debate.

The correct characterization of all social processes, in particular in the period of imperialist decay, are of the utmost importance for the working class and for humanity as a whole.

What is at stake is not whether our position is correct or not for the sake of formal debate. What is at stake is the fate of millions of Cuban workers and peasants, and by its implications any country faced with a similar situation.

Recent history is filled with examples of national revolutions led by petty-bourgeois nationalist movements which have ended in defeat and in a barbaric destruction of all gains, including mass genocide.

Enough to remember the massacres of Indonesia, Iraq, and



Some of the volunteers going to Camaguey province to cut sugarcane.



Mexico in 1968 (above) when students and workers fought reactionary government. The "revolutionary" Castro never said a word about the Mexican government's butchery. Below, a worker cuts sugarcane.

ists do or that Cuba lacks democratic traditions.

This argument reduces Trotskyism to a pragmatist farce. False premises can only lead to false conclusions.

What this paradox really proves is that the Cuban bourgeoisie is weak, stunted and reactionary, and the working class, though strong in number, is confused and misled by Stalinism.

Therefore it is in the Cuban bourgeoisie's interests to keep the working class politically disenfranchised and, through the absence of representative institutions, prevent the unity of the working class and peasantry against the bourgeois state apparatus set up by Castro's party.

Those who have not understood this elementary truth have understood nothing about the nature of the Cuban revolution and precious little about the method of Marxism.

Practice

The final judge on this matter still remains Lenin:

'To develop democracy to the utmost to seek out the forms for this development, to test them by practice, and so forth—all this is one of the constituent tasks of the struggle for the social revolution.' (State and Revolution, p. 134. Foreign Languages Publishing House.)

THE PABLOITE revisionists add to their criteria vague references to the 'mobilization of the working class' in support of the petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership as a cover for their rejection of the Marxist method.

By doing so they seek to surround their argument with some 'Marxist' sounding phraseology (see for instance an article on Syria in the December issue of 'Militant'). But what they conspicuously fail to mention is under what kind of leadership such mobilizations take place.

The fact that the leadership of the Cuban revolution was unmistakably petty-bourgeois seems irrelevant. This should not surprise anybody as it comes from revisionists who have 'postponed' the construction of the revolutionary party and of the International for some unknown date, depending on the assumed 'natural' development of centrist, breakaway, tendencies inside the social democratic, Stalinist, and bourgeois nationalist parties, independently from the actions of the revolutionary



Marxist advanced guard itself.

'Smashed'

Revisionists often claim that the 'old' state apparatus, the bourgeois state, the army, bureaucracy and parliamentary institutions have been 'smashed' and replaced by a 'new' one.

What is this 'new' state machinery? Are they Soviets? Workers' councils of any sort? Can workers' parties act in any

way apart from the rigidly controlled, bureaucratically administered 'Fronts' which run most of these countries?

Neither in Cuba nor in Syria, nor for that matter in any of the governments claiming a 'non-capitalist' path of development, has any form of independent working-class organizations or institution been allowed to exist or develop.

Instead, the petty-bourgeois leadership has used the institu-

tions of the bourgeoisie (ministries, institutes, 'planning agencies', police, professional army), abolished some bourgeois institutions that could only have been an obstacle when working-class strength is growing (such as parliament), 'integrated' the trade unions in the government and repressed independent working-class opposition (such as those grouped around the newspaper 'Vos Obrera' in Cuba which were calling for the formation of independent working-class councils and a constituent assembly).

We revolutionary Marxists do not base our analysis on an unscientific objectivism. This is the metaphysic of the petty-bourgeois radical movement which discovers all manner of 'new realities' and 'irreversible trends' to compensate for its political and subjective impotence.

The Marxist method has but one 'criteria' and that is the analysis of society as a class society, the class struggle and the social movements it produces. And social classes in history cannot be divorced from their consciousness as a class.

For the proletariat, its independent political organization, the revolutionary Marxist party, is its most advanced level of consciousness. And it is only the proletariat that can give birth to a workers' state by means of its own organization.

It is not the property relations that determine the nature of the state, but the social and political nature of state power that determines property relations and gives them its permanent character.

No difference

The theory that petty bourgeois, nationalist leaders can lead the national revolution and even carry it to the level of a 'workers' state' can only lead to the support (open or disguised) of anti-working-class dictatorships ready to maintain or renew its links with imperialism.

There is no difference, in essence, between the stand point of the revisionists on Cuba and the policies of supporting Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Chin-wei advocated by Stalin and Bukharin in the Chinese Revolution of 1921.

Support, whether critical or not, is thus given by revisionists to regimes where the word 'socialism' is used to conceal the only temporarily stabilized capitalist economy; an economy based on capitalist nationalization, supported by loans and subsidies from foreign finance capital, or from Kremlin or Peking bureaucrats.

It signifies support for state control of the working class by means of the 'integration' of workers' organizations into the government machinery with the help of Stalinist, social-democratic or revisionist labour bureaucracies.

In other words, a bourgeois Bonapartist regime disguising itself, with the assistance of revisionists, under

... fine words about "non-capitalist" paths of development which make "unnecessary" the existence of democratic liberties, about "workers' management", which make necessary the "integration" of trade unions with the state, about the "socialist" and "revolution-

ary" character of heads of government, making it necessary to imprison independent working-class oppositionists.' ('Fourth International', August 1965, Vol. 2, Number 2.)

Overthrow

As revolutionary internationalists, we can only stand resolutely for the construction of a revolutionary party in Cuba as part of the forces of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The revolutionary workers' party in Cuba would have to act according to the programme of the Fourth International, i.e. the Transitional Programme.

That means, arm the workers with the democratic banners of national liberation and agrarian reform.

These aims are threatened by the left and right turns of the petty-bourgeois leadership in Cuba.

The slogans of democratic elections of workers' representatives in trade unions free from state control, and the demand of a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage as a step towards revolutionary democracy and the creation of soviets are an integral part of this programme.



Fidel Castro.

'Sooner or later the soviets should overthrow bourgeois democracy. Only they are capable of bringing the democratic revolution to a conclusion and likewise opening an era of socialist revolution.' (Transitional Programme, L. Trotsky.)

This slogan, aimed at the establishment of a workers' state in Cuba, passes through the fight for the completion and defence of the democratic demands.

The realization of a workers' state in Cuba implies necessarily the revolutionary overthrow of Fidel Castro, its petty-bourgeois entourage and its Stalinist stooges.

This task can only be realized by the working class. The emancipation of the working class can be realized by the working class itself and only by the working class under the leadership of its own conscious advanced guard: the revolutionary Marxist party.

This is true in Cuba, in Syria, in England or anywhere else in this planet. As revolutionary Marxists, as Bolsheviks, as Leninists, as Trotskyists, this is our task!

Long live the forces of the International Committee of the Fourth International!



Castro at a recent ceremony to open a new school in Cuba.

BOOKS

KLAUS KNIGHT

Revolutionary Priest

REVOLUTIONARY PRIEST, THE COMPLETE WRITINGS AND MESSAGES OF CAMILO TORRES, Vintage Books. Paperback. 460 pages. \$2.45. Edited by John Gerassi.

When the middle class starts getting crunched between the proletariat and the capitalist class in a time of increasing crisis, it is bound to do almost anything. During the past decade there has developed a "revolutionary" wave within the Church: in this country the Berrigans evidence that trend. In Latin America too, the spectre of Christ carrying a rifle shows itself upon fences and walls in poster form wherever there are dazzled radicals from the middle class to plaster them in view.

The book in question, *Revolutionary Priest*, shows us through the chronological printing of his works, the path of a child from the petty bourgeoisie, Camilo Torres. He began as a seminary student in the National University of Colombia and ended, a corpse at the hands of government troops during a guerrilla adventure, several years later.

Such a progression, from a searching young Christian who was trying to discover how the universities had a social basis and function, to a frustrated desperado in the mountains deserves attention because it illustrates the path which so many dissatisfied middle-class people have taken to vent their anger against the glaring rottenness of the capitalist system. They have become disgusted with the set-up of the Rockefellers and Nixons, but they have remained isolated from Marxism and the working class, entrapping themselves within the mode of thinking of the Rockefellers.

