Workers Fight Concentration Camps-

CIVIL WAR FLARES IN NORTH IRELAND

Dollar Crisis Threatens Depression

What we think

Bitter Lessons of Sudan Bloodbath

Dozens of executions have taken place so far in the Sudan, in the aftermath of the unsuccessful left wing coup of last month. Dictator Numeiry has just announced the arrest of 700 more Communist Party members.

The lessons of the Sudan bloodbath must be understood by all who are seeking to fight against the decaying capitalist system. This butchery will pale in comparison to the future if the lessons go unlearned.

The struggle between Stalinism and Trotskyism is no academic dispute. It is a life and death question for the entire working class. Millions of workers and peasants have paid with their lives for the bankrupt policies and the crimes of Stalinism. Only Trotskyism can explain these crimes and prevent them from leading to new defeats.

On an international scale, the expression of the Stalinist policy of building "socialism in one country" was the policy of peaceful coexistence with imperialism and support for the "two-stage" revolution in the colonial countries.

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

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

A corollary to the peaceful

(Continued On Page 6)
Workers Fight Concentration Camps-

CIVIL WAR FLARES IN NORTH IRELAND

What we think

Bitter Lessons of Sudan Bloodbath

Dozens of executions have taken place so far in the Sudan, in the aftermath of the unsuccessful left wing coup of last month. Dictator Numeiry has just announced the arrest of 700 more Communist Party members.

The lessons of the Sudan bloodbath must be understood by all who are seeking to fight against the decaying capitalist system. This battle will pale in comparison to the future if the lessons go unlearned.

The struggle between Stalinism and Trotskyism is no academic dispute. It is a life and death question for the entire working class. Millions of workers and peasants have paid with their lives for the bankrupt policies and the crimes of Stalinism. Only Trotskyism can explain these crimes and prevent them from leading to new deaths.

On an international scale, the expression of the Stalinist policy of building "socialism in one country" was the policy of peaceful coexistence with imperialism and support for the "two-stage" revolution in the colonial countries.

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

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

A corollary to the peaceful

(Continued On Page 6)
New War Erupts
In N. Ireland

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

In its August 7th issue, the Workers Press, daily organ of the British Socialist Labour League, warned propheticly: "Under the Powers Act they can detain 'suspects' without trial and intern them in special concentration camps. There is ample evidence that this step is just around the corner. "The Tories are simply biding their time until they have a favorable moment when they can catch the Republican leadership in their net; then they will pounce."

Less than two days later the Tories made their move. Ulster has been in a state of civil war for some time. There are shooting and bombing incidents daily. It is the largest area of huge unemployment, slump housing and all other ills confronting the capitalist class.

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

The British forces in Northern Ireland are there for provocation and force as part of the capitalist world war.

Last week a Catholic father of six was killed when his truck backfired as it was passing a Belfast police station, and soldiers came out and shot him dead.

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

Protracted detention is allowed by the Special Powers Act, applying only to Ulster. But the Tories were speaking more and more of applying these measures in Britain, beginning in cities like Glasgow and Liverpool with high concentrations of unemployed workers and youth.

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

The Industrial Relations Bill means war against the unions and the entire working class, and the employers are preparing to use the same measures against workers who fight back; they are presently using in Ulster. The British Trotskyists are therefore fighting today as they have from the very first for the removal of all British troops from Ulster. Nixon is also not far behind the Tories of Britain and Northern Ireland. His own proposal for preventive detention is being kept in readiness, to be brought forward at the appropriate time as the capitalists prepare for all out war on the working class here in the U.S. Preventive detention means open class war, and poses threats to unite the working class in order to bring down capitalism.

CP Diverts Clyde Occupation

By Melody Farrow

The Upper Clyde shipyard workers in Scotland who have been fighting to save the 77,000 jobs.

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

The Tory move is a new stage in the class struggle in Britain. It coincides with the machine-gunning of the workers of the Industrial Relations Bill, which took effect on August 1st. This vicious law means essentially the end of independent trade unionism in Britain.

It contains every form of vicious anti-union legislation ever enacted. Through its provisions for registration of unions, heavy penalties for those not cooperating with state control, and moves to outlaw unofficial strikes, it aims to take the British working class back 170 years, to the Combination Laws against the unions in 1800.

The Tories are trying to bring into the Common Market, the Tory wages policy, the carve up of Upper Clyde and the layoffs of Rolls Royce, together with the Industrial Relations Bill, are all part of the capitalists' aim of destroying the organized strength of the working class. For the employers and their government this is the only way to restore profitability to their system.

POLITICAL

The Upper Clyde workers cannot gain anything through political struggle to bring down the Tory government. This vicious "tactics" is a danger to all the workers.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

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

CIA Assassination Program Revealed

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

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

More than $700 million was allocated by Congress for these murder squads. The assassination quota for 1970 was 1800 "eliminations" a month, or 21,000 a year. This quota was met by the special police trained by the CIA-22,341 Vietnamese are listed as killed, captured or killed last year.

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

According to Colby, 60,000 Vietnamese civilians have been assassinated under this program. The Viet Cong political structure is still intact. Now the CIA has announced bounties of up to $11,000 each, for the capture or murder of key NLF leaders in South Vietnam.

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

Wallace Opens '72 Campaign

By A BULLETIN REPORTER

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

In the 1968 Presidential elections, Wallace failed his platform and ran as a "law and order" candidate and aimed his wrath at the Blacks and the poor and was said, "not the cause of all the problems in America."

But the youth and Blacks who were struggling against racism, poverty, Vietnam, racism and the tremendous unemployment and misery faced by the "white poor" in America. These forces expressed the beginning of the movement of the working class onto the stage of great class battles.

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

FREEING

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

Vice President Agnew has been Nixon's mouthpiece parroting "public opinion" for these and other moves in hisgalvaizing across the country and the world, spouting racist and anti-working class epithets and whipping up the right wing.

The Democratic Party has also added this with its courtship with Wallace and the Southern bourgeois.

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

Large sections of the middle class feel threatened by the crisis and are disillusioned with Nixon. Race is preying precisely on these sections when he attacks Nixon for not bringing the Blacks into the fight. His denunciations of Nixon's maneuver with China and on Nixon's handling of Black nationalism further against desegregation serve the same purposes.

These sections of the middle class have always formed the base for fascism and this movement can be seen developing in Europe as well. The growth of fascism in Italy is a sharp warning to American workers. It has been fed by the collaboration of the Italian CP with the capitalists and its refusal to lead the fight for power.

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

The danger lies in the role of the trade union bureaucracy and it's allies in the Commu-nist Party which will seek to head off the independent movement in political struggle of the working class. Further opposition of the labor party into continued support to the Demo-cratic Party or through coalitions with the "liberals." This fight must be taken up by the ranks of the labor movement.

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

Colby's "Operation Phoenix" is described as a political struggle to bring down the Tory government. This vicious "tactics" is a danger to all the workers.
Dollar Crisis Threatens Collapse

By Dennis O'Casey

Just two short weeks after Nixon's China coup, a renewed upsurge of the world monetary crisis threatens to throw U.S. and world capitalism into a total collapse that will be far more drastic than the Crash of 1929. Nixon's policies are thus once again reduced to shambling.

The complete bankruptcy of all Nixon's remedies for this deepening economic crisis is now revealed for all to see. In fact it is a simple exaggeration to say that Nixon has now totally lost his grip on the economic situation and that it is raging out of control.

From the standpoint of the capitalist class, it now appears that the last two weeks is the most dismal time of the year. First came the revelation that Nixon had run the 1971 budget a staggering 23 billion dollars into the red. Now the latest government figures show that the American trade balance was for the first time in history in the red for the first three months of the year.

The statistics, reflecting an unprecedented deterioration of the inflationary situation, were immediately supplemented by yet another set of dismal figures for the month of July. In July, the London gold market showed that gold had dropped to the lowest level since 1938. Simultaneously, huge amounts of speculative dollars flowed out of the country in expectation of an imminent devaluation of the dollar as a result of the continued resumption of gold. Forcing gold shipments to the US to be cut and to be slumped on strict controls.

In July unemployment rose to 5.8 percent. This does not even include the recent massive layoffs in steel. At the same time the wholesale price index, a key index of inflation, rose in July a huge 7.8 percent, the steepest climb in 15 years.

The reaction of world bankers and speculators of all types to this situation now reflects the most total loss of confidence in all quarters that the current monetary arrangements established at Bretton Woods in 1944 can be preserved any longer. Consequently, while the price of gold on the London exchange soared last week to $43 per ounce for the first time since 1942, prices of shares were driven below their 10 billion dollar floor to the lowest level since 1938.

The conclusion was that prices of speculative dollars flowed into the country in expectation of an imminent devaluation of the dollar as a result of the continued resumption of gold. Forcing gold shipments to the US to be cut and to be slumped on strict controls.

