

# HANDS OFF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION!

## conditional support to red guards

COVER  
3 1967

by Mike Banda  
'Things will never be the same again. The party has asked us to criticise our leaders and to look into the functioning of our institutions. We will never renounce this right.' (Statement of Young Red Guard to French journalist K.S. Karol.)

Every thieving capitalist and every stinking bureaucrat and revisionist is today gleefully rubbing his hands and chuckling at the prospect of the possible overthrow of the Mao regime and the suppression of the 'Red Guards.' That is their doubtful privilege.

The Socialist Labour League and every honest

revolutionist in the world however will refuse to participate in this filthy orgy of speculation and slander against those who are fighting to defend the conquests of the Chinese Revolution and to extend these conquests, despite the opposition of bureaucracy and reaction.

Arrayed against the youthful 'Red Guards' and the 'Cultural Revolution' is a formidable collection of reactionary forces.

The imperialists, the Moscow Stalinists and their hangers-on all over the world, the national capitalists of the underdeveloped world and last-but hardly the least-the revisionists in the Marxist movement.

'Time' magazine, that strident voice of imperialist barbarism, proclaimed with ecstasy, this week, that 'it seemed as if China were reaching the final stages of the legendary dance of the scorpion-just before it stings itself to death.'

The 'Morning Star', a little less confidently, but no less maliciously, states:

'China's sectarian policy and departure from Communist democracy, however, can only be a temporary phase...'

'The Chinese people and party...will restore Communist practice and principle...'

'World Outlook', organ of the Pabloite revision-

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Behind  
China's  
Crisis  
page 3

# Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

SWP  
Joins  
Kremlin  
page 3

Vol. 3, No. 11 - 53

Jan. 30, 1967

Ten Cents

## Mage Sells Out Welfare Strike; Ranks Infuriated

by a welfare worker

At the Jan. 18 general membership meeting of the SSEU President Mage completed a process begun several months earlier by twisting a knife into the backs of every militant who had fought so hard for a decent contract.

By appealing to every conservative and right wing sentiment in the union, by distorting and lying about the true nature of the settlement, by dwelling on the so-called weakness of the union and the fears of the membership and by making it very clear that the leadership had absolutely no intention of leading a confrontation with the City, Mage turned a meeting that often verged on a riot into a vote to call of a strike, return to work and throw all negotiations into fact finding. Many who voted this had not even walked the picket lines! Even so 30% of the members voted against the sell-out.

The fears of the Mage leadership about their own membership were concretely expressed at an executive board meeting held before the membership meeting to prepare the sell-out resolution. Union members were barred from the union hall by a barricade, a chain and several "Pinker-ton" goons. Unheard of in the history of the union!

### infuriated

At the membership meeting itself, the line of militants who wanted to speak against the resolution stretched two-thirds of the way across a huge theater. Many strong union supporters well respected in the union were virtually in tears as the true depths of the sell-out became crystal clear to them. The close of the meeting was met by hundreds of militants in a spontaneous rally shouting "sell-out", "scabs" and "no contract no work". President Mage was driven from the theater

by hundreds of infuriated members. She was only saved from physical harm by two Daily News reporters who whisked her into a car and sped off.

The fury of so many militants was a reflection of the three freezing days they spent manning the picket lines. The militancy of the strike was growing. Clients were beginning to pour into centers and demands services in sit-in demonstrations. Several days more on the lines and the increasing probability of action against scabs would have frightened many out of the centers.

The union made no attempt to rally the labor support it could have reached in the city. Tens of thousands of city employees were in sympathy with this strike. The enormous energy potential and the real feelings about the welfare system in the union could only

find expression in such action as the magnificently thorough wholesale destruction of the Borough Hall welfare center.

### threat

The contract that will be negotiated in fact finding will represent a serious defeat for the union. The contract that was negotiated two years ago by the Tepedino leadership represented a step forward for the union and yet two years later stands torn to

(Continued on Page 4)

### hypocrisy and racism

## Why the Democrats Dumped Powell

by Fred Mueller

The removal of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell as Chairman of the House Labor and Education Committee and his exclusion from the House of Representatives pending an

investigation of charges made against him expose the hypocrisy and decadence of the capitalist system.

