

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 7 NO. 23-183 FEBRUARY 15, 1971 103 TEN CENTS

2 PAGES OF  
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## ONLY STRIKE ACTION CAN STOP WAR



Detroit Teamsters huddle in cold during 11 week long bitter strike against linen supply firms. They are fighting a nationwide plot to destroy the union and force

a wage slash on the workers. Their militant resistance is part of massive fight back by workers throughout the United States as well as all over the world.

## IN DEFENSE OF THE WORKING CLASS

*A REPLY TO MORRISON AND MEYERS*

# rolls royce goes bankrupt

# British Post Office Strike Poses Collapse of the Tory Government

BY MELODY FARROW

"This is not just about wages anymore. It is a revolution, an explosion of layer upon layer of discontent piling upon the Post Office year after year."

This is what Tom Jackson, General Secretary of the British Postal Union said to strikers in Glasgow as the British postal strike entered its third bitter week.

While Jackson has no intention of leading a revolutionary struggle against the right wing Tory government which provoked the strike, his remarks reflect the class lines that have been drawn and the tremendous militancy of the ranks.

The postal workers who make only about \$50 a week are demanding a 15% increase and a shortening of incremental scales. The government has refused to give more than 8% unless there is agreement on productivity improvements.

Since the beginning of the strike on January 20 there has been no mistaking the government's position. They are openly out to break the strike by keeping all Post Office branches open with scab labor. They are stepping up a vicious tirade of slander against the workers, accusing them of "bleeding the country" and of holding up pension checks for the elderly.

So far the Postal Union leadership has responded to these attacks with only limited and timid moves. General secretary Jackson has threatened to remove all volunteer help which has been handling the pension checks if the scab labor is not removed. Jackson also had the strikers line up en masse at the post offices to harass the scabs.

## SLOWDOWN

These are petty measures which will not defeat the Tories. After a brief meeting of the Post Office representatives and Labor Minister Carr broke up, Jackson bitterly said: "The Post Office is seeing this as a showdown with our union and the postal unions as a whole."

What Jackson refused to say is this strike is a showdown not just with the postal workers but with the entire working class. Further, the issue behind this showdown is the attempt by the Tories to introduce the Industrial Relations Bill which would abolish independent trade unions. It is nothing short of a slave labor bill that would take workers' conditions back to the 1930s.

For the Tories and the big business leaders, the defeat of the postal workers wage claim is crucial to weakening the whole working class and paving the way for the Bill. These two issues cannot be separated. This is why the London Conference of Amalgamated Unions of Engineering Workers has approved a resolution for one day strikes and Victor Feather, head of the Trade Unions Congress has predicted a "wave of strikes" against the Bill.

## DANGER

The greatest danger to the strike is the leadership of Jackson and the entire trade union movement. Despite Jackson's recognition in his words that this is a showdown he is only the more anxious to avoid the confrontation and end the dispute.

This came out clearly when asked if he would settle for 10% he replied: "I am not prepared to answer that. But I am prepared to bargain and negotiate." Even after the Tories have made it perfectly clear that they will not negotiate but are out to bludgeon the wor-



British postal union secretary Tom Jackson (left) with rank and filer Herbert Edmondson

kers into submission, Jackson refuses to abandon the old methods of pressuring the bosses.

When the Minister for Posts and Telecommunications threatened that a 19% increase would raise unemployment, Jackson responded by saying that it was alright if there were 50,000 less workers as long as the rest got a decent wage. He not only refuses to expose the Tories for deliberately creating unemployment and the fact that it will continue despite the settlement, but he actually accepts unemployment.

## EVADES

He evades the question of how higher unemployment will weaken the wages of the rest of the working class. Jackson's position only serves to aid the Tories by deepening the divisions between the unemployed and the employed and organized workers.

The only way to force the Tories to capitulate is to conduct the strike as a class war that will not be settled at the bargaining table but through the mass mobilization of the entire trade union movement.

Already a total of 100,000 Pounds has been raised by other trade unions to aid the strike and this is only a small indication of what can be done. Ten thousand postal and other workers attended a rally in London, February 4, where Jackson spoke as well as Jack Jones of the Transport and General Workers Union.

## SOLIDARITY

Financial support must now be followed by concrete solidarity action by all sections of the working class which will be the opening shot as well in the fight to defeat the Industrial Relations Bill and force the Tories out.

Key in this struggle will be the Alexandra Palace rally on February 14 being built by the British Trotskyists in the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists. This rally is central in the campaign to force the Tories to resign.

legal defense, travel and publicity expenses. The ruling class has offered us a challenge in handing down this decision, and part of our political fight against their offensive is raising this money in order to combat and beat back their repressive attacks.

On a nationwide basis, the committee is mobilizing workers and youth to raise money for the fund drive, in the schools, in unions and in neighborhoods. We call on all readers and supporters to join this fight and help the defense raise this money. Send contributions to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14th St., 6th Floor, New York, N.Y., 10011, telephone, (212) 924-0852.

# Nixon, Democrats, Prepare New Laws Against Unions

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

When the head of the British postal workers' union said about the current strike, "This is not just about wages anymore. It is a revolution..." he exposed the real character of the struggles of the working class against capitalism internationally. It is precisely this struggle which was opened up in May-June in France in 1968.

This law would give Nixon an "arsenal of weapons," making strikes illegal and forcing compulsory arbitration. Congress, which last year did not hold hearings on the bill, is reportedly "more receptive" this year. Nixon may very well use the threat of a rail strike in March to force this through.

Nixon has made it clear that he is also prepared to institute a wage freeze if the unions refuse to toe the line. Howls for wage freezing and controls on the unions are coming from every corner of the capitalist class.

According to Fortune magazine, the voice of big business, "the gravest economic problem facing the Western world in the early 1970s is cost-push inflation powered by excessive wage increases...it looks as if only intolerable unemployment could tame them." The Vice President of U.S. Steel in an interview with U.S. News and World Report echoes this and calls for "extraordinary efforts" to stop the unions.

## JAVITS

The darling of the liberals, John Kenneth Galbraith, has called on the Administration to "break the structure of inflationary expectations with a freeze" and "permanent" controls. Jacob Javits, the man that the Socialist Workers Party-supported NPAC has invited to speak at its April 24 antiwar rally, has come out with a proposal for antistrike legislation that makes Nixon look liberal. Javits is calling for presidential powers to break strikes in any industry "to protect health and safety."

While both the Democrats and Republicans are aiming their guns on the unions, no section of the working class is immune from the attacks. Prices continue to rise. Layoffs continue and more and more workers are forced onto welfare. Education and welfare budgets have been slashed nationwide. Last week Nixon announced cuts in Medicare. These cuts will in particular hit the elderly living on Social Security forcing them to pay increases of hundreds of dollars for hospital care.

It is clear that the capitalist class will not be satisfied until they have driven back the working class to conditions of the 1930s and before.

So Nixon and the entire capitalist class fear very much the threat posed by the movement of the class. This is why they have opened their wave of repression against the youth, against the minorities and militants such as Angela Davis, the Panthers, and Juan Farinas who challenge the system. This is why they move closer and closer to dictatorship.

The major obstacle to the struggle to defeat Nixon's anti-working class offensive is the retreat of the trade union bureaucracy. While Nixon is talking wage freezes, the leadership of the construction unions is seeking to work out a plan for voluntary control which would take away the power of the ranks to approve or reject contracts.

The union leaders have refused to mobilize their ranks against unemployment and against Nixon's anti-labor laws. Above all they refuse to fight for the political independence of the working class.

Underlying the offensive of the working class is the tremendous crisis which is shaking world capitalism. This crisis was brought out sharply with the fall of one of Britain's most respected corporations last week, Rolls Royce.

The fall of Rolls Royce and the impact it is having in the U.S. made clear that every attempt by world capitalism to postpone its crisis, every attempt to attenuate it has failed. This crisis now threatens to

bring down not only Rolls Royce and Lockheed but British and American capitalism.

When the Tory government announces that Rolls Royce will go to the wall it is saying that it will not bail out these corporations, it is the working class that is going to have to pay.

## POLITICAL

This is why the wage offensive today is a political conflict; it threatens the very existence of capitalism which stands on the edge of a collapse of 1929 magnitude. There will be no victories today without a political challenge to the government.

All the fiscal and monetary measures of the employers and the government have failed to stop the fight of the working class. The capitalists know now that the only way to restore profits, to save themselves from the fate of Rolls, is through attacks on the wages of the working class and on the trade unions. The capitalist class internationally is now seeking to destroy the rights and living standards the workers have won through decades of struggle.