(Continued On Page 12)

CP Diverts Fight for Jobless

By Maximilian Aranjuez

Unemployment soared last month and left all sections of the working class reeling. The youth in particular, have felt the brunt of these developments. Unemployment now stands at over sixteen percent for the month of July alone. This youth it is twice as high.

The fast growing unemployment led to a necessity of the unions to take up the fight against unemployment and employment in a fight for full employment.

Kahane Blesses JDl Gun-buying

By Ed Bergonzi

NEW YORK—A spokesman for the Democratic Labor Party has announced last week that the group is purchasing shotguns and rifles which are being sold only in the Williamsburg neighborhood of Brooklyn.

This announcement was made at the basement of a Williamsburg synagogue, while JDL leader Kahane stood "innocently" by. Kahane, who pleaded guilty to federal charges of conspiring to make bombs, was given a mere slap on the wrist. A few years suspended sentence and probation under an order to hang as much as he could do with guns, bombs or other lethal devices. His sentence was worked out directly with the Justice Department.

Yet, here stands Kahane, who has just arrived at a meeting from a meeting with his probation officer. The JDL is known for its campaigns to carry out the dirty work, black and white.

Kahane was encouraging fascist thugs like Kahane to get off scot free, is consciously strenghening the right wing, in preparation for bitter blows against the working class. The JDL will play a front line role as armed thugs representing the interests of capitalism.

Mair Kahn

CP Scabs On ILWU Strike

BY BOB MICHAELSON

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

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

HOT AIR

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

At this level, these bureaucratic are more concerned about maintaining their own jobs and special interests than in making longshoremen nationwide against the shipping bosses and the government's intentions to intervene on the side of the companies.

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

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

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

CLOSING

These fees cover the use of barges which carry cargo from unloaded ships to shore. Previously, they had been included in the original freight costs. Now, the chronic, financial crisis facing Penn Central is colliding with the crisis hitting the shipping industry. The result may be the closing of the Brooklyn waterfront and the destruction of 30,000 jobs.

ALLIANCE

So Anthony Scotto of ILA Local 18 tells the shippers and Port Authority over the lightering fees while ignoring the upcoming strike. On this, though, there can be no alliance with the owners. No matter how hard Gleason and Scotto may try to get the rank and file will not allow it.

The dockers have nothing to gain in a struggle to gain a square inch between two sections of the bosses. The ILA must demand and fight for the maintenance of the Brooklyn docks regardless of what happens—is it counterrevolution or lightering fees. No jobs must be cut!

PROGRAM

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

More West Coast cargo to be handled through East Coast docks.

No retreat on the Guarantee: Update the GAI to full hour weekly payments, for ALL workers in all ports!

$7.50 an hour wage increase with a full cost of living increase clause. Six hour day with no less in pay!

No cuts in gang size!

$500 pension after 20 years regardless of age!

All benefits now based on man hours be based on the tonnage handled.

15 days paid sick leave for ALL men whether working or on the GAI!

Nationalization and shipping and the docks under rank and file control and without compensation to the owners!

No more support for strike-breaking Democratic and Republican candiates for a labor party for the 1972 elections!

CAUCUS

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

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Local 101 and most other CWA locals in New York State were going into their fourth week of a strike yesterday without the settlement announced by the International union president, Joseph A. Beirne, on July 29th.

The CWA ranks are facing a very critical period in this strike. The 180 leadership has pleaded to maintain the Strike until the demand for 25% in the first year is met. The increased cost of living demanded by the workers in the New York area.

However, at a rally called by several of the downtown locals on August 10th, Caravans (president of 101) made it quite clear that he has no intention of fighting on national issues, for the 25% first year. For this contract may be all right if you live in Missouri, but if you live in New York, it's no good. The fight for the 25% first year must be national. The regional cost of living as well as cannot be won without national support.

Carnivale and the other New York leaders are letting Beirne take the book. Beirne has attempted to serve the rank a completely unaccept- able contract, and he has re- treated on his promise that "if one local rejects the con- tract, it is rejected nationally." The Vocations are a good position to force a national rejection and send Beirne back to the bargaining table. The New York area is a key communi- cation center and the locals here must take this up for national rejection and not treat the wage demand.

Last spring the Teamsters were faced with a similar situation. The Chicago Teamsters launched a campaign against Beirne. They are now International, for a national re-

jection of a $1.30 increase, and finally won $1.65 over three years, a real breakthrough in the wages fight.

MILITANT

The CWA leadership is faced with a militant rank and file, which is not willing to accept the New York contract. These ranks must not allow Carnivale to channel that milit- ancy into a capitulation to Beirne. An all out fight must be begun to mobilize rank and file on a national basis to fight for the 25% in the first year, the real wages fight.

The ranks of Local 101 must demand that their leadership do not make the same mistake as other locals to join the fight. They must also be allowed to compromise by JITing the New York workers against those throughout the country. All CWA workers will be sold out if a national rejection is not begun, only in the CWA itself, but all TTU locals will be sold, to shut down the communications industry, send Beirne back to the negoti- ating table, and win a decent contract!

BY BRIDGET ELLIOTT

Defensive

The oral arguments were heard in the Court of Appeals in the Juan Fariñas case, the Juan Fariñas Defense Committee has collected over $200,000 in donations demanding the reversal of the lower court conviction. The vast major- ity of this support has come from the labor movement and the youth.

Juan Fariñas, a supporter of the Workers League, was tried and convicted last December in San Juan on three counts of violating the selective service act. On January 29 he was sentenced to two years in jail and bail was set at $5,000. His only "crime" was to distribute a leaflet condemning the Vietnam War at the Whistler Lunch Center in the summer of 1968.

On June 26th, in a big move before the summer court recess, the Second Circuit of the Court of Appeals heard the arguments. A decision is expected at or before the opening of the fall term of the court. The argument against the Vietnam War is rapidly growing within and outside of the American community throughout the country. The Pentagon revelations blew the remaining shreds of faith of the workers class in their "go- go" government.

The central strategy of Fari- ñas' defense has been from the beginning that the only way to win for himself and all pol- itical prisoners is through the mobilization of the working class and youth against these re- pressive attacks of the govern- ment. This strategy is being put into practice as the working class says no to the war.

From the labor movement, representatives of 200,000 workers are sending statements to the Court demanding the release of Fariñas.

Victor Guthman of District Council 37, Al Evann of Dis- trict 65, Stanley Hill of SIEU- 371, and the Executive Council of Local 1099 in New York have been joined by Abe Feinglass, International Vice-President, and Sam Pollock, President of District Union 427, of the Amalgamated Meatcutters. From New York City the workers of the New York Branch of the National Alliance of Postal Em- ployees, Ernest Weiss, Asso- ciate Educational Director of District Council 37, Sam Meyers, President of UAW Local 259, and Mr. Maxwell of the Joint Board of Fur, Leather and Machine Workers have all sent letters to the Court.

In Minneapolis Perry Tille- maa and Gary Rosland of AFSCME Locals 164 and 141 respectively have sent state- ments.

Among individuals and organi- zations in addition to those prec- eded, the names of Dr. Benjamin Spock, the Young Workers Liberation League, and Frank Boehm, National-Chair- man of the Young Socialists Alliance.

YOUTH

Areas from which petitions have come include California, Ohio, Connecticut, Michigan, Missouri and Minne- sota. These include transport, communications, steel and auto workers, and many hundreds of signatures from Local 1099 and SIEU-371 in New York, as well as support from electrical, teachers and postal workers.

The campaign has also gathered a large amount of support from unemployed youth in New York.

In the next few weeks the Defense Committee will continue to collect thousands more signa- tures from all over the country. We urge all supporters and read- ers of the Bulletin and support- ers of the Juan Fariñas Defense Committee to sign and circulate the petition in your neighborhoods and shops and write to the Defense Committee for petitions, with a copy to the Committee, to Judges Wilford Feinglass, Walter R. Menfield, and Leonard P. Moore, United States court of Appeals, United States Court House, Foley Square, New York, N.Y.

The Defense Committee also needs urgently to be able to pay its staff and to have funds for publicity and travel costs. The Committee urges all its support- ers to campaign for the de- fence fund immediately in your area.

Please send all inquiries, con- tributions and petitions to: Juan Fariñas Defense Committee, 151 14th Street, 6th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.

By a Bulletin Reporter

Bus drivers in Pittsburgh struck for 9 hours after one of them was forbidden to wear a "Faro Angela Davis" button on the job.

Richard Irwin was suspended when he arrived for work and refused to remove the button. Forty drivers later began picketing a Port Authority Transit Sys- tem garage and 150 other drivers refused to drive the picket bus.

The attack on Angela Davis, as the Bulletin has continuously ex- plained, is part of the attack on the entire working class. The anti-communist action of Pittsburgh bus drivers is an inspiring ex- ample.

The bosses fear the understanding expressed in the determina- tion to defend Angela Davis on his button. They fear the linking of the organized power of the mass Defense Committee to the fight against the political attacks on the vanguard or potential vanguard of that class. Through the strength of the labor movement can and must be turned into a tool to defend Angela Davis and all other vic- tims of repression.

