George Meany Warns That Compulsory Freeze Is . . .

What we think

George Jackson's Fight For Marxism

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

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

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

Writing in the Black Panther paper on March 13, 1971 George Jackson sought to defend Angela Davis by seeing her in struggle against the American Communist Party or at least elements within it. He stated: "When certain members of her party attacked Comrade Jonathan Jackson of the Black Panther Party for the practice of his beliefs, Angela attacked them. No reactionary A.C.P. policy or ideology is safe from her censure. They have heaped criticism back on her in turn." And later in the same article: "The insecure and pos- (Continued On Page 6)"
George Meany Warns That Compulsory Freeze Is . . .

What we think

George Jackson's Fight for Marxism

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

When asked recently what book impressed him most of all, he replied: "Kropotkin's Anti-Dühring. Anti-Dühring is one of Marx and Engels' most fundamental works on Marxist philosophy. At the time when he was slain he admitted to a reporter that he was "engaged in a study of the working-class movement here in the United States and an in-depth investigation of history of the past 50 years, when fascism swept the western world." While his political development was only at a beginning stage and could not help but be distorted by the isolation from open political activity in a political party imposed by jail, George Jackson had gone through an important political development particularly in his last months. It is clear from his writings of the recent period that he had taken up a sharp struggle against the American Communist Party and was beginning to probe the whole question of Stalinism.

Writing in the Black Panther paper on March 13, 1971 George Jackson sought to defend Angela Davis by seeing her in struggle against the American Communist Party or at least elements within it. He stated: "When certain members of her party attacked Comrade Jonathan Jackson of the Black Panther Party for the 'practice' of his beliefs, Angela attacked them. No reactionary A.C.P. policy or ideology is safe from her censure. They have heaped criticism back on her in turn." And later in the same article: "The insecure and pos-" (Continued On Page 4)

Prices To Rise As Big Business Gorges Itself

West Coast dockers use a flat tire to express what they think of Nixon and the capitalist economy.
GLEANON PREPARES GAI SET OUT

BY BOB MICHAELSON

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

This move on the part of the bureaucracy holds the greatest dangers for the jobs of the rank and file longshoremen. It strikes right at the heart of the fight against automation which is already wiping out thousands of waterfront jobs nationwide.

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

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

The Port of New York is the only port with a 40-hour, 52-week guaranteed wage (2,080 hours). Other ports which have the GAI vary in the amount. The master contract was supposed to win for the whole East and Gulf Coasts the identical GAI won by the Port of New York in the 1968 contract.

DECIMATION

Such a contract would be a great victory for rank and file longshoremen against LASH and containerization. Allowing the GAI to be negotiated on a local port basis prepares us only for further erosion of this contract but also now for the immediate decimation of the jobs, wages and living conditions of longshoremen.

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

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

At the same time, CONASA will try to use its combined strength to fight against any wage increase. Gleason is still promising the bosses that he will not strike and he has made it clear that he is flexible on the wages and work week issues.

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

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

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

TROOPS PUT GIRLS IN VANS TO BE HELD IN PREVENTIVE DETENTION IN DAYTON

By John Werner

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

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

There were arrested and the drivers made to open their trunks and interior. If any peace signs or literature were found, you were not allowed in. Even one man I observed was searched minutely who had an innocuous Overpopulation sticker on his car. One middle-aged man who had an "Impeach Nixon" button on was given the strong arm treatment by five high ranking Air Force officers and dragged out of the crowd and placed in a detention bus.

A few unemployed workers and veterans carried a symbolic casket into the Air Force base but were finally stopped by a paddocked gate. Behind the gate we saw a row of riot helmeted soldiers, and behind them were fire trucks. The veterans threw their medals over the fence and left the cars. One group who were refused access because of peace stickers and signs pickedeted outside with signs saying, "Stop The Wage Freeze, Build A Labor Party," "Break With the Two Parties Of War And Wage Cuts, Build A New Labor Peoples' Party." These signs were signed, "New Party Labor Committee." Other signs said "Warlord Dedi- cates Death Museum" and "George Jackson Lives On, Free Political Prisoners." This group also gave out leaflets blasting the wage freeze, Nixon and the racism still practiced in the Democrats and Wallace.

ILIA MEMBER: WE'LL BE OUT

By a Bulletin Reporter

Baltimore, Sept. 4—Weeks before the ILA strike deadline, the attitude of the ranks here can best be described as angry, dis- contented, and more than willing to fight for a contract they need.

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

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

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

In the past year, the tension on the waterfront has erupted several times. The supreme court ruling that the old Black and white locals, 829 and 858, has been blatantly fought by both leaderships. They have instituted a nine month waiting period to "adjust" people to the new system. They needed to kick our ass. The people needed here to kick out those officials who are encouraging the racism still practiced in hiring and layoffs.

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

LEADING

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

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

THE WORKERS LEAGUE INVITES YOU TO A WEEKEND OF EDUCATION AND RECREATION IN THE CATSKILLS

Saturday, Sept. 25

And Sunday, Sept. 26

Lectures - Discussion - Swimming - Dancing

A HISTORY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

LECTURE I


LECTURE II

Fourth International Under Michel Pablo—Lecturer: Tim Wohlforth.

LECTURE III

The International Committee of the Fourth International—Lecturer: Tim Wohlforth.

The weekend will be held in the scenic Catskills near Kerhonkson, New York. Enjoy comfortable accommodations, delicious meals, swimming and sports facilities.

For information call 212-924-0852.
Meany Warns: Road To Fascism

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

AFL-CIO President George Meany denounced in the strongest terms the moves towards the setting up of a wage-price board with legal enforcement powers. According to Meany, such a board, now called for by leading Democrats as well as Administration spokesmen, is "the road to fascism." Meany's analysis is massively correct. Nixon and the capitalists he represents are forced to turn towards the corporate state as pioneered by Mussolini and the fascist movement. Even the same union bureaucrats must be dispensed with. The independence of the unions must be crushed entirely so that workers have no means to fight back. Meany is angry at Nixon, not because of any personal affront, not because he was not consulted prior to the wage freeze or anything of that sort. He is angry because Nixon is making his position intolerable.

After years in which the union officials could argue that collective bargaining was working to secure rising living standards and job security, the government has ripped away the myth of prosperity and class collaboration in one mammoth stroke. How does Meany propose to fight? At the same time as he denounces Nixon for taking "the road to fascism," Meany himself proposes a wage-price board to guarantee cooperation, patterned after the war Labor Board of World War II.

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

Now Meany has combined this proposition with a wage-price board with the offer of a no-strike pledge. He is ready giving up on the weapons of organized workers. He is ready to abandon this weapon against the mass struggle.