This is why the Tory government is now pushing through an anti-labor law which will destroy the power of the trade unions.

But it is not just a question of the Tory government in England. Last week Nixon admitting that all his monetary and fiscal policies have failed to stop the working class, reintroduced to Congress his bill to outlaw strikes in the transportation industry. Secretary of Labor Hodgson at the same time said that the Administration would make this proposal its top legislative goal.

In this treachery they are propped up by the Communist Party which proposes to answer Nixon's offensive with a "People's Alliance," with a political alliance with such forces as Kenneth Gibson who are today in the forefront of the movement to smash the trade unions.

At the same time the Stalinists propose to fight the war in Indochina by diverting workers and youth into mindless adventures and confrontations. They will try to use the real movement of the working class, the real class hatred which is behind the movement and channel it into middle class protest, demoralizing the struggle.

The SWP-YSA can pose absolutely no alternative. Their proposals are for less adventurous but strictly middle class protest. That Mr. Javits, leading the movement to break the unions, can be invited to such a protest points out the dangers of this perspective.

What both the Stalinists and the revisionists seek to do is to drive back the real movement of the working class as the sharp class lines are drawn. This is why now both the Stalinists and revisionists will make big efforts to bring the working class into these protests. They do this precisely at a time when the only question in the fight against the war is not protest but independent class action, strike action against the war.

## ROAD

It is to this struggle that the students and youth must turn as the only way to fight the war, as the only way to defeat Nixon's campaign of repression. At the center of this must be the fight for the political independence of the working class, for a labor party which will fight for socialist policies.

For there is only one road for the American working class and that is the road to power.

This is the lesson of the British postal strike, of the collapse of Rolls Royce, of Nixon's attack on the unions and the new invasion into Laos.

# Farinas Sentenced to 2 Years; Bail Fund Drive Launched

BY BRIDGET ELLIOT

Juan Farinas was sentenced to two years in jail and bail was set at \$5,000 on January 29 in the U.S. Federal Courthouse.

Juan Farinas is the young worker who was convicted on three frame-up counts of violating the Selective Service Act on December 10-11, 1970. The defense will be taking the decision to the Court of Appeals in the next months.

The work of the Juan Farinas Defense Committee is going full speed ahead in its campaign to mobilize workers and youth nationally in his defense.

The most crucial part of the campaign at the present time is a fund drive. The Committee must raise immediately a large amount of money for the bail fund, other

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

# Rolls Royce Fiasco Threatens Worldwide Collapse

BY FRED MUELLER

The collapse of Rolls Royce and the international shock waves issuing from it are a tremendous lesson and a warning to the working class. The Rolls Royce-Lockheed crisis is a declaration of bankruptcy by capitalism and at the same time a declaration of war on the international working class.

Just two weeks ago the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, one of the giants of the U.S. aerospace industry, was rescued from collapse. The tremendous loss incurred over the C-5A jet transport deal was the final straw for Lockheed. Nixon and his government stepped in, not just because Lockheed is the largest defense contractor but because the bank and airline creditors of Lockheed would very likely come crashing down in the wake of a Lockheed bankruptcy.

After seventeen months of negotiations Lockheed was prevailed upon to accept a \$200 million loss on the C-5A project. At the same time the government agreed to contribute \$781 million as part of a deal whereby large commercial banks would provide an additional \$250 million in credit and some of the major airline creditors would agree to give Lockheed more time.

Now Rolls Royce has gone to the wall. The immediate precipitating factor is the collapse of one of the largest export deals ever received by a British firm, the deal by Rolls Royce with Lockheed three years ago whereby Rolls was to produce at least 500 engines for the Lockheed Tristar airbus project, the L-1011.

Rolls Royce is the largest British aerospace firm, not merely the maker of the famous luxury automobiles. It is involved in nearly every European aircraft project, employing 80,000 workers and 20,000 workers on the ill-fated RB-211 project alone.

This is the firm which Heath and the capitalist ruling class he speaks for have allowed to fall, because they had no choice. Rather than pump additional hundreds of millions down what appears to be a bottomless pit, the British have put the company into receivership. At the same time as Heath calls for denationalization up and down the line, he is forced to nationalize, in the interests of the capitalist class, those sections of Rolls Royce production directly connected with "national defense."

As far as the RB-211 is concerned, Heath is now calling for negotiations with Lockheed and the U.S. government to see if a further agreement can be worked out.

Behind the Lockheed-Rolls Royce fiasco is the inflationary crisis of capitalism and the squeeze on profits of the last several years. The bourgeois spokesmen now try to claim that all the trouble is due to poor management, but they cannot explain why these collapses never took place during the boom.

It is the entire capitalist system which faces collapse. The bourgeois governments intervene in order to stave off a new 1929, but their medicine is becoming less and less effective, indeed it is not really any medicine at all.

After the Penn Central, Goodbody and Chrysler rescues comes Lockheed. Where will it end? This is the question which must keep the top sections of the ruling class awake nights.

Even a new "rescue" will not soften the impact of this crisis on large sections of British, U.S. and world capitalism. Rolls Royce has already gone under and some of its major creditors are in deep trouble. In the U.S. the only thing the capitalists can be sure of is that there is no easy way out.

The reformist myth that government intervention could indefinitely prevent a new 1929 is being completely exploded on every front. The capitalist state draws onto its own shoulders all the enormous burdens and responsibilities of a decaying economic system through its measures of state intervention. The contradictions of capitalism are not only not resolved, they burst forth with explosive impact.

The capitalist government is more deeply involved in this crisis than ever before. It is poised on the brink along with the individual capitalist firms for which it speaks. And the crisis is international in scope. No country can be shielded even for a day from the impact of developments in



Rolls Royce bosses beam after getting Lockheed deal which was to spell their doom.

other sections of the capitalist world thousands of miles away.

That is why Prime Minister Heath called Nixon on the telephone to personally break the news of the Rolls Royce bankruptcy, to diplomatically announce that British capitalism was being forced to war on its American partners and masters, to insist that Britain could not absorb the crisis and that the Americans had to do more.

"The President was very understanding. ...He took the line that it was bad news for both countries, and that the governments must keep in touch to try to work something out."

Behind the diplomacy and "hot line" phone calls is preparation for war on the working class of both countries. Heath and Nixon face tough negotiations over the distribution of the new burdens created by this crisis. As a central part of these negotiations, however, there must be the most vicious attack on British and U.S. workers. U.S. aerospace workers have already faced mass layoffs and the threat is for larger and larger unemployment on the depression scale.

New York Times London correspondent Anthony Lewis reveals the truth in his February 5 dispatch which concludes, "Political toughness may pay—and not only in Britain."

Lewis writes that Heath is now trying to impress the working class and the trade unions with the fact that "British companies with excessive wage bills may very easily go under." And if a few do go under and mass layoffs take place, this will be the right kind of medicine for dealing with the unions and the tremendous wage offensive.

The wage offensive in the present period holds revolutionary political implications. The capitalists have no choice but to attempt to throw the working class back to the conditions of the 1930s and before. These attacks can only be fought with a revolutionary program, with the transitional program of the Fourth International taking on concrete form out of today's struggles.

Against the capitalist attacks, the working class must answer: No layoffs! Nationalization without compensation and under workers' control of bankrupt giants like Lockheed and Rolls Royce! It is the fight for political power in the hands of the working class which is posed out of these struggles. This requires a fight for the construction of a labor party and a break with the capitalist parties in the U.S., and a fight to make the Tories resign and for the return of a Labour Government based on socialist policies in Britain.

## Workers Must Stop Laos Invasion With General Strike!

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The Nixon Administration, after a week long news blackout, launched a massive invasion of Laos last week. Nine thousand American troops are now poised on the border of Laos, while 20,000 American trained, armed and paid South Vietnamese puppet troops, supported by U.S. supply helicopters and fighter bombers, have invaded "neutral" Laos.

The real crisis and futility of this move by imperialism is revealed in the way they try to justify it. The State Department claims that "This limited engagement is not an enlargement of the war," and that it is "to protect the security and safety of American forces in South Vietnam," and to allow Nixon's plans for "withdrawal of troops" to continue smoothly!

In other words, the invasion of Laos is not an expansion of the war; the U.S. is invading and expanding the war in order to "protect the security and safety" of U.S. troops in Vietnam. And both the invasion and the expansion are done in the name of withdrawal of troops!

