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Warns That
Compulsory
Freeze Is . . .**

'THE ROAD TO FASCISM'



West Coast dockers use a flat tire to express what they think of Nixon and the capitalist economy.

Prices To Rise As Big Business Gorges Itself

Page 3

What we think

George Jackson's Fight For Marxism

George Jackson was murdered because he would not bow to American capitalism, because he was forging a road for struggle not only for prisoners in San Quentin and Soledad but for all workers. Starting with the conviction to overthrow the oppressor by any means necessary, George Jackson had reached the conclusion that Black nationalism was not the necessary means. In addition he was reaching an understanding that only if the most resolute action is guided by the most advanced theory, by Marxism, could it necessarily overthrow capitalism. This is the lesson for youth to learn from George Jackson's life and death.

When asked recently what book impressed him most of all, he replied: "Engels' Anti-Duhring." Anti-Duhring is one of Marx and Engels' most fundamental works on Marxist philosophy. At the time when he was slain he admitted to a reporter that he was "engaged in a study of the working-class movement here in the United States and an in-depth investigation of history of the past 50 years, when fascism swept the western world."

While his political development was only at a beginning stage and could not help but be distorted by the isolation from open political activity in a political party imposed by jail, George Jackson had gone through an important political development particularly in his last months. It is clear from his writings of the recent period that he had taken up a sharp struggle against the American Communist Party and was beginning to probe the whole ques-

tion of Stalinism. Writing in the Black Panther paper on March 13, 1971 George Jackson sought to defend Angela Davis by seeing her in struggle against the American Communist Party or at least elements within it. He stated: "When certain members of her party attacked Comrade Jonathan Jackson of the Black Panther Party for the 'practice' of his beliefs, Angela



attacked them. No reactionary A.C.P. policy or ideology is safe from her censure. They have heaped criticism back on her in turn." And later in the same article: "The insecure and pos-

(Continued On Page 6)

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Stalinism
And
World War II
Page 13

VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER TWO (211)

SEPTEMBER 13, 1971

FIFTEEN CENTS

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(Continued On Page 6)

Gleason Prepares GAI Sellout

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEW YORK—On Wednesday, September 1, Thomas Gleason, President of the International Longshoremen's Association, retreated before the demands of the shipowners when he agreed to begin bargaining on the Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI) on the local port level.

This move on the part of the bureaucracy holds the gravest dangers for the jobs of the rank and file longshoremen.

It strikes right at the heart of the fight against automation which is already wiping out thousands of waterfront jobs nationwide.

The ILA began contract talks a few weeks earlier with the perspective of negotiating a master contract for all the East and Gulf Coast ports, including the GAI, wages, work week, length of contract, pensions, welfare benefits, containerization and LASH.

Now Gleason is throwing out coastwide bargaining on precisely the issue—the GAI—which the shipowners have been desperately fighting to keep as part of the local port bargaining.

The Port of New York is the only port with a 40 hour-52 week guaranteed wage (2080 hours). Other ports which have the GAI vary in the amount. The master contract was supposed to win for the whole East and Gulf Coasts the identical GAI won by the Port of New York in the 1968 contract.

DECIMATION

Such a contract would be a great victory for rank and file longshoremen against LASH and containerization. Allowing the GAI to be negotiated on a local port basis prepares not only for further extensions of automation, but also now for the immediate decimation of the jobs, wages and living conditions of long-

shoremen. The shipowners have grouped together on the East and Gulf Coasts into the Council of North Atlantic Shipping Associations (CONASA) in order to form a solid front against the ILA.

They hope now to take away the GAI wherever possible, particularly in the New York port where the NYSA is demanding an end to the GAI for the majority of longshoremen.

At the same time, CONASA will try to use its combined strength to fight against any wage increase.

Gleason is still promising the bosses that he will not strike and he has made it clear that he is flexible on the wages and work week issues.

In the meantime, the ILA bureaucrats continue to allow West Coast goods to be unloaded at the Brooklyn and other docks. Gleason's excuse is that Harry Bridges, head of the West Coast ILWU, never asked him to boycott them.

Rank and file dockers must now demand that the ILA make the 2080 hours GAI part of the master contract. There can be no compromise on this demand.

A rank and file caucus must be built throughout the whole East and Gulf Coast to fight for the \$7.50 an hour base pay, as well as no cuts in gang size, \$500 pension after 20 years and a one year contract. The ranks must demand that the union prepare to strike in defiance of Nixon on October 1st.



Troops put girls in vans to be held in preventive detention in Dayton

Youths Jailed As Nixon Tours

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON, OHIO—Over 500 youth, workers and veterans protested here against President Nixon's appearance at the Wright Air Force Base. Nixon had come to dedicate the Air Force Museum, itself dedicated to the instruments of imperialist war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

Despite the statement that the base was to be open to the public the protestors faced a police state attack against their rights. Over four bus loads of people were held in preventive detention, some for hours. Orders were to detain young people, long-haired and short.

Cars were stopped and the drivers made to open their trunks and interior. If any peace signs or literature were found, you were not allowed in. Even one man I observed was searched minutely who had an innocuous Overpopulation sticker on his car. One middle-aged man who had an "Impeach Nixon" button

on was given the strong arm treatment by five high ranking Air Force officers and dragged out of the crowd and placed in a detention bus.

The youth, some unemployed workers and veterans carried a symbolic casket into the Air Force base but were finally stopped by a padlocked gate. Behind the gate were rows of riot helmeted soliders, and behind them were fire trucks. The veterans threw their medals over the fence and left the casket there.

One group who were refused

access because of peace stickers and signs picketed outside with signs saying "Smash The Wage Freeze, Build A Labor Party," "Break With The Two Parties Of War And Wage Cuts, Build A New Labor Peoples' Party." These signs were signed, "New Party Labor Committee." Other signs said "Warlord Dedicates Death Museum" and "George Jackson Lives On, Free Political Prisoners." This group also gave out leaflets blasting the wage freeze, Nixon and the stooge role of the Democrats and Wallace.

ILA Member: 'We'll Be Out'

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE, Sept. 4—Three weeks before the ILA strike deadline, the attitude of the ranks here can best be described as angry, discontented, and more than willing to fight for a contract they need.

There has been much talk and agreement among the rank and file on the Baltimore waterfront and in other cities that this contract must contain a large wage increase to make up for the great losses of work-hours and a guaranteed income clause that would apply to all workers and would be extended to a full 40 hour work week in all ports.

As one docker put it: "Sure, you can still make a decent living on the waterfront—as long as you've got another job somewhere else. A lot of the guys work over at the Chevrolet plant, and between both jobs, they just manage to feed their kids."

When asked about the position of the local leadership on the upcoming contract, this worker responded: "They haven't said anything. They want to wait and see what Gleason is going to offer us. Not many workers want to go on strike. This is because in the past when we did go out, we really didn't win anything. With the present leadership, the situation will probably be the same. As for me, I think the only way to get anything with this wage freeze is to strike and show them we mean business."

In the past year, the tension on the waterfront has erupted sever-

al times. The supreme court ruling that the old Black and white locals, 829 and 858 merge, has been blatantly fought by both leaderships. They have instituted a nine month waiting period to let people get "adjusted" to the new system. The only adjustment needed here is to kick out those officials who are encouraging the racism still practiced in hiring and layoffs.

It is crucial that these two locals merge if there is to be a fight against the racism of the employers, who are trying to pit the white dockers against the Black. This can only be fought through a joint fight in a unified local for jobs for all.

LEADING

The militancy of these workers in regards to the need to smash Nixon's wage freeze was characterized by another docker: "We'll be out on Sept. 30. The ILA and ILWU have the same fight. If we expect to win, we'll have to start acting together against Nixon. There's no need to have two longshoremen's unions—they should be merged. I agree with your call here (in the Bulletin) for a general strike. This is everybody's fight. Now, I feel the docks can play a leading role."

When asked about the need to drive Nixon out with a labor party based on the trade unions, he replied: "Sure, I'd support a labor party. The Democrats are real pleased with the wage freeze. The only way to make sure things run our way is to get someone from labor in the government."

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Meany Warns: Road To Fascism

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

AFL-CIO President George Meany has denounced in the strongest terms the moves towards the setting up of a wage-price board with legal enforcement powers. According to Meany, such a board, now called for by leading Democrats as well as Administration spokesmen, is "the road to fascism."

On this Meany is absolutely correct. Nixon and the capitalists he represents are forced to turn towards the corporate state as pioneered by Mussolini and the fascist movement. Even the tame union bureaucrats must be dispensed with. The independence of the unions must be crushed entirely so that workers have no means to fight back.

Meany is angry at Nixon, not because of any personal affront, not because he was not consulted prior to the wage freeze or anything of that sort. He is angry because Nixon is making his position intolerable.

After years in which the union officials could argue that collective bargaining was working to secure rising living standards and job security, the government has ripped away the myth of prosperity and class collaboration in one mammoth stroke.

How does Meany propose to fight? At the same time as he denounces Nixon for taking "the road to fascism," Meany himself proposes a wage-price board which relies on voluntary cooperation, patterned after the War Labor Board of World War II.

Meany proposes that the union bureaucracy police the working class. This is nothing but the voluntary road to fascism. It is an acceptance of government interference which will lead straight to the crushing of the union movement.

Now Meany has combined this proposal for a voluntary wage-price board with the offer of a no-strike pledge. He is already giving up the only weapon the millions of organized workers possess. He is ready to bargain this weapon away at

a moment's notice, if only Nixon and the capitalists "consult" the union officialdom on the next stage of the freeze and agree not to use the courts against the unions.

GERMANY

The only parallel for this kind of treachery is the way in which the German Social Democratic and trade union leaders paved the way for Hitler's rise to power in Germany nearly 40 years ago.

Then too the union bureaucrats pleaded for consultation and promised voluntary cooperation. But we have been warned by Meany himself. This is without a doubt the road to fascism. The cowardice of the union leaders is smoothing the path for the fascists and their plans to crush the working class.

Big business and its government hatchmen know very well that 1971 is not 1941, that the working class will not accept voluntary controls. In the words of former chief Democratic economic advisor Gardner Ackley, the "fatal weakness" of voluntary controls is that they "wouldn't work."

Nixon wants it both ways. He wants the union leaders on a wage-price board to bolster the image of his policies, while retaining the full power to use force when necessary.

Now Meany is talking tough about this: "...we are not going into that kind of swindle. If there is going to be Government control, it is going to be direct. It is not going to be camouflaged by saying we have a labor-management setup there."

No worker can take these words as anything but the preparation for further betrayal.

Meany's consistent advocacy of across the board controls and a wage-price board have opened the door at every point to Nixon's vicious attacks.

Meany does not intend to follow a policy of no collaboration with the government. Quite the opposite. He is putting forth a bargaining position and preparing to negotiate the formula through which labor participation in administering the wage freeze and controls can be arranged.

The confidence of the capitalist government in the cowardly union leaders is aptly expressed by one of the leaders of the World War II wage freeze, George W. Taylor. According to Taylor, "If they can work out something with Mao Tse-tung, surely they can do it with George Meany."

The gulf between the bureaucracy and the rank and file has

(Continued On Page 12)



Juan Farinas speaks at a fund raising party on Eldridge St. in New York's Lower East Side. A party was also held in the East New York section of Brooklyn. Farinas faces two years imprisonment for distributing a leaflet at an induction center opposed to the Vietnam War.

No Control On Prices

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The recent proposals by some labor leaders that the wage-price freeze should include a tax on excess profits has produced a chorus of outcries from the Nixon Administration as well as leading Democratic politicians.

Every reply on this proposal has been a slap in the face to the unions. The government is spelling it out, in case the unions did not understand, that the wage-price freeze is only aimed at holding down wages while prices and profits can rise. Their concern is not the struggle of workers to keep up with inflation but to grant the billionaires who run industry even greater billions.

The government could never agree to a profits tax because it would defeat the whole purpose of the freeze—to increase pro-

fits. The idea of a profits tax drew a sharp attack from two leading Democratic economists, Gardner Ackley and Arthur Okun.

Ackley, who was one of the chairmen of Johnson's Council of Economic Advisors and was in charge of price controls during World War II called an excess profits tax a "lousy idea" and said profits have been excessively low and should be allowed to rise.

TRICK

Secretary of Labor Hodgson had hinted that the Administration might be considering a form of profit control in Phase Two of the freeze. This has now been exposed as a feeble attempt to trick the unions into going along with the 90 day period. But even such phony promises are being thrown out.

At the same time Ackley said the freeze should be suspended on November 14th for "all prices

at retail, rents, personal services" and only for wages in "low wage industries."

This means that almost all prices will be allowed to rise legally after 90 days. By offering a few crumbs to lower paid factory workers whose wages are already substandard he hopes to drive a wedge into the working class and pit workers against each other.

Arthur Okun, a former chief economic advisor to President Johnson, also rejected any form of control on profits and urged Congress to pass the 10% tax credit. He went even further than Ackley in detailing what controls should be installed after November 14th.

He proposed that the unions be allowed no more than 5% in wage increases over the next year but that there should be no control on prices. He urged business to absorb a mere 1% of

(Continued On Page 12)

WOODCOCK OFFERS NEW ALLIANCE WITH STALINISTS

BY FRED MUELLER

The relationship between the Communist Party and the trade union bureaucracy has been clearly exposed in response to the wage freeze.

The Stalinists of the CP have uncritically reported every verbal denunciation of Nixon by the union leaders without warning the working class that these fine words must be backed by deeds. When Meany and Woodcock completely capitulated to Nixon within 10 days, the CP gave them a mild slap on the wrist in the *Daily World*.

But the most revealing moment came with the report in the *Daily World* on the national convention of the United Electrical Workers in Los Angeles. UAW President Woodcock gave a speech to this convention.

The September 2 *Daily World* was enthusiastic over this speech. They report that he issued a call for the "creation of a new progressive political coalition to turn this country around and labor, all labor, must be a leading part of that coalition."

This article goes on to report

that Woodcock criticized the Democrats as well as Nixon. "His sharp attack on the freeze surprised, but was welcomed, by some delegates who had disagreed strongly with his recent statement, following a meeting in Washington with George Meany, AFL-CIO President. At that time Woodcock spoke of labor living with the freeze for its 90-day duration."

"RHETORIC"

But Woodcock has not taken back a single word of his capitulation to the freeze. He himself referred to differences between himself and Teamsters head Fitzsimmons as "just rhetoric." Above all he has made it absolutely clear that he intends to do nothing to fight the freeze at this time.

All the fine words about the Democrats were nothing but a cover for this complete capitula-

tion to Nixon. Could anything be clearer? Yet the Stalinists drop even their mildest words of criticism the minute Woodcock talks out of the left side of his mouth once again! They are nothing but Woodcock's helpers against the rank and file, helping to keep it confused and demobilized.

The *Daily World* article on the UE convention reveals another very important reason for the Stalinists' complete support for Woodcock. Not only does he call consistently for the kind of new liberal coalition which the Stalinists favor in order to head off an independent labor party fighting for power, he also openly welcomes the Communist Party and its trade union supporters into this coalition. This is indeed sweet music to the Stalinists' ears.

SPLIT

"In another unexpected development at the UE convention," reports the *Daily World*, "Woodcock talked briefly about the split in the labor movement 20 years ago when the CIO, succumbing

to a redbaiting drive in the nation, drove out the UE, the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, and the other militant and progressive unions from its ranks."

"We should never have been split asunder," he said. More specifically he pinpointed the role of the UAW in that attack when he conceded, "We in our union helped in the splitting of the labor movement." However, he emphasized labor's need today is unity."

These are very important words indeed, but not for the reasons the Stalinists suggest. Woodcock is forced to openly criticize his own role and that of course of his predecessor, Reuther, who was the leader of the drive to expel those unions under Communist Party dominance from the CIO. These expulsions served the Cold War needs of American capitalism, as it sought to whip up a hysteria against communism.

Now the situation is very dif-

(Continued On Page 12)



Leonard Woodcock

Hospital Union Must Call Strike Against Freeze

BY AN I199 MEMBER

NEW YORK, Sept. 6—Local I199, Drug and Hospital Workers Union, has been sharply affected by Nixon's wage freeze. The union, which has grown to over 50,000 members and begun to organize nationwide, now faces the most critical period in its history.

