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**The SWP
And The
Working Class**
Page 12

VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER ONE (210)

SEPTEMBER 6, 1971



FIFTEEN CENTS

What
we
think

UNIONS MUST DEFY FREEZE

Union Leaders Bow To Nixon

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The only way the freeze can be taken on is with defiance based on the full strength of the labor movement. As Woodcock declared only last week, Nixon has declared war on the working class. He has ripped up contracts, even rotten contracts, secured in many cases only after weeks of struggle on the picket lines.

But every union member knows that any contract is better than no contract at all. Nixon is defying those contracts, he is throwing collective bargaining out the window. The only answer must be defiance of the freeze, NOW!

This is just what Meany and the other leaders reject. Woodcock says he is prepared for war one week and capitulates completely the next. According to this man the differences between him and Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters who promised cooperation with Nixon from the first are "only rhetoric." How true! And what an indictment of the leader of one and a half million workers that he can admit to be playing with words when the living standards and entire futures of the workers he represents as well as all others are at stake.

According to Woodcock, the "real problem" is what happens after the 90 days. In other words Nixon has the green light to go ahead with this phase of the attack, only please take it a little slower on the second stage.

But the "real problem" is the cut in real wages faced by every worker who is going to face rising prices and frozen wages. The "real problem" is the fate of the West Coast longshoremen and the New York telephone workers and the many thousands of other workers now out on strike who have been told that they cannot fight for any increase.

This attack cannot for a single second be separated into stages that have nothing to do with one another. Woodcock's talk about what happens after 90 days is a complete betrayal of the working class, which is being set up for the most vicious attacks in forty years.

On the issue of the 90 day freeze there is only one answer.
(Continued On Page 6)



Armed miners, like those from Milluni above, together with the rest of Bolivian class could have stopped rightists with leadership.

On The Spot Report From

BOLIVIA

Jackson's Murder Aimed At Youth

Page 16

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Eyewitness Reports On Bolivia

The following is a special eye witness report from a person who was in Bolivia during the recent coup and who recently spoke with Bulletin reporters.

During the month before the coup took place there was very active preparation on the part of the working class for the upcoming session of the Popular Assembly.

In all parts of the country local assemblies were established in which delegates were elected for the national Popular Assembly. These assemblies were very important and particularly among the miners were democratically elected. Among the peasantry, on the contrary, delegates were bureaucratically sent from organizations representing the interests of the government or the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement-MNR). One of the central weaknesses of the Popular Assembly was that it did not have a permanent character.

The slogans for the upcoming session on which these assemblies were formed were essentially: 1) majority working class participation in the management of COMIBOL, the state mining monopoly, 2) a single university system under the control of the Popular Assembly (at that time there were eight completely autonomous universities), 3) the

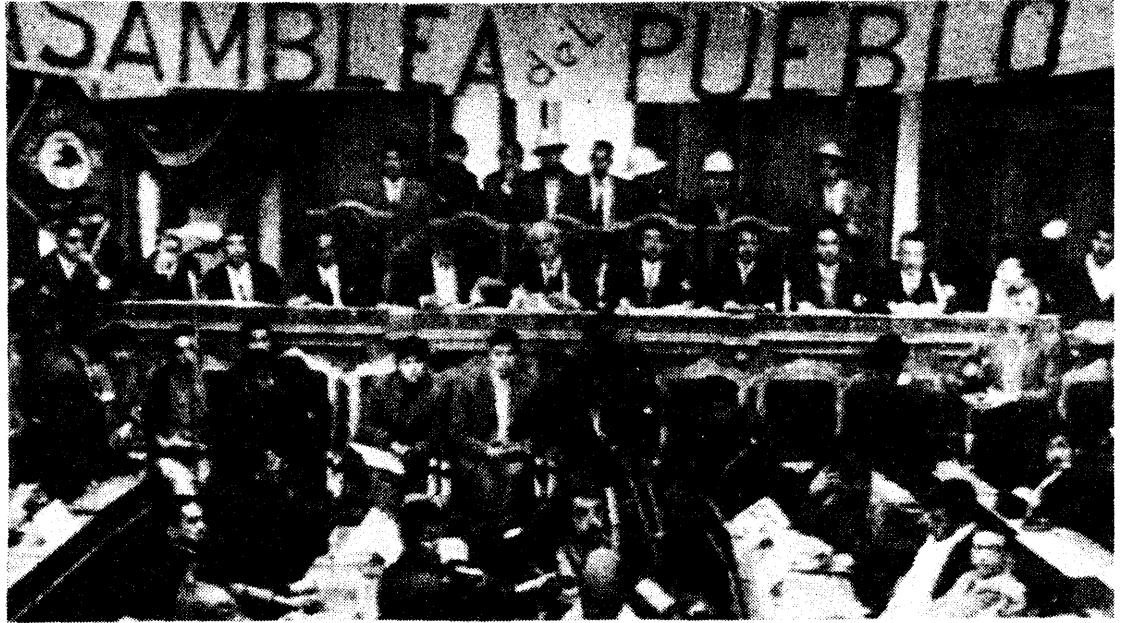
formation of armed militias and 4) justice for the workers' leaders assassinated under the Barrientos regime.

This last question was very important because the Popular Assembly had started to make investigations about the way Camacho and Cesar Lora, two miners' leaders and leaders of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers Party (POR) had been murdered. These investigations showed that members of the Torres government had been involved in these murders. This could have been very important in the next session of the Popular Assembly because it could have precipitated a break with Torres.

We have learned that the Banzer regime has murdered a student leader of the POR. At least one other POR student was killed in street fighting which was led by POR militants.

On Thursday, August 18th, it was announced that the army had occupied Santa Cruz, which is a city in the eastern part of the country. There was hardly any fight between the army and workers in that area since the working class was very weak there. It was relatively easy for the army to establish its power there. The rebels set up a military provisional government in that area. Then they started to advance through the rest of the

(Continued On Page 14)



Lechin refused to speak to mass rally from building housing the Popular Assembly (shown above).

Egyptian Strike Crushed As Sadat Moves Right

BY DAN FRIED

A recent sit-in strike involving thousands of workers in a key steel mill in Helwan, Egypt was reportedly "dispersed" by authorities of the Sadat regime.

Premier Sadat claimed that he had not been informed of the strike until after it was over, but that he would have dealt with the strikers in a far more harsh manner, and warned that such actions in the future would be met with far more severe measures.

Perhaps Mr. Sadat has in mind the kind of bloody measures taken by his colleague in the Sudan, General Numeiry, the brutal imprisonment and slaughter of Communists and militants? The Sudan expresses the acute crisis of the bourgeois nationalist regimes throughout the Middle East and colonial world.

This is reflected today in the beginnings of a bloodbath against the workers and peasants of Egypt by the Sadat regime. The putting down of the strike in Helwan and the preparations now taking place for the trial of the alleged "plotters" against Sadat last May, Ali Sabry and 90 others, are just the beginning of the sharpening moves against all workers' opposition.

Every step of "diplomacy" these nationalist heads of state of the Arab countries take must be seen in their attempt to support their crisis-ridden economies and prevent the socialist revolution by means of a deal with U.S. imperialism. This is the meaning of hints that Sadat will visit the United States, and of the recent confederation agreement of Egypt, Lybia and Syria.

This confederation which in-

cludes an agreement of mutual aid against "internal" dangers, is above all aimed at suppressing the Arab masses. All the demagogic talk by Sadat of a war against Zionism is merely a cover for the coming to terms with Zionism over the dead bodies of Palestinian refugees and guerrillas fighting for liberation. This kind of "peace" and "stability" is sought by the Arab ruling classes in their quest for an overall deal with western imperialism.

The supposed support of Egypt, Syria and the other nationalist regimes for the Palestinian commandos operating in Jordan has been replaced by more and more open efforts to bring about discussions between Al Fatah leader Yasser Arafat and Jordan's King Hussein based on the recent wiping out by Hussein's forces

(Continued On Page 14)

Stalinists Capitulatate To The U.S. In Berlin Deal

BY FRED MUELLER

THE FOUR POWER draft agreement on the status of Berlin, announced on August 23, represents an important political and diplomatic gain for the imperialists.

Berlin along with all of Germany has been divided since the end of the Second World War. The new agreement represents both the perpetuation of this division and at the same time gives further advantages to the imperialist side.

The draft treaty contains some clauses which go further towards guaranteeing imperialist rights in Berlin. Moscow acknowledges the close political ties between West Berlin and West Germany. It assumes joint responsibility for insuring free access to and from West Berlin, an enclave within East Germany. Both Bonn Parliamentary Committee sittings and visits by West German leaders are to be allowed in West Berlin.

MOSCOW

In exchange for these provisions, all vehemently opposed by both the USSR and East Germany for many years, Moscow is to be allowed to establish a consulate in West Berlin.

Imperialist spokesmen, while wishing to make it appear that there was a give and take on both sides, have been forced to acknowledge that most of the concessions were made by Moscow. It is now clear that the retirement of veteran East German Stalinist leader Ulbricht earlier this year had more to do with the move to-

wards a new Berlin deal than with age or health.

U.S. Ambassador to West Germany, Kenneth Rush, labeled the agreement a "major triumph" for Nixon's foreign policy, and stated that "we have given up none of our legal rights and have in no way changed our legal position" on West Berlin.

WELCOMED

In Bonn, Paris and London statements from both official sources and the capitalist press have welcomed the new agreement in glowing terms.

The Berlin agreement is the latest result of the "peaceful coexistence" diplomacy of the Stalinists. But these developments do not herald an era of tranquility. Quite the opposite. They take place in a period of enormously deepening crisis and each retreat spurs on the imperialists toward more aggressive policies.

At the same time as the Nixon Administration publicly welcomed the Berlin agreement, a senior government official at Nixon's Western White House said that "Far from reducing troop levels, this proves we must maintain them." The emphasis is on negotiations from strength and even the immediate reaction to the concessions from the bureaucracy is a kick in the teeth.

The new moves toward detente in Europe must be seen in the framework of the deepening economic crisis. It is no accident that the Berlin treaty was announced just one week after Nixon's declaration of trade war with the import surcharge and defacto dollar devaluation.

In 1968 the survival of the French capitalist regime with the crucial aid of

Stalinism against the massive general strike, and the Moscow-sponsored invasion of Czechoslovakia only a few months later, expressed the fear of the capitalists and their bureaucratic agents of the resurgent working class.

FEAR

In 1971 they have even more to fear, as the crisis of capitalism ushers in a period of trade war, depression and massive economic and political struggles.

The countries in which capitalist property relations have been overthrown are by no means immune from the crisis. Because of their continuing isolation from the international division of labor and international trade and their continuing lag in productivity of labor, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe feel the impact of this crisis sharply.

The developing trade war now pushes many of the leading imperialist countries towards the Soviet bloc countries as potential markets for the export of both goods and capital. The bureaucracy welcomes these moves. Its response to its own crisis is to seek to aid the imperialists and to undermine the nationalized property relations in the workers' states.

This is the immediate background to the diplomatic maneuvers and agreements on Berlin and elsewhere. This is the purpose behind the European security conference for which the Soviet bureaucracy has now campaigned for several years.

The bureaucracy seeks to maintain the status quo against the onslaught of the crisis and the offensive of the working class. It uses the working class as a pawn for bargaining. It offers to the bour-

geoisie its services in maintaining social peace. In exchange it asks only the status quo of its own boundaries and privileges be maintained.

WAR

But this is impossible. The imperialists will squeeze the last drop of collaboration out of the bureaucracy at the same time as they prepare for war against the workers' states themselves. The policy of peaceful coexistence is more criminal than ever before, offering to the capitalists the olive branch at the very same time as they prepare for war on all fronts.

The Communist Party's Daily World has said nothing on the Berlin agreement. At a time when it is trying to convince workers that it has suddenly discovered the treachery of the Democratic Party leaders in their support for the wage freeze, and it must deal with the massive movement of the working class against Nixon's wage freeze and the murderous government repression against Black militants and others, the harmony between Moscow and Washington over Berlin is perhaps a bit embarrassing. But every working class militant and fighter against the capitalist system must see in the Berlin agreement the real face of Stalinist class collaboration.

The imperialist crisis means war on all fronts. It means trade war, war on the working class of all capitalist countries, and war against the workers' states. This is the direction in which capitalism is inexorably and rapidly moving. The policy of peaceful coexistence as expressed in Berlin opens the door to more historic betrayals and defeats unless Stalinism is defeated in the working class movement.

World Economy Heads For Crash

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

"A voyage to unknown lands," is how the governor of the Bank of Japan described Friday's decision by the Japanese government to float the yen.

Indeed in spite of the apparent calm that still continues to reign on the world's foreign exchanges, the devaluation of the dollar, the fluctuation of world currencies, and the brutal trade war launched by the United States on Europe must soon give way to mammoth economic and political explosions which will drag capitalism into worldwide anarchy and slump.

The Japanese decision to float the yen was immediately followed by its upward float of 5% on the Tokyo exchange and 11% in London. A revaluation of even this amount, when coupled with what has now come to be regarded as an almost permanent 10% trade surcharge, means the virtual prostration of the Japanese export industry.

Japanese steel, autos, and textiles are virtually priced out of the American market, while powerful shipbuilding interests, whose contracts are almost all

in dollars, are particularly hard hit and already demanding government aid.

"SUFFERING"

Anticipating the massive upsurge of unemployment that must now strike the Japanese working class, Finance Minister Mikio Mizuta has demagogically called for the Japanese workers to endure a period of "glorious suffering" to overcome the effects of the yen crisis.

The point, however, is that the forced floatation of the yen is only the first in a whole series of body blows that U.S. capitalism is now preparing to deliver.

Nixon has already made clear that as far as he is concerned the Japanese float is nothing more than a token measure and that nothing less than an all out 17% to 25% revaluation will be accepted.

The same is true for Europe. The European bourgeoisie temporized last week, partially due to the intervention of central banks and partially to the hesitancy of the big speculators, with meager 2% (Britain) to 7% (Germany) upward floats. But Nixon's demands for outright large scale revaluations of all European currencies became more strident.

The magnitude of what Nixon has in mind came out last week when the International Monetary Fund leaked information that it was planning to recommend revaluations of 10% for Britain, 15% for Japan, and 13% for Germany.

RUIN

Revaluation on this scale, however, means economic ruin for the countries involved. Already Italian manufacturers of knitwear and shoes have suffered a wave of cancellation of orders from American customers. With Italian goods stockpiled in American warehouses, huge losses and the threat of bankruptcy now face Italian exporting firms.

Volkswagen meanwhile has been forced to raise its prices 6.5% to meet the effect of the surcharge and the Germany currency float.

The French Steel Confederation has now threatened to repudiate European Economic Community (EEC) limitations on steel imports to the U.S. unless the surcharge is lifted on EEC steel.

What is becoming clearer by the minute is that there can be no peaceful adjustment by Europe and Japan to Nixon's attack. This attack means war, trade war, war on the working class and a renewed drive by imperialism to destroy the proletarian property relations in the workers states.

It is precisely this economic crisis that lies behind not only the deepening of the civil war in

(Continued On Page 14)

WL Mobilizes Youth In Fight For Jobs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Last month the unemployment rate in the New York area rose to its highest peak since 1964. Every section of the working class is being hit, skilled and unskilled workers, those who have been on the job for 15 years and youth who have been denied jobs altogether.

As one youth described the situation last week: "It's been six months and I can't get a job. I keep putting in applications but they talk about budget cuts and I never hear anything."

There must be a fight now against unemployment! This fight must unite trade unionists, youth and unemployed against the employers and the government. The wage freeze and unemployment are both prongs of Nixon's attack on the workers and youth.

The Workers League is fighting now in the unions and among the youth to mobilize for the demonstration called for September 9 at 4 p.m. at City Hall against unemployment.

At the center of this fight must be the demand that the unions take up the fight of the unemployed. The unions have the power to lead this fight.

The organizers of the demonstration which include the Communist Party as well as trade union leaders are attempting to limit it to begging the Democratic and Republican Parties for crumbs. The Stalinists want to hold back this explosive struggle and keep the youth and the ranks of the unions divided.

This struggle can only go forward around a program which

challenges the government and is based on the needs of the workers and youth and not on the needs of the bosses.