What the capitalist class means by this doubletalk is that American imperialism cannot be safe in Vietnam without fighting to wipe out the workers and peasants not only of Vietnam, but of all Indochina. They mean that it will take more My Lais on a massive scale, throughout all of Indochina, as well as against their own working class, for capitalism to survive.

The State Department now claims that intelligence reports indicated an unusually high concentration of North Vietnamese troops and supplies in Southern Laos and expected heavy resistance from nine regiments of North Vietnamese regulars.

Just as in Cambodia, where the invasion was supposed to "wind down the war," and where "nests" of Viet Cong were supposedly lurking across the border, this is used as a pretext to invade Laos, for imperialism to take up the battle against the workers and peasants of all Indochina.

Now the claim by the U.S. is that the invasion will cut off the Ho Chi Minh trail, and throw back the Viet Cong for a year or so; long enough for U.S. troops to safely withdraw. The troops were not withdrawn from Indochina after the Cambodian invasion and Nixon has no such intention now.

But what Nixon is planning for is revealed by the massive buildup of U.S. troops on the border. So far none of the supposed "nine regiments of North Vietnamese regulars" have been run into. But if they are, U.S. troops are poised on the border to take up the fight which the mercenary puppet troops cannot fight. All of Nixon's "withdrawal plans" are a complete fraud.

But at the same time as South Vietnamese troops are pouring into Laos, and being given U.S. air cover and support, rebellion within the U.S. Army verges on insurrection. One of the major questions facing Nixon in his invasion plans is the growing revolutionary upsurge within the army and the plummeting demoralization of other whole sections who are no longer willing to fight.

Will the Black GIs who marched through Saigon in defense of Angela Davis, march into Laos? Will the "grunts" who cheer when they hear of their officers killed by Viet Cong, cross the border? Will the soldiers who have bombed so many of their own officers that there is now a word for it—to frag—take up a new offensive? Will the tens of thousands of infantry soldiers who evade combat and take drugs to escape the war, carry out Nixon's invasion?

Never has the situation in the U.S. Army been closer to the policy of "turning the guns around," closer to armed insurrection, and Nixon knows it. This alone is staying his hand at the same time as imperialism is forced to drive deeper into Indochina.

The whole revolutionary upsurge in the army expresses the extremely sharp development of the class struggle, which more and more verges on the precipice of civil war.

The collapse of Rolls Royce, with the British post office strike, threatens not only the destruction of British capitalism,

but is a death knell for capitalism as a whole. The upsurge of the working class in the U.S. is expressed in a strike wave the likes of which has not been seen for decades. It is part of the deep going movement of the working class internationally, in France, Italy, Spain, England, throwing the working class against the capitalist class and bringing capitalism closer to the very brink of collapse.

It is within this context that U.S. imperialism desperately, from a position of weakness, not strength, seeks to widen the war in Indochina and beat back the Vietnamese Revolution.

What capitalism must face now is not

## Newark Teachers Strike Escalates

BY DAN FRIED

NEWARK—Now in its second week, the Newark teachers strike has become an out and out battle by the ruling class to crush the Newark Teachers Union. There is no middle ground in this battle—it is out and out warfare.

The only way the teachers can get a decent contract out of the Board of Education and Gibson, as if these agents of the ruling class are forced, with their back to the wall by the power of the teachers and the entire labor movement, to give concessions.

Last week following the brutal attack on union pickets by anti-labor hooligans and the issuance of an anti-strike injunction requested by two associates of black nationalist spokesman, LeRoi Jones, warrants were sworn out for the arrest of NTU President Carol Graves and two other union officers. A phone call was made to the union from Mayor Gibson's office threatening a 13 state alarm for the capture of the leaders. Gibson also said he would personally step into negotiations to bring about a settlement. After these moves the three leaders surrendered and were held in \$1000 bail each.

Sunday it was revealed that the "negotiations" Gibson had offered to preside

over were only setting the stage for a further escalation of the battle. The NTU leadership persisted in its attempt to conciliate the struggle by presenting a new package for negotiation, only to find themselves sitting and waiting, and waiting, and still waiting for a reply or even an attempt to reconvene the negotiations by the Board and Gibson. This never came.

Instead, the union has been served with an ultimatum—no negotiations will be resumed until all picketing of the schools is called off. Quite correctly, the union has said that the picketing will go on.

At the Sunday rally of the NTU a number of union officials spoke representing the overwhelming majority of organized labor. Following this rally, the Workers League issued a leaflet, "STOP THE UNION BUSTERS" addressed to "teachers, trade unionists, students, all workers and unemployed." The leaflet calls on the New Jersey AFL-CIO, the Teamsters, the New York City Central Labor Council, to turn their pledges of support into action by building "the most massive demonstration of workers and students in support of the teachers strike at Newark's City Hall, this Friday, February 12."

The call for the demonstration and the building of mass picket lines at the schools by all unions, poses a fight that must be made not only in the interests of teachers and students, but for the entire working class.



# WORKERS FIGHT TROOPS IN ULSTER REBELLION

BY PAT CONNOLLY

Five persons were killed and over 200 workers and youth arrested as new street fighting broke out in Londonderry and Belfast last week. Six hundred more soldiers were rushed from England to Northern Ireland to bolster up the British occupation forces to 7,400.

Northern Ireland is virtually under military dictatorship. Despite all the talk of "reform" after the last outbursts in Ulster, the Special Powers Act, which allows arrest without charges and imprisonment without trial, still is in use and British troops patrol the ghettos.

After two weeks of rebellion in the Ballymurphy housing project in Belfast, fighting broke out and spread as the British occupation troops resumed house to house searches for arms in working class Catholic areas.

This is a continuation of the brutal search procedures that were used last summer when British troops cordoned off the ghettos and searched house to house, looting and wrecking as they went, using tanks, armored cars and "shoot to kill" orders to quell opposition.

Following the outbreaks in Ballymurphy, Prime Minister Chichester-Clark met with British Home Secretary Reginald Maudling and issued a joint statement which stated that the army's task was not limited to containment of "riotous" behavior, but also "to seek out and subject to the rule of the law those who take part in it and particularly those who foment and led it."

But what is meant by "the rule of law" is made clear by the demands of the Unionist right wing, which calls for the resignation of the Chichester-Clark government, re-arming the Royal Ulster Constabulary, revival of the B-Specials (armed private vigilantes) and internment of suspected terrorists under the Special

Powers Act.

This is what the Tories mean by law and order—a firming up of all the military and dictatorial powers of the state in order to crush the working class. This is why Enoch Powell, England's George Wallace, spoke in Londonderry in late January, at the Apprentice Boys of Derry Hall, whipping up religious divisions in Ireland the same way he seeks to whip up racial divisions in England.

On Friday and Saturday youth armed with rocks and sticks stoned British troops as they moved along the outskirts of the Bogside in Londonderry, and infantry troops were brought into Northwest Belfast where they met the resistance of workers and youth armed with rocks, gas bombs and nail bombs. Three civilians were killed and five members of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) were reportedly killed by troops.

The stepping up of the battle in North Ireland cannot be seen separately from the crisis of British imperialism which seeks to maintain itself on the crushed bones of the workers of England and Ireland. This fighting breaks out as the Tories in England are hit by a massive post office strike, and as the collapse of Rolls Royce calls into question the existence of British capitalism.

The new rebellion takes place just weeks after Jack Lynch, the Prime Minister of southern Ireland, announced that concentration camps are being built for the internment of "extremists."



Troops surround workers homes on New Lodge Road, Belfast following death of soldier.

Two years ago, in August 1969, British troops were poised to go into North Ireland as rioting and street fighting broke out. Every revisionist tendency from the Communist Party in Great Britain and the U.S. to the SWP and its co-thinkers in England supported British troops in Ireland. Now the full fruits of this revisionist policy can be seen as the Tories prepare for civil war and for complete dictatorship and the smashing of the working class.

The fight now must be for a united struggle against the Tory government in both England and Ireland for a united socialist Ireland.

- Immediate withdrawal of all British troops from Ireland!
- Nationalize the land, the banks, the industries under workers control without compensation!
- Repeal the Special Powers Act and free all political prisoners!

## Nixon, Bosses, Plan New Attacks On Rail Workers

BY B. WILLS

MINNEAPOLIS—Men at various Minneapolis railway junctions eagerly bought the February 1 issue of the *Bulletin* and then discussed the ideas Orrie Norton put forward in the paper.