Thousands of workers in hospitals throughout New York are directly affected by the freeze. Workers in French, Einstein, Joint Disease, Brookdale and many other hospitals have increases due on October 1st or shortly thereafter. These increases have now been postponed by the freeze.

Thousands of other workers in drug stores have scheduled increases on January 1st which will be affected by any extension of the freeze. And all hospital workers now face a delay in dental coverage under the union benefit plan.

The 1970 contract met with greater opposition than any previous one when it came up for ratification last year. The leadership compromised on the wage demand and got very little in fringe benefits. Even more important, the contract specifically assured the hospitals of the right to make up costs through job-cutting.

NULLIFIED

It is this contract which Nixon's freeze has nullified. The agreement accepted by many workers as a bare minimum has now been violated by Nixon himself. Thousands of workers must now consider whether they will ever be able to enjoy the modest pension benefits they won.

Just when hospital workers have finally been able to take the first few steps above the poverty line, Nixon and the employers want to drag these workers back to conditions of poverty and insecurity.

It is in this situation that the ranks must insist that the I199 leadership do more than protest when it comes to the wage freeze. The leadership has proposed a demonstration on October 1st but the Rank and File opposition caucus has made it clear that it intends to fight for strike action as the only way to smash the freeze. This is the fight that must be taken up at the September 15th union meeting.

The record of I199 President Leon Davis and the rest of the leadership is one of left talk without ever challenging the capitalist system. The leadership has in the past few years refused to wage any struggle on job cuts at a time when working conditions were being sharply attacked and it was clear that layoffs were being prepared.

It refused to speak up on the hospital crisis and demand a fight for socialized medicine and for a labor party to take up the fight for adequate health care as well as the struggle against poverty, racism and war.

The I199 officials have consistently backed capitalist politicians who have attacked the working class. This list includes Rockefeller and Lindsay and Senator McGovern, who just a few months ago was invited

to address the I199 delegates. This same McGovern completely supports the wage freeze.

We must demand a break from this bankrupt pleading with our enemies.

Nixon will only be stopped by a political fight. The beginning of that fight is a decision to strike the hospitals on October 1st and appeal for general strike action in order to smash the freeze, and a fight for a congress of labor, youth, and minority people to build a labor party for the 1972 elections.

Resistance Grows In SSEU-371 As City Presses Reorganization

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—A wave of dissatisfaction and revolts has swept the Department of Social Services since the signing of the reorganization contract.

Because there are no quotas in the contract providing specifically for how many caseworkers will be "loaned" into clerical jobs, the City has proceeded to transfer far more workers into that job than their first figures would have indicated. Many delegates who voted for the contract thinking that at least they would be "safe" were sorely disappointed.

Furthermore, as the contract left tremendous gaps for interpretation, the City set up various "specialty" titles which allowed it to choose workers for specific jobs in the services section, out of order of seniority. This enabled the City not only to whittle away at basic Civil Service principles, but push militants who might have remained in services into income maintenance, from where there is little if any chance of returning.

It is becoming clearer and clearer to the ranks that the City is just biding its time until those thousands of workers who were transferred into clerical titles will be federalized, then either permanently demoted or laid off.

For those few workers left in social services, the City has planned an even more cynical and diabolical fate. Most of the workers who are left are senior workers whose salaries range from \$11,000 to \$15,000 per year. The City, of course, is most anxious to speed up the attrition of these titles!

Under the guise of bringing these workers closer to the community under department head Sugarman's "Outreach" program, they are actually whipping up hostility in the community against the workers, particularly



Striker adds artistic touch to picket line at the Museum of Modern Art. Employees recently struck over layoffs and slashes in all aspects of the museum as part of general cutbacks in American cultural life.

among those community leaders on Federal payrolls, and sending workers out to storefronts, projects like lambs to a slaughter. Workers are even being placed in specific jobs and areas on the basis of race.

The union leadership, fully aware of these problems, has done its best to do nothing. They were forced into calling a very brief work action over the seniority question and other violations of the contract. But the action was called off after half a day on the basis of a very weak agreement mandating the City to use strict seniority except where workers before July 15, 1971 were holding "special" jobs. This allows the City to continue violating basic Civil Service principles.

From all over the City came threats of non-cooperation with further reorganization. Because of the reaction to the union leadership's compromise with the City, SSEU-371 President Hill

was forced to call an emergency Delegates Assembly meeting. At this meeting the Committee for a New Leadership will demand that there be no further cooperation with reorganization unless the following demands are met:

1. Strict seniority for jobs—no exceptions.
2. No contractual violations be tolerated.
3. No more than 1/2 staff be sent into income maintenance and a guarantee that they will all be brought back into social services before federalization.
4. General services in the center to remain in the center for the duration of the contract.
5. City must retain 3,000 job slots in services.
6. Before Phase II of Sugarman's Outreach is implemented there must be negotiations with the City on job content and staffing.
7. Eligibility and Investigations Civil Service exam must be given.

Mitchell Attacks Youth Vote

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The 26th Amendment to the Constitution was passed earlier this year, allowing 18 year olds to vote.

But the tremendous hostility of the capitalist class to the youth is expressed in the battle which is now going on to prevent students from registering to vote where they go to school.

Both Democratic and Republican politicians in many cities and towns with large college populations are afraid of the youth and are preventing them from registering to vote.

At the same time, many states have no provision for absentee balloting, or the process is extremely complex, effectively preventing tens of thousands of youth from voting.

Attorney General Mitchell has come out in favor of preventing

students from voting where they go to school, stating that it would be to "discriminate against the others not so favored, including the 800,000 servicemen who are also in this new age group and are also located away from home."

ATTACKS

This denial of the right to vote is part of the whole attack launched by Mitchell and Nixon against the rights of the working class.

The logic is that students have

Goons Beat Local 3036 Dissidents

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Elections of shop chairmen and committeemen take place in all New York City taxi garages this week, in the midst of the most vicious campaign by the Local 3036 Union leadership.

Three shop chairmen have been beaten, and just last week, Charles Petses, a dissident vice president who openly opposes Harry Van Arsdale and the current contract, was brutally beaten by three "unknown" assailants.

In addition, slander and intimidation have been used against other drivers in various garages. What is clear in these local elections, is that new leadership is needed from top to bottom.

The very existence of Local 3036 is threatened, not only by the owners, and city administration, but by the Van Arsdale leadership.

All candidates must take a clear stand on the rights of rank and filers to express, and campaign for their views at all garages. But this is not just a fight for a democratic union. Cabbies are earning less money under the present agreement negotiated by Van Arsdale.

Candidates must be elected who will fight for 60% of the meter, no productivity clauses, no dime rakeoff (all benefits to be paid by owners, as before), and proportional benefits to part-timers.

PROGRAM

But a political fight is necessary to win these demands. Taxi drivers and all workers are under attack by Nixon's wage freeze. This attack must be answered with a call for a general strike to smash the freeze.

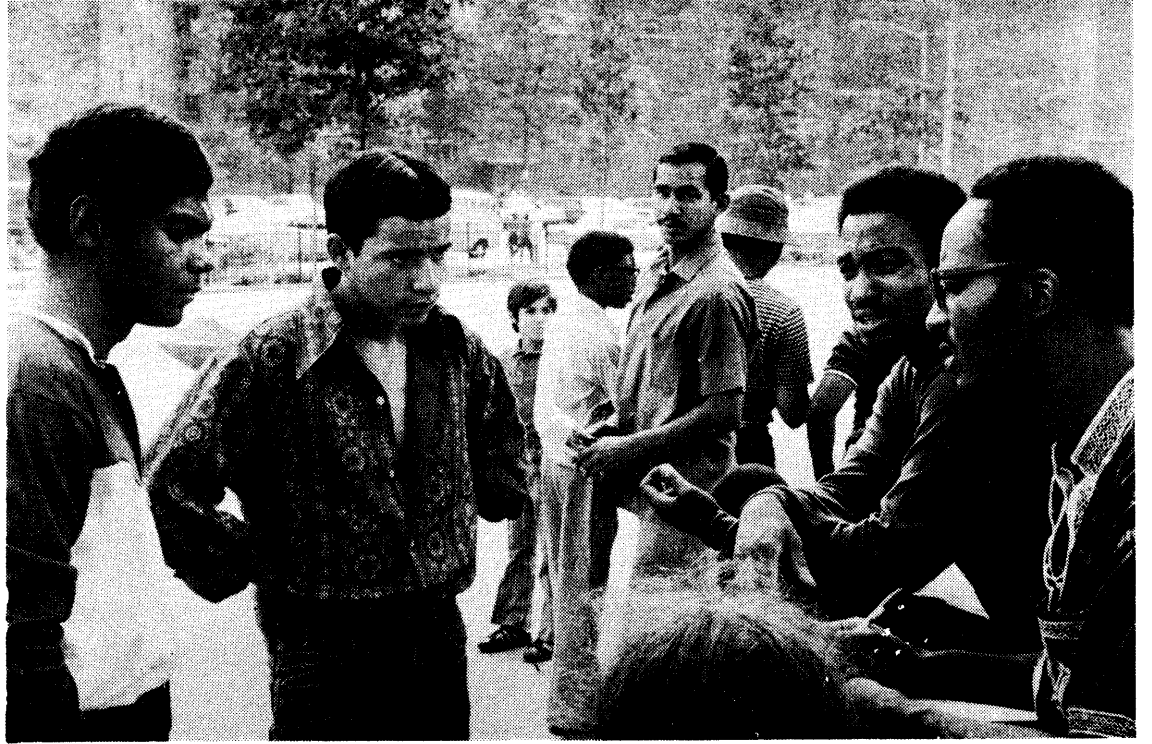
And since both Republicans and Democrats supported the freeze, drivers must answer this with the preparations for the building of a labor party.

Drivers in three garages, 55th and Eden in Manhattan, and Columbia in Brooklyn, have taken up this program and are fighting for these demands. These militants are fighting for other drivers running in the elections to take up this fight, to overturn the contract and dump the Van Arsdale leadership.

no "lasting" or "permanent" interest in the area, and therefore should not be allowed to vote there. The same argument has been used in the past to set up property qualifications to exclude whole sections of the working class from voting.

This attack is a continuation of Mitchell's policies of mass arrests of youth during the May Day demonstrations, frameup and murder of young Black militants. It expresses the fear and hatred of the capitalist class for the youth.

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THE BULLETIN, Weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y., 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$3.00; Foreign—1 year: \$4.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.



As part of the preparation for building a Workers League youth contingent in the upcoming unemployment demonstration sponsored by several unions Workers League members, supporters and members of the Third World Front tour a project in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn. Left—A spokesman of the Workers League addresses an audience of youth on the need for a united struggle and a labor party. Right—Workers League supporters (sitting right) speak with youth.

Newark Teachers Face Wage Freeze, Fines

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEWARK—The Newark Board of Education declared on August 31 that the raises, increments due through longevity as well as increases in fringe benefits will be held up for all public school teachers at least until after the end of Nixon's wage freeze.

This comes in the midst of the very struggle for the survival of the Newark Teachers Union in the face of attacks on the union from the courts and the city administration.

Earlier this summer, the New Jersey State Superior Court fined the NTU \$270,000 for its part in the three month long teachers' strike last winter and ordered 200 teachers to start serving prison sentences for their role in the strike.

The court also directed the Board of Education to seize all NTU income, including welfare fund money and dues which will be put into a special court fund. To help pay for the fine, the Board will deduct 10 percent of the gross salaries of all NTU members.

FINES

The NTU also faces a \$40,000 fine from the 1970 strike. The court ruled that, besides the \$270,000 fine against the union, strikers and members of the NTU will be held responsible for and assessed for \$252,000 in costs and damages from the recent strike.

The Bulletin warned during and after the strike that if the strike were defeated, it would only be the beginning of even more vicious attacks against the union and the trade union movement as a whole.

Now with the Newark News strike in its fourth month and workers throughout northern New Jersey being hit by the wage freeze, Gibson and the courts have stepped up their assault on the teachers.

If the labor movement allows these fines and prison sentences to be imposed, it will mean the destruction of the NTU and preparation for even further attacks on the working and living conditions of teachers and workers in Newark and the rest of the U.S.

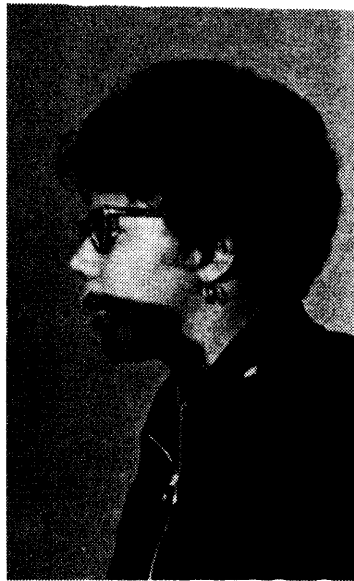
ACTION

At the recent national convention of the American Federation of Teachers, a section of the dele-

gates supported a resolution calling for action against the wage freeze. The NTU delegation was solidly in favor of the resolution.

The ranks of the NTU must now demand that the leadership launch an offensive against the attacks by Gibson, the Board and the courts.

The NTU must call for a nationwide teachers' strike to shut down the entire school system with the demand that Nixon and Congress end the wage freeze, and that all fines, prison sentences and penalties facing the teachers be thrown out.



Carole Graves

AFSCME Must Fight Freeze To Win 30%

BY AN AFSCME

LOCAL 1164 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS—The national leadership of AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) recently held a conference in Minneapolis.

William Hamilton, public affairs director of AFSCME, explained, "when the wage-price freeze order was issued, we felt we had to get together with our leadership to discuss the effects of the freeze and plan common strategy for dealing with it."

That "strategy" consists of two parts. First, AFSCME leadership will attempt to exempt public employees from the wage freeze. It is done at a time when the leadership knows no exception will be made, when Nixon has frozen federal employees' wages for six months. Clearly, this is an attempt on the part of AFSCME bureaucrats to pacify the rank and file by leading them to believe they are fighting the freeze when in effect they completely accept it.

The second tactic announced is a \$1 million fund drive to be used to support "our friends in Congress" during the '72 election campaign. This decision represents a recognition that to protect

the living conditions of AFSCME members a fight in the political arena must be waged. Yet they expose their inability to lead that fight. Every Democrat and Republican supports the freeze. Liberal Democrats gave Nixon the power to institute the wage freeze. Clearly, the only alternative is a labor party. The unions must build this labor party for the '72 elections to represent the interests of working people and youth.

MINNESOTA

It is ironic that this National Conference was held in Minnesota. State employees have been fighting for a wage increase since July 1st. Long ago, 44 of the 54 locals voted to strike and still Joe Robison, head of these locals, stalls. He pins his hopes on liberals in the state legislature. That legislature spent all summer in special session and adjourned without granting any increase. Now a conference committee offers a 10% increase this year and a 4% increase next year which is a far cry from the 30% AFSCME demanded. At a recent Local 1164 (University Employees) meeting, Robison said we would have to wait till after the freeze to discuss this proposal. When questioned by a member of 1164, he said, "it is quite clear the

Daley Jails Leader Of Teachers Union

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO—Ever since the imprisonment of Norman Swenson, President of the Cook County Teachers Union two weeks ago, officials of the AFL-CIO have maintained a grim silence on the whole affair in the hopes that the implications of the jailings would go unnoticed among trade unionists in the Chicago area.

These officials know that the imprisonment of a major union leader by a prominent Daley judge marks the end of an era of unprecedented class collaboration between the trade union bureaucracy and the most powerful Democratic Party machine in the country.

In some areas judges may make

such decisions on their own. Not in Chicago. It is impossible for Swenson to have ended up in jail without the direct consent of Mayor Daley.

Judge Covelli, for instance, who played the main role in victimizing Swenson, is not only a Daley appointee who has followed every twist and turn of the machine over the years, but actually holds membership in the Cook County Democratic Party.

"EMBARASSING"

For this reason, AFL-CIO officials have decided not to defend Swenson. As one official privately explained to this reporter, "You can't defend Swenson without embarrassing the Mayor, we don't want to do anything that would start trouble with the city."

Swenson's crime was that he did not break the 1967 City College teachers strike soon enough. The strike went 48 hours past Judge Covelli's injunction before halting the strike. He is now serving a 30 day term in jail.

Swenson's jailing is a sharp warning to the ranks of the labor movement of what the government, both Republicans and Democrats, have in store for the unions if they fight back. The role of the labor leaders is absolutely criminal in this situation.