Torres' early writings (in the form of school theses and research papers) deal with factual, numerical data concerning the living standards of the Colombian people. They are written in that dry, academic approach so common to the hacks of fact finders in the Ford Foundation. Not surprisingly, the only fundamental conclusion our youthful idealist could grasp

from his studies was that the Colombian working class has a living standard lower than that of the Colombian ruling class.

REFORMISM

As the plight of the Colombian masses increased Torres found within his Christian heart (which is also a very pragmatic heart) that reformism, because it didn't work, was not enough. So he turned more and more to radicalism.

This turn finds its expression in his 1964 document, "Revolution: Christian Imperative." Therein he sees the need to love one's fellow man. This, according to Torres, can at one and the same time be Catholic and radical because "he who loves his fellow man has fulfilled the Law," and in order to really love one must serve the people through the overthrow of the monopolists who oppress them.

Based upon this perspective he threw himself into the building of a Colombian "United Front." He produced and sold a paper called *Frente Unido* while he

and his scattered co-thinkers traveled about talking to peasants, striking workers, disgruntled liberals and moderates, attempting to unite all of them in "the pursuit of concrete objectives." These "concrete objectives," aimed against the 24 ruling families of Colombia, were really a bunch of reformist, bourgeois demands like agrarian reform, tax reform and basic women's rights.

GERASSI

The "United Front" never got off the ground. The various class interests it contained came into sharp conflict (though editor Gerassi predictably calls it "sectarianism") and nothing viable could be constructed.

Torres claimed that, for instance, Christians and Marxists could unite in the Front if collaboration were established "at the level of action where the scope and the doctrinal implications can be limited." In "Revolution: Christian Imperative" he says that Marxists could get along with Christians because the former shared with the Christian move-

ment a connection with the "popular movement" and a tradition of fighting for structural reforms in Latin America.

The "Marxists" to whom he refers are no doubt the Stalinists in the Latin American Communist Parties which have been collaborating with the ruling class in every parliament from Mexico to Tierra del Fuego for decades in order to siphon the movement of Latin American workers and peasants into liberal capitalist politics.

GUERRILLAISM

The utter stagnation of Torres' "United Front" threw him into desperation. Ignoring a fight in the working class and within the peasantry to forge of them a revolutionary movement to bring them to political power, he could develop from this point only subjectively. He became convinced in his frustrated mind that revolution was somehow around the corner, that at the right moment his petty bourgeois discussion groups and petition parades would be given the signal to overthrow the government.

This volume contains several urgent messages which he sent when he sensed the time had come. From August to October 1965 he sent these messages to the Christians, the Communists, the Military, the Non-Aligned, the Unions, the Peasants, and even to "The Oligarchy", preparing each group for the sudden explosion. Though admitting its futility, he wrote the oligarchs that the masses really hate them and that "if you still want to fool the people with political shenanigans, do not think that they will believe you."

One October night in 1965, within weeks of his messages, he took off for the hills to become a guerrilla fighter in the Colombian National Liberation Army. "I have joined the armed struggle," he wrote in a "Message to Colombians From the Mountains." "From the Colombian mountains I intend to continue the struggle." The only struggle he was continuing was his own subjective struggle to find a satisfying outlet for his middle class desperation, a desperation that came from his cutting himself off from the independent mobilization of the working class.



Colombian youth throws stick in demonstration during recent struggles in that country.

MUSIC

MARK ROSENZWEIG

Iannis Xenakis

THE MUSIC OF IANNIS XENAKIS

"In my music there is all the anguish of my youth, of the Resistance (the Greek anti-fascist movement) and the aesthetic problems they posed, together with the gigantic street demonstrations and the rarefied, mysterious noises, the mortal noises of the cold nights of December, 1944 in Athens. Out of this is born my mass conception and, in turn, Stochastic Music."

Stochastic music is the creation of Iannis Xenakis, possibly the most important and certainly the most controversial composer of contemporary music. His music has shocked not only musical traditionalists but his fellow experimentalists as well. He describes his basic conception as follows:

"You start with a sound made up of many particles, then you see how you can make it change imperceptibly, growing, changing and developing until an entirely new sound results. I liken it to the onset of madness, when a person suddenly realizes that an environment that had once seemed familiar to him has now become altered in a profound, threatening sense."

This theory of "mass structure" developed in reaction to the theories of neo-serialism which had extended the twelve-tone (dodecaphonic) techniques of

Arnold Schoenberg and the Vienna school to an all-embracing, schematic determinism. Xenakis argued that the total realization of linear polyphony of an increasing complexity deepens the contradiction between linearity and agglomerative density to the degree that the ear hears only an apparently irrational and accidental distribution of sounds dispersed over the frequency spectrum. The statistical character of the acoustical mosaic created by serial polyphonic procedures indicated to Xenakis that the new music would require a compositional procedure which transcended the linear category.

The evolution and development of the mass structure is explained by the probabilistic logic based on the "law of great numbers" which states that the more numerous are random phenomena the more stable is their relative frequency and the more they tend to move toward a "goal". Thus Stochastic Music, from the Greek "stochos" implying goal or target.

Stochastic music is the "sound of probability", or the laws of probability "set to music". But this is not the programmatic content of the music. Rather these laws are a mathematical abstraction of the musical material as such, and serve to functionally mediate between the music and the unity of the physical world. Xenakis has distilled through them the fascinating and disturbing "immanence" of

such natural events as the sound of locust hordes, of rain and hailstorms, the nocturnal chirping of crickets, which are all statistical in their mass effect. Emotionally the music is very powerful and ranges from poetic serenity to frantic agitation.

Xenakis has challenged the traditional dualisms of music by proposing formal solutions to the contradictions which maintain their unity as music while bringing them to a much higher level. It is in this context that Xenakis uses computers. Their use enables him to create a music of "ideas" in which form exists as an idea generating a "family" of possible realizations. His music though, is not "machine music." In fact, it is to his great credit that despite the advanced techniques he utilizes his music altogether avoids mechanical and superficial modernism.

A record just released on the Nonesuch budget label (H71246) devoted to Xenakis' "electro-acoustic music" affords great insight into his work. Based on the manipulation of tape-recorded sound, the works included on this record are created "sculpturally" with complex sound material already possessing statistical properties.

One of the pieces indicates especially clearly how science and technology can creatively unify the arts. The piece, *Concret P-H II*, was created for use in the pavillion of his own design executed for

Phillips for the 1958 Brussels World's Fair. The architectural design was based entirely on "non-developable ruled surfaces", a form which also characterized important aspects of his earlier musical compositions. The music for the pavillion emanated from four hundred loudspeakers and was calculated to complement the textures of the building materials and the structure's coefficient of internal friction.

The idea of an architectural music (and a "musical" architecture) is a speculation on the very future of the musical art and implies the necessity for the new music to go beyond the concert hall aesthetic to the creation of a "popular" environmental art, a sort of aesthetic system of "public works." It recalls to mind Trotsky's prediction in the last pages of his *Literature and Revolution* that under Communism:

"...architecture will again be filled with the spirit of mass feelings and moods, only on a much higher plane, and mankind will educate itself plastically, it will become accustomed to look at the world as submissive clay for sculpting the most perfect forms of life... The great style of the future will be formative not ornamental."

Xenakis' music is more utopian than revolutionary. But because its vision is based on developments which have deepened our knowledge of the physical world new vistas for art have been opened up.

Editor's Notebook

"We must see to it that our children are provided with the moral and spiritual and religious values so necessary to a great people in great times."

So spoke the President of the United States on August 17th, at the 89th annual meeting of the Supreme Council of the Knights of Columbus in New York.

Referring to the closing of private and parochial schools at the rate of one a day, Nixon said, "We must resolve to stop that trend and turn it around—and you can count on my support to do

CONTROLS...

(Continued From Page 3) soared.

PROFITS

A supposed limit of \$25,000 net salary to corporation executives was never seriously enforced. A brief filed by the United Steelworkers of America with the WLB in 1944 proved that although the steel corporations had boosted their share of income by 62% during the war, the relative share of the workers had declined by almost 10%! The average steelworker, despite overtime, was going in the red to the tune of \$8.44 and was forced to cash in his bonds or borrow at high interest rates.