Those who sit in judgement of Powell refused to act against the Mississippi Congressional delegation, which was elected by a tiny fraction of the eligible voters, when it was challenged two years ago. The President of the United States himself has been clearly implicated in the Bobby Baker scandal. Of course any hints of wrongdoing are ignored or hushed up when it suits the purposes of the ruling class.

### symbol

But the lying capitalist politicians, "liberal" and "conservative" alike, band together to safeguard their good name by punishing one of their members, who just happens to represent Harlem, the symbol of ghetto life and racial inequality built into the capitalist system as it exists in the United States. We can have nothing but complete contempt for any claims on the part of a corrupt system or its corrupt representatives to judge the morality of anyone or any group.

Morality is a class ques-

tion, and this is proved once again by the Powell case. The motivation for the attack on Powell is not completely clear, but one thing is certain: morality had nothing to do with it. The capitalists have always had two standards when it comes to morality, one for themselves and one for their class opponents. It is completely meaningless to look for abstract or absolute moral standards guiding the contending social forces in class society.

But the capitalists are not above the most disgusting and hypocritical use of "morality" when it suits their purposes, as in the Powell affair.

### racism

The disciplining of Powell also represents at least in part a further appeasement and encouragement of racism (remember how the liberals "fought" for the civilian review board), and a warning to the Negro people to stay in their place and moderate their struggle.

The Negro masses have reacted to this affair with disgust and anger, and this is completely justifiable. The gestures of support to Powell

(Continued on Page 4)



STRIKER SHOUTS AT SCAB CROSSING PICKET LINE.

## Free Mexican Political Prisoners!



WORKERS LEAGUE PROTESTS JAILING DR. DAVILA.

# HANDS OFF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION! -- CONDITIONAL SUPPORT

(Continued from Page 1)

ists in the western world, puts it more prosaically:

'The victory (of the opposition) will be won by those seeking proletarian democracy based on the conquests of the revolution. That victory will... assure China a genuine big leap forward...' (August, 1966)

From right to left. From Washington via Paris the same hymn of hate can be heard. It is part of a world wide conspiracy that has been organized by the counter-revolutionary forces to isolate China, militarily, diplomatically, politically, and economically. It is the prelude to a major attack against the Chinese Revolution itself.

Imperialism, US and British alike, hate and fear the Chinese Revolution because it constitutes a permanent ever-growing threat to their power and wealth in Asia and the Pacific region.

The growth of China's economic and military potential and the example she affords to other underdeveloped countries is a constant irritation to the imperialist butchers.

With a revolutionary China, an intransigent China, there can be no real peaceful co-existence and imperialism knows it.

With a 'moderate' 'liberal' 'pragmatic' China-China ruled by a Liu or a Chou-it would be a different matter. It would enable imperialism to turn its attention to Vietnam, Thailand, Laos and India, to suppress the revolutionary movements in these countries with enhanced forces. This is what imperialism wants.

## used moscow

For the last seven years particularly imperialism has utilised the services of the jaded bur-

eaucracy in Moscow and its satellite parties to isolate and undermine the prestige and unity of Mao's leadership.

This collusion, symbolised by the nuclear test ban treaty, was, and is, a criminal act against the Chinese people and the world working class.

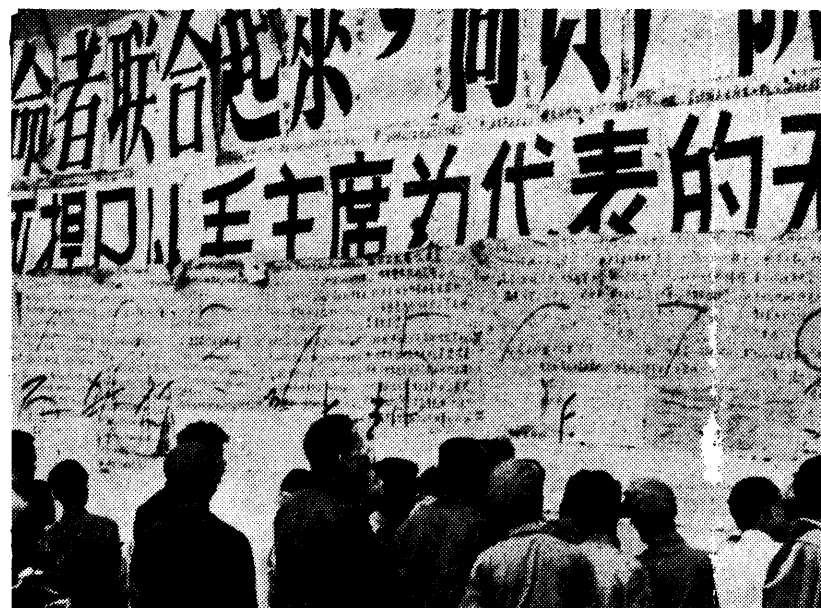
The economic blockade of imperialism, supplemented by the counter-revolutionary campaign of Moscow and its allies, while it has failed to overthrow Mao has, no doubt, evoked a response amongst a considerable section of the functionaries and bureaucrats in the Chinese state and party.