By a Bulletin Reporter

5,000 Sign Farinas Petition

President Carnivale of Local 1101, CWA

By a Bulletin Reporter

The Nixon administration has taken another step in the direction of Bonapartist dictatorship with the prorogation of the Ad- diction of the democratic rights of the working class.

Last month Nixon requested $450,000 from Congress to ex- tend the life of the Subversive Activities Control Board. At the same time he ordered giving the SACB new powers to exclude from govern- ment employment those who belong to or even have "sympa- thetic association with" people belonging to subversive or- ganizations.

The SACB is the agency that investigative agents have used to testify in Congressional testimony that a person "sympathizes" to do. Nixon, of course, wants to remedy this situation. What is now proposed is that the Attorney General's Blacklist of subversive organizations be published in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Nixon also giving the SACB subpoena powers which will en- able it to conduct aggressive investigations on its own.

The SACB appropriation request nar- rowly passed in the Senate last week and now can be expected to move forward.

These latest moves are in- tended to remove the threat made by the press, the unsuccess- ful attempt to prevent the publication of the Penang Papers, and the right to use wiretaps without court permission in cases in- volving "national security."

Yet the president of the government is doing the same thing and persistently moving to silence and suppress the ingre- dient for the biggest battle, with the organized working class.

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

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

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

The new SIEU Meat Union, which has already signed its first contracts, is expressing the determination of the workers and the unions to move back on the offensive in the labor movement. They are demanding that the SIEU Meat Union, which has already signed its first contracts, is expressing the determination of the workers and the unions to move back on the offensive in the labor movement.
Steel Sellout Hits Ranks

BY DAN FRIED

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

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

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

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

As far as the employers are concerned they have been given the go ahead for even more drastic reductions of the work force. This process will begin during this present period of layoffs and speed up as the employers are given the go ahead for permanent layoffs and increased productivity.

It is clear that I.W. Abel and his cohorts are the willing accomplices in this plan. In return for granting the basic demands of the can and aluminum contracts which Abel needed to "sell" the pact to the local presidents, the employers demanded increased productivity. A union spokesman was quoted as saying the union would make "an honest effort" to increase productivity. This is quoted in section six of the contract, establishing "a joint advisory committee on productivity at each plant." The aim of these committees is to bring the USWA bureaucrats as the cops who will police the workers while the bosses go about their plans of rationalization of the industry. This plan of the joint committee is spelled out in section six by "Promote orderly and peaceful relations with employees and achieve uninterupted operations in the plant." The productivity committees are also charged with the "use of domestic steel. This reflects the union's concern with entering production with the work force.

As a result of the negotiations, the USWA bureaucrats answer the employers' exaggerated complaints about foreign imports by trying to figure out ways and means to protect the bosses' profits at the expense of the workers. The answer to the complaint that the employers cannot make a profit due to foreign competition must be a campaign to promote better wages and conditions for foreign steelworkers and the nationalization of the steel companies under workers' control.

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

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

Unemployment lines packed with steelworkers in Gary, Ind., where 5,000 have been laid off recently.

Steelworkers in Gary Denounce New Contract

BY MICHAEL ROSS

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

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

When Evet reported on the agreement with the executive committees contained in the contract, workers in the audience yelled out, "That's what you gave up!" When he reported that the committee that accepted the contract in Washington there were two votes in opposition, there was loud applause and one worker yelled out: "Find out who those guys were and let me vote for them."

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

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

Ranks Say 'Abel Is a Sellout'

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

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

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

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

Any illusion that Abel would come through in the last minutes has been completely destroyed. There is an atmosphere of frustration, but beneath that frustration lies the determination of the worker to fight the USWA sellout agreement expressed by one worker said: "I think Abel's done a great thing. Just about my whole department is here. He has created unity. Now all we have to do is the some rope and go find Abel to thank him."

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

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

"SELLOUT"

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

"I know this contract is a sellout. I know that Abel is a sellout. I always figured they would sell out, but I never believed this. Well, I'm not going to take it any more. None of us are. I don't know what we are going to do or when we are going to do it. But when we do—Baltimore watch out, Abel watch out, and Nixon watch out. We're not kids." It is this worker and thousands like him who terrify Abel, the steel bosses and Nixon. They know there is a new leadership at the Sparrows Point installation and they are using every means at their disposal to defeat it before it goes off.

But the bomb will go off. The union will not allow their gains and their gains won through that union to be destroyed without a fight. What must be done is to build a new leadership from the union leadership which will wage an uncompromising fight against Abel and his ilk.

(Continued On Page 12)
Ireland: A Warning For U.S. Workers

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

Underlying the crisis in Northern Ireland is the mass unemployment and misery created by the capitalist class. The outbreak in Ireland occurs in the midst of a capitalist crisis of world capitalism whose center lies in the United States. The same battles are facing U.S. workers. Nixon's strategy for saving the U.S. economy and with it world capitalism is at a deadend as the dollar is undermined and the whole system threatened with collapse. Now Nixon must prepare to take on the American working class directly. To do this Nixon must break the back of the trade unions and take away all the gains and rights American workers have won in decades of struggle.

The corporations, the government, and every single Democratic and Republican politician are saying that because of direst poverty to stop this next wave it is they are unable to provide jobs, decent wages and working conditions. In other words the workers are being told that so big the corporations can continue to make their millions.

More and more workers are being thrown onto the unemployment line. The latest figure shows thousands of steel workers following the sellout by the AFL-CIO leadership adds to the soaring rate of unemployment reported in June. Nixon and the employers plan to use unemployment to divide the working class, employed against unemployed, young against old, Black against white in order to conquer the unions.

The labor bureaucracy has barely batted an eye as millions of youth have been denied jobs, as jobs have been narrowed down, as conditions in the fight to win real improvements continue to deteriorate. As long as the leadership of the trade unions such as Albert Fitzsimmons have said that we are heading toward conditions like the 1930s, they have sought to hold back the wage offensive and refused to lift a finger against the rising unemployment.

But big explosions are now being prepared in the labor movement. As one unemployed steelworker put it last week, "We are not going to take it." The struggle in the unions on wages, jobs, and speed-up must now be freed from the control of the AFL-CIO headquarter leadership. Just as the union movements of the 1930s fought to unite the employed and unemployed. The unions must take the lead in this struggle and must organize the unemployed. The youth movement in the country must develop to fight for an independent and victorious workers' union.

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

Today as the spectre of the 1930s is once again raised the central question facing American workers is the formation of its own political party based on its own CLASS interests. The crisis of capitalism now requires that the government and the Democratic and Republican Parties use all the weapons of the state against the working class in order to save its new coköls! One of the main tasks of the UAW leadership is in calling for a "new coalition." At a recent meeting of the Urban League in Detroit, Woodcock made clear that the main aim of the UAW is to be in this new coalition. This is of course praised by the Communist Party.

What Woodcock and the CP have in mind is the kind of coalition with the Nixon Administration the 1930s in which tied the working class to the mercy of Roosevelt.

The measures being employed by the Tories in Ireland as in the United States is the only way Nixon and his class can save their system.

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

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

(Continued From Page 1)

What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

coexistence policy is the policy of the collaboration with the national bourgeoisie in the colonial countries. This is a return to the pre-WWII policy of revolution by stages—first the consolidation of capitalism, during which the communists maintain a "loyal opposition" to the native capitalist class.

Imperialism cannot be debated without the overthrow of capitalism in these countries. None of the tasks of the bourgeois revolution can be realized in these areas, the national, achievement of independence and democratic rights for the working masses, and industrialization—can be achieved except through the leadership of the working class and the social

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

From this basis, the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy has slandered this theory by which up to this day no anti-imperialist socialist or Marxist has been able to win in 1977.

In China in 1971, the state instructed the young Communist Party to maintain full confidence in the development of the Chinese revolution and in the future to pursue a nationalistic policy in order to smother the revolutionary class.

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

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

At the same time as he outlawed the Communist Party, Nurney brought in new CP leaders into his cabinet. Again there was no word from Moscow.

Brezhnev and Kosygin sent Nurney a letter congratulating him on his "responsible" stand after the Jordanian Civil War (it called for negotiations between the guerrillas and Hussein) Nurney used this correspondence to demonstrate his anti-imperialist credentials, and, on November 16 arrested Abdal Mahgub, the leader of the Sudan CP.

When he wanted to dissolve the General Federation of Sudan Workers Units, Nurney called upon CP leader Mawajib Ibrahim to take over the Labor Ministry. Employment Minister Radwan Husseini said:

Nurney warned in advance of the measures he would take. In a February 12, 1971 radio broadcast, he launched a vicious attack on CP leaders. During the spring Nurney began rounding up CP leaders. At the same time he sent a fraternal delegation to the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in Moscow.