The war profits of the largest corporations were unprecedented. In the shipbuilding industry, for example, a Senate Committee admitted that the largest corporations' net profits averaged 20% to 40% and on some individual contracts went as high as 246%. Clearly, under this "war for democracy," the rich were getting richer while the working men and women were being pushed harder and harder to "sacrifice."

Under the Nixon freeze there will be no control on local, state or federal tax increases. Regardless of the talk of "tax cuts," during W.W. II, taxes soared. But most significantly, while the labor leaders agreed to the wage freeze and no-strike pledge, prices continued to soar. OPA (Office of Price Administration) was a colossal fraud.

OPA head, Prentice Brown, in approving a soft coal price rise of 23¢ a ton in 1943 stated: "I don't believe and Congress never intended that prices should be held at a flat level." At the same time the UAW Executive Committee estimated price increase since 1941 at 30%, ILGWU President Dubinsky complained that prices had risen 22% while dressmakers wages rose by 10% during the same period.

DEFIANCE

Alone among unions, the leadership of the United Mine Workers (UMW) under John L. Lewis was preparing to strike in de-

that."

This remark received a standing ovation from the 1500 leaders of the Catholic fraternal organization.

What became of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, prohibiting church-state ties, either the state establishment of or any aid to organized religion?

The New York Times is shocked by Nixon's statements. They move "government support for parochial schools into a danger zone...Surely the President is

fiance of the wage freeze and no-strike pledge. The UMW was demanding a \$2.00 per day raise in base pay. Lewis justified this on the basis of a UMW survey which showed that in eight mining towns food costs had risen by 124.6% between 1939 and 1943! An official government survey later confirmed this fact. So much for "price controls."

Millions of workers were refused even a one penny raise. The Ford workers were "awarded" 4¢ an hour and the rubber workers 3¢ an hour. These were the fortunate ones. During this same period of September 1942 to April, 1943, living costs rose 38% according to CIO President Phillip Murray. A joint AFL-CIO report issued on January 30, 1944 proved that the cost of living had risen 43.5% since January 1, 1941.

George Meany, then AFL Secretary-Treasurer charged that the workers were on the average 28.5% in the hole in terms of real wages for a normal work week. Shortly after that, Meany wrote: "Is there anyone in America who really believes that the cost of living has been controlled by the government in the last two years? Is there anyone so simple-minded as to believe that price control as it now functions can be relied on by the American workers...?"

But during the war, Meany, Murray, Reuther and all the labor leaders except Lewis went along with the wage freeze and no-strike pledge and conducted a war against all the militants in their unions who wanted to fight the freeze. Even Lewis had joined the other leaders in the original agreement of Roosevelt and the AFL and CIO leaders on the no-strike pledge.

The Stalinists, the American Communist Party with Harry Bridges, President of the ILWU in the lead outdid all the other leaders in a super-patriotic orgy of support to the wage freeze and no-strike pledge. Bridges went so far as to advocate speedup and Roosevelt's plan for labor

aware that it is the essence of church-state separation, under the First Amendment, not to turn over to government the establishment and support of religious teaching."

We are not shocked. Mr. Nixon is also "surely aware" that he must mobilize every reactionary element he possibly can in capitalism's battle for survival.

Thus it is no accident that Nixon's shameless call for aid to religious schools came just one day after his declaration of war on the working class with the

conscription.

The Meany of 1971 is no different from the Meany of 1944, complaining about the very controls he spent so much time in advocating. But today is not 1944. The working class is not for a minute buying this freeze on the basis of the Vietnam war which they are more and more openly opposed to.

The ranks are not going to give Meany or Bridges or any of the other labor bureaucrats any breathing space. A new leadership is being built in the trade unions that will not capitulate to the attacks of Nixon, that will not bow to the Democrats while complaining about Nixon but will fight for a complete smashing of all wage controls and the mobilization of all labor to launch a labor party in the 1972 elections.

CAMDEN...

(Continued From Page 5) leader," and Irv Goldaber, a professor at Brooklyn College who helped mediate the struggle in Asbury Park last summer.

They finally worked out a deal in which the community leaders would tell the youth to cool it and in exchange the mayor would suspend the two cops responsible for the beating of Jimenez.

This deal settled nothing. As one youth put, "I expect things to get worse. There'll be more riots maybe. The cops are still throwing tear gas bombs but they're only throwing them here not down where the mayor lives. Yesterday they threw one at a three year old girl who was sitting on the front steps of her house. Last night they came

BOLIVIA...

(Continued From Page 2) tered La Paz and took over the Palace scattering the groups of workers that tried to resist. The Defense and Foreign Ministers have sought asylum in the Papal Embassy.

In Oruro two Army regiments were sent against the miners. The Confederation of Bolivian Workers (COB) broadcasting radio communiques calling on workers and peasants to march to La Paz in defense of Torres and "the revolution" and said: "This is the fight to the finish against the fascist counterrevolution."

At the very moment that the Torres regime disintegrated with Torres himself in flight to save his own skin the COB still called on workers and peasants to march to La Paz to support him.

There are now only two alternatives. The workers and peasants must either take up a fight to place a workers govern-

Nixon Bears The Cross For The Pope

wage-price freeze. At the same Knights of Columbus dinner Nixon defended his "new economic policy" in the language of chauvinism and super-patriotism.

With all of the Nixon appointments to the Supreme Court, the Court is not able to move fast enough to reflect the enormous depth of the crisis. So Nixon, without blinking an eye, openly denounces the two major decisions permitting busing for school desegregation and forbidding state aid to parochial schools for instruction in non-religious sub-

ILA...

(Continued From Page 2)

ment's attempt to smash back the wage fight.

A capitulation to Nixon and the shippers will open the way for the slashing of wages as well as full scale containerization and layoffs.

The number of longshoremen and checkers on the Port of New York docks in 1966 was nearly 24,000. Now, there are 19,500.

In the same span of time, the amount of cargo rose by 100,000 tons yearly, although the number of hours actually worked dropped sharply from 40 million to 30 million.

CONTAINERIZATION

As it is, tonnage in such areas as Manhattan and Brooklyn have dropped sharply in the last six or seven years. Brooklyn's share

jects.

The open use of racism, patriotism and religion is the last refuge of Nixon and the capitalists as they prepare for the fiercest of struggles with the working class. The government must call into question the Bill of Rights of nearly 200 years ago as it prepares for civil war.

But the working class has just begun to fight. Nixon's moves to the right reflect fear and weakness. They also warn us that the time for preparation for the battles ahead is very short indeed.

was chopped in half and Manhattan, which unloaded 17% of the New York Port cargo in 1964, now only handles 3.2%.

Containerization has completely decimated the Manhattan waterfront. Since 1964, over \$41 million was spent in developing and modernizing the old break-bulk facilities. But now the rush towards containerized freight has passed right by these docks and made them nearly useless.

Under these conditions and with the rising cost of living, the ILA absolutely cannot give up the 40 hour guarantee nor the wage demands. To do so would be to prepare the way for even more drastic job cuts.

The ranks of the ILA must talk up the following demands put forward by the rank and file Committee for a Decent Contract as a program to beat back the shipowners:

- \$7.50 per hour base pay, \$11.25 p/h 3-5p.m. After 5p.m., double time.
- One year contract.
- Extend the guarantee to all men—increased as the average wage increases.
- Vacation—4 weeks after 1 year, 6 weeks after 5 years, 8 weeks after 10 years.
- Benefits—full benefits for all men including pensioners, regardless of seniority. Full hospital coverage for all men and their families.
- 20 years and out at \$500 per month, regardless of age—pro-rated for any member with 10 years of service or more, increased as the cost of living increases.
- No cut in gang size regardless of cargo handled.
- 3% per ton divided among men as automation bonus.

The ILA must also demand the nationalization under workers control without compensation of any shipowners who claim they cannot give the workers a decent standard of living.

This demand must be fought for politically against Nixon, the Democratic and Republican Parties and their wage-freeze policies by the building of a labor party by the trade union movement.

1199...

(Continued From Page 4)

Local 1199 must join the demonstration planned for September 9th against unemployment and link this with the fight against the wage freeze which will be felt in the hospitals with further cutbacks.