Softened by an easy life, accustomed to their creature comforts, dazzled by the privileges of their cousins in the USSR and yearning for 'tranquillity' and an end to struggle and sacrifice, these people want an end to the Sino-Soviet conflict and the conclusion of a compromise with US imperialism.

In the same way as Stalin altered the foreign policy of the USSR to suit imperialism in the late 1920's, so too the opposition in China would like a 'settlement' which would presumably include Vietnam.

## utopian ideas

There is little doubt that in this struggle the opposition has been aided, involuntarily, by some of the extravagant, improbable and Utopian ideas of Mao Tse Tung; by his refusal to repudiate Stalin, his support of the Soviet intervention in Hungary, his acceptance of 'socialism in one country' and his hare-brained schemes of backyard furnaces' and 100% communism. No doubt excesses will be committed in the present campaign.



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What is the programme of the 'Red Guards' which the capitalist press dismisses as Chinese 'beatniks'? K.S.Karol, French reporter, who

## Behind the Crisis in China; A Program for its Solution

by Tim Wohlforth

Elsewhere in this issue we print an article by Mike Banda, Editor of the Newsletter, which explains in no uncertain terms where the Trotskyists of the International Committee of the Fourth International stand on the present crisis in China. As revolutionary Marxists we do not stand aside from struggles and comment on them. Rather we participate fully in all struggles, choose sides and battle at all times for the interests of the working class in every country.

Let there be no mistake about where we stand. The Workers League stands with its comrades of the Socialist Labour League of Great Britain for **DEFENSE OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION: FOR CONDITIONAL SUPPORT TO THE RED GUARDS IN THEIR STRUGGLES AGAINST BOURGEOIS REACTION.**

### international

The internal struggle in China must first of all be seen within its international context. It is this context which above all is determining these internal events, gives them their meaning and

significance. For some time now the capitalist world has been conspiring with the Kremlin Bureaucracy for the purpose of strangling the Chinese Revolution. The war in Vietnam is related to this campaign. Everything is being done to increase the isolation of China and to magnify the pressure upon China while at the same time every effort is made to integrate the USSR and Eastern European countries into the world capitalist market.

Thus while the Vietnam War is pursued pitilessly Cyrus Eaton joins with the Rockefellerers to expand trade and deepen capitalist penetration of the USSR and Eastern Europe.

The international and domestic line of Mao has not been a fully proletarian one. Witness in particular Mao's uncritical support of the Indonesian Communist Party which prepared its own destruction through its alliance with Sukarno. But Mao's line has not been one of capitulation to imperialism either. It is essentially for this reason that we give him our support.

There is another important

factor in this situation--the youth.

In the first place the fact that Mao had to turn to a force essentially outside the CCP, the mass of 100 million youth, is itself an unanswerable indictment of the decay of the CCP, of the Stalinized bureaucratic nature of this party. Secondly once the youth are mobilized in an independent struggle against bureaucracy and conservatism it will be no easy task to reverse this process, to restabilize bureaucratic rule in China. Thus, the objective act of mobilizing the youth can have revolutionary implications that go far beyond the wishes of the initiators of the process. Once again we see clearly the reasons for our support to the Red Guards.