The attack on Swenson comes precisely at the time when teachers in Illinois were walking off their jobs in defiance of the wage freeze.

The ranks of the labor movement must repudiate the position of their leaders and demand that Swenson be defended.



Norman G. Swenson

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Nixon's 'Work Ethic' Is Attack On Unions

"This is the first and only International Labor Day. It belongs to the working class and is dedicated to the Revolution." So proclaimed Eugene Debs on May 1st, 1907 when he commemorated the "Labor Day of May."

It was in part to cut the working class off from these traditions of socialism and internationalism that Roosevelt in the 1930s proclaimed "Labor Day" a national holiday on the first Monday in September.

May 1st was a day of international solidarity of the working class, celebrated by workers throughout the world. Its origins lay in the United States in the Haymarket Massacre and the bloody battle the working class fought against the robber barons for the eight hour day.

It was in the spirit of the robber barons that Nixon celebrated "Labor Day, 1971." Sounding like the Andrew Carnegies of an earlier era, Nixon demanded that the working class live by the "work ethic."

"Central to that character (of the American people) is the competitive spirit. That is the inner drive that for two centuries has made the American working man unique in the world... That work ethic is ingrained in the American character. That is why most of us consider it immoral to be lazy or slothful..."

But all the fire and brimstone cannot hide the fact that this "spirit" is the spirit of the capitalist class which is guided solely by the "inner drive" for profits. This is "ingrained" in capitalism.

The robber barons used this "ethic" to justify the accumulation of massive profits by brutally and mercilessly exploiting the working class. They used it as the justification for shooting down workers in cold blood if they dared to fight back, to strike, to demonstrate.

While in the very early period of the history of the U.S. it reflected the ideology of a flourishing capitalist class, today it becomes the demogogy of fascism to preserve the system that history has condemned by smashing the working class.

Nixon's speech is a vicious insult to the working class. "That word, productivity, puzzles and sometimes frightens people. It sounds like the old "speed-up" or some new efficiency system that drives people harder. Productivity means getting more out of your work."

Productivity means getting more profit out of each worker by driving him at a rate that means an early death. It means that thousands more will be thrown out of work.

The gall of this man Nixon has no bounds. He talks of the "will to work" when thousands of unemployed have spent months looking for jobs and at a time when he and the employers are planning more unemployment.

As Meany put it, Nixon is seeking to preserve the profits of the employers: "I think he is still the same old Nixon who feels that the only way to have a prosperous America is to keep the big corporations fat and prosperous, and that all of the things he professed an interest in of a social nature, he seems to be ready to let them go down the drain in order to keep big business happy."

Nixon's speech emphasizes Meany's warnings of the dangers of fascism from the government's plans. Nixon is now trying to whip up a patriotic frenzy to force the working class to bow down, to become slaves of the employers in the name of morality and the "nation." He is giving the right wing forces their script.

Behind all this lies the plans to destroy the trade unions and to take away all the gains and political liberties the working class has won throughout its whole history.

Meany and his fellow bureaucrats can do nothing but utter protests in the face of this assault and provide Nixon with ways to bring in his attacks through the back door.

The real "spirit" of Labor Day lies in the traditions of Haymarket as part of the struggle of the international working class which today is moving against the impact of Nixon's attack.

The only way we can carry forward that spirit is through the construction of a Marxist leadership in the trade unions which fights to bring the whole history of the class forward to destroy capitalism.

It means breaking with all those who base themselves on the "work ethic", the Democratic and Republican parties, and building a labor party.



"And this is the way I'd like to see it."

What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

sibly counter-revolutionary elements of the A.C.P. represent Angela no more than do the Tabor couple, and R.D. (Richard Dhurba) Moore, represent Huey P. Newton. The ungrounded attacks made on the Black Panther Party by these individuals of the A.C.P. must be viewed as they are—individualist and probably of an ulterior motive."

Next in the July 24, 1971 Black Panther paper George Jackson and the other Soledad Brothers issued a statement "concerning those opportunists who infiltrated the San Francisco office of the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee." The opportunists in question are clearly the Communist Party and those influenced by it. He states: "You took the wrong position on August 7th, public and private. I've heard all of the cowardly remarks bearing on my brother's judgement and sanity. Revolution is aggressive. The only reason some of you were allowed anywhere near any of our operation was in the hopes that you would mature to an understanding of this."

He continues: "For the few moments mental gratification it affords me, and as an example to you who have obviously been led to believe that negotiations with a pig are possible, and that an appeal to arms is just taking life too seriously. The objective of all our activity is in the end the creation of the people's army—not an acquittal here and there. Strangely you have missed the whole point—the revolution has begun!" And finally: "You cannot save me with reformist, reactionary steps backward to the techniques of the 1930s."

This represents a damning assessment of the Communist Party even though the Communist Party is not mentioned as such, reflecting Jackson's desire to avoid open factional conflict. But if there is any doubt that he is speaking of the Communist Party in the concluding sections he states: "We are under attack now. We are not going to wait for the Soviets to peacefully co-exist our enemies out of existence."

What this represents is a head-on collision between the revolutionary aspirations of the Black masses and the counter-revolutionary policies of the Communist Party. The issue is not a tactical one nor a matter of the

specifics of Jackson's own activities. Jackson begins from the perspective that the struggle against his oppressor is a revolutionary one requiring in the end a conflict of arms. The Communist Party begins with the perspective of reforming capitalism, of peacefully coexisting with it, of seeking a peaceful road to socialism. The "techniques of the 1930s" to which Jackson refers are the Communist Party's theories of popular fronts with capitalist politicians as opposed to breaking the working class from capitalist politics and starting on the road to class struggle action and revolution.

We must also take note of the vicious article by Henry Winston appearing in the August, 1971 Political Affairs, "The Crisis Of The Black Panther Party." Winston is no "individual" in the Communist Party, but one of its top leaders. Referring to both Newton and Cleaver he states: "...These ultra-'revolutionaries' helped create an atmosphere in which the racist monopolists could falsely portray violence as coming from the Left—and cover up the fact that they themselves are the source of it. The pseudo-militancy of Newton, Cleaver and Hilliard made their own party and its supporters particularly vulnerable to nationwide genocidal assaults and frame-ups." So, to Winston and the CP, that Black militants took up arms in self-defense against the violence of the capitalist state, is seen as provoking that same violence! The culprit is the audacity of the Black Panthers. If only they had laid low like the Communist Party perhaps they would be spared the wrath of the master!

Winston goes on to attack Cleaver for being an adventurer and then has the audacity to accuse Newton of reformism for his program of Black capitalism. He even goes so far as to refer to Newton as "continuing to serve the monopolists at the expense of Black Americans and all working people." We say audacity not to defend Newton's erroneous and dangerous views on Black capitalism but because the real purpose of Winston's attack is his fear of the revolutionary movement of Black workers and workers as a whole which underlies the development of the Panthers and of George Jackson.

Winston concludes his article with the whole point of it—an appeal for a new "anti-monopoly coalition" with capitalism, a new popular front and the peaceful road to socialism. He refers to "opposing 'Left' concepts of the inevitability of armed struggle..."

George Jackson was not able to complete his study of the history of the movement and of the role of Stalinism with which he personally had such a bitter experience in the last months of his life. If he had he would have had to confront the question of Trotskyism which was born in a defense of revolutionary Marxism against popular frontism in the 1930s and which today poses the only program forward for uniting the whole working class in a revolutionary struggle for power.

George Jackson recognized that the road forward had to proceed beyond the bounds of the ghetto, on a Marxist program, and encompassing the working class as a whole. He described his discussions with Angela Davis on this point: "Angela assails me with questions honestly and sincerely posed. I answer them, and question her on the value of the Black worker as a revolutionary agent, and she presents solid evidence to the effect that he is disciplined, forms nearly 30% of the entire industrial work force, and we meet, without the smallest hint of hostility, at the theoretical juncture that, hypothetically, Huey's center city communes may be the vehicle for revolutionizing this all too conservative Black worker; then he in turn radicalize and revolutionize his White counterpart."

The direction must be out of the ghetto to a new unity of the class. Only a Marxist program guided by Marxist theory can bring this about. The aim is socialist revolution. As the capitalists who rule America and the world with such bloody determination will not bow to the working class majority peacefully we must prepare for armed struggle. The lessons of the 1930s show that Stalinism opposes this course and only Trotskyism can carry it forward. Yes, the revolution has begun! That is the meaning of Nixon's economic policies. This is what the Workers League is all about!

MAOISM

A BALANCE SHEET

MAO'S SLAVISH defence of Stalin played into the hands of the Soviet bureaucracy. The Soviet working class, youth and intellectuals hated Stalin as a symbol of repression and mass murder.

The more Mao praised him, the easier it became for the Kremlin to drive a wedge between the Soviet people and the Chinese Revolution.

Unable to find a road to the Soviet and E European working class, and menaced more than ever by growing American involvement in SE Asia, the Chinese leaders began to develop the so-called theory of 'intermediate zones'.

Mao gave an outline of this theory in a talk with five right-wing members of the Japanese Socialist Party on August 11, 1964:

'Japan and China must act in unity, co-operate with each other. . . . As a result of the war Japan came under the domination of American imperialism. American imperialism also dominates in S Korea, the Philippines, Thailand etc.

'The United States is reaching out to the western Pacific and SE Asia. It is reaching too far. The United States dominates over Europe, Canada and entire Latin America . . .

'All peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are opposed to imperialism. Imperialism is also opposed by Europe, Canada and other countries. Imperialists too are coming out against imperialists. Is not de Gaulle an example of this?' (Emphasis added.)

By placing oppressed colonial peoples on the same political level as America's imperialist rivals, Mao shows how remote he is from Leninism.

The ideas he developed in this interview can be traced back to Stalin's 'big-power' diplomacy, which tried to play off one group of imperialist states against another (i.e., the 1934-1939 'Popular Front' alliance with the 'democratic' imperialists—France, Britain and the US—followed by the Stalin-Hitler pact).

Turning his back on the working class of the United States, Mao looked to imperialist forces in Japan and W Europe to counter the pressure of American imperialism on China.

'There are now two intermediate zones in the world. Asia, Africa and Latin America make up the first, and Europe, N America and Oceania the second. Japanese monopoly capital belong to the second zone. Even this monopoly capital is disconten- tured with the United States, while some of its representatives openly oppose it . . .

. . . I do not think that the monopoly capital of Japan will allow the United States to sit on its neck forever. Nothing could be better than for Japan

to become completely independent and establish contact with the forces in Asia striving for national independence . . .

The working class as an independent revolutionary force capable of defeating imperialism entirely vanished from Mao's thinking.

Instead, he came forward as the supporter of Japanese imperialism, which he cynically presents as a potential ally of national liberation forces in Asia.

Here indeed is the germ of the policy that we see unfolding today, as Mao moves on from alliance with France and Japan towards the prime goal of his foreign policy since he came to power in 1949—a long-term settlement with American imperialism.

Mao had never ruled out the possibility of such an agreement. In its first major statement of differences with the Soviet leaders ('A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement', March 30, 1963) the Chinese Party said:

Deal

'The possibility of banning nuclear weapons does indeed exist. However, if the imperialists are forced to accept an agreement to ban nuclear weapons, it decidedly will not be because of their "love for humanity", but because of the pressure of the people of all countries and for the sake of their own vital interests.'

In other words, peace and disarmament serve the interests of both the imperialists and the working class—a line identical to that of Moscow's.

The disagreements arose over the degree of 'pressure' needed to force a deal with the imperialists.

The same opportunist policies shaped Mao's approach to the national liberation movement, especially in Asia.

Ignoring the bitter lessons of the Chinese revolution, Mao put forward Stalin's programme of the 'bloc of four classes', in which the national capitalist class became the anchor of an anti-imperialist 'broad alliance'.

Slaves

The Chinese CP policy statement of March 30, 1963, stated that in the semi-colonial world:

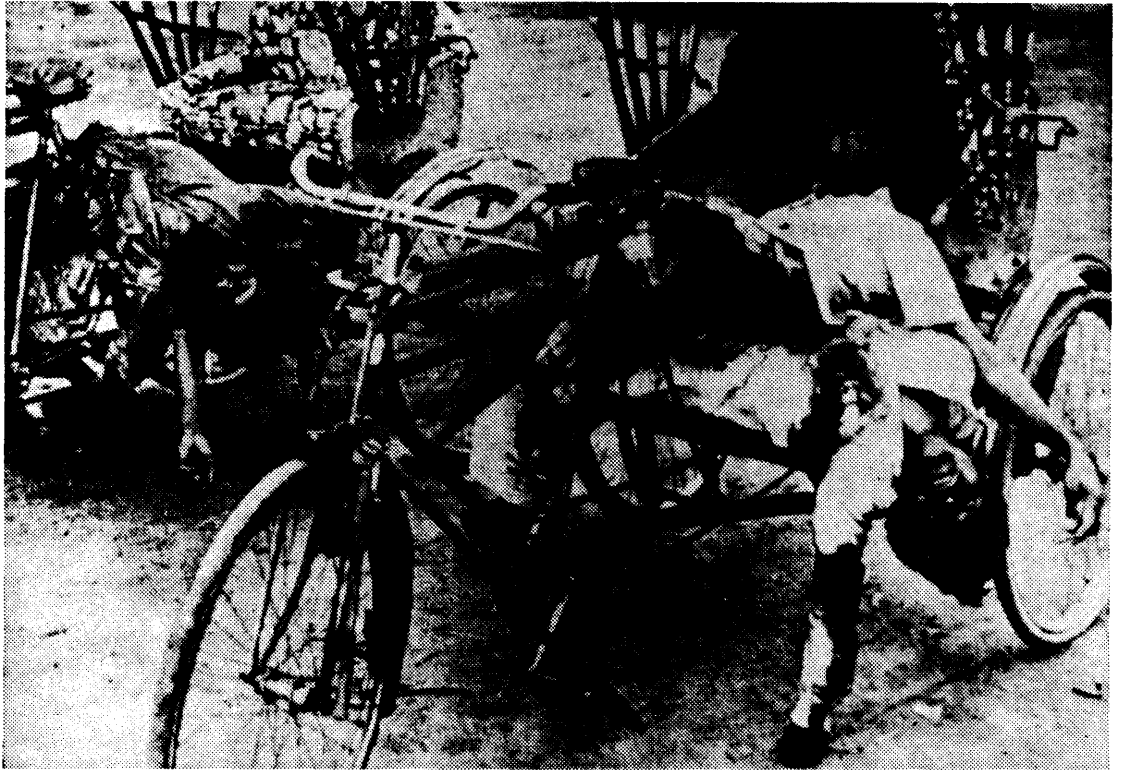
'Extremely broad sections of the population refuse to be slaves of imperialism. They include not only the workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, but also the patriotic national bourgeoisie and even certain kings, princes and aristocrats, who are patriotic.'

On the basis of this Stalinist theory, Mao backed 'patriotic bourgeois' leaders like President Sukarno of Indonesia, much as Stalin supported Chiang Kai-shek in China.

Following Peking's lead, the 3 million-strong Indonesian Party subordinated itself to Sukarno, even though real power lay with his right-wing military leaders.

When Sukarno tried to oust

By Robert Black



It is particularly Mao's support to the suppression of Bangla Desh (above) through its uncritical alliance with Yahya Khan (below) which exposes Stalinist character of Chinese leadership.

them by a coup based on an alliance of left-wing generals and a section of the CP leadership, the right wing struck with unbelievable savagery.

Around 1 million communists were slaughtered in the space of a few months while Sukarno and Mao looked on, powerless to intervene.

Pogrom

The 'bloc of four classes' had turned into an execution bloc for the Indonesian working class. They paid with their blood for Mao's adherence to Stalinism.

And like Stalin, Mao is prepared to overlook this unprecedented pogrom in his anxiety to win more allies in the imperialist camp.

Negotiations are currently under way between China and Indonesia to restore diplomatic relations severed in 1967, when the Suharto regime began to attack Chinese nationals living in Indonesia.

Mao's challenge to Moscow began with a dazzling display of leftist fireworks, but it has now



splattered out in a miserable and quite open capitulation to imperialism throughout Asia.

For a while along, Mao never

understood the real nature of bureaucracy within a workers' state. He was therefore unable to fight it effectively either in the Soviet Union—or China.