Some conclusions overall: Nixon's policies are in contradiction with the interests of the working class. The government is trying all possible means of crushing the unions and the movement. The leadership of the movement must resist these moves. The unions must fight back. The workers must reassert control of their movement. The unions must not come to terms with the state. The unions must continue to resist the state. The unions must fight back. The workers must resist the state. The workers must continue to resist the state. The workers must continue to resist the state.
Hospital Union Must Call Strike Against Freeze

BY AN 1199 MEMBER
NEW YORK, Sept. 6--Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers, were preparing to be affected by a wage freeze. The union, which has grown to over 50,000 members and begun to organize nationwide, now faces the most critical period in its history.

Thousands of workers in hospitals throughout New York are already on strike and many others will be affected by any extension of the freeze. And all hospital workers will face a delay in their union benefits.

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

NUBILIZED

It is this contract which Nixon's freeze has nullified. The agreement according to many workers is a bare minimum has now been violated by Nixon himself. Thous-

ands of workers must now consider whether they will ever be able to enjoy the modest benefits they won.

Just when hospital workers have finally been able to take the first steps above the poverty line, their freedom to bargain, to want to drag these workers back to conditions of poverty and in-

solvency. It is in this situation that the ranks of the leadership more than protest when union comes to the wage freeze. The leadership has pro-

posed a demonstration on October 1st but it has tentative. The opposi-

tion has made it clear that it intends to fight for strike action as the only way to smash the freeze. This is the fight that must be taken up at the September 15th union meeting.

The record of 1969 President Leone in the past of the leadership is one of talk without action. It is the capitalist system. The leadership has in the past few years refused to wage any struggle on any court at a time when working conditions were being sharply attacked and it was clear that layoffs were being prepared. It is the time of the crisis in the hospital crisis and demand a fight for socialist medicine and for a labor party to take up the fight for adequate health care as well as the fight against poverty, racism and war.

The 1969 officials have con-

sistently given in to the demands of the leadership to support the leadership in the struggle between the workers who have attacked the works.

The leadership should now include Rockefeller and Lindsay and Senator McGovern, who just a few months ago was invited

Goons Beat Local 3036 Dissidents

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER
NEW YORK—Elections of shop stewards and committeemen take place in all New York City taxi garages this week, as the first of the most visible victories by the Local 3036 Union lead-

ership.

Three shop stewards have been beaten, and just last week, Charles Petersen, the current vice president who openly opposes Harry Van Arsdale and the current contract, was brutally beaten by three "unknown" assai-
lants.

In addition, slander and intimi-
dation have been used against other drivers in various garages. What is clear in these local elections is that new leadership is needed from both sides of the issue.

The very existence of Local 3036 is threatened by the owners, and city adminis-

tration, but by the Van Arsdale leadership.

All candidates must look for a clear stand on the right of rank and file to express, and campaign, for their views at all ga-


rages. But this is not just a fight for a democratic union. Cabbies are earning less than the present agreement negotiated by Van Arsdale.

Cabbies must be elected who will fight for 60% of the meter, the effective recall at 40%, 80% of all fares (all benefits to be paid by owners, as before), and proportionate representation in the garages.

PROGRAM

But a political fight is neces-

sary to win these demands. Taxi drivers and all workers are under threat by the wage freeze. This attack must be answered with a call for a general strike to smash the freeze.

While the reformers—Republicans and Democrats supported the freeze, drivers must now answer this with a call for a new building of a labor party.

As the drivers run through garages, 35th and Eden in Brooklyn, and Columbus in Manhattan, have taken this week as the only hope for these demands. These mili-

tary attacks must be followed up in the elections to take up this fight, to overturn the contract and dump the Van Arsdale leadership.

Resistance Grows In SSEU-3711 As City Presses Reorganization

BY AN SSEU-3711 MEMBER

The 20th Amendment to the Constitution was passed earlier this year, allowing 18 year olds to vote.

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

Both Democratic and Republic-

can politicians in many cities and towns with large college popula-

tions are afraid of the youth and are preventing them from regis-

tering to vote.

ATTACKS

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

The logic is that students have no "lasting" or "permanent" interest in hearses, and therefore should not be allowed to vote there.

The same argument has been used to evict right property qualifications to exclude whole sections of the working class from voting.

This attack is a continuation of Mitchell’s organized mass arrests of youth during the May Day attacks, the massacre and murder of young black militants. It expresses the fear and hatred of the capitalist class for the youth.

MITCHELL ATTACKS YOUTH VOTE

BY PAT CONNOLLY

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

EDITOR: LUCY ST. JOHN
ART DIRECTOR: MARY JONES
THE BULLETIN, Weekly organ of the Workers League, is published every Thursday by New York Labor Publishing Co., 362 Ninth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and business offices: 362 Ninth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—year, $3.00; Foreign—year, $4.00; SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.
Newark Teachers Face Wage Freeze, Fines

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

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

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

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

FINES

The NTU also faces a $40,000 fine from the 31st strike. The court ruled that, besides the $270,000 fine against the union, strikers and members of the NTU will be held responsible for and assessed for $252,000 in costs and damages from the recent strike.

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

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

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

ACTION

At the recent national convention of the American Federation of Teachers, a section of the delegation supported a resolution calling for action against the wage freeze. The NTU delegation was solidly in favor of the resolution.

The ranks of the NTU demand that the leadership launch an offensive against th. attacks by Gibbons, the Board and the courts.

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

AFSCME Must Fight Freeze To Win 30%

BY AN AFSCME LOCAL 1164 MEMBER
MINNETONKA—The national leadership of AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) recently held a conference in Minneapolis.

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

That “strategy” consists of two parts. First, AFSCME leadership will attempt to exempt public employees from the wage freeze.

It is done at a time when the leadership knows no exception will be made, when Nixon has frozen federal employees’ wages for six months.

Clearly, this is an attempt on the part of AFSCME to turn the freeze in the direction of freezing the wages of the workers.

Minnetonka

It is ironic that this National Conference was held in Minne- tonka. State employees have been fighting for a wage increase since July 1st. Long ago, 44 of the 54 locals voted to strike and still Joe Robison, head of these locals, stands. He pins his hopes on liv- ely leaders in the state legislature. That legislature spent all summer in special session and adjourned without granting any increase. Now a conference committee offers a 1% increase this year and a 4% increase next year which is a far cry from the 10% AFSCME demanded. At a recent Local 1164 (University Employees) meeting, Robison said we would have to wait till after the freeze to discuss this proposal. When questioned by a member of 1164, he said, “it is quite clear the freeze won’t end in November.” Furthermore, when a militant delegate from AFSCME lead a General Strike to end the freeze he said, “I wish we could, but we can’t.”

Robison is now using this miserable offer of 1% to stall a genuine fight for a real increase in wages. Without ending the wage freeze even that 1% cannot be gained.

Joe Robison and the rest of AFSCME’s leadership is refusing to lead a fight against Nixon’s wage freeze and for the increases public employees need. It is up to the rank and file to force them to take up that struggle or be replaced by a leadership that will.

A caucus is growing in 1164 to do just that.

What is absolutely necessary now in Minnesota, the program this caucus is fighting for, is an immediate strike of all state public employees to gain the wage increases we deserve, end the law against public employees striking, and STOP NIXON’S WALL STREET FUNDING.