Where does 1199 stand on the wage freeze? If hospital workers allow their leadership to be silent while thousands of workers have their union rights torn up we will be next for Nixon's gun.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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Bolivia

Bitter Lessons Of Defeat

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

THE RIGHT WING militarists, with the support of the fascist Falangists and the old nationalist leader Paz, have taken over in Bolivia ending the Torres regime and the Popular Assembly. No information has been forthcoming on the fate of revolutionaries in Bolivia, particularly the militants of the POR.

Brutal as the old Barrientos military regime was, which took the life of Cesar Lora and other militants of the old Trotskyist movement as well as hunting down and murdering Guevara, this new fascist-supported military regime can be expected to carry through even more brutal murders of revolutionaries.

It is necessary to make an assessment of how this coup was permitted to take place, what it reveals of the Popular Assembly, and the role particularly of those within it who claimed to be Trotskyists. The construction of a Trotskyist movement in Latin America will depend on absorbing the bitter lessons of this latest bloody episode in the tumultuous history of Bolivia.

There is no time to lose in drawing these lessons. What has happened in Bolivia can be followed shortly in Peru, in Chile and even in Argentina. The crisis of capitalism is so intense and the working class movement in Latin America so determined that the crisis of leadership is posed with acute sharpness. In every country of Latin America it can be said that capitalism rules only because of the paralysis and confusion of those elements which call themselves Trotskyists. This is the bitter lesson of Bolivia. Nothing, absolutely nothing, can be constructed in Latin America unless this lesson is learned.

LORA

Outside of Ceylon, Bolivia has had the strongest Trotskyist movement of any colonial country of the world. Trotskyism has been a major factor among Bolivian tin miners for a decade and a half now. The key figure of Bolivian Trotskyism has been Guillermo Lora. Lora, who lost his own brother under Barrientos and whose whereabouts at this moment is not known, must share a responsibility in the recent rightist coup.

Lora, in collaboration with the Bolivian Stalinists and with the agreement of the Bolivian and international Pabloites, failed to fight at any point for the overthrow of the Torres military regime. Thus he, along with the rest of the Popular Assembly, acted as a left cover for Torres while the right wing elements in Torres' own army prepared and finally executed their coup.

In so doing Lora was carrying forward a political course begun over a decade ago, from which he has consistently refused to veer. At every point this course has received support within the Fourth International or forces claiming to represent the Fourth International. Though less known than the evolution of the LSSP in Ceylon, the role of Lora and the POR has been no less treacherous and important.

In 1952 Paz, the leader of the bourgeois MNR, a party much like the Bandaranaike SLFP of Ceylon, took over the government while the armed miners took over the mining areas creating the elements of a dual power situation. Under these conditions Lora and the POR called for Lechin and the COB (Bolivian trade union movement) to be admitted into the Paz bourgeois government and gave this government critical support. Instead of fighting to break the trade unions from the bourgeois nationalist government Lora fought for them to enter the government. Instead of calling for the overthrow of this government and its replacement by a workers government, Lora called for critical support for this government.

This position received the full support of Michel Pablo, Mandel and other leaders

of the Fourth International in that period. They wrote in their magazine:

"The POR began by justifiably granting critical support to the MNR government. That is, it desisted from issuing the slogan 'down with the government;' it gave the government critical support against attacks of imperialism and reaction, and it supported all progressive measures."

It should be noted that we are here speaking of support to Paz who today seeks to ride back into power along with the fascist Falange, the right wing generals and the CIA!

In this period the Fourth International was wracked by a fundamental split centering on Pablo's attempt to completely liquidate Trotskyism into Stalinism and the social democratic parties. Under these conditions it was not really possible for the Bolivian question to be seriously discussed, much less fought out.

INTERNATIONAL

It must, however, be noted that Lora contributed his share to deepening this crisis by throwing his weight behind Pablo. Like many in the LSSP, Lora had areas of agreement with the SWP and the others in the International Committee. But he did not proceed from questions of international concern and perspectives. The easiest course was to go along with Pablo. This he did. This way the Latin American sections of the Fourth International were thrown behind Pablo who subsequently through his collaborator Posadas was to do his best to break up and liquidate these forces.

FUSION

At the time of the reunification of the SWP-supported forces with Mandel in 1963, Lora was independent of either the International Committee or the United Secretariat. The United Secretariat's group in Bolivia was headed by Moscoso. Soon thereafter Lora fused with Moscoso entering the United Secretariat and lending to the United Secretariat his support. The fusion took place on what appeared to be common agreement over Cuba and Castro.

This unification was not to last long as Moscoso sought to implement this agreement by subordinating the POR to guerrilla activities in the countryside. Lora insisted on an orientation based on the tin miners and other sections of the Bolivian working class and a split ensued.

Following this split Lora established contact with the International Committee announcing his agreement with the IC's international perspectives, especially its position on the centrality of the struggles of the working class in all countries. But Lora never made any serious attempt to assess his own history and on this basis make a fundamental development towards a break with his own past.

With the rise of Torres and the Popular Assembly the old positions of Lora re-emerge. Once again the country is faced with a dual power situation and the possibility of civil war. Once again Lora refuses to face up to it, to pose the necessity to break with Torres, to form a workers and farmers government, to fight it out directly with all sections of the military and capitalism.

RESOLUTION

Instead he combines with the Communist Party around a COB resolution which states:

"The present process is contradictory: while the government is taking certain anti-imperialist and progressive measures on the one hand, on the other hand it is adopting pro-imperialist measures contrary to the national and popular interests. The proletariat supports whatever is positive for the emancipation of our people and at the same time criticizes and fights the measures which are against the masses' interests, fighting to impose new anti-imperialist measures



which will lead us to a true revolution on the road of national emancipation and socialism. This is our tactic in the present process, and this is without forgetting the final goals of the working class."

This section of the resolution, we understand, was written by the Stalinists, but the POR voted for the document as a whole anyway. In any event their position was not qualitatively different from that of the Stalinists. Together with the Stalinists the POR supported the position of threatening a general strike and military action in defense of Torres!

RESPONSIBILITY

The Pabloites, including Mandel and the SWP, must assume their responsibility in this situation. First of all it was the SWP which developed the theory of coming to power with "blunted instruments" in Latin America, encouraging liquidationist and anti-theory tendencies throughout the region. In a period when what was needed was a sharp theoretical struggle to develop a leadership for the coming class movement, the SWP encouraged adventurism and guerrillism and all sorts of unprincipled combinations with Castros, Maoists and Stalinists.

In 1969 Bolivia was a central feature of the struggle within the United Secretariat. The majority around Mandel-Frank-Maitan, which supported a strategy of guerrilla warfare, held up Bolivia as the one country in the world and Moscoso as the man for the job, where a breakthrough would be made through setting up guerrilla foci.

The SWP opposed this but offered no real alternative to this perspective. Then one year later Bolivia does become a "focus" but of proletarian not guerrilla warfare. Mandel and Co. quickly drop Bolivia shifting their attention to Argentina. Such is the reaction of such elements to the movement of the working class!

However, most important, the SWP lets them do this. It also dropped Bolivia from its polemics with Mandel and Maitan only to in the recent period start speaking of the Popular Assembly in the same uncritical terms as Lora. Clearly the movement of the working class in Bolivia upset the SWP as well. How could it propose an orientation to the students on the basis of Bolivian developments where the question of working class power, of socialist revolution itself was posed? It, too, had to do its best to see to it that the struggle in Bolivia did not go beyond the bounds of Torres.

SWP

Gerry Foley, writing in the July 19, 1971 Intercontinental Press, expressed the complete approval of the SWP precisely of the relationship between the Popular Assembly and Torres. He writes:

"Arming to defend the democratic rights of the workers, the unions apparently gave critical support to the Torres regime—'support' that perfectly suits Lenin's definition: 'as the rope supports a hanged man.'"

And later on:

"By and large, the program of the

Asamblea seemed confined to demanding that the Torres government carry out its promises to the working people of the country. The measures it recommended flowed clearly and logically from this position."

Is it necessary to point out that Lenin was referring to support to social democratic parties and not to bourgeois governments and certainly not to military dictators?