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

But empirical turns cannot mask a policy for compromise and betrayal stretching from the first appearance of CP leader Mahgub in facing death at the hands of Nurneyism to today's desperation for a revolutionary policy and a complete break with Stalinism. When the long campaign against the Sudan CP reached its bloody conclusion the masses were completely disarmed by the previous policy of all out support for Nurney.

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

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

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

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

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

Not only was the Soviet Union terribly compromised in the eyes of millions of workers all over the world as a result of Stalin's deal with the butcher of the German workers. But the fact that Hitler also enabled Hitler to prepare for the second invasion of the USSR.

The Nazi gained most from his anti-communist agreements which followed the MOLP pact, as Khrushchev admits.

'According to the treaty, we

Khrushchev Remembers
by Robert Black

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

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

Further defeats in Britain (the 1926 General Strike) and China (Chiang Kai-shek's massacre of the Shanghai workers in April 1927) only strengthened the belief among Khrushchev's contemporaries that the revolution had to make its own way, unaided by socialists.

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

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

We find, in these writings, no echo of the British General Strike, the Chinese Revolution, the rise and victory of German fascism, and the tragic class battles in Spain and France.

Historic

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

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

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

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

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

These administrative, bureaucratic methods had their counterpart in the Khrushchev's foreign policy, which based itself increasingly on manoeuvres between rival imperialist powers, using the working class of the capitalist states to threaten and pressure the working classes into agreements with the Soviet bureaucracy.

Stalin had reached a peaceful coexistence agreement with Hitler.

And here too, he is very frank about Stalin's policies and motives. Official Stalinist historians refer to him as 'not-quite-anti-Nazism'.

'But Khrushchev thought differently: 'It was very hard for us—as Communists, as democrats—to accept the idea of losing German territories to Germany. [Emphasis added.]

'Paradox

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

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

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

Not only was the Soviet Union terribly compromised in the eyes of millions of workers all over the world as a result of Stalin's deal with the butcher of the German workers. But the fact that Hitler also enabled Hitler to prepare for the second invasion of the USSR.

The Nazi gained most from his anti-communist agreements which followed the MOLP pact, as Khrushchev admits.

'According to the treaty, we

Stalin with Khrushchev in 1937, were supposed to give the Germans a certain amount of wheat, which, of course, allowed our colleagues in the KGB to divulge all our deliveries punctually.

The Nazi, on the other hand, didn't need everything they could to slow down the deliveries of the goods to the Soviet Union.

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

Conference

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

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

'So the duties required him to have contacts with the Gestapo representatives used to come to hit on official business.'

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

But there was also a considerable traffic in the other direction as well, a fact that speaks for the complicity of the representatives of the Gestapo in the Ukraine.

Khrushchev goes on to relate a scene described to him by
Serov:
"There are long lines standing outside the places where people can buy tickets until they are sold to return to Poland, territory."
"When I took a closer look I was startled to find that most of the people in line were members of the working class and the peasantry. Their hunger was so great that they were ready to stand in line for hours, if necessary, in order to get the tickets."

"They were begging the Gazeta Wszechruska to buy the tickets as soon as possible to return to their original homelands."

Bribes

Comments Khrushchev:
"The people were extremely angry and_ those who were asking for bribes were willing to accept them, even if it meant that their children would be left without food."

THE LITTLE THAT Khrushchev reveals about Stalin's relations with Hitler. He does not reveal anything on his position of the Nazi-Soviet pact is quite enough to condemn it as the Kremlin's most squallid manoeuvre of all.
And though Khrushchev tries to argue that the Party leadership was prepared for war, his positions are quite clear - he reveals both here and in his 'Secret Speech' proves the opposite.

Hiding

Describing the events of June 22, 1941, Khrushchev launched his 'bitkren' across the Soviet frontier, Khrushchev writes:
"When the enemy first launched his attack, we received orders from Moscow not to shoot back. Our leaders issued this strange command because they thought that possibly the artillery fire was a provocation. In the face of some German field commander acting independently of Hitler and who had never seen Hitler as a restraining influence in the German-Soviet Union."

"It can be said, Stalin was so afraid of war that even when the order was later taken to us by surprise and we were ready to defend ourselves, he told Hitler to keep his words and wouldn't actually attack the Soviet Union."

"While Stalin went into hiding in his other Politbiro members, moving up the war in the Soviet working class stepped into the breach."

"The workers from the 'Lenin Forge' and other factories around Kiev came to the [Ukrainian] Central Committee in droves, asking for us to shoot for the front because we could fight back against the invaders."

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

"'You'd better give up any thought of using the rifles,' he said. 'They've all been sent to Leningrad."

Slave camps

And so Kiev was lost, with the Nazi invaders setting up a million Soviet prisoners of war. Nearly all of them were either killed on the spot or were forced to work in the slave camps of Nazi Germany.

"What Khrushchev has to say about the war itself is, however, of some interest. He correctly confirms the accounts published in the war memoirs of Red Army leaders."

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

by

"I won't deny that it created certain difficulties for us when anti-Soviet elements stirred up a critical situation in Poland and Hungary."
"While we were dealing with those problems (Khrushchev refers here to the killing of 20,000 Hungarian workers by the Khrushchev's invasion force) several echelon English and French diplomats in London and Paris met with our embassy people over a cup of coffee or a glass of wine and said:"

"Liquidation"

"You seem to have some trouble in your hands in Poland and Hungary. We understand that the situation is very tenebrous and that you're going to need more money."

"The long-term, the secret balances against the so-called liquidation of the Soviet Union guarantee the spread of the revolution to advanced capitalist states."

"Stalin's two blows at the British-French-Jewish

Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill meet in Tehran conference 1943 invasion of Suez, almost exactly synchronized with the Khrushchev's rape of Hungary."

"Let's have a tact under-standing here: it's not always easy toliquidate your difficulties by one act and not by another."

"So much for the 'secret counter-revolution' in Hungary, a 'counter-revolution' which found imperialism urging on the Kremlin to crush it as quickly as possible."

"Several months before this exchange, Khrushchev had visited Britain at the head of a top-line Kremilin delegation."

"Despite his famous denunciation of all Western imperialist systems, Khrushchev's views on the role and potential of Western imperialism are as evident as they are consistent with the role and potential of the Western imperialist systems."

Excesses

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

Khrushchev quite accurately helps to throw light on those aspects of Stalinist policy."

"Thorough criticism of his men's so-called excesses, however productive of any good to his Stalin's aims in one country [only now it was clear that you could rely more and more on Khrushchev's tactics] once he seized the reins of power."

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

"Like Stalin, he is obviously prepared to meet their demands, and also like Stalin, he is afraid to find out that there are many problems they seem to have in common."

"For example, he takes up a chapter of his book on a so-called 'reactionary' who has been working in China from the beginning of the war."

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

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

pride, not shame, for Khrushchev.

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

"I told you that you'd be better off dealing with the Centre, those Labourites are just impossible."

Eden's attitude was perfectly understandable. After all, Stalin hadn't shot any Tories!"... then there ceased the celebrated exchange that has since become part of Stalinist folklore:"

"We jokingly told Eden that he never tried to shake up our minds about which Party to join. Eden laughed and said, 'I'll strongly urge that you choose the Conservatives'. "We'll think it over. Perhaps we'll do as you suggest."

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

Given the choice, it would almost always prefer to deal directly with the ruling class of a capitalist country, preferably with a regime firmly in the saddle of Stalin's policy towards Germany, where he actually helped Hitler to power by his ultra-left policy of attacking the social democrats (called 'social fascists') as the main danger to Stalin's policy.

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

The policies of the Communist International during this period, which dominate the later chapters of Khrushchev's book, is even more interesting as it shows how Stalin wanted to promote Stalin's secret diplomacy.

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

After a three-year period of flirtation with the 'democratic' imperialists of France, Britain and the USA, Stalin finally concluded his German policy with Hitler's pact—with results that are the subject of the earlier sections of his book."

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

Churchill and Stalin, flanked by Eden and Molotov in Moscow, 1944, map out division of Europe.
'Our best relations were with the French... However, in those days there was a rapid turnover in the French government and, therefore, there was no point in paying serious attention to the French delegation at the Geneva meeting...'

Once the semi-fascist military and settlers' revolt in Algeria was put down by the French army, the two nations established diplomatic relations in 1958.

Lenin on the Revolution

Lenin, the founder of the Soviet Union, emphasized the importance of social reformation in the context of the Russian Revolution.

The Value of 'Krushchev Remembers'

The book 'Krushchev Remembers' by Nikita Khrushchev was critically analyzed for its portrayal of the Soviet Union's role in world politics.

Opportunism in Stalin

Stalin's opportunism in post-war politics is examined, highlighting his manipulation of politics to maintain power.

The 1945 Swiss Peace Agreement

The agreement included provisions for the disarmament of Germany and the establishment of a neutral Switzerland.

