

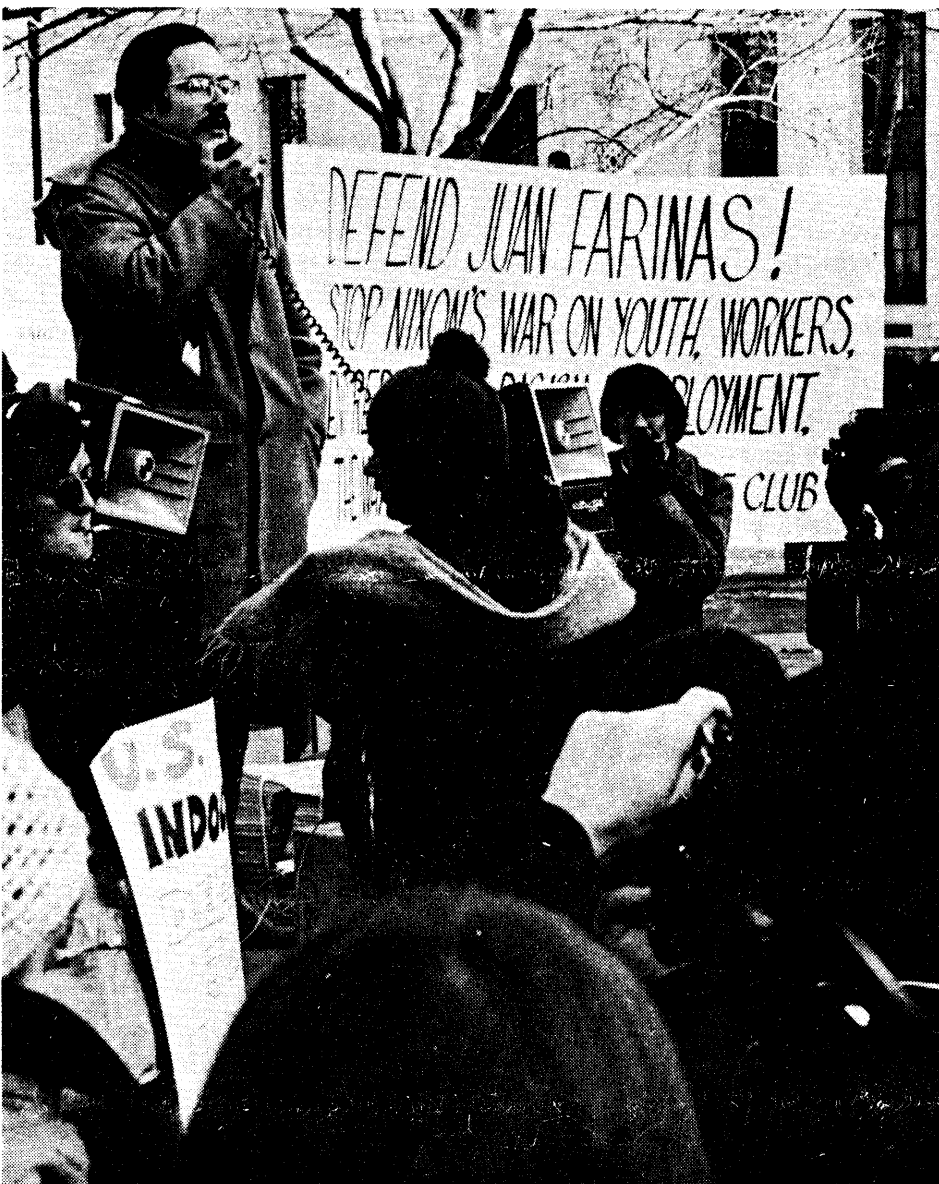
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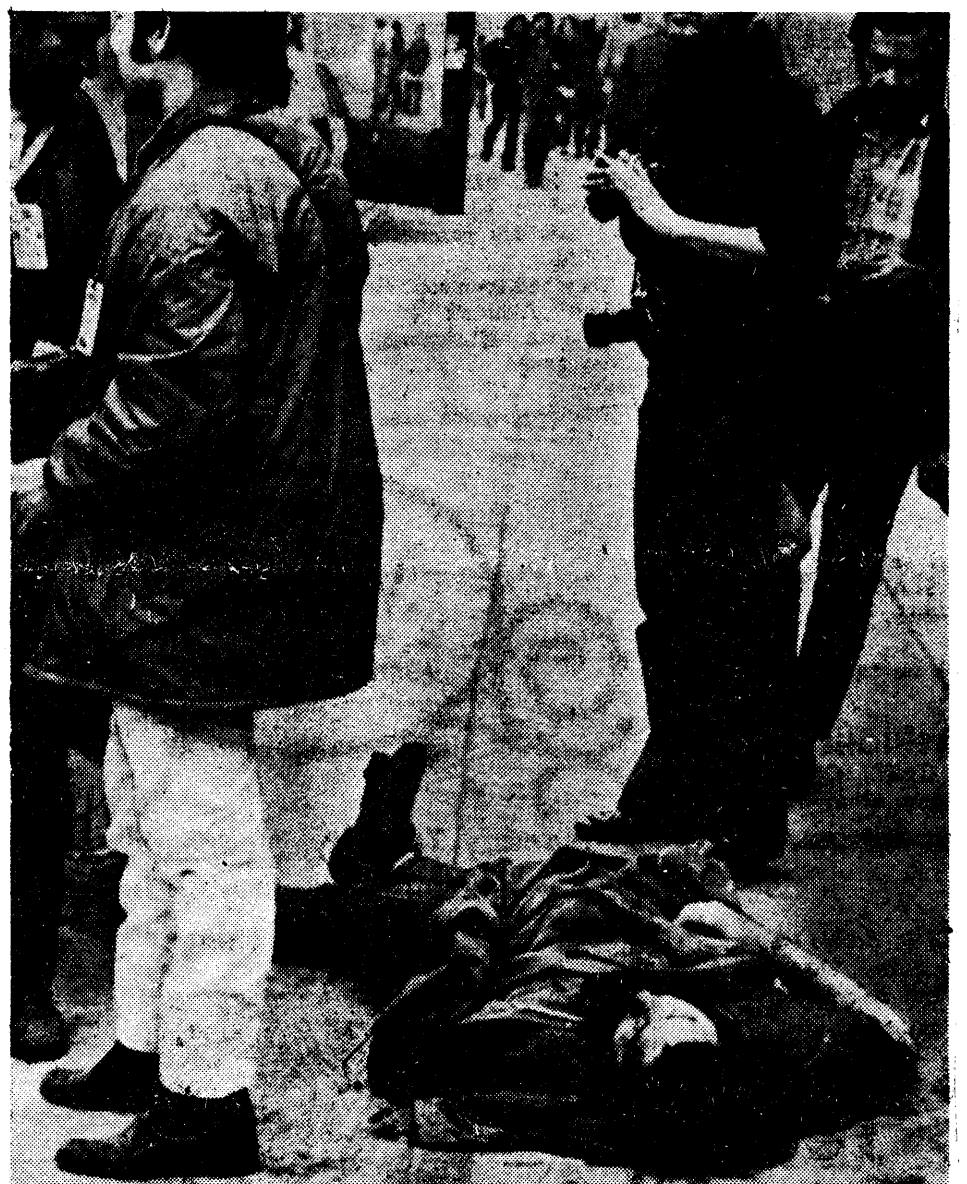
*Nixon's Budget:
More Inflation,
Unemployment*

US FORCES LAUNCH INVASION OF LAOS



Juan Farinas announces sentencing and bail to crowd of supporters in New York.

**Mass Demonstrations Protest
Sentencing Of Juan P. Farinas**



Chicano youth lies dead in street as the result of brutal police attack in Los Angeles.

**Cops Shoot Down Youth
After Chicano Moratorium**



**Union Busters
Brutally Assault
Newark Teachers
In Bitter Strike**

NPAC Begg For 'Antiwar Unity' With Stalinists

BY PAT CONNOLLY

Day after day Nixon and the ruling class step up their preparations for a new escalation of the war in Vietnam. Through the statements of Nixon, Defense Secretary Laird and Secretary of State Rogers, they are building up for a new invasion of Cambodia and more attacks on Laos, desperately trying to drive back the workers and peasants of Indochina.

At the same time, rebellions are erupting in the U.S. Army in Europe and in Indochina, and the capitalist class is confronted with a massive wage offensive of the working-class at home.

It is within this context that the editorial 'Antiwar Unity,' in the current issue of The Militant must be seen.

The National Peace Action Coalition, supported by the Socialist Workers Party, is calling for mass demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco on April 24 for immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. The National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression (NCAWRR), supported by the Communist Party and others, is calling for May 5 demonstrations in Washington and other cities, centering on non-violent acts of civil disobedience.

As the class struggle sharpens up, the Stalinists play an increasingly dangerous role. As they have in the past, they now pull away from mass demonstrations in an effort to diffuse and de-fuse the fight against the war, seeking to disorient forces moving against the war into the Democratic Party. They fight to build support for liberal capitalists and its spokesmen like Fullbright, Cooper, Church, Abzug and others, rather than fighting for a massive movement against the war on a class basis.

This is why they now can propose only scattered, isolated actions of civil disobedience and non-violence, coupled with support for capitalist politicians.

But the SWP, rather than fighting to completely expose the Stalinists and the class collaborationist policies of Stalinism, open every door to them. Through NPAC they seek to draw the NCAWRR (and thus the CP) back into an alliance with them, with the rationale: "If there is to be common action it will necessarily be on the basis of a frank recognition of the differences of political approach that exist between the two groups and an objective determination of what specific actions and programs they can realistically work out in common."

But what the SWP and NPAC mean by this is exposed in the list of speakers which NPAC proposed to invite for its own demonstration on April 24—Lindsay, Stokes, Justice Douglas, Senators Kennedy, Church, Muskie, McGovern, Hatfield, Javits, Bella Abzug, Shirley Chisholm, and others.

In order to draw the Stalinists back into an alliance, they are taking up more



May 21 rally against the war called by N.Y. unions drew 50,000 workers and youth.

thoroughly than ever before the class collaborationist policies of the Popular Front and Stalinism, trying to bring the movement against the war more and more into the arms of the capitalist class.

This is taking place at a time when the class struggle sharpens up in the U.S. and internationally, in Vietnam, at a time when those like Lindsay are forced by the upsurge of the class struggle to threaten troops against New York City workers, and every single Democratic Senator suggested by NPAC supports wage controls and anti-union laws against the working class.

It is precisely these developments which open the possibility for a fight against the war on a class basis as never before, mobilizing tens of thousands of rank and file workers, youth and students in opposition to the war in Vietnam. The possibility opens up now for the kind of unprecedented demonstration which was held in New York City on May 21, called by the trade union movement and mobilizing 50,000 workers, trade unionists and students.

The kind of demonstration which was built in support of Juan Farinas in New York, on a class basis drawing support from the labor movement, students, minority youth shows the potential for the fight against the war on a class basis. Millions of workers now coming forward in struggle against capitalism's attacks can be brought out against the war in Indochina, posing not only an end to the war but an end to capitalism itself.

This is what frightens the Stalinists and drives them. But it is also this which drives the SWP after them, chasing a unity based on opportunism and fear of the growth of the working class movement.

Army Lets Off My Lai General

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

In what will surely be remembered as the biggest farce in the whole phony My Lai trials, the Army decided last week to drop all court martial charges against General Samuel Koster in "the interests of justice."

General Koster was none other than the division commander of the troops who were in My Lai at the time of the massacre.

Koster was charged with knowingly covering up the My Lai incident. However, Lieutenant General Jonathan Seaman, commanding general of the First Army at Fort Meade, Maryland, said that while there was "some evidence" that Koster had heard about the killing of some twenty civilians, Seaman concluded that he was not guilty of "any intentional abrogation of responsibilities."

Seaman also cited the "long and honorable career of General Koster" by which he means his long and honorable career serving the interests of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia.

It is really remarkable that while there is plenty of evidence and plenty of witnesses to testify in the trials of men

who were directly under Koster's command, no evidence can be found to implicate the man who was known to be flying over the area of the massacre

Lieutenant General Seaman is the same man who dismissed the charges against the other nine officers who faced possible court martials. In fact Seaman is no stranger to Vietnam. The National Committee for a Citizens Commission of Inquiry reports receiving testimony at its own hearings from G.I.'s about atrocities committed under Seaman's command in Vietnam from 1965 to 1967.

Civilians were tortured and murdered under his command specifically in Operation Johnson City and Operation Cedar Fall. Is it surprising that he would find it difficult to court martial an associate like General Koster?

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EDITORIAL

U.S. Forces Invade Laos-- Class Action Can Stop War

With the Laotian border areas under a news blackout, a massive military build-up of United States and South Vietnamese troops is taking place. A South Vietnamese invasion of Laos, supported by American air power, is expected momentarily.

This follows stepped up American air intervention in Cambodia and new bombing of the North. In the wake of all Nixon's talk of de-escalation, the war is intensified.