BOTH MAO TSE-TUNG'S campaigns against bureaucracy ended in ignominious defeat—the 'Hundred Flowers' experiment of 1956 and the 'Cultural Revolution' of 1966-1968.

There is no doubt that unlike Stalin, Mao despised rank and privileges within the Chinese Party and state machinery. He correctly saw them as conduits for alien class pressures on the revolutionary movement.

In a country as backward and poverty-ridden as China, even the most modest material comforts can have a corrupting influence on those who enjoy them.

As in the Soviet Union, a show-

tion of the Party leadership reacted against the privations of the pre-revolutionary years and the struggle for power, and began to settle down to a routine, bureaucratic existence as ruling party and state functionaries.

In so far as Mao leaned on the working class and youth to counter this conservative layer, he represented a left tendency in the Chinese Party leadership.

It is this fact of Mao's political make-up that has enabled revisionists to present him as some sort of left alternative to Stalinism.

In fact Mao has always had a

highly ambivalent attitude to bureaucracy. Like Khrushchev, he waited for Stalin to die before suggesting that 'mistakes' had been made in the last years of the Kremlin dictator's life.

But unlike Khrushchev, Mao could not claim that his silence was imposed on him by sheer terror.

Criticism

In the wake of Khrushchev's 1956 'secret speech' about Stalin's crimes, Mao launched his 'Hundred Flowers' campaign, in which workers, peasants, stud-



Red Guards march rightists through streets in 1967. Today this movement has been strangled by Mao's conciliation with bureaucrats.

ents and intellectuals were encouraged to say what they really thought about the Chinese Communist Party and government.

Criticism—both left and right—rained down on Mao's head. Capitalist and landlord elements called for the restoration of free trade, workers for the right to strike, and intellectuals for the right to interpret Marxism in their own way.

After six weeks Mao called a halt, declaring most of the flowers to be 'poisonous weeds'.

The bureaucratic lid was clamped firmly down on China, smothering—but not overcoming—all the contradictions that had been allowed to emerge during Mao's brief campaign against bureaucracy.

Rather than call on the working class to fight the pro-capitalist elements, Mao swung back to the Party bureaucracy and the army.

Then came Mao's violent reaction against the Hungarian workers' revolution of 1956, which sought to replace the Stalinist bureaucracy by democratically-elected workers' councils.

Here it was not a case of pressure on the bureaucracy guided from above (as in the Cultural Revolution), but its physical destruction by the independent action of the working class.

Mao recoiled in horror from such a prospect, and called on the Kremlin leaders to show no mercy towards the Hungarian workers, whom Peking slandered as 'fascists' and 'counter-revolutionaries'.

Mao crossed the Rubicon when he backed Khrushchev's counter-revolution in Hungary. His subsequent calls for Soviet and E European workers to overthrow their bureaucratic rulers naturally fell on deaf ears, especially when linked to a nostalgic yearning for the happy years of Stalin.

The gulf between Mao and the workers of the Soviet bloc widened even more when Peking began to claim that capitalism had been restored in the Soviet Union, and that it was fast turning into what Mao called 'social imperialism'.

'By saying that everything had been lost under Khrushchev, Mao was in fact rejecting any defence of the Soviet Union.'

It was bracketed with America as an imperialist power, which (unlike Japanese, British or French imperialism) had to be fought by workers everywhere.

Mao's last and most determined fight against bureaucracy was of course his 'Cultural Revolution'.

Again leaning on the masses—principally students and youth—he summoned them in their millions to 'bombard the Party headquarters' and drive those 'taking the capitalist road' from their Party positions.

Liu Shao-chi, who stood very close to Mao in the early years of power, had apparently

gathered around him a group of conservative party officials, trade union leaders and factory managers who were calling for an end to the dispute with the Soviet Union and a more moderate foreign policy generally.

They saw this as the only way to end China's economic backwardness, the price for Soviet and imperialist economic aid being support for the *status quo* internationally, and the cultivation of a technical and managerial bureaucratic élite inside China.

For two years the struggle ebbed and flowed between Mao and his Red Guards and the bureaucracy, with the army playing the role of arbiter when conflicts erupted into violent pitched battles, as at Wuhan.

Red Guards began to link up with workers and develop their own anti-bureaucratic programme independently of Mao's directives.

According to numerous accounts reaching the West, some groups even called for the removal of Mao himself. They were dealt with ruthlessly by the army, acting under Mao's orders.

The youthful revolt was also playing havoc with the economy, as Red Guards swarmed into factories to engage workers in passionate arguments about the goals of the Cultural Revolution.

Gently at first, then with increasing severity, Mao began to apply the brakes. And as he swung the helm over to the right, towards bureaucrats patiently awaiting reinstatement in their old jobs, the working class in France, Italy and Britain took the offensive against imperialism.

In his fight against bureaucracy, Mao used weapons forged by Stalinism. He tried to combat bureaucracy as a purely national product, and not as the reflection of imperialist pressures on a workers' state dominated by a backward peasant population emerging from centuries of economic, cultural and political oppression.

A bitter opponent of Trotskyism, he turned savagely on its Chinese supporters after 1949. Scores were killed despite their unconditional support for the gains of the revolution.

Of all his betrayals, this was Mao's greatest, because he murdered precisely those communists theoretically equipped to combat the growth of bureaucracy within a workers' state.

The solution of China's basic problems still lies along the road of international revolution, which means the overthrow of imperialism in its citadels of political power and economic wealth.

CHINA'S present support for President Yahya Khan is the climax of an opportunist, Stalinist policy dating back to the

Sino-Indian border dispute of 1962.

When it became clear that the Indian government was staging border incidents with the full backing of imperialism and the connivance of the Soviet bureaucracy, Mao had two alternatives.

Either turn to the masses of the Indian sub-continent and encourage a revolutionary defence of China through a struggle against the Indian and Pakistani regimes, or indulge in back-stage diplomatic manoeuvring.

Mao revealed his fundamental agreement with Stalin's theory of 'socialism in one country' by opting decisively for the second course.

When Peking began its turn towards the Ayub Khan regime, Pakistan was a cornerstone of two anti-communist imperialist alliances—the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).

Pakistan's slavish dependence on US imperialism was reflected in Ayub Khan's support for the American war against Vietnam.

Nevertheless, in February 1964, Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai visited Pakistan, publicly declaring his support for Kashmiri independence,

Peking moved even closer to Ayub Khan during the Indo-Pakistan war of September 1965. Mao openly backed one pro-imperialist regime against another, purely on the basis of his own opportunist foreign policy.

Workers and peasants in Pakistan were told by China to fight and die for a regime that oppressed, exploited and persecuted them, denying the masses even the right to vote.

Soon the Chinese leaders were boosting the Ayub Khan regime as a staunch opponent of imperialism, despite the SEATO and CENTO membership it has maintained to this day.

Chang Chieh, vice-president of the China-Pakistan Friendship Association, commemorated Pakistan's national day by declaring in March 1966:

'After the independence of Pakistan, the Pakistani people under the leadership of President Ayub Khan have scored in the last few years delightful achievements. . . .'

Khan had more 'delightful achievements' in store for Pakistan's workers and peasants, when in November 1968 he turned his army and police loose against strikers and demonstrators fighting to overthrow the military regime.



Chou En-lai speaks with American ping pong players in move which began the process of reconciliation of China with U.S. imperialists.



Mao (right) is shown with Lin Piao who is to be the heir apparent. Neither have made any assessment of Stalin or Stalinism historically.

while remaining silent about the equally just struggle of the East Bengalis for self-determination.

Hatred

Mao's support for national-liberation struggles was entirely subordinated to his big-power foreign policy.

Ayub Khan was pretending to back the Kashmiri independence movement to embarrass India, while E Bengal's struggle for nationhood could only triumph in bitter conflict with the Khan regime.

So who was and who was not an oppressed nation varied according to Mao's current diplomatic allies.

Pakistan's rulers were grateful for Peking's backing. It enabled Khan to present his regime as anti-imperialist, and caused enormous political confusion among left-wing groups that looked to China for leadership.

It also worried the Americans, who increased their military support for Khan to counter the new Chinese influence in Pakistan.

To reassure his imperialist patrons, Khan declared Pakistan's continued support for the Vietnam war at a May 1965 SEATO conference in London, his Foreign Minister, Bhutto, signing a statement accusing Ho Chi Minh of invading S Vietnam.



China today returns to the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie which it conducted in the early days with Chaing Kai-shek (above).

workers and students in the streets of E Bengal and W Pakistan.

Mao must have been delighted when he heard that Yahya Khan was to replace the discredited and demoralized Ayub after his 'retirement' in March 1969.

Yahya Khan, butcher of Bengal, had already proved his readiness to collaborate in Mao's diplomatic horse-trading. It was, after all, the best possible insurance against a left-wing uprising in Pakistan.

Yahya Khan was able to push back the revolutionary tide, but

only for a time. By autumn 1970, with Pakistan's first-ever general elections drawing near, all East Bengal was in political ferment.

The time had clearly come for Yahya Khan to stake everything on Peking. A state visit to China was hurriedly arranged and Khan arrived in Peking to a hero's welcome on November 10.

Hangman

New China News Agency described Mao's reception for the future hangman of Bengal:

'Several hundred thousand revolutionary people in the Chinese capital gathered at the airport and lined the streets to give a warm welcome to the distinguished guests from China's friendly neighbour . . .

'Peking was alive with warm expressions of the unity and friendship between the people of China and Pakistan . . .

'Huge streamers that hung from tall buildings flanking the streets read: "A warm welcome to you, President Yahya Khan".' Echoing Mao's highly selective line on national liberation, the welcoming crowds chanted:

'We resolutely support the Kashmiri people in their struggle for the right of national self-determination . . . Naturally, nobody dared chant any slogans in support of Bengal self-determination.

It would have been undiplomatic, to say the least. For Khan had come to Peking specifically to prepare his repressions against E Bengal.

An official Chinese report on talks between Khan and Chou En-lai indicated how close the two regimes were:

'The President and the Chinese Prime Minister reviewed the international situation. They noted with satisfaction that there are no problems between Pakistan and China and their friendship and co-operation are

'The distinguished Pakistan guests clapped their hands warmly to greet Chairman Mao; Chairman Mao waved to them in acknowledgement and posed with them for pictures. . . .

Khan's triumphal visit was rounded off with the inevitable banquet, while in E Bengal, untold numbers of peasants were starving to death as Khan's regime held up aid sent after the cyclone disaster.

THE JOINT communique issued as Yahya Khan set out for Pakistan after his November 1970 talks with Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, is worth recalling in view of the subsequent developments in E Bengal. A key section reads:

'Premier Chou En-lai and President Yahya Khan held talks in a very sincere and friendly atmosphere on important international issues, further development of friendly relations and co-operation between China and Pakistan and other questions of common interest. Both sides were highly satisfied with the results of the talks.'

Once again, great stress was placed on the Kashmir question, but nothing was said about

general elections.

Broadcasting a week before polling day, Khan told his listeners about 'the enthusiastic reception accorded to me' while in China, and about his 'very useful exchange of views with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai'.

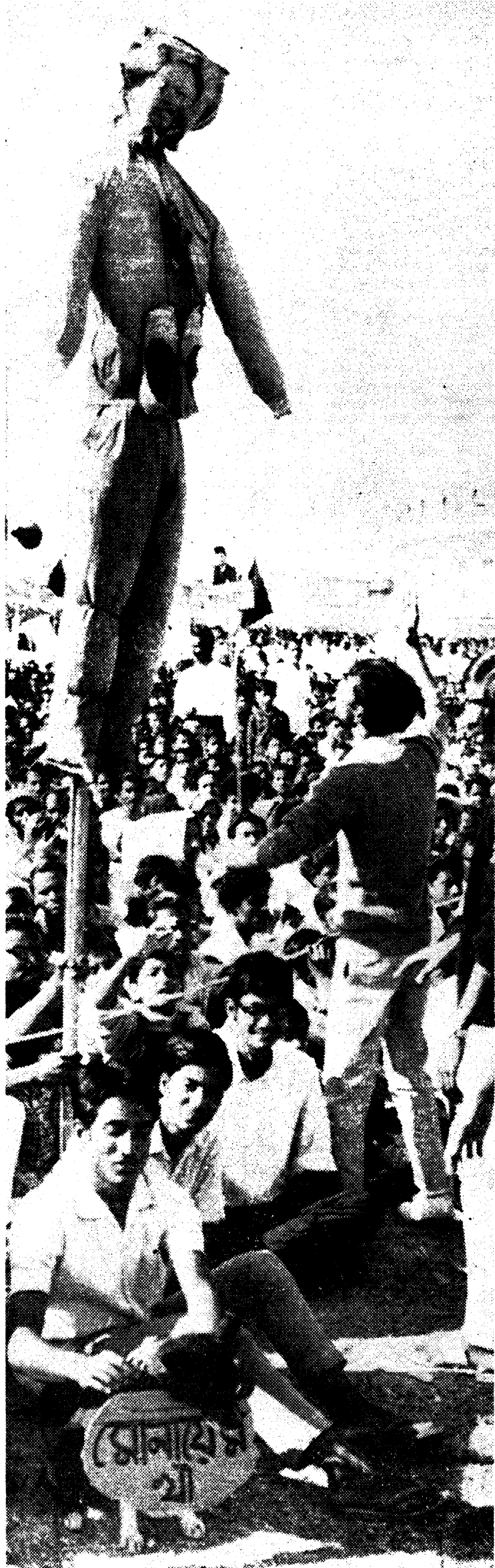
He then made an observation whose full meaning only became clear three months later:

'I believe our growing friendship with China is a positive contribution to peace, stability and progress in our region. We appreciate the abiding and sincere interests of the People's Republic of China in Pakistan's struggle and development, and are grateful for its generous assistance in economic and other fields . . .

Naturally, the full details of the Khan-Mao-Chou talks have not been revealed. But their political and military implications became obvious in the first days of the fight in E Bengal.

Denied the use of Indian airspace, W Pakistan troop carriers refuelled in China before landing in Dacca, an arrangement that surely must have been agreed well before the fighting broke out in March 25.

China's press and radio blacked out all news of the massacres in E Bengal by Khan's troops. After all, it was only four months previously that Peking workers had been sum-



An effigy of Ayub Khan stands above mass East Pakistan meeting in 1969. It was this mass movement that Mao and imperialists fear.



Chairman Mao on Nov. 10 received Yahya Khan (third from L in Front).

developing very satisfactorily and to their mutual benefit.

'They also noted that Pakistan and China had a proximity of views on the many issues concerning the world today. . . .

The climax of Khan's visit came when the Sandhurst-groomed military dictator was received by Chairman Mao. National China News Agency described the scene in suitably reverent tones:

'Our great leader Chairman Mao greeted President Yahya Khan and other distinguished Pakistan guests at the entrance to the hall, and warmly shook hands with them . . .

Bengal. There was no mention either of national-liberation struggles in Indo-China.

Khan had no intention of upsetting his American backers more than was necessary.

(Khan was at that time negotiating a new arms agreement with President Nixon. Some Asian observers thought the Peking trip was designed to twist the Americans' arm!)

Enthusiastic

Armed with Mao's political and, if necessary, military backing, Yahya Khan returned from Peking to face the December

moned on to the streets to cheer Yahya Khan as a great ally of the Chinese people!

When it became obvious that Bengal was not to be subdued by W Pakistan army terror, China began reproducing Khan regime reports of the situation.

Then, on April 11, the Chinese Communist Party 'People's Daily' came out with an editorial which openly ranged Mao on the side of Yahya Khan.