Secondly, that $1 million fund should be used to convene a conference of labor, youth, and mi- norities that will construct a labor party for the ‘72 elections.

No more labor support to its enemies in either party.

Daley Jails Leader Of Teachers Union

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
CHICAGO—Ever since the imprisonment of Norman Swenson, President of the Cook County Teachers Union two weeks ago, officials of the AFL-CIO have maintained a grim silence on the whole affair in the hopes that the implications of the jail- ing could be concealed among trade unionists in the Chicago area.

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

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

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

“EMBARRASSING”

For this reason, AFL-CIO officials have decided not to defend Swenson. As one official privately explained to this reporter, “You can’t defend Swenson without embarrassing the Mayor, we don’t want to do anything that can damage the city.”

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

Swenson’s jailing is a sharp warning to the ranks of the labor movement of what the govern- ment, both Republicans and Dem- ocrats, have in store for the unions if they fight back. The role of the labor leaders is absolutely criminal in this situation.

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

The ranks of the labor movement must repudiate the position of their leaders and demand that Swenson be defended.
Nixon's 'Work Ethic' Is Attack On Unions

"This is the first and only International Labor Day. It belongs to the American worker. It is dedicated to the Revolution." So proclaimed Eugene Debs on May 1st, 1907 when he commemorated the "Labor Day of May." If we look at the working class of today, we find that the traditions of socialism and internationalism that Roosevelt said in the 1930s proclaimed "Labor Day," a national holiday on the first Monday in September.

May 1st was a day of international solidarity of the working class, celebrated by workers throughout the world. Its origins lay in the United States in the Haymarket Massacre and the bloody battle the working class fought against the robber barons for the eight hour day. It was in 1886 that the working class fought off against the traditions of socialism and internationalism that Roosevelt said in the 1930s proclaimed "Labor Day," a national holiday on the first Monday in September.

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

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

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

Nixon's speech is a vicious insult to the working class.

"That work, productivity, puzzles and sometimes frightens people. It sounds like the old "speed-up" or some new efficiency system that drives people harder. Productivity means getting more out of your work."

Productivity means getting more profit out of each worker by driving them to the breaking point, or even the death. It means that thousands more will be thrown out of work.

"And the talk of this man Nixon has no bounds. He talks of the "will to work" when thousands of unemployed have spent months looking for jobs and at a time when he and the rest of the bosses have the money, the means to make them an early death. It means that thousands more will be thrown out of work."

The talk of this man Nixon has no bounds. He talks of the "will to work" when thousands of unemployed have spent months looking for jobs and at a time when he and the rest of the bosses have the money, the means to make them an early death. It means that thousands more will be thrown out of work.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued From Page 1)

sibly counter-revolutionary ele- ments of the A.C.P. represent Angela Jackson's 's brother in law, a duel over this issue is taking place. The "race" is on. Nixon's public relations men must believe that they are the real leaders in this battle. Nixon's public relations men must believe that they are the real leaders in this battle.

Next in the July 24, 1971 Black Panther paper George Jackson and the other Soledad Brothers issued a statement "concerning the openness of this issue," which describes the San Francisco office of the Soledad Brothers Defense Com- mittee. The opportunity in question are clearly the Com- munist Party and those influenced by it. He states: "You took the wrong position on August 7th. public and private. I've heard all of the cowardly remarks bearing on my brother's judgements and private. Revolution is not going to be a passive. The only reason some place you were anywhere near any of our operations was in an effort to prevent the racist monolith which could not muster to an understanding of this."

He continues: "...if you are one of the few who have been wronged by the government, it affords me, and as an example to you who have obviously been misled to believe that negotiations with a pig are possible, and that there are no solutions of this."

"Meany's monolithic blackmail is nothing more than the bluff and thus it is a sad mystery that the National Labor Council of the technique that this is."

This represents a stunning ass杀刺 of the Communist Party— even though the Communist Party is not mentioned as such, reflecting the power of the capitalist class. But if there is any doubt that he is speaking of the Communist Party, the inter- nal exclusions state: "We are not going to wait for the Soviets to peacefully coexist our enemies out of existence."

What this represents is a head- on collision over the revolutionary aspirations of the Black Pan- masses and the counter-revo- lutionary politicians of the Com- munist Party. The issue is not a tactical one nor a matter of the specifics of Jackson's own activities. Nixon begins from the perspective that the struggle is a struggle between the revolutionary one requiring in the end a class war. The Com- munist Party begins with the perspective of reforming capi- talism, of peacefully coexisting with it, of seeking a peaceful road to socialism. The "tech- nique of the 1960's" to which Nixon refers is the Communist Party's trade of popular fronts with capitalist politicians as opposed to breaking the working class's class struggle and real people.

We must also take note of the vicious article by Henry Winston appearing in the August, 1971 Political Affairs. "The Crisis Of The Black Panther Party." Winston is no "individual" in the Communist Party, but one of its top leaders. Referring to both Nixon and Cleaver he states: "...These ultra-"revolutionaries" helped create an atmosphere in which the racist police and right wing regimes could falsify portray violent and that the membership of the Black Panthers can carry over the fact that they themselves are the source of the truth. The pseudo-militants of the Nixon and Cleaver and Hilliard made their own party and its supporters par- ticularly vulnerable to nationwide genocidal assaults and frame- ups." Yes, to Winston and the C.P., that Black militants who take up arms in self-defense against the violence of the capitalist state, is seen as provoking that same vio- lence. The culprit is the audacity of the Black Panthers. If only they had laid low like the Communist Party perhaps they would have spurt- ed the wrath of the master!

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

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

George Jackson was not able to complete his study of the history of the movement of Trotskyism which he per- sonally had such a bitter experi- ence in the last months of his life. If he had he would have had a clear vision of Trotskyism which was born in defense of revolutionary Marxism against the popular frontism in the 1930's and which today poses the only pro- gram forward for uniting the whole working class in a revolu- tionary struggle for power.

George Jackson recognized that the road forward had to proceed beyond the bounds of the ghetto, in a Marxist program, and em- compassing the working class as a whole. He described his dis- cussion with George Davis on this point: "Angela attacks me with questions honestly and sin- celerly and I have to answer her question on the value of the Black worker as a revolutionary agent, and she presents solid evi- dence to the effect that she is dis- ciplined, forms nearly 30% of the entire industrial work force, and work, without the smallest hint of hostility, at the theoret- ical juncture that, hypothetically, Hun's center city communes may be the vehicle for revolutionizing this all too conservative Black worker; then he in turn radical- ize and revolutionize his White counterpart."

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

This is what the Workers League is all about!
A BALANCE SHEET

MAO'S SLAVERY defence of Stalin played into the hands of the Soviet bureaucracy. The Soviet working class, youth and intellectuals hated Stalin as a symbol of repression and mass murder. The more Mao praised him, the easier it became for the Khrushchev to drive a wedge between the Soviet people and the Chinese Revolution.