This reaction proves one of Norton's points: rail workers are angry at the "sell-out and do-nothing policies" of their national leadership.

In fact members of Local 747, UTU, present at a combined membership meeting on the morning of February 4, heard Norton read aloud to them the entire interview

from the *Bulletin*. Norton received tremendous support for his views. One of the switchmen who attended the meeting, as he was going on the afternoon shift, told this reporter that as far as he was concerned "Orrie is now a national hero."

With a March 1st expiration of the Congressional strike ban, UTU members openly condemned their president, Charles Luna. He has given the men no information at all either as to what stage negotiations are at or even what demands he is putting forward.

Since betraying the strike of December 10, Luna has not even informed the ranks as to whether the rotten 13.5% wage increase forced on them by Congress is acceptable to him and his negotiating committee or whether they are going to fight for their original \$1.65 per hour hike over a three-year period, protected with an escalator clause.

Yet absolutely vital as is a living wage, these workers are far more alarmed at their union leaders' ominous silence as to Cabinet Secretary Volpe's plan to wipe out so-called secondary railway lines.

This scheme would spell disaster for thousands of railway workers who, no matter how much their seniority, would find themselves and their families without income and forced to use up whatever meager savings they might have accumulated prior to going on direct relief.

And now in the very midst of secret negotiations conducted by Luna and Dennis of the Railway Clerks comes a new blow. Nixon, sensing he has both bureaucrats safely tucked away in his hip pocket, takes the offensive on behalf of the corporations with his anti-strike proposal to Congress.

### SLAVE-LABOR

While this open declaration of war is aimed immediately at the rail workers, the ultimate target is obviously the entire working class. "This first new (anti-labor) law in a quarter century" combines the most oppressive aspects of Taft-Hartley and the Railway Labor Act, plus adding draconian features into a single new slave-labor law.

Railroad employees are anxious to join with their brothers and sisters from other industries and use their enormous numbers and power to defend their right against gress.

This time the workers cannot permit their national leaders to betray them. The anti-labor laws can be defeated.

The task now of the rail unions is to take forward on a national level the

measures mapped out at the Chicago area emergency meeting last December. Here 200 officers and members of the UTU and allied unions voted to continue to fight for a \$1.65 an hour increase over three years and protected by an escalator clause.

An invited official of another union, Wayne Kennedy, of the American Federation of Governmental Employees, urged the rail unions "to take the railroads away from the few corrupt multimillionaires who now run them for their own private interest; and they must turn the management of the vital industry over to the real experts—the railroad workers themselves." This suggestion was greeted with enthusiasm.

Railway workers have power to smash

## Lindsay Attacks Caseworkers

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—In the past few weeks the ranks of the Social Service Employees Union-Local 371 have borne the brunt of some of the most vicious attacks by Mayor Lindsay on city labor.

Several weeks ago, Dorrance Henderson was suspended for doing his job, by placing a family in the Waldorf Astoria. At this writing he remains suspended. The courts have refused the union's request to make the city arbitrate the suspension.

Welfare workers have been working on enormous caseloads and since the first of the year have not been receiving the \$180 per quarter penalty pay for anything above 60 cases. At the same time, the City has proceeded to reorganize three welfare centers and to start on three more while refusing to negotiate with the union on this.

Now time-and-motion study teams have entered East End Center, a reorganized center, to diligently clock workers for two months, gathering evidence to prove that welfare workers are not needed under reorganization.

### HILL

Throughout all these attacks, the Hill leadership has done absolutely nothing to defend the membership. Rather Hill continues to rely on arbitration and the courts to resolve the Henderson suspension, even though the court has decided not to order the city to arbitrate.

Rather than mobilize the ranks for an all-out fight for a contract with penalty pay and a big wage settlement, Hill still holds to the "strategy" of waiting for

Nixon's efforts to shackle labor and to create a new leadership. Such a leadership can emerge and win the active support of workers from other unions if a real struggle is waged for this program:

- \$1.65 an hour over a three year period.
- An escalator clause to protect the increase against inflation.
- A thirty hour work week at forty hours pay as an immediate alternative to Volpe's scheme to create unemployment in the railroad industry.
- Nationalization of the railroads without compensation and under workers control.
- The formation of a labor party.

the uniformed employees' settlement with the City so as to have a "good precedent." On the new time-and-motion study, Hill remains silent, as he has over the recent spate of reorganizations.

But the ranks of the SSEU are not keeping silent nor are they waiting to see. The Supervisors chapter of SSEU passed a resolution taking an official stand against any further reorganization without negotiation. Bergen Center has voted to dump down to 60 cases at once. Many centers are prepared to walk out over the Henderson incident. The ranks grow angrier with each passing day over the delay of the contract.

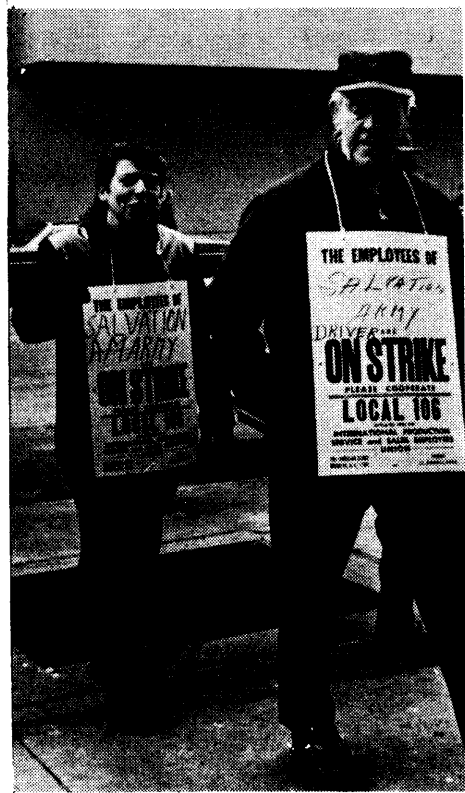
The cops have won the first step of their pay parity claim. But it should be clear that it was won not through the good graces of the courts, as the PBA head would have it, but through the wild-cat action. Now the City will try to use this decision to get the PBA to accept a measly cost of living wage increase which will set a precedent for all City workers. Herein lies the danger of the position of Hill and the other city union heads who are sitting it out, waiting for a settlement in the uniformed services that can be applied to their unions.

### STEPS

The SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership is fighting for a perspective that until these attacks on staff are resolved, the union must take the following steps citywide immediately:

No participation with further reorganization.  
Dump down to 60—No work on emergencies.

The CNL is urging the ranks to demand of Hill an immediate meeting at which this policy can be voted on.



Employees of the Salvation Army picket in front of national headquarters in New York City as part of organizing drive. The workers report that they have been refused recognition and that the Salvation Army is bringing in bums and derelicts as strike breakers giving them food and shelter in return. "This is the Starvation Army not the Salvation Army" one of the workers stated to a *Bulletin* reporter.

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

Three officials of the Newark Teachers Union, including Carol Graves the Black president of the NTU, have been arrested on the basis of a court injunction. The injunction was initiated at the request of two members of Leroy Jones' black nationalist group in Newark.

Just prior to this a number of union militants were physically assaulted and Carol Graves' car firebombed. Leroy Jones was reportedly seen one block away from the assaults.

These events, however, were not deemed newsworthy by the Militant. There is not one mention of the Newark teachers strike in the 24 pages of the February 12th issue. There was room enough, however, for a long article by Derrick Morrison attacking the Bulletin and the Workers League, entitled "In Defense of Black Nationalism and The Cairo United Front."

As the capitalist crisis deepens and the American working class together with workers in other nations moves into struggle, those who have revised Marxism in order to adapt to present "realities" are thrown into deep crisis. Instead of fighting to take forward consciously the movement of the working class the revisers of Marxism use theory as a weapon against this movement of the working class. They transform Marxism into its opposite—from the most revolutionary ideas mankind has known into a justification for the maintenance of capitalism. This is precisely and exactly what Derrick Morrison does in the current Militant and for this reason he stands as responsible as LeRoi Jones for the hooligan and governmental attacks on the working class in Newark.

#### OPEN LETTER

Morrison's article is purportedly an answer to our "Open Letter to the YSA Convention" which appeared in the December 28 issue of the Bulletin. As we expected would happen Morrison singles out the question of Cairo, Illinois, from the context of the open letter as a whole and concentrates his attack on this issue. The open letter began first of all with a discussion of the objective context within which we today struggle. It emphasized that, far from being in a period of "neo-capitalism" as stated in the Young Socialist Alliance's main resolution, we live in a period of sharp international crisis and a renewal of class struggle internationally.