Every effort is being made by the Pentagon and White House to so stretch the meaning of the Cooper-Church amendment to permit the United States to actually expand its aggression in Southeast Asia. At the same time the basis is being laid for actual use of American troops in Cambodia and Laos if any kind of excuse can be fabricated.

The reaction of Cooper and Church to all this shows how phony their amendment was to begin with. Those who are committed to the defense of American capitalism, its exploitation of workers at home, and its exploitation and domination of whole nations abroad, cannot be counted upon to oppose America's war in Vietnam.

But the National Peace Action Coalition, supported by the revisionist Socialist Workers Party, has invited precisely such people to address the April 24 anti-war protest. Among those invited is Church himself along with Muskie, McGovern, Kennedy and others from the "liberal" section of the Democratic Party.

What is required now is action by the American labor movement against the war. The statement of the International Executive Board of the United Auto Workers condemning steps towards deeper involvement in the Southeast Asian War is to be welcomed. What, however, is needed is more than a statement. What is required is the mobilization of labor and the industrial action of labor.

As a first step trade unions must take the lead in the April 24 Washington mobilization. Trade unions can bring one million to Washington on that date if, and only if, the rank and file fight day and night for this to take place. At the same time such a massive mobilization of labor would take on the policies of both the Republicans and Democrats of inflation, unemployment and repression at home.

Any movement of American troops into Cambodia or Laos must be answered by a general strike of the American labor movement. Only class action can stop this war.

SSEU Ranks Turn Tables On Hill-Show Determination To Fight City

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER
NEW YORK—New York City's welfare workers, still without a contract since December 31 and under new attacks by the City, packed the Marc Ballroom in Union Square, with the largest turnout in two years.

This meeting culminated the efforts of the SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership's petition campaign which raised 1261 signatures in two days following the leadership's hesitation before the critical questions facing the local.

LEADERSHIP

Both the depth of the crisis facing the SSEU-371 and the character of its leadership were sharply revealed by the critical events preceding that membership meeting, most sharply in the suspension of Dorrance Henderson for doing his job in the now famous Waldorf Astoria incident. The viciousness of Lindsay's attack designed both to discredit and intimidate the welfare workers, met with a stern rebuff as the rank and file rallied to the defense of their brother at the January 27 membership meeting.

The leadership of the Local, however,

revealed its complete bankruptcy in every proposal, official recommendation and petty maneuver. In the first place union president Stan Hill attempted to interpret the attack on the worker as an individual one, separated from the general situation of the closing and reorganization of entire work locations without any negotiations of these matters.

OBSCURE

Hill attempted instead to use the case of the suspended worker to obscure the fight on the contract and cover his complete retreat on this most vital question. To see this attack as an "incident," to see Lindsay as a "clown" as Hill does, is to disarm the ranks for the fight.

Hill's proposal was for the union to take Henderson's case to court if the City refused to arbitrate. Decision for other actions would be put in the hands of the Executive Committee.

The ranks, however, showed their determination to fight by voting for a motion to hold a strike referendum on February 5 in the event that Henderson was not returned to his job.

The original vote was 211-209 in favor of this motion and against Hill. On the recount, which Hill demanded, the motion failed by a narrow margin of 235-232.

TURNING

This vote marks a real turning point in the struggle and lays the basis for a confrontation with the City. The court is now seeking to postpone the decision on the Henderson case until the end of the week and can continue to put it off in order to break the militancy of the ranks.

At the heart of the struggle must be the fight for a new contract to prepare action against the City through the fight for a strike referendum.

Goons Brutally Assault Striking Newark Teachers

BY DAN FRIED

NEWARK, N.J., Feb. 3—The attacks on the Newark Teachers Union by supporters of the Newark Board of Education have escalated sharply since nearly 3,000 teachers voted Sunday by a 6-1 margin to strike.

After months of threats, harassment, intimidation and acts of violence against union members, open terror again broke out when the car of NTU President Carol Graves was gutted by a firebombing following the expiration of the contract Sunday night.

This morning as union activists were leaving the union office on their way to the setting up of picket lines, a group of pickets were ambushed, brutally attacked and beaten by some 25 to 30 thugs who leapt from cars and proceeded to viciously work over the teachers with chains, rubber hoses, sticks, baseball bats with nails and spray from fire extinguishers.

Seven of the victims required medical treatment and some are still in the hospital. Witnesses said that blood was all over the sidewalk and two unionists had their heads split open.

JONES

The attackers were described as young blacks in their twenties wearing green para-military uniforms. According to Mrs. Graves, one of them was heard to say, "Let's get those union bastards." According to witnesses some of the attackers had been waiting in the office of ONE (Organization of Negro Educators) adjacent to the union office. It was also reported that LeRoi Jones was seen in the area shortly after the attack. Jones, the anti-white cultural nationalist supporter of black Mayor Kenneth Gibson and the Newark Board of Education, is a vicious and outspoken enemy of the teachers union.

At a mass meeting of the union following the attack, Mrs. Graves said, "This isn't just happening. It is deliberate. City spokesmen and the Mayor are to blame for allowing inflammatory statements in the press and radio." Graves characterized the attack by "these goon squads from another century" as a "fascist" attack on a union because it is a union and not primarily a racial attack. She went on to say that "They're trying to bust the union." One third of the union's members are black, as is Mrs. Graves and a number of other leaders.

These thugs are simply carrying out the logic of the attack launched by Mayor Gibson and the Board against the union. This is part of the overall attack by Nixon-Agnew on labor in order to defend the profits of capitalism. While beatings take place in the streets, Gibson and the Board raise the threat of injunctions and jailings such as took place last year when 192 Newark teachers were jailed for striking.

GIBSON

It is extremely important to note that the election of Gibson as a "liberal," as a black Democrat, is the product of the reactionary policy of "independent black political action" through which the Socialist Workers Party gave Gibson backhanded support. At the same time the Communist Party, in carrying out its policy of the "anti-monopoly coalition" (support to liberal capitalist politicians) was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Gibson. Today, both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party are completely silent on the union busting role of Gibson and his nationalist supporter LeRoi Jones. The SWP has in fact justified its covering up for Jones on grounds that "blacks must go through a stage of nationalism."

According to Gibson, the teachers are "precipitating a crisis" when they refuse to accept virtual slavery by refusing to return to the conditions of the 1930's.

According to Gibson, the teachers are "precipitating a crisis" when they refuse to swallow a wage freeze in the face of mounting inflation, when they refuse to give up union protection against layoffs and transfers, when they refuse to allow unlimited class size and the deterioration of conditions in the schools.

The stand of the Board is and has been to give the teachers no alternative but to strike by insisting that all demands relating to education and teaching conditions—more teachers, specialists, aides, construction of twenty new schools and twenty special MES schools and limits on class size—are "management prerogatives" and "non-negotiable."

Regardless of any agreement on wages and hours, this control by the Board over these questions would open the door to a job freeze, greater "productivity" as well

as a complete undermining of the rights and conditions of teachers.

The militancy of the union's ranks at Sunday's strike vote meeting was expressed by one delegate who said, "I'd rather die standing on my feet than live on my knees." Despite the militancy and the realization by the leadership that they were involved in "serious business," the union failed to conduct a real fight to keep everyone out Monday morning with mass picket lines.

Instead they kept the final decision to strike somewhat up in the air by scheduling an 8 a.m. Monday meeting to hear a final report on the negotiations. Following this meeting there was no real fight to involve anyone but the delegates and the activists in the struggle. Hundreds of union members were simply allowed to go home, and then as an afterthought, a mass march of those remaining was organized at City Hall.

This same complacency was reflected in the very small turnout for picketing and lack of defense preparations this morning when the attack took place.

The brutal attack on the pickets has meant a sharp turn by the leadership and the ranks to activate labor support, to telephone all teachers, to keep them out of the schools and to organize mass picketing in order to shut down the schools, lock, stock and barrel. This was posed at the meeting following the attack when some 800 NTU members poured in to hear a report on plans to win the strike.

Representatives of the Newark labor movement which has pledged support to the NTU were upon the platform in preparation for leading a mass march and picket line down to City Hall after the meeting. AFL-CIO State Chairman Charles Marciante spoke on behalf of these leaders saying, "We have from the beginning and will continue to support the teachers." In response to shouts from the floor of "Spell it out," Marciante said that starting tomorrow, there would be no deliveries of any products or petroleum to the schools.

Nixon's Budget--More Inflation, Less Jobs

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

Nixon's proclaimed "expansionary" budget for the fiscal year 1972 will mean more inflation and unemployment for American workers. Nixon's plan is to save capitalism by driving back the living standards of the working class.

Despite all of the talk about expansion, the budget deficit of 11.6 billion dollars is a continuation of the deflationary course Nixon has pursued since he came to office. The so-called expansion reflects only the measures taken to prevent the entire capitalist economy from complete collapse. Nixon has made minimal concessions to prop up big business such as the recently announced tax credits to big business and to the bankrupt Lockheed Corporation. These concessions are designed to preserve the profits of capitalism.

At the same time the workers will pay for the continued rise of inflation. In December prices rose up 0.5% nationally as unemployment soared to 6%. Unemployment and inflation are what lie behind the so-called "full employment budget."

HELLER

Walter Heller, the chief economist for the Democrats and an advisor to both Kennedy and Johnson, shot holes through Nixon's talk of expansion when he testified last week before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress. Heller said that the budget was "insufficiently stimulative for the sluggish economy." Heller in attacking Nixon's continued deflationary course is not speaking up for the working class. As economic advisor for the Democratic Party he is expressing the views of that section of industry and the capitalist class which has been hurt by the recession and wants to stimulate business.

This he made absolutely clear when he said that Nixon "has moved from the wishbone to the jawbone; now I wish he'd give it some backbone." The backbone Heller is talking about is wage controls. This is the policy which is being called for by the Democratic Party and not just by its con-



Newark teacher Terrence Elman after being beaten by anti-union thugs. Union president's car was firebombed in wave of terror unleashed by city and Board of Education.

Important as these steps are, it must be taken further to the involvement of the mass of the working class and the students in the fight to defend the teachers.

The NTU cannot rely on Mr. Gibson or any other force than their own rank and file and the power of organized labor to win their contract. This is a fight of the entire union movement. The NTU should take the initiative in the mobilization of the rank and file unionists of the New York-New Jersey area.

We cannot rest content with the putting up of a \$5,000 reward for arrest of the thugs by United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker.

Stanley Hill, President of SSEU-371

(DC 37, AFSCME) has already pledged that his union will mobilize its membership and send them over to Newark to support the teachers' fight against any injunctions or other repression. This must now be taken forward with the mobilization of the ranks of the UFT and other unions in New York and New Jersey.

The possibility of a general strike has already been raised by some labor leaders. The first step should be bringing these forces onto the picket lines at the key schools being picketed by the NTU, and setting the earliest date possible for the largest, most massive march and demonstration by labor outside of City Hall.

servative or moderate wing. The leader of the pack who has been howling for controls is the so-called liberal and head of the party, Edmund Muskie.

Nixon in his budget address again reiterated that he has rejected the idea of wage-price controls. But as Heller points out, he has gone from "wishbone to jawbone." While in the past he has used the recessionary import of the economy to hit at wages and employment, he has now moved beyond that to Johnson's policies of jawboning.

There should be no doubt that Nixon would gladly put the "backbone" into this by instituting a wage freeze if he could. What he fears is that with the offensive of the American working class he would not be able to implement it despite all the collaboration of the trade union bureaucracy.

Right now Nixon is holding the threat of controls as a club against the unions. He spelled this out in his private meeting with labor and management representatives from the construction industry two weeks ago. He said bluntly if the wage-price spiral did not stop he would bring in legislation for controls.

In the meantime he made it clear in his Annual Economic Address to Congress on February 1 that he would play a different role than in the past. He said he would personally intervene in situations involving wage and price increases. It should be absolutely clear that when Nixon talks about controls, it is aimed at the working class and at a wage freeze, not at the employers.

LEGISLATION

At the same time Nixon is preparing the way to implement cuts in wages. At the end of last week Nixon proposed to Congress new anti-labor legislation to eliminate strikes in the transportation industry and force settlements through compulsory arbitration. This is the same plan Nixon proposed to the construction industry when he called for the setting up of a tripartite commission which would prevent strikes and have full power over contract settlements, holding down any inflationary settlements.

The "revolution" Nixon talked about in his State of the Union address is the movement towards Bonapartism, to centralizing

the power of the government for war against the working class.

At any moment now Nixon can move against a section of the labor movement using the excuse of a "national emergency" to pass legislation against wage increases, against the unions.

This raises sharply the urgency of the labor movement taking up the fight for a labor party as the capitalist class through the Democrats and Republicans goes on the offensive against the working class to take back all its rights and gains and drive it into poverty.

WAR

While Nixon moves against U.S. workers, U.S. imperialism is striking out against the working class internationally. It is no accident that at precisely the time when Nixon announces new attacks on the unions he is preparing a major offensive against the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia.

The ranks of American labor must demand that their unions call a massive demonstration in Washington against the Democrats and Republicans, against the war, inflation, unemployment, and repression, against anti-labor legislation and wage freezing.