Mao gave an outline of this theory in a talk with five right-wing leaders of the Japanese Socialist Party on August 11, 1961.

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

'The United States is marching the Asian countries in the Pacific and SE Asia. It is reaching too far. A total of 25 states dominated over Europe, Canada and Latin America.:

'All peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are opposed to imperialism. Imperialism is also opposed by Europe, Canada and other countries. Imperialism is also coming out against imperialism. It is not de Galle but an example of this.' (Emphasis added.)

By placing oppressed colonial peoples on the same political level as America's imperialist rivals, Mao shows how remote he is from Leninism. The idea he developed in this interview can be traced back to Stalin's 'big-power diplomacy,' which tried to play off one group of imperialist states against another (i.e., the 1937-1939 'Ponson Frant' alliance with the 'democratic' imperialists—France, Britain and the US—followed by the Stalin-Hitler pact).

Turning his back on the working class of the United States, Mao looked to imperialist China to counter the pressure of American imperialism on China.

'There are now two intermedia zones in the world. Asia, Africa and Latin America make up the first, and Europe, Brazil, Africa and China make up the second. Imperialist monopoly capital belongs to the second zone. Even this monopoly capital is dominated by the US, while some of its representatives openly oppose China.

'I do not think that the movement in the United States allows the United States to sit on its neck forever. Nothing could be better than for Japan to become completely independent and establish contact with China for national independence . . .'

The working class as an independent revolutionary force capable of defeating imperialism entirely vanished from Mao's thinking. Instead, he came forward as the supporter of Japanese imperialism, which he criticized as a potential ally of national liberation forces in Asia.

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

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

'Deal

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

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

'The disagreements arose over the degree of 'pressure' needed to force a deal with the imperialists. The same opportunistic policies shaped Mao's approach to the non-allied movement movement, especially in Asia.

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

Slaves

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

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

On the basis of this Stalinist theory, Mao backed 'national bourgeois' leaders like President Sukarno of Indonesia—Stalin supported Chiang Kai-shek in the 1920s.

Following Peking's lead, the 3 million-strong Indonesian Party (Indonesia) became embroiled in the situation even though real power lay with the right-wing military leaders.

When Sukarno tried to oust them by a coup based on an alliance of left-wing generals and a section of the CP leadership, the right wing struck with unalleviated savagery.

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

Pogrom

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

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

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

Mao's challenge to Moscow began with a dazzling display of leftist fireworks, but it has now spluttered out in a miserable and quite open capitulation to imperialism throughout Asia.

For all along, Mao never understood the real nature of bureaucracy within a workers' state. He was therefore unable to fight it effectively either in the Soviet Union—or China.

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

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

utionary movement.

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

As in the Soviet Union, a re-


Highly ambivalent attitude toward bureaucracy. Like Khrushchev, he waited for Stalin to die before suggesting that 'mistakes' had been made in the last years of the latter's reign. But unlike Khrushchev, Mao could not claim that his silence was imposed on him by sheer terror.

Criticism

In the wake of Khrushchev's 1956 'secret speech' about Stalin's crimes, Mao launched his 'Hundred Flowers' campaign, in which workers, peasants, stud-
Red Guards march rightists through streets in 1967. Today this movement has been strangled by Mao's bureaucracy, Sino-Indian border dispute of 1962. When it became clear that the Indian government was staging border incidents with the full backing of imperialism, Mao had no alternative. Neither turn to the masses of the Indian subcontinent and encourage them to defend China through a struggle against the four most powerful Asian regimes, or indulge in back-stabbing diplomacy, would have resulted in a defeat for China.

Mao revealed his fundamental agreement with Stalin's theory of 'socialism in one country' by continuing to pursue the second course. When Peking began its new round towards the Ayub Khan regime, Pakistan was a pawn of two anti-communist imperialist alliances—the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Pakistan's virtual dependence on US imperialism was reflected in Ayub Khan's support for the war against India. Nevertheless, in February 1964, it was revealed that close Chinese-Indian Enlarged, visited Pakistan, indicating support for Kashmir independence.

Peking moved even closer to Ayub Khan during the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965. Mao openly backed one pro-imperialist regime against another, purely on the basis of his own opportunistic foreign policy. Workers and peasants in Pakistan were told by China to fight and die for a regime that oppressed, exploited and persecuted them, dressing the masses even the right to vote. The quashing of the Ayub Khan regime was hailed as the climax of anti-imperialism, despite the SEATO and CENTO membership China had maintained to this day.

Chou En-lai speaks with American ping pong players in 1969, which began the process of reconciliation of China with U.S. imperialists.

But right up to the removal of Ayub Khan, the Pakistan bureaucracy continued to portray him as a fool, i.e., as a tool of the United States. This was not the case. Under the leadership of Ayub Khan, the Pakistan people had been trained to think with a common hatred towards the enemies, treachery and betrayal.

China today returns to the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie which it conducted in the early days with Chai Kai-shek (above).
workers and students in the streets of E. Bengal and W. Pakistan.

Mao must have been delighted when he heard that Yahya Khan was to replace the discarded and demoralized Ayub after his unpopular March 1969 coup. Yahya Khan, brother of the late East Bengal prime minister, had already proved his readiness to collaborate in Mao's diplomatic horse-trading. It was, after all, the best possible insurance against a left-wing uprising in Pakistan.

Yahya Khan was able to push back the revolutionary tide, but only for a time. By autumn 1970, with Pakistan's February general elections drawing near, all East Bengal was in political ferment.

The time had clearly come for Yahya Khan to stake everything on Peking. A state visit to China was arranged, and Khan arrived in Peking to Mao's welcome on November 18.

**Hangman**

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

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

"Peking was alive with warm expressions of the unity and friendship between the people of China and Pakistan... White streamers that hung from tall buildings flanked the streets, and a warm welcome to you, President Yahya Khan..." Echoing Mao's highly selective line on national liberation, the welcoming crowds chanted: "We resolutely support the Kashmiri people in their struggle for the right of national self-determination... Naturally, nobody dared chant any slogans in support of Bengali self-determination."

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

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

"The President and the Chinese Prime Minister reviewed the international situation. They met with satisfaction that there are no problems between Pakistan and China, and that friendship and co-operation are developing very satisfactorily and to their mutual benefit. They also noted that Pakistan and China have a history of views on the same issues concerning the world today..." The climax of Khan's visit came when the sand-hatted, sand-bagged military dictator was received by Chairman Mao. National China News Agency described the scene in suitably reverent tones:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Even Yahya Khan's propaganda machine could not match this style of lying, and it is no surprise when the W Pakistan Morning News' stated in its editorial on April 11, 'China has, as always a true friend, spoken out its support in unmistakable terms.

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

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

So, too, did Peking's attempts to portray Khan as a hero of the Bengalis fail to convince the New Agency report gave the impression of a non-existent pro-Khan rally in — of all places — Bang.

A huge mass demonstration was held in Dacca, capital of E Pakistan, on April 11 in protest against the Indian government dispatching armed personnel to infiltrate into E Pakistan and interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan.