The potential for building the Trotskyist movement in Latin America is now extremely great. What is fundamental is that now the struggle of the colonial peoples coincides with the struggle of workers in the advanced countries. This struggle now includes the powerful American working class as well as that of Europe—particularly following Nixon's new economic policies. At the same time the dangers involved are as grave as the potential is bright.

We cannot forget the terrible price the working class youth of Ceylon have paid for revisionism in the form of the LSSP. In the Sudan the CP's support to another "progressive" general has led to its massacre. We now fear for the very lives of the militants of the POR in a situation created by the refusal of the POR's leadership to confront the central lessons of the historic development of the Marxist movement.

PRINCIPLE

It is not possible to build a revolutionary movement on any other basis than principle. To do otherwise in this period is to invite new defeats, new massacres. To take up the principled struggle for Trotskyism based on all the lessons of the struggle against revisionism can lead to the development of mass revolutionary parties throughout Latin America, to the successful overthrow of capitalism, of imperialism.

Like the LSSP leadership, Lora never concerned himself with questions of the international movement, its theoretical battles, its difficulties. He felt that as long as he rooted himself in the working class and adhered to the theory of the permanent revolution and Transitional Program as he saw it he would be able to play a revolutionary role in Bolivia.

But this perspective can only be developed on an international scale and through the struggle against its opposite, against the attempts of revisionism to destroy it. It is precisely through confronting all the difficulties of the movement—the isolation, the petty bourgeois pressure, the confusion, so much confusion—that theoretical development can take place. Without such development succumbing to the national bourgeoisie is inevitable.

The lessons of Bolivia reinforce our conviction in what we wrote on the recent convention of the SWP. There is no proletarian orientation outside of the struggle to construct the Fourth International. The Fourth International can only be constructed on the firm principled ground of a true and honest assessment of its own history.

Monetary Crisis

Nixon Puts Europe On Rations

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

NIXON'S DEVALUATION OF the dollar, his demand that the European capitalists revalue their currencies upward and his imposition of a 10% surcharge on imports constitutes the unleashing of an economic trade war by Nixon against Europe the likes of which have been unknown since the 1930s.

In one fell swoop Nixon has completely blown to smithereens the fruits of 25 years of negotiations for freer world trade as incorporated in the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the Kennedy Round Agreements. Nixon has drawn to a close the era of diplomatic niceties and international cooperation in financial and monetary matters.

Secretary of the Treasury Connolly's contemptuous remark that Nixon's actions "certainly shook them (the European heads of state) up" reveals that the United States is opening a new era that will be characterized by a dog eat dog fight for survival throughout the capitalist world.

Leon Trotsky in 1924 vividly describes the relationship between Europe and America and the role of American capitalism:

"American capitalism is now issuing commands, giving instructions to its diplomats. In exactly the same way it is preparing and is ready to issue instructions to European banks and trusts, to the European bourgeoisie as a whole.... This is its aim. It will slice up the markets; it will regulate the activity of the European financiers and industrialists. "If we wish to give a clear and precise answer to the question of what American imperialism wants, we must say: It wants to put capitalist Europe on rations."

TERMS

In the last week Nixon has laid down even more clearly his instructions and the terms that he is dictating to his capitalist subordinates in Europe and Japan.

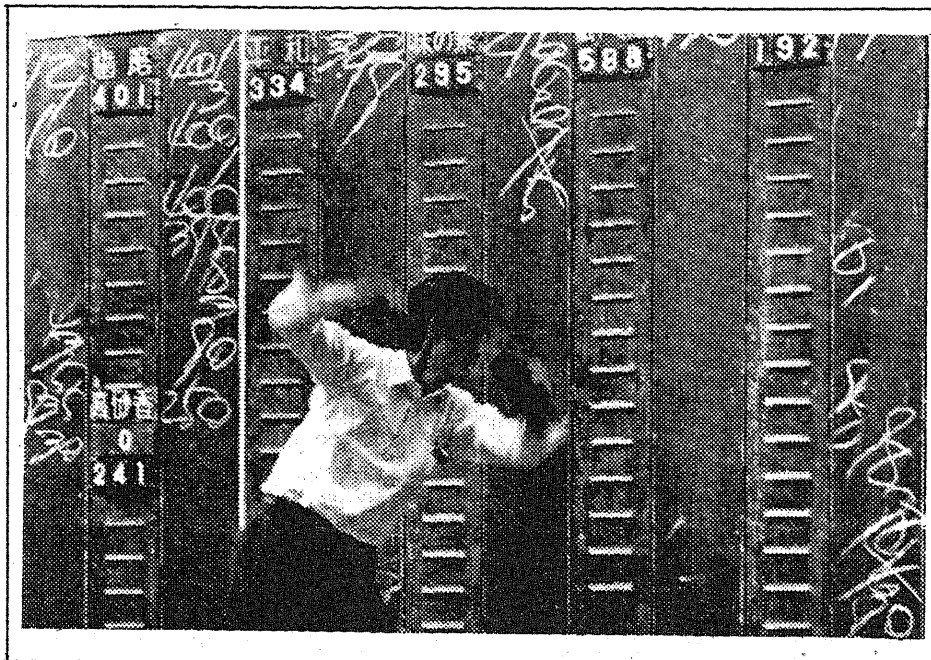
Nixon's position is that the 10% surcharge which now virtually sets up an embargo against foreign imports into the United States will only be removed upon the following conditions:

1. That upward revaluations of most European currencies take place.
 2. That greater sharing of defense expenditures is agreed to by the various capitalist states.
 3. That modifications are made in what the United States considers "unfair" trade practices, presumably meaning agreement to voluntary quotas and the dismantling of the privileged European farm products pricing system.
- Should these conditions be met Nixon's officials speculate about a return to some form of convertibility (but not outright payment of gold for dollars) and the end of the surcharge by the end of the year.
- These terms mean the virtual prostration of Europe and Japan. Revaluation alone means pricing European capitalism out of the world market in addition to the huge inflationary burden of massive defense outlays or further restrictions on trade.

So mammoth are the implications of Nixon's assault that the European bourgeoisie has been virtually unable to mount a coherent response. Nixon's action poses the reversal in a matter of weeks of the whole postwar reconstruction of Europe, the beginning of its reduction into one vast colony of the United States and certain civil war with the European working class.

Efforts to adopt any kind of unified response within the Common Market (EEC) as a whole have in fact completely fallen through.

This became apparent last Thursday when a meeting of Common Market



Japanese stock market which plummeted as the Wall Street Exchange rose in ecstasy over Nixon's decision to attack the working class.

finance ministers and bankers representing France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg failed to achieve agreement on a proposal to float the Market currencies in a single bloc against the floating dollar.

When money markets open this week each nation will therefore fend for itself amid the complete anarchy and confusion that will inevitably grow deeper by the day.

RIPPING

Nixon's attack will serve not only to push back Europe as a whole but will have the effect of ripping apart the modicum of unity that has existed within the EEC as the EEC partners go at one another's throats in a struggle for survival.

West Germany for its part is inclined to go along with Nixon to the extent of continuing the upward float of its mark toward a new parity. But this is only because the mark has already floated upward 8% since June making it likely that not much more upward movement of the mark would now be required. West Germany, moreover, currently enjoys a strong trading surplus vis a vis the United States.

France, on the contrary, is completely opposed to any float of the franc or any upward revaluation. France was one EEC country that held fast the par value of its currency in the June crisis. It would therefore face a wrenching adjustment if it now permitted an upward float. French capitalism is already in a trade deficit with the United States.

Recognizing that it will be unable to entirely avoid an upward float, the French government will now establish a two tier market, involving a floating franc rate for financial transactions and the maintenance of the current parity of 5.554 francs to the dollar for commercial transactions.

Britain is expected to follow West Germany and other EEC nations with a small upward float. At the same time the rapacious dog eat dog attitude of British capitalism finds sharp expression, for example, in the London Times which has called for the pegging of sterling at \$2.40, maintaining parity and "urging Japan and stronger European countries to upvalue."

British capitalism, 20% of whose exports go to the United States, must be particularly hard hit. Already the future of the Rolls Royce-Lockheed arrangements are thrown into jeopardy while a huge question mark is again raised over sterling.