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Local 101 Militants Launch Fight At Brooklyn Union Gas

BY A LOCAL 101 MEMBER

BROOKLYN—Buried on a back page of the Daily News on Sunday, January 17, was an article announcing a plan by Brooklyn Union Gas to completely automate meter reading.

The experiment, already said to be two years old, is being conducted in a now expanded section of Staten Island. Once perfected it will be introduced into Brooklyn and Queens.

Phase one of the program calls for the installation of a completely new type of equipment which will enable the meter reader to take readings without entering the customer's house. The second phase will consist of an easy conversion to automatic readings by the use of computers and telephone cables.

Brooklyn Union Gas sees this new program as benefiting its more than one million customers but makes no mention of the huge amounts of profits it stands to reap. More important, it does not mention what automation poses in the way of jobs. Jobs will be a major concern of workers not only in the meter reading section but in other departments as well.

Like the Brooklyn Union Gas bosses, Kirrane, head of Local 101, also remains silent on this whole question of automation and the threat it poses to job security. He remains just as mute on the question of a mass general membership meeting to discuss bargaining policy for the up-

coming contract.

Instead he quietly announces in the TWU Express a list of thirty-two demands. But Kirrane is not serious about fighting for all the demands and has no intentions of fighting for the key demands: cost of living, job security, and a wage increase of \$2.00 per hour over two years.

Such unseriousness by the Local 101 leadership poses the urgent need for a rank and file caucus, a caucus that will stand firm in the fight against the bosses and the rotten sellout policies of the union leadership. This caucus will fight for the real needs of the rank and file members and will link up the struggles of our brothers in Con Edison.

DEMANDS

The petition issued by the Local 101 Rank and File Caucus calling on Kirrane to call a mass general meeting must be seen as the way forward. This meeting must discuss the following basic demands.

1. \$2.00 per hour increase over two years.
2. Full cost of living escalator clause.
3. Two man crews in dangerous areas.
4. No layoffs (particularly in light of recent threats to automate meter reading).
5. Increased benefits (parity with TWU Local 100), 20 year retirement at half pay, full pay at 30 and out.
6. Full hospital and health coverage at company expense.

CCNY Lays Off 36 Workers

BY A CCNY STUDENT

NEW YORK, Feb. 1—During the semester break at City College of New York, between twenty-two and thirty-six cafeteria workers were fired by CCNY, as the administration began to "reorganize" the cafeteria service.

On Friday, January 29, representatives of Local 302, the cafeteria workers' union, the CCNY administration, and the fired workers met in the South Campus cafeteria. Here the college made an offer to rehire three workers and place others in temporary jobs. The local representative refused to accept this offer and called for reinstatement of all the workers.

At New York City Community College, thirty workers were fired last month. At Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center, thirty-three workers were fired. Now CCNY has laid off these workers and undoubtedly plans more firings in line with the City and State budget crisis.

These firings are part of the same attack the city and state are making against students, with cutbacks in services, plans to charge tuition at the City University, and raising tuition drastically at the State University.

The fight must now be taken up by both students and workers to demand and win the reinstatement of all those fired. The CCNY Workers League has issued a leaflet calling for Local 302 to take strike action in defense of the fired workers to close down the cafeteria and for students to immediately begin boycotting the cafeteria until all the workers are reinstated.

In a meeting last Tuesday involving the

fired workers, the Workers League, Puerto Rican Student Union, Progressive Labor Party and Students for a Democratic Society and others. SDS fought against calling on the union to act. They claimed that "you can't get anything through the union," and put forward the idea of "confronting the bosses."

PL

The leaflet put out by the "CCNY Coalition Against Racism" reflects the perspective of the Progressive Labor Party, which sees the question of these firings as "racist unemployment," rather than confronting the class nature of the attacks on workers at CCNY and throughout the country.

They refuse to take up the fight in the trade unions, writing them off and seeking to build instead a middle class protest movement which proposes no course of action which can win the demands of the workers.

STOP PRESS

Feb 2—Today guards stopped a member of SDS as he entered the cafeteria (after a small rally against the firings) and demanded to see his ID card. They refused to return the card, and when the student tried to get it back, he was attacked by the guards. Four students were beaten up (one went to the hospital for stitches) and arrested. This shows how seriously the ruling class intends to deal with those who fight back against their attacks. More than a protest is needed—Local 302 must call a strike and students must boycott the cafeterias until the workers are rehired.



Organizing Committee leaflets workers at Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center in fight for unionization. 33 workers were fired as hospital seeks to keep union out.

Columbia Presbyterian Fires 33 Workers For Staging Job Action

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—On January 11 thirty-three workers in the dietary department at Columbia Presbyterian Hospital were fired after staging a job action against the firing of one worker and the three day suspension of another.

The suspended worker was accused of "asking too many questions." In other words, he refused, like his fellow employees, to accept the deteriorating working conditions, harassment and intimidation by the hospital. Before the mass firings, there were many other job actions against the division of Black and Spanish workers into separate shifts, and arbitrary rearranging of schedules.

These firings come at the same time as all hospitals throughout the city are stepping up their attacks on working conditions and victimizing the most outspoken workers. Just one example of this is the reported firing at Mount Sinai of a delegate who passed around a petition against the prices in the cafeteria. In every case, the hospitals are making the workers and patients pay for the cut in funds, with speedup, lay offs, and cut back in services. At Columbia Presbyterian 1.4 million dollars has been cut from eight departments and there have already been layoffs.

Presbyterian was ready to fire the thirty-three workers because they are not organized in a union and Local 1199 has lost

two previous elections there. The hospital has consistently whipped up racism to divide the blue collar from the technical and professional workers in order to keep the union out.

What the anti-union campaign of the hospital will mean to every worker must now be clear. Once they have divided the workers they can proceed to change working conditions at will and lay them off. They will also use the threat of unemployment to keep the workers in line.

The need for the union is critical. Local 1199 has opened a new organizing drive headed by seven of the fired workers. Not only must an aggressive campaign be waged to expose the hospital's tactics and real intentions but Local 1199 must beat back the attack on the thirty-three workers right now.

COUNTER

The union must counter the intimidation campaign of the hospital by mobilizing all the workers in demonstrations of support and by mobilizing 1199 members throughout the city at Presbyterian in a mass display of strength. The workers must see the power of the union and its ability to fight even before the election takes place.

At the same time Local 1199 must call a halt at all hospitals to speedup and cutbacks in services and staffing which threatens organized and unorganized workers alike.

1199 Rank & File Committee Poses Fight To Defend Mt. Sinai Workers

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK, Feb. 1—A meeting was held today of workers from Mt. Sinai and other hospitals and of workers and youth from the East Harlem community.

This meeting discussed the attacks facing workers at Mt. Sinai, the deteriorating conditions at the hospital, including the Health Service and the Emergency Room, and the victimization of workers who fight back against the attacks.

Two weeks ago some non-union staff who distributed a leaflet attacking the conditions in the Health Service and the Emergency Room were victimized by the hospital. Dr. Jerry Gelles still faces possible dismissal or other disciplinary action, and Mary Gelles has been removed from her nursing instructor position.

Members of the Rank and File Committee of Local 1199 at this meeting pointed out the political nature of the attacks facing hospital workers. The ranks of hospital workers had to be organized to insist that the union defend all militants under attack, that all workers have the right to speak

out without fear of reprisal. This fight had to be connected to the demands for an end to the job freeze and the expansion of health services to provide more jobs and adequate patient care.

Neither the hospital workers nor the patients nor any section of the working class will be defended through the nationalist and community-oriented conceptions presented by many at this meeting.

It was even suggested that the meeting not discuss the attacks on Jerry and Mary Gelles because they are white. This reactionary nationalist position was rejected by the great majority of those present, but the conception that power comes from "the people," and not the struggles of the working class, is just as confused and dangerous. Similarly, the Progressive Labor Party seeks to avoid political struggle within the union in favor of "independent" rank and file organization.

The Rank and File Committee is taking up the fight to protect militants and working conditions against the attacks of the bosses.

WHITE COLLAR WORKERS WALK OUT AT CHRYSLER

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—On Tuesday January 27 one thousand salaried Chrysler workers from Local 412 of the UAW walked off their jobs. Demonstrating at the Highland Park headquarters, the workers, many raising the peace sign and the clenched fist, demanded a contract for the 10,000 white collar workers or a strike deadline.

Later that day at a union meeting, Doug Fraser, one of the UAW's chief negotiators, said that a speedy agreement could be reached at any time if the workers are ready to go back to work. He urged them to be patient.

At one point in the meeting Fraser said he would walk down the road of strike ac-

tion if the workers wanted that. Immediately the rank and file responded with shouts and yells. One worker expressed the rank's distrust for the leadership when he answered Fraser's statement with: "When, in two months?"

The militancy of these salaried workers takes place at the same time that the Chrysler production workers are voting on whether to accept Woodcock's sellout.

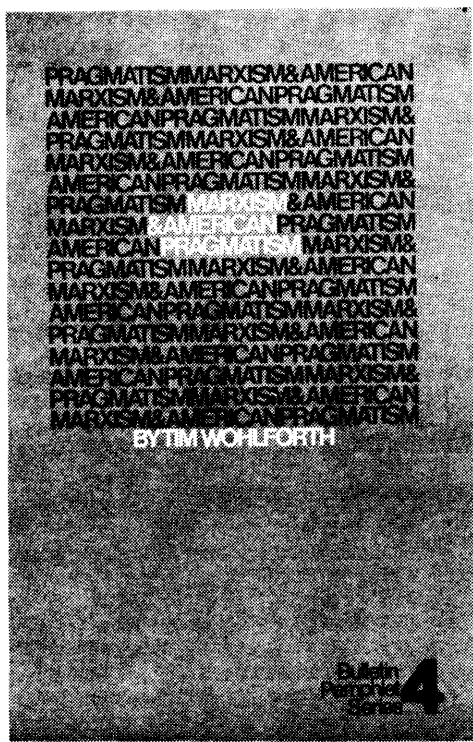
It is clear from this sellout that the UAW leadership will do everything possible to stop the mobilization that is necessary against Chrysler. The ranks must be prepared to fight their leadership for a decent contract using this as a first step to building a rank and file caucus that can challenge this leadership.

Just Out!

50¢

These lectures were originally given in the fall of 1970 at Workers League Weekend Schools. The pamphlet also includes material originally given as part of the Trotsky Memorial Lecture Series under the title "Trotsky's Struggle Against Revisionism."

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CLASS STRUGGLES IN AFRICA



by **N. MAKANDA**

THE AUTHORS of 'Class and Colour in South Africa, 1850-1950' were both leading members of the Communist Party of South Africa before it was banned by the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act.

Mr H. J. Simons lectured in African law and government at Cape Town University up to 1964 when he was expelled by the government from the University.

Mrs R. E. Simons (Ray Alexander) was a leading trade unionist until banned in 1953 and was 'elected', as a European, to be a 'Native Representative' in 1954, on the basis of the anti-African Native Representation Act of 1936.

A law of parliament stopped her from taking her seat in the all-white parliament.

They have written a book of 700 pages filled with much useful, interesting and important material.

It is the most comprehensive account to date of the history of the South African Communist Party, for this, essentially, is what the book is mainly about.

Despite the views and, possibly, the intent, of the writers, this book is the most revealing self-indictment to date of the so-called Communist Party of South Africa, a Party which, for a long time has had, and at the moment has particularly close ties with the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The British liberal theory

THE opening page begins with a typical idea, long fostered by the liberal apologists of British imperialism, namely that apartheid and all its evils are a recent creation of the Boers and not, therefore, as it was, the creation, mainly, of British imperialism, for whom the Boers act merely as exposed agents, hiding the

The history of the 'Communist'

role of their real masters.

The authors say '20 years of of unbroken rule by Afrikaner nationalism have all but destroyed the hope of a peaceful revolution' (p. 7) as if this was ever a possibility in a fascist 'slave colony' like South Africa.

They say that South Africa 'has been turned into a police state under the control of a white oligarchy which uses fascist techniques' (p. 8) as if it was not a police state under the pro-British segregationist, Smuts, or the British conquistador, Cecil Rhodes.

This has long been proved by books like '300 Years, a History of South Africa' by Mnguni (Cape Town, 1952). This was the first anti-apartheid history written from the viewpoint of the oppressed.

The authors choose not even to mention it, presumably because it came from the Non-European Unity Movement which opposed the segregationist policy of the CPSA (Communist Party of South Africa) with respect to 'native representation', Popular Fronts with the anti-Boer Liberals and in working the Industrial Conciliation Act in the unions which the CPSA thereby helped to divide along racial lines.

Unlike certain other CPSA writers, however, the Simons did not plagiarize from '300 Years', which has been used, among others, by the Africa Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR as a source-book.

Nevertheless, this 'oversight' it is not in keeping with the objectivity in many parts of 'Class and Colour'.

The influence of British liberal historians appears in the first section of the book dealing with the 19th century.