Peking's support for Khan went far beyond publishing lying reports about the situation in Bangladesh. New China News Agency announced that Air Commodore Raman Ahmad, Commander of the Pakistan Air Force Staff College, arrived in April 11 and attended a state banquet in his honour by Koushun Jung, Deputy Commander of the Chinese Air Force.

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

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

Treachery

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

Pakistan President Yahya Khan pointed out that there is only one reason behind such open and shameless lies — the struggle against the internal affairs of Pakistan by Indian government — that is to aggravate the situation through instigations and artificially create a handful of persons to create turmoil.

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

Julie Christie

Carnegies, who built their fortunes preciously by theft and murder, by encroach-
ment and federal government (McKinley was President) approval. 

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

HIGHLIGHT

Of course such mucking around comes to naught at this point, and McCabe is left to defend himself against three hired killers, who for this reviewer provide the film's highpoints. The leader is a bear of a man "almost seven feet" as one yokel describes him, a twister, partic-
ularly when it comes to the Chinese laborers, brought in to build the rail-
road and provide cheap domestic labor, but he is articulate and ruthless. His two

underlings are a blonde lad of seventeen who kills in order to impress and another, more respectful fellow who resembles a rescue from a thirties horror movie. When all is said and done the lawyer's advice is just so much hot air and the final scene, shot entirely in semii-
obliterated conditions, pits McCabe against the predators.

SUPERB

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

In the last parallel cut sequence, McCabe has killed the three hired guns, and himself lies fatally wounded in the snow. Simultaneously, Mrs. Miller is smoking opium, while the carnage and the inter-
cutting achieves a kind of pathos which, while not in a class with Eisenstein's "Strike" is certainly true to mark.

CLASS

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

We will end by noting that the color processing is truly exquisite and frames an otherwise contrived little plot in color sequences which echo moods and feelings to perfection. But we cannot tolerate a scene in which the lighting of a single candle is enough to enliven and prolif-
erate into superabundant light.

BOOKS


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

Future Shock is such a work. It deals with the effects of technological change on the individual and society. Toffler contends we are now entering Super-
Industrial Society, a society in which the pace of technological change greatly exceeds that of industrial society. While this technological revolution, opens up whole new possibilities for human advance, it creates new dangers. The main such danger is future shock, a psychological and biological disorder produced by the overstimulation of the nervous system by too much change. The main challenge facing us in our enter in the Super-Industrial Society lies in the mastering of technology, the introduction of change in a conscious way, with a resulting new Super-Industrial Society will be like is described in great detail.

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

capitalism and communism, to compara-
tive insignificance."

REASURE

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

Capitalism, however, has reached a point where it can no longer develop the forces of production and every technologi-
ocal advance deepens the crisis of capitalism and is turned against the main productive force, the working class. Toff-
ler assumes a technological determinism in which every technological ad-

ANCE motherizes, sets the forces of production directly affecting culture. What he leaves aside is the basis of a certain development of the forces of production motherizes a mode of production which finally comes into collision with the further development of the forces of production.

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

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

Traces the social and philosophical roots of pragmatism, develops the Marxist dialectic in opposition to pragmatism, and discusses the relevance of this to the construction of the revolutionary party.

By Tim Wohlforth

Send to: LABOR PUBLICATIONS 135 West 14 Street, New York City, 10011.

MARCISM AND AMERICAN PRAGMATISM

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

50¢
Editor's Notebook

Law And Order And Crooked Cops

First it was the CIA, then some top sailors got involved. Now "New York's finest" have been caught pushing dope. One cop was even growing it in the back yard of the police station in Central Park.

With the release of the Knapman Commission report on police corruption in the department about to be released, Police Commissioner Murphy started knocking them off like flies. 500 cops were indicted before August 7th.

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

Ti-Grace And Joe: The Odd Couple

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

Ti-Grace Atkinson, who the Socialists in this country describe as a "Catholic feminist," has just been appointed to the Board of the American Catholic Welfare Bureau. When, embarrassed many of her "sisters."

TiGrace left last week joined the growing movement around Maria Traylor, the Colorado, head of one of the leading of the movements women's liberation movement.

According to this feminist, the women's movement needed some issues on its agenda to bring the movement together.

For her part, she has always been a staunch advocate of women's rights and has worked tirelessly to advance the cause.

The New York Post puts it this way: "The movement is making a strong push for equality for women."

As far as we can tell, all of the food will go towards the poor and the hungry. We must continue to fight for the rights of all women and ensure that their voices are heard.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics announced that the cost of living would continue to rise because 10% of all items could legally go up. Most of this 10% is in fact caused by a lack of decent housing.

The government is not even trying to stop the price freeze. The Office of Emergency Preparedness has received hundreds of complaints from tenants whose landlords are either forcing them to pay for utilities or are increasing their rents.

The New York Consumer Service does absolutely nothing to check up on price violators. Their recent report that 60% of the city's streets are filled with graffiti is a disgrace.

TiGrace has been a leader in the fight to end the price freeze and has worked tirelessly to ensure that the rights of all women are respected.

The freeze cannot be fought without a political struggle.

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

This fight to defi the freeze and win an increase will the government say "Please, Sir, give me your change before the freeze" and the workers should not try to fight back.

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

We are writing this article in the hopes that it will be read by the union members who are being denied increases during the wage freeze which has previously been agreed upon, he would demand the deferred increase the day the freeze ended and would favor strike action if it were not paid.

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

DEFY

These formulas give Nixon another two months or more to decide on his policy following the 30 day freeze. He can prepare to extend the freeze or impose the strictest controls. Will Meaney and the other leaders then put off action with the end of the stage? They talk about actions of the workers, but they cannot tell us when the freeze will end.

The time for action is now, not later! The ranks must act great the majority of workers nor out of the freeze and get back without contracts. Nixon is de-fying controls, Meaney says strike later. The time to defy Nixon is now. Teachers, auto workers, steel workers, and millions of others who have been right are to be made take the lead in strike action to smash the wage freeze.

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

This fight to defi the freeze and win an increase will the government say "Please, Sir, give me your change before the freeze" and the workers should not try to fight back.

FASCISM

If Meaney says we are going down the road to fascism, it is only too true that we are against all those who are taking this road. We will not con- cede anything to the Democrats, Dictatorship and fascism are not our terms. We will fight them by every method at our disposal, political, economic and social.

This means a fight for a congress of labor, y workers, men and women to build a labor party for the 1972 election. It means fighting for all policies against the vicious repress of the bosses.

So, they will fine the union out of existence and do everything they can to break it.

RESPONSIBILITY

If the labor movement does not take action against the freeze the government will move on to more drastic measures. The actual roll back in wage levels, and the actual roll back in prices of goods is a direct result of what Okun was talking about.

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

There is a system of private profits that is responsible for the in-flation and unemployment, not wages. There is no way as Ackerly and Okun have made clear to get the employers to hand over one penny of their profits.