Already the leaders of British and American imperialism had declared the massacres in E Bengal to be an 'internal affair' of the Pakistan government. Now Peking used this formula to justify their intervention on the side of Khan:

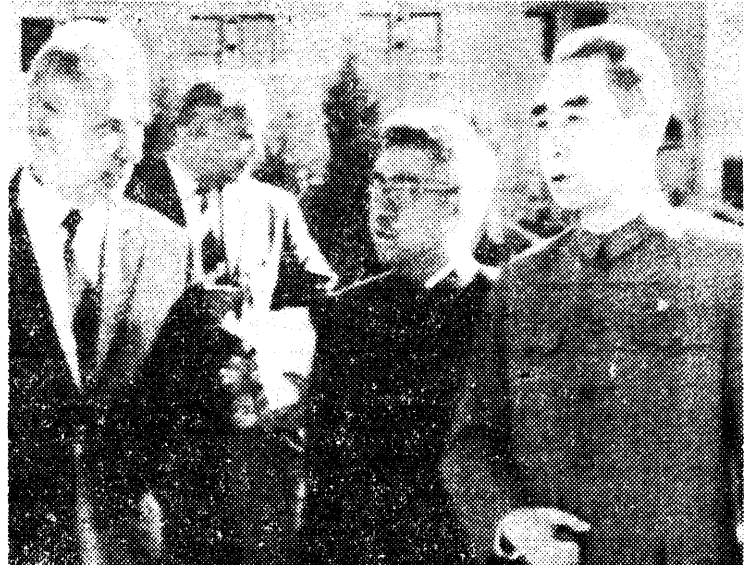
'The relevant [sic!] measures taken by President Yahya Khan in connection with the present situation in Pakistan are the internal affairs of Pakistan, in which no country should or has the right to interfere . . .

This reactionary principle is used by imperialism to defend right-wing dictatorships in Spain, Greece and S Africa, to name only three examples.

Presumably, Mao would oppose revolutionaries coming to the aid of popular forces in these countries too.

Safeguard

This treacherous statement of support for Yahya Khan ended: 'The Pakistan people have the revolutionary tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism, and have waged unyielding struggles against aggressors and interventionists from outside.'



Kosygin (left) and Chou (right) met in 1969 to try to work out a deal.

'The Chinese government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Pakistan government and people in their just struggle for safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty against foreign aggression and interference.'

Ironically, the only 'interventionists' crossing into E Bengal from India in the early days of the fighting were Maoist peasant guerrilla leaders from W Bengal Naxalbari province. And they went in to fight for Bangla Desh against Mao's ally, Yahya Khan.

Sabotage

The 'People's Daily' editorial was followed up the next day by a message from Chou En-lai to Khan, declaring once again that 'what is happening in Pakistan at present is purely an internal affair of Pakistan'.

Chou went further than the 'People's Daily' when he said. 'It is important to differentiate the broad masses of the people from a handful of persons who want to sabotage the unity of Pakistan.'

In this Maoist topsy-turvey world, 75 million E Bengalis had become 'a handful of persons' and the regime repressing them 'the broad masses of the people'.

Even Yahya Khan's propaganda machine could not match this style of lying, and it is no surprise when the W Pakistan 'Morning News' stated in an editorial on April 14:

'China has, as befits a true friend, spoken out her support in unmistakable terms...'

Another pro-Khan paper, 'The Azad', was equally outspoken in its praise for Peking:

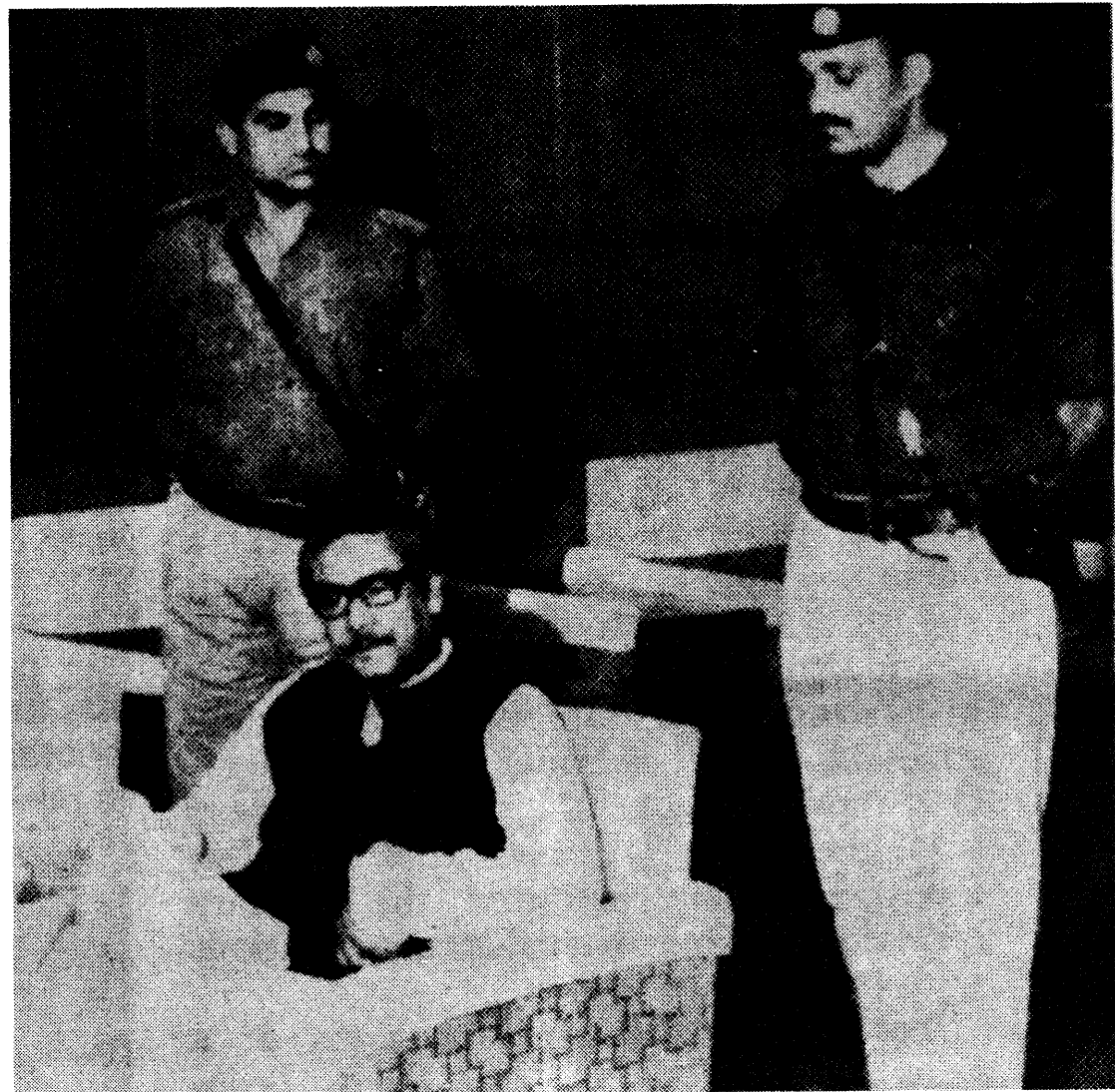
'We extend our heartiest greetings to the Chinese government for their firm support. The way China has come forward with support deserves thanks from all patriotic Pakistanis...'

So, too, did Peking's attempts to portray Khan as a hero of the E Bengali people. A new China News Agency report gave the following account of a non-existent pro-Khan rally in—of all places—Dacca:

'A huge mass demonstration was held in Dacca, capital of E Pakistan, on April 13 in protest against the Indian government dispatching armed personnel to



In March, 1969 militant Bengalis burn a photo of Mao's pal Yahya in struggle for independence.



The Chinese leadership made no protest when Sheik Mujib was arrested and brought to trial secretly.

infiltrate into E Pakistan and interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan...'

Peking's support for Khan went far beyond publishing lying reports about the situation in Bangla Desh. New China News Agency announced that Air Commodore Kamal Ahmad, Commander of the Pakistan Air Force Staff College 'arrived in Peking on April 18 and attended a banquet given in his honour by Kuan Jen-nung, Deputy Commander of the Chinese Air Force'.

His arrival in Peking was almost certainly connected with Pakistan's continued use of Chinese air space and refuelling stations for planes flying between W Pakistan and E Bengal war zones.

Attempts by British and other Maoists to present Peking's support for Khan as a 'mistake' are, at best, absurd.

Treachery

In most cases, they are a conscious cover for Stalinist treachery. For example, Peking Home Service on April 28 told the Chinese people, who had no means of finding out about the real situation in Bengal:

'Pakistani President Yahya Khan pointed out that there is only one reason behind such open and shameless interference by the Indian government—that is to further aggravate the situation through instigating and materially supporting a handful of people to create turmoil...'

'The barbarous interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan by the Indian expansionists and the two super-powers will definitely lead to their ignominious defeat.'

Was it a 'mistake' to accuse India, and not Yahya Khan, of barbarism in E Bengal? And to assert, once again, that the upsurge of the Bengali people for national liberation was the work of a 'handful of people'?

For 15 years British Stalinists have bleated about Stalin's 'errors'. Now the Maoists serve up the same apology for Mao—only with even less chance of fooling anybody.

For this time, the betrayal is right out in the open.

Mao, the self-appointed champion of the national liberation movement, has ranged himself unashamedly with one of the most merciless butchers of an oppressed people the world has ever seen.

Cut through all the phrases about revolutionary struggles, 'US imperialism and its running dogs' and Soviet 'social imperialism' and you are left with a regime that, like Stalin's and now Brezhnev's, wants only one thing:

'Peaceful co-existence' with imperialism, while it enjoys its social and political privileges at home.

If this demands an open alliance with reaction to strangle revolutionary movements against imperialism, then so be it.

True to Stalin's theory of 'socialism on one country', Mao subordinates the world struggle for socialism to the preservation of bureaucratic rule in China.

Stalinism, whether in its Moscow or Peking variants, remains the biggest single counter-revolutionary force within the workers' movement.

It must be exposed and destroyed if the working class and semi-colonial peoples are to win their emancipation from imperialist rule.



Mao Tse-tung was glorified in massive demonstrations, like this one of soldiers in 1969, as a substitute for the construction of a communist party with international line.

FILMS

LOU BELKIN

McCabe And Mrs. Miller



Julie Christie

Carnegies, who built their fortunes precisely by theft and murder, by encroachment and federal government (McKinley was President) approval.

Altman, instead of concentrating his attention on this central question, takes the mickey out of it by focusing instead on the foibles of his protagonist, who is really jellyfish, uncertain, dim, without very much substance. McCabe seeks advice from one Clement Samuels (a play on Samuel Clemens-Mark Twain) who advises McCabe that he will "defend the small man from the encroachment of big business, and I will defend you, as the ex-Senator from Idaho, for nothing."

HIGHLIGHT

Of course such muckracking comes to nought at this point, and McCabe is left to defend himself against three hired killers, who for this reviewer provide the film's highlight. The leader is a bear of a man "almost seven feet" as one yokel describes him, a racist, particularly when it comes to the Chinese laborers, brought in to build the railroad and provide cheap domestic labor, but he is articulate and ruthless. His two

underlings are a blond lad of seventeen who kills in order to impress and another, more stealthy fellow who resembles a rescuer from a thirties horror movie. When all is said and done the lawyer's advice is just so much hot air and the final sequence, shot entirely in semi-blizzardous conditions, pits McCabe against the predators.

SUPERB

Mrs. Miller alternates between opium-smoking, which she has learned from the Chinese, who live twelve to a room and are allowed no privileges whatsoever, and running an enterprising business. Julie Christie is superb as the only character with any dimension and whether we witness her in a gluttony scene which reverses the one we saw in "Tom Jones," or whether she displays the kind of ambiguity in feelings toward McCabe (that make this picture absolutely devoid of bittersweet or explicit love sequences) that lends real interest to this picture, Miss Christie carries it off remarkably well.

In the last parallel cut sequence, McCabe has killed the three hired guns, and

himself lies fatally wounded in the snow. Simultaneously, Mrs. Miller is smoking opium in the Chinese quarter and the intercutting achieves a kind of pathos which, while not in a class with Eisenstein's "Strike" intercuts, is true to mark.

CLASS

But the underlying class content, in the eyes of the liberal Altman, is secondary. Altman, like the other nouveau vogue Hollywood liberals (Penn and Fonda) seeks to return to a past period and relate it to the present situation. But as with the past, with the rise of and flowering of the bourgeoisie, the present is exploding and hurling the bits and pieces every which way. The horrors about Vietnam, the horror of big business smothering little business (and with it laissez-faire "freedom and competition") is just so much empty froth.

We will end by noting that the color processing is truly exquisite and frames an otherwise contrived little plot in color palettes which echo moods and feelings to perfection. But we cannot tolerate a scene in which the lighting of a single candle allows an entire room to proliferate into superabundant light.

MCCABE AND MRS. MILLER. Starring Julie Christie, Warren Beatty, M. Wyland. Directed by Robert Altman. Photography: V. Sigmund. Color processing: Alpha Color Service—Pathe.

Robert Altman, the director of the very sardonic *Mash*, has come up with a western successor, *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* playing to big audiences around the country. Despite the niceties of color simulation and sketchy story lines, despite the "roll-on-into-one" juxtaposition of 1960 advertising motifs with 1890 dialogue and witticisms, the director achieves success in depicting on a superficial level the exploration of the West and the then forward march of monopoly expansion at the expense of the "small" businessman.

The scene is the mid-1890s and the picture opens with Warren Beatty, as McCabe, coming into frame and dominating the picture thereafter. We know he's the one to watch and Altman makes no bones about it. After capitalizing, during a sleazy card-game shot in the sleaziest interior color imaginable, on a mistaken identity with a notorious gun-fighter, McCabe sets to work constructing a whole town and taking it over. The transitions are a bit sharp and McCabe, not terribly bright, but pleasant and handsome, inspires confidence in the townspeople, all of whom are miners. He opens up a saloon and makeshift bordello, but things begin to change when Mrs. Miller, a bright, opium-smoking madame, enters the picture.

PARTNERSHIP

They are attracted to one another and form a lucrative partnership. McCabe's puny operations, are transformed, thanks to his lovely business associate, into a fashionable bawdy house with oriental, British and American girls, and a relatively luxurious bath house. The audience assumes that mining can be gritty and sweaty business indeed. If one isn't sure then Altman has rounded up every Hollywood extra we've ever witnessed in movies to make the point.

At the first the fact that they are miners assumes subsidiary importance until the mining company which controls much of the West is interested in buying McCabe's operations. Mrs. Miller has heard about the monopoly mining empire and warns McCabe that he will be killed if he doesn't sell out.

Without question, these sequences underscore the point of the picture even if the director and scenarist did not intend it. For this is the period of the growth of the steel and oil trusts, the rise of the Morgans, Rockefellers and

BOOKS

STEVE DAMON

FUTURE SHOCK, Alvin Toffler, New York, Bantam, 1971. 561 pages.

When the bourgeoisie finds itself bereft of any future, a section of its ideologists begins to prognosticate on that future as if it were completely assured. This is not the realistic prognostication of a confident class,



Alvin Toffler

but a pathological reaction on the part of the ruling class.

Future Shock is such a work. It deals with the effects of technological change on the individual and society. Toffler contends we are now entering Super-Industrial Society, a society in which the rate of technological change greatly exceeds that of industrial society.

While this technological revolution opens up whole new possibilities for human advance, it creates new dangers. The main such danger is future shock, a psychological and biological disorder produced by the overstimulation of the nervous system by too much change. The main challenge facing us as we enter Super-Industrial Society is the taming of technology, the introduction of change in a conscious way. What Super-Industrial Society will be like is described in great detail.

The point of all this Toffler, a former editor of *Fortune* expresses explicitly on page 186: "In the 1920's and 1930's communists used to speak of the 'general crisis of capitalism.' It is now clear that they were thinking small. What is occurring now is not a crisis of capitalism, but of industrial society itself regardless of its political form." Further, on page 220, "The issues raised by it (the Super-Industrial Revolution) will reduce the great conflict of the twentieth century, the conflict between

capitalism and communism, to comparative insignificance."

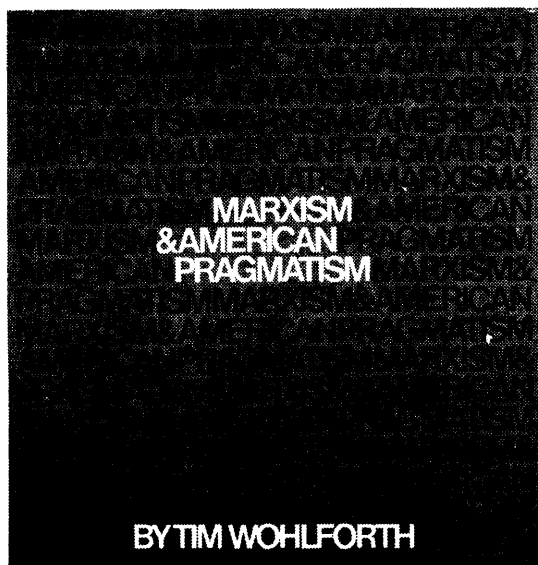
REASSURE

The bourgeoisie thus seeks to reassure itself that the problems it really faces are insignificant and that the forces of production can be developed in a revolutionary way under capitalism.