It repeats the liberal theory that the 1836 Boer Trek was caused mainly by the British 'abolition' of slavery in 1834 (p. 17), whereas '300 Years' and another Unity Movement history, 'The Role of the Missionaries' (Cape Town, 1953) showed clearly that the Boers trekked because they failed on

their own to conquer and dispossess the Xhosa in the Eastern Cape, a task that was later, as the authors themselves show, albeit very inadequately, undertaken and completely not by the Boers, but by the British.

Dealing with the conquest of the Zulu of Natal, the authors refer to this as a struggle 'between Afrikaners and Zulu' (p. 18), whereas the British had already entered the Natal field by that time (1837-1842).

They also say that the Boers trekked from Natal because Napier, the British Governor at the Cape, 'decreed strict



Party of South Africa

equality before the law of all persons in Natal' (p. 18) when proclaiming Natal a British colony.

This is false—the Napier proclamation gave the Africans (Zulu) no rights at all and led to the strictest land and franchise laws, so strict that no African had the vote, let alone the right to stand for 'parliament', in Natal.

This theory gives the impression that the trek was due to the Boers' hatred of British liberalism, whereas the 19th century British conquest and occupation of the Cape and Natal is one of the bloodiest chapters in the history of British colonial expansion.

The Simons say 'Cape liberalism stood for racial tolerance' (p. 20).

They speak of the British immigrants as merely absorbing 'the racial prejudices of the older white inhabitants' (p. 20), whereas the British immigrants were one of the main sources of racial prejudice and discrimination.

Again, this implicitly pro-British and ostensibly anti-Boer theory is an old one in



**A REVIEW OF 'CLASS AND
COLOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA'
IN THREE PARTS**

the British liberal histories of South Africa.

Its absorption by the Simons is one of the intellectual by-products of the Popular Frontist collaboration of the CPSA itself with the liberals spawned by British imperialism.

The section on 19th century liberalism is, not accidentally, one of the weakest in the book.

At the same time, it fails almost totally to deal with the large-scale wars of dispossession and the epic resistance of the Africans who were dispossessed in a series of wars paralleled only by the conquest of India by Britain.

Earlier histories like '300 Years' thoroughly exploded the liberal-created myth of 'Cape liberalism' and it is a pity, to say the least, that the Simons were out of step with this elementary step forward in the rewriting of South African history.

Cecil Rhodes

EVEN Cecil Rhodes, a major architect of modern apartheid, comes off rather lightly, for the authors blame the Afrikaner Bond of 1879 for increased racial practices rather than treating them as part of the Rhodes-spun British web of laws and practices from the time of the Kimberley diamond mines and, later, the Rand gold mines.

Both of these were opened up by British capital which, together with labour aristocrats mainly from Britain, created most of the network of labour concentration camps known as compounds, the industrial colour bar and the 'Bantustan'-type reserves (rural reservoirs of cheap labour).

It was in this period of the mining revolution that the basic colour-bar structure of South Africa was elaborated, economically and politically.

Yet the authors pay little or no attention at all to the work of Rhodes in his 1894 Glen Grey Act, which created what the Boers now call the 'Bantustans', nor to the equally important pioneering segregatory work of Theophilus Shepstone in setting up the first significant reserves (in Natal) and in using the conquered chiefs as media of 'indirect rule'.

Would it be unfair to attribute this omission to hindsight, since the CPSA was later to work much of the political machinery set up by Rhodes and Shepstone?

In the sections on the diamond and gold mines, the Simons make a study of the British workers who came to South Africa in the final quarter of the 19th century.

'Some were staunch trade unionists and ardent socialists,' they write. 'White working men, set in authority over African peasants, despised them and also feared them as potential competitors' (p. 32).

Later, they often use the term 'socialist' and also 'class-conscious' (p. 56) for anti-African, racist workers, as though a socialist could be a racist or a racist a socialist.

Although they argue against their own terminology, it remains strange (yet perhaps not so strange) for Jack Simons, anyway, for he may remember a leading member of the CPSA saying in the Cape Town Railway Institute in 1940, when the CPSA was 'anti-war' and flirting with the Nationalist Party, that 'if you scratch under the skin of an Afrikaner nationalist (racist) you'll find a socialist'.



Early members of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1919 organized massive strikes of African workers and launched the first anti-pass campaigns.



In 1960, African workers expressed their hatred for the apartheid laws of the capitalist class by launching a nationwide pass-burning movement.

Or has he forgotten?

The authors' treatment of the role of the missionaries, who have long been understood in the liberatory movement to have been prime agents in the conquest, dispossession and subsequent subjugation of the Africans, and prime movers of educational segregation, is pathetic, to say the least.

But then the real analysis of the missionaries has come from those who stood for non-collaboration and not from those who repeatedly collaborated politically with them.

They still collaborate, in the Anti-Apartheid Committee in London, with the Anglican Church, one of the main and one of the oldest institutions of racial discrimination, both in church and school, in South Africa.

It is thus perhaps not surprising that the Simons were unable to reveal missionaries like John Philip as pioneers of segregation, rather than 'a bearer of British culture as well as a teacher of the gospel' (p. 47).

White Labour

ONE of the most valuable sections of the book is made up of the chapters dealing with 'White Labour'.

The Simons do not hide the role of founder-members of the CPSA who were also, at various times, leaders of the white workers.

Among these was W. H. ('Bill') Andrews—leader, before the first war, of the engineers' union.

Giving evidence to the Mining Commission in 1908, Andrews declared that 'the coloured races, if unchecked, would rise to the top and endanger the state itself' (p. 88).

He came out strongly for an industrial colour bar against non-white workers.

Andrews and other 'socialists' 'certainly excluded the African from their vision of the ideal commonwealth' (p. 59).

Andrews and some of those who thought like him became founder members of the CPSA soon after the Russian Revolution.

Even in the time of Lenin and Trotsky and long before the Stalin regime the CPSA was born with the birthmark of racialism.

And this came, at the time, from the racials emanating from social democracy, in par-

ticular from the British Labour Party.

The South African CP owed its first congenital defect to the British Labour Party and the chauvinists in the British trade union movement of the time.

At the same time, the South African Labour Party, an offshoot of the British Labour Party, took a leading role in the all-white parliament in introducing colour-bar laws for factories and mines.

The 1910 Act of Union, the basic constitution of apartheid to this day, was passed in the British Houses of Parliament without dissent.

The fundamental colour bar of South Africa was created by the British parliament, with the support of the Labour Party.

Andrews and other Labour Party leaders in South Africa wanted the Act amended, with a 'separate "Native and Coloured Assembly" having only advisory power, to block the extension of the Cape's "coloured franchise", and confine the vote to adult whites, subject to retention of their rights by existing coloured voters in the Cape' (p. 109).

No non-European was ever to be allowed to sit in parliament.

This was the stand of the South African Labour Party, and, in principle and in their voting, of the British Labour Party.

And it was the stand, too, of founder members of the CPSA.

Another founder member of the CPSA, S. P. Bunting, was a Labour Party member of the all-white Transvaal Provincial Council and in 1914 he defended the 'white Labour policy' against the African workers.

Pro-Afrikaner 'anti-war'

ANDREWS, Bunting and other founders of the CP became 'anti-war', but not from the viewpoint of the non-white oppressed who 'enjoyed' the opposite of the democracy which Smuts and Britain were fighting for.

Rather did the 'left-wing' of the Labour Party incline to the 'anti-war' pressures of the pro-German Afrikaner Nationalists, with whom they had long collaborated in the provincial councils and parliament, and in the unions.

Not that Andrews and company were pro-German.

They simply opposed the war in the interests of the



Pass-burning was one of the adventurist protest actions organized by the Communist Party of South Africa when it entered the ANC in the 1920s.

Afrikaner worker, and Bunting on August 5, 1915, said they had 'to choose between the Afrikaner vote and support of the war' (p. 183).

They produced a weekly, 'International', and formed first the International League of the Labour Party and then the International Socialist League (ISL), a forerunner of the CPSA.

Their anti-war stand had nothing in common with the internationalism of Luxemburg, Liebknecht, Lenin, Trotsky and others who fought the war as an imperialist one, but the Simons fail to draw this conclusion.

During the war Bunting considered the white workers more objectively and decided that they 'had been corrupted by racialism. "Slaves to a higher oligarchy, the white workers of South Africa themselves in turn batten on a lower slave class"' (p.189), he wrote in 1916 in 'International'.

His views were not shared by Andrews and many others who, with him, set up the CPSA after the October Revolution.

Nor did he hold to his clear formulation of 1916 consistently.

Nor did 'International', which, in March 1916 'blamed capitalism for breaking down the "ethnological tendency" to a "natural social apartness of white and black"' (p.193).

The idea was that after a 'revolution' there would be 'apartness'. This is, literally, 'apartheid', the official creed of the government of today in South Africa.

The 'anti-war' 'International' opposed mixed marriages editorially (p.194).

When it opposed the African Peoples' Organization and the African National Congress as 'petty-bourgeois' and 'nationalist', it did so not from the point of view of anti-imperialist internationalism, but from the viewpoint of the corrupted white Labour aristocracy, the social basis of social democracy.

The Russian Revolution



This African, arrested for a pass offence, must now serve his sentence by working for a white farmer for 9d. a day.



The Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) covered up for British imperialism when it claimed 'apartheid' was the recent creation of the Boers, while, in reality, the Boers were merely acting as servants to British imperialism. Above: General Smuts (centre) surrounded by Boer commandos in 1902.

Popular Front with Nationalists

THE WHITE miners' strike of 1922 was followed by the Labour-Nationalist Coalition, which replaced the Smuts government.

Major concessions were made in order to bring the white workers into the 'United White Front' against the non-Europeans, and new apartheid laws of labour, land and the compounds and reserves (Bantustans) were passed by the Labour Party - Nationalist regime.

Under cover of the Communist International's directive to form 'proletarian united fronts', the Communist Party formed the opposite, a Popular Front, not with the parties of the oppressed, but with two of the parties of the Herren-volk oppressors, namely, the Labour Party, representing the colour-bar white workers, and the Nationalist Party, representing the white farmers and small businessmen.

'Andrews, Shaw and Dunbar', write the Simons, 'appeared on platforms with Labour and Nationalist party leaders' (p.302).

The 'International' of June and July 1922 regarded this as a step towards a 'peoples' government'. Essentially it was no different from the present Vorster apartheid government of South Africa.

Even reformist leaders of the coloured people, like Dr Abdurahman, write, after Smuts had bombed and killed African peasants at Bondelzwart, South West Africa, and at Bulhoek, Eastern Cape, that the Nationalists would treat the Africans in no different manner.

Indeed, the 1922 strike, supported by the CPSA, increased the flood of racialism which, in turn, guided and was directed by the ruling Nationalist and Labour Parties, as Smuts' party had done before.

The CPSA supported this policy of racialism with their Popular Front of 1922-1923 and later. It revealed, thereby, the depth of the influence on it of 'white South Africa' and British social democracy.

In this period the CPSA, while backing white Labour and white nationalism, helped to confuse the members of the great African-Coloured Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU).

The ICU members had hailed the Russian Communist Revolution, yet here, in South Africa, was a Communist Party which was openly on the side of the 'white' oppressor his parties, and, thereby, against the non-European oppressed and workers.

Moreover, the 'International', organ of the CPSA, attacked the ICU for being against the industrial colour bar (p. 307. 'International', May 18, 1923).

Further, at its April 1923 Congress, the CPSA voted by a two to one majority to apply for affiliation to the anti-African Labour Party (p.309).

The pro-Nationalist line of the CPSA was taken up by a section of the ICU leadership under Klement Kadalie (who in turn was guided by British Labour and trade union and also Liberal advisors).

The Nationalist Party, using the Popular Front, gave money and printed an election issue of 'Workers Herald', the ICU paper.

Kadalie's short-lived faith in

IN 1917 Andrews came out for separate 'parallel' unions for coloured and African workers.

And even in the midst of the Russian Revolution, which Andrews, Bunting, Jones and other ISL leaders hailed, ISL candidates were standing for all-white elections on the basis of the disfranchisement Act of Union of 1910.

At the same times they engaged in 'parallel' activity among coloured, Indian and African urban workers.

And 'Andrews continued to be a source of strength among white workers' (p.210).

For some time after its support of the Russian Revolution the ISL 'had no coloured or African members' (p.210), and the ISL continued to reject the struggle against colour discrimination as the central transitional struggle in South Africa.

They used the question of the 'class struggle' to avoid and evade the national-liberatory struggle, like certain early white 'socialists' in America during the anti-slavery struggle, which Marx wholeheartedly supported.

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The ISL had to 'avoid a blood bath by preaching in-

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What this had in common with support for the Russian Revolution is more than difficult to imagine.

1922 anti-African strike

THE INDUSTRIAL Socialist League in Cape Town, similar to the International Socialist League in Johannesburg, published the 'Bolshevik' before the two led to the founding of the CPSA.

Before the latter was formed, the African and Coloured workers had begun to form militant, anti-colour bar unions and the African National Congress (ANC) had launched an anti-pass campaign, while African and Coloured workers came out in massive strikes.