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

A Drag Only For Some

While the freeze is a drag only for some, it is also a threat to the entire labor movement. The freeze will not only weaken the unions, it will also weaken the workers' will to fight. The freeze is a threat to the entire labor movement, and we must be prepared to meet it.
Soviet Union and WW II

Stalinists Grovel Before Imperialism

BY DAVID GREEN

The New York Times observed that the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II by invading Ivan Maisky, wartime Soviet Ambassador to London, an analysis of the origins of the conflict. Maisky’s three-part series—published in the New York Times on August 30, August 31, and September 1—represents a brazen but utterly unsuccessful attempt to whitewash the dirty role of the Kremlin in abetting the rise of Hitler and in disarming the international working class in the face of the fascist threat.

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

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

CONSCIOUS

Furthermore, it must be understood that the disastrous policies of Stalin were not produced by the asymmetry of the struggle, but rather the conscious expression of the bureaucracy’s interest in the working class. It sought to answer the pressures of imperialism against the working class through the policy of collaboration and conciliation. Asserting the protection of its privileges to be the highest necessity, the bureaucracy used the European proletariat as a bargaining card rather than as a force to be mobilized against imperialism. The Comintern was stripped of its revolutionary function. As Trotsky foresaw in 1928 in his analysis of the “Draft Program of the Comintern,” the reaction against the Fourth International is as Stalinist as it is imperialist.

CONCERNED with the ‘defense of the Soviet Union’ in the early 1930s, the bureaucracy saw the threat in the “defence of the USSR” from a class and national point of view. It was not to fight for the conquest of power.

Naturally, the retreats of the bureaucracy before imperialism strengthened the defenses of the Soviet Union. But, if it was the working class of France and England that contributed to the rise of Hitler, it was the working class of the U.S.S.R. that contributed to the rise of Stalin. The invasion of June 22, 1941 by the fascist army of Hitler into the pre-arranged Soviet Union was a defeat for the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. was invaded. The Soviet Union was plunged into the Second World War claimed the lives of more than 20,000,000 Russians.

RETRYALS

The condemnation of the Stalinist betrayals of the 1930s must be remembered for this very moment, when the crisis of capitalism is forcing the imperialist powers to seek not only the suppression of the proletariat within its own borders, but also the destruction of the workers states, the Stalinist bureaucracy seeks to counter these threats through accommodation with the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union’s capitulation on the Berlin question, the decision of the Nazis to visit Pompous Paris, and the rumored invitation to the Pope for a visit to Moscow next year, the bureaucracy has established decisively the counter-revolutionary continuity of Stalinism. The Soviet bureaucracy has made obvious its intention to stick to the capitalist interests of the working class.

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

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

Now getting on in years, he works as an academician—apparently always ready to draw upon his rich experience to advise the bourgeoisie. And so the New York Times, recognizing Maisky as something of a Grand Old Man of Stalinism, provided him with lavish space on the op-ed page.

CONTRACTIONS

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

The only thing that stood in the way of such an alliance was—as Maisky openly admits—the desire of French and English imperialism “to fight the U.S.S.R. and Nazi Germany against each other at all costs, while keeping aloof to appear on the scene with fresh forces when the two rivals—i.e., the Soviet Union and Germany—were destroyed.” And, at least for the indefinite lifetime of that generation, to establish an order acceptable to Britain and France in Europe and elsewhere. So what Maisky is actually concealing is that it was the ambition of Soviet diplomacy to guarantee the defense of the U.S.S.R. through an alliance with two imperialist powers that encouraged the destruction of the Soviet Union through the mechanism of German fascism.

Naturally, Maisky does not elaborate on the “risks” that the bureaucracy was willing to take in order to form this “united front.” Actually, they were what every Stalinist of the post-1939 period demanded by the bourgeoisie. The “risks” taken by the Soviet bureaucracy beyond its borders in pursuit of a united front—the entrance into the League of Nations, the creeping of the French general strike, the supplantation of the Spanish Revolution, the determined liquidation of the “anti-imperialist” bloc—were no less dangerous in the eyes of the Kremlin than the “risks” taken within the U.S.S.R. Stalin “risked” the political isolation of the last remnants of the Bolshevik Left Opposition and he “risked” the destruction of the most exalted order of the Red Army. To put the matter bluntly, he “risked” every gain, made by the Russian working class since October 1917.

SALVAGE

In the first and second articles, Maisky outlines Stalin’s slavish efforts to come to an agreement with the governments of France and England. He recalls Prime Minister Chamberlain telling him of his desire to negotiate with Hitler. Maisky was quoted as having replied to himself: “Poor Britain, to what misery you have reduced a nation!” And then Hitler understands only the fist, while Chamberlain imagines himself and the French as two men who will meet, bargain, urge strong words, argue for a while and finally strike a deal through the ill-fated attempt of the Soviet Union to horse-trade with Hitler by drawing up the Non-aggression Pact with the imperialist traitor of Stalinism—is described by Maisky as “a bold and decisive step...”

As Maisky chastises France and England for not taking the desperate measures to halt German aggression in Austria and Czechoslovakia, he also explains the bankruptcy of Stalinist diplomacy. Maisky writes of the daring plans the Soviet Government had to counter aggression by Hitler. He tells us that the Soviet response to a further eastward penetration by Hitler would have been—a conference with Britain, France, Poland, Turkey and Rumania—“preferably in London. But these realistic measures for averting more acts of aggression...

Here we have a real elucidation of Soviet diplomacy. Having failed to convince the world of the necessity of the blackest emergency, the Communist parties and the Comintern in particular, Maisky is prepared to assist in the defense of the workers state. To this end the CPSU (b) has issued a package of his policy by appealing to Ataturk, an assortment of Polish colonists, and the Rumanian king.

MANEUVER

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

We have, of course, no mention of the fact that those two years were the greatest horrors perpetrated against the proletariat of Western Europe. The petty nationalism of the Comintern has found its expression in all its vulgarity by Maisky, the former counter-revolutionary agent who now sneers at the “Stalinist Russia” against the Russian Revolutions.

The lessons of the 1930s are of great importance to the working class today. The main effort of the Stalinist bureaucratic apparatus has been to whiten the blots of that shameful betrayal. The machinations of the Stalinists must be exposed and defeated by the working class through the construction of the Fourth International.
U.S., Tories Conspire To Jail IRA Leader

BY MELODY FARROW

The United States and the British government are colluding to "keep the Provisional faction" of the Irish Republican Army out of the United States. The U.S. State Department suddenly cancelled a four-week fund raising tour based on information conveniently supplied by the British government.

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

Cahill is listed as the most wanted man on the British Army's list. His organizationad vocally opposes both the British troops and the unification of an independent Ireland.

DEFEND

Despite our denunciations with Cahill we defend his right to travel freely and enter the United States. The British State Department is an open attack on the very fabric of the working class and if not opposed will be used to deny all Irish workers the right to travel freely and express within the United States.