The political system of the USSR

The political system of the Soviet Union is discussed, including its domestic policies and international relations.

The classification of political systems

The document classifies political systems into various categories, such as capitalist, socialist, and communist, based on their economic and social structures.

August 16, 1971

BULLETIN


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

Dance

When Khrushchev was asked how Stalin made him dance the Gopjak, a Ukrainian folk dance, before some top Party officials, he responded:

'I remember once Stalin made me dance the Gopjak. I was so drunk, I was a man dance.'

And how 'the wise men' of the Kremlin danced.

White peasants in outlying areas were actually taking to cash, such was their hunger. Stalin's crooked dance and feasted.

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

The important words of the document are:

- "plunder from the state exchequer was no problem since the state was the richest living standards, their 'Dacha' (country house), etc.

- Most of their privileges—chauffeurs, bars, attendants, and official state cars, and even the state's huge clique and their underlings.

- Trotsky was right when he wrote in 1939: "The monumental apparatus of the state is an organ for defending the bureaucratic theses and plunder of national wealth."

To perpetuate the system of the state, the Party apparatus is compelled to resort to systematic acts of banditry. The sum total of all these things constitutes the system of Bureaucratic gangsterism..."
BULLETIN
August 16, 1971

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

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

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

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

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

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

Temporary

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

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

"But the moment he stopped trusting you, Stalin would start to scrutinize until the cup of his full host overran.

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

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

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

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

But once Stalin's anti-Jewish campaign got underway, Zhitnikov, the chairman of the executive of the Yiddish theater, was arrested.

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

"Lozovsky and his committee were dissolved.

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

"Stalin let his imagination run wild in this direction. He was struck with maniacal vengeances.

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

But once Stalin's anti-Jewish campaign got underway, Zhitnikov, the chairman of the executive of the Yiddish theater, was arrested.

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

"Stalin let his imagination run wild in this direction. He was struck with maniacal vengeances.

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

"Beat Jews"

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

We know such things happened in other cities too. The British government of Sir Stafford Cripps sent a special party to investigate charges of anti-Semitism in the United States.

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

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

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

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

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

For more than 50 years, the leaders of the British Communist Party have tried to present this regime as the custodians of Leninism.

Until 1956, they would not counterenounce the leftist criticism of Stalin, and even today, they defend his role as the purger of Trotskyism and as mentor of the revisionist theory of socialism in one country.

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

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

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

Innocent

Khrushchev says that all the old Bolsheviks framed by Stalin were completely innocent, and that his only reason for not saying so at the 1956 Congress was his fear that it would embarrass those CP leaders in the West who had endorsed the verdicts of the Moscow Trials and the military purges.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When all the Kremlinologists have finished their deliberations (most of which are influenced, to put it mildly, by national jealousy), the basic fact remains: every word of this book rings true. The onus is on the doubters to prove it a forgery.
Prelude To Revolution France in May 1968

DAVE GREEN


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

Daniel Singer, who lived in Paris during the greatest political crisis of the Fifth Republic, unfortunately has added another volume to the growing library of inadequate studies of the events of May 1968. As one would expect with a book that puts forward all sorts of revisionist attitudes, Prelude to Revolution has been received quite well by the liberal press. One reviewer suggested that "If Marx had been living in Paris during May 1968, he might have written this book."

We invite the gentleman from the New Republic to acquaint himself with "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte." It is not enough to simply dismiss Daniel Singer as anguished. He holds political opinions that are sympathetic to socialism and which he would consider to be Marxist. But because Singer is little more than a revisionist poseur, it is important that his book be analyzed before it winds up on a Pabstite literature table.

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

Singer sees May 1968 (Renault workers and the leadership of the Third International). The calculation of the millions left behind grossly skeptical about the ability of the working class to regain the offensive. He approaches Trotsky with veneration and pity; Deutscher referred to his hero as the "prophet" because he considered Trotsky as principally a voice for the distant future.

Isaac Deutscher never understood that Trotsky left behind not just political ideas, but also a material force: the Fourth International. The great failure of Deutscher as a biographer was that he did not perceive the continuity of Trotskyism, and therefore failed to realize that only the development of dialectical materialism through the development of the Fourth International could purge Stalinism from the leadership of the world party. Furthermore, Singer reflects many of Deutscher's shortcomings and none of his talents. The author of Prelude to Revolution is caught in all the contradictions that stem from a revision of Marxism. He proclaims the necessity of socialism but not of the revolutionary party. He deplores the betrayals of Stalinism but fails to struggle for the movement that can destroy it. The philosophical method for which Trotsky fought and the international which he built are foreign to Singer. In short, he identifies with Trotsky only through a vacuum.

Workers

Although Singer speaks with excitement of those times "when history quickens its pace," he sees no surprise at the vitality of the working class. Contemporized with the handy phrases that express something to the effect that we are doing in the highest stage of capitalism (something with which even bureaucrats in an exclusive Moscow steamboat would agree), Singer makes no effort to relate Lenin's theoretical triumph of the period of the war and the May explosion. There is no word about the meaning of the 1967 monetary crisis that served as the introduction to the French events.

Although Singer assures us that May 1968 proclaimed a new dawn for the workers of the world, he expresses quite often the view that France was somehow oh-so-different in the 20th century. The relationship between Europe and the United States is not seen. For example, when he uses the phrase "what France is," Singer states that we must recognize "the difference between the daily struggle and the occasional crisis." One should not "confuse the general strike, political by that it is a very rare event in industrial conflict in, say, the American steel industry.

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

Idealist

Without a clear analysis of the character of the current crisis, Singer is forced to deal with the May 1968 events as an idealist who attributes the revolutionary vitality of the working class to its response to the traditional petty-bourgeois content of the revolutionary movement. Nothing is said about the illusory stability of the Bonapartist Fifth Republic whose bourgeois credentials stem from the struggle of the bourgeoisie and proletariat.

Singer does locate the long-term vision of the role of the students. He does not deny that the working class provided the mass base on which the students the credit for having advanced socialism. In this respect, the student movements as the original apostles of socialism, he negates the material base of the Marxist analysis of the movements of the students.

It is the working class—not the students acting upon that class that constitute the goals and objectives of a revolution. Rather than understanding how to struggle, the intellectuals' bourgeois formulation its political attitudes in response to the movements of the two great classes, Singer presents it almost as an independent force.

Stalinists

Prelude to Revolution devotes considerable space to the role of the Comminist Party (PCF) in the betrayal of the working class. Singer chronicles the determined struggle of the leadership of the PCF in defense of the capitalist order and concedes that the PCF was involved in the struggle of the proletariat.

As their world crumbled around them—the military intervention of itself unequal to the task of crushing the working class and the police proclaimed dead—these Stalinists appeared to be the government only when it became clear that the Stalinists had channeled the general strike into the uncontrolled waters of parliamentary elections.

Singer is prepared to expose the betrayal of the Stalinists, PCF, he has no strategy with which to lead a fight against the PCF. The need to fight the defectors' manipulation of the working class is never put forward. Because Singer does not understand the strategy that guided Trotsky's battle against the Stalinists, he winds up with something of a separate peace with Stalinists.

Singer waits until the end of his book to state most nakedly his liquidationist position. His capitulation to Stalinism (his failure to conduct a struggle against it) is followed by an attack on every other leftist tendency. Throughout the book he appears to be quite matters of fact himself. He is not the man to cast bouquets suspiciously by quotes from Rosa Luxemburg. Once again, the revolutionaries are not the party is for him. He quotes her in order to disparage the Leninist Party.

Singer calls for "a somewhat more organized version of the French March 22 movement." No, Marx would never have written a book like Singer's. But perhaps Mandel?
STEEL 

(Continued From Page 5) 

In addition, so much as 15 per cent of the seniority, which may find that their employers permanently close their plant or lay off their followers in line with their drive for productivity. This means that, unless they are better served by their own unions rather than by the plant wide seniority, these layoffs would be on the bottom of the list for other units and would be forced onto retrenchment once their payments run out.

Each division by the employers on these S.U.B. payments, establishing a 30-week increase on the basis of a S.U.B. fund, which the employers have a perspicacity of permanently eliminating many workers of the industry over the workers years.

Even these payments which extend for one year can be considered reduced after nine months, are dependent on the employers’ payments into a fund which may well be depleted because of the tremendous number of bankruptcies that are to be seen in the deepening recession now developing. This means that a S.U.B. fund, the laid off workers are simply out of luck. There is no way for the workers to act against the threats of the steelworkers, was, from the very beginning of the union move- ments, a conscious conspiracy of the I.W.W. strike. Bethlehem mill based on an alternative program and leadership in the interests of the workers.

The Daily World and its newspaper the Daily Worker did all they could to take the strike out of the leaders and not to lead the workers to new battle. One sign of the fact that the steel pact did not break the union pattern of conflict as it was with old conflicts. Leadership was noted in the formation of the S.U.B. fund, the leaders of the S.U.B. fund being the leadership of the S.U.B. fund, that would only give this pattymaker a bitter struggle. The stage was being set for the deal in which steel. Abel claimed a big “victory” for the steelworkers back down.”