The early 'communists' largely turned their backs on these historic developments, which were greatly inspired by the Russian Revolution.

When white workers scabbed on African strikes in 1919, Bunting condemned them, but Jones and Andrews 'defended the white workers' (p.223).

When the ISL celebrated May Day in 1919, 'Andrews regretted the absence of Afri-

cans and Coloured' (p. 224).

The ISL brochure carried pictures of Lenin, Trotsky, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, but few of their real ideas.

The first major non-European trade union, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) was formed almost entirely independently of the ISL's of Cape Town and Johannesburg.

Nor did they have a significant hand in the strike of 70,000 African miners in February, 1920.

But when the white workers came out in a strike against the employment of African miners in skilled jobs, the early 'communists' came out in full force, as if it was the start of the long-heralded 'revolution'.

Nominally the CPSA was proposed in September 1920 and in January 1921 accepted the Communist International's 21 conditions of membership, with a reservation on clause 3, (on illegal work) so as to enable the Party to take part in (all-white) parliamentary elections (p.261).

The CPSA itself was set up in Cape Town in July 1921, with Bunting as treasurer, and Andrews as secretary-editor.

'All the delegates and members of the executive were whites' (p.261).

'The party's first manifesto appealed mainly to the white working man' (p.261).

The first test of the CPSA came soon afterwards, with the white miners' strike in favour of the mining colour bar and against the African miners, in 1922.

In November 1921 the 'International', organ of the CPSA, said that the white miners were 'perfectly justified in fighting to keep up the numbers and pay of holders of blasting certificates' (p.276). (Colour bar certificates reserved for whites only under the Mines and Works Act of Smuts.)

The Simons comment:

'This unqualified approval of the oldest and most significant colour bar on the mines revealed the decision of the communists to back the white workers against the Chamber in all circumstances' (p.276).

The Chamber of mines favoured letting cheap African labour do a restricted number of jobs previously reserved for whites. The CPSA did not think of supporting the African miners against the Chamber's multifarious colour bars.

The Trades Hall in Johannesburg was the headquarters

of the CPSA and also became the HQ of the 'militants' leading the white workers.

Bunting called on African workers to support the white workers and said that 'colour bars were "of course unfair", yet served the interests of all workers "to the extent" that they helped keep up higher wages and the number of those drawing on them..

'The abolition of the colour bar would benefit only a small handful of Africans', he said adding, 'security for the white man, on the other hand, lay not in retaining the colour bar but in raising the wages of Africans' (p. 281).

In January 1922 the CPSA offered its services to the strike committee.

The strikers came out with the slogan 'For a white South Africa'.

The Forsburg commando (anti-African vigilantes) hoisted a Red Flag and carried a banner 'Workers of the world, fight and unite for a white South Africa' (p.285).

The CPSA supported the slogan 'critically' (p.285).

The CPSA 'hailed the commandos as "Red Guards of the Rand" and praised them for enrolling in the Red Army under the Red Flag' (p.286).

The commandos rejected a Chamber offer to keep a ratio of one white to 10 Africans.

The commandos beat up Africans and the police terrorized and arrested the Africans rather than the strikers.

The CPSA defended the colour bar as a defence of wage-rates, saying that 'The immediate, partial demand for the retention of colour bars was consistent with the movement's long-range aims' (p.290).

After Smuts put down the strike with the use of bombers, the apartheid regime offered and gave the white workers a place in the sun, recognising them as allies in the struggle for a 'white South Africa'.

Seventy-eight strikers were killed and 30 Africans were killed by strikers themselves.

After the end of the 'strike', Bunting wrote a pamphlet, 'Red Flag', which continued to defend the colour bar on the mines.

In its first major practical test, in 1922, the CPSA had stood on the side of apartheid and against the African workers, no matter what excuses it made for its betrayal.

This emerges fairly clearly from Chapter 13 of the Simons' work.



Communist Party o





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In 1960, African workers expressed their hatred for the apartheid laws of the capitalist class by launching a nationwide pass-burning movement.

The Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) covered up for British imperialism when it claimed 'apartheid' Boers, while, in reality, the Boers were merely acting as servants to British imperialism. Above: General S. J. van Rensburg and his Boer commandos in 1902.

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'his people's most bitter enemies' (p.319) was increased by the collaboration of the Communist Party itself with these enemies of the African people.

This collaboration was seen as a result of a directive from Moscow, which had, in fact (this was before the triumph of Stalin) advocated the opposite policy.

There was a revolt of E. Roux and others against the policy of collaboration with the Labour Party and Nationalists, and the YCL was formed, with one of its aims to bring Africans into the Party.

E. S. ('Solly') Sachs, in the ICL since 1917, a leading Party member, and a trade union leader of a segregated all-white union, with a separate branch for coloured members, was among those who opposed a change in policy.

He defended separate organisations for the Africans.

Roux's group won the day but in 1924 were defeated when Andrews and others won a motion at the Party Congress of December 1924 to again apply to join the Labour Party.

Although at its January

1929 conference the Party eventually adopted 'the principle of complete equality of races' and called for a 'Workers' and Peasants' Republic' independent of Britain, (p. 352), this was little more than groups in the coloured and African unions and even 'bourgeois organizations' had previously spoken about and even advocated.

Nor did it put an end to the CPSA's colour bar policies.

THE ICU had an estimated African membership of 120,000 by 1927. Although estimates varied, it was recognized as the biggest industrial union of African workers which has ever existed in South Africa.

After the attempt of Hertzog to corrupt it, it was heavily persecuted.

Kadalie's own nationalism, sharpened by the anti-African policies of the CPSA, led him closer to the main ideological influence on the CPSA in this period: British social democracy.

He moved into the maws of the ILO at Geneva and elsewhere.

He was 'taken in hand' by Fenner Brockway and the British ILP.

The Amsterdam (Second) International accepted ICU membership in January 1927.

The International Federation of Trade Unions, run by social democracy, welcomed him in Paris. Grimshaw and Creech-Jones, of the Labour Party's 'colonial' (imperialist) section, 'revised' the ICU constitution.

Despite this the British TUC would not accept Kadalie as a fraternal delegate to its annual conference 'for fear of offending white trade unionists in South Africa' (p.362).

In the face of wage and anti-segregation strikes of farm workers in Natal, of Natal coal miners in June 1927, of railway workers, of 30,000 diamond workers in June 1928 and of other African workers, the BICU leadership adopted more and more a British Labour Party and Fabian reformist line.

Kadalie admitted, in December 1927, that his new 'constitution' was 'based on the model of the best modern trade unions in England' (p.365), and Champion, one of his rivals, said: 'Our Kadalie is full of English ideas'.

Among his advisers were British 'socialists' and 'liberals',

like Mrs Ballinger (later a 'Native Representative') and Miss Winifred Holtby.

Finally, after Lord Oliver, Labour peer, had wished to see 'the ICU relieved of its communist propagandists' (p.360), the British ILP and Walter Citrine sent William Ballinger of the Motherwell Trades Council to 'organize' the ICU.

There is a saying in South Africa that Ballinger did 'organize' the ICU—out of existence, with the policy of British social-democratic reformism, paternalism and collaboration with apartheid.

'Ballinger became the ICU secretary, president and national council all in one' (p.375).

By the end of the 1920s British social democracy had helped to reduce South Africa's biggest and most militant African trade union to a sham and a memory.

The CPSA's criticism of the reformism of the ICU did not put it in practice to the left of the British Labour Party. (The beginning of being 'left' in South Africa was and is to be against colour discrimination and other forms of imperialism.)

For when the ICU applied to join the TUC in South Africa in December 1927, Ben Weinbren, an executive member of the TUC and a leading 'communist', said:

'We were all scared that he would swamp us, so we rejected the application' (p. 369) ('Forward'), January 1, 1944).

Andrews, of the CPSA, was among the TUC members who examined the ICU application in a memo to the TUC of December 28, 1927.

The memo was approved by 58 to two by the TUC's segregationist leadership.

Apartheid white labour approved the memo of a leading CPSA member because it was basically in line with their own anti-African policy. Moreover, Andrews himself 'drafted the memorandum' (p.369).

Andrews was then secretary-editor of the CP.

'When the test came', wrote the Simons, 'he made his stand on the issue of white labour solidarity' (p.370).

Once again the CPSA had betrayed the African proletariat of South Africa.

Divide and rule

WHEN BRITISH imperialism prepared the ground for 'independence' for its various direct colonies in Africa, great care was taken, often over many years, to arrange the political form of the 'independent' state in advance.

This was to ensure the security of imperialist investments.

In the case of Kenya a regional constitution was imposed on the 'newly emergent' state under Jomo Kenyatta, in December, 1963.

Although the regional constitution was changed, the British policy of playing off Kikuyu and Luo 'tribes' has continued to play havoc with the oppressed of Kenya.

It has divided them and prevented them from uniting against the British settlers and the British, South African, Italian, American and other imperialist companies operating in Kenya.

In Tanzania an opposite strategy was employed.

The British, like the Germans before, were unable to create significant 'tribal' feuds, partly because of the existence of some 120 'tribes', 14 of the largest comprising some 50 per cent of the population.

There a 'unitary' state, under TANU and Julius Nyerere—a one-party state, in fact—was favoured by the imperialists.

And when the Zanzibar anti-feudal revolt of January 1964 threatened British interests on the mainland as well as its Zanzibar plantations, the Nyerere regime was pressurized to swallow up the Karume Revolutionary Council.

Chinese and East German influence was curtailed, West Germany recognized, Okello and other leaders of the Zan-

zibar revolt persecuted (he was jailed as an illegal immigrant at Nakuru by a British magistrate in 1965).

Late in 1969, leaders of the 1964 Zanzibar coup against British rule and the Sultanate propped up by British bayonets were executed and arrested.

The 'tribes' which British imperialism used as a means of divide-and-rule had long been abolished as social forces by the British conquest.

The basis of tribalism was common land. This was destroyed and with it tribalism in all its essential features.

Co-operative labour, mutual help and other features of tribalism were wiped out.

The chieftainship was perverted and used as a means of 'indirect rule'.

The traditional chiefs were replaced by paid, appointed chiefs, and it was around them that the artificial 'tribes' of today were built up by Colonial Office policymakers.

'Tribalism' became a shell without its former content.

Using the shells of their own creations, the imperialists fostered inter-tribal feuds and attitudes and even created 'tribes' where none were before.

This artificial retribalization policy was used as a means of partitioning most 'independent' states, long before they were granted 'independence'.

Just as British rule over India was perpetuated, in the economic and ideological spheres, by the bloody partition of India and Pakistan in 1947, just as Malaya was partitioned, just as Palestine was partitioned, through the United Nations in 1948, and just as Cyprus was partitioned by playing on Greek-Turkish artificial feuds, so the partition policy was applied in Africa in the post-war 'independence' period.

This partition, whatever its form, was a continuation of the old divide-and-rule policy.

It is no surprise that it has the same results after 'independence' as before: namely to



US and Belgian bankers encouraged Tshombe (above) to massacre the followers of Gizenga and Mulele in return for financial loans.



Nnamdi Azikiwe, first governor-general of Nigeria.

divide the oppressed in their struggle against their oppressors.

If anything, this policy became more intense as new financial forces took an active, although necessarily more hidden, hand in promoting inter-tribal and, with it, inter-regional clashes and even battles and wars.

The American and Belgian bankers had a direct hand in advising Tshombe and his successors in the 'tribal' massacres of the followers of Gizenga and Pierre Mulele.

Mulele was, in fact murdered in 1969 by the Congo regime, after a Brussels bankers' meeting which demanded 'law and order' as a condition for further loans and which specifically wanted the Mulele group out of the way.

The murderous nature of divide-and-rule partition has expressed itself most violently, to date, in Nigeria.

In 1946, as part of its normal colonial administration,



Jomo Kenyatta and Duncan Sandys at the Kenya Independence Conference, London 1963. British policy imposed a regional constitution which played off the Kikuyu and Luo tribes against each other.

the British government applied an elaborate regional structure to its Nigerian colony.

Previously it had found it sufficient to rely on the various artificial 'chiefs' to carry out the Colonial Office policy of indirect rule.

Under this system the chiefs were agents of the 'native authorities', through which the colonial regime at Lagos divided and ruled the workers and peasants in the interests of various companies.

In preparing for the 1946 regional plan, the British government used Nigerians themselves as spokesmen for the British plan, thereby ensuring that it would come out in public as an 'indigenous' proposal.

Thus Dr Azikiwe, whom Britain made its first Governor-General when Nigeria gained 'independence' in 1960—who later became first an advocate of the Biafran leader, Ojukwu, and then a critic of Ojukwu—put forward a plan for the division of Nigeria into eight states, along semi-tribal lines ('Political Essays', Lagos, 1945).

Dr Azikiwe was by then—like Kenyatta—a political product on the one hand of the small middle-class African nationalists and, on the other, of British social democracy, including its Fabian 'left wing'.

His regional plan was, in fact, a product of British social democracy, or to give it its more apt name in relation to Africa, 'Labour' imperialism or social chauvinism (as Lenin called it).