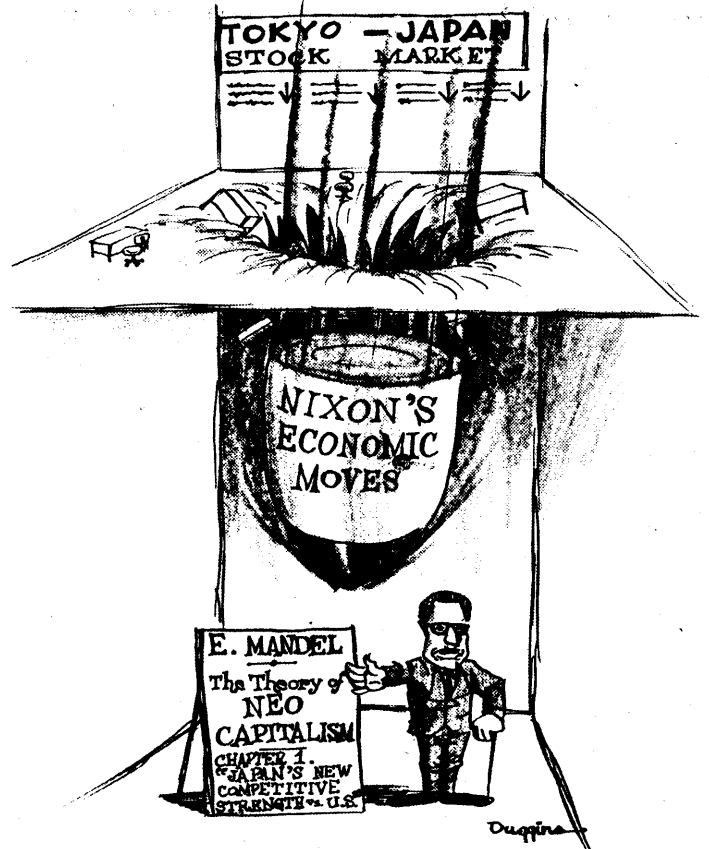
DEMANDS

The Workers League will be marching in the demonstration demanding:

- Jobs for all! 30 hour week at 40 hours pay!
- Real training in school under union and student control. On the job training at union wages. All youth have the right to learn a meaningful trade. Unemployment benefits upon leaving school!
- Equal pay for equal work!
- Outlaw racism!
- Immediate withdrawal of all US troops from Indochina!
- For a general strike to smash Nixon's wage freeze!
- For nationalization of basic industry without compensation and under workers control!
- Down with the Democrats and Republicans!
- Build a labor party for '72!

This fight is being taken up in East New York, Bedford-Stuyvesant and the Fort Greene areas of Brooklyn as well as in Manhattan. The Third World Front in East New York will be participating together with the Workers League to mobilize youth for a rally on September 5 and the demonstration on September 9.

We urge all workers, youth and unemployed to march with the Workers League. For transportation meet at 2:30 p.m. at: Manhattan, Ave. B & 3rd St. or 135 W. 14th St.; Fort Green: Myrtle & Navy; East New York, Rockaway & Pitkin.



Teachers Defy Wage Freeze With Walkouts

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO—As schools opened for the fall semester this week walkouts are occurring all over the state of Illinois in open defiance of the wage freeze policies of the Nixon Administration.

Teachers in Elgin, Decatur, DeKalb and Barrington are already on strike. An official of the Illinois Federation of Teachers (IFT) has stated that walkouts in 16 other districts are "more likely than not" in the next week.

The strategy of the unions is to strike on the basis of no contract, no work, with the central demand that money due teachers under existing contracts be held in escrow and returned to teachers when the freeze is lifted. IFT officials have expressed confidence that this demand can be won throughout the state.

Yet this policy is obviously not sufficient in itself as Nixon is planning to continue the freeze

after the November expiration. What is needed here is an open campaign throughout the trade union movement for a general strike now to defend the striking unions until the freeze is smashed.

The teachers in Illinois now join the striking longshoremen, New York phoneworkers, and thousands of other workers who are now on strike and are giving a lead to the fight against Nixon's freeze.

Victory requires a sharp battle against the leadership of the labor movement for a general strike and a break with the Democrats and Republicans and the building of a labor party.

Farinas To Make National Tour

BY BRIDGET ELLIOTT

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee is building two parties to raise funds to send Juan Farinas on a five day tour to Minneapolis, September 9th and 10th and San Francisco, September 11th through 13th.

The Defense Committee expects a decision from the Court of Appeals within the next few weeks. Farinas was convicted of violating the Selective Service Act because he handed out a leaflet condemning the Vietnam War at his induction center three summers ago. Farinas was given a sentence of two years in jail and is out on \$5,000 bail. The oral arguments on the case were heard in the Court of Appeals early this summer.

The fund raising parties will be held on Saturday, September 4th, in Brooklyn at the Council for a Better New York (corner of Cleveland and New Lots), and in Manhattan on the lower east side at University Settlement

(184 Eldridge Street at Rivington).

There will be live music, records and refreshments. Admission: men-\$1.00 and women-75¢. We urge all readers, join us at one of the parties.

The committee is continuing its national campaign to collect thousands of signatures on petitions and statements to send to the judges demanding the reversal of the decision against Farinas. To keep the campaign going we are still urgently in need of money!

For more information, to send contributions or to request petitions write to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14th St., 6th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.

The following is a letter sent by a trade unionist to the court in support of Farinas. It expresses the class character of the attack on Farinas.

Judges Feinberg, Mansfield and Moore
United States Court of Appeals
United States Court House
Foley Square

New York, N.Y.

Sirs:

As a member of District 65 RWDSU and Local 1549, District Council 37 I wish to add my voice to the thousands demanding the immediate overturn of the conviction of Juan P. Farinas. The recent disclosures of the Pentagon documents only begin to reveal the undemocratic processes that the working class of America as well as of Vietnam are subjected to. The attacks on Mr. Farinas and other militants today are specific expressions of these processes against their most outspoken opponents. The victimization of working people, most recently in the form of the wage freeze, sky-rocketing unemployment, and the cuts in the budget must be answered, as the war will be, by organizations such as my union to defend our livelihood and put an end to unjust and unpopular wars such as this one. Reverse this decision to strangle Juan's rights.

Sincerely yours,
Helen B.

SSEU Ranks Fight Back Against Reorganization

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—On Friday, August 27, Stanley Hill, president of SSEU-371, was told in no uncertain terms by City representatives that an arbitration decision involving the violation of transfer provisions in the new contract, was up in the air.

The union had filed suit because the City declared that all "specialists" in social service centers would be given super-seniority above those workers who had greater tenure. In other words, if the City so desired it could bring all contractual issues to arbitration, undercutting the contract and posing the greatest dangers to SSEU members.

Hill had been told by delegates at a meeting the night before that the City was running roughshod over the contract in its effort to speed through "instant reorganization." At the Queens welfare center, which voted heavily against the contract, a work action

was in progress against the introduction of reorganization measures under which some workers were to cover two or three case-loads simultaneously.

It was also learned at the meeting that so-called "outreach" programs in which caseworkers and case aides would be sent to storefronts in the community were greeted by community groups with derision and scorn. Union representatives were told there would be "civil war" if caseworkers went out into the community. Eligibility investigators also complained the union would have to demand a civil service exam because of their provisional status.

In response to the tremendous pressure from the ranks Hill told the city that 11 centers due to participate in training for reorganization on Monday, would be advised to go back to their centers until the City came up with an arbitration decision.

The ranks are now feeling the real impact of the sellout con-

tract which was approved last month.

On Monday morning only one representative of the leadership showed up at the training center to organize the boycott. Activists succeeded in turning away a large number of workers. At noon, Hill finally came down to the center. After a union meeting, 200 workers walked out of the training program.

But on Tuesday, Hill had already capitulated to the City calling off the action.

One thing is clear, the City is using the new contract to begin tremendous attacks on the ranks. In addition they are openly violating what protections are in the contract. The warning issued by the SSEU-371 Committee for a New Leadership that instant reorganization would mean mass speed-up and overwork is now borne out in centers like Queens.

The Committee for a New Leadership is fighting in the SSEU-371 for the union to take a policy of non-cooperation with the reorganization of the 11 centers on September 27 until the full plan and all its implications are brought before the membership and voted on. The ranks must demand ironclad guarantees on manning scales, workload and job security.



John Talbutt (lighting cigarette) of SSEU leadership discusses with members during work action aimed at closing reorganization training.

Taxi Ranks Move To Oust Van Arsdale

BY A

LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Campaigning has begun in all taxi garages in the city for the mid-September Local 3036 elections of committeemen and shop chairmen.

The Van Arsdale leadership has foisted the worst contract in taxi history upon the men and has refused to wage any fight despite tremendous opposition to the pact by the rank and file. Cabbies' salaries, meanwhile, have actually decreased 20-40 dollars per week.

At the same time, the Nixon Administration, with the full support of Republicans and Democrats, has attacked all workers with a wage freeze. By opposing the present agreement (which the courts have accepted as binding), cabbies are now engaged in a political struggle.

In order to throw out the present agreement and renegotiate another one, the rank and file must openly oppose Nixon's wage freeze. No other course is left!

POLITICAL

Further, since both political parties have served notice that they intend to attack labor, drivers are now forced to confront the question of building a labor party to fight for the interests of labor, the unemployed, minorities and youth.

It is with this understanding that a new leadership within the taxi union must be built, a leadership pledged not only to the immediate demands of a decent contract, but to the political fight necessary to win this contract.

It is not sufficient to simply oppose the Van Arsdale leadership. Thomas Iandoli and Charles Pettes, the dissident union leaders supported by the Watchdog Committee, have declared their opposition to Van Arsdale and the contract. But when asked at a recent meeting of the Rank and File Coalition, "What is your program and how will you fight for it?" they could not answer.

Outside of their talk of "trying to influence Mr. Van Arsdale" no concrete proposals for an all out fight came forward. They said nothing about industry wide preparation for a strike to back up any demands, of driver mobilization, of a \$200 per week guarantee. Replacing one bureaucracy with another will not solve the problem.

Taxi drivers took a pay cut. Therefore, "60% of the meter" must be included in any new pact. In addition, a new leadership must fight for no productivity clauses, return of the "dime," \$400 pension after 20 years, and proportional benefits to part timers. This fight must be waged within the political framework of the government's attack on all workers.

NYC Unions Must Fight Slave Labor

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—With the leaders of the City unions remaining silent, Lindsay last week put welfare recipients to work cleaning city parks without pay.

The City has estimated that there are from 30,000 to 50,000 recipients that they plan to put to work for their welfare checks. Failure to comply means that their checks will be cut off.

Many of those who are now forced to work for virtually nothing include youth as well as older unemployed workers who have been laid off or denied jobs. Now they are being forced to work at jobs covered by the unions but receive a fraction of union pay.

Already the city agencies are fighting over who will get these workers. The head of the Parks Department contemptuously called these workers "the welfare people" who another official remarked "come in very handy."

The role of the labor leadership and in particular Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37, is absolutely criminal in simply condoning this slave labor set-up. These leaders have not uttered a peep of protest.

DENIED

Those who are being forced to work are denied the basic right to equal pay for equal work and are denied union protection, wages and benefits. At the same time, Lindsay hopes to use these workers as a force against the unions. This must be seen as an attack on the entire working class, employed and unemployed.

It raises the question of the unions taking up the fight for the unemployed and the youth, raising the demand for the 30 hour week at forty hours pay and equal pay for equal work, as part and parcel of labor's fight against the government's attack on the unions.

Curran Ship Plan Aids Bosses

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—The trustees of the National Maritime Union Pension and Welfare Plans, headed by NMU President Joe Curran, plan to pour millions of NMU pension dollars into a new cruise ship company, American Cruise Lines.

The company is run by the Stuckey Company (a candy manufacturer), and by Carl Davis, former general counsel to the Maritime Administration. The company would reactivate the SS United States and the SS Constitution.

President Curran hails this and the plans of the new Wall Street Cruises to reactivate the passenger liner Independence in "the interests of both labor and management."

Thus Curran's own maritime plan, which he has been pushing for years, of one big passenger ship operating company, is coming close to reality.

What Curran avoids mentioning, though, is that this plan has always been based on the assumption that it would require massive manning scale cuts on the ships brought out, and overwork for the men lucky enough to get a job. Now the ranks are asked to pay for this out of their pockets.

This deal can provide only a temporary sop to the mounting unemployment in maritime and is sure to bankrupt the NMU pension plans, which even now have only enough money to pay for 20% of the pensions due the members.

It would only pour money into the coffers of the shipowners, guaranteeing them a profit and encouraging them to go ahead with more automated ships to further cut manning scales.

Curran's real fear of the rank and file is shown by his repeated arrests of James Morrissey for

handing out leaflets at the New York hiring hall, and by his plans to bar leafletting of union premises.

Curran is caught between the rising anger of rank and file labor reflected in the near-revolts in the latest NMU port meetings, and the needs the shippers have of imposing ever greater sacrifices on the rank and file. Motions must be passed against his phoney ship-saving scheme and for a strike to stop the layoffs and manning scale cuts.

Layups of passenger ships and the new LASH, container, and other automated ships, along with cuts in manning scales being

forced by the Nixon Administration, are the source of the unemployment in the NMU. Only a strike can stop these attacks.

This program must be fought for in the ports and ships' meetings.

The companies like Grace and U.S. Lines which plead bankruptcy to try to extort more concessions out of the Curran bureaucracy must be nationalized without compensation and run by the workers. NMU port and ships' meetings should go on record for a labor party to do this.

The Workers League is fighting to build a caucus in the NMU around this program.

AFSCME Wins Election

BY AN AFSCME LOCAL 1164 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS—Local 1164 of AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) recently won a victory in the election for union representation at the University of Minnesota Hospitals. The election took place in the midst of negotiations between state employees and state legislators.

State employees are led by AFSCME Council 6 headed by Joseph Robison. Long ago nearly all 53 locals of Council 6 voted to strike. Local 1164 in its strike vote opposed Robison's plan to call selective strikes. 1164 urged all locals to go out together.

It was in the context of this struggle with the legislature and in the context of Nixon's wage freeze that the campaign to win the election took place.

A caucus in Local 1164 and other locals of Council 6 is growing around the demand that the AFSCME leadership call a strike of all public employees in Minnesota to gain the wage increases state employees need, to end the public law against

striking and stop Nixon's wage freeze.

State employees must demand that this be joined with a general strike of the entire labor movement. AFSCME must call a conference to build a labor party opposed to the two capitalist parties which want to smash the unions.

This program was fought for at the meeting held before the election. The leadership of 1164 supported Robison.

During the election a leaflet was distributed in the hospitals calling for the victory of AFSCME 1164 around the program of a general strike and a labor party. A caucus is being formed in the local to fight for this perspective.

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Wallace Defines Law And Order

BY BOB MICHAELSON

On August 26, George Wallace spoke at the Alabama State Legislature in favor of a bill which would deal a blow against integration and egg on the racists and right wing elements throughout the country.

After his speech at the legislature, Wallace remarked "I have nothing but utter contempt for the courts of this land."

Wallace is openly expressing what Nixon and whole sections of the capitalist class are thinking.

Now all the "law and order" politics of Nixon and Wallace are exposed for what they really are—the throwing out of any laws and orders which come into conflict with the needs of the banks and corporations as they are forced to politically and brutally attack the trade unions.

Nixon who has nourished Wallace all along now leans heavily on him and other rightist forces to conduct the war against the working class. While Nixon looks kindly on Wallace's activities in Alabama, Mitchell works out a deal to get Jewish Defense League leader Kahane out of jail.

Kahane has been spending his time since his release buying arms and whipping up a racist hysteria. Last week the JDL held a meeting of 1,500 in the East Flatbush area of Brooklyn. There he called for the organization of "citizen patrols" armed with rifles to patrol the neighborhood.

FASCIST

These forces now lay the basis for the growth of a fascist movement in the U.S. with its armed thugs whose purpose it is to destroy the working class organizations and stifle political liberties.

In the midst of the greatest economic and political crisis, Wallace and the JDL seek to turn the despair within the middle class away from the capitalists and against the workers and youth stirring up racism.

The only alternative that can and must be brought forward against Wallace and Kahane is the mobilization of the workers, minorities and youth as a politically independent force through the building of a labor party. Only the fight for a workers' government can defeat Wallace and his fascist ilk.



A spokesman for the Republic of New Africa speaks at Harlem rally called over George Jackson's murderer. Together with the Panthers they used the rally to push for black capitalism and black nationalism.

Expose Plot To Kill Panthers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The indictment of the Illinois State Attorney Edward Hanrahan and thirteen others for conspiring to prevent the prosecution of the eight Chicago cops who killed two Black Panthers in 1969 has blown the lid off the government's frame-up of Black militants.

The Illinois Supreme Court ordered Chief Criminal Court Judge Power to make public a long suppressed indictment prepared by a special grand jury. This action has opened up and revealed the whole sickening story of the conscious conspiracy to murder the Panthers sanctioned from the police force on up to the Federal Government.