### opposition

Now let us take a look at the opposition. The program of the opposition is less clearly discernible. But in essence this opposition emerges as a conservative, conciliatory administrative bureaucracy, tired by the long struggle, softened by bureaucratic privilege longing for the relative peace and tranquility of their brother bureaucrats in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

It is not clear to what extent this opposition consciously holds Liebermanist views on competition within the economy, material incentives, etc. It does seem quite likely that these views are widespread within the opposition. In any event the factor which has given cohesion in this opposition is -- the Red Guards. It is the revolutionary initiative of the youth which has frightened the conservative administrative bureaucracy of the CCP and of the Chinese state, which has panicked it into an open opposition and struggle unparalleled in the whole history of

these kinds of states.

The existence of such widespread conservative and revisionist tendencies so deeply encrusted within the CCP and state is an objective fact which exposes as lies the rosy picture of the "democratic people's democracy" painted by China's apologists like Progressive Labor in this country. It is precisely because the working masses of

China do not now nor ever did control the Chinese state through their own democratic councils or Soviets and also do not now nor ever did control democratically the CCP, that it has been necessary to go outside the state and party.

### crisis' roots

The cause of the present crisis is rooted in the very way the Chinese state was

## SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FORMS PO

by the Editors

The position taken by the Socialist Workers Party on the crisis in China is absolutely rotten and vile. Nobody after reading the editorial in the January 16th Militant can consider these people revolutionaries of any sort.

"The convulsions in China," these people tell us, "must be seen primarily as an internal reaction to the increasingly difficult international situation China finds herself in largely as a result of Mao's foreign policy." "The stubborn-revisionism of Mao," they go on to tell us, "has led to the isolation of China among the workers' states."

Well, that's clear enough. China finds itself isolated in the world and in the Soviet Camp because of Mao. No mention is made of the role of the imperialists in the isolation of China nor of the Russian and East European Stalinists who collaborate closer and closer each day with the imperialists. The Soviet Union discusses the military situation along its Chinese border with representatives of American imperialism and the Militant says it is all Mao's fault--all because Mao is so "stubborn."

At the very time when Brezhnev, Kosygin, Kadar, etc., move into the same camp with Rockefeller and Cyrus Eaton, the SWP moves towards Brezhnev's camp. This is a fundamental movement of the greatest significance to the world revolutionary forces. It is a movement of the whole worldwide Pabliste tendency directly into the camp of the enemy.

In France Pierre Frank, a leader of this international revisionist grouping which includes the SWP, has recently joined with Gaullist deputies in a joint statement on the Vietnam War. He did this at a time when DeGaulle has emerged as a central figure in the whole world imperialist strategy to bring the USSR and Eastern Europe into the capitalist camp and to smash the Vietnamese Revolution at the negotiating table if not on the battlefield.

In Belgium, central Pabliste leader Mandel plays the same game. When supporters of the International Committee raised a banner defending the Hungarian Revolution at the Liege demonstration, Mandel was thrown into a bitter rage. It seems this principled defense of the Hungarian working class upset his "united front" with the Belgian Communist Party.

### Bulletin of International Socialism



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# PORT OF RED GUARDS IS THE DUTY OF EVERY REVOLUTIONIST



POSTERS DENOUNCING RESTORATIONISTS.

travelled extensively in China recently reports:

"In their wall newspapers which they call Ta Tse Bao and usually written by hand, the "Red Guards" call for example for "the abolition of distinctive signs of rank amongst all the cadres as in the army, the leveling of the salaries of the functionaries to those of workers and the equalisation of all wages in industry and the suppression of differences between the incomes of the peasant and that of the workers". ('Nouvel Observateur', January 1, 1967)

Some of the demands smack of a crude egalitarianism. But taken as a whole, the movement and

its demands constitute an undeniably progressive factor and a deterrent to bureaucracy in China.

The bureaucracy however will not give up its power peaceably. Conscious of its power and privileges it will resist to the end.

That is why we say that this is not a 'cultural revolution' but a movement for political reform which, given a Marxist leadership, could develop into a political revolution.

That is why the greatest support for Mao's programme has come from the youth. More than a 100 million student and working-class youth have responded to the call to fight bureaucracy.

As in Hungary they have fearlessly stormed police stations and barracks, communes and factories risking torture and execution to fight the bureaucrats.

And as the 'Time' magazine commented: 'China is going through an upheaval the like of which has not been seen since the French Revolution.

In appealing to the workers and students to follow the example of the 'Paris Commune' Mao has given a new impetus to revolutionary thought and practice in China.