Within that framework it noted a tendency of the YSA to launch an attack precisely on those sections of the Black working class breaking with nationalism and seeking a Marxist understanding of this new period, while lining itself up with the most conservative and reactionary sections of the Black movement which are completely hostile to the working class, Black and white. In conclusion the letter related this rightward move on the part of the YSA to the failure of the SWP to take up a struggle for dialectics as Trotsky had urged in 1940.

Morrison starts out:

"But in the issue distributed at the convention, there was a particularly vicious attack on the Black United Front of Cairo, Ill. This was presented in the context of an open letter to the YSA, which criticizes the YSA's support of Black nationalism and defense of the Cairo Front."

Later on he states:

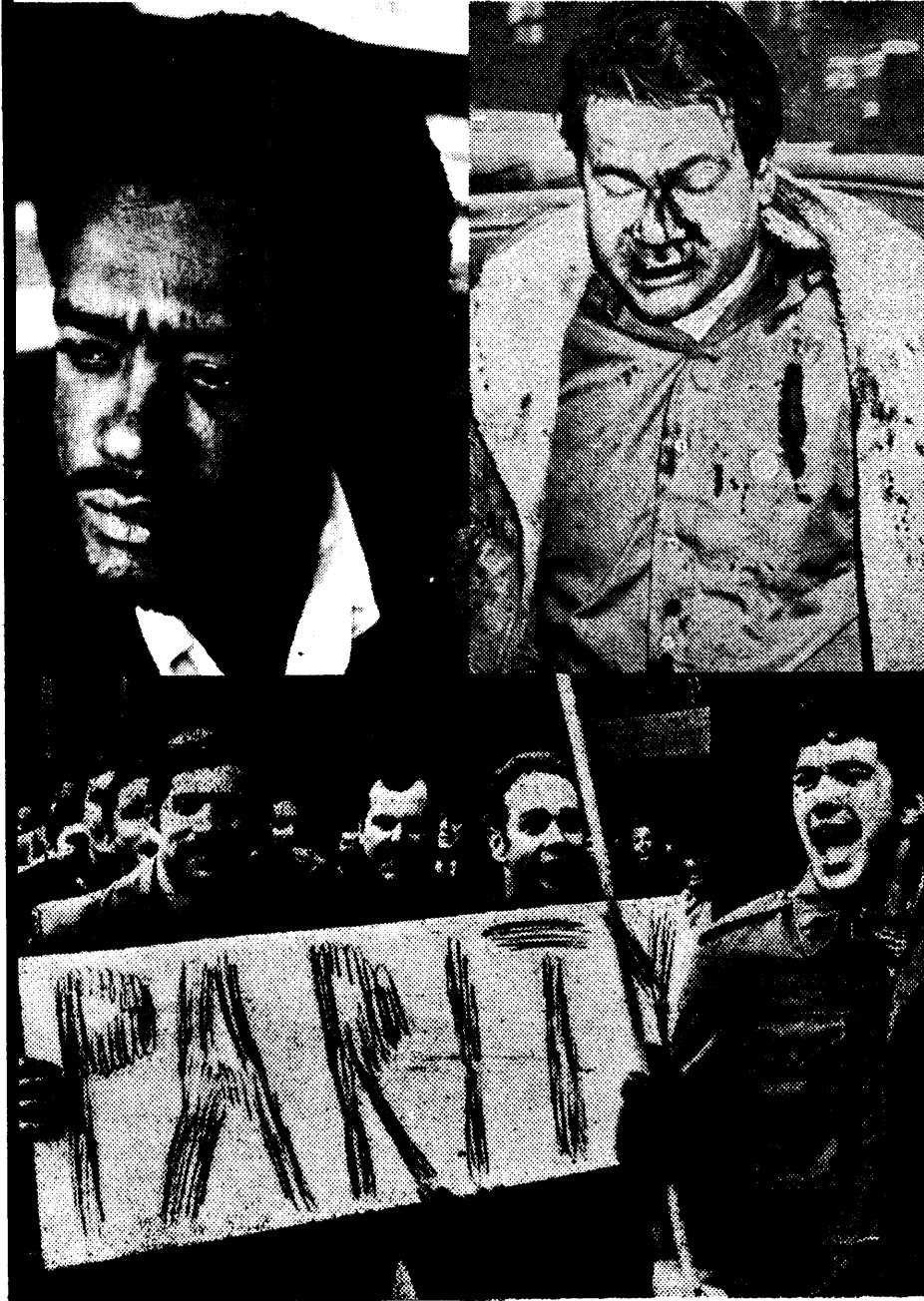
"Furthermore, the Panthers, unlike the Bulletin, support and have helped to defend the Cairo Front."

This is complete slander. Let us get one thing clear here and now. What the open letter discusses is not the defense of the Blacks in Cairo but the defense of the political program of the Cairo United Front. As we stated in that letter:

While the Blacks in Cairo deserve and will receive the support of the working class movement and the Black community throughout the nation, the struggle there is being conducted on a programmatic basis which is rooted in Martin Luther King, not even in Malcolm X.

Next follows a number of quotations and analyses whose purpose is to prove that the Bulletin is accusing the Cairo United Front of being responsible for creating racism in Cairo and in the United States. For instance, the open letter quotes the NAACP to the effect that there is complete racial polarization in Cairo and that one must "choose one of the two sides, one Black, one white." It then quotes the Bulletin as

# IN DEFENSE OF THE WORKING CLASS



## A Reply to Derrick Morrison And Allen Myers

stating: "By posing the struggle this way, the Cairo United Front . . ."

Morrison then states: "But the point is hardly that the Front is 'posing' a 'racial polarization.' The Blacks want 'freedom and dignity' by any means necessary. It is the racist whites who are 'posing' a 'racial polarization.'"

#### PROGRAM

What the open letter stated was that the Militant, the NAACP and the Cairo Front posed the struggle as a racial one. We did not accuse the Militant, or the NAACP, or the Cairo United Front of creating racism in the United States in general or Cairo specifically. No, Mr. Morrison, we are not confusing "the victim with the criminal and the criminal with the victim." What we were discussing is whether or not it is more effective for the victim to fight back against the criminal with the program of the criminal or with its own program.

Next we are accused of blaming fascism on Blacks as well! We are quoted as saying: "Our aim must be in preventing Cairens from developing. . . ." From this Morrison concludes: "So what the Bulletin

fears is that the independent organization of the Black community will precipitate fascism! You see, implies the Bulletin, it's not the racist mentality of white workers that can provide fertile ground in which fascism can grow but the nationalist consciousness of radicalized Black people!"

Needless to say nowhere in the open letter or anywhere else did we state that "the independent organization of the Black community will precipitate fascism." What we did say was that if the country as a whole becomes the way the NAACP, the Militant and the Cairo United Front see Cairo, that is, polarized along race lines, then we will have the military crushing of the Blacks and the establishment of fascism over all workers Black and white. Is this or is this not true, Mr. Morrison? You do not answer this question. Is it possible for the Black community, even armed to the teeth, to defend itself from extinction if there exists a complete racial polarization? Is not such a racial polarization precisely the way fascism can come to power in the United States? IS it not our aim therefore in the interests of all workers to prevent such a polarization—that is to prevent future Cairens?

We are thus forced back to programmatic questions. The defense of the Black masses cannot be by gun alone but requires a program aimed at smashing the racism perpetrated by the ruling class and uniting the working class around a common battle against its common enemy, the ruling class.

It is true, as Morrison states, that "the racist mentality of white workers . . . can provide fertile ground in which fascism can grow. . . ." But our analysis of how fascism can arise in America must go deeper than this. Is or is not fascism a form of capitalist rule? If we restrict our assessment of the cause of fascism to "mentality" then we would have to conclude that German fascism arose out of the anti-semitic mentality of the German middle class.

#### CLASS

As Marxists we know that capitalism under conditions of extreme decay and crisis resorts to fascism in order to perpetuate its rule under conditions in which only through the destruction of the organizations of the working class can capitalism survive. As Marxists we stand with Trotsky on this question and understand that fascism cannot be fought through an alliance with capitalism or its liberal political agents. It can only be prevented through the united action of the working class as a class, and the struggle for the socialist revolution itself.