The latest weapon, developed by British imperialism, is gas, dried water cannons, rubber bullets, etc. "atack" which fires wooden blocks, are being introduced into Irish homes now and will be used against workers not only in North Ireland but in New York, Boston, Detroit and San Francisco.

The latest in this series of attacks is a move to give a free hand to murder, jail and torture men, women and children, in particular the Catholics who face the worst living conditions. More and more the role of the British troops in Ireland is exposed for what they are: the ruthless occupying army determined to put down every uprising in blood just as they did in the colonial countries.

Pogrom

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

Last week two British Army cars "accidentally" crossed the border between North and South Ireland and were fired on by British soldiers and another wounded. The whole affair was a deliberate provacation of the Provisional IRA in the border area.

PROVOKATION

This provocation is a clear sign that the British Army is stepping up its attacks and extending them right into southern Ireland itself. Irish Prime Minister John Lynch's appeal for a political settlement that would include Catholics in the Ulster government is just as much noise in the wind. There will be no turning back to any form of compromise. The British government has declared war on the Irish working class and they are determined to see through to the end.

Three concentration camps, atrocities and military dictatorship.

The right wing in Ian Paisley's group calls for a "white terror" and a return to the Civil War. The IRA has responded by targeting IRA workers, who are a potential threat to the Ulster government. The IRA has targeted a number of key figures, including the Home Secretary, the Attorney General, and the Chief Constable.

FASCISTS

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

There is no difference between the strategy of British imperialism and the plans of the Nixon government.

The whipping up of religious and nationalism is now on the same brutal scale. Nixon will use American businessmen to further their own interests. The Ulster government毫无 use American businessmen to further their own interests.

PROSPECT

The British working class must call for the immediate withdrawal of all troops from Ireland and take up a political struggle against its own government.

This is the only way the Irish workers can take their struggle forward. The fight of the Scottish workers against the shutdowns of the Upper Clyde shipyards in Glasgow show that the struggle is possible. The Ulster Special police force is being revived.

SOLIDARITY

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

Marcos Cracks Down On Leftist Youth

BY MARTY JONAS

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

This follows an incident on August 21st when 20 persons were killed and 74 injured in a bomb explosion at a meeting of the Leftist Liberal Party rally. Only one Liberal Party leader escaped death or injury.

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

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

CRUSH

At the same time, Marcos would like to crush the new upsurge of the workers and peasants, which has shown itself not only in the steady growth of the new People's Army but also in the movement in the countryside, but in a wave of strikes in the cities and pitched battles between the students and the police. These struggles come out of a working class and peasant whose median annual income is close to $50.

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

The history of the Philippines shows that a clear-cut national mass movement is no easy matter. The Hukbalahap were able not only to elude the Philip-
in and United States governments but also to actually hold and control large portions of the islands for close to 30 years before they were defeated recently.

THE STRUGGLE FOR MARXISM IN THE U.S.

BY TIM WOHLFIRTH

The only existing history of Trotskyism in the United States. This book includes a new introduction, an appendix taking the history of the Socialist Workers Party up to today, and an addenda by Dan Fried on the SWP and the CIO. Also included is a number of rare photos of the movement.

PRICE: $1.45

BLACK, NATIONALISM AND MARXISM

By Tim Wohlfirth. Explores all forms of Black Nationalism as reaction to the oppression of Blacks.

PRICE: 50c

ERNST MANDEL: THE FRAUD OF NEO-CAPITALISM By Dennis O'Casey. This pamphlet exposes Mandel's economic theories as a denial of Marxism and as the theoretical underpinning for the SWP's revisionism.

PRICE: 50c

BLACK NATIONALISM AND MARXISM

By Tim Wohlfirth. Explores all forms of Black Nationalism as reaction to the oppression of Blacks.

PRICE: 50c

LENNIN ON DIALECTICS By Clift Slaughter. Written in 1912 in the midst of the struggle within the International Com-

Write For Free Catalog

LITERATURE, SIXTH FLOOR, 135 WEST 14 STREET, NEW YORK 1013
Some of the 50 or so arrested radicals who gathered in Portland to protest wage freeze. Rally was called by people around the Labor Commission who have related their experience of not being able to fight, the wages of which have been cut.

Press Encourages Busing Hysteria

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

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

The Aftio administration has given all but open support to this campaign. Such developments can only play into the hands of the Nixon, Mitchell and Wall, who wish to return to the days of the Supreme Court desegregation decision, to fan the flames of racism, nationalism and patriotism.

The results of such hysteria

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
SAN FRANCISCO—George Jackson is the horridio revolutionary fighting to the end for the destruction of the capitalist state. For all his weaknesses, his isolation from the class struggle, his failure to grasp the real meaning of Lenin’s strategy for the vanguard party and his inability to assess the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism he began a fight to solve its basic contradictions.

He was convinced that the working class needed the science of Marxism-Leninism to liberate. In taking up this fight he was putting the call to thousands of Black youth and workers. The fear of this moved the rallies to strike him down.

George Jackson hated capitalism—its very fiber of his being. He struggled not for a reform of the prison but for the consciousness necessary to smash the class struggle and its source.

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

For the Stalinists, Angela Davis is every other victim of ruling class vengeance are to be purged of any associations packaged attractively and sold to the "res" as "a victory for the American people.

Thus the massive effort to free Angela Davis from any association with George Jackson and bypass Mulligan. The police have promised to use it to cover up by being to force the dogs and provide a little sympathy from the side.

Even this disgusting capitulation姿态 before the opportunism of the living organism of George Jackson. In the September 4th edition of People’s World, editor Carl Bloice actually dares to link Jackson with John F. Kennedy.

The image of Jackson’s staying with the defense of the Warren Commission Report. Bloice then goes on to say, ‘When one raises basic questions about how George Jackson met his death or how John Kennedy met his, they close the prison and lock the Dallas material in the National Archives.”

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

After these wretched comments this same Bloice goes on in another article to denounce his own brand of whitetrash. While explaining that his central preoccupations, Ron Dellums and Willie Brown, were admitted to San Quentin in 1970, for example, Bloice manages to omit any mention of what they did there. Not a word about Brown’s compliments to the cooperative San Quentin authorities and not so much as a mention of the person who did absolutely nothing but at the same time turn a blind eye.

Not a word either for his friends on the Berkeley Council who passed a resolution calling a former. No indeed, because as Bloice says, “All those who entered the adjustment center since last Friday have joined in the gruing calls for an independent investigation of the prison system.”

The Stalinists have no more reason to maneuver. Their counter-revolutionary essence is completely exposed here. In order to tie the working class to the working class and build up their liberal allies, George Jackson must be taken out of the working class and reduced to a living organism of Ronald Dellums and Willie Brown.

This is the fate Stalinism prefigures for the revolutionary youth. The struggle of the Trotskyists is a class struggle. The existence of Stalinism out of the working class is in a fight for its political life. The Stalinists can only tie to take George Jackson’s struggle.