What is true for Europe is even more so for Japan. In the wake of Nixon's announcement the Japanese stock market has fallen a full 20%. Fully 30% of all Japanese exports now go to the United States. The Nixon Administration is said now to be talking about a massive 25% revaluation of the yen which would

virtually wipe out the Japanese export industry.

So much do Japanese bankers and industrialists fear such a revaluation that in many quarters the 10% surcharge is considered the lesser evil even though it is estimated it will turn a projected 1971 trade surplus with the U.S. of six to seven billion dollars into a deficit of 2.4 billion. At the same time it will impose a total embargo on textiles and steel.

To maintain the yen the Japanese have had to swallow three billion U.S. dollars in the last week alone driving reserves to a record eleven billion equal to those of the United States.

Meanwhile, Yusukuke Kashiwago, advisor to the Japanese Finance Ministry on his way to Washington for talks, has stated: "The Japanese yen will not move upward, will not float, and the Japanese government is not being pressured by Nixon."

The point, however, is that the Japanese will most likely be forced to revalue whether they like it or not. Everything is now being determined by the brute economic power of the United States.

At the same time the fact remains that Nixon's use of the great economic muscle of U.S. capitalism to smash Europe and Japan to cushion its own crisis must, as it has historically, cut like a two-edged sword knocking the props out from under U.S. capitalism itself.

The destruction of Europe and Japan means the destruction of the very market upon whose exploitation the postwar boom grew up. The collapse of Europe must accordingly engulf and drag down America.

REVOLUTION

This must likewise be supplemented by the huge threats now posed to the United States by the European revolution. As the European bourgeoisie translates Nixon's attack on European capitalism into an all out drive to smash the living standards and the organizations of the European working class, the European bourgeoisie must be faced with new explosions going far beyond the scope of the May-June events and the present civil war in Ulster to the actual seizure of power by the working class.

The devaluation of the dollar and the abandonment of the fixed exchange rate system established at Bretton Woods in 1944 must directly provoke a sharp 1929-like crash throughout the whole capitalist world.

Already the uncertainties arising from the currency disorders of the last week are making the cost and risks involved in concluding trade deals among capitalist firms totally exorbitant. Growing disorder within the monetary sphere must now rupture the whole fabric of world

trade and investment plunging the capitalist world into autarchy and slump.

It is out of fear of just such a development that the International Monetary Fund intervened last Friday letting Nixon know that it would strongly prefer a unilateral devaluation of the dollar in relation to gold as opposed to a universal currency float.

Nixon, of course, has refused this advice.

Nixon is determined to bleed every drop of blood he possibly can out of Europe now that he has taken the devaluation plunge.

By floating the dollar and forcing European currencies to float independently against it and one another, he gains an added trading advantage for U.S. business, shipwrecking the unity of the Common Market and forcing up the price of European goods throughout the world.

The fact that this advantage plus the added advantage of insulating the dollar against further speculative attack on U.S. gold stocks is bought at the cost of monetary chaos simply reflects the degree to which economic nationalism has now taken over.

DOOMED

It is no longer in any case a question of patching up the world monetary system or reconvening a new Bretton Woods, as some bankers imagine, to replace the monetary system that has just collapsed.

All efforts of the EEC and the IMF, beginning with the EEC ministers meeting on September 13th, are doomed to failure on this account.

The fundamental problem that continues to confront world capitalism in the monetary sphere is the virtual mountain of between 30 and 40 billion paper dollars held in Europe, built up over 25 years of inflationary boom, which is today balanced against a mere 10 billion in gold backing in Fort Knox.

During the boom capitalism was able to get away with the inflation of paper money. In this way it consequently managed for three decades to avoid a head on collision with the metropolitan working classes. By 1967, however, this policy had run up against its limits exploding in a series of sharp monetary crises beginning with the devaluation of the pound in 1967 and reaching a climax last week with the collapse of the dollar.

While sections of the bourgeoisie have all sorts of illusions about the creation of a new monetary order divorced entirely from gold, the hard fact of the matter is that the actual laws of capitalist economy, in particular the law of value, are now asserting themselves through dollar devaluation. This is forcing a realignment between the huge mountain of paper dollars held abroad and the dwindling U.S. gold stock upon which their value is based.

Neither artificial restraints, nor a 10 to 15% devaluation of the dollar can hold back what is now an inexorable drive towards the total wiping out of the value of some 30 billion in U.S. currency and billions more in other forms of fictitious capital that rest upon this.

In other words the fortunes and very survival of every single big capitalist in the world now hangs in the balance.

This is why all talk of peaceful readjustments of the world monetary system is aimed at lulling the working class into a false complacency at a time when it above all else is threatened.

Every capitalist enterprise and nation must now ruthlessly seek to destroy all competitors while simultaneously forcing a huge intensification of the exploitation of the working class, on a scale that can only be achieved at the level of outright civil war aimed at the imposition of fascist dictatorships.

The working class for its part must now prepare the only progressive solution to this crisis which is to wipe the bankrupt capitalist system off the face of the earth.

CSEA Leaders Retreat

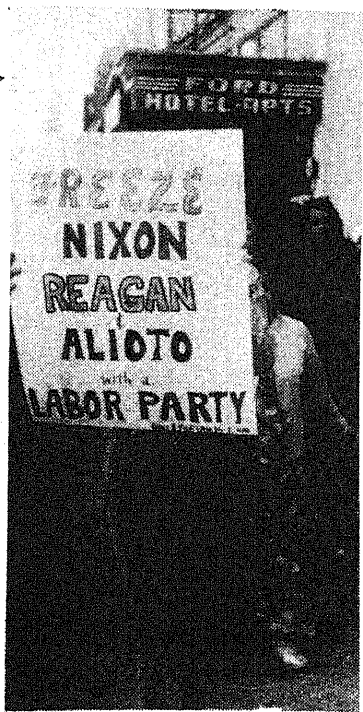
BY A CSEA MEMBER
SAN FRANCISCO—"I used to be against unions, but now it's affecting me personally. I've changed; I'm all for it." This was the reply of one 20-year state worker in San Francisco to the question whether CSEA should affiliate with the AFL-CIO.

These discussions are taking place in every state office in San Francisco as workers reacted bitterly to CSEA General Manager Loren Smith's recent capitulation to the Nixon wage freeze.

Smith panicked in the face of Nixon's order and exposed the betrayal the Board of Directors have in store for 113,000 CSEA members when he said that he could no longer try for any raise whatsoever, only for "non-inflationary fringe benefits." CSEA President Ed Ward tried to cover this revelation by sending off a telegram of complaints and pleas to Nixon.

The bureaucrats of Local Chapters 3, 5, and 170 are very conscious of the revolt brewing in the San Francisco region.

The extremely broad but unorganized opposition to the bureaucracy's retreat and its anti-labor policies, must now be mobilized in the chapters to demand that CSEA take strike action now against the Nixon-



Local 400 ranks call for labor party at rally against speed up.

Reagan freeze. There has been a caucus formed in Chapter 3 around a program which must become the basis for a united statewide opposition to the current leadership:

- For an immediate statewide strike with the demands for a 13% raise, state-paid medical and dental plans, no layoffs, full collective bargaining rights.
- For the affiliation of CSEA with the AFL-CIO.
- For a general strike of labor to force Nixon to rescind his freeze.
- For an assembly of labor, youth, and minorities to construct a labor party and defeat Nixon and his Democratic allies once and for all.

Welfare Grants Slashed

BY MYRNA CHERKOSS
The new bi-partisan welfare bill recently enacted in California can be viewed as part of the increased attack on working people by the government.

The bill was passed overwhelmingly by both parties and hailed as a step forward. The

SF ILWU...

(Continued From Page 16)
no time to lose. This is no longer a dispute with the PMA but a political strike against the government.

There must now be an all out fight against Bridges' entire policy. Not a single piece of cargo must be moved from the waterfront. There must be a complete halt to the handling of all cargo now being moved.

Now is the time to answer Nixon's war on the unions with a complete boycott of all war goods.

The ILWU can only win this strike in a conscious fight to smash Nixon's policies to pieces. This means no acceptance of the freeze and a mobilization of all the resources of the ILWU to bring out the labor movement in a general strike that will force Nixon to rescind these decisions.