Those indicted besides Hanrahan are the eight cops who conducted the raid, Hanrahan's assistant in charge of it, and officials who were in charge of departmental investigations.

Two Panthers, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, were killed in the raid, and seven Panthers were charged with attempted murder.

In the spring of 1970 a Federal Grand Jury investigating the raid revealed that at least 90 shots had been fired into the Panther headquarters but none were fired back.

Yet the Grand Jury did not indict anyone. The police claimed that the Panthers had fired 200 shots at the cops. After the raid the Panthers conducted tours of the headquarters to show that not one bullet could have been fired back. The cops had stormed into the place and actually riddled Fred Hampton, who was asleep in bed, with bullets.

After civic groups petitioned for a new investigation, a special grand jury was set up. This grand jury prepared the indictments read last week but Judge Power simply refused to ac-

cept them.

Hanrahan and the others are accused of consciously obstructing justice and blocking the prosecution of the eight cops, planting false evidence and obstructing the legal defense of the Panthers who were arrested.

They are also accused of preparing false answers for the cops being investigated, giving false information to TV and the newspapers about the raid, staging a false replay of the raid for CBS and of preparing phony lab evidence to back up their story.

The indictment has starkly revealed the lengths that the government is prepared to go to to get rid of all militants who fight back against the system. There can be no question that many Democratic Party politicians in Illinois knew about this and kept silent.

Only two weeks ago the Republic of New Africa in Mississippi was attacked in exactly the same way and all its members charged with attempted murder after a police raid.

The indictment is little consolation for the Panthers and the relatives of those who were brutally gunned down in the true Nazi style.

With George Jackson just killed and Angela Davis and other militants facing trial the labor movement must call not just for a fair trial but for the immediate release of these prisoners and for the building of a labor party in 1972.

Thieu 'Election' Exposes His Masters

BY DAVID NICHOLS

A new chapter in the Pentagon Papers was being written as the elections in South Vietnam revealed the fraud and corruption U.S. imperialism's puppets rest on.

Last Thursday President Thieu announced to the press that he would run unopposed in the upcoming presidential elections. This culminated the most disgusting spectacle of engineered politics over the past weeks leading up to the Assembly and Presidential elections.

These practices only reveal that there can be no free elections. Imperialism and its lackeys will not allow elections that do not guarantee their continued domination in South Vietnam. In 1954 when the imperialists realized that Ho Chi Minh had the support of the masses, they simply refused elections.

Nixon, for his part, sought to use these elections in a manner in which Eisenhower could not have done when Ho Chi Minh was still alive. Nixon planned to use the fraud of the Vietnamese elections to attempt to justify his continuing policy of aggression in Vietnam. But he did not include

the overwhelming hatred the Vietnamese people have for the Saigon regime.

Once Thieu had eliminated his two top contenders, his vice president Ky and Retired General Duong Van Minh Nixon had no other choice but to back his hand picked man regardless of how bad it looked.

The government and the capitalist press play up NLF attacks on puppet troop installations in an attempt to cover up the fraud in the elections.

At the same time Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker was desperately scurrying around Saigon attempting to continue the charade of a contest. Bunker pleaded with Thieu to allow Ky's name to be returned to the ballot.

Meanwhile, Ky, the man the Stalinists were covertly backing waits in the background to see what develops. The Stalinists quietly boosted Ky as he made his de-

magogic attacks on the U.S. This only points out the dangers of the Stalinists' call for a coalition government which could include the likes of Ky whose hero is none other than Adolf Hitler.

Troops were mobilized in the major cities and at the polling places for the sole purpose of protecting the regime against the South Vietnamese people who despise imperialism and its agents. This is the real face of Nixon's fight for "democracy" in Southeast Asia.

It is at this time of crisis that the Stalinists instruct the people of South Vietnam to vote for the most "progressive" force in the elections. The only progressive force, however, is the independent struggle of the workers and peasants.

It is through the united fight against imperialism and for socialist revolution that victory will be achieved.

D.C. Cops Step Up Repression

BY MIKE CLIFTON

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Recent incidents of police brutality in the metropolitan D.C. area are a warning of what the Nixon Administration has in store for American workers.

Kenyon Ballew, a 28 year old plate carrier of the Web Pressman's Union, was critically shot six times during a raid upon his apartment by a U.S. Treasury agent and Montgomery County police. The agents after receiving a tip from an anonymous phone caller, who said he suspected Ballew of harboring an illegal cache of arms, appeared at Ballew's door in plainclothes.

When Ballew failed to answer the door, the agents broke it down and rushed in. Ballew believing the intruders to be thieves went for a gun where-

upon he was shot. The supposed "illegal" cache turned out to be harmless antiques. Ballew himself ended up in the hospital paralyzed, with serious head wounds, and unbelievably charged with "illegal possession of arms."

The incident created such an outcry that the Secretary of the Treasury John Connolly was forced to make clear the Administration's position. Connolly came out and condoned the act, claiming that it was, "legally proper under the circumstances." The circumstances that Connolly is referring to are the anger and militancy that is mounting in the D.C. area over high unemployment and poor living conditions. Connolly and his class are prepared to smash any dissent. This is what Connolly means when he says that such raids are "legally proper."

These attacks are no mistake.

The government has made its intentions quite clear. Since the 1968 riots the D.C. police force has been tripled in size. D.C. Police Chief Jerry Wilson has boasted of professionalizing the force into a "crack" army.

STORMTROOPERS

This boast has materialized from what was once mere words to an army of stormtroopers. The reality of Wilson's boast was seen in the mass arrests of May Day people, the enactment of the repressive "no-knock" law, the harassment of Bulletin salesmen, and by the increased presence of police in the ghetto. These incidents demonstrate the sharpening of the crisis as Nixon and his class move toward open dictatorship to offset the movement of the youth and the organized working class.

Public Meeting

Defend
Juan
Farinas

Sept. 9 8:00pm

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179 E. Robie (1 block east of
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Jackson's Murder Aimed Against Youth

On Sunday George Jackson was buried. Jackson was brutally murdered in his cell by prison guards in San Quentin. The killing of Jackson was a political act aimed against the working class and in particular against the youth.

Jackson's murder came only days after Nixon's orders to drive back the living standards of the working class. It is clear that the government is now preparing to unleash a wave of political repression to carry out its plans.

The fight of the Soledad Brothers, of which Jackson was a member, was against this repression and the system responsible for it. Jackson was thrown into jail at the age of 18 for allegedly stealing \$70.

His fate is the future of thousands of youth who are denied jobs, who face the war, welfare or the police, courts and jails.

He once said that those who live past the age of 18 are "conditioned to accept the inevitability of prison."

"For most of us, it simply looms as the next phase in a sequence of humiliations. I was prepared for prison."

Jackson laid the responsibility for these conditions on capitalism. "Our principle enemy," he said, "must be isolated and identified as capitalism. The slaver was and is the factory owner, the businessmen of capitalist America, 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."

While in prison he took up a study of Marxism to prepare for the fight against this system. It was his refusal to bow to capitalism, to give up the fight that the ruling class could not tolerate.

The government and the capitalist press now use Jackson's death to stir up a witchhunt against Black militants and to try to divide the struggle of the workers and the youth. A few days after the killing at a pre-trial hearing of the remaining Soledad Brothers, the cops moved into the courtroom brutally beating many of those present.

The Communist Party is now attempting to blunt the sharp edge of the battle and the implications of Jackson's death by turning it into a crusade for prison reform. Above all they seek to avoid the revolutionary implications of his struggle and cynically use his death to divert the fight of the youth away from a confrontation with capitalism to compromise and meaningless protest.

Jackson's death is a warning to all youth and to the working class as a whole. This is the brutality which the capitalist class is prepared to use to defend its bankrupt and decaying system.

We must unite now to build a party, a labor party based on the power of the unions which unites labor, the youth and the minorities in a fight against Nixon and the two capitalist parties. Only with this weapon can we fight these attacks. The labor movement must urgently take up the defense of all political prisoners who now face the same fate as Jackson.

The youth must play a leading role in this struggle forming a mass youth movement rooted in Marxism and based on a program to defeat the enemy—capitalism.

This is the way we will avenge the death of George Jackson.

To meet responsibilities now posed by the wage freeze and Nixon's attacks on the international working class, the Bulletin is launching a Fall Expansion Fund and Circulation Drive. The combined drive will run from September 15th to December 15th.

A fund drive goal of \$20,000 has been set and preliminary reports suggest that we may well be able to exceed that amount. The purpose of the drive will be to make a number of technical improvements in the paper laying the basis for a drive starting in the spring for our own web offset press.

A circulation drive is being launched to raise our paid circulation now at around 9,000, to 10,000 by October 1st and over 12,000 by December 15th. This will be done through a drive for 3,000 subscriptions as well as an increase of 2,000 in street sales.



"For mutinous crews, Cap'n — I designed it myself."

What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

If Nixon gets away with this one he will simply be encouraged to tighten the noose around our necks after November 12th. A one day protest will not stop him and rhetoric will only smooth his path.

ONLY A MASSIVE GENERAL STRIKE NOW IN SUPPORT OF THE STRIKING LONGSHOREMEN, TELEPHONE WORKERS AND OTHER STRIKING WORKERS CAN SMASH THE FREEZE!

The treachery of the union leaders goes even further. Not only are they not prepared to fight this freeze now with the power of the labor movement, they are also showing what they intend for the future.

At the same time as Meany calls Nixon's measures "Robin Hood in reverse," he calls for the setting up of a tripartite Wage Price Board, modeled after the War Labor Board of World War II.

This board would include representatives of business, labor and the government. But can any worker doubt for even a minute where the government representative would stand?

Meany wants to denounce Nixon as a heartless enemy of the workers and then convince the rank and file to accept a board on which Nixon and the bosses he represents have a 2-1 majority!

These boards, by whatever name they are called, have always functioned to tie the unions to the government apparatus, to hamstring the workers and prevent any struggle, to police the working class exactly as we warned in our last issue.

The Democrats continue to prove that the assault on labor's rights is completely bipartisan. Former Vice-President Humphrey, long-time supporter of the war in Vietnam who has built his career as a "friend of labor," has called for a Democratic caucus meeting in the Congress. He wants this caucus to "constructively consider and evaluate" the Nixon program!

And the well known liberal from Wisconsin, Proxmire, has come forward with his own contribution to the war on the working class: "It is now apparent that this anti-inflation program must have the support of organized labor to succeed. Without it not only will the President be a loser, the country

will be a loser."

Thus the liberals work to convince workers that their interests are the same as Nixon's, that they must go along with Nixon, even if reluctantly, because they lose if Nixon loses.

Not only have the union leaders not drawn any lessons from the role of the Democrats as well as Nixon, but Meany himself is already choosing from among the capitalist politicians for the 1972 Presidential elections.

In the midst of the wage freeze attack, Meany denounces the new Democratic convert, Mayor Lindsay of New York. Does he expose him as an enemy of labor? Of course not. He simply labels him as the "poorest public official" he has ever seen, and hints he might support Nixon against him! Further, Meany announces that he is generally satisfied with the other Democratic hopefuls with the exception of Lindsay.

Just as Woodcock says he is ready for war one week and surrenders without a fight the next, so Meany denounces Nixon as a faithful servant of big business one week and says he might support him the next.

These bureaucrats are desperately searching for a way of avoiding the struggle which is being forced upon them by the tremendous economic crisis and the moves taken by Nixon aimed at preserving the system from complete collapse.

Not only do the union leaders have no program to smash the wage freeze, they are now coming forward to give important help to the employers in their attack. Under cover of a wage price board such as Meany plugs for, the bosses can slash wages while appearing "impartial." They can get the unions' help in dragging back the conditions of the working class to the period of the 1930s and before.

Leading capitalist spokesmen understand the importance of the role played by leaders such as Meany and Woodcock. The New York Times, after loudly applauding Nixon's wage freeze, urges him to secure the help of the union officials in the next stage.

And so confident are the bosses of the help of the labor bureaucracy that Vice President Agnew can arrogantly proclaim that we

should not take Meany's "resounding excoriations" too seriously, because "George Meany is a patriotic American, and when it comes to the crunch, I am sure he will put the interests of all Americans ahead of the interests of any group—because the public interest is the workers' interest."

This struggle has just begun. Agnew may be sure of Meany in the "crunch," but he cannot count on the millions of American workers and their families. They have just begun to fight.

The actions of the union leaders over the past week demonstrate only the huge gulf between the ranks and the bureaucracy. Woodcock is right when he says that the fight is really ahead of us. But that is not what he means. The time to start the fight is now. If the fight is postponed by the officials it is only because Woodcock and all the others fear that fight and never want to take it up.

That is why it must be taken up in spite of and in struggle against these servants of the employers in the labor movement. That is the issue staring millions of workers squarely in the face, as they prepare to fight the war that Woodcock himself was forced to admit was declared by Nixon on August 16. If the ranks do not take up this fight, the union officials will betray.

DEFY THE WAGE FREEZE! FOR A GENERAL STRIKE TO SMASH THE FREEZE NOW!

ABSOLUTELY NO COLLABORATION WITH ANY PHASE OF THE WAGE FREEZE! NO COOPERATION WITH WAGE-PRICE BOARDS OR ANY OTHER FORM OF GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE IN THE TRADE UNIONS! REPLACE THE FREEZE WITH A FULL COST OF LIVING CLAUSE IN EVERY CONTRACT TO FIGHT INFLATION!

FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT WITH A SHORTER WORK WEEK! ORGANIZE THE UNEMPLOYED! NATIONALIZE THE BANKS AND MAJOR INDUSTRY WITHOUT COMPENSATION UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!

CALL A CONGRESS OF LABOR, YOUTH AND MINORITY PEOPLE TO BUILD A LABOR PARTY AGAINST THE DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS FOR THE 1972 ELECTIONS!

MAOISM

A BALANCE SHEET

By Robert Black



PEKING'S TURN towards open collaboration with world imperialism — exemplified by Mao's support for Yahya Khan in E Bengal — has been prepared by the whole history of Chinese Stalinism.

For more than ten years, the Chinese Communist Party has denounced the Soviet bureaucracy for refusing to give all-out support to liberation movements fighting imperialism and its native agents.

Splinter groups

It also condemned Communist Party leaderships in the capitalist countries for pursuing the so-called 'parliamentary road to socialism'.

The polemic between Moscow and Peking split the world Stalinist movement. In some countries, 'Maoist' splinter groups were expelled or left the established Communist Parties, while in others, it was the Maoists who were in the majority.

By 1964, the year when the Soviet and Chinese leaders broke all political links, a new 'Maoist' international seemed to be crystallizing out of the factions and parties oriented towards Peking.

On paper, the Maoist line up looked quite impressive. Peking had the support of the 3 million-strong Indonesian CP and the smaller, though quite influential, Communist Party of Japan.

Guerrillas

The only Stalinist regime to declare itself unequivocally for Peking was Albania, where Enver Hoxha had been the first to attack the Soviet leaders openly as traitors to communism.

Other governments, under pressure from imperialism, but dependent on Soviet aid, also sympathized with Peking's more militant-sounding line.

A pro-Chinese faction emerged inside the N Vietnamese CP, with Ho Chi Minh holding the balance of power, while N Korea also leaned towards Peking, refusing to join in the anti-Chinese chorus orchestrated from Moscow after the 1963 split.

But its leaders were careful not to break with Moscow. They relied heavily on the Soviet Union for military and economic aid.

The Maoist line of protracted guerrilla warfare based on the peasantry had a strong appeal

in Latin America, where pro-Moscow Stalinists had tied the Communist Parties to a policy of open collaboration with the more liberal sections of the native ruling classes.

It also attracted considerable support in India, where a pro-Peking group set up the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and began to make rapid headway in Kerala and W Bengal.

In Brazil, the Maoists managed to expel the pro-Moscow Stalinists, and proclaimed themselves the official party.

Take-over

There was a similar take-over in the Communist Party of New Zealand, while Australian Maoists 'creamed off' many CP trade union militants and set up their own organization.

Under the leadership of Jacques Grippa, Belgian Maoists captured the Brussels Federation of the Party, while other pro-Peking groups—usually with far less support and success—launched breakaway parties in France Italy and Britain.

In the United States, a pro-Peking group split from the CP to form Progressive Labour, and began to attract black workers and youth with its programme of militant black nationalism.

By including the membership of their own 14-million strong party, the Chinese Stalinists were able to claim that Mao's line had won a clear majority in the so-called 'world communist movement', and therefore that Moscow and its supporters were the real splinters.