Capitalism, however, has reached a point where it can no longer develop the forces of production and every technological advance deepens the crisis of capitalism and is turned against the main productive force, the working class. Toffler assumes a technological determinism in which every technological advance necessarily advances the forces of production directly affecting culture. What he leaves out is that on the basis of a certain development of the forces of production society develops a mode of production which finally comes into collision with the further development of the forces of production.

Today technological advances, rather than creating the affluence of which Toffler speaks, are used to attack the living standards of workers through unemployment. A social revolution is now necessary if the productive forces are to be taken forward.

Large sections of the petty bourgeoisie today use books like *Future Shock* as an opiate to avoid facing this necessity.



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Editor's Notebook

Law And Order And Crooked Cops

First it was the CIA, then some top Saigon generals, now it is "New York's finest" who have been caught pushing dope. One cop was even growing it in the back yard of the police station in Central Park.

With the release of the Knapp Commission report on corruption in the police department about to be released, Police Commissioner Murphy started knocking them off like flies. 500 cops were disciplined or fired.

What everyone has known all along finally came out, the cops had their sticky fingers in all the graft and corruption from narcotics to prostitution. One of the most lucrative areas for these dealings is in Harlem where the cops together with the Mafia and under the quite open eyes of the City government ex-

plot the people.

As one cop was quoted saying: "When a man goes to Harlem he knows he's not going there to curb crime. He's going there to pay off a mortgage."

While the whole thing scored some points for Lindsay's new image with the Democratic Party, no one has any illusions about any change. The corruption of the police is very much a part of the system they serve.

There might be more to the whole thing than meets the eye. The government is streamlining its police force for battle with the working class. They can't afford a cop sleeping on the beat.

This is why the cops can be disciplined for corruption but for beating heads and shooting militants they get medals.

Ti-Grace And Joe: The Odd Couple

Unfortunately the last word has not been said on Women's lib. It looks as if this movement will not die quietly.

Ti-Grace Atkinson, who the Socialist Workers Party describes as a "Catholic feminist," has created quite an uproar and embarrassed many of her "sisters."

Ti-Grace last week joined the growing movement around Mafia leader Joe Colombo, head of the Italian-American Civil Rights League. First there was Meir Kahane, leader of the Jewish Defense League. Then came Dr. Thomas Matthew, a black millionaire and champion of Black capitalism, who heads the organization NEGRO. Now its one of the leading spokesmen of the women's liberation movement.

A few months ago Ti-Grace received special notoriety when she was nearly slugged by William Buckley's sister at Catholic University for casting aspersions on the Immaculate Conception. Now she has returned to the right fold.

Ti-Grace has made Colombo an "honorary woman" and says she finds the Mafia "morally refresh-

ing." Colombo, she claims, is a natural ally of the women's movement.

According to this feminist, the women's movement needed some allies in the white working class among the "ethnics." So she turned to Colombo. This just reveals her complete contempt and hatred for the working class. She is far from alone on this in her "movement."

While many of her "sisters" were shocked, some are coming around. After all, they say, she has always been in the forefront.

The New York Post puts it this way: "Miss Atkinson is forever pursuing a line of thought to its logical conclusion, and the conclusion is often jolting."

At least we can say that all the chickens who fed off the divisions within the working class building separatist movements to maintain capitalism have now come home, to roost on the fence of reaction.

It must be "jolting" indeed to her so-called "socialist" supporters who must be wishing that she would just get off the streets and go back in the closet.

WOODCOCK. . .

(Continued From Page 3)
ferent indeed. American and world capitalism face an enormous economic crisis. The working class, undefeated in over a generation, is fighting from a very strong economic position to defend all of its gains. As capitalism heads into a new depression the ability of the capitalists to continue to rule is called into question.

The capitalists and their reformist allies and agents in the labor movement, like Woodcock, must seek to prevent the development of a revolutionary leadership in the working class. That is what all the talk about a "progressive coalition" is all about. And now, for the first time in over a generation, some of these forces begin to see a role for the Stalinists again inside the labor movement and the union bureau-

cracy.

To the Stalinists this call for cooperation cancels out all of Woodcock's sins. To them it is of no concern that Woodcock sells out the auto workers and the entire working class. They will help him with these betrayals, if he moves close to the CP and to the diplomatic needs of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Woodcock's capitulation to the wage freeze is an integral part of his reformist outlook and program and Stalinism is an integral part of it also. The Soviet bureaucracy seeks peaceful coexistence with imperialism through potential allies in the trade union bureaucracy and the capitalist class. It fears the upsurge of the world working class and will eagerly establish a partnership with Woodcock and any others to con-

tain and push back this upsurge.

The decisive struggle today within the working class is between reform and revolution, class collaboration and class struggle, Stalinism and Trotskyism. All those who have turned away from the struggle for Marxist theory, who have turned their backs on history including their own history, cannot put forward revolutionary policies today to lead the working class.

Both Woodcock and the Stalinists have been talking about building a coalition like the 1930s. Such a coalition in the 1930s led the working class into fascism and in the U.S. bound the labor movement to Roosevelt. The only way to prevent a repeat of the 1930s is through the construction of a Trotskyist leadership in the unions.

PRICES. . .

(Continued From Page 3)
labor costs while anything above that could be passed on in price increases.

And referring to the labor leaders' call for a control on profits, he sneered: "Why such measures should have the slightest appeal to American workers is beyond my comprehension."

George Schultz, Nixon's Secretary of Labor, made it even plainer when he said in an interview:

"It is precisely that goal—to make American industry more competitive—that is one of the big drives the President has started. An excess profits tax is in exactly the opposite direction."

FRAUD

The whole price control is a total fraud. Already wholesale prices for August took a large leap. The Bureau of Labor Statistics announced that the cost of living would continue to rise because 10% of all items could legally go up. Most of this 10% is in food which means that at least 25% of the working class families' costs would not be frozen.

The government is not even trying to enforce the price freeze. The Office of Emergency Pre-

paredness has received hundreds of complaints from tenants whose landlords are either forcing them to pay for utilities or are increasing their rents.

The Internal Revenue Service does absolutely nothing to check up on price violators. Their so-called enforcement setup in New York City consists of three agents who man telephones.

When they receive complaints of food price increases they merely phone up and make the store owner promise to roll back the price. There is no follow-up. In one case, the IRS told a restaurant chain to roll back the price of a hamburger and a soda from 99¢ to \$1.10 or they would be fined \$5,000. The store finally agreed but on a second check it was still \$1.10. Then the manager said the 99¢ price had been a special that was "discontinued." There was no \$5,000 fine.

If the owner has a good excuse for the increase the IRS accepts it because in their words "most merchants are honest." In other words, he gets a little slap on the wrist.

But if the unions fight and win an increase will the government say "Please, Sir, give up your wage increase" and then humbly retreat if they refuse?

No, they will fine the union out of existence and do everything they can to break it.

RESPONSIBLE

If the labor movement does not take action against the freeze now the government will move from the present freeze to an actual roll back in wage levels. This is what Okun was talking about.

What is beyond Okun's comprehension is that American workers are beginning to see that all the so-called American ideals such as patriotism and individual competition mean big profits for a few and misery and unemployment for the masses of working people.

It is the system of private profit that is responsible for the inflation and unemployment, not wages. There is no way as Ackley and Okun have made clear to get the employers to hand over one penny of their profits.

The freeze cannot be fought without a political struggle against the Democrats and Republicans who defend these profits. The unions must demand that the industries be nationalized without compensation and under workers control to run them in the interests of the working people.

MEANY. . .

(Continued From Page 3)
never been greater. The ranks must fight through their unions for a policy of ABSOLUTELY NO COOPERATION WITH THE WAGE FREEZE THROUGH WAGE-PRICE BOARDS OR ANY OTHER FORM!

We must go further. The government is now boasting that one-third of the strikes in progress at the time of the an-

nouncement of the freeze have been ended, in most cases with the workers going back without any settlement at all.

Meany says if he were the head of a union whose members are being denied increases during the wage freeze which had previously been agreed upon, he would demand the deferred increase the day the freeze ended and would favor strike action

if it were not paid.

And the UAW leadership is now talking about renegotiating contracts to see that workers do not lose the increases which the freeze has robbed from them.

DEFY

These formulas give Nixon another two months or more to decide on his policy following the 90 day freeze. He can prepare to extend the freeze or impose the strictest controls. Will Meany and the other leaders then put off action until the end of the next stage? They talk about actions after the freeze, but they cannot tell us when the freeze will end.

The time for action is now, not later! The ranks must act before the great majority of workers now out on strike are forced back without contracts. Nixon is defying contracts but Meany says strike later. The time to defy Nixon is now. Teachers, auto workers, hospital workers, and millions of other who have been robbed by Nixon must take the lead in strike action to smash the wage freeze.

These workers must appeal to the entire labor movement for general strike action. The rank and file must demand of Meany and all the others that they actually take responsibility for a fight now, and no longer postpone the day of reckoning or claim that it is the responsibility of others.

This fight to defy the freeze and against cooperation in any form with government attempts to shackle the unions must be linked to a program to fight unemployment, facism and war.

FASCISM

If Meany says we are going down the road to fascism, it is our duty to launch a fight against all those who are taking this road. We will not convince Nixon or the Democrats. Dictatorship and fascism are not mistakes. They can only be fought politically. This means a fight for a congress of labor, youth and minority people to build a labor party for the 1972 elections, to fight for socialist policies against the vicious repression of the bosses.

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Soviet Union And WW II

Stalinists Grovel Before Imperialism

BY DAVE GREEN

The *New York Times* observed the thirty-second anniversary of the outbreak of World War II by inviting Ivan Maisky, wartime Soviet Ambassador to London, to submit an analysis of the origins of the conflict. Maisky's three-part series—published in the issues of August 30, August 31, and September 1—represent a brazen but utterly unsuccessful attempt to whitewash the dirty role of the Kremlin in abetting the rise of Hitler and in disarming the European working class in the face of the fascist threat.

Maisky, who shares heavy responsibility for the execution of policies that led the international working class to its most terrible defeats and almost total ruin, seeks to cover the foulness of the Kremlin's pre-war diplomacy by lamenting the unwillingness of France and England to unite with the Soviet Union in order to halt German aggression. But this argument hardly lets Stalinism off the hook. In fact, Maisky unwittingly reveals how the bureaucracy groveled before world imperialism in the effort to entrust the defense of the workers state to England and France. And when this policy of suicidal compromise failed—as Maisky makes clear in spite of his intentions—Stalin prostrated himself before Hitler and agreed to the Non-aggression Pact of 1939.

The lesson that Maisky draws from the experience of the 1930s is that in the future the capitalist powers would be well advised to accept the friendship of the Soviet Union in the struggle against common enemies. The international working class must draw quite different conclusions: that it shares nothing with the bourgeoisie except mutual hatred and that the struggle against fascism cannot be conducted in alliance with some sections of the bourgeoisie but only in relentless struggle against the entire class.

CONSCIOUS

Furthermore, it must be understood that the disastrous policies of Stalin were not products of mistakes or bad judgement, but rather the conscious expression of the bureaucracy's hostility to the working class. It sought to answer the pressures of imperialism against the working class through compromise and conciliation. Asserting the protection of its privileges to be the highest necessity, the bureaucracy used the European proletariat as a bargaining card rather than as a force to be mobilized against imperialism.

The Comintern was stripped of its revolutionary function. As Trotsky foresaw in 1928 in his analysis of the "Draft Program of the Comintern," the reactionary bureaucratic theory of "Socialism in One Country" was used in the 1930s as the justification for making the Third International an auxiliary agency of the Soviet elite whose mission "is to protect the U.S.S.R. from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power."

Naturally, the retreats of the bureaucracy before imperialism did nothing to strengthen the defenses of the Soviet Union. In the end, it was the working class of the U.S.S.R. that paid the highest price. The invasion of June 22, 1941 by the fascist armies caught the workers state woefully unprepared. Only through the greatest heroism were the gains of the October Revolution defended; but the Second World War claimed the lives of more than 20,000,000 Russians.

BETRAYALS

The consequences of the Stalinist betrayals of the 1930s must be remembered; for at this very moment, when the crisis of capitalism is forcing the imperialist



Top: Churchill, Polish Premier Sikorski, Eden and Maisky, as Soviet envoy, sign nullification of Nazi-Soviet pact. Above: Chamberlain visits Hitler in 1938.

powers to seek not only the suppression of the proletariat within its own borders but also the destruction of the workers states, the Stalinist bureaucracy seek to counter these threats through accommodations. With the Soviet Union's capitulation on the Berlin question, the decision of Brezhnev to visit Pompidou in Paris, and the rumored invitation to the Pope for a visit to Moscow next year, the bureaucracy has established decisively the counter-revolutionary continuity of Stalinism. The Soviet bureaucracy has made obvious its intention to stick by the capitalists to the bitter end—of the working class.

The counter-revolutionary continuity is also reflected in the personal history of the very man who wrote these historical essays for the *New York Times*. As with so many other first generation Stalinists, the period of the October Revolution and Civil War found Ivan Maisky squarely in the camp of reaction. He served in the White government of the tsarist Admiral Kolchak, and only after the latter was captured and shot by the Bolsheviks in 1920 did Maisky reconcile himself with the victory of the Russian working class.

The campaign of the bureaucracy against Trotsky and the Left Opposition opened many political opportunities for scoundrels like Maisky. The Stalinist bureaucracy recruited whoever was willing to defend its privileges and was particularly glad to enlist the support of proven enemies of the working class. Ivan Maisky, owing no doubt to his special qualifications, caught the fancy of Stalin and was sent to England where he shamelessly slandered Trotskyism at the Court of St. James.

Now getting on in years, he works as an academician—apparently always ready

to draw upon his rich experience to advise the bourgeoisie. And so the *New York Times*, recognizing Maisky as something of a Grand Old Man of Stalinism, provided him with lavish space on the op-ed page.

CONTRADICTIONS

Ivan Maisky had hardly written the first 500 words of his articles before his analysis became hopelessly stuck in contradictions. On the one hand, he declares that faced with the international menace of fascism, "The Soviet Union...the only country to understand the gravity of the situation...was ready to take risks and make efforts to build a united front against the aggressors." This united front was to consist of the two leading empires, Great Britain and France, and the workers state. "The anti-aggressors would have represented a formidable force had they acted in concord," declares Maisky.

The only thing that stood in the way of such an alliance was—as Maisky openly admits—the desire of French and English capitalism "To pit the U.S.S.R. and Nazi Germany against each other at all costs, while keeping aloof; to appear on the scene with fresh forces when the two rivals—the Soviet Union and Germany—were bled white, and, at least for the lifetime of one generation, to establish an order agreeable to Britain and France in Europe and elsewhere." So what Maisky is actually conceding is that it was the ambition of Soviet diplomacy to guarantee the defense of the U.S.S.R. through an alliance with two imperialist powers that encouraged the destruction of the Soviet Union through the mechanism of German fascism.

Naturally, Maisky does not elaborate on the "risks" that the bureaucracy was

willing to take in order to form this "united front." Actually, they were whatever betrayals of the European proletariat were demanded by the bourgeoisie. The "risks" taken by the Soviet bureaucracy beyond its borders in pursuit of a united front—the entrance into the League of Nations, the crippling of the French general strike, the strangulation of the Spanish Revolution, the determined liquidation of the Comintern—were complemented by certain "risks" taken within the U.S.S.R. Stalin "risked" the physical annihilation of the last remnants of the Bolshevik Left Opposition and he "risked" the destruction of the most proven officers of the Red Army. To put the matter bluntly, he "risked" every gain made by the Russian working class since October 1917.