So, too, was the plan of the British-educated 'Chief' Awolowo, who in 1947 proposed

the division of Nigeria into 40 'tribal' states ('Voice of Nigerian Freedom', Lagos).

The long pre-'independence' negotiations revolved largely around the divide-and-rule question of 'regions': where, what and how many, so that during the very process of 'granting independence', the Colonial Office was able to employ a subtle tactic of divide-and-rule in playing off one delegation against another.

In 1958 the British Willink Commission was set up as part of the 'regional' partition of Nigeria.

Its task was to 'inquire into the fears of minority groups', as if this had ever worried Westminster or Whitehall before; and as if this were the creation of Nigerians and not of the British colonial overlords of this vast and rich colony.

The Nigerian and Cameroons National Council, the Action Group and other contenders for the 'fruits of office' all rivalled each other in putting forward bigger and better schemes for 'regionalism'.

In 1960, when the day of 'independence' finally dawned, the new state found itself nominally in charge of a country—which Britain had previously ruled as one single unit—carved up and partitioned into 'regions'.

Inter-regional feuds, conducted largely by the old British-installed 'chiefs', especially in the Northern 'Region', held Nigeria in a constant state of tension and division, which enabled the old colonial master, British imperialism, to hold the real balance of power.

Kremlin Intervention Threatens Polish Workers

BY MELODY FARROW

As the struggle of the Polish workers against the Gierek government deepens, the increasing threat of armed Soviet intervention hangs in the air.

The new Stalinist regime can grant none of the demands of the workers. While the minimum wage has been increased from 850 zlotys to 1,000 zlotys a month this was attached to the strings of higher productivity.

Last week Gierek was forced to meet with workers themselves in Szczecin who had staged a second citywide strike but only to urge them to return to work with empty promises that things would improve. He has been forced to drop the incentive plan (in which workers would not be guaranteed an annual income but paid according to output) which will only deepen the economic problems.

The Gierek bureaucracy is in complete crisis. A nationally televised address scheduled for January 20 was cancelled as was a Party plenum meeting for January 29. It is precisely the paralysis of the government, its hesitation, its attempt to buy some time that raises the very real possibility of Soviet intervention. The Stalinists cannot tolerate prolonged indecision while every day the workers surge forward. The Kremlin bureaucracy is silent, but when they decide to move it will be to brutally suppress the Polish working class.

COUNCILS

Since the beginning of the year the workers councils have grown stronger and their demands more clear and precise. Although all the members of the original strike committees were jailed in December, new ones rose up to take their place. They are demanding the release of all the prisoners and a list of all the dead and missing. The bureaucracy has already published such a list in Gdansk and Gdynia estimating the dead and missing at 347.

Workers have raised the demand for the rotation of all party officials, automatic recall from their posts after a set period of time and publication of the expenses of the Party. The workers of the Crechanow factories near Warsaw have announced:

"We want to know how our dues money is spent." The militants at Gdansk have stated that "The functionaries, at every level, have learned to give orders and to despise the people. They defend their privileges, their luxurious homes and their chauffeured cars."

Furthermore, they demand that the entire internal and external life of the party be open to all workers, that new union organizations be established based on the workers committees.

The fishing industry workers of Szczecin demand that all those guilty of the social and economic crisis of the country be punished. Specifically they want the ouster of the hated head of the secret police, Moczar, one of the pillars of the new government, and Korczynski, the man responsible for the massacres in December.

POLITICAL

These demands, developed by the Polish workers at their own meetings throughout the country express very sharply the political and revolutionary nature of their struggle. The political revolution throughout Eastern Europe has reached a whole new stage. These are demands that cannot be met by the bureaucracy without bringing about its own destruction.

By raising these political demands, the workers, while not conscious of it, are renewing the fight that Trotsky died for, murdered by a Stalinist agent in 1940. Their struggle confirms everything Lenin and Trotsky wrote about the struggle against bureaucracy, before 1917 and with its actual growth after the death of Lenin. The power of the Polish workers struggle is that it is directly linked with this tradition.

New information has also revealed the active role of the students who were far from passive or neutral as the bureaucracy tried to depict them. In the city of Cracow thousands of students demonstrated on the 16th, 17th and 19th of December in the main square which was sur-



Edward Gierek (left) who replaced Gomulka after massive strike wave, was forced to meet with workers at the Adolf Warski shipyards in Szczecin, Poland.

rounded by tanks. Chanting "Down with the price increases" they fought the police who attacked them with clubs and tear gas. In Warsaw leaflets were distributed by the students and at the Polytechnique school effigies of the bureaucrats were burned.

SUPPRESSED

This information was suppressed by the Stalinists because they fear the unity between the workers and the students and intellectuals many of whom have raised the question of Leninism versus Stalinism and have sought a serious understanding of history. The possibility that these dissidents will finally raise the name of Trotsky fills the bureaucracy with terror.

There is no longer any doubt which way the Gierek regime is going in response to

the crisis. Gierek has just agreed to give Polish land formerly belonging to the German church—the Polish Catholic Church. In addition he has made many other concessions which will increase the reactionary influence and power of the Church. 85% of Polish land is still privately owned and since 1956 the power of the rich peasants and managers has steadily grown.

GROTESQUE

These contradictions assume a grotesque character like the decision of the government on January 31 to raise millions of dollars to rebuild, not homes for the workers, but the old Royal Palace in Warsaw. This decision, at a time when the government is under revolutionary siege is an attempt to divert the workers from the struggle against the bureaucracy by posing national unity. The Polish Trybuna Luda called the castle which represents everything the workers hate and fought against, "a symbol of national ties for all Poles" and "a monument to our undaunted nationhood." To defend its rule the Stalinists must use nationalism, religion and all the old tools of the bourgeoisie.

This is the logical outcome of the theory of socialism in one country in which capitalist tendencies are encouraged and threaten the very foundations of socialism. It is the question of socialism in one country and Trotsky's whole struggle against it that must be understood by the Polish workers as part of their fight to build a revolutionary leadership of the Polish masses.

Penn State New Lefts Pose University Reformism

BY ED BERGONZI

STATE COLLEGE, PA.—The Penn State New University Conference (NUC), after many months of inactivity, has surfaced with a booklet entitled, *How Penn State Rules*. The document is an attempt to delve into the nature of the university capitalist society.

It is especially significant, however, that the first chapter of the NUC document, "The Political Economy of the University," begins with a quote extracted from Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, in which Lenin refers to university professors as salesmen of bourgeois ideology. It is significant because the idealist method of the Machists, whom Lenin fought unmercifully throughout *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, is the same method employed by the NUC in their document.

How Penn State Rules is essentially a rehash of the New Left's position on the nature of the university and the role of students. The document goes to great lengths to expose the universities' complicity with the war effort, the racist admissions policies and the ruling class nature of the Board of Trustees. It concludes that the university must serve the needs of the people.

Along with this conclusion the NUC is calling for the abolition of the Board of Trustees. These two slogans have a very familiar ring, as they have arisen throughout the student power movements of the sixties. It is in the continuation of the narrow reformism of student power that this document stands, and no amount of quotes extracted from Marxist works can hide this fact.

What must be emphasized is that the student power and university reform illusions of the NUC take on an even more reactionary form than they did when student power politics was at its height. The NUC document, which would direct students into fights to reform the university, comes during a period of increasingly sharp class struggle. The working class and its growing number of allies among all sections of youth is making it very clear that it does not intend to pay for the crisis of capitalism. At the same time, the

bourgeoisie is preparing ever more vicious attacks against trade unionists and militant youth who rise in opposition to the Nixon Administration. In short, the class lines are becoming clearly defined.

In the face of these new developments, the NUC seeks to get out of the line of fire. This stampede from the class struggle takes form in the conception that students can somehow reform the university under capitalism. This conception is idealist to the core. It is an adaptation to and an acceptance of the artificial and surface barriers imposed by the

capitalists to divide student youth from the working class.

What the NUC runs from is the realization of the political unity of the student youth and the working class in the conscious fight for Marxism among students. Therefore the Workers League stands opposed to the conclusions of *How Penn State Rules*, and will fight the return of student power to Penn State, by engaging in a conscious struggle for Marxist theory and the building of a revolutionary youth movement.

Buckley Brother Defends Franco's 'Law And Order'

BY FRED MUELLER

F. Reid Buckley is the brother of James, the new U.S. Senator from New York, and of William, the right-wing writer and columnist. The Buckley family is an old and prominent one in the ruling class and it has recently become even more prominent with the success of James Buckley in defeating both Republican Goodell and Democrat Ottinger in last fall's election.

F. Reid Buckley lives in Spain and is a great admirer of the fascist regime in Madrid. In a recent column in the *New York Times* he writes about the recent trial of the Basque separatists. He complains bitterly about the unjust accusations leveled against Franco in connection with this trial and the death sentences against six of the defendants, later commuted.

While carefully separating himself from any excesses, such as the "possibility" that torture is used in Spanish jails, Buckley enthusiastically defends Franco's "law and order."

The Spanish, writes Buckley, are concerned with punishing the wrongdoer, not

with the details of proper legal and police procedure. "Improper police procedure," he writes, "can, in the United States, lead to the freeing of a child rapist. In perhaps less fastidious Spain, the point seems to be whether the man did indeed rape a child and what should be done about it. Less fastidious Spain has enjoyed a declining crime rate for the past 15 years."

Spain is a fascist regime, not a bourgeois democracy. There are no democratic rights to speak of for the accused, both in political and ordinary crimes. Workers are thrown in jail for organizing strikes. Independent unions of the working class are outlawed and exist only underground.

In respect to the differences between the U.S. and Spain, Mr. Buckley points out, Spain has enjoyed a "declining crime rate," as well as prosperity, stability, and so forth. It is not child rapists with whom Buckley is really concerned. Clearly we must become "less fastidious," like Spain. Then the ruling class, for whom all the Buckylys speak, will be able to deal not only with the youth and revolutionary movements, but with the unruly workers and their excessive demands which threaten the stability of the capitalist system.

Indeed, this is the way to deal with the construction workers, some of whom voted for James Buckley, the most conscious spokesman of the bosses.

What F. Reid Buckley says is what his brother thinks. Nixon greeted Buckley's victory against Republican Goodell as the most important victory for his policies in the last election. Nixon and the ruling class are more concerned with the fundamental policies required to defend capitalism than with party labels.

The capitalists are turning more and more towards Bonapartism in response to the crisis they face. They will organize and mobilize the fascists to crush the working class movement when the crisis forces their hand. They will use the betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy to smash the unions and the working class.

That is the meaning of Nixon's "New Revolution" talk, of his open advocacy of "states' rights" and all the reactionary demagoguery used by the fascists themselves against the "Federal bureaucracy" and "big government." Nixon is adopting the program of the Buckylys and Wallace, as they look toward and boost the fascist Franco regime.

Spain also shows, in spite of F. Reid Buckley's wishes, that the working class will continue to struggle. The Spanish workers are challenging Franco's "stability" which has impressed Buckley and Nixon so much. Both Spanish and U.S. workers must have a revolutionary leadership to overthrow fascism and smash it forever.

What Buckley writes today is what Nixon will act on tomorrow. We have been warned!

Judge, Cops, Frame Detroit Panthers

BY KEVIN HAZLETT

DETROIT, Jan. 29—Last week, a young black man, 18 years old and a member of the Black Panther Party, was coerced by the Detroit Police and Recorder's Court Judge Colombo into signing a complaint against eleven Detroit Panthers, including their leader, Chuck Holt.

The police had this man say that he had been beaten and tortured for theft of arms from the Panthers.

Judge Colombo and the police concocted this story, enabling them to start a fantastic witchhunt against the Panthers. As the young man later said, on the 27th, through his lawyer, police "threatened and pressured him with prosecution and detention if he did not sign the complaint against the 11 Panthers." Colombo told him that "he must testify against the Panthers because they are a danger to our country, especially Chuck Holt."

Now, because this man has refused to go through with this betrayal, he is being held under "protective custody" with bail set at \$50,000.

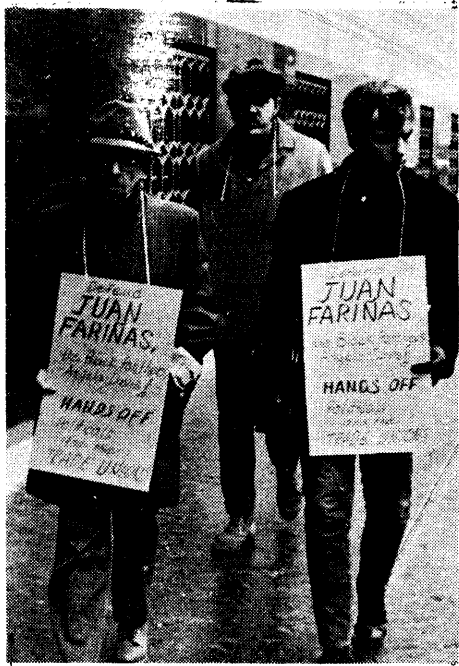
OPEN

The police are still following through with this plan which constitutes the most

open class attack. Even though they now have no evidence, they intend to continue these attacks because as Colombo says, "the Panthers are a danger to our country" and so must be eradicated.