In reality, the steel corporations got the pact that they and the Administration figured they would have to come along all the way or get their pound of flesh as well, in the form of the pact that was set to go into effect and even the green light to go ahead with massive stockpiling of steel, and the leaders of the steel corporation to this pavilion which is a new development and the industry spokesmen tried to give the impression that this would only give this pattymaker a bitter struggle. The stage was being set for the deal in which steel. Abel claimed a big “victory” for the steelworkers back down.”

ABEL

The stockpiling, the agreement to allow the continuation of 25c of the nickel price increase by the Lend Lease Act, the battle of the strike, the refusal to call or to report, the use of the government in the event of a strike, and above all the cooperation with the lay- off, is the last act of the in- spidercy and the employers. Abel claims the workers to prevent a strike and to undercut the threat of wildcats following the threat.

The employers had learned a lesson by no means that there had been full production control, only the strike deadline and a payroll deadline. The demand for production following the pact. Under these conditions, and with the knowledge that their side of a continuing agreement, the workers staged a strike in April.

The only consideration was that the difficulties were enormous at the Chicago plant, and the workers would not be forced to isolate the production lines.

Thus, with the knowledge of a continuing agreement, the workers staged a strike in April.

I.W. Abel,

ties, Nixon has no choice but to encourage these layoffs and pro- ductivity drives and to lay the basis for an all out smashing of the unions and the bringing in of wage controls. The steel contract represents an attempt at the nationalization of business in the carrying out of this sza- tistry. But where the bureaucrats are concerned about the layoffs, the rank and file cannot live with this.

The layoffs are aimed at every worker in the industry whether life is the worst or not. The strategy of the employers can be stopped through a united fight of the independent workers, a united strike. Nothing but a stoppage of the layoffs. "No one back until EVERYONE goes back-resisters for the layoffs." Demonstrations of the rank and file should be or- dered local S.U.B. fund, S.U.B. fund, in support of this demand.

The fight against the layoffs must be coupled with the demand for the rank and file to have the right to a strike vote, and a call for reorganization so that the employers will be allowed to get in 1970, aimed at making the contract meaningless.

$5.00 an hour wage in- crease over three years. First year, an increase in cost of living escalator beginning 

30 hours at 40 hours pay to spread the work. 

$500 pension after 5 years. 

The right to strike against all employers in all places.

The right to all productivity deals, committees and speedup.

The right to organize and to nationalize the steel industry under workers control with no compulsory unionization, and for the formation of a labor party with representation of the Democrats and Republicans in 1972 to fight for this program.

DOLLAR CRISIS 

(Continued From Page 3)

The huge handout of 250 million dollars to Lockheed to keep the U-2 in the air, which industry is simply the latest in the series of government aid packages which have precipitated the most serious outbreak of the currency crisis in the past.

BATTLE

What the renewed outbreak of this crisis now poses to Nixon is the threat of a sharp reversal of the inflationary trend as the United States will have to face the American working class that has been thus far postponed.

In fact over the past years, bigger and larger sections of the capitalist class have been strikingly demanding that Nixon do with what appeared to them to be simply the assistance that he proceed forthwith to institute a wage freeze.

What is sure to be the wake of this crisis, Nixon has now come forward in his press conference last week and stated that he is now preparing to “consider” the possibility of Congress can convince him of their worka-

Nixon, it should be remembered, has long dispersed the left and right wings on the grounds that they would almost impossible to enforce, citing the date of the European ruling class.

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

“Nixon, in a situation in which the whole sections of the American labor movement are already in rebellion against the trade union bureaucracy that it always would not be enough.

The meaning of the latest crisis is that the employers, Nixon, the Democratic and Republican par- ty forces, is now beginning to feel about the Democrats and Republicans in 1972 to fight for this program.

UPPER CLYDE . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

government of the class enemy cannot be pressured or pleaded with. It must be thrown out by general strike action of the working class.

In the face of this tremendous class confrontation, however, the trade union leaders refuse to take up a political fight. The Daily Worker editorial, written by the Daily Worker, stated that there has been a reduction on the battle line of the Clyde from turning into a political struggle against the Tories and their backers.

These leaders have used the split between the two major parties in the government as a reason for the political distraction. The leaders of both political parties have been highly spoken of by the Daily Worker, and have been highly spoken of by the Daily Worker, and have been highest in line of the Tory leaders and the trade union leaders.

There is no way forward without the fight for a general strike, to force the Tories to the rescue of the workers, and for the election of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies, including nationalizing the steel industry under workers control.

Instead of fighting for this, the Communist Party leaders on the Clyde have gone begging to the House of Commons and the House of Lords, which have been the Tory party leaders, to have the battle on the Clyde from turning into a political struggle against the Tories and their backers.

Airie and Reid invited Daines to talk at the yards but were told that their walk out was not a strike. This became clear that he was going to leave the talks with the layoffs no matter what.

Even after this kick in the teeth, the workers, the workers, the workers, the workers refused to back down for another meet. Airie stated hopefully, “Are we not optimistic on our demands or we have felt we have moved this government—we have moved.”

The British Trades Union Con- gress and the Scottish TUC have expressed their support for the industrial action but have not lifted a finger to struggle the workers. The occupation is a farce and a fraud if it only serves to cover up for the trade union leaders.

"EDUCATIONAL" 

Left La Nixo and Anthony Wedgwood Benn call now the occupation a great "educational experience" in workers control over the steel industry. John Davies for an agreement that would preserve the Daily Worker.

Airie and Reid invited Daines to talk at the yards but were told that their walk out was not a strike. This became clear that he was going to leave the talks with the layoffs no matter what.

Even after this kick in the teeth, the workers, the workers, the workers, the workers refused to back down for another meet. Airie stated hopefully, “Are we not optimistic on our demands or we have felt we have moved this government—we have moved.”

The British Trades Union Con- gress and the Scottish TUC have expressed their support for the industrial action but have not lifted a finger to struggle the workers. The occupation is a farce and a fraud if it only serves to cover up for the trade union leaders.

Despite of the latest crisis, the Communist Party leaders on the Clyde have gone begging to the House of Commons and the House of Lords, which have been the Tory party leaders, to have the battle on the Clyde from turning into a political struggle against the Tories and their backers.

These leaders have used the split between the two major parties in the government as a reason for the political distraction. The leaders of both political parties have been highly spoken of by the Daily Worker, and have been highest in line of the Tory leaders and the trade union leaders.

There is no way forward without the fight for a general strike, to force the Tories to the rescue of the workers, and for the election of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies, including nationalizing the steel industry under workers control.

Instead of fighting for this, the Communist Party leaders on the Clyde have gone begging to the House of Commons and the House of Lords, which have been the Tory party leaders, to have the battle on the Clyde from turning into a political struggle against the Tories and their backers.

Airie and Reid invited Daines to talk at the yards but were told that their walk out was not a strike. This became clear that he was going to leave the talks with the layoffs no matter what.

Even after this kick in the teeth, the workers, the workers, the workers, the workers refused to back down for another meet. Airie stated hopefully, “Are we not optimistic on our demands or we have felt we have moved this government—we have moved.”

The British Trades Union Con- gress and the Scottish TUC have expressed their support for the industrial action but have not lifted a finger to struggle the workers. The occupation is a farce and a fraud if it only serves to cover up for the trade union leaders.

“EDUCATIONAL” 

Left La Nixo and Anthony Wedgwood Benn call now the occupation a great "educational experience" in workers control over the steel industry. John Davies for an agreement that would preserve the Daily Worker.

Airie and Reid invited Daines to talk at the yards but were told that their walk out was not a strike. This became clear that he was going to leave the talks with the layoffs no matter what.

Even after this kick in the teeth, the workers, the workers, the workers, the workers refused to back down for another meet. Airie stated hopefully, “Are we not optimistic on our demands or we have felt we have moved this government—we have moved.”
Mass Defections Shake Khan Regime

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

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

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

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

At a 20,000-strong demonstration of East Bengalis in London last month, it was alleged that at least 30,000 Pakistanis are living in East Pakistan.

The defections were discussed by the Workers Press in Britain, daily paper of the Socialist Labour League, Ahmed, son of a Bengali village teacher, explained that his shock at the March 25th massacre in Dacca. All the massacres in East Bengal were brushed aside as "Indian interventions."

On the question of a United Nations intervention in Bangla Desh Ahmed declared, "We would certainly accept that. If we are not to lose 70,000 Pakistanis, we can deal with the U.N."

Workers Press which said "is the only paper which has supported the cause of Bangla Desh." He explained that the press had wanted to break since March 25th but kept hoping that there would be a peaceful settlement.

Mubih, who handled aid from the United States to Pakistan in a position to say that such a policy was being developed, not only from East Bengali and what economic measures were needed to relieve the situation.