SLAVISH

In the first and second articles, Maisky outlines Stalin's slavish efforts to come to an agreement with the governments of France and England. He recalls Prime Minister Chamberlain telling him of his desires to negotiate with Hitler. Maisky writes: "I listened to him and thought to myself: 'Poor Britain, to what miserably naive premiers you've been reduced! Hitler understands only the fist, while Chamberlain imagines himself and the Fuehrer as two merchants who will meet, bargain, use strong words, argue for a while and finally strike a deal.'" But the ill-fated attempt of the Soviet Union to horse-trade with Hitler by drawing up the Non-aggression Pact—the ultimate betrayal of Stalinism—is described by Maisky as "a bold and decisive step..."

As Maisky chastises France and England for not taking the decisive steps to halt German aggression in Austria and Czechoslovakia, he exposes the absolute bankruptcy of Stalinist diplomacy. Maisky writes of the daring plans the Soviet Government had to counter aggression by Hitler. He tells us that the Soviet response to a further eastward penetration by Hitler would have been—a conference with Britain France, Poland, Turkey and Rumania "...preferably in Bucharest, to discuss measures for averting more acts of aggression."

Here we have a real elucidation of Soviet diplomacy. Having failed to convince France and England of the need to assist in the defense of the workers state, Stalin sought to salvage the wreckage of his foreign policy by appealing to Ataturk, an assortment of Polish colonels, and the Rumanian king.

MANEUVER

The final maneuver of the Kremlin, the signing of the Non-aggression Pact, is glossed over by Maisky. He says only that "The August 23 agreement had its shortcomings, and not all of its provisions were to our liking, but under the circumstances it was the lesser evil." Maisky views the pact as generally successful; for "almost two years of peace were ensured for our country in the most difficult time."

There is, of course, no mention of the fact that those two years saw the greatest horrors perpetrated against the proletariat of Western Europe. The petty nationalism of "Socialism in One Country" is expressed in all its vulgarity by Maisky, the former counter-revolutionary agent of Kolchak who fought for "Holy Russia" against the Russian Revolution.

The lessons of the 1930s are of great importance to the working class today. The rash entrance visas being issued by the Stalinist bureaucracies to the top emissaries of the bourgeoisie herald the most shameless betrayals. The machinations of the Stalinists must be exposed and defeated by the working class through the construction of the Fourth International.

U.S., Tories Conspire To Jail IRA Leader

BY MELODY FARROW

The United States and the British government are collaborating to keep Joe Cahill, leader of the "provisional faction" of the Irish Republican Army out of the United States. The U.S. State Department suddenly cancelled his visa for a four week fund raising tour based on information conveniently supplied by the British government.

This action is an expression of open solidarity by Nixon with British imperialism's brutal war against the Irish working class. Nixon must suppress anyone who could expose the real role of British troops in Ireland, not as defenders of the peace, but as the Tories' bloody arm of oppression.

Cahill is listed as the most wanted man on the British Army's list. His organization advocates guerrilla action against British troops and the unification of an independent Ireland.

DEFEND

Despite our disagreements with Cahill we defend his right to travel freely and enter the United States. The action by the State Department is an open attack on the democratic rights of the working class and if not opposed will be used to deny all rights to free speech and press within the United States.

All the latest weapons developed by British imperialism, CS gas, dyed water cannons, rubber bullets and soon, "stun guns," a gun which fires wooden blocks, are being tested on Irish workers now and will be used against workers not only in North Ireland but in New York, Baltimore, Detroit and San Francisco.

The British Army has been given a free hand to murder, jail and torture men, women and children, in particular the Catholics who face the worst living conditions. More and more the role of the British troops in Ireland is exposed for what it always has been—a ruthless occupying army determined

to put down every uprising in blood just as they did in the colonial countries.

POGROM

Now there are indications that a pogrom on an even greater scale may be in the wings. Every shooting of a British soldier is used to launch new attacks on the working class. Last week the headquarters of the Ulster governing Unionist Party was blown up. The North Ireland Prime Minister Faulkner immediately seized on the attack to whip up an hysteria against the IRA to justify the actions of the Army.

Last week two British Army cars "accidentally" crossed the border between North and South Ireland and were fired on. One British soldier was killed and another wounded. The whole affair was a deliberate provocation to draw out and test the presence of the IRA in the border area.

PROVOCATION

This provocation is a clear sign that the British Army is stepping up its attacks and extending them right into Southern Ireland itself. Irish Prime Minister John Lynch's appeal for a political settlement that would include Catholics in the Ulster government is just so much noise in the wind.

There will be no turning back to any form of compromise. The British government has declared war on the Irish working class and they are determined to see it through to the end. This means concentration camps, atrocities,

military dictatorship.

The right wing around Ian Paisley is growing bolder as the crisis deepens. The fascists are whipping up every incident to put pressure on Faulkner for more repression. One of the most dangerous developments is the call for the formation of a third police force that would mainly be independent. An unsigned leaflet has been circulating calling for vigilante platoons and the B-Specials, the old Ulster special police force is being revived.

FASCISTS

At the present time the fascists try to win over the Protestant workers by blaming the Catholics for the civil war but in the next period, if they gain power, they will turn and attack the Protestant workers as well.

There is no difference between the strategy of British imperialism in Ireland and the plans of the Nixon government. The whipping up of religious and racial divisions combined with the most brutal repression are precisely the same methods Nixon will use as American workers challenge the wage freeze. At all costs Nixon seeks to cover up the class nature of this battle.

PROSPECT

The British working class must

Marcos Cracks Down On Leftist Youth

BY MARTY JONAS

President Ferdinand Marcos has declared a state of emergency in the Philippines. The right of habeas corpus has been suspended and large numbers of left wing militants have been arrested.

This follows an incident on August 21st when 10 persons were killed and 74 injured in a bomb explosion at an opposition Liberal Party rally. Only one Liberal Party leader escaped death or injury.

Marcos immediately put the blame on the Maoist youth movement and arrested its leaders who have been charged with the bombing. The incident has all the trappings of the Reichstag fire



Joe Cahill, leader of IRA Provisionals, was placed in jail at Britain's behest when he sought to enter the United States to raise funds.

call for the immediate withdrawal of all troops from Ireland and take up a political struggle against its own government. This is the only way the Irish workers can take their struggle forward. The fight of the Scottish workers against the shutdown of the Upper Clyde shipyards in Glasgow who took up the chant "Throw the Tories Out" at a mass demonstration shows that this can be done.

Ulster workers fought back against intolerable living conditions and unemployment that devastated Northern Ireland. This

is the prospect facing American workers as the economic crisis deepens. Nixon will not hesitate to use every weapon of repression at his disposal to beat back the struggles of the unions. American workers must defeat these plans by building a labor party for the 1972 elections.

SOLIDARITY

The labor movement must demonstrate its solidarity with the Irish workers by supporting Cahill's right to enter the United States.

trial.

Marcos, facing stiff opposition in the coming elections, can only profit from the elimination of his parliamentary opponents. Senator Gerardo Roxas, President of the Liberal Party and one of those wounded in the explosion, has said that he holds Marcos responsible for what happened at the rally.

CRUSH

At the same time, Marcos would like to crush the new upsurge of the workers and peasants, which has shown itself not only in the steady growth of the New People's Army guerrilla movement in the countryside, but in a wave of strikes in the cities and pitched battles between the students and the police. These

struggles come out of a working class and peasantry whose median annual income is close to \$50.

The United States backed regime of Marcos has every intention of breaking this new movement of the masses in the Philippines and like Mrs. Bandaranaike in Ceylon intends to start with the youth.

The history of the Philippines shows however, that breaking the mass movement is no easy matter. The Hukbalahap were able not only to elude the Philippine and United States governments but were able to actually hold and control large portions of the islands for close to 30 years before they were defeated recently.

Greek Junta Arrests Opponents In Frame-up

BY MICHAEL ROSS

In a desperate move to stifle growing opposition to his military dictatorship, Greek junta leader George Papadopoulos has engineered the arrest of two American, one British and one Greek citizen on the frame-up charge of trying to free Alexander Panagoulis from prison. He is presently serving a life sentence for attempted assassination of Papadopoulos.

Those arrested were Constantine Androutsopoulos, Amalia Fleming, widow of penicillin discoverer Sir Alexander Fleming, John Skelton of Yardley, Pennsylvania and Mrs. Athena Psychogios of Minneapolis, Minn.

This is the first arrest by the present dictatorship of American citizens for their political activities. Already the junta has been caught lying concerning the actual arrests. Mrs. Psychogios was arrested at her Athens home. She was not with the other three accused who were outside of the prison where Panagoulis is held.

Panagoulis is known to have been continually tortured by the junta's political police. A letter from him was recently smuggled out of prison addressed to the

U.S. Senators who uncovered and investigated the infamous "Tiger Cages" political prisons established by the Thieu dictatorship in South Vietnam.

He demanded of these so-called liberals that they do the same sort of investigating of Greek political prisons. They have yet to do anything.

INTERROGATED

It has been learned that Mrs. Psychogios is being interrogated in a military prison in Athens, and placed on what was described as "subsistence" food. The fate and whereabouts of the other three arrested is as of yet undetermined.

Mrs. Psychogios was a supporter of anti-junta organizations including Greek-American Solidarity and Minnesotans for Democracy in Greece.

Her presence in Greece, coupled with her known support of such anti-junta groups, was intolerable to dictators like Papadopoulos.

It is now essential that the labor movement take up the fight to free these latest victims of the junta's terror.

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BY TIM WOHLFORTH

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West Coast News



Some of the 50 or so assorted radicals who gathered in Portland to protest wage freeze. Rally was called by people around the Labor Committee and supported by assorted Stalinists. Callers insisted that no struggle be waged within the unions against the leadership.

CP Links Jackson To JF Kennedy

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—George Jackson died a heroic revolutionary fighting to the end for the destruction of the capitalist system. For all his weaknesses, his isolation from the class struggle, his failure to grasp the real meaning of Lenin's struggle for the vanguard party and his inability to assess the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism he began a fight for Marxist theory.

He was convinced that the working class needed the science of Marxism to achieve its liberation. In taking up this fight he pointed the way forward for thousands of Black youth and workers. The fear of this moved the ruling class to strike him down.

George Jackson hated capitalism to the very fiber of his being. He struggled not for a reform of the prisons, but for the consciousness necessary to smash the ruling class and its state.

His brutal murder exposes to the labor movement and the youth the barbarous treatment Nixon is preparing for the working class. Every liberal and every reformist seeks to obscure this fact. Above all the Stalinists are forced to take the lead in a campaign to distort this truth, tie the working class to the bourgeoisie and destroy everything for which Jackson fought and died.

For the Stalinists, Angela Davis, George Jackson and every other victim of ruling class vengeance are objects to be purged of any unpleasantness, packaged attractively and sold to the "respectable people" at a profit.

Thus the massive effort to free Angela Davis from any association with the embarrassing Ruchell Magee. Principles be damned. There is no profit to be made on Ruchell. Throw him to the dogs and provide a little

sympathy from the side.

Even this disgusting capitulation pales before the opportunism of the Stalinists on George Jackson. In the September 4 edition of *People's World*, editor Carl Bloice actually dares to link Jackson with John F. Kennedy.

First comparing the cover up of Jackson's slaying with the defense of the Warren Commission Report, Bloice then goes on to say, "When one raises basic questions about how George Jackson met his death or how John Kennedy met his, they close the prison off and lock the Dallas material in the National Archives."

This statement is no accident. It is an open and conscious attempt to link a revolutionary fighter with the unmourned arch-imperialist butcher in order to pander and grovel before liberal public opinion. Not even a hint about the real George Jackson despised by the liberals during his lifetime.

After these wretched comments this same Bloice goes on in another article to administer his own brand of whitewash. While explaining that his liberal champions, Ron Dellums and Willie Brown, were admitted to San Quentin to investigate, Bloice manages to omit any mention of what they did there. Not a

word about Brown's compliments to the cooperative San Quentin authorities and not so much as a line of criticism for Dellums who did absolutely nothing but help cool demonstrators. Not a word either for his friends on the Berkeley Council who stood by without lifting a finger.

No indeed, because as Bloice says, "All those who entered the adjustment center since last Friday have joined in the growing calls for an independent investigation of the prison system."

The Stalinists have no more room to maneuver. Their counter-revolutionary essence is completely exposed here. In order to isolate the youth from the working class and build up their liberal allies, George Jackson must be taken out of the working class and reduced to a liberal prison reformer. The lives of political prisoners must be turned over to the Ron Dellums and Willie Browns.

This is the fate Stalinism prepares for the revolutionary youth. The struggle of the Trotskyist movement to drive the influence of Stalinism out of the working class is in a fight for its political independence and is the only way to take forward George Jackson's struggle.

Press Encourages Busing Hysteria

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—A vicious campaign of racial hysteria is being whipped up in the capitalist press concerning the coming implementation of busing for elementary school children here.

The newspapers are gleefully speculating on the possibility of massive boycotts throughout the city and revolt in Chinatown. Reports are that thousands of school assignments have been returned unopened and that anti-busing organizations are fighting for boycotts of thousands.

The Alioto administration has given all but open support to this campaign. Such developments can only play into the hands of the Nixons, Mitchells and Wallaces who wish to return to the days before the Supreme Court desegregation decision, to fan the flames of racism, nationalism and ghettoism.

The results of such hysteria

for the labor movement are all too clear from the Newark teachers strike. The working class must fight for the widest possible integration, for the break-up of the ghettos and every capitalist-fostered racial division.

EQUALITY

This means a struggle that goes far beyond a defense of busing. We defend every step towards racial equality and integration. This must be coupled with the enormous power of the working class brought into the fight for open public housing and jobs for all at union wages that can break down the ghettos.

It means the fight for the funds that can provide decent schools and educational opportunities to all youth.

Above all it means the political fight to bring down the capitalist parties committed to the poison of racism in defense of profit through the construction of a labor party that can unite all trade unionists, minorities and youth.

SWP Forum Turns To Labor Bureaucrats

BY TOD ZWER

BERKELEY, Sept. 2, Thursday—Today, the Berkeley Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) sponsored a meeting entitled "Unions Speak Out Against the War-time Wage Freeze." The meeting brought together speakers from UFWOC, AFSCME, AFT, and the ILWU, to push the policy of tying the working class to impotent middle class protests.

Every speaker emphasized that inflation was caused primarily by the war, that Nixon has imposed the wage freeze in order to finance the war, and that therefore to fight the wage freeze unions should protest the war in the NPAC demonstration this November. The essence of this

argument is to deny the deep international crisis of capitalism and to prevent the working class from fighting back against the wage freeze with a general strike and the building of a labor party.

Brazen hostility to any independent political fight was expressed over and over again by supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, in their explanations of how Nixon's attacks can be used to bring thousands into anti-war protests. Not once did they indicate that there was any need to defeat the wage freeze, not once did they indicate that Nixon's attempt to take back every gain the unions have won was of any concern to them at all.

This meeting was particularly important in revealing the true nature of the recent about face that the SWP has taken. Despite their call for a labor party,

they still have the perspective of capitalism which has managed to solve its basic contradictions, that there is no international crisis, that Nixon is not making any fundamental attack on American workers. The SWP makes it crystal clear that they share the perspective of the Communist Party in trying to mislead the American working class into the hands of the present union bureaucracy.

During the discussion period the Workers League intervened with a fight to make a true assessment of this crisis and the role that the SMC and its supporters were playing in their opportunistic alliance with the labor bureaucracy.

Once the Workers League had raised the fight for a general strike and a labor party, the speakers were forced to cover themselves.

Power Workers Face Layoffs Or Pay Cut

BY MYRNA CHERKOSS

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles Water & Power Commission came up with a new solution to their supposed loss of 6.3 million in revenues from the wage-price freeze. The DWP has been crying poverty and claimed that because they cannot raise electric rates they would have to lay off 1500-1800 workers and the

remaining workers would not be able to get their 5 1/2% wage increase.

Now the DWP is recommending a four day week for four days pay. This will mean a 20% pay reduction for about 8,000 workers. In addition these workers would not get their wage increase and 500 workers would still be laid off—with no compensation for public workers who do not get unemployment benefits.

This solution is a vicious joke to the workers who desperately need their wage increase to fight the growing inflation and to keep their heads above water. It is asking workers to voluntarily take pay cuts, in order that the bosses can maintain their profits.

In addition, the DWP would be running with a reduced work force which means service would be cut for the rest of the working class—the public. We are already paying outrageous rates for poor service and now they are asking us to pay more for even less.

The DWP offers no real alternative to workers. As one DWP worker put it, "It's a hell of a poor solution—the four day week or be laid off."