What has become of this 'Maoist International'? In Indonesia, at least one million of its members have been slaughtered, victims of the Stalinist theory that the national capitalist class can play a militant anti-imperialist role when allied with working class and peasantry.

The Japanese CP broke from Peking as long ago as 1966. And while not accepting the Moscow line *in toto*, it attended the recent Soviet Communist Party 24th Congress, having boycotted the 23rd Congress in March 1966.

The Indian Maoists formed a coalition government in W Bengal, and were soon using police and troops to put down peasant risings in Naxalbari.

The Party underwent a further split, with the Maoist purists forming the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), while the majority drifted back to the right.

New rifts have now hit the Naxalite leadership, with a section supporting Yahya Khan in E Bengal, and another group coming out for Bangla Desh.

The pattern is the same in Latin America. The Brazilian Maoists have simply vanished.

In Venezuela, many of the most militant cadres have been killed in suicidal adventures completely divorced from the struggles of the working class in the towns and the level of consciousness among the peasantry.

Neither has Maoism met with any success in the advanced capitalist countries.

In France, Italy and Britain, Maoism is based mainly on middle-class and student elements, utterly divorced from the real life and struggles of the working-class movement.

In America, Progressive Labour is expelling members for discussing Trotskyism, while performing somersaults over the question of black nationalism.

Meanwhile, Mao's slavish defence of Stalin, coupled with his reactionary theory that capitalism has been restored in all the workers' states bar China and Albania, has made it impossible for the Peking line to win any support among the working class, youth and intellectuals of the Soviet bloc.

This, then, is the balance sheet of Maoism. In ten years of unprecedented capitalist crisis, and in the workers' states, political upheaval, Maoism has built nothing.

It has in fact lost the bulk of the forces it could claim just after the 1963 split.

They are now either dead, disillusioned or back with Moscow.

It is not enough to record these failures. We must now trace their origin in Maoist theory and the contradictory development of the Chinese revolution

CONTRARY TO THE claims of Mao Tse-tung, the Sino-Soviet split did not begin under the rule of Nikita Khrushchev.

Kremlin hostility to the Chinese Revolution dates right back to the early years of Stalin's rule, when the rising bureaucracy looked to Chiang Kai-shek as the future leader of modern China.

Stalin's China policy is fully documented and dissected by Leon Trotsky in his 'Problems of the Chinese Revolution' (New Park Publications).

In this book he shows how Stalin's nationalist theory of building 'socialism in one country' led directly to the inexperienced Chinese Communist Party being forced into an unprincipled alliance with Chiang Kai-shek's capitalist-landlord Kuomintang.

Driven back

To preserve his alliance with Chiang (who meanwhile had been appointed honorary President of the Communist International) Stalin instructed the Chinese party to accept Kuomintang discipline.



Nixon's special assistant in wheeling and dealing meets with Mao's counterpart Chou En-lai.

Peasant land seizure movements were held in check, strikes broken and workers disarmed, all to ensure that Chiang remained friendly with the Soviet Union when he ruled all China.

No sooner had Chiang attained his main objective—the occupation of Shanghai—than the blow fell.

Thousands of communists and workers were slaughtered in this militant stronghold of the Chinese labour movement, having only days before been told to hand over their arms to Chiang by Communist International representatives.

The revolution was driven back a decade and more by Stalin's ruinous leadership, and was only able to triumph 20 years later after Mao turned his back on Stalin's pro-Chiang policy and led his party to power.

But throughout Stalin's years of open collaboration with the Kuomintang regime, which launched campaign after campaign to crush the Chinese Communist Party in its soviet regions, Mao never openly challenged the Kremlin leadership.

Mao backed to the hilt Stalin's line of 'socialism in one country', even when its application in China caused the slaughter of thousands of communists.

He also endorsed all the Stalinist slanders against Trotsky, despite Trotsky's warning only days before Chiang's Shanghai coup that Stalin was leading the Chinese Party into a death trap.

Replying to Stalinist arguments that workers and peasants should join the Kuomintang to give the 'ailing' party a 'blood transfusion', Trotsky wrote on April 3, 1927:

'The Kuomintang is not a corpse, it is only ailing. What of? Of lack of blood of revolutionary workers and peasants. It is necessary for the Communist Party to "assist in the influx of this blood" etc.

'In short, what is needed is to perform the very-popular-of-late operation of blood transfusion not on an individual but already on a class scale.

'But, after all, the gist of the matter is that the bourgeoisie has begun to transfuse blood in its own way, by shooting, or helping to shoot, or winking its eyes at shootings of strikers and revolutionary peasants'.

Two days later, Stalin replied to Trotsky in a speech made before 3,000 Party officials in Moscow's Hall of Columns:

Chiang Kai-shek is submitting to discipline. The Kuomintang is a bloc, a sort of revolutionary parliament with the right, the left and the communists.

...When the Right is no more use to us, we will drive it away. At present, we need the right. It has capable people, who still direct the army and lead it against the imperialists.

'Chiang Kai-shek has perhaps no sympathy for the revolution, but he is leading the army and cannot do otherwise than lead it against the imperialists.'

Six days later, on April 11, Chiang and his 'capable people' were leading their troops, not against the imperialists, with whom he had just made a secret deal, but the workers of

Shanghai. The 'blood transfusion' had begun.

The slaughter spread to other Communist Party industrial strongholds, and within a year, the percentage of workers in the Party plummeted from over 60 to under 10.

It was a reverse of immense proportions and international repercussions. But to this day, it has never been analysed by the Mao leadership.

Instead, Mao adapted empiric-



Liu Shao-chi

ally to the new situation by regrouping the shattered Party in the rural areas, turning from the industrial working class to the poor peasants as the main basis of its support.

Throughout his struggle for survival against Chiang's 'encirclement' campaigns, crowned by the 6,000 mile 'Long March' from Kiangsi in the South to Yen-an in the North East, Mao and his comrades displayed enormous courage, resourcefulness and tactical ingenuity.

Mao pioneered and developed guerrilla warfare methods that have served as a model for anti-imperialist liberation fighters throughout the world, though in many cases they have not been either understood or applied in a class way, as Mao conceived them.

But on the burning international questions of the day, Mao had nothing to say.

The landmarks of the 1930s—Hitler's victory in Germany, the crushing of the Spanish revolution, the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Moscow Trials—find no echo in Mao's writings.

Whatever he may have thought of Stalin's leadership in the Soviet Party and the Communist International, he chose to keep it to himself.

Basing himself on Stalin's nationalist conceptions, he hoped to lead a 'revolution in one country' while shutting his eyes to all the great political struggles that raged beyond the frontiers of China.

China is paying today for Mao's narrow-minded theoretical and political methods that he

acquired after the 1927 defeat.

Cover-up

There is evidence that Mao took a conscious decision to cover up for Stalin's betrayals, not only in W Europe, but even where they directly affected the Chinese Communist Party.

On September 13, 1963, 'People's Daily' published an editorial 'On the Question of Stalin'.

Although mainly a eulogy of Stalin, it contained this highly-revealing admission:

'While defending Stalin, we do not defend his mistakes. Long ago the Chinese Communists had first-hand experience of some of his mistakes.

'Of the erroneous "Left" and Right opportunist lines which emerged in the Chinese Communist Party at one time or another, some arose under the influence of certain mistakes of Stalin's, in so far as their international sources were concerned.'

This is, of course, what Trotsky had insisted on from the very beginning of his struggle against the Stalin faction.

A false political line—'socialism in one country'—once applied to the Communist International, would prepare major defeats for the working class and colonial peoples all over the world.

Yet where do the Chinese leaders stand in the fight between Trotsky's programme of world revolution and Stalin's of 'socialism in one country'?

The same editorial makes it all too clear:

'Stalin defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the fight against various kinds of opportunism, against the enemies of Leninism, the Trotskyists, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and other bourgeois agents.'

So Stalin, whom the Chinese condemn in the same editorial, as both a Left and Right opportunist, and who collaborated with Chiang against Mao, is the defender of Leninism.

Trotsky, who predicted the defeat of 1927, is designated a 'bourgeois agent' and enemy of Leninism.

How, then, does Mao explain these contortions? How does he justify covering up for Stalin's 'mistakes' as he calls them?

'People's Daily' goes on to explain:

Wrong

'In the late 1920s, the 1930s and the early and middle 1940s, the Chinese Marxist-Leninists represented by Comrades Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi resisted the influence of Stalin's mistakes; they gradually overcame the erroneous lines of "left" and right opportunism and finally led the Chinese Revolution to victory.

'But since some of the wrong ideas put forward by Stalin were accepted and applied by certain Chinese comrades, we Chinese should bear the responsibility.

'In its struggle against "Left"

and Right opportunism, therefore, our Party criticized only its own comrades and never put the blame on Stalin.'

In other words, Mao left the main source of political infection intact, and used members of his own leadership as scapegoats for the betrayals of Stalin.

Mao adapted to the Kremlin leadership while trying to pursue his own struggle for power, hence his stubborn refusal over the years to come out squarely against Stalin.

To do so would be an indictment of his own complicity in all the crimes committed against the international working class by the Soviet bureaucracy.

And one of the greatest of these was Stalin's support for Chiang Kai-shek right up to Mao's victory in October 1949.

IN THEIR September 1963 statement, 'On the Question of Stalin', the Chinese Communist Party leaders admit that

Stalin's China policy was wrong not only in the 1920s, but the 1930s and even the 1940s.

But apart from a vague reference to "Left" and Right opportunism, and Stalin's 'metaphysics' and 'subjectivism', nothing is said about his actual role during this vital 20-year period.

Yet from the middle-1920s, right through to the victory of the revolution in October 1949, the Soviet bureaucracy backed Chiang Kai-shek against the Chinese Communist Party.

Maoist worshippers of 'the Great Stalin' have never been able to explain the following historical facts—and they never will.

When imperialist Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, the Chinese CP issued a statement



Workers march in 1950 celebrating revolution Mao now subverts.



Because of Stalin's policies, which Mao accepted and has never reevaluated, 5,600 Communists were murdered by Chiang in Canton in 1927 (shown above are scenes).

on September 20 denouncing Japan's aggression. The First Congress of the Chinese Soviets declared that the Japanese seizure of Manchuria would be resisted.

But not only did the Soviet government (by this time, of course, firmly under Stalin's control) promise Japan its neutrality. Stalin actually allowed Japanese troop transports to use the Soviet-owned E Chinese railways, thus helping the Japanese Army to crush Chinese opposition to the invasion.

Led by Mao, the Chinese Soviets declared war against Japan on April 5, 1932. The same year, Stalin recognized the Japanese puppet regime in Manchuria (now called 'Manchukuo') and actually sold the Soviet Union's share in the Chinese railway to Japan.

Also in 1932, Stalin resumed diplomatic relations with Chiang Kai-shek, just as the Chinese dictator was launching his fourth encirclement campaign against Mao's forces.

The Soviet government issued

Chiang £250m worth of aid, together with 3,665 military advisers and 400 airmen.

Meanwhile Mao's poorly-armed guerrillas were fighting for their lives against joint attacks by Japanese and Kuomintang forces.

A section of Chiang's leadership were opposed to his war against the communists, which they could see was only aiding Japan.

In June 1936, a group of Kuomintang generals staged a rebellion in Canton, calling on Chiang to fight Japan and not Mao.

Mao declared his support for the generals, and offered them an alliance to fight together against the common enemy—Japanese imperialism.

Hindering

But Stalin was furious. 'Pravda' declared on June 23 that the Canton rebellion against Chiang was 'hindering the anti-Japanese movement'.

Stalin reacted in just the same way to the so-called 'Sian in-



Chinese flee Peking in 1933 in fear of Japanese just before truce in arranged by Stalin.



Stalin is lauded in this 1950 parade even though revolution was carried through against him.

a statement declaring that 'all sincere friends of peace will learn with satisfaction that the resumption of diplomatic relations between our two great states has taken place . . .'

Stalin was pursuing his policy of 'socialism in one country', consolidating the power and privileges of the bureaucracy at home while manoeuvring between the various major international powers abroad.

First Stalin appeased Japanese imperialism, then turned to make a deal with Chiang. In both cases, it was the Chinese people and their Communist Party who suffered.

Threatened with extermination in their southern base at Kiangsi, Mao led his forces in 1934 on the famous Long March to Yenan in the NE.

Now it was possible for Mao to get military and economic aid direct from the Soviet Union. But Stalin gave him nothing.

All Soviet aid to China—and it was quite substantial—went to Chiang. Ostensibly given for the war against Japan, Stalin's military supplies were used mainly against the communists.

By 1939, Stalin had given

ident' in December 1936, when another group of militant nationalist army leaders arrested Chiang and issued a seven-point manifesto calling for unity with the Communist Party against Japan.

Fearing the captured general might be replaced by an openly pro-Japanese army leader, Mao ordered Chiang's release. But he sympathized with those who had arrested him.

For a few months later, Mao wrote:

'Prior to the Sian incident, the NE Army was in direct contact with the Red Army in N Shensi. Profoundly influenced by contact with the Red Army, it finally staged the Sian incident. To cut off its contacts with the Red Army, the Kuomintang reactionaries ordered it to move eastwards. . .'

Stalin, on the other hand, branded Chiang's temporary captors as agents of Japan. The Communist International journal 'Inprecor' for December 24 declared:

'The rebellion of the traitor Chang Hsueh-liang (the leader of the anti-Chiang coup) has come to a miserable end. This is a real defeat of the Japanese intrigues directed against the unity of the Chinese people. . .'

He followed this counter-revolutionary line right through to the bitter end, only awarding diplomatic recognition to Mao's government when the last Chiang official had been booted off the mainland by the Chinese Red Army.

Here again, the historical facts speak for themselves.

Throughout the last five years of the war, the Soviet—and world—Stalinist press presented Chiang as the leader of Chinese resistance.

Nothing was heard of Mao, even though his troops were leading the war against Japan, both in pitched battles and behind the lines guerrilla operations.

Chiang was even elevated to membership of the so-called 'Big Four' alongside his old ally Stalin and Churchill and Roosevelt. Between them, they carved out the map and political structure of the post-war world. And, needless to say, the Chinese CP never came into the picture.

In the early post-war years, both Stalin and American imperialism were supplying arms to Chiang to fight the communists, who, against all Stalin's advice, were making a determined bid for power.

It was with direct Soviet as-

sistance that Chiang's troops re-occupied Japanese-held territory in N China, preventing Mao's forces capturing badly needed arms and supplies.

Remnants

After an uneasy lull between the two sides during 1946, full-scale civil war flared up and raged until Chiang was swept into the S China sea in the autumn of 1949.

City after city fell to Mao's swelling army. Peking was taken on January 31, 1949. And then a strange thing happened.

Instead of staying to greet Mao's army as the new *de facto* ruler of China, Stalin's diplomats packed their bags and departed with Chiang. For Stalin still recognized him as the legal ruler of China.

Chiang's new capital—Nanking—fell on April 23. Stalin's envoys dutifully put up the shutters of their embassy and again decamped with the bedraggled remnants of the Kuomintang army. Even the American Ambassador stayed on to parley with Mao's forces!

And so this incredible procession continued until Chiang reached his last redoubt in Canton. Every foreign ambassador had deserted him except one—Stalin's.

It was in this period of quite open betrayal by the Soviet leaders that the seeds of the great split of the 1960s were sown.

Mao must have thought he had cheated history when he led his Party to power without once challenging Stalin's political line, which he knew from bitter personal experience to be counter-revolutionary.

Events over the next ten years were to prove him utterly wrong.

THE CHINESE Revolution triumphed despite, and even against, Stalin. But this did not make Mao Tse-tung a Trotskyist.

Mao's writings are studded with all the familiar and now discredited slanders against Trotsky, who alone foresaw and warned against the dangers of Stalin's China policy.

Mao wrote, 'After the failure of the Chinese revolution in 1927 [engineered by Stalin!] a small number of Trotskyites appeared in China too. Ganging up with Chen Tu-hsiu and other renegades, they formed a small counter-revolutionary clique in 1929 and spread such counter-revolutionary propaganda as that the Kuomintang had already completed the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and they became a dirty imperialist and Kuomintang instrument against the people.'

'The Chinese Trotskyites shamelessly joined the Kuomintang secret service . . . To fulfil the order given by the criminal renegade Trotsky "not to impede

the occupation of China by imperial Japan", they began collaborating with the Japanese secret agents, received subsidies from them and engaged in all kinds of activities facilitating Japanese aggression.' ('Selected Works', Vol. 3.)

This last accusation, of course, is based on 'evidence' produced at the Moscow frame-up trials staged by Stalin to murder Lenin's closest comrades.