Power Workers Face Layoffs Or Pay Cut

BY MYRNA CHERKOS
LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles Water & Power Commission came up with a new solution to their support of layoffs or pay cuts, as the result of revenues from the wage-price freeze. The DWP has been charged with being one of the main reasons for the loss of profits. They would have to lay off 1500-1800 workers and the remaining workers would not be able to get their $1/2 wage.

Now the DWP is recommending a layoff plan. This will mean a 20% pay reduction for about 8,000 workers. In addition, the workers will not get their wage increase and 500 workers would still be laid off without compensation for public workers who do not get unemployment benefits.

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

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

The DWP offers no real alternative to workers. As one DWP worker put it, “It’s a hell of a bargain. This brings down the price of a day’s work or be laid off.”

This must take up a fight demanding no layoffs, jobs for all, at least the 5/2 wage increase, and at least five days paid. If the DWP cannot meet that demand, then let the workers take over and run it themselves with no compensation to the DWP bosses.

SWP Forum Turns To Labor Bureaucrats

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

Every speaker emphasized that inflation was caused primarily by the war, that Nixon has imposed the wage freeze in order to finance the war, and that therefore to fight the wage freeze unions should protest the war in the NPAC demonstration this November. The essence of this argument is to deny the deep international crisis of capitalism and to present the working class from fighting back against the wage freeze with a general strike and the building of a labor party.

Breast hostility to any independent political fight was expressed over and over again by supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, in their explanations of how Nixon’s attacks can be used to bring thousands into anti-war protests. Not once did they indicate that there was any need to defeat the wage freeze, nor did once did they indicate that Nixon’s attempt to take back every gain the unions have won was of any concern to them at all.

This meeting was particularly important in reciting the true nature of the recent about face that the SWP has taken. Despite their call for a labor party, they still have the perspective of capitalism which has managed to break out until they won and that they already considered themselves to be the first party of the energy crisis. Mr. Mucker from the Hayward Federal Federation of Teachers said that he was for a labor party, but he was sure the ranks were not. At the meeting the ILWU leadership has made no official announcement that it would fight for a general strike and a labor party, the speakers were forced to cover themselves.

The speaker from the ILWU went so far as to say that they were going to stay out until they won and that they already considered themselves to be the first party of the energy crisis. Mr. Macker from the Hayward Federal Federation of Teachers said that he was for a labor party, but he was sure the ranks were not.

At the meeting the ILWU leadership has made no official announcement that it would fight for a general strike and a labor party, the speakers were forced to cover themselves.

The speaker from the ILWU went so far as to say that they were going to stay out until they won and that they already considered themselves to be the first party of the energy crisis. Mr. Macker from the Hayward Federal Federation of Teachers said that he was for a labor party, but he was sure the ranks were not.
II. WU Leaders Maneuver To End Strike

BY STEVE ZELTZER

SAN FRANCISCO—After over two months of a solid strike which has left the West Coast waterfront completely shut down, Harry Bridges and the ILWU leadership are in the midst of maneuvering for a return to work. The ILWU has been in a strike position since the East Coast ILWU was recently on the Victor Riesel radio show, he said that he had just talked to Bridges over the phone. Bridges assured him that "the men are looking to go back." It is a far more serious. Bridges is "looking to go back," and Gleason is looking never to go back. The reason for this is that these bureaucrats fear more than anything else is a nationwide strike which would shut down all the ports.

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

In less than four weeks time, Bridges, ILWU President, has retreated completely from any political fight against Nixon's wage freeze. At the outset of Nixon's declaration of a war on the ILWU, the ILWU declared the ILWU’s refusal of the pay cuts to return to work. The strike over 30 days that the ILWU would refuse to cooperate with the wage freeze and the demand by Nixon and the PM that dockers return to work.

In those days, however, the open press has been put on the entire ILWU leadership and the ILWU public is refusing to return to work. The strike over 30 days that the ILWU would refuse to cooperate with the wage freeze and the demand by Nixon and the PM that dockers return to work.

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

The demand for a contract with a flat rate and a guaranteed work week with no strings for the workers is a temporary employer demand, a two years and union control of all work will only be won, however, with such political action.

Temporary Jobs Threatened

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

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

Several weeks ago at a meeting of city workers the Civil Service Commission held a special meeting to discuss the job situation of city workers. The Civil Service Commission held a special meeting to discuss the job situation of city workers. The critical situation in the court system punctuated by the events surrounding the murder of George Jackson of the Solitary Brothers places the city government into a position where they are attempting to remove all "radical" or even "liberal" personnel in order to be able to carry out a more repressive law and order campaign.

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

Thousands of city workers have remained in the temporary limbo for years and now face the danger of lay-offs with absolutely no right of appeal. Many of these workers face racially discriminating civil service tests to keep their jobs in those instances when the city agrees to give the tests.

The unions have simply accepted the regulations and conformed their actions to those of the Civil Service Commission and imperialist protests. This is bankrupt. The labor movement must be forced to take a stand against this kind of job security from day to day.

PROTEST

The Harbormaster's Office, a legal body, has no right to fire any of the workers. The workers are fighting against the job security from day to day. The protest is a step toward organizing the workers into a fighting force that will take its struggle into the unions to demand that even a single layoff will be answered with city-wide strike action.
ILWU Leaders Maneuver to End Strike

BY STEVE ZELTZER

SAN FRANCISCO—After over two months of a solid strike which has locked the West Coast waterfront completely shut down, Harry Bridges and the ILWU leadership are in the midst of maneuvering for a return to work. When Thomas Hennings, the ILWU's labor relations chief, announced that the strike would immediately roll out after his meeting with the President for discussions with Bridges. It was at the conclusion of the meeting that the ILWU offered to submit to the jurisdiction of an arbitration panel to settle the dispute over the company's hiring practices.

The strike has lasted 70 days and the ILWU has refused to consider any offers made by the company. The strike is now in its fourth week and the union has threatened to continue for as long as necessary. The strike has caused severe hardship for many workers and their families.

Temporary Jobs Threatened

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

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

Several weeks ago at a meeting of timber industry workers, the Civil Service Testing procedures, over 30 workers expressed the frustration of being a temporary employee, struggling between a job or being forced onto welfare.

The last week, 27 temporary probation officers were told by the Civil Service Commission that their temporary status would be extended for one year. These workers were hired under the "no layoff" clause, and it is feared that the Civil Service Commission will be forced to lay off these workers due to budget cuts.

The situation in the court system punctuated by the events surrounding the murder of George Jackson of the Soledad Brothers' places the city government into a position where they are attempting to impose all "liberal" or even "radical" programs on the city. The workers are now in a position to demand that the "temporary" jobs be extended, and that efforts be made to secure permanent employment for these workers.

Protest

The workers are planning a protest at the City Hall on Thursday evening, October 13th, to demand the extension of their temporary status and the creation of permanent jobs. The protest will begin at 5:00 p.m. and will end at 7:00 p.m. The workers are calling on all city workers to join with them in their struggle for permanent employment.