The program of the Cairo United Front, based as it is on racial solidarity alone, is capitalist, is it not? It proposes that all Blacks unite on the basis of race, and not all workers on the basis of class. Morrison accepts this. He states:

"The Front is demanding more industry to get Cairo Blacks off welfare and out of backbreaking, debilitating migrant labor on cotton and tobacco plantations." He states this approvingly. He makes no criticism on this point.

The point is that there is no solution for Cairo Blacks on the basis of capitalist exploitation. To demand the introduction of more capitalist exploitation in Cairo rather than the introduction of socialism in Cairo and nationally is to accept capitalism as a given and unchanging "fact" of life. This places Morrison on the sides of the Chambers of Commerce of America who state that the solution for workers is to unite with business and create the conditions under which industry can be attracted to the particular area. These conditions, as we well know, are low wages and union busting!

Since Morrison states that "Blacks in Cairo have no illusions about 'achieving freedom and dignity' through building Black businesses," we can only conclude that this plank in the United Front program which Morrison endorses so wholeheartedly is aimed at attracting white business.

#### CAPITALIST

Morrison seeks to cover the grossly bourgeois character of his position by stating that the Black capitalist programmatic demands of the United Front are "geared to achieve Black political power." As the bitter experience of the Newark masses illustrates political power has no color but only a class character. The "total mobilization of the Black community" around a capitalist program demanding more capitalist industry in the town and in alliance with Black capitalists, be they small or large, means just that—the total mobilization of the Black masses in support of capitalism. This in turn means the total betrayal of the Black masses by lining them up with the very system which is responsible for both their economic exploitation and their racial oppression.

If we may quote from Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party:

"We do not fight racism with racism. We fight racism with solidarity. We do not fight exploitative capitalism with black capitalism. We fight capitalism with basic socialism. And we do not fight imperialism with more imperialism. We fight imperialism with proletarian internationalism."

But let us get this point even clearer. Black nationalism can and does contribute to the rise of fascism. It does so by tying potentially the most militant section of the working class to the ruling class. It is even possible that fascist tendencies can develop within Black nationalism just as this happened within Zionism. How else can we define Ron Karenga who shoots down Panthers in cold blood and LeRoi Jones' hoodlums? Yes, Mr. Morrison, write this down clearly for your next polemic: fascism can grow in the nationalist consciousness of radicalized Black people. Yes, Mr. Morrison, there exists "Black racism which is parallel to the racism the Ku Klux Klan or white citizens groups





Newark teachers, black and white, face ruling class attacks. Where is Mr. Morrison?

practice." And that, Mr. Morrison, is a quote from that well known white racist and liberal capitalist—Bobby Seale.

#### PANTHERS

This brings us to the question of the Black Panthers and the question of the Black Panthers brings us to where it all began with Derrick Morrison and the Bulletin back in November. Here is what Morrison says now about the Panthers:

"While the Panther Party developed out of and in response to the growing nationalist consciousness in the Black community, its ultraleftism has led it to make antinationalist statements and take antinationalist positions."

But the truth is that from its very origins the Panthers developed not only "out of" Black nationalism, not only "in response to" Black nationalism, but also in opposition to Black nationalism. The Panthers were actually formed through a struggle at Merritt College with cultural nationalist middle class trends. While it started out with nationalist elements it had already begun a struggle against these elements. It represented in its origins and particularly in its evolution a partial rebellion against nationalism and it was this which gave it its dynamic. A section of Black militants rebelled against the dashikis and the rest of the bourgeois claptrap under which middle class Blacks hid from the mass of the Black workers.

We readily admit to solidarizing ourselves with those aspects of the Panther program in struggle which bring it into collision with Black nationalism because we see in those aspects of its program, a contribution to a program which can bring forward the American working class as a whole against the real perpetrators of racism and class oppression—the capitalist class. It is just as clearly evident that Morrison is completely hostile to these very same aspects of the Panthers which he denounces as "ultraleft."

#### HOSTILITY

It seems, as we noted before, the class struggle program and method of Marxism is, in the eyes of Morrison and his SWP buddies, too "advanced" for the primitive Blacks. Nationalism is all these backward

"masses" can understand. Those who fight to bring Marxism to the Black working class must be denounced as "ultralefts."

In our opinion the paternalism and hostility to the Black masses comes from Morrison and his party. This hostility has led Morrison to the point that he joins with the ruling class in his slanders of the Panthers. It was for this reason that in the November 30 issue we wrote an



LeRoi Jones (right) uses black nationalism to help out Mayor Gibson, tool of bosses.

article entitled "It Is Time To Call A Halt!" This is what Morrison wrote:

"Yet the only action proposal of the Philadelphia plenary was that of 'picking up the gun.' The frustrated and desperate action of Jonathan P. Jackson at San Rafael was used as an example of action in the courts. This points up the fact that the Panthers do not conceive of 'picking up the gun' as part and parcel of a mass-action program. ...the way they raise it, 'picking up the gun' is not a program for mass action. It is a program for action by the few. It is a retreat from mass action."

But this is truly slanderous particularly at a time when Panthers across the nation face trials in bourgeois courts under fabricated charges of terroristic action. The Panthers have never resorted to terror nor

advocated it. Their whole history has been one of the most careful following of the letter of the law as far as self-defense and carrying guns is concerned combined with an attempt—within the limits of their admittedly limited program—to develop a mass base among working class and unemployed Blacks.

#### STAND

What is it that led Morrison to decide at this time with the campaign in the press against the Panthers to make this accusation against them. What class forces were at work upon Morrison? What class does he really stand with? Could it be that it is statements like the following by Bobby Seale that he really opposes:

"It's the ruling class, the very small minority, the few avaricious, demagogic hogs and rats who control and infest the government. The ruling class and their running dogs, their lackeys, their bootlickers, their Toms, and their black racists, their cultural nationalists—they're all the running dogs of the ruling class. These are the ones who help maintain and aid the power structure by perpetrating their racist attitudes and using racism as a means to divide the people. But it's really this small minority ruling class that is dominating, exploiting and oppressing working and laboring people. ... So let me emphasize again—we believe our fight is a class struggle and not a race struggle."

In conclusion Morrison states: "The



LeRoi Jones (right) uses black nationalism to help out Mayor Gibson, tool of bosses.

Bulletin tries to use the Panthers to cover up their own fear of nationalism but also its fear of revolution itself. As Brother Malcolm so aptly stated, 'If you're afraid of Black nationalism you're afraid of revolution. And if you love revolution, you love Black nationalism.'"

Well, Mr. Morrison, Brother Malcolm was dead wrong on this question and he and others paid a bitter, bitter price because of this conception. Among the lovers of Black nationalism, and therefore we must assume revolution are: Rockefeller who met with and financially aided Ron Karenga, Ford who financed the Ocean Hill-Brownsville project, the Newark Chamber of Commerce which has joined with LeRoi Jones (excuse me—Imamu Baraka) in supporting Mayor Gibson, Mayor Gibson who supports LeRoi Jones, and the Federal Government which funds LeRoi Jones. Malcolm himself was murdered precisely at the time when he began to question Black nationalism and after he broke with the Muslims. Karenga's boys killed Bunchy Carter and John Huggins when they resisted his attempt to get hold of federal funds.

#### REVOLUTION

Because we love revolution we hate Black nationalism. It is not a question of fear; it is a question of hate, class hate.

It is not we but Morrison who suggests that the Panthers advocate terrorism at a time when the bourgeoisie across the nation hounds the Panthers. It is not we but Morrison who talks of race war to cover up class peace, who advocates bringing in capitalist exploitation as the "solution" to the problems of the Blacks. It is not we but Morrison who denounces all who propose that Marx will become the mentor of the Black as well as white working masses, who denounces as "prattling" the recognition of the turn to questions of Marxist philosophy by Huey Newton. It is not we but Morrison who insists the Black masses must stay on a nationalist basis tied to capitalism through capitalism's bourgeois agents in the Black community.

All of Morrison's rhetoric about race war is really prattling. Morrison is not

interested in war of any kind. He fights the battle of Cairo from the safe distance of New York City and 706 Broadway. May we suggest he cross the Hudson River and join the Workers League in Newark in fighting to bring forward the strength of the working class and youth to beat back the ruling class' assault on the teachers' union.

But we warn you, Mr. Morrison—you might get hurt!

We now turn to an article which appeared simultaneously with the Morrison Militant article but in *Intercontinental Press*. We are referring to "Healyites in Solidarity with Militant Policemen" by Allen Myers.