As with all Stalin's crimes, this slander against Trotsky had a political purpose. It was to divert attention away from his own collaboration with both Chiang and Japanese imperialism against the Chinese revolution.

Adulation

Mao's anti-Trotskyism is matched by his public adulation of Stalin. On the Kremlin dictator's 60th birthday, Mao wrote a fawning tribute entitled 'Stalin, Friend of the Chinese People'. Better than anyone else, Mao knows this should have read 'Stalin, Friend of Chiang Kai-shek'.

Mao's accusations against Trotsky have a hollow ring today, and they rebound violently against their author. The self-appointed leader of the world's oppressed peoples has ranged his government quite 'shamelessly' on the side of Yahya Khan in E Bengal, and plays 'ping-pong diplomacy' with President Nixon, leader of world imperialism.

And how does Peking justify its support for the W Pakistan military regime in E Bengal?

Why, on the grounds that President Yahya Khan 'has already completed the bourgeois-democratic revolution'!

Mao's line on Pakistan, and his sharp turn towards close political and economic relations with imperialism make it abundantly clear the Chinese Communist Party leadership never broke from Stalinist theory.

Making a virtue out of necessity, Mao argued that China's economic and cultural poverty were better starting points for building socialism than the vast technical resources of the advanced capitalist countries.

While paying lip-service to internationalism, Mao in fact firmly believed it was possible to build socialism and even communism in China without state aid from the working classes of the technically most-advanced countries. This theory was the basis of his disastrous 'Great Leap Forward' in 1958.

Turning away from large-scale factory production the Chinese government divided the population up into thousands of communes, which then became centres of small-scale production based on the most primitive techniques.

Mao drove China forward at a frenzied tempo, trying to overcome countries of economic and cultural backwardness by sheer energy and will-power. Peasants worked round the clock, in the fields by day and at their home-made furnaces by night.

Marxist economic theory was crudely distorted to justify Mao's emphasis on labour power as opposed to technique. A leading

Chinese economist, Teng Ts-hui, wrote in 1959:

Basic flaw

"Labour creates value"; more labour power means more production. This is a major truth of Marxism-Leninism."

Labour does, of course, create value. But Marx was talking about exchange value. The more units of labour time put into making a commodity, the higher its exchange value and therefore, its price.

But socialist, as distinct from capitalist production, is concerned primarily with the creation of use values, with goods and services for human need. Vast quantities of labour time can be expended on producing very few goods if the level of

imperialist world will, of course, be jeopardized by political and economic upheavals in the major capitalist countries and Peking can be expected to throw its weight firmly on the side of the *status quo* whenever it is challenged by mass revolutionary upsurges.

The theory of 'self-reliance', the Maoist version of Stalin's 'socialism in one country', has proved itself bankrupt. Despite all his heroic efforts, the Chinese peasantry stands in technique and culture closer to feudalism than socialism.

THE SINO-SOVIET dispute only came out into the open after Khrushchev opted for a long-



Moscow whips up hysteria against China over border question. technique is low.

So more labour power does not automatically mean more production. Labour productivity, the key to socialist development, can only be raised by the employment of advanced techniques, the very opposite of the methods used during Mao's 'Great Leap'.

Enormous inputs of human labour resulted in only small—proportionally speaking—outputs of goods. All the misquoting and distorting of Marx could not hide that basic flaw in Mao's economic policies.

Mao's goal of collectivization and eventual abolition of private property was absolutely correct. His blunder lay in trying to create communes without the necessary technical basis, and at an unsustainable tempo.

Inevitably, economic chaos set in as peasants cracked under the physical strain of working a 20-hour day. Mao's bid to sustain a massive industrialization programme based on small-scale peasant production dislocated every sector of China's economy.

Wound-up

Massive quantities of labour time were consumed in producing small amounts of steel, which in most cases were afterwards found to be unusable due to their low quality.

Meanwhile, peasants neglected the work they were most skilled at—farming—and food production slumped alarmingly. By 1961, China was faced with the threat of famine, while industry ground to a near halt.

Though Mao did his best to conceal the magnitude of the crisis, his commune experiment had to be wound up. The 'Great Leap', even more than Stalin's forced collectivization of the Soviet peasantry, had violated all the laws of socialist economic development.

Socialism can only be built on foundations of the most modern technique in every sphere of production, from atomic power to computers.

In their own way, the Chinese leaders have recognized this basic Marxist principle by stepping up attempts to secure trade and technical links with the most advanced capitalist concerns, starting with Japan and W Germany, but now moving on to the United States.

Expanded trade with the

this was kept secret at the time.

Throughout this period, US imperialist pressure was building up in key areas bordering on China—Vietnam, Laos and also India.

The Americans were obviously exploiting their improved relations with the Kremlin to clamp-down on anti-imperialist movements in SE Asia.

Mao correctly saw Khrushchev as preparing to sacrifice the Chinese revolution to reach a global agreement with American imperialism.

Committed to his Utopian programme of building 'communism in one country' by 1980, Khrushchev hoped that a 'detente' in Europe would enable him to cut back on arms spending and so boost consumer goods production.

China's more militant anti-US line threatened to ruin his policy, and Khrushchev hit back ruthlessly.

Withdrew aid

He withdrew all Soviet economic and military advisers from

term deal with American imperialism in 1959.

That was the year of Khrushchev's private talks with President Eisenhower at Camp David, and his public declaration of support for President de Gaulle's policies in Algeria.

Peking replied in 1960 by publishing 'Long Live Leninism', a series of articles written in honour of Lenin's 90th birthday.

Rejection

They stressed Lenin's rejection of the parliamentary road to socialism (which by this time had become the official policy of most W European communist parties) and China's militant support of anti-imperialist struggles in the semi-colonial world.

Although these polemics were directed at Yugoslav Party leaders, everyone 'in the know' realized their main targets sat in the Kremlin.

This same article, written at a time when Mao was already privately opposing the Moscow line, even went so far as to praise Khrushchev's foreign policy:

'The Communist Party and government of our country have in the past few years consistently supported the activities to strive for peace carried out by the central committee of the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union headed by comrade N. S. Khrushchev.'

But for all the strictures against Tito's 'modern revisionism', the authors of 'Long Live Leninism' defended the policy that gave rise to it—'peaceful co-existence':

'Ever since its founding, the People's Republic of China has adhered to a foreign policy of peace. Our country, together with two neighbouring countries, India and Burma, jointly initiated the well-known Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence . . .'

Sacrifice

Khrushchev was not taken in by Mao's show of support, and very quickly, resolutions condemning 'Long Live Leninism' were passed by the British and other communist parties, though



Right wingers celebrate victory over Sukarno which led to slaughter of pro-Mao Communists.

China, and began a sharp cut-back on trade with the Peking government.

Khrushchev's economic and military blackmail (he refused to give Peking any information on atomic weapons) coincided with the crisis following Mao's abortive 'Great Leap Forward'.

Its effect on China's fight for economic recovery must have been near-disastrous.

Nevertheless, Mao refused to give in. More 'anti-revisionist' salvos were fired off, this time through the leadership of the Albanian Party, which alone among E European regimes had aligned itself with Peking.

And so the debate went on, with China attacking Yugoslavia and the Kremlin attacking Albania.

Both sides came out into the open in the wake of the border dispute between India and China, when Khrushchev demonstra-



Njone, Indonesian CP leader, just before Military executed him.

tively took the side of the Nehru government and even promised to send India MiG jet fighters for use against China.

This was the signal for a furious polemical offensive by Mao, in which many correct criticisms were made of policies pursued by the Soviet bureaucracy and its supporters in the world Stalinist movement.

proudly affirmed it. CP General Secretary John Gollan wrote in 'Marxism Today' for July 1964:

'Our own party first adopted the "British Road to Socialism" in 1951, two years before Stalin died and five years before the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

'A number of communist parties at the time, including the

China, and began a sharp cut-back on trade with the Peking government.

But in each case, every attack on Khrushchev was accompanied by a defence of Stalin, whose counter-revolutionary policies Khrushchev was now carrying to their logical conclusion.

Khrushchev was quick to seize on this contradiction in Mao's position. He countered Chinese attacks on the parliamentary road to socialism during his speech to the 6th Congress of the E German Communist Party on January 16, 1963:

'We must say this for the edification of these admirers of the cult of Stalin that it was none other than Stalin who, in an interview with British communists after the Second World War, spoke of using the peaceful, parliamentary way to bring about socialism and this is recorded in the programme of the Communist Party of Great Britain. The leaders of the British Communist Party know that this wording was proposed by Stalin.'

They not only knew, but

CPSU, showed considerable interest [sic] in what we were thinking when we were drafting "The British Road".'

'The main ideas advanced in the programme, particularly that of the possibility of peaceful transition in Britain, were discussed in detail in conversations Harry Pollitt had with Stalin at the time, who approved fully of our approach.

'Following the adoption of the programme by our executive committee in January 1951, it was published in full in 'Pravda', again with Stalin's approval. The Soviet communists have always given it general support since then. If Khrushchev is a "revisionist" on this matter, then so too, was Stalin.'

And Gollan was perfectly right. Stalin was the author of the policies Mao was so bitterly attacking—in the name of Stalin!

CONTINUED

BOOKS

JEAN CONK

LENIN: A STUDY OF THE UNITY OF HIS THOUGHT By Georg Lukacs, Merlin Press, 1970.

Georg Lukacs, the Hungarian Stalinist philosopher who died in Budapest last month at the age of 86, has long enjoyed a reputation as a sophisticated interpreter of Marxist philosophy among left intellectuals and in Stalinist and revisionist circles. His major theoretical statements have, however, only recently become available in English translation.

There is reason why English-speaking readers are being exposed to Lukacs' works at this point; his thought represents an idealist misunderstanding of Marxism which is still capable of rendering service to Stalinism. His *History and Class Consciousness* of 1922 presents the major outlines of his thought, for which he spent the rest of his life apologizing. And the English periodical *New Left Review* has recently published a translation of his more carefully written essay of 1924, *Lenin: A Study of the Unity of His Thought*.

Lukacs' "Lenin" emerges as the proponent of the idea of the vanguard party as a formal and timeless repository of proletarian class consciousness, standing above a politically inert and stupefied working class. The party owes this superiority over the class to its grasp of the Concrete Totality. Lukacs follows Lenin's advice to avoid dependence on spontaneity but carries it to the point of worshipping a pure consciousness which is no longer Leninism but the old idealist *realpolitik*. The result is a kind of Machiavellian "Marxism" with a philosophical basis in Hegelian idealism.

Lukacs' view of the party concentrates on its conscious leadership at the moment of revolution but fails to understand the objective forces bringing events to that moment. It follows for him that the party is the formal embodiment of class consciousness. Whenever he speaks of the consciousness of the proletariat it is always chaotic and sluggish. He imagines that imperialist war is the means chosen by history to shake the proletariat from its everyday torpor, which causes it to accept the "laws" of bourgeois political economy as eternal facts.

Trotsky, in his essays on the Paris Commune, also spoke of the action of war breaking the hold of daily habit, but he recognizes imperialist war to be a product of the objective movement toward crisis in the capitalist economy. In Lukacs' thought, political situations drop from the sky. The proletariat never



Georg Lukacs (left) sees Lenin in a formal way separated from working class.

Lenin-A Study Of The Unity Of His Thought

understands the situation it finds itself in; it rises at best to "instinctive heights of class consciousness." (Lenin, p.29). The party possesses all the real consciousness, the "collective will of the proletariat." But if this collective will is not the objective interest of the proletariat, we have nothing more than the old general will of the petty-bourgeois democracy. Lukacs may have been a Jacobin, but scarcely a Marxist.

STALINISM

What this means is that the party is right against the class and even against Marxism. When he was threatened with expulsion from the Hungarian party in 1928-9, he published a dishonest recantation even while he was "firmly convinced that I was in the right." Lukacs evidently felt that if the party no longer represents the objective needs of



the class, one must reshape truth to suit the party. This is the opposite of the Leninist view of the party. The long string of nauseating genuflections to Stalinism that mark Lukacs' career (see Cliff Slaughter "The Fashionable Marxist" *Bulletin* June 28, 1971) fit logically with this idealist conception of the party.

The *New Left Review* is anxious that Lukacs' ideas on "Leninism" be studied because it realizes that they can render still more service to Stalinism and revisionism. One of Lukacs' disciples, Nicholas Krasso, who serves on the editorial board of *New Left Review*, recently wrote an article on "Trotsky's Marxism" that was Lukacs' through and through. He thinks that Trotsky was unaware of the central idea in Leninism, the "autonomy of political institutions," because he was a practitioner of "sociologism" and refused to see the necessary autonomy of the party and the state from the class.

This formalism of "autonomous political institutions" is a tribute to Stalinism and its theory of the "creative role" of the superstructure, that is, the bureaucracy. In practice that means that Marxist are to rely, not on the world labor movement, but on Stalinist *realpolitik*.

CLASS

However, for Lenin and for Trotsky, the party represents the class. Just as Lenin and Trotsky built the Third International to give the working class an alternative to the betrayals of the Second International, so also Trotsky began the construction of the Fourth International as an alternative to the betrayals of Stalinism. Lukacs has no conception of Marxists undertaking such grand feats of construction. His idealism remains fundamentally faithful not to the working class but to Stalinism.

BOOKS

MARTY JONAS

The International Socialist Review

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JANUARY 1900

JACK LONDON'S The Dream of Debs STARTS IN THIS ISSUE

THE IRON HEEL. By Jack London. Bantam Books (Paperback). 1971. 95¢.

This inexpensive reprint of *The Iron Heel* could not have come out at a better time. Regarded since its publication in 1907 as a great "prophetic novel," it is much more than that. It was—and still is—a warning to the working class. Jack London, a member of the Socialist Party, and a foremost popularizer of socialism, as well as one of the most widely-read fiction writers of his day, stood in the left wing of his party. He wrote *The Iron Heel* in order to snap the American social democracy out of its complacency.

It shows the United States becoming fascist, years before the word "fascism" was even thought of. London calls it the oligarchy or the iron heel. This is the basic plot. Against this London shows the struggle of the classes and the irreconcilability of that struggle.

DEFEAT

The novel follows the attempts of Ernest Everhard, leader of the American socialists, to break through the illusions and complacency of his comrades and of the workers, farmers and middle class, and organize the proletarian revolution in the face of a rising American fascism. By the end of the book the working class is completely crushed and the iron heel is completely triumphant. All the tendencies in capitalism are brought out to their extreme—the naked brutality, the worker as commodity to be disposed of as necessary. It all presages the gas ovens and concentration camps of three decades later.

Everhard battles the reformism of his fellow socialists but to no avail. The proletariat in both the United States and Germany wage successful general strikes against the plans of their ruling classes for war against each other. Rather than carry this through to the seizure of power, the socialist leaders, despite Everhard's pleas, decide that capturing a majority in Congress is the next step. After all, there are so many of the proletariat and so few of the capitalists, they reason.

The price of this reformism, of not going beyond the general strike as a pressure tactic on the ruling class, is that the capitalists, warned by the strength of the general strike, respond with a massive reign of terror on the working class.

As Trotsky says of *The Iron Heel*, "the fact is incontestable: in 1907 Jack London already foresaw and described the fascist regime as the inevitable result of the

defeat of the proletarian revolution."

The question posed throughout by London is of the necessity of the workers taking power. He had no illusions about the ferocity and determination with which the ruling class would hold on to their power. A brilliant—and up-to-date—picture of this is given in the chapter on the Philomaths, wherein Everhard has been addressing the Philomath Club, all of whose members are in the big bourgeoisie.

He accuses the ruling class of mismanaging, criminally mismanaging and making a "shambles out of civilization" and so it will be necessary for the working class to "take the management away from you." As he ends his speech, capitalist after capitalist gets up from his seat to argue, to vituperate, to accuse him of fallacy. This goes on for a while. But none, as Everhard says, is able to answer the charge of mismanaging. Finally, Mr. Wickson, a capitalist much cooler than the others, speaks:

"No answer is necessary....Not by buzzing will we crush the bear. We will hunt the bear. We will not reply to the bear in words. Our reply shall be couched in terms of lead. We are in power. Nobody will deny it. By virtue of that power we shall remain in power....This then is our answer. We have no words to waste on you. When you reach out your strong hands for our palaces and purpled ease, we will show you what strength is. In roar of shell and shrapnel and in whine of machine guns will our answer be couched. We will grind you revolutionists down under our heel, and we shall walk upon your faces. The world is ours, we are its lords, and ours it shall remain. As for the host of labor, it has been in the dust since history began, and I read history aright. And in the dirt it shall remain so long as I and

mine and those that come after us have the power. There is the word. Power. It is the king of words—Power. Not God, not Mammon, but Power. Pour it over your tongue til it tingles with it. Power."