At the same time it has posed new questions which conflict violently with Mao's assumptions of Stalinist infallibility and rectitude.

How is it possible to reconcile the Paris Commune with the bureaucratic administrative and centralised state which Stalin created and which still exists?

Even more important is the unanswered question posed by the 'Cultural Revolution' itself. Is it a movement to reform the Chinese state or to set up a new type of state with new institutions corres-

ponding to the interests of the workers and peasants?

What is to happen to the entire leadership of state and party which has been pilloried, stigmatised, castigated but still retains its positions and refuses to recant?

These and many other questions cannot be solved within a national framework. Nor can they be solved by a party which has failed signally to understand the degeneration of the first worker's state and, incidentally, has not held a congress since 1958.

In fact it is evident from everything that is happening that the Chinese Communist Party is hopelessly corrupt and bankrupt and can never be reformed.

One of the most damning indictments of this Party is its failure to explain or even discuss the tragedy of the Indonesian Communist Party, for which it is largely responsible.

With such methods we say categorically that no international communist movement can be built—and conversely without an international communist movement there can be no real defence of the Chinese Republic.

The events in Peking, Shanghai, Canton and Nan-king, while they show clearly the necessity to defend and support conditionally the 'Red Guards' of China, they at the same time provide incontestable proof of the correctness of the Trotskyist criticism of the Chinese CP leadership and the absolute necessity to construct a strong section of the Fourth International in China—as well as in Britain.

(Reprint from 'The Newsletter' January 14, 1967)

formed after the 1949 Revolution. The state, rather than being thrown up democratically from below by the revolutionary masses was slowly hewn from on top by the bureaucratic leaders of that revolution. Whole sections of the old Kuomintang administrative apparatus were taken over wholesale by the Maoists. No wonder now there are so many elements within

this state apparatus which "seek the capitalist road" as Mao puts it. We urge our readers to study the analysis of this process which we have published, "The Theory of Structural Assimilation."

A central danger in the situation lies in Mao's own weaknesses. He lacks any real program that can solve the problems of China without running the risk of capi-

talist restoration. The central weakness in Mao's position lies in its basically idealist character. He seeks to overcome China's material problems through revolutionary zeal, determination, sacrifice and the like.

Important as all these qualities are in revolutionaries they are not enough if separated from a materialist base. It was precisely this separation which led to the defeat of the Great Leap Forward, an event which immensely strengthened the conservative forces within China.

Mao proposed then to jump over the whole hard struggle to develop China into an industrial nation by turning to the many millioned peasantry and seeking to transform their efforts into a shortcut to communism. The result was a fall not only in industrial production but also in agricultural production. There is no short cut to industrial development. An industrial development is a necessary pre-condition to a socialist let alone communist society. Agriculture and industry are closely tied to each and must be kept in balance.

Today, for instance, Mao opposes material incentives as a method of increasing the productivity of the Chinese workers. He proposes as an alternative propaganda, sacrifice--what Guevara called "moral incentives." (And, where, pray tell, is he?) But material incentives are necessary and Lenin and Trotsky were forced to use them. Trade with the capitalist world is also necessary. In fact even a goodly portion of the economic proposals of Lieberman may very well be beneficial to economic development in China.

## warn workers

The problem is that it is wrong to simply denounce all

such things because they may lead to capitalist restoration. One must rather act as Lenin and Trotsky did. Yes, they stated, these things can very well lead to capitalist restoration. We frankly warn the working class of this danger. But if we do not take such steps our economy will collapse from within through its own internal weaknesses precisely because of the strength of world capitalism and the backwardness of the country we have inherited.

Thus one must recognize the dangers of such policies and mobilize the working class within the country and internationally as a counterweight to these capitalist tendencies. This requires workers democracy within China and an international proletarian line elsewhere.

We cannot just say no to the peasants' private plots and the workers' material incentives. But at the same time if such policies are pursued without the working class exercising its power through democratic workers councils then the growth of restorationist tendencies within the bureaucracy will continue un-



checked. To abolish plots and incentives at this stage of the development of the Chinese economy will only produce economic stagnation and new and deeper crisis within which a strengthened world bourgeoisie can intervene.