Above all it means a conscious strategy designed to open the way to bring down this rotten government and its strike-breaking Democratic party allies. This means the launching of a fight for an immediate convocation of labor to launch a labor party that can bring a labor government pledged to a working class program to power in 1972.

question is a step forward for whom? Some of the actual provisions include:

1. A flat grant system of payment is to be established based on a family's size not on a family's special problems and needs. It does not include a cost of living escalator.
2. Outside income is restricted by limiting eligibility to families with a gross income including their welfare grant, not above 150% of standard of need established by law.
3. So-called work related expenses which are now deductible from income in computing eligibility are limited to \$50 per month.
4. More and more welfare recipients are to be required to have to work for their dole. Those jobs will be at below union scale and one of the stipulations is that the worker cannot join the union.

ATTACK

This bill is supposedly aimed at cracking down on welfare abuse, but is in fact an attack on all workers. Unemployment is higher than ever. More and more workers are forced on to the welfare rolls in order to survive. Older people living on meager pensions turn to welfare to supplement their pitiful incomes.

The unions must take up a fight against these cuts and for the 30 hour week for 40 hours pay to fight unemployment. If the employers cannot provide full employment and a decent standard of living then the industries should be nationalized under workers control with no compensation.

West Coast News

Workers Speak Out Against Wage Freeze

Aerospace

SAN DIEGO—The following is an interview with a member of IAM Local 389 in San Diego.

Q: What do you think of the government's "wage-price" freeze?

A: Well, I don't know that much about it, but one thing is for sure and that is that it's aimed at making the working man hurt. Our contract is up in December and we're really going to be in bad shape if the freeze isn't stopped by then. In fact, all of the aerospace contracts in San Diego run out next year, and I don't think Nixon will give up the wage freeze by then, at least not willingly. We're going to have to make him take it back.

Q: How do you think that can be done? Will Meany do it? Will the "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party do it?

A: The Democrats aren't any friends of mine! They're telling Nixon he should have declared a permanent freeze! No, they're right in this with Nixon, they're not going to do anything about it. Even if Meany wanted to do anything about it by himself, he couldn't. Labor leaders have the rotten habit of throwing in the towel at the first signs of pressure, like Lewis in the rail strike, as soon as Nixon put some fines on them, he told his ranks to get back to work.

I've decided, along with quite a few others in our shop, that a general strike of all labor in the country is the only way this attack can be stopped. We've got to close down the whole world and tell Nixon what to do with that wage freeze; make it clear that if he ever wants to see the factories belching again, that he'd better get rid of the freeze.

In fact there are a bunch of us going to the District 50 meeting next week to demand that the union call just such a strike. You know IAM is about the biggest union in San Diego—all the aerospace plants, shipyards and machine shops are in it and that could maybe get some other unions going on it.

Q: You indicate that you think Nixon plans to extend this freeze.

A: First of all, all the Democrats and Republicans think it's a good thing and want to see it become permanent. All the big money people are jumping with joy, just look at the stock exchange. They really think this will help and they're wild with confidence. Also, Nixon is putting more teeth into this thing every

day: a special commission to enforce it, the courts have been pledged to act if necessary, and now threats against the dockers out there if they continue their strike.

You know, it looks like Nixon is trying for all he's worth to bust the unions. People died fighting for our unions and now Nixon has declared that we can't bargain for wages, we can't strike. That's all we've got to defend ourselves against inflation and the other outrages of our bosses.

Q: In the face of the position of both the Democrats and Republicans in support of the wage freeze, would you support a labor party?

A: I'm sure not voting for another Democrat after this so I'd sure like to see a party that would fight for my needs and not my bosses. Yes, you bet I would support it.

Construction

SAN DIEGO—The following is an interview with construction workers from several locals in the San Diego area:

Q: What do you think of Nixon's wage freeze and no-strike order?

A: I think that it is just too much. I just got screwed out of my pay increase. This country is turning into a police state.

Q: Would you support a call for a general strike to halt these attacks on labor?

A: I think that is a good idea. In construction, the various locals have not been able to do much about the construction review board. We all have to get together if we are going to do anything about this wage freeze business.

Q: But union leaders have not mobilized for such a strike. They do a lot of talking, but have not committed themselves. Meany himself even called for a wage freeze before Nixon made this move.

A: Those guys don't have to worry about wages and unemployment. They don't get hurt with a wage freeze. They're a bunch of phonies who just give you the runaround.

Q: Labor's "friends," the Democrats, stand with Nixon and support his policy. Would you support a break with the Democrats and the formation of a labor party to fight for the interests of workers?

A: I never thought about that before, but the way things are changing it seems like we need

something like that. Let's face it. We're entering a depression, and Nixon is attacking labor for only one thing: to protect big business. I guess we workers need a party too. We need leadership that is willing to fight.

Q: Defying the wage freeze is essentially defying the government. Are you willing to do that?

A: I'll burn the White House if that is what it takes to defend my rights and insure that I can feed my family.

If I get pushed too far, then that's the way it will be. You have to draw the line somewhere and I won't be a slave for anybody!

Docks

LOS ANGELES, August 17—A Bulletin reporting team here interviewed longshoremen, warehousemen, and shipbuilders currently on strike in L.A. to find their reaction to the proposed wage freeze and the way to fight it.

Workers interviewed were from ILWU locals 13 and 26 and Local 9 of the Industrial Union of Marine Shipbuilding Workers of America.

Bulletin: What do you think of the wage freeze?

Shop steward, Local 13: They want to go back to the WPA. They don't want the working class of people to have anything. They force us on strike and try to break the unions.

Shop steward, Local 9: I'm not too enthused. It's going to hurt everyone. He (Nixon) knew the longshore was out, the S.P. was out. This is going to hurt the industry. One hell of a time to do it. They're taking conditions back to the thirties. If we go back they're going to break the unions.

Member, Local 26: They always put the thumb on us and not on profits. I think this guy is doing it for big business.

Bulletin: The Workers League proposes to fight this by shutting down the whole country with a nationwide general strike. What do you think of that plan?

Member, Local 26: Depends on who would back it up. The employers would have the army.

Shop steward, Local 9: I agree with it 100%. Everybody walks out and stands pat. They knew we were on strike, why did they do it? If the unions walked out, that would do it. I'm for it up and down this whole coast, hitting the bricks until they take wages off the frozen list. I say give the working man a break.

Bulletin: The Workers League thinks that these attacks are political and that we must call a convocation of youth, minorities and labor to form a labor party based on the trade unions, what is your opinion?

Shop steward, Local 13: I've been for one all along. Last two elections I didn't vote. Shake both up in a sack and stick your hand in—no difference.

Shop steward, Local 9: If you are getting into politics. Now there was a way to get out of this situation, around the barn, we should do it. But yes, the attacks are political, I've got to go along with that.

Bread-lines Hit Seattle

BY JOHN LOCK

PORTLAND—Growing numbers of workers here are presently faced with a situation which can only be described as starvation.

Food-banks, known as bread lines in the days of the Depression, are presently trying to meet the minimum nutrition requirements of Seattle area residents. People who come to these banks sometimes are so famished that they sit on the curb outside and immediately consume whatever has been given them. Food-banks

in 34 Seattle neighborhoods have been feeding 20,000 to 25,000 people per week since mid-November. This figure does not include the 36,000 households which include 102,000 people who have been using food stamps. A \$220,000 program for providing 15,000 sack lunches to hungry Seattle children was dropped because of a foul-up in Washington, D.C.

This is what faces the working class as a whole as the employers and government plan to return the American working class back 100 years.

West Coast News

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Guards Murder George Jackson

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The truth behind the killing of George Jackson, one of the Soledad Brothers, at San Quentin Prison is that he was brutally murdered by prison guards with the blessings of the Warden Nelson.

The prison warden's story is that a guard found a gun hidden in Jackson's hair when he was returned to his cell following a visiting period. When the gun was discovered, Jackson allegedly ran for the wall and was shot down. Three other prisoners and four guards were killed.

His mother has stated: "I can tell you exactly what happened. They set him up to kill him and they killed him. They'd been trying for 10 and a half years to do it and they did it."

"There's no way he could have left that (visiting) room with a gun, because when he takes one step out of that room, they put those chains on his feet and his hands. As soon as they open that door and let him out the first thing they do is search him.