This naked power reaches its climax in the final chapters, in the Chicago Commune, where the oligarchy decides to crush the working class in one tremendous bloodbath in order to teach the entire proletariat a lesson and display its power. These cataclysmic chapters are among the most stark and vivid in American literature and will remain in one's memory long after reading.

Despite deep demoralization and immense brutalization, "the roaring abysmal beast," as London calls the Chicago proletariat, fights back to the last man, woman and child. Wave upon wave, they come, throwing themselves upon machine gun fire, powered only by the stored up resentment of years of exploitation and misery. That is what the capitalist class was preparing for the working class in 1907 and that is what it is preparing today—and its philosophy remains the same as Wickson's.

In the face of the civil war that the capitalists are preparing, Jack London's book becomes more valuable than ever before. It is a book that should be read by every worker and student. Its warning should be taken more seriously than ever before: Socialism or fascism. These are the two poles that London saw and these are the two poles that are still the future. This means the fight for the labor party as the way of beating back the predatory attacks by the modern oligarchy and preparing for the seizure of power by the working class. This means the building of the Workers League and the Fourth International. Either that or the *Iron Heel* will fast become a modern reality.

The Iron Heel

A Turn?

The SWP And A Strategy For The

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

The current issue of the *Militant*, September 3, 1971, headlines a call for a Congress of Labor to answer Nixon's wage freeze. The lead editorial is devoted to an exposition of the case for a labor party in the United States.

If these positions are to become the central focus of the Socialist Workers Party's election campaign, this campaign will deserve the support of all working class militants. As the Workers League has fought for such a perspective for some time, we would not only throw our full support behind such a campaign, despite our continued differences on many questions, but also seek other forms of joint collaboration to advance the fight for such a congress and a labor party.

Since this statement represents such a sharp turn from what has been appearing in the *Militant* for some years now, it is incumbent upon us to look a little deeper into the matter, to place this call within the context of recent events and the political history of the SWP. Such an explanation should be forthcoming from the SWP itself. In any event we will make such an analysis on our own.

What is first of all required is to assess this in the light of the recent

convention of the SWP. This convention took two important and related steps. First of all it deepened the factional division of the SWP-supported minority with the Mandel-Frank-Maitan leadership of the United Secretariat. It did this, as we have noted, without making any assessment of Mandel and the original reunification in 1963.

OPPOSED

The full significance of this now becomes even clearer. At the heart of the dispute within the International Committee in the 1961-63 period were two sharply counterposed perspectives. On the one side the Socialist Labour League insisted on a discussion of Pabloism and the original split in 1953, seeing Pabloism as a revisionist tendency which had broken definitively with Marxism and the Transitional Program.

The SLL went further than this, developing an assessment of the world situation in an international resolution entitled *World Prospects For Socialism*. This resolution saw the capitalist boom going over into a new international economic crisis. This crisis would usher in a new period of class struggle requiring the construction of Trotskyist parties based on a fight for the Transitional Program.

In opposition to this perspective the SWP refused to hold any discussion on 1953 and Pabloism. Instead it proposed to reunify with the Pabloites on the basis of common agreement on Cuba. Cuba was seen as

opening up a new road to socialism without the hard fight for theory, the struggle to penetrate the working class, to construct Trotskyist parties on the basis of the Transitional Program. The international crisis of capitalism was denied and no struggle foreseen in the advanced countries.

Now the SWP proposes to break with those Pabloite forces without confronting these political issues. For, as May-June 1968 in France definitively proved, we are definitely in a new period of class struggle brought about by the deepening crisis of international capitalism which solved none of its problems in the course of the boom period. The convention endorsed this sharp move towards split and at the same time maintained its agreement with Mandel on international perspectives—on the denial of the capitalist crisis and the Trotskyist perspectives flowing from an assessment of this crisis.

Secondly, the SWP leadership put forward a political resolution, which as reported in the very same issue of the *Militant* which calls for a Congress of Labor, sees a "new radicalization" which is "the biggest, deepest and broadest" ever.

It characterizes this radicalization, and we quote again from the *Militant* as follows:

"...The depth of nationalist sentiment, which had spread from the Black communities to Chicanos, Native Americans, Asian-Americans and Puerto Ricans; the

new power of the student movement; the existence of a mass antiwar movement for the first time during an imperialist war; and the development of the women's liberation movement, which is unique in world history."

Added to this list is gay liberation, radicalized churches, prisoners, welfare mothers and high school youth. This is then contrasted to "the lower level of combativity within the trade-union movement." The political resolution hopes to "eventually" merge this radicalization with the union movement. Clearly the "new radicalization" is seen as separate from, having another class character than, the actual movement of the working class. This movement of the working class is seen as on a low level, as subordinate in importance.

This perspective was opposed by a significant minority which urged a break from the petty bourgeoisie and a turn of the entire party towards the trade unions. In a very sharp and vicious struggle punctuated by threats of expulsion and the like, this perspective was ridiculed and voted down by around 100 votes to six.

Never has a perspective been so rudely, so completely, repudiated by events so quickly after it was passed. Barely had the leadership of the SWP returned from the cornfields of Oberlin when Nixon announced that due to the crisis the SWP had refused to recognize he intended to take on the European and American working classes head-on, creating a situation

Canada

Revisionists Meet Under Shadow Of Crisis

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Less than one week after President Nixon declared an international trade-war and blasted the American working class with vicious attacks on their wages and living conditions, representatives of the Canadian bourgeoisie paid Nixon a frantic visit in an attempt to get an exemption from the 10% surcharge.

The surcharge will now affect between 25%-50% of Canada's exports. Nixon and Connolly said "no." Despite recent diplomatic overtures, it is clear that the Canadian bourgeoisie along with the Japanese will not escape Nixon's stabs in his attempt to rescue capitalism.

What this now poses for the Canadian working class is a wage freeze as in the United States, and further attacks on the trade unions and democratic rights of the Canadian working class.

It is in this period that the crisis of working class leadership is most sharply expressed, that the development of revo-

lutionary leadership is so critical.

It is within this context that the Pabloite League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere held its first "Cross-Canada Socialist Educational Conference."

One of the main slogans at this conference was "Win the NDP to Socialism." As revolutionaries it is not our task to win the NDP (the Canadian Labor Party) to socialism, but to smash the NDP and its reformism within the working class.

The LSA-LSO seeks to enter the NDP as uncritical supporters of the Waffle Caucus, a section of the NDP based on the petty bourgeois elements within the labor movement, and a tendency completely hostile to the working class. The LSA-LSO refuses to raise the Transitional Program in the Waffle Caucus.

In the trade unions, the policy of the LSA-LSO is to raise certain demands, abstracted from the Transitional Program, isolated from the history of the struggle of Trotskyism. These demands become wrenched from their past, separated from the struggle that develops

the Transitional Program. The conscious fight for dialectics is divorced from the development of a revolutionary strategy, and the demands are turned into reforms incapable of raising the question of power. In actuality they divert the working class from that struggle for power. The program of the LSA-LSO becomes a prop for the labor bureaucracy.

LIQUIDATIONISM

If the liquidationism of Pabloism is expressed as an adaptation to the bureaucracy in the trade unions in Canada, that liquidationism becomes an open adaptation to the bourgeoisie in Quebec. Manon Leger, leading spokeswoman of the LSO in Quebec, presented the party's role as "a revolutionary nucleus in the movement for Quebecois nationalism."

This policy, as well as that expressed by John Steele moves towards open advocacy of Canadian nationalism, tying the Canadian working class to the Canadian bourgeoisie to fight the American imperialists.

The course of the LSA-LSO cannot be separated from that of the Socialist Workers Party. The history of the LSA-

LSO is tied to the SWP. At this conference, the theoretical justification for these reactionary policies of the LSA-LSO was found in the presentation by George Novack on "The Meaning of Life—A Marxist View."

The development of class society becomes almost metaphysical for Novack: man developed, man developed tools, man made social relations, has ended up in capitalism with the hydrogen bomb, and socialism is really a much better idea. The material basis for man's history, his struggle against nature, is wiped off the record.

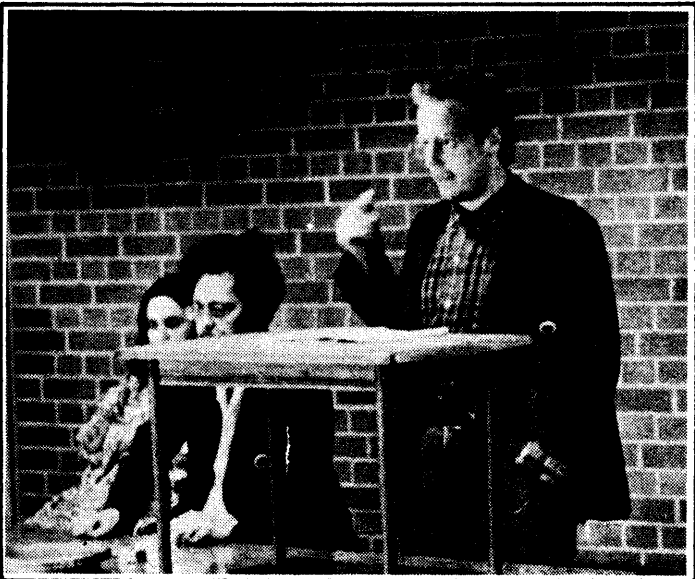
The development of mankind in conflict, as a conflict of opposites, is gone from Novack's vocabulary. It is this completely idealist method that the LSA has absorbed. It is this that leads the LSA-LSO to develop its completely reactionary course for the Canadian working class.

MEETING

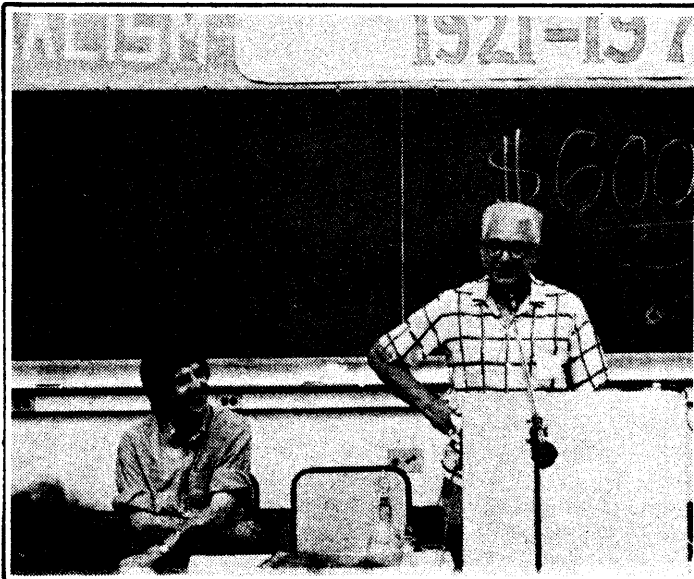
The Workers League (Canada) held an independent meeting during the conference to continue the fight that we carried on throughout the course of the entire conference. It was at this meeting that the degeneration of the LSA-LSO and the SWP were taken up. The Workers League (Canada) recognizes that the situation facing the Canadian working class in the coming period demands the unity of the working class throughout Canada in preparation to take power.

This means bringing the NDP to power in Ottawa on a socialist program not to "win" the NDP to socialism, but precisely to destroy it. This can only be done by demanding that the NDP leaders defend and extend the rights of Canadian workers. If these leaders cannot meet these tasks, then throw them out!

The Workers League insists that the revolutionary strategy for the Canadian working class cannot be separated from the theoretical struggle against revisionism that develops Marxism. It is the history of Trotskyism and an international strategy that the Socialist Workers Party and the LSA-LSO have completely broken from.



David Albert of Workers League Canada addresses meeting at Waterloo.



George Novack explains what life is about.

Working Class

in the United States characterized by Woodcock as WAR. All the new radicalization nonsense and its neo-capitalist theoretical basis melted away in importance as the fundamental economic and political conflict between capital and labor came to the fore.

What was and is incumbent on the SWP leadership is to confront this situation in an honest Leninist way. It must admit to all, but especially to its own membership, that it was wrong and the minority it had just treated with such contempt was right. Then, together with that minority it would have to reconsider its international position. It would have to start a discussion on how it had come to a situation at such variance with the actual development and needs of the class it was supposed to represent. It would have to return in its thinking to the 1953 split with Pabloism and seek to re-work itself up to today.

But it did not do that. It proceeded to publish on pages 16 and 17 of the *Militant* a report on its convention, the routing of the opposition, the enthroning of Barnes' new radicalization while devoting pages one and six to a diametrically opposed perspective. Just as it sought at the convention to prepare an international split without explanation or discussion so it makes a 180 degree turn in perspectives without explanation or discussion.

This represents the end of the SWP as an organization in any way related to Marxism. It is an expression that its crisis has now reached a new intense stage characterized by an absolute collision between the movement of the working class and the perspectives of the SWP leadership.

Let there be no question about it. The perspectives of the "new radicalization" and of the call for a Congress of Labor and building a labor party are two diametrically opposed perspectives.

The former sees various sections of the population, particularly the students and petty bourgeoisie, moving in reaction to various aspects of their alienation in multi-class movements around national and democratic issues. It sees the movement of the working class as primarily subordinate to and as a result of this radicalization process. Workers thus become radicalized as gays, women, Blacks, etc., but not as workers.

The latter begins with the movement of the working class as a class over issues which reflect the fundamental fight over surplus value, over capitalism itself and proposes that the students, unorganized workers, unemployed, middle classes be rallied around and behind this working class and its class organizations, the trade unions. The *Militant* sees this when they correctly propose the Congress of Labor include such sections within it.

Which way then does the SWP intend the working class to go? Should we proceed on the road outlined on pages 16 and 17 or should we proceed on the road outlined on pages one and six? Are the proposals on pages one and six seriously put forward or are they no more than a gesture, a cover over the bankruptcy revealed, the political nakedness exposed by the sharp movement of the major classes in the brief period since the SWP convention?

As we stated at the beginning of this article, if the SWP is serious on this question we will be more than happy to join with it in a common struggle to bring about a Congress of Labor, and on this basis, fight to build a labor party to confront Nixon and the Democrats in 1972.

INTERNATIONAL

In this relation there are several other points to be cleared up. First and foremost is that a strategy for struggle within the American labor movement can only be developed on the basis of an international perspective. It is not enough to react to movement in the American working class, reach into one's bag of demands and pull out something which is appropriate. Only if these recent developments are seen

within the framework of this international perspective can their revolutionary character be understood and the real significance of the struggle for the labor party revealed.

Viewed this way we can understand that the most important part of Nixon's plan which will have the most profound impact on the American working class is his proposal to float the dollar, impose a 10% surtax on imports, and give American firms tax credits for buying American machinery. What this adds up to is the going over to an arrogant nationalist perspective aimed at forcing the European bourgeoisie into vicious attacks on their working classes. It amounts to a bitter war against workers in other nations driving these countries to and over the brink of revolution.

What we have here is an expression of the relationship between Europe and America which Trotsky outlined in the 1920s and 1930s. Trotsky saw America as a revolutionary factor in the international situation precisely because it is forced to upset class relations in Europe in its futile efforts to maintain its system in the United States.

The SWP refuses to see this as they maintain, along with Mandel, that the economic problems of American capitalism are simply brought about by the Vietnam War and the strength of European capitalism. The truth is that the economic problems are caused by the contradictions in capitalism as a system which find their highest expression in the United States itself. It is this situation which has forced the United States into a conflict with the colonial masses which lies behind Vietnam and which now forces it into a conflict with the workers in Europe.

The war, while aggravating the crisis, is actually a result of it. It is precisely the subordinate position of Europe which is now revealed as America prepares to place Europe once again on rations as it did in the 20s and 30s. It will not be able to do this peacefully.

SOCIALIST

What this means is that Nixon is forced into a confrontation with American labor at the same moment he faces a tremendous movement of workers and peasants in colonial countries and the development of a revolutionary situation in the United States. Understood this way we can confidently fight for American workers to take up the political struggle in a revolutionary way. We can link the fight for the labor party with a socialist program and develop both in a pitched battle against the labor bureaucracy.

Lacking an international perspective the SWP does not do this. While posing some correct and important transitional demands for consideration at a Congress of Labor, it does not pose any socialist demands. It specifically does not mention the fight for nationalization which must be at the heart of any struggle in steel, auto, longshore, in fact any serious battle in the American working class today.

While opposing the wage freeze it specifically excludes the demand that the labor leadership defy this freeze through strike action. While supporting the call of some labor leaders for a one day general strike, it refuses to call for a general strike seriously aimed at overturning the wage freeze. It limits its approach to what the labor bureaucracy is already doing or what can at best be only educational proposals. It does not go beyond the bounds of the trade union bureaucracy.