One thing must be understood by all people who stand with the class defense of these and other victims—this is only the beginning! The attacks upon the Panthers nationally, the attacks upon Angela Davis and Juan Farinas, and the attack by fascists upon the Detroit Juan Farinas defense demonstration January 29, are all part of the mounting attack upon the working class by the capitalist bosses and their lackeys in the government.

The only way forward is a class defense of these victims! The workers and the students must be mobilized in massive demonstrations and strikes in actions of common defense.



Picket line in Detroit in defense of Farinas.

Canada: UAW Leaders Accept Wage Freeze

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL—At 11:00, Tuesday, January 19 over 13,000 Ford workers walked off their jobs. This followed bargaining between Ford and the UAW during which Ford put forward two totally unacceptable offers.

Neither of these offers included a cost of living escalator. Both of these offers were discussed under a news blackout. The news blackouts are a common tactic to conceal a sellout contract. If Ford had offered parity with US auto workers, they would have made sure that everybody heard about it. Almost immediately after the workers walked out, Ford advanced another offer. This offer, which has not been made public, includes a cost of living escalator. The contract has since been ratified.

Meanwhile, workers of the Acme Screw and Gear Company, who are also represented by the UAW, have been blackmailed into accepting an eighteen month wage freeze. The alternative, say the company bosses, is the shutting down of the company. They say that because of the strike they have lost an important contract with Ford and now cannot afford to increase wages.

SELLOUT

Here we see another example of the UAW bureaucracy's sellout of the rank and file workers. The UAW leaders try to excuse themselves by saying that they thought Ford was bluffing when the company threatened to cancel the contract. Rather than answering Acme's threats of closing with the demand that the company be nationalized under workers control, the UAW leadership capitulated.

Instead of this the UAW bureaucrats backed down completely, recommending acceptance of the Ford contract while agreeing to wage cuts at Acme.

Montreal Teachers Go On Strike Against Salary Cuts

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL, Jan. 26—Teachers left their jobs today in protest over the Montreal Catholic School Commission's attempt to reclassify seven to eight hundred teachers.

The Montreal Catholic School Commission (MCSC), in an attempt to save money, is trying to cut salaries while the present 1968-71 contract is still in effect. One way it can do this is to reclassify teachers, and in effect lower salaries.

However, the Commission was not content to cut the teachers' pay checks, it is also trying to get money back which it claims was overpaid to the reclassified teachers.

The supposed debts arose during the

reclassification. The Commission claimed that any money already paid to the reclassified teachers during the present contract above their new lower rate of pay, is now owed to the Commission. In some cases this involves over three thousand dollars, dating back as far as three years.

The teachers and their unions are well aware of the many attempts of the government to save money by cutting civil servants' pay. The fight against the governmental cutbacks is being led by the Alliance des Professeurs de Montreal. Its membership includes 9,000 of Quebec's 70,000 teachers.

The union is demanding guarantees that retroactive salary deductions will not be made for teachers whose status has been lowered due to reclassification and the union is also demanding that various diplomas (mostly foreign) be reclassified.

The fight for their demands led to a large rally of 5,000 teachers at the Paul Sauve Arena, and an occupation of the MCSC by 2,000 rank and filers. As of the night of January 28, 75 teachers still occupied the Commission's offices for the fourth day. The militancy which the teachers have shown in this walkout has forced the government to offer to negotiate the reclassification clauses in the present contract in return for the teachers returning to work.

The teachers must not allow the government to cut their salaries. They must fight to keep the present classifications and to rid the present contract of the reclassification clauses and the retroactive salary deduction to prevent the liberal government from cutting back on their salaries.

The teachers in Quebec have always been a militant group and the government is fully aware of this. The government knows that it must make the workers pay for its

crisis. It also knows that the present teachers contract expires this year.

This attempt at reclassification is a warning of what is in store in upcoming negotiations. The government has shown what it plans for the teachers as well as for all workers. For these attacks it has empowered itself with the Public Orders Act, the successor to the War Measures Act.

The teachers must organize to fight this present attack and they must prepare to fight for their contract demands. They must also demand the repeal of the Public Orders Act, which will be used to smash the workers' movement.

More Inmates Indicted For Rebellion

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Eight new indictments have been handed down against prison inmates who rebelled in the Tombs and other prisons here last fall. Seven other inmates have already been indicted and charged with incitement to riot, arson, kidnapping, conspiracy and grand larceny.

These indictments have been handed down with as little publicity as possible as Lindsay and the ruling class attempt to cover up what is going on in the prisons.

Now those who rebelled against the murder and brutality of the prisons and the system which they reflect, are being railroaded, despite all Lindsay's talk of "no reprisals." The eight under indictment, including Stanley King, of the Inmates Liberation Party, are under \$25,000 bail each, and are now in the Tombs.

The inmates now under indictment must be defended as part of the defense of the working class now under attack.

MINN. TEAMSTER LEADERS ENDORSE EX-COP STENVIG

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS—In a shameful betrayal of their membership, the Executive Board of the Minnesota Teamsters Joint Council 32 just endorsed for reelection Minneapolis Wallace-ite cop mayor, Charles Stenvig.

Stenvig ran in 1969 on the single issue of "law and order" and showed the content of that battle cry during office with vicious attacks on youth protestors and minorities. His office has strengthened the police department—including the addition of the storm trooper looking "tactical squad"—and rallied all the right-wing scum in the area around the Minnesota T Party—T for Taxpayers. His main publicist is Paul Helm, an avowed enemy of labor and the unions who has gathered quite a following to his Birchite views via a Minneapolis radio talk show.

Now the Teamsters leadership comes

out in his support. So do Tom Loberg, President of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, Dan Gustafson, business agent of the Building and Construction Trades Council and a number of other local union officials, all who shelled out \$50 a plate for a recent fund raising dinner for Stenvig's re-election.

These "labor leaders" are cutting their own throats and the throats of the workers in their alliance with Stenvig and his union busting crowd. All the time that Stenvig was beating in the heads of students, of minorities, they remained silent. While he built his tactical squad they remained silent. Now as the state and Stenvig prepare to move against the unions, these bureaucrats support him. Their love affair with Stenvig will come to a violent end when Stenvig lowers the boom on their heads.

This treacherous policy disarms workers in the Twin Cities. Minneapolis trade unionists must denounce this action and force their "leaders" to reverse their scandalous support of Stenvig. It is the call for a labor party that the ranks must put forward against their leadership.

March For Farinas In Twin Cities

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 29—Over 125 young workers and students rallied outside the Old Federal Building today in support of Juan Farinas and all the victims of Nixon's political repressions. A heavy Minnesota snow poured down, but that did not dampen the spirit and determination of the demonstrators.

Two buses brought students from Carleton and St. Olaf Colleges in Northfield and from Stillwater High School to the rally. There were also youth from Augsburg College, the University of Minnesota, Marshall High School, and other schools. There were unemployed youth, workers who took off work to attend, and a hardy contingent from Madison who had to drive both ways in a fierce blizzard.

Speakers included representatives from the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, the Workers League, the Young Socialist Alliance, Student Mobilization Committee, Socialist Reconstruction, the Revolutionary Peoples Community Information Center, and Ev Kalambokidis of the Inter-American Federation for Democracy in Greece.

THRUST

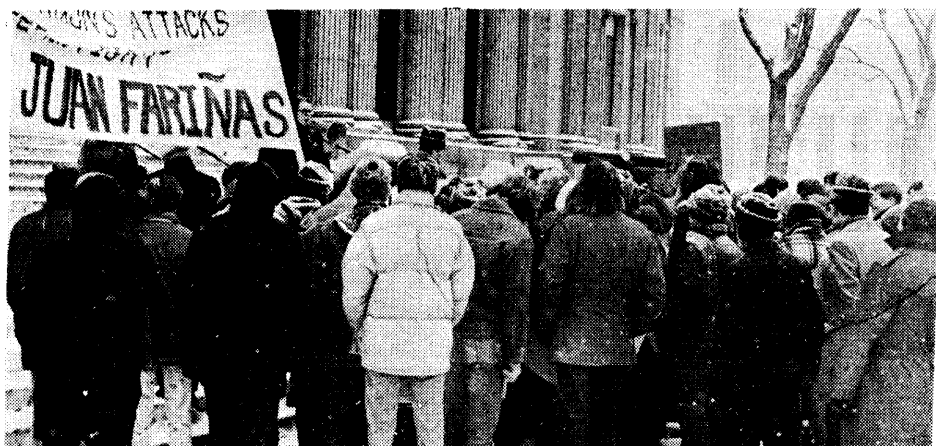
The political thrust of the rally was brought out by the first speaker from the Defense Committee who insisted: "We take sides—with the workers in struggle—with Angela Davis—with Juan Farinas—with the Vietnamese revolutionaries. This rally isn't just a protest—we aren't pleading. We start from the understanding that Nixon's

repressions are aimed at clearing out of the way the conscious, revolutionary youth who seek to bring revolutionary leadership to the working class at a time when it enters into gigantic battles. We demand that the repressions stop and we will fight them by mobilizing the broadest support in the labor movement and the youth and minorities. We declare that Nixon will not split us off from the working class!"

UNDERSTANDING

After the rally a number of youth came forward to help in the defense work. One young girl from Marshall High School summed up the spirit by saying: "I want to commit myself." The campaign to build the rally involved whole new layers of youth.

The rally was built by starting from an understanding of the real nature of the repressions and that the fight back must be a fight to unify the working class. Over 15,000 leaflets were distributed to over a dozen schools. In the high schools in particular there is a readiness to take up the fight. The Defense has begun to mobilize trade union supporters here and this rally is only the beginning in a real battle to defend Juan Farinas.



Over 125 workers, students and high school youth turned out in Minneapolis demonstration in defense of Juan Farinas, in spite of freezing temperature and blizzard.

Farinas Gets Two Year Jail Sentence

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, Jan. 31—In U.S. Federal Courthouse in Manhattan on January 29, Juan Farinas was sentenced to two years in jail and bail was set at \$5,000.

Farinas is the twenty-three year old worker at Columbia University who was tried and convicted last December 10-11 on three counts of violating the Selective Service Act. His only crime was to distribute a leaflet in opposition to the Vietnam War at the Whitehall Induction Center in the summer of 1968.

A demonstration and rally were scheduled for Foley Square outside the U.S. Courthouse from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. Nearly 300 workers and youth participated. The first contingents began arriving in 15 degree weather at 9 a.m. to be there in support of Juan Farinas as he went in to be sentenced at 10 a.m. By 11 a.m. there were over 250 on the picket line. Some of the chants that were heard were: "U.S. Out of Vietnam, Defend Juan Farinas," "Nixon's War's a Boss's War, Defend Juan Farinas," "Union Movement Is On The Line, Make The Bosses Pay The Fine," "Free Juan, Jail The Judges," "Free Juan With Labor Action," "Free Angela, Free Bobby, Free Juan, Free All Political Prisoners."

Contingents included students from Stuyvesant High School and other area high schools; students from Cooper Union, New York City Community College, The State University at Stony Brook, Brooklyn College, CCNY, Packer Institute and other campuses in the area; members and supporters of the Workers League, the Student Mobilization Committee, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Black Panthers; organized contingents from Newark, Connecticut and an entire bus from Philadelphia; and members of Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers, the SSEU-Local 371, Local 1707 of the AFSCME, members of Local 3036 of the Taxi Drivers, and other trade unionists.

While the demonstration was taking place, the nature of the government's attack was once more being clearly expressed in the courtroom. Farinas' attorney, Sanford Katz, began by explaining that the defendant had engaged in conduct protected by the First Amendment. He had sought to express and explain his opposition to the war. Had this taken place outside of the induction center he would have at most been charged with disorderly conduct and given a suspended sentence or 15 days. Katz asked the court to hand down a suspended sentence and place the defendant on probation. The government's response to this statement showed again the conscious nature of this prosecution. U.S. Attorney Truebner pointed out that Farinas was a Cuban national who had "bit the hand that fed him." He said that the defendant had not shown proper gratitude towards the government, that he should not be paroled but should be held without bail pending appeal. "We have here

a Spanish speaking individual," said Truebner. In the eyes of the government this made the defendant more untrustworthy and dangerous. The defendant had applied for permission to travel to other parts of the country, he had many friends, he might disappear, and his speech to the court indicates that he could be a "danger to the community."

Judge Pollack agreed with most of this vicious diatribe against the defendant. He dismissed the defense objection that the prosecutor's statement was a politically motivated attack. He rejected the request for a suspended sentence and probation on the grounds that the defendant showed no repentance, that his statement showed no change or intention to change. The judge then sentenced Farinas to two years in jail and set bail at \$5,000.