His father, Robert Lester Jackson said: "They had not fed him nor given him fresh water for three days. He told me they were out to kill him."

INNOCENCE

His lawyer told the press: "I can't conceive of his trying to escape. He had a trial facing him in which he was positive his innocence would be established."

George Jackson was killed because he was a revolutionary and sought to give leadership to workers through his letter in the Black Panther Paper and because he fought back and exposed the vicious hell of prison life.

The warden hopes to use his murder to whip up a hysteria campaign against revolutionaries and to crush rebellion within the prisons. Nelson accused radicals of being responsible for the unrest in the prisons and announced that he would refuse to let the Black Panther paper and other radical papers into the prisons.

Jackson never would have thought of such a hopeless escape attempt because his whole life was geared to the fight against capitalism inside and some day outside prison.

EXTENSION

Jackson was first imprisoned when he was eighteen for allegedly stealing \$70 from a gas station. He was given an indeterminate sentence of anywhere from one year to life imprisonment. He spent the last ten years of his life in prison and the last seven years in solitary confinement. Every attempt to fight the racism and brutality of the prison system was met with an extension of his sentence.

At the time of his death he was due to go on trial on the frameup charge of having killed a guard in Soledad prison in 1970. This guard was killed following the murder of three black inmates by a prison guard.

Jackson then went through the

bitter experience of his brother's heroic but futile attempt to free him at Marin County Courthouse last year in which 17 year old Jonathan Jackson was shot and killed while fleeing with a hostage.

Jackson defended Huey Newton



George Jackson.

in the split with Eldridge Cleaver in the Black Panther Party because he firmly believed in mobilizing the working class against capitalism and not in isolated adventures.

In his book of prison letters he wrote:

"Our principle enemy must be isolated and identified as capitalism. The slaver was and is the factory owner, the businessmen of Amerika, the man responsible for employment, wages, prices, control of the nation's institutions and of Europe and the U.S. which was responsible for the rape of Africa and Asia. Believe me the European and Anglo-American capitalists would never have wasted the ball and powder were it not for the profit principle."

Later in an article in the Panther paper he stated: "The objective is to move our numberless masses into a significant challenge of the property rights enjoyed by the oppressor class."

This is the fight that Jackson was preparing for and this is why he was killed. Jackson's words ring true at a time when the working class itself is now asked to sacrifice all its gains to take a wage freeze in order to preserve these profits. There will be no less brutal attacks on the working class when it defends its wages unless the labor movement builds a powerful party of workers, youth and unemployed to throw the Democrats and Republicans out.

Court Threatens ILWU

BY A REPORTER

PORTLAND, ORE.—The ILWU leadership, under the threat of government intervention to break the West Coast dock strike, is making concession after concession to the employers.

In the Pacific Northwest, the Bridges leadership now has the dockers working behind their own picket lines.

When, at the end of July, Oregon Governor Tom McCall called for the "release" of imported baling twine for hay crops, Local 8 President Richard Wise referred the matter to the Bridges leadership at ILWU headquarters in San Francisco.

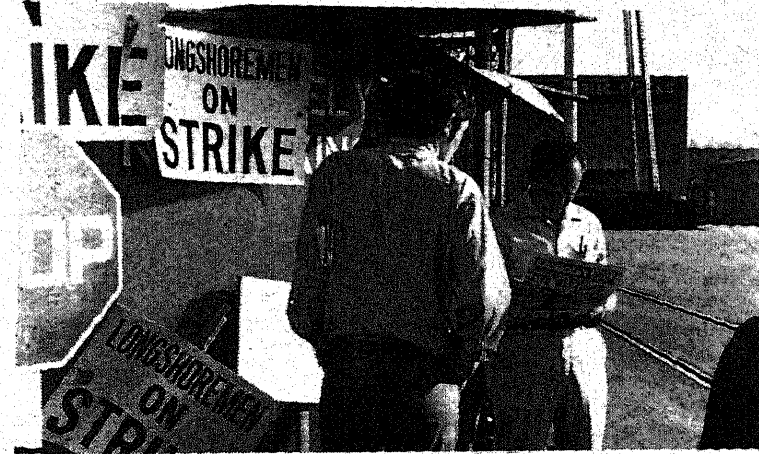
By August 3, Wise had agreed to make dockers available to unload the baling twine.

Only two days later, strikebreakers crossed the picket lines at the Portland docks. A four-man scab "pickup" crew, hired by Pacific Container and Supply Company of Idaho Falls, loaded several thousand bales of hay twine from a Port of Portland warehouse onto three truck-trailers.

The trucks were loaded and departed through the Terminal 2 gates with the complete cooperation of the Port of Portland. The port had placed no order for longshoremen to do the work. The twine was the first shipment to leave the port since the strike began July 1.

After the trucks left the port, the union began to picket against the Port of Portland.

The next morning, several hun-



Portland dockers are interviewed by Bulletin about wage freeze.

dred longshoremen in a mass picket line blocked a truck with strikebreakers aboard hired by J and E International Corp. to remove more than 60,000 cases of imported dishes and flatware from port warehouses.

The Chicago firm filed a suit later that day in Circuit Court for a restraining order and injunctions to prevent dockers from blocking access to the port warehouses.

Both the union leaders and port officials promised that other cargo in port warehouses would be moved "as requested." Crews were scheduled to move twine, tapioca flour, steel coils, castings and metal ore. "We have no quarrel with the port," Wise said.

The ILWU ranks now must force the Bridges leadership to stop all work behind the picket lines and close the docks down, calling for a general strike of all labor to defend the ILWU against Nixon's attack.



Guys and Dolls lend their support to striking S.F. longshoremen.

Dockers Defy Freeze

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Millions of trade unionists now look to the West Coast dockers for a lead. ILWU defiance of Nixon's demand for a return to work sets the stage for a fundamental confrontation with the government.

16,000 longshoremen are at the center of a fight that can bring the government's union-busting policies down in ruins. Nixon must break the resistance on the docks or face the rebellion of the entire labor movement.

This is what is at stake and under these conditions the strategy of the ILWU leadership is absolutely criminal. Bridges shares with the rest of the labor bureaucracy the cowardly acceptance of the 90 day freeze and refuses to take up an open fight to smash Nixon's attack.

Behind Bridges' militant rhetoric is the fear of confronting 16,000 dockers determined not to return without a victory.

BETRAYAL

Up and down the West Coast, Bridges is conducting a fight to convince the ranks to allow cargo piled up since the beginning of the strike to be removed. Precisely at the point that the strike is strangling the PMA, Bridges acts to smooth the way for an orderly resumption of work as soon as a betrayal can be rammed down the throats of the ranks.

It is no accident that he advocates this policy precisely at the time that he prepares to reopen negotiations with the PMA.

The bitter opposition of the longshoremen to this capitulation is expressed in the refusal of the San Francisco clerks local to endorse this policy.

With the ILWU facing the sharpest attack in its history, Bridges seeks to weaken the strike and demoralize the ranks. This is a deliberate and conscious maneuver designed to open the way for a deal to allow a return to work.

FIRM

The rank and file must force Bridges to stand firm. There is (Continued On Page 15)

L.A. Dockers Locked Out

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES—The docks in L.A. are alive with strikes, and behind each of them is the issue of the union's continued existence.

At West Oil Co., 20 members of the ILWU Local 13 were locked out 2 hours before the contract ended. The company has offered \$5 over 5 years as a final offer before the lockout. Once the men were out, the company revealed its true intentions. It submitted a contract to the union which added clauses saying that should the company be sold, the new owner has no obligation to the old employees, and that the new owner may employ anyone on the premises. That is, immediately after signing the contract, the company is sold, and the workers and their union are

thrown out! No one has been fooled by this and workers report that strike sentiment is 100%.

The danger in the situation is that the International is doing nothing about it. One worker commented, "they don't even know we exist down here." Another pointed out that "Bridges said tankers weren't included in the strike, but, hell, here we are." Meantime, as a test, management has run at least one scab truck through the lines with the help of carloads of cops. The workers are very clear on what is happening! "All they want to do is pull apart our contract, everything we've won in the last 15 years." To win this strike it is necessary to mobilize the whole Los Angeles and West Coast ILWU, and to fight for a general strike.