This article, like the Morrison one, is designed as a cover, as a way of avoiding the impact of the criticisms we have made of the revisionism of the SWP-YSA and the development of the Workers League and International Committee at a time of sharpening class struggle.

It seems that the party which ran around the country denouncing "terrorism" at the same time as the Agnew and Trudeau offensive on that question, which attacks the Panthers along similar grounds and considers them "ultra-lefts," the party which sent condolences to Kennedy's widow, which builds peace movements along with the Lindsays and the Javitses—it seems that these people are the true enemies of the police while the Workers League "called them brothers."

The issue itself involves an article in the *Bulletin* entitled "New York Labor Begins Showdown" by Lucy St. John. It seems that Lucy St. John said the following terrible things:

"While Lindsay, Rockefeller and city officials were preparing to mobilize the National Guard yesterday, striking patrolmen reluctantly returned to work.

"The situation facing the city—which can only be described as on the verge of civil war—was sharply posed by a leader of the dissident cops the night before. Speaking to NBC-TV in relation to the troop threat, he said that the cops did not want 'another Kent State' but that they would fight to stay out until their demands were met."

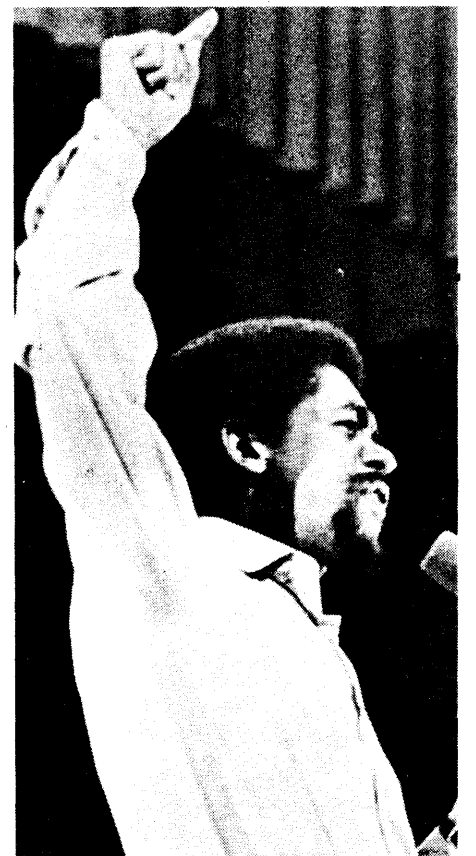
Next:

"Lindsay and the entire capitalist class must very well be asking themselves what they face if those they pay to break strikes are themselves striking, if those who advocate and defend 'law and order' now defy it."

And finally:

"Any concessions made to the cops on the question of wages will only raise the fight by the rest of the unions whose contracts expired on December 31."

This is the sum total of the quotations from the article upon which Myers bases



Is Bobby a white racist liberal capitalist?

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1931  
1932

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Leon Trotsky

his case that we called the cops "brothers." Needless to say this is a slander even beyond the scope of Morrison's.

#### ANALYSIS

The Bulletin analysis was based on an understanding that the police are the repressive—one of the repressive—arms of the capitalist state. But at the same time they are employees of that state. Based on this analysis we noted that the general offensive of city labor against the bourgeois state for a moment found its expression through the wildcat strike of New York policemen. This moment we felt was important on two related grounds:

(1) The fate of the rest of city labor became tied up in this action of the police for their action encouraged other sections to fight; any wage settlement they got would have to be granted at least to other uniformed services like sanitation and firemen which are legitimate parts of the working class; any action taken against them in the form of invoking the Taylor Law would be a blow against the rest of city labor—would be a set up for the rest of city labor and related to this any hesitancy on the part of the city to apply such laws to the police would encourage the rebellions of the rest of city labor.

(2) Since the police are the repressive arm of the bourgeois state when this repressive arm goes on strike it immediately does express the deepest crisis in capitalism and when the question of bringing another repressive arm of the state to smash the police comes up, then the question of civil war is in the air. We for one—we cannot speak for Mr. Myers—enjoyed thoroughly the strike of the police and wished only it had been 100% effective instead of 85% effective and was permanent rather than for a few days. In answer to Myers we would be even happier if the FBI went on strike. Then perhaps we could make an unbugged telephone call.

Why is it that Myers is so upset over striking policemen? Is he afraid he will get mugged?

#### RESPONSIBILITY

It is very clear that the first question is quite abstract to Myers and the SWP-YSA. They have not bothered themselves with the movement of the working class for a long time now. Therefore the sharp attacks municipal workers face and the responsibility which falls upon the shoulders of revolutionists to build an alternative leadership in these unions are not Myers' concern. If such question were central for Myers then he would look at the question differently. He would look at it as a working class militant to whom each defeat for the working class was a defeat for him, each danger a danger to him, each victory a victory for him and his class.

If approached in this manner Myers would see that since December 31st New York City workers were working without a contract under conditions in which the Lindsay Administration was determined to hold down their wages and hack away at their working conditions and job security. The union leaderships were doing every thing they could to prevent any strike action and to work out a sellout with Lindsay. Union ranks were getting extremely restive seeking a way to break out of the strait-jacket they were being forced into. It was within this framework that we saw the police wildcat.

The defense of the working class requires a constant struggle to master dialectics. This, that Morrison calls "prattling," is necessary because those who react to surface phenomena cannot give leadership to the working class. They can only aid the bourgeoisie in tying the working class to capitalism.

Are we to see only the side of police as the repressive arm of the state but at the same time not understand that the police are also employees of that state? No, they are not the same as other workers because it is their job to repress other workers. But under certain conditions those whom the bourgeoisie relies upon to suppress the working class themselves go out in strike against the bourgeoisie. Such an act does not change their fundamental nature as the repressive arm of the state. However it does definitely create problems for the bourgeoisie. If our stand is with the working class then we can only be happy to see the repressive arm of our enemy in struggle against our enemy. We say: "Good." We do more than say this. We look beneath the surface to seek the meaning of this not everyday event.

That all this bluster about the police is really a cover for attacks on the working class becomes clear when Myers brings in the 1968 New York teachers strike:

"This is not the first time that appear-



Racist cops attack Cairo Blacks. Their defence requires break with capitalists.

ances have led the American Healyites to cross class lines. In 1968 they supported the New York teachers' strike—it was a strike, wasn't it!—against the right of the Black community in New York to control its own schools."

The truth is that in 1968 the bourgeoisie used Black nationalism in an attempt to completely break the teachers union. Rhody McCoy, a former slumlord, was set up with the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district and Ford Foundation money was pumped in. McCoy was then used to fire teachers and deny them any job security at all. The "community control" issue was a complete fraud from beginning to end.

Of course Shanker and Company conducted the strike on a narrow union level which meant going over to racism and anti-communism. This did not change the essential character of the situation but only pointed up all the more the necessity to construct a new leadership in the unions.

The current Newark teachers strike makes crystal clear the real meaning of "community control" and Black nationalism as a method of busting unions in the interests of the ruling class—the real source of racism in America. Here we have a union led by Blacks who have raised important demands for the improvement of the schools in the interests of all workers in Newark. But the same Black nationalist union busting goes on under LeRoi Jones who is politically supported by the SWP-YSA.

The truth is that Myers and Morrison are the ones led to cross class lines by their adaptation to Black nationalism. There is no such thing as a "Black community" in a class sense. The "Black community" cannot control the schools as a "community." The real question is control of the schools and the state by the working class. Only as part of the political fight of class against class can the Black masses smash out of the racism and economic exploitation which bears down upon them. Those who say otherwise serve the interests of the ruling class.

#### LESSON

Let us return to this question of the police but this time through an historical precedent. We are referring to the famous Boston police strike in 1919. This action, far from being warmly greeted by the bourgeoisie, was characterized by President Wilson as a "crime against civilization." Calvin Coolidge, the governor of Massachusetts stated: "There is no right to strike against the public safety, by anybody, anywhere, anytime." On this basis he started on the road to the White House. Perhaps Myers agrees with Wilson and Coolidge on this question?

But there is another lesson from the Boston police strike—its context. Here is how Theodore Draper describes the period: "The opportunities for every variety of radicalism on the American scene of late 1919 was immense. The strike wave was one of the greatest in the history of American trade unionism. The Seattle general strike, the Lawrence textile strike, the Boston police strike, the national coal

strike, and the great steel strike all occurred in 1919. . . the political expression of the forces that let loose the strike wave was the movement for a labor party, which to some extent was also inspired from abroad."