Mubih declared that the "atrocities that this government is committing in East Pakistan (Bangla Desh)," the frenzy with which it is driving Bengalis out of the country and its suppression of dissent in all walks of life, was not an isolated country, not only forlorn the right of the government to a place in a civilized world but also made it responsible for dismemberment of the country."

Another correspondent in Britain, Ahmed, said "the breaking news."

In an exclusive interview with the Workers Press in Britain, daily paper of the Socialist Labour League, Ahmed, son of a Bengali village teacher, explained that his shock at the March 25th massacre in Dacca. All the massacres in East Bengal were brushed aside as "Indian interventions."

BY A CORRESPONDENT

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

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

1. A Palestinian Liberation Organization communique stated that time: "On Saturday morning, the troops used loudspeakers to persuade our men to assemble in the name of the Syrian military delegation. After a number of them ordered they were cut down by hand engineer machine guns. This treachery and criminal action forced a number of our men to head for the Israeli-occupied territory. The latest and heaviest defeat for the Palestinian guerrillas was followed by another "summit" meeting of Arab leaders. The meeting was convened by Libya's Colonel Gaddafi, and attended by Egypt's Sadat, Syria's al-Assad, the presidents of the two Yemeni states and Yasser Arafat, the guerrilla leader. Arafat has a policy of compromise with the national bourgeoisie led governments of Arab states heled to the virtual crushing of the commando movement and the removal as an organized force in Jordan.

ARAFAT

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

Over the next nine months Hussein proved historically and systematically took advantage of this deal to return from near defeat to chip away at the remaining guerrilla strength and set the stage for his final attack. While he openly prepares for the final airlift to Amman, he uses his puppet, to crush the guerrillas, the Arafat leadership set the commandos up for disbandment in the guise of a political move on the heirs of Nasser.

Hussein's latest power struggle in the governments of Egypt, Libya and Syria confine themselves again to words and behind the scenes activities. The Arab Union which Arafat has accused of conspiring against him on communist lines. He recently announced that there was no place for the Palestinian people in Middle East. In a speech to labor leaders on August 7, Sadat stated that "the Palestinians are not national, not class struggle. At the same time more than two figures have been killed for the long list of those in jail or under house arrest. Khaled Mhadi, the most radical of the officers who participated in the 1952 revolution, and Ibrahim Saadiah, head of the Socialist Institute, have been placed under house arrest.

The third of the partners in the Arab Federation, Syria, closed its borders to the "enemies" of Syrian nationalism. Gaddafi, however, loathes the situation and is one of the few countries in the world who refuse to sound a deal for arms for West Pakistan. Only the international solidarity of the Palestinian will come to the aid of Bangla Desh.

Commandos Betroied By Arab Leaders

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

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

Gaddafi: "it's nothing but a real effort instead of any form of liberation armed struggle for the guerrillas. Launched a vicious attack on the Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine."

"No commandos but stonewall...once the advocates of Arab nationalism they have now become involved in Marxism-LENINISM. They have thereby committed a big mistake because the Palestinian people are waging a liberation struggle in which all forces must join against foreign colonialism." Gaddafi shows what he is preparing to do for the Palestinian people by not lifting a finger in their defense. Furthermore the Libyan government forced down an airliner on Friday from Tunis to Zawia, which is home to two left wing Sudanese soldiers who had taken part in the short-lived overthrow of King Hussein. The government of Libya also proclaimed two over to Numery for immediate extradition.

Egypt's Sadat has followed his own course on dissidents in the Arab World and the same pattern as the Union with the Arab nations against the commandos on communists. He recently announced that there was no place for the Palestinian people in Middle East. In a speech to labor leaders on August 7, Sadat stated that "the Palestinians are not national, not class struggle. At the same time more than two figures have been killed for the long list of those in jail or under house arrest. Khaled Mhadi,

Middle East
Yugoslavia

Direct Report On Recent Struggles

Croatian nationalists in the so-called Cicka affair. Cicka was the nationalist candidate for professor of the Zagreb University. His election reflected the growth of nationalism among some of the students in Zagreb.

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

Q: Could you tell us something about recent struggles of the working class?
A: Many strikes have taken place in individual factories. 500 railway workers recently demonstrated against low wages. Most strikes are one-day strikes for higher wages. The newspapers print information on these struggles.

In Ljubljana there have been strikes of textile workers, miners and other workers in the last year. Sometimes these strikes take the form of demonstrations which threaten strike action. The workers have been attacked by the police and the workers are still waiting to see most of them.

Ljubljana has recently become the center of student actions as well as workers' strikes. Could you describe the most recent developments?
A: With the growth of Croatian nationalism in Zagreb and the retreat for the time being of the Belgrade students, the student movement in Ljubljana is the most active. A teach-in was held over the Mijaković affair last year.

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

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

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

At the end of May the students occupied the philosophy faculty. The police improved their watch and the workers are not far to try to pick off one, two or three students at a time. The students are fighting to prevent this from happening.

Q: What perspectives has the student movement been discussing and developing?
A: The student movement is concerning itself not only with university rights but more and more with social problems. They are also pressing for social differentiation within the student movement. This is reflected not only in the nationalistic tendency, but in the discussion of how to come closer to the workers and their struggles.

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

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

Q: Do you know about the Essen Conference of International Revolutionary Youth, held on July 2-4, 1971?
A: Some friends were intending to go there. It is extremely important that a movement encompassing the youth of both Eastern and West Europe is built. The struggles of the students and youth in those societies where capitalism has been overthrown is very different in many ways from that in the capitalist countries. But there is no possibility of creating a socialist society without the close international collaboration of revolutionary forces.
Mistrial Declared In Huey Newton Case

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The manslaughter retrial of Black Panther Party co-founder Huey Newton ended in a mistrial on August 8, when the jury failed to reach a verdict after an 8-week trial. He was again convicted of murder and sentenced to death on March 26, 1968, the death sentence was later reduced to life imprisonment. Newton was again convicted of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment on March 26, 1968.

Newton was originally convicted and sentenced to death in May 1967, but his conviction was overturned by the California Court of Appeals in May 1970. At that time Newton was serving nearly 5 years of the sentence.

Newton was given his right to be heard after his release on $50,000 bail after the first conviction was overturned. Date for a new trial was expected in the next few days shortly.

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

The prosecution alleged that Newton was responsible for the death of Peterman John Frey, the other officer who had stopped Newton. Newton testified that he did not see a gun, that he had been wounded in the abdomen and was unconscious.

The defense claimed that the other patron, Henry Heires, had shot Frey.

DIFFICULT

The outcome of this trial, quickly following the acquittal of the New Orleans Panther Party leadership will be of interest to New Yorkers.

CSEA Must Beat Back Reagan's COL Veto

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—The CSEA’s local representatives in this area and the CSEA’s state legalese in this area are now urging Godol, for the swearing in of a Democratic senator, who makes a bare De- mocrtic majority in the Senate in Sacramento.

These bureaucrats cry frantically to the hope that their friends in the Senate and Assem- bly would override Reagan’s veto of the $5 of the living increase for state workers. The CSEA’s bureaucracy, which disarms being called part of the labor movement, has refused to mobilize the state workers to override the Reagan amendment veto of living increases.

The salary increase passed by the Democratic-controlled legislature does not begin to meet the past year’s rate of inflation or to correct the completely inadequate level of state workers’ salaries in com-

CSEA MEMBER SPEAKS ON BUDGET

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

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

Q: What do you think of Reagan’s vetoes?
A: I think it is really bad. I think it represents the fact that Reagan thinks he can do this kind of thing without some check on his power. It’s a desecration of the people and the legislative branch of the state.

Q: How do you think CSEA should fight Reagan’s vetoes?
A: I think we should strike, but only if we get the support of CSEA workers all over the state. Because any isolated strike like here in Santa Clara county will not help the cause.

Q: Do you think CSEA should strike despite a very probable injunction?
A: Yes, and if we forced to go back there would definitely be a work slowdown. A strike will show Reagan and the others what we’re made of.

Q: What do you think of the CSEA leadership?
A: Personally I think the whole organization is a farce. They haven’t accomplished anything. They pay $2.50 to go to picnics, play baseball or go bowling, while your wages keep going down. I think that the leadership has made a deal with the Reagan administration without regard to keeping everything quiet. All they are doing is asking Reagan to give us five percent which is like asking them to throw some bones to the dogs. Right now I don’t think we would be able to strike at all the time.

Q: What do you think of the idea of a labor party based on the trade unions?
A: I don’t really know. But I know that there has to be some changes fast or this country is going to be in a depression like the 1930s.

CSEA Must Beat Back Reagan's COL Veto

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—The CSEA bureau- crats and their puppet in various locals around the state are now urging Godol, for the swearing in of a Democratic senator, who makes a bare Demo- cratic majority in the Senate in Sacramento.