At 11:30 a.m. the demonstrators moved over to Foley Square Park for a rally. The speakers were Juan Farinas; Victor Garcia, an Organizer from Local 1199; Orrie Chambers, Organizer of the New Jersey State Federation of Teachers; Bill Tate, Vice-President of District 65; Stanley Hill, President of SSEU-Local 371; Ed Cross, President of Local 147 of the Compressed Air and Tunnel Workers; Dennis Cribben of the Committee for New Leadership of the SSEU-371; Susan Winston of the Student Mobilization Committee; Helena Farinas, wife of the defendant and a member of Local 1199; Malik of the Inmates Liberation Party; Mirta Vidal of the Young Socialist Alliance; and Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League.

The trade union speakers spoke on behalf of unions representing at least 100,000 workers in the city of New York.

Ed Cross spoke about the history of the labor movement and its fight against repression. He said that Juan Farinas had begun his fight in 1968 when the mass movement against the war was not what it is today. He said Farinas' fight was a courageous one.

Bill Tate compared Nixon's law and order speeches with the words of Hitler in the 1930's. Victor Garcia said that 1199 defends Juan Farinas because he is a victim of repression and because the union always seeks to defend and aid its members.

Cross, Tate and Garcia emphasized that labor must defend Farinas as very much a part of the unions' fight against the war and repression.

Orrie Chambers spoke about the upcoming strike by the Newark Teachers Union. He said that Gibson with the help of black nationalists like LeRoi Jones were preparing to come down to bust the union. "We defend Juan Farinas. We see the fight in Newark not just as the fight of the Newark

Juan's Statement To The Court

Today I stand before you to be sentenced for passing out a leaflet against the war in Vietnam. Your government must punish this action, which was completely legal and constitutional, which was a clear and practical expression of my constitutional right of freedom of speech because your government fears the growing movement among workers and youth in this country.

At the trial both the court and the prosecution stated that neither the war in Vietnam nor my political views had anything to do with the trial. But I say that not only did they have something to do with the trial THEY WERE THE CENTRAL QUESTION INVOLVED IN THE TRIAL.

I say that I am being sentenced not for any "criminal" or "illegal" behavior but for my political views, for my opposition to the war in Vietnam, for my being a socialist and for standing up and fighting for those principles. I say that I'm innocent of the charges on which I was convicted and that you had to twist your own laws, you had to take off your pretenses of "impartiality," you had to charge the jury the way you did so as to be able to convict me, so as to be able to justify the criminal war in Vietnam.

You and your government may brand me as a "criminal," but let me tell you this right now, no matter how much you may try to do it, in my eyes and in the eyes of millions of working people and youth in this country and around the world, YOU ARE THE CRIMINALS!

It is your government, not me, which has dropped millions of bombs over Vietnam. It is your government, not me, which during the last fifteen years has waged a murderous war against the workers and peasants in Vietnam. It is your government, not me, which right now is breaking all international laws and sending "civilians" in "private helicopters over to Cambodia. It is your government, not me, which has unleashed a barbaric, illegal and criminal wave of terror against the Black Panthers, militants like Angela Davis and all those who fight against this system. And last but not least, it is your government, not me, which right now is preparing to launch the greatest attack ever seen against the living standards and conditions of workers and youth in this country.

But Nixon and Agnew are not going to find it easy. Already there is tremendous and growing opposition on the part of American workers and youth against the economic attacks already launched against them. It is that growing movement of the working class and youth that you fear. I welcome it and on that basis I intend to continue this fight and appeal this conviction to higher courts.

teachers but the whole working class against the attacks of the ruling class."

The chairman of the rally, Fred Mazelis, introduced Stanley Hill of SSEU-371 as one of the first supporters of Farinas and said that the work the union had done for the defense was exemplary.

Hill began by saying that labor should become more involved in this struggle. He said the SSEU would continue the campaign for Farinas, raising funds and holding other activities for his defense. Hill said that the SSEU like Farinas was deeply involved in the fight against repression as the City had fired one of its members and the case was now before the courts.

A number of the speakers, including Juan Farinas himself, spoke on the political significance of the prosecution and the fight against it. Farinas spoke on the reason for the government's attack and the sentence handed down that morning. He was being punished for his views because the government feared these socialist and revolutionary views and was striving at all costs to isolate revolutionaries from the masses of workers and youth.

Dennis Cribben of the Committee for New Leadership of the SSEU spoke on the tremendous crisis and tasks facing city workers and the labor movement as a whole. The capitalist government was afraid of a

general strike movement as the wage offensive of the working class deepened along with the economic crisis. The bosses feared a movement in the U.S. like the May-June events in France in 1968, which would raise the specter of revolution and working class power. The most urgent need was the fight for a Marxist leadership in the trade unions.

Tim Wohlforth of the Workers League pointed out the importance of history and of revolutionary theory. If the working class and its vanguard was to defeat the enemy and prevent the victory of fascism, it had to understand the lessons of history. The Workers League based itself on the struggles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We begin, he said, as internationalists, as students of Lenin, who never set foot in the United States, and who spoke a foreign tongue, but who led a victorious revolution whose meaning was more critical today than ever before. We begin, he said, as continuators of Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism, against the bureaucracy and its alliance with capitalism.

The Defense Committee's need for funds is more urgent than it has ever been. All contributions and inquiries should be addressed to the Juan Farinas Defense Committee at 135 West 14th Street, 6th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011, telephone (212) 924-0852.

Pickets march in front of U.S. Court House in Foley Square (left, bottom center.) Rally was addressed by Bill Tate, Vice President District 65 (right), Juan Farinas,

(bottom left), and Stanley Hill, President, SSEU-Local 371 (bottom right). Picture of Juan Farinas (center) was painted by Cooper Union art students for demonstration.





Jeff Sabastian of Workers League addresses rally at San Francisco Federal Building.



Los Angeles students and workers picket Federal Building to protest sentencing of Juan.

Chicano Political Prisoner Addresses LA Farinas Rally

BY BILL WINGFIELD

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 29—Twenty persons including members of the Workers League, Liberation Union, and a defense committee representing three San Diego political prisoners, demonstrated in defense of Juan Farinas and other political prisoners in front of the federal courthouse here today.

The demonstrators assembled at noon, and after maintaining a picket line for an hour and leafletting passersby, gathered before the courthouse steps for a brief rally.

David Heskett of the Workers League spoke first. Heskett contrasted the Worker League approach to the defense of political prisoners with that of the Communist Party.

"To always attempt to defend political prisoners by crying 'frameup,'" said Heskett, "is to obscure the real nature of the repression." "Juan Farinas, Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, and many others are all being persecuted because they are fighters in the class struggle. Ruchell Magee must be defended because his act was a political act against the class enemy."

Carlos Calderon, a Chicano political prisoner from San Diego, was the con-

cluding speaker. Calderon, David Rico, and Richard Gonzales are the "Califas 3"—Chicano activists who have been indicted in San Diego on charges of "manufacturing a fire bomb" and "criminal syndicalism." The latter charge was made under a 1929 California law first used against the I.W.W. Calderon faces an additional charge: "soliciting the commission of murder," by means of a newspaper he edits.

Calderon is a former Minister of Education for the San Diego Brown Berets. He has since left the Brown Berets, although he continues to edit *El Barrio*, which is the group's semi-official organ.

Calderon began his address by stating that "The Califas 3 express solidarity with all political prisoners and with all forces fighting against capitalism." He then turned to his own case.

"We were indicted," said Calderon, "because we are the left-wing of our movement—because we are socialists."

Calderon warned the ruling class that it does indeed have reason to fear and hate the Califas 3. "We intend to take their property because we—the working class—made it!"

Calderon noted that the "common denominator" in his coming trial, the trial of Juan Farinas, and others is that "we are all socialist revolutionaries." He concluded his remarks by proclaiming: "They cannot stop the spread of socialism by putting socialists in jail. Our ideas cross national boundaries and go beyond prison walls."

LA Cops Murder Chicano Youth

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 31—The Chicano Moratorium held here today in the East Los Angeles barrio, represented most clearly the class forces at work in the United States today. It showed the brutality the government will use against militants and workers who fight back against the system.

This fourth demonstration called by the Chicano Moratorium Committee against police brutality, saw 10,000 persons, mainly Chicano, gather in Belvedere Park to fight police brutality. Thousands of militant youth were present. Trade unionists in their union jackets were visible throughout the crowd.

As the rally broke up, 3,000 youth began a march to the police station near the park. The police attacked the youth, brutally beating them and firing shotguns. One youth was killed, five were seriously wounded, and over forty were arrested.

The reaction of the Moratorium leadership was to immediately implore everyone to get off the streets and to denounce the "minority" of demonstrators for violence. Throughout the speeches at the rally the leaders sought at each point to divert the struggle.

The central political concept advanced by nearly all the speakers was "the struggle for Atzlan, nuestra tierra (our land)."

The concept Atzlan was almost mystical in the speech of Brown Beret, David Sanchez.

"Chicano Power," proclaimed Sanchez, "is a natural phenomenon, ... the result of Chicano powers" which are "created by communications of the Chicano's natural spiritual powers!"

The leadership further revealed its position when it sent out monitors to harass socialist tendencies. Newspapers from the Progressive Labor Party and Workers League were confiscated, and all tendencies were forced to take away all signs and all papers by roving squads of monitors.

The masses of Chicano workers and youth are ready to fight it out, but they will not be able to effectively fight with a leadership that diverts every struggle into reformism, that seeks to intensify the splits in the working class. At this time class unity around a class program is absolutely necessary to take the fight against police brutality and repression forward.

500 SF City Workers Demand 'Alioto Out, Labor In'

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 1—Tonight 500 San Francisco city workers marched in front of City Hall chanting "10 Percent Now," "Dental Plan Now," "Layoff Alioto, Not City Workers," and "Alioto Out, Labor In."

But the labor leaders stayed silent during the chanting. The Rank and File caucus of Local 400, to the astonishment of the labor bureaucracy, was leading the chants.

On the picket line were hospital workers, librarians, clerks, bus drivers, and even a contingent of parking meter patrolmen in uniform.

If the union had begun several months earlier to prepare such a demonstration as the Rank and File Caucus had demanded, there is no doubt that thousands of workers would have marched. Instead the union leaders procrastinated and finally agreed to the demonstration with only a few days notice and with practically no publicity.

The Civil Service Commission and

Mayor Alioto are offering city workers a miserable 3.25 percent increase. This so-called increase will be paid for by not filling vacant positions and thus saving on those salaries.

ANGRY

City workers are angry also that they have practically no fringe benefits. Many workers are in need of dental care and cannot afford a private dentist. City workers are unanimous in demanding a dental plan.

The central question, however, is wages. Last year Alioto got away with lowering the salaries of clerks from 5 to 10 percent on the entry level. Other categories of workers, such as parking meter repairmen and health inspectors, received no increase

whatsoever. Some categories received a 5 percent increase which is still less than the increase in the cost of living.

Since last year the price of bread in the Bay Area has gone up 22.8 percent, coffee costs 25.8 percent more, rents went up 7.8 percent. The standard of living of city workers has declined.

The picket line outside marched into the chambers of the Board of Supervisors and waited—soon they were stomping their feet and clapping their hands in unison. When the Legislative and Personnel Committee finally appeared they were greeted by boos and hisses. City workers are no longer respectful towards their employer. The chairman threatened to adjourn the hearing if there was any more "disruption." But after listening to several of the union leaders testify, nearly all present got up and left en masse.

Last March San Francisco city workers shut down San Francisco for four days. Though the union leaders gave in to pressure and settled the strike without any real victory, the City administration was also forced to back down on some of its cutbacks.

STRIKE

City workers are faced now by a graver attack which threatens their jobs as well as their wages. Last week hospital interns struck General Hospital demanding better patient care and a reduction in working hours. They achieved quite a bit of publicity but were unable to continue their strike by themselves.

There will no doubt be more sporadic strikes as frustrated and angry workers decide they can no longer tolerate their working conditions and wages. But a general strike of city workers is what must be planned for.

Reagan Slashes College Budgets By \$6 Million

BY TOD ZWER

BERKELEY—The state of California has recently unveiled the most far reaching and vicious attacks against students and state employees.

Last month the president of the University of California announced that the budget of the university would be frozen indefinitely. Specifically this means that there will be no new hiring, new positions will not be created, vacancies in old positions will remain vacant. There will be no new construction and no purchases of

equipment.

This month Governor Reagan widened the attack to include the state colleges. In his budget he proposed cuts of one million dollars for the University of California and five million dollars for the California state college system. These cuts will be felt immediately in the increase in size of already overcrowded classes and in a speed up for already overworked university and college employees.

While these are drastic and serious effects, they are only the opening shots in Reagan's strategy to turn the universities and colleges of California into schools for the elite and in the process

destroy the jobs of thousands of state workers. These new budget cuts will affect most drastically the graduate schools of the University of California, upon which the supply of qualified teachers for all of California rests.

These cuts must be fought. At stake are the livelihoods of thousands of state workers and the education of hundreds of thousands of students. Central to this fight must be the demands for: unionization of state employees, no layoffs or speed-up, reduced class sizes, a full program of construction to meet the increasing demand for education, no tuition or fees.