When Nixon launches, as he has, an unparalleled nationalist and reactionary campaign in support of his economic proposals, when at the same time he conciliates with a Wallace and unofficially encourages Kahane, we must turn a sharp eye upon the American radical movement. Are socialists fighting as

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As Unemployment & Inflation Soar

UNIONS FACE DANGER- WAGE FREEZE AHEAD

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Labor Must Convene To Construct Party--

STOP NIXON'S ATTACKS WITH GENERAL STRIKE

NIXON ORDERS FREEZE ON WAGES

Stop The Vietnam War, Attacks On Labor

BUILD LABOR PARTY FOR 1972 ELECTION

The Workers League, through its paper the Bulletin, has fought for a long time to prepare the working class for Nixon's attacks. As early as June, 1970 the Bulletin warned of Nixon's wage freeze plans. In March, 1971 the Bulletin demanded a convocation of labor to construct a labor party combined with a fight for a general strike to stop Nixon's attacks. The first 16 page issue of the Bulletin in April, 1971 headlined Nixon's wage freeze in construction correctly warning that this would be applied to all labor unless resisted. In July, 1971 the Bulletin took up the fight for a labor party in preparation for the 1972 presidential elections.

revolutionaries from an international perspective or are they proceeding in any sense from a national one? Are they bending in the slightest in Nixon's direction?

Then we read in the *Militant* the following:

"Any real program to fight inflation must begin by calling an immediate halt to this war, and for a stop to this wasting of the nation's resources."

Is that our Leninist, Bolshevik perspective? Do we begin from the question of the resources of "the nation?" Do we pose as the best fighters for national interests or as the most uncompromising internationalists?

WARNED

We sharply warned the SWP, including its oppositionists, that by supporting an international position at their convention which covered up the whole history of the Fourth International, by beginning with the perspective that there is nothing in the world higher or more important than the Political Committee of the SWP, by starting with the "uniqueness" of America rather than the international situation and needs of the working class, it was not possible to develop a proletarian orientation. The current issue of the *Militant* serves to underline this point once again.

We must conclude on one point. One cannot simply parachute into the working class at the moment which seems most propitious for fruitful work, unfurl one's banner, and expect millions to follow. It is necessary to go through an agonizing, difficult, bitter battle to turn one's forces, no matter how small, towards the class, fight with all the history and theory of the movement to develop a revolutionary toehold in this class, and construct a Marxist cadre in this way.

This is how the Workers League has

proceeded. We have been fighting on the basis of a central strategy for ten years now in and out of the SWP. We have sought to lead, to warn, to prepare the working class for Nixon's attacks. We predicted these attacks and we built our cadres on the basis of this understanding. We do not simply take the Bulletin into the trade unions now. We have been doing this for some years now. This is the circulation base of this paper. This is how we developed it to a 16 page paper with a solid circulation of 10,000 per week.

HISTORY

We bring this history, this experience into the new level of struggle developing in the United States. We have a record upon which to build. It is a record, as part of the International Committee, about which we have every right to be proud. It is a record which now prepares us for new tasks far more difficult than any which confronted us before.

We intend now to take up this struggle for a Congress of Labor and a labor party based on our past struggle to bring this into being. It will not be for us a matter of a single issue of the Bulletin. We expect many ebbs as well as flows in the coming period of struggle. We will continue in any event upon the course we set ourselves ten years ago. We intend to drop nothing. We intend to deepen everything.

We have been known for some time now as people who speak at every and all occasions about a labor party. We are justly proud of this reputation. You haven't heard anything yet.

There will however be one change. Now we can begin to make the fight for a labor party take on the flesh and blood of the actual movement of American workers in struggle against the labor bureaucracy and the capitalists and in unity with their brothers and sisters in Europe and the colonial world.

Editor's Notebook

The End Of The Line

Women's Liberation appears to have run into some problems since it moved its base of action from the cocktail parties on Long Island to "the streets."

Last Thursday was a big day for this "movement." The day long demonstrations for Women's Rights Day began when the first group of women confronted Wall Street to demand of all things—more women stockbrokers.

Then there was the march which resembled more a circus sideshow than anything else, the worst the American middle class has produced. It was a grotesque mockery of the suffragette movement it sought to commemorate.

The big moment came when Mayor Lindsay named the first woman captain in the Police Department. This expressed the real essence of "Women's Lib"—more women cops to better defend capitalism.

All in all the day was a flop. Last year such a demonstration brought out close to 50,000. This year there were only 6,000.

Only a few weeks before Jack Barnes, National Organizational Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party at its convention had hailed this movement as an



expression of the "biggest, deepest, broadest radicalization ever in the U.S. and unique in world history."

But last Thursday exposed this "biggest, deepest, broadest radicalization" for what it is—an excrescence of the middle class which as the class struggle has sharpened has been pushed aside.

This movement which has served as a diversion for middle class women, degenerating into faction fights between various lesbian groups, is at a dead end. The sooner it goes, the better.

Training More Calleys ?

It was a gruesome sight that met the eyes of children visiting the zoo last Thursday in Harrison, N.Y. Thirteen small animals including rabbits, pigeons and chickens had been slaughtered, skinned and dismembered. Blood was smeared on the zoo administration's door and a pair of rabbit ears hung over the door-knob.

Three youths were arrested—all three sons of Westchester cops. One of the cops, Ralph Traino, scoffed at the whole thing as he entered the court saying: "What's all the fuss about. A couple of rabbits get-

ting killed."

This statement could very well give a clue to the whole incident. Isn't this the attitude of cops towards the coldblooded murder of Black militants, to the students, and workers. Isn't this the twisted mentality that capitalism has developed among its willing and faithful servants in the police forces and army, to destroy all those who oppose the system?

Could these be the new Calleys which the capitalist class and its rightist frontmen are training for the war against the working class?

BOLIVIA . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

Immediately, that night, the Political Command of the Popular Assembly, which had been functioning as the leadership of that body, had a meeting in La Paz. All the political parties were represented there but the leadership was held by Lechin. Lechin is an old labor leader and head of the PRIN (Revolutionary Party of the National Left) which is a left nationalist split from the MNR. It was decided to call an anti-fascist demonstration of

the Bolivian Workers Confederation (COB) for the next day, Friday.

The demonstration took place the next day and was very strong. All sectors from the working class were represented and there was also a large delegation of peasants. The slogans raised at the demonstration were very divergent. The peasants called for support to Torres. The workers raised slogans such as: Long Live the Popular Assembly! Long Live Workers' Power! For a Workers-Peasants Go-

ECONOMY . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

Ulster, but the open turn now being executed towards a bonapartist, Gaullist type regime in Italy bolstered by a huge burgeoning of fascist gangs in Italian streets. This crisis likewise lies behind the reactionary rapprochement between imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy in Bonn, which now threatens to lead directly to the dismantling of the Warsaw Pact.

If imperialism, Stalinism and Social Democracy now come forward in a firmer counterrevolutionary union against the working class than ever before, it is only because they recognize that the most massive revolutionary uprising of the European proletariat in history is now on the agenda.

All the meetings now scheduled

of the Group of Ten, the IMF, and the EEC ministers can in no way solve the insoluble crisis now opened up by the collapse of the dollar and the American trade war offensive. Each day the disagreement between capitalist nations only becomes more intense.

MANDEL

All those from Keynes to Mandel who rejected or abandoned the Marxist standpoint in the analysis of capitalism and thought that the fundamental contradiction of capitalism and its fundamental laws, particularly the tendency for the rate of profit to fall and the operation of the law of value against the inflation of paper money, had been overcome are now completely exposed.

As Marx demonstrated, the falling rate of profit now calls

for the most brutal competitive struggle. It can now no longer be masked over by an inflationary expansion of paper money as in the years since Bretton Woods.

It is now a return to the economic nationalism of the 1930s and World War II as the increasingly nationalist appeals of capitalist governments make clear. The collapse of paper money and credit itself, at one point a tremendous lever in bringing about the boom of the 1950s and 1960s, now intensifies its break up and collapse.

All those who minimize and deny the fundamental character of this crisis disarm the working class, undermine the construction of revolutionary leadership and pave the way for fascism and World War III.

SADAT

(Continued From Page 2)

of most of the commandos in Jordan.

The kind of "peace" these leaders are aiming for is best represented by the efforts of the Israeli government to "pacify" the Gaza Strip where 250,000 Palestinian refugees live in virtual concentration camps. The Israeli army conducts "search and destroy" missions against the rebels in the manner of similar missions against "the enemy" in Vietnam and of British troops searching out "terrorists" in Ulster.

Now a massive relocation of refugees to new camps has begun, with the aim of weakening and breaking up the resistance movement. Opposition to this relocation project is growing among the refugees, resulting in a recent general strike in Gaza called by the fedayeen in protest against the "uprooting of the people of the Jebalya and Shati camps to places far from their brothers."

The Soviet bureaucracy and the Stalinist movement in the Middle East play a key role in the attempt to bring about a deal with

Zionism. Recently an official delegation of Israelis headed by a professor at Tel Aviv University went on a "mission to Moscow." The stated purpose of the visit is to seek "an improvement of the relationship between the Soviet Union and Israel must take place...in the interests of peace." Although this group is said to be "critical" of the Golda Meir government, increasing signs point to a Soviet-Israeli rapprochement.

Meanwhile, the Syrian government has dispatched its own official delegation to Moscow, reportedly with the aim of smoothing the Kremlin's ruffled feathers by "explaining," as the Economist puts it, "why Syria, Egypt and Libya are not attempting to stop General Numeiry from suppressing the Sudanese Communist Party."

Undoubtedly, the Soviet bureaucrats will hasten to assure the Syrians that they understand the "problems" of the Arab rulers and that nothing, not even the murder of Communist Party members, must stand in the way of the great "friendship" of the

Soviet and Arab peoples.

What bothers the Kremlin is not the slaughter of Communists and workers, who for them are mere pawns in the establishment of peaceful coexistence in the Middle East, but rather that the Chinese Stalinists may establish their own influence in Sudan, Egypt and other Arab countries. The Arab leaders balance between the Stalinists and imperialism to get a better bargain from imperialism. They use the Stalinists as a means to such a deal.

But the deepening of the world capitalist crisis and the rise of new revolutionary forces among the workers and youth means that the Arab rulers must turn all the more sharply to repressive measures and right wing regimes. This is every bit as true in Sudan, Egypt and the Middle East as in Ceylon, Pakistan and Bolivia.

The Stalinist policy of support to "democratic" and "left" bourgeois regimes must be defeated before there are more dead bodies of militants floating down the river—this time down the Nile. Only on this understanding can the movement organized in the Fourth International be built to unite Israeli and Arab workers and peasants to establish socialism in the Middle East.

vernment!

The demonstration was very confident. At the end Lechin spoke. He spoke not from the headquarters of the Popular Assembly but from the Presidential Palace which is nearby. He was standing right next to Torres. Lechin was booed down by the masses and was unable to speak. The people were demanding arms but he was involved in negotiations with Torres and only said that there would be arms. He did not say how or when.

The demonstration was a confrontation between the Popular Assembly's leadership, in the person of Lechin, and the masses. One can say that because there was no alternative political leadership given at that moment the masses were left politically disarmed.

The strongest resistance to the coup was put up in Oruro and in La Paz. Oruro is a town near the mines and is a strong working class center. The miners there defended the town but were eventually defeated by the army. In La Paz itself fighting began on Saturday at 2 p.m. At 1:45 p.m. Torres had announced that he would give arms. But the arms that came were very old and very few.

At every point the Torres re-

gime undermined the fight against Banzer and the right wing coup. The radio was in the hands of Torres and it was continuously giving false reports about the situation and trying to undo any independent actions and resistance from the Popular Assembly. One can say that the people were strangled between Torres and Banzer.

CP

Sections of the army that had previously supported Torres and had issued manifestos promising not to shoot at the people went over to the side of the coup as soon as they saw that the working class was losing. By 11 p.m. on Saturday, Banzer's tanks were in the center of the city and had smashed practically all resistance.

It is very important to point out the role of the Communist Party, which completely supported Torres and Lechin, even though before they had been pressed to take a few left steps. The so-called Army of National Liberation (ELN), which are the remnants of the Guevarists' guerrillas also played a very divisive role. Torres allowed them to make use of the radios from which they gave misleading reports about the military situation.



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IAM Member Speaks Out

SAN DIEGO—The following is an interview by a Bulletin reporter with an IAM member. District 50 includes all of the aerospace plants, National Steel and Shipbuilding and all other shops in the San Diego area.

Q: District 50 president Baffone recently sent a telegram to the AFL-CIO calling for a general strike in the United States. Do you support such a call?

A: Sure, that's what we need or Nixon is going to walk all over us. The biggest section of our local is coming up for automatic wage increases. That's out the window. The Ironworkers at NASSCO (National Steel and Shipbuilding) are under that contract, too. I remember the fight they had for that contract last year, and now they've been screwed. Some of the NASSCO men were at the district meeting, and they were really mad.

Q: But Baffone didn't mention a general strike at the district meeting. Do you think his telegram meant anything if he won't even raise it to the IAM membership?

A: I read that telegram in the newspaper, and went to the district meeting because of it. In

fact, it's the first I've ever been to. I expected that he would say something about it, but he didn't say a damn word. I couldn't speak because I'm not a delegate. They even threatened to kick some of us out when we tried to give our opinions. After that, I think his telegram is a phony.

Q: Are you prepared to shut down San Clemente instead of going out on general strike?

A: That's just ridiculous. What good would that do? I saw in your paper that some locals went out to protest the wage freeze. I didn't hear about that anywhere else. That's what we should do. This San Clemente business is silly.

Q: The Bulletin is the only paper that consistently calls for a labor party independent of the Democrats and Republicans. Would you support that?

A: I think you are right about a labor party. We need something like that. The Democrats support Nixon right down the line.

Baffone Backs Down

BY JAMES DUNN

SAN DIEGO—One of the first union leaders to take a strong stand against Nixon's wage freeze attack was A. J. Baffone, President of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) District 50 here. The day after Nixon's announcement, Baffone sent a telegram to George Meany which said in part, "We ought to have a general strike in the entire United States because of his (Nixon's) dictatorial position..."

This is a clear statement. But in the most recent meeting of District 50, not a word was mentioned about the wage freeze, general strike, or anything. Mr. Baffone has stepped back a bit since his telegram, and has decided to "table" that motion by failing to raise it.

It is clear that the telegram was a complete fraud. Mr. Baffone has no intention of conducting any struggle for a general strike. By refusing to raise the issue to his own union membership, he is posing complete acceptance of Nixon's attacks on workers.

However, Mr. Baffone cannot be accused of merely sticking his head in the sand. He has only modified his perspective slightly. Without even addressing the implications of the wage freeze, he voiced support for a proposal by a San Diego Labor Council member to strike San Clemente, the provincial West Coast burg that supports Nixon's Western White House.

Although seemingly frivolous, such a move is very dangerous. It means that this bureaucrat, along with Woodcock, Meany, and the rest, will not mobilize labor against the wage freeze. By trying to divert attention away from the central necessity of a general strike to beat back Nixon, and by dissipating energy in adventures and protests, these leaders are out to convince workers that they do not have the power to fight back,

and must accept government attacks with folded hands.

That is a lie. Precisely that power is what the bureaucrats fear. We must give no support to their frauds and diversions. Nixon has already made it clear that the 90-day freeze is the beginning of a permanent freeze. His friends the Democrats say "Amen" to that. We must answer with an immediate general strike, and build a labor party to fight for the interests of workers.