There is no real solution to the problems of China within China. One can only gain a little time, postpone crises, struggle at all times for proletarian dominance in an overwhelmingly peasant country. The real road out for China is the spread of the revolution internationally. This requires a clearly class struggle line in all countries, not Mao's policy of empirical deals with national bourgeois forces like Sukarno. This is the policy which only the International Committee of the Fourth International struggles for.

## FORMS POLITICAL BLOC WITH KREMLIN

It has been the Vietnam War which has provided much of the catalyst in bringing out the true character of all political tendencies within the working class movement. The most recent example of this was in the United States. At the recent Chicago student conference on Vietnam the YSA (youth supporters of the SWP) blocked with the DuBois Clubs (who support the Kremlin's line) in a common defense of student deferments.

As everyone knows the student deferment is a class deferment and will be so as long as higher education is limited primarily to the privileged few. Socialists will never be able to reach working class youth with the truth about the Vietnam War if at the same time they defend privileges for the middle class student that are denied to working class youth.

The cement that is binding these two forces together is the pacifist A. J. Muste in this country and pacifist Bertrand Russell internationally. Both the Stalinists and the SWP have found in pacifism a common meeting ground. This is the significance of the collaboration of the YSA and DuBois in Chicago. This is the significance of the support the SWP gave to the Communist Party candidate Aptheker in the last election in New York City.

But, the SWP will quickly answer to such criticisms: "we are only seeking a united front with the CP in defense of the Vietnam Revolution." But, we state in reply, the truth is that you have already made a political bloc with Stalinism at the expense of the Vietnamese Revolution. You do this when you accept as a condition for united action with the Stalinists a ban on criticism of Stalinism. This is precisely what you and your international friends did at Liege. You do this when you seek to limit the struggle against the Vietnam War to what is acceptable to pacifist Muste. You do this when you bloc with the DuBois Clubs against the interests of working class youth in the United States. You do this when you claim that China's isolation within the Soviet camp is self-imposed, is the result of Mao's "stubbornness."

This is the real meaning of the editorial in the January 16th Militant. The SWP is covering up for the conspiracy of the Kremlin and Washington against the Chinese and Vietnamese Revolutions.

## BACK IN PRINT

A Marxist Analysis of the Social Overturns in Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia and China by Tim Wohlforth. This detailed study of the creation of deformed workers states in the postwar period deals with thorny theoretical questions which have plagued Marxists for more than two decades. 91 pages.

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In Belgium, central Pabloite leader Mandel plays the same game. When supporters of the International Committee raised a banner defending the Hungarian Revolution at the Liege demonstration, Mandel was thrown into a bitter rage. It seems this principled defense of the Hungarian working class upset his "united front" with the Belgian Communist Party.

formed after the 1949 Revolution. The state, rather than being thrown up democratically from below by the revolutionary masses was slowly hewn from on top by the bureaucratic leaders of that revolution. Whole sections of the old Kuomintang administrative apparatus were taken over wholesale by the Maoists. No wonder now there are so many elements within

this state apparatus which "seek the capitalist road" as Mao puts it. We urge our readers to study the analysis of this process which we have published, "The Theory of Structural Assimilation."

A central danger in the situation lies in Mao's own weaknesses. He lacks any real program that can solve the problems of China without running the risk of capi-

It has been the Vietnam War which has provided much of the catalyst in bringing out the true character of all political tendencies within the working class movement. The most recent example of this was in the United States. At the recent Chicago student conference on Vietnam the YSA (youth supporters of the SWP) blocked with the DuBois Clubs (who support the Kremlin's line) in a common defense of student deferments.

As everyone knows the student deferment is a class deferment and will be so as long as higher education is limited primarily to the privileged few. Socialists will never be able to reach working class youth with the truth about the Vietnam War if at the same time they defend privileges for the middle class student that are denied to working class youth.

The cement that is binding these two forces together is the pacifist A. J. Muste in this country and pacifist Bertrand Russell internationally. Both the Stalinists and the SWP have found in pacifism a common meeting ground. This is the significance of the collaboration of the YSA and DuBois in Chicago. This is the significance of the support the SWP gave to the Communist Party candidate Aptheker in the last election in New York City.