The workers must take up a fight demanding no layoffs, jobs for all, at least the 5 1/2% wage increase, the four day week at five days pay. If the DWP cannot come through on these demands, then let the workers take it over and run it themselves with no compensation to the DWP bosses.

West Coast News

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ILWU Leaders Maneuver To End Strike

BY STEVE ZELTZER

SAN FRANCISCO—After over two months of a solid strike which has the West Coast waterfront completely shut down, Harry Bridges and the ILWU leadership are in the midst of maneuvering for a return to work.

When Thomas Gleason, head of the East Coast ILA was recently on the Victor Riesel radio show, he said that he had just talked to Bridges over the phone. Bridges assured him that "the men are lookin' to go back."

That is a lie. A conscious lie. Bridges is "looking to go back." And Gleason is looking never to go out in the first place. What these bureaucrats fear more than anything else is a nationwide strike which would shut down all the ports.

This would put them in the sharpest conflict with Nixon and the shipping bosses—which is exactly what they are trying to avoid.

In less than four weeks time, Bridges, ILWU President, has retreated completely from any political fight against Nixon's wage freeze.

At the outset of Nixon's declaration of war against the trade unions Bridges declared to dockers who have now been out on strike over 70 days that the ILWU would refuse to cooperate with the wage freeze and the demand by Nixon and the PMA that dockers return to work.

In those 70 days however extreme pressure has been put on the entire union leadership and the leadership of the ILWU particular. The refusal of dockers to return to work threatens to explode the anti-strike, wage freeze policy of the government.

The open trade war that is now developing with Japan and Europe also means that it is imperative that the American capitalists move back into the international trade market as soon as possible.

It is this pressure that Bridges is bowing to. Speaking before the United Electrical Workers convention in Los Angeles he said "When we get our job done we will go to Mr. Nixon or some other board and we'll say, 'This is it, this is an exception. We want approval.... We were caught in the middle of a strike, and unless you say this is okay, the ships will stay where they are.'"

Bridges has ruled out any political fight against the wage freeze and only wants an exemption from it.

In the meantime he has opened up coast-wide negotiations by the ILWU with the employers and without any new contract offer by them.

HELP

The campaign for a back to work movement has also had a helping hand from Teamster President Fitzsimmons with his offer to submit the question of jurisdiction of work on the docks to binding arbitration.

Fitzsimmons who met two weeks ago with Nixon (and declared his support for the wage

freeze) immediately flew out after his meeting with the President for discussions with Bridges.

It was at the conclusion of their meeting that Fitzsimmons offered to submit the issue of the jurisdiction of containers to binding arbitration and invite dockers to return to work.

The role of the People's World, paper of the Communist Party, has been to reinforce Bridges and the trade union leadership. In an article entitled "Longshoremen Battle a 'Revolution'," the center of the fight is declared to be around the 9.43 or "Special Steadyman Category."

This section of the contract has allowed the employers to weaken the union through the use of steady workers who are not daily dispatched through the union hiring hall.

The acceptance in principle by Bridges of Nixon's wage freeze and the maneuvering by the ILWU leadership to return the ranks to work is consciously left out of their paper.

Any settlement or binding arbitration that this leadership now attempts to sell in the context of the wage freeze will mean massive unemployment.

It is the political fight to bring millions of workers in the trade union movement out in a general strike to bring down the wage freeze that the ILWU leadership and the Stalinists fear.

The demand for a contract with a 40 hour guaranteed work week with no strings for the ILWU and Teamsters, \$1.60 over two years and union control of all work will only be won, however, with such political action.

Temporary Jobs Threatened

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—"We don't even know if we have a job tomorrow or next week!" This exclamation is being heard more and more frequently from city workers here.

Several weeks ago at a meeting of minority workers to discuss the Civil Service testing procedure, over 30 workers expressed the frustration of being a temporary employee dangling between a job or being forced onto welfare.

The next week, 27 temporary probation officers were told by the Civil Service Commission that their attempts to save their jobs which were being threatened had "no legal ground" to be heard. The critical situation in the court system punctuated by the events surrounding



San Francisco longshoremen express feelings on the PMA and their determination to fight to the end.

L.A. Ship Fitters Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—The strike wave on the L.A. docks continues unabated. In the face of Nixon's wage and strike freeze, ILWU Local 56, a ship fitters local of about 150 members, has launched a strike against intolerable conditions and rotten wages.

The conditions include rotating shifts with a paltry and outrageous \$1.05 shift differential. On top of this, the company has the habit of driving workers to a job up the coast and then letting them find their own way back home. Like the rest of the rats on the waterfront, these owners are also out to break the union.

The president of Local 56 told this reporter that the company is importing scabs as fast as it can and that it intends to hold out through another certification election, following the strike-breaking, union-busting tactics of the Herald Examiner.

But the lessons of the Herald Examiner strike are very clear

in this regard. If the union attempts to starve out the company, the company starves out the union. The ILWU may, for a time, be able to keep scabs from this or that company off the docks, but not for ever. The danger is even greater because, as the President of #56 pointed out, "the smaller companies take the lead from the bigger ones," and some of the smaller ones now feel encouraged to "weasel on their contracts." Needless to say in this case the bigger ones take their lead from the biggest one of all, Nixon.

Business as usual strike methods have little chance of success in a situation where Nixon, his Democratic allies, and all employers have virtually announced their intention to break the unions in order to be able to discipline the working class.

The effect of isolation in these strikes is disastrous. The strike by workers at West Oil Co., covered in last week's Bulletin, has been broken because the leadership of the ILWU and Local 13 in particular, left the workers isolated. Only the fight for a general strike and a convocation of labor can turn back and effectively answer Nixon's attack.

Harbor Commissioners Vacation On Workers Pay

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES—The crisis of capitalism in this period is exposing some of the most blatant and cynical corruption within the confines of city government since the Depression.

The L.A. Harbor Commission, which has already cut wages 10% by a mandatory day off every two weeks ostensibly to save pay, today repeated a past performance by again allotting funds for various people to travel all over the world. The general manager, who has just returned from a tour of the Far East with the mayor, suggested that the pay cuts were perhaps not necessary.

PROTEST

The Harbor Commission dutifully filed this protest for the record and went on to vote funds for four of their immediate number to travel to assorted European port cities, all expenses paid. This makes a total of six people the Harbor Commission has financed recently, since they cut wages to save money. The last two were Hawaii bound presumably to attract business. Just what business L.A. is going to attract from Europe remains to be seen.

The Harbor Commission's legal looting program, financed off the backs of city workers is not going to come to an end until the workers have the means to politically destroy this pack of parasites. When the working class has a labor party it will be able to clear out this decadent scum.

no right of appeal. Many of these workers face racially discriminatory civil service tests to keep their jobs in those instances when the city agrees to give the tests.

The unions have simply accepted the regulations and confined their actions to testimony before Civil Service Commissions and impotent protests. This is bankrupt. The labor movement must be forced to take up a fight to guarantee every one of these jobs. No worker now employed must lose his job no matter what the regulations.

The Workers League is taking up the fight to organize the temporary workers into a fighting force that will take its struggle into the unions to demand that even a single layoff will be answered with city-wide strike action.

the murder of George Jackson of the Soledad Brothers places the city government into a position where they are attempting to remove all "radical" or even "liberal" personnel in order to be able to carry out a more repressive law and order campaign.

Pressure from several striking groups, particularly the Longshoremen, succeeded in budging the city administration into hiring more workers to process food stamp applications. But instead of hiring permanent workers out of the available funds Mayor Alioto has frozen for over a year, workers were hired off a list as temporary with no rights, benefits or job security from day to day.

Thousands of city workers have remained in the "temporary" limbo for years and now face the danger of lay-offs with absolutely

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In those 70 days however extreme pressure has been put on the entire union leadership and the leadership of the ILWU particular. The refusal of dockers to return to work threatens to explode the anti-strike, wage freeze policy of the government.

The open trade war that is now developing with Japan and Europe also means that it is imperative that the American capitalists move back into the international trade market as soon as possible.

It is this pressure that Bridges is bowing to. Speaking before the United Electrical Workers convention in Los Angeles he said "When we get our job done we will go to Mr. Nixon or some other board and we'll say, 'This is it, this is an exception. We want approval.... We were caught in the middle of a strike, and unless you say this is okay, the ships will stay where they are.'"

Bridges has ruled out any political fight against the wage freeze and only wants an exemption from it.

In the meantime he has opened up coast-wide negotiations by the ILWU with the employers and without any new contract offer by them.

HELP

The campaign for a back to work movement has also had a helping hand from Teamster President Fitzsimmons with his offer to submit the question of jurisdiction of work on the docks to binding arbitration.

Fitzsimmons who met two weeks ago with Nixon (and declared his support for the wage

freeze) immediately flew out after his meeting with the President for discussions with Bridges.

It was at the conclusion of their meeting that Fitzsimmons offered to submit the issue of the jurisdiction of containers to binding arbitration and invite dockers to return to work.

The role of the People's World, paper of the Communist Party, has been to reinforce Bridges and the trade union leadership. In an article entitled "Longshoremen Battle a 'Revolution'," the center of the fight is declared to be around the 9.43 or "Special Steadyman Category."

This section of the contract has allowed the employers to weaken the union through the use of steady workers who are not daily dispatched through the union hiring hall.

The acceptance in principle by Bridges of Nixon's wage freeze and the maneuvering by the ILWU leadership to return the ranks to work is consciously left out of their paper.

Any settlement or binding arbitration that this leadership now attempts to sell in the context of the wage freeze will mean massive unemployment.

It is the political fight to bring millions of workers in the trade union movement out in a general strike to bring down the wage freeze that the ILWU leadership and the Stalinists fear.

The demand for a contract with a 40 hour guaranteed work week with no strings for the ILWU and Teamsters, \$1.60 over two years and union control of all work will only be won, however, with such political action.

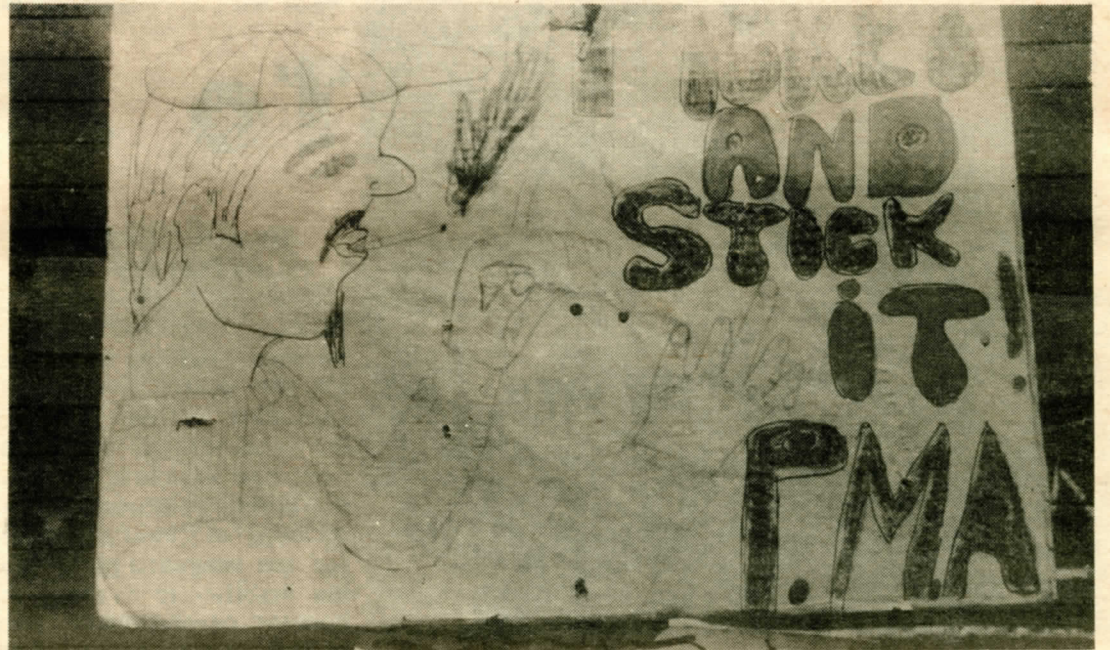
Temporary Jobs Threatened

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—"We don't even know if we have a job tomorrow or next week!" This exclamation is being heard more and more frequently from city workers here.

Several weeks ago at a meeting of minority workers to discuss the Civil Service testing procedure, over 30 workers expressed the frustration of being a temporary employee dangling between a job or being forced onto welfare.

The next week, 27 temporary probation officers were told by the Civil Service Commission that their attempts to save their jobs which were being threatened had "no legal ground" to be heard. The critical situation in the court system punctuated by the events surrounding



San Francisco longshoremen express feelings on the PMA and their determination to fight to the end.

L.A. Ship Fitters Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—The strike wave on the L.A. docks continues unabated. In the face of Nixon's wage and strike freeze, ILWU Local 56, a ship fitters local of about 150 members, has launched a strike against intolerable conditions and rotten wages.

The conditions include rotating shifts with a paltry and outrageous \$1.05 shift differential. On top of this, the company has the habit of driving workers to a job up the coast and then letting them find their own way back home. Like the rest of the rats on the waterfront, these owners are also out to break the union.

The president of Local 56 told this reporter that the company is importing scabs as fast as it can and that it intends to hold out through another certification election, following the strike-breaking, union-busting tactics of the Herald Examiner.

But the lessons of the Herald Examiner strike are very clear

in this regard. If the union attempts to starve out the company, the company starves out the union. The ILWU may, for a time, be able to keep scabs from this or that company off the docks, but not for ever. The danger is even greater because, as the President of #56 pointed out, "the smaller companies take the lead from the bigger ones," and some of the smaller ones now feel encouraged to "weasel on their contracts." Needless to say in this case the bigger ones take their lead from the biggest one of all, Nixon.

Business as usual strike me-

thods have little chance of success in a situation where Nixon, his Democratic allies, and all employers have virtually announced their intention to break the unions in order to be able to discipline the working class.

The effect of isolation in these strikes is disastrous. The strike by workers at West Oil Co., covered in last week's Bulletin, has been broken because the leadership of the ILWU and Local 13 in particular, left the workers isolated. Only the fight for a general strike and a convocation of labor can turn back and effectively answer Nixon's attack.

Harbor Commissioners Vacation On Workers Pay

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES—The crisis of capitalism in this period is exposing some of the most blatant and cynical corruption within the confines of city government since the Depression.

The L.A. Harbor Commission, which has already cut wages 10% by a mandatory day off every two weeks ostensibly to save pay, today repeated a past performance by again allotting funds for various people to travel all over the world. The general manager, who has just returned from a tour of the Far East with the mayor, suggested that the pay cuts were perhaps not necessary.

PROTEST

The Harbor Commission dutifully filed this protest for the record and went on to vote funds for four of their immediate number to travel to assorted European port cities, all expenses paid. This makes a total of six people the Harbor Commission has financed recently, since they cut wages to save money. The last two were Hawaii bound presumably to attract business. Just what business L.A. is going to attract from Europe remains to be seen.

The Harbor Commission's legal looting program, financed off the backs of city workers is not going to come to an end until the workers have the means to politically destroy this pack of parasites. When the working class has a labor party it will be able to clear out this decadent scum.

no right of appeal. Many of these workers face racially discriminatory civil service tests to keep their jobs in those instances when the city agrees to give the tests.

The unions have simply accepted the regulations and confined their actions to testimony before Civil Service Commissions and impotent protests. This is bankrupt. The labor movement must be forced to take up a fight to guarantee every one of these jobs. No worker now employed must lose his job no matter what the regulations.

The Workers League is taking up the fight to organize the temporary workers into a fighting force that will take its struggle into the unions to demand that even a single layoff will be answered with city-wide strike action.

the murder of George Jackson of the Soledad Brothers places the city government into a position where they are attempting to remove all "radical" or even "liberal" personnel in order to be able to carry out a more repressive law and order campaign.

Pressure from several striking groups, particularly the Longshoremen, succeeded in budging the city administration into hiring more workers to process food stamp applications. But instead of hiring permanent workers out of the available funds Mayor Alioto has frozen for over a year, workers were hired off a list as temporary with no rights, benefits or job security from day to day.

Thousands of city workers have remained in the "temporary" limbo for years and now face the danger of lay-offs with absolutely