Building Strike In 5th Week

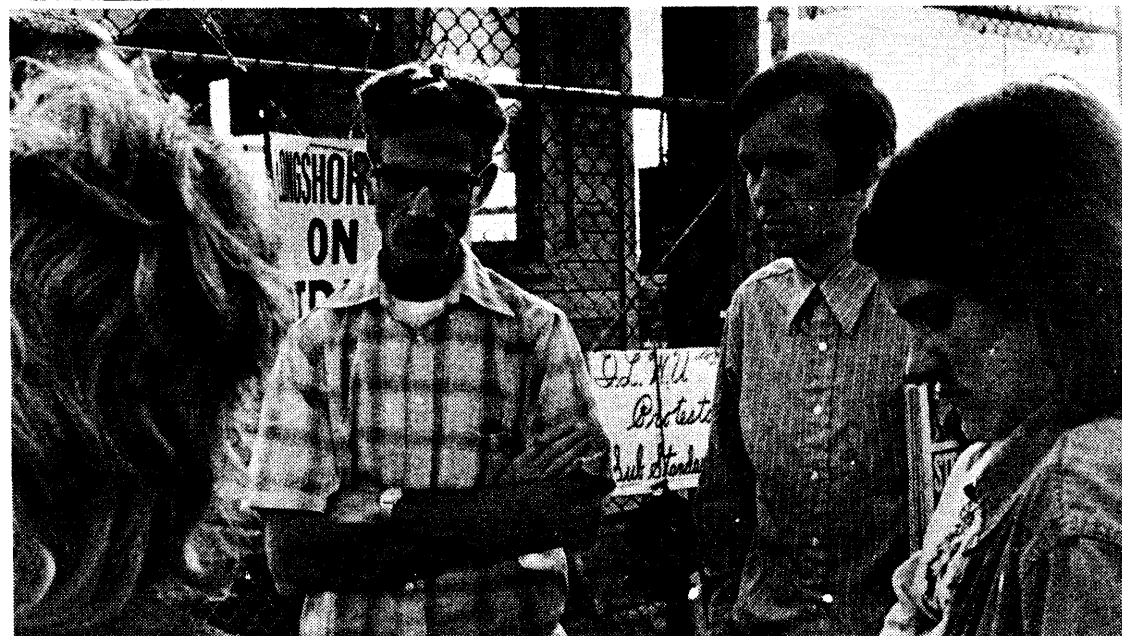
BY ALEX ROSSI

SAN FRANCISCO—The one month old strike of the Teamsters construction drivers has literally idled every construction site in Northern California. Seventeen locals have shut down all operations in an attempt to force the "Associated Contractors" and "Engineering & Grading Contractors Association" to negotiate a new contract for construction drivers.

Major issues are wages, eight hours work guarantee, a one-year contract and the demand that the owner operators be represented by the union and covered by the union contract.

Initially the contractors refused to negotiate the issue of owner operators on the grounds that a National Labor Relations Board hearing is pending for September 7. Negotiations were broken off and in retaliation all construction workers were locked out by the contractors. The strike and the lock-out are taking place in the middle of Nixon's wage freeze despite the government's call for voluntary no strike action during the ninety day period.

This strike and the demand of the Teamsters to unionize the owner operators is an attempt to answer the drive to weaken the unions' position on the con-



Bulletin salesmen talk with striking longshoremen on the Portland, Oregon docks about the wage freeze.

Portland Dockers Say: 'Stop Everything'

PORTLAND—The following interview was conducted by a Bulletin reporter with several members of the ILWU in Portland. Portland was the first dock which was ordered by court injunction to unload the warehouses in the middle of the West Coast dock strike.

Bulletin: What do you think is the key issue in the strike?

Longshoremen: We want to retain our work on the waterfront. Our problem has been the five year contract—there are too many changes, the way the country is now, everything is way too expensive to live on what we get. As soon as we start to get a little ahead and gain some independence, they tie us down again.

They want us to be slaves ourselves.

Bulletin: What has been the effect of being on strike for 7 weeks with no strike fund?

Longshoremen: I'll never get back what I've lost already in savings even if we get an increase. They try to wear a man down and weaken him. I've got kids to clothe and feed. Our president said it real good, "We've got it made, we don't need a strike fund, we've got it in the pocket"—but I can't find the pants.

Bulletin: What has been the effect of the MandM agreements here?

Longshoremen: The MandM was supposed to increase work, but your man hours have decreased while tonnage has increased.

Every container we take off now with 8 men represents one hour of work for 13 men. What we need now is the gang-size of 1934! The guaranteed pension is no longer in effect. I've been working on these docks for 30 years and I don't have a guaranteed pension! Why shouldn't we be able to retire with enough time to enjoy our retirement?

Bulletin: What do you think of forcing Bridges to call a halt to all unloading of warehouses and to call on the entire labor movement to support your strike by a general strike against the wage freeze and unemployment?

Longshoremen: This strike isn't being conducted the way it should be. We should stop everything on these docks from moving. It's the taxpayers money that subsidizes the shipowners to operate so that we are paying for our own unemployment! What we need is a one day general strike to shut this whole country down.

Bulletin: Given the role of the Democrats and Republicans in uniting on the wage freeze, what do you think of building a labor party based on the trade unions?

Longshoremen: Maybe as the situation gets worse other people, like Teamsters will realize that they have to unite. Right now we have no choice in the Democrats or the Republicans.

leadership in its position on Nixon's "get the unions" drive.

The attacks by the contractors and the government cannot be answered simply by enlarging the unions. What is needed is the repudiation of Fitzsimmons and an all out drive to smash the freeze and Nixon's construction boards through the strike action of the entire labor movement.

KAISER STEEL . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

leadership. The aim of this clause is to speed up the workers to produce more steel with less men in less time. The essence of this clause is "mutual trusteeship" between the company and union leadership against the interest of all the workers. All Kaiser steel workers that the Bulletin has interviewed and met are 100% opposed to the productivity speedup job cutting clause. Such a clause is precisely what triggered the great steel strike of 1959. This clause alone will eliminate thousands of jobs over the three year contract if not fought and defeated.

Today the Kaiser workers are faced with the same rotten contract shoved down our throats, only they will not even get the wage increase. What needs to be done immediately is for Kaiser workers to join with other "me too" clause workers and defy Nixon's wage and strike freeze by going out in the fight

for a decent contract around the program of the Committee for a Decent Contract at Bethlehem's Vernon, California mill which includes \$2.00 over three years, 30 hours work at 40 hours pay, full cost of living clause starting in first year, right to strike over grievances, retirement at \$500.00/month regardless of age, and the fight to completely wipe out all forms of racial discrimination against Black and Chicano workers.

A strike at such a key mill as Kaiser could provide the lead all steelworkers are looking for to break out of the box that the Nixon, company and Abel team have put them in. Such a fight could well be the opening shot to reopen and reverse the entire steel sellout.

Kaiser could provide the lead for a national wildcat movement that would force the Abel machine back to the negotiating table as was done last year by the Teamsters.

West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 PHONE 415-621-1310

CP Covers Up For Jackson's Murder

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The death of George Jackson was a calculated cold blooded political assassination. Every official statement is exposed as an absurd farce the instant it is issued.

Even the San Francisco Chronicle is forced to admit that it would have been physically impossible for Jackson to smuggle in a gun under a wig let alone his own hair.

Either Jackson was shot down and a gun placed in his hands or seeing a set up his flight was a heroic attempt to draw fire

and save the lives of his brothers. There is no other explanation. The life of every political prisoner is now in danger.

An affidavit signed by all the inmates of the adjustment center was introduced at a court hearing for the remaining Soledad Brothers. It testifies to beatings, torture and the constant threat of death.

Both Soledad Brothers, John Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo, displayed obvious signs of having been beaten. Judge Carl Allen would not even admit this evidence before his court. Protest in the courtroom was answered with vicious attacks from the tactical squad.

These developments are an ominous warning to the working class of what it can expect in the way of justice as it moves into the struggle to defend its gains against Nixon's attacks.

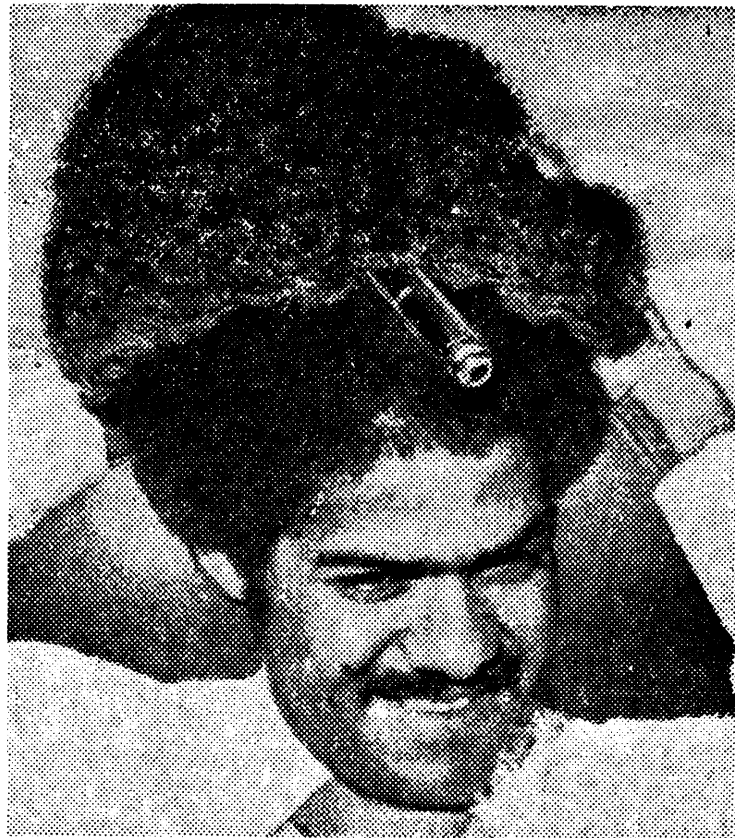
It is precisely this relationship that the Stalinists are going all out to obscure. Their every action is designed to contain the enormous anger of the youth behind the liberal Democrats and to reduce the fight to an investigation of prison conditions and reform. They hope to repeat the betrayal of the New York prison revolt under conditions of much deeper crisis.

Their policy is simply to bring pressure on Black legislators to intervene and establish a blue ribbon panel of politicians, doctors and lawyers.

On Friday a mass demonstration of 1500 forced the San Quentin authorities to allow investigation of the prison. The visit was conducted by such figures as Ron Dellums, Assemblyman Willie Brown and Doctor Carlton Goodlett.

From the beginning this reluctant group claimed that it was simply looking into charges of inmate mistreatment.

Assemblyman Brown called for 'continuing dialogue and not just crisis dialogue.' He added that



Cop illustrates his theory on how Jackson hid a gun under Afro wig.

Chicano Youth Fight Back

BY L. CRAIG

SAN JOSE—The long brewing bitterness of thousands of San Jose youth over the daily reality of massive unemployment and growing police repression boiled over into a series of head-long battles with San Jose police, deputies and highway patrolmen over the last two weeks.

Hundreds of young people, the majority of them Chicanos from San Jose's decaying East Side, faced off with police in three separate nights of rioting during the course of Santa Clara's annual county fair. By the fair's end 125 youth found themselves booked in the county jail on charges ranging from felonious assault to attempted murder. Those awaiting hearings were jammed into prison facilities already filled to hundreds above their capacity, precipitating mattress-burning rebellions.

The San Jose Community Alert Patrol, a youth group formed to ward off police attacks, told this reporter that the stage had been set for the fair attacks during a recent clash at Hellyer Park in South San Jose in which police bullets took the lives of two young Chicanos.

Many of those involved and embittered by the Hellyer Park incident were present at the fair as nightly police sweeps cleared the youth from the grounds and herded them into a barricaded

area in front to await rides. When police began beating the youth who crossed the barricades, the tension erupted into bloody battles resulting in dozens of injuries and arrests, eight demolished patrol cars, and the rapid appearance of police reinforcements.

These outbursts join the wave of youth rebellion all over the country, including the nearly identical confrontations at the state fair in nearby Sacramento.

This poses the immediate necessity for youth to link up their fight against unemployment and growing repression with that of the trade unions against Nixon's attacks.

The building of Workers League Youth Clubs is essential to take forward the fight of the entire movement of workers, youth and minorities against Nixon and his cohorts in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Kaiser Faces Fight On Freeze

BY STEVE CHERKOSS LOCAL 1845 USWA

FONTANA, CALIF.—As a result of President Nixon's vicious wage and strike freeze policy, Kaiser steelworkers here will not get one penny wage increase when their contract expires on August 31.

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Dellums confined himself to reporting on the possibility of re-establishing visits, hot lunches and the right to writing materials.

This disgusting masquerade built and uncritically supported by the Stalinists is a conscious attempt to isolate Black youth from the strength of the working class. Organizations like the Panthers have simply lined up with the CP in appealing to Black reformists for support.

Thousands of these youth are now forced to confront the logic of these politics. The only way forward is in the fight against Stalinism to unite workers and youth in a political struggle to smash the capitalist parties of repression.

IBT Leader Urges Deal For Dockers

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Bridges who has been unable to convince his ranks to start moving cargo from San Francisco piers is now offered a new way to avoid the struggle with Nixon's policies.

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Compulsory arbitration on containers simply means an acceptance by both unions of mass unemployment and a fight over a few scraps.

Bridges' real policy concerning a fight against the freeze is betrayed by his absolutely cordial relations with Fitzsimmons who dines with Nixon, endorses the freeze and scarcely protests while this same Nixon keeps Hoffa in jail.

The dock strike must be spread. The ILWU ranks must take up the fight to smash the freeze by bringing the rest of labor to its support. No reactionary deals with Fitzsimmons. Bridges must be forced to take the fight into the Teamster ranks for a joint strike to preserve all cargo handling jobs.

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This split resulted in worse wages and working conditions for both groups of workers. The complete sellout by the Abel leadership of every basic condition facing steelworkers in 1971 certainly confirms this.

Now with Nixon's latest attack on the working class, one can see how out and out reactionary this policy really is. Besides the wage freeze and the real wage cut under the recently signed master steel pact, Kaiser workers will be hit by a worsening of all working conditions and massive layoffs similar to those taking place all over the country in steel.

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(Continued On Page 15)

DEFEND JUAN FARINAS

PUBLIC MEETING

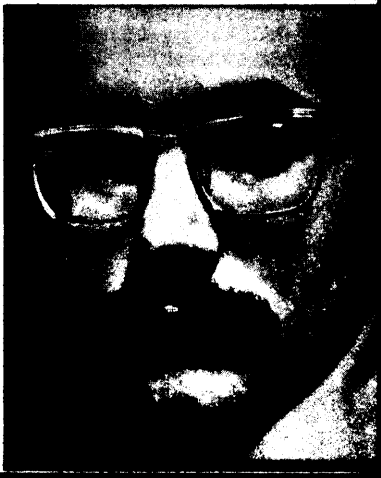
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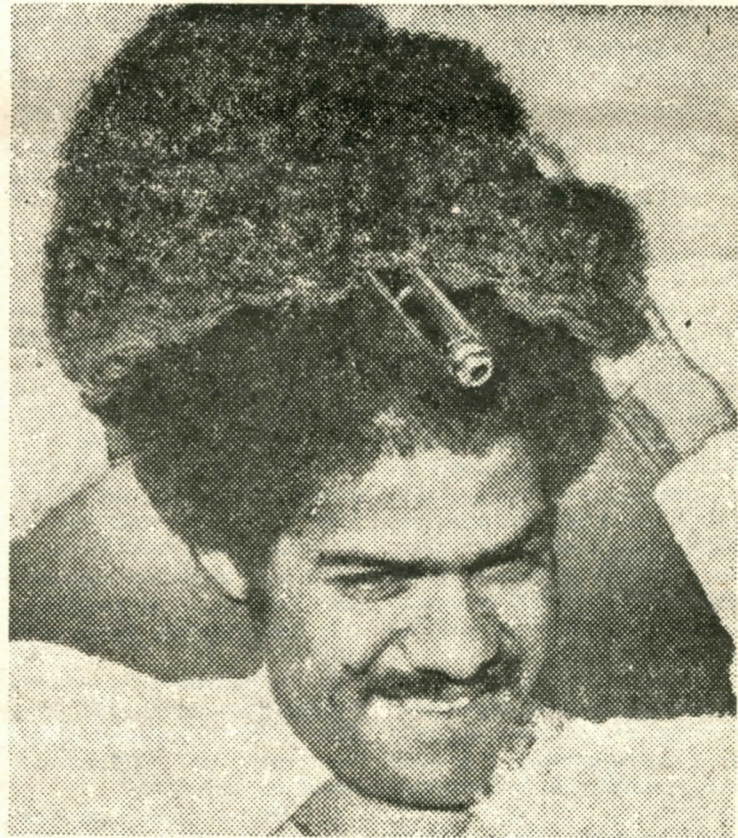
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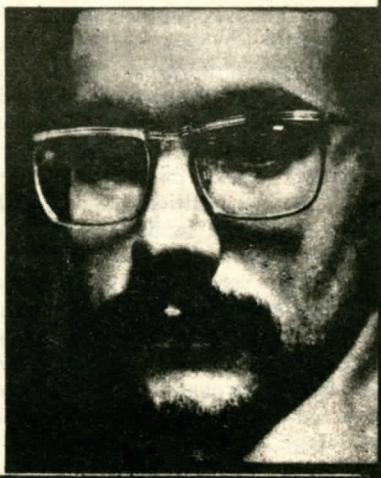
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