But, the SWP will quickly answer to such criticisms: "we are only seeking a united front with the CP in defense of the Vietnam Revolution." But, we state in reply, the truth is that you have already made a political bloc with Stalinism at the expense of the Vietnamese Revolution. You do this when you accept as a condition for united action with the Stalinists a ban on criticism of Stalinism. This is precisely what you and your international friends did at Liege. You do this when you seek to limit the struggle against the Vietnam War to what is acceptable to pacifist Muste. You do this when you bloc with the DuBois Clubs against the interests of working class youth in the United States. You do this when you claim that China's isolation within the Soviet camp is self-imposed, is the result of Mao's "stubbornness."

This is the real meaning of the editorial in the January 16th Militant. The SWP is covering up for the conspiracy of the Kremlin and Washington against the Chinese and Vietnamese Revolutions.

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# LABOR SCOPE

## Liberals Push For Anti-Strike Law

Dan Fried --- Labor Editor

LBJ's failure to state any proposals for new antistrike legislation in his recent State of the Union Message has produced speculation in official 'labor' circles that Johnson will not propose such legislation unless there is a serious "damaging" strike.

Instead of preparing to fight the impending anti-union legislation our labor 'leaders' concern themselves with self-deluding wishful thinking. Instead of leading a campaign to prepare the unions ranks for stormy battles against Johnson, and all the other proponents of antistrike legislation, they hold over the heads of the rank and file the threat that such legislation will be forthcoming in the event of serious strikes.

At the same time as our 'leaders' were reportedly encouraged by LBJ's failure to mention the legislation, they

said nothing about Johnson's failure to mention his campaign promise to seek repeal of section 14a of the Taft-Hartley Act, the section which allows the states to enact 'right-to-work' laws. Johnson is too busy consulting his labor experts about the new anti-labor laws to worry about some promise he may have made in order to give our 'leaders' some copy with which to construct a fairy-tale image of cracker LBJ as some sort of 'friend of labor'. The ranks should begin telling their 'leaders' in no uncertain terms that they are sick and tired of this run-a-round of phoney promises from the 'friends of labor'.

Workers should pause to consider the disastrous setback to the standards of work and living they enjoy as a result of years of labor struggle if this goal of the employers is



WESTINGHOUSE WORKERS STOP CAR CRASHING PICKET LINE DURING RECENT STRIKE.

achieved. A real fight is necessary. It is a clear political fight in which the militant workers must see that the Democratic and Republican Parties represent the bosses--are "political company unions", and must lead a struggle for a new party, a Labor Party based on the rank and file in the trade unions.

Johnson's omission does not mean that he will not propose antistrike legislation in some form in this or the next session of Congress, the timid hope of our 'leaders' notwithstanding. LBJ's silence simply reflects the debate going on in govern-

ment and corporation circles as to the precise form of the legislation. In particular the special task force named by Johnson last year to come up with recommended legislation is still in the process of resolving differences over the concrete form of the legislation.

Senators Morse and Javits are impatient with the Administration's temporizing and are anxiously renewing their efforts, according to the New York Times, "to force the Johnson Administration to recommend new antistrike legislation." Yes, the leaders of the movement to straitjacket

labor are not Senators Eastland and Tower, but Morse and Javits the darlings of the liberals, radicals and 'socialists'.

What Morse, Javits, their Congressional supporters and a large section of the ruling class want from the Administration is legislation which will permit compulsory arbitration -- binding settlements based on the decisions of 'impartial' arbiters. They are aware that the 'cooling off period' provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act are not sufficient to curb the increasing militancy of labor's rank and file.

## Schraffts-Bickford Contracts Are Blow Against Labor

In the Dec. 19, 1965 Bulletin we commented on the increased successes in the organization of previously unorganized workers, singling out (among others) the organization of almost 5,000 workers of the Schraffts and Bickfords restaurant chains. Before we talk too much about "success" in this case we had better take a close look at the contract signed on behalf of these workers by Local 11 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union.

This contract has been laud-

ed in Big Business circles. The presidents of Schraffts and Bickfords praised what they described as "the statesmanship and constructive approach" in working out the new contract of Mr. Fred Ferrara, President and head negotiator of Local 11. And no wonder! The contract contains a no-strike provision which states that if there is no agreement by the time of the expiration of the old contract, the contract will be automatically extended while the dispute is submitted to an agreed upon arbitrator for a binding decision.