These bureaucrats cry frantically to the hope that their friends in the Senate and Assem- bly would override Reagan’s veto of the $5 of the living increase for state workers. The CSEA’s bureaucracy, which disarms being called part of the labor movement, has refused to mobi- lize the state workers to override the Reagan amendment veto of living increases.

The salary increase passed by the Democratic-controlled legislature does not begin to meet the past year’s rate of inflation or to correct the completely inadequate level of state workers’ salaries in com-

SUBSCRIBE

CSEA SUBSCRIPTION OFFERS:

$1.50 for six months introductory offer
$2.80 for full year

CSEA SUBSCRIPTION OFFERS:

$1.50 for six months introductory offer
$2.80 for full year

CSEA SUBSCRIPTION OFFERS:

$1.50 for six months introductory offer
$2.80 for full year
Steel Ranks Rebel Against Layoffs

BY STEVE CHERKOS
VERNON, Aug. 10—The strike among the nine ranks was closing it all down against
from 900 to 1000 guys have been laid off now and there are
more layoffs to come, many of them permanent. The last
layoff day was August 6 when 1000 men were thrown out of work.
There are tremendous anger among the ranks. Men are taking
down bulletin boards. The fore-

USWA LOCAL 1845
strike vote was almost 100% in favor of the strike. Abel's contract extension,
man has been giving out discipline
- slips for workers who take time off.
There is a revolt against lay-
offs. The strike was spontaneous, not organized. The men
were up the war since.
On Saturday, night July 31, the plant was essentially closed.
It had been open there would have been a walk out. The
company closed the plant down.
There was only a skeleton crew
working.
At the union meeting last night, the local president, Frank
Panazarita, did not show up.
The leadership said he was
too sick. Probably too sick
because he knows he cannot sell this kind of contract to the
ranks. The meeting lasted poorly attended. None of the young
workers were there.

ADMIR
The main report on the contract
was given by an Interna-
tional staff representative. He
was forced to admit that the
new productivity clause in the
contract was just a speed up
clause but was mutual
trusteehip-bosses and workers
cooperate on production.
On the basis of this attack he
had to admit that the produc-
tivity clause was a speed up
clause and would mean threats of a significant amount of jobs.
He said that the grievances man
on this contract would fight not to comply with it by

making it a talk session with the
company.
There was big opposition in
the Local around pensions, the
right to strike, cost of living
clause, and layoffs. The most
opposition centered on the lay-
offs.
The fight to reverse this con-
tact must go forward. The work-
ers are not going to take this
lying down. Rank and file com-
mitees must be organized in
the plants. The men are sche-
duled to go back to work on
August 20 after the summer close
down.
The ranks must demand that
once we go back until every-
one is back.

Dock Fight Deadlock

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
SAN FRANCISCO—The meeting between the governments of the West Coast states, the leadership of the striking
ILWU and an official of the federal mediation and concil-
ation service of last week was cancelled.

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

MOOD
It is clear however that Bridges
feared the reaction of the strikers who have been out for seven weeks now and are in no mood for a
sellout. Such a meeting would have meant a sharp confrontation between the union and the
government.
In the meantime the govern-
ment is attempting to put the
pressure on the strikers. Since
July 31st longshoremen have been
refused food stamps. An official
from Alameda County said that
the state had requested that the
counts comply with federal
regulations in relation to distri-
bution of food stamps. There is
a federal regulation saying that
there must be a waiting period
of 30 days, but there is no com-
parative rule on the county level.
The state is obviously trying to
stick a knife into the strike.

STARVE
The intention of the employers and the government is to starve
the workers into submission.
Bridges is not helping the sit-
sation a bit. He continues to
allow shipping from ports in
British Columbia and Mexico and
has refused to mobilize a fight for
the mobilization of the entire
labor movement behind the
dockers.
Bridges has called a coast-wide
meeting to be held in two weeks.
The ranks of the ILWU must stand
fast on their demands on wages
and the 40 hour guarantee. The
scab ports must be brought into
account and a campaign taken up in
the labor movement. The ranks must
answer the employers’ job
shifting plans with the demand
that the industry be nationalized
under workers control. This
must be taken up within the context
of the fight for a labor party.

CWA Locals Must Throw Back Beirne’s Latest Deal

BY A CWA MEMBER
SAN FRANCISCO—CWA’s
half million members were
to vote this week on a con-
tact offered by the Bell System. Almost all telephone
workers are now working
without a contract since or-
dered back to work by the
CWA national leadership.

CWA President Joe Beirne,
terminated in the course of fed-
eral investigation, called everyone
tack at the “suggestion” of the
federal mediation service. The
heavy hand of government inter-
vention is being felt with every
major strike as the ruling class
becomes more and more worried
about the unabating wage offen-
sive of workers in this country.
The contract offered by the
Bell System was a joke for most
first year men. There are those
who were rejected out of hand
by the union leadership.
This time however, the national
CWA leaders feel it is a red hot offer
that we should gladly accept.

At the same time the government
reckoned this ploy as “in-
formal.”

The Bell System
announces another raise in
customer rates because the old
rates “didn’t keep up with the
1971 wage settlement.”

All of this pressure is a reac-
tion to the fighting militancy of
communications workers who are being driven against its wall
by their low wages and the sky-
rocketing cost of living. Beirne’s
fear that he could not keep the
ranks under control proved cor-
rect during the strike. Various
locals across the country refused
go to work as long as the
strike was “called off.”

DEFY
Local 9410 San Francisco
announced a vote to defy the
national leadership’s direct or-
ders and refuse to cross picket
lines set up by the Yellow Pages
workers.

SUPPORT
If the contract offer is rejected nationwide the strike will con-
tinue August 19. CWA workers
must not let themselves be
tempted to cowardly bureau-
crats. We must call on the
rest of the labor movement to support what is clearly a
political strike against the
combined forces of the capi-
talists.
- Reject the contract offer
- 25 percent wage raise in
the first year
- No contract! No work!

Gravedigger Leaders in Secret Talks On Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
SAN FRANCISCO—A ten
week old st at any such tatty
green keets and grave
giggers has sacked more
than 1200 unburied bodies at
the San Francisco
mortuary.

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

Now into the picture has
stepped Mayor Alioto ordering
closed door discussions in his
office with both sides present.
Alioto is the “friend of labor”
who has agreed to not
inflict, through his medi-
ated efforts, defeats upon San Fran-
cisco teachers and city workers.

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

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

It is not from fake friends
like Alioto but from the rest of the
Bay Area labor move-
m ent that the cemetery workers
will get the power to win this
strike. The ranks must turn
their backs on the mayor and must
be ready to immediately reject any
sellout which emerges from these
talks.
Steel Ranks Rebel Against Layoffs

BY STEVE CHERKOS
VERNON, Aug. 10—The strike vote was almost 100% in favor among the ranks, according to Abel’s contract extension. The company closed the plant down, but there was only a skeleton crew working.

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

Dock Fight Deadlock

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

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

MODS

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

In the meantime the government is attempting to put the pressure on the strikers. Since July 31st longshoremen have been refused food stamps. An official from Alameda County said that the state had requested that the county comply with federal regulations in relation to distribution of food stamps. There is a federal regulation saying that there must be a waiting period of 30 days, but there is no comportsy rule on the county level.

The state is obviously trying to stick a knife into the strike.

STARVE

The intention of the employers and the government is to starve the workers into submission.

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

Bridges has called a coast-wide meeting to be held in two weeks. The rank of the ILWU must stand firm on their demands on wages and the 40 hour guarantee.

The port must take into account and a campaign taken up in the labor movement. The rank must answer the employers’ job slashing plans with the demand that the industry be nationalized under workers control. This must be taken up within the context of the fight for a labor party.

CWA Locals Must Throw Back Beirne’s Latest Deal

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

CWA President Joe Beirne, frustrated by the prospect of federal investigation, called everyone back at the “suggestion” of the federal mediation service. The heavy hand of government intervention is being felt with every major strike as the ruling class becomes more and more worried about the unabating wage offensive of workers in this country.

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

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

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

DEFY

Local 9410 San Francisco unanomously voted to defy the national leadership’s director- ers and refused to cross picket lines set up by the Yellow Pages workers.

Support

If the contract offer is rejected nationwide the strike will continue August 9. CWA workers must not let themselves be betrayed by cowardly bureaucrats. We must call on the rest of labor to support what is a clear political strike against the combined forces of the capitalists.

- Reject the contract offer
- 25 percent wage raise in the first year
- No contract! No work!

Gravedigger Leaders in Secret Talks On Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
SAN FRANCISCO—A ten week old sit in at a county rich green grove has been decimated. Graders and grave diggers have stacked more than 100 unburied bodies at the San Francisco mor- tunaries.

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

Now into the picture has stepped Mayor Alioto ordering closed door discussions in his office with both sides present. Alioto is the “friend of labor” and perhaps his bias is reflected through his mediation efforts, defeats upon San Fran- cisco teachers and city workers.

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

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

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