Apparently, the leadership of

this local is not waiting for LBJ to take away the right to strike. The contract states that the union voluntarily opposes any sort of strike either over implementation of the current contract or after its expiration. Outdoing themselves with a sickening display of 'constructive leadership', spokesmen for the union further state that they will oppose "so-called 'unofficial and unrehearsed' acts such as wildcat strikes, slowdowns, sabotage and mass sickness and absenteeism", capping it all off with a declaration that the union won't question the com-

pany's right to discipline or fire employees "engaging in or encouraging" such practices.

There is no doubt that other companies, both in and out of the restaurant field will cite this contract as a precedent to be followed on the basis of the no-strike provisions. While the Schrafft and Bickford employees are now represented by a union, such a contract virtually gives the employer a sort of sweetheart agreement with a so-called legitimate union. This is of more advantage to them than an open and obvious company union. The

ranks of the union have the choice of defying the anti-strike provisions or allowing themselves to be castrated. Only by defying these provisions will they be able to safeguard and maintain the economic gains provided in the contract in the face of the steadily mounting cost of living.

The entire labor movement has the responsibility to condemn the no-strike provisions of this contract as a means of introducing outright company unionism into the labor movement through the back door.

## Major Railroad Strike Threatens Over Living Costs

The first major strike of 1967 may well be called by some 150,000 workers represented by various railroad shop unions despite much talk among labor columnists about the possibility of a strike by Teamsters in the trucking industry.

Some "Labor Sources" report great pressure on the unions to settle before a strike becomes "damaging" as a re-

action to the threat of anti-strike legislation. On the other hand, the shop unions are refusing to settle on the basis of the wage increase pattern of 5% agreed to by other rail unions. As a result, there are many parallels, including the demand for a cost of living escalator, with the stand of the Machinists in last summer's airline strike. The unions presently appear to be adamant in their demands for

10% over three years.

The railroad shopmen are not simply railroad workers. Many are also members of various skilled trades which are better paid in other industries such as construction and manufacturing. As a result of this wage differential, which is admitted by the railroad corporations, the railroads are losing skilled workers to these other industries.

This puts the railroad corporations in a dilemma. On the one hand there is great pressure to grant the shop workers' demands so as to check their loss to other industries. On the other hand, they fear that this could upset the established 5% wage increase pattern -- that giving into the shop workers will set off a bid by the other rail unions (a number of which have yet to settle) to leapfrog each

other with new demands.

The demands of the railroad shop workers show the need to develop an industry-wide union to represent rail workers. Such a union would not only unite the various sections of the workers within the industry but would also seek coordination of the conditions and demands of the skilled craftsmen on an inter-industry basis.

### WELFARE SELLOUT

(Continued from Page 1) shreds! Mage's contract at best is a holding operation, really much worse, will meet a similar fate much faster if accepted by the SSEU. All pressure has been taken off the city by Mage's idiot policy.

Not even a raise has been settled yet. The members will work for months without a contract. Demoralization can be a grave threat to the ability to strike after fact finding. The task of the militants must be to construct an alternative leadership to the Mage clique. This means building for the April elections as well as a serious

preparation to vote down the contract which will come out of fact finding. For this the militants must begin the process of understanding why this has happened and what can be done. Particular responsibility for this will fall upon the Rank and File Committee which so far has done such an excellent job in struggling against Mage and for the union.

"Joan of Arc", yes that's how the NY Post described Mrs. Mage the day after the sell-out. Asked how she became a "labor leader," she replied: "I came into this backwards." Mrs. Mage has yet to turn around.

### POWELL

(Continued from Page 1) on this issue from such respectable leaders as A. Philip Randolph reflect the deep anger in the Negro community.

#### knife

What could Powell expect from the Democratic Party (it was the Democratic caucus which removed him from his committee chairmanship) or either capitalist party (Democrats and Republicans combined to exclude him from the House)?

For more than a generation Powell has tried to sell the Negro people on the progressive Democratic Party,

except for certain periods when he feuded with the Democratic leaders, at which time according to Powell the Republican Party suddenly became worthy of the affection of the black masses.

We must unconditionally support Powell against the racist attacks. The black and white workers, who were getting kicked in the teeth all these years while Powell betrayed their interests in order to make deals with the capitalist parties, must go further and break totally from the parties which have exposed their true nature in this sordid affair.

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