It should also be pointed out that the strike wave of 1919 was shortly followed by a severe witchhunt and repression was successful for a short period because at the same time American capitalism was able to restabilize itself for a few more years before the outbreak of the depression.

The significance of all this is the importance of placing the recent New York police strike within the framework of the general movement of the working class and at the same time seeking to understand what underlies this movement of

the class. When the repressive arm of the ruling class itself goes on strike, this is not an isolated phenomena but a reflection of a very general, deep and profound movement of the working class. This, of course, the ruling class also realizes and thus its repression against radical elements who, the ruling class fears, may be able to give leadership to the working class precisely at a time when the class struggle shakes the ruling class' security right at its heart.

#### CRISIS

How does Myers view the context of this strike? He sees it as an expression of "a rising level of unrest among American workers, with those on state and city government payrolls in the forefront." But the next question is what is the cause of this "unrest"? It is clear that the labor unrest of 1919 was a reflection of a deep crisis American capitalism entered into precisely at the moment of its greatest triumph—its emergence from World War I with hegemony over the world. But at the same time the following years were to show that it was able to foist the major brunt of this crisis on poor Europe. This in turn proved to be the Achilles heel of American capitalism, for having dominated Europe, it was forced to bring into itself all the sicknesses of European capitalism which in turn brought down American capitalism with a crash in 1929.

Is this the meaning of the current strike wave? No, clearly not. American capitalism was able to gain a short lease on life once again after World War II, due primarily to the complicity of Stalinism in Europe. The strike wave which immediately followed that war did resemble in certain respects the 1919 wave and like that wave was followed by a certain degree of capitalist "peace" at home if not abroad. The current strike wave comes precisely at the point of the breaking down of the postwar stabilization—at the time when all the sicknesses of capitalism buried underneath an immense heap of paper dollars is now breaking through on to the surface. The current strike wave cannot be followed by stabilization. It is the result of the breakdown of stabilization.

#### IMPRESSIONS

How does Myers analyze it? "Many factors are involved in this increased militancy: spiraling inflation, growing un-



Above: Troops move into Boston during 1919 police strike which Wilson called "crime against civilization." Below: NYC cops on strike—we wish they never went back!







Leon Trotsky spoke in 1938 of conditions which today characterize decaying capitalism.

employment, the war in Vietnam and the influence of the deep going youth radicalization that has already affected the campuses of the United States so profoundly." It is this "youth radicalization" which Myers singles out for further treatment out of the "many factors." It seems that there is an influx of radical youth and liberated women into the "labor force" which it seems has stirred up the contented workers.

We are now reduced to such a shamefully low level of impressions that it is difficult to believe that Mr. Myers has had any acquaintance with Marxism. Perhaps he was too worried about being mugged during the police strike to read much Marx!

Beginning as materialists we must ask ourselves what it is that has brought forward a radicalization among youth, that has forced the United States into a war against the workers and peasants of Vietnam, that has produced conditions of spiralling inflation and growing unemployment? Could it be that capitalism has now entered into its most profound crisis? Could it be that after trying every possible means to artificially get around its contradictions for two decades, all it succeeded in doing was creating the conditions for a more fundamental collapse than ever before? Is it that Lenin and Trotsky, not Mandel and the present YSA resolution are right—that we are indeed in the period of imperialist decay and not of neo-capitalism?

Heaven (and we mean Heaven, for we

are now dealing with idealist thinking of the rankest sort) forbid, states Myers. It is just that youthful radicals have joined the labor force along with liberated women!

**CIVIL WAR**

No wonder Myers is so upset with the thought that New York City could be "on the verge of civil war." Yes, Mr. Myers, we have entered into a period when troops can face strikers, when a general strike could take place, when two arms of the repressive state itself could shoot it out. The significance of the police strike is broader than the police itself, for like the growing insurrectionary situation in the army, it signifies that we are now entering on an international scale a period which Prime Minister Heath has characterized as "one not of wars between nations but civil war." And furthermore, that the United States will not be exempt from such struggle but the deepest, most violent battles of all can break out here, and soon. No wonder Morrison and Myers are so frightened that they seek to block out reality with idealist schemes and reactionary proposals.

When in 1968, the Black Panthers exercised their constitutional rights and marched into the California legislature armed to the teeth with guns, they represented a precursor, an advance guard of the kind of confrontations to come. No wonder the bourgeoisie reacted with such venom and determination to crush them, first through fabricated evidence and legal lynching, and now supplemented with direct murder. No wonder the SWP and YSA

has discovered its deep differences with the Panthers!

This leads us to Joe Hansen's speech to the recent YSA Convention. The YSA convention marked not only a new stage in the rightward movement of the revisionists, but it marked a new stage in the relationship between revisionism and the International Committee. This is why, while at first seeking to deny our existence, the YSA and SWP have been forced to go over to open polemics. And it was at the YSA convention that Joe Hansen sought to correct Trotsky, patch him up a bit, modernize him, revise him—or no, not that, just a little retouching job by slippery Joe.

Joe Hansen chose as the topic for his address to the YSA convention the speech of Trotsky's in 1938 on the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Left Opposition in the United States. It seems that Trotsky made "two errors." One was to predict: "During the next ten years the program of the Fourth International will become the guide of millions and these revolutionary millions will know how to storm earth and heaven." The other related prediction was that Stalinism's hold on the working class and the workers states would be shattered. However, Hansen continues, "Trotsky's errors were not of a fundamental nature. They were errors involving timing. He could not possibly have foreseen in 1938 how the actual course of history, which registered big triumphs for both the program and theory of Trotskyism, would also entail the deferment of the collapse of the Social Democracy and of Stalinism and the deferment of the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution."

Ah, this seems so very simple, logical and correct. In fact, it seems so down right trite, one wonders why Hansen devotes a whole speech to it. It is definitely true that Trotskyism did not sweep the world in ten years. Thus Trotsky's prediction was off in timing, was "deferred."

What we would expect to follow such an analysis is the statement that NOW Trotsky's prediction is about to come true. We have NOW entered the period when Stalinism and Social Democracy can be destroyed and Trotskyism become a movement of millions. If this were the case then it would indeed be a fitting presentation for a convention of youth who claim to be Trotskyist.

**CONDITIONS**

But what follows is something quite different:

"The conditions that existed at the eve of the Second World War and that Trotsky had in mind in projecting the possibilities for the following decade, do not of course

exist today. Immense changes have taken place. To avoid being drawn into illusions by our own feelings and wishes, we must therefore seek an objective analysis of the reality of today to determine the perspective that now faces our world movement."

And so we have it. Out goes Trotskyism itself! It is not a matter of deferring Trotsky's predictions to today; it is a matter of proclaiming a "new reality", a "neo-capitalism" which defers these predictions to some future millenium.

Trotsky based his predictions on the same analysis of capitalism that he based the Transitional Program on. He held that we were in the final, last stage of capitalism—what he called the "epoch of imperialist decay." These would be the "conditions" which would undermine Stalinism and make possible a birth of Trotskyism and a massive movement leading to the overthrow of capitalism itself. These conditions were deferred precisely because of the betrayals of Stalinism which allowed a temporary restabilization of capitalism. This temporary restabilization is now breaking up, recreating, but with even greater force, the conditions Trotsky saw in the decade ahead of him.

So we have here more than a matter of timing but a throwing out of Trotskyism itself. Replacing Trotskyism and Marxism are a number of impressions about "youth radicalization," setbacks in colonial areas, restive masses and "moods of political opposition" in the Stalinist countries, etc. The method of impressionism and pragmatism replaces the scientific method of dialectical materialism. Opportunist maneuvers in middle class circles replace the political preparation of the working class for civil war. Conservatism, complacency, self-satisfaction reeks from every phrase, every "winged" word of Morrison, Myers and Hansen.

**DISCUSSION**

How did this state of affairs come about where Trotsky's speech of 1938 is "honored" by the denial of its essence, much as Stalin payed homage to Lenin. Clearly because for decades dialectics was treated as "prattling" and theoretical struggle within the party was "deferred."

It can no longer be papered over. We proposed last summer a discussion with the United Secretariat precisely because the new conditions internationally demanded a serious approach to all the questions raised by the international split in 1952 and in 1963. This discussion was formally refused at the urging of the SWP. But, as we stated at the time, it will proceed in any event. It is proceeding.

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# Gus Hall Defends Counter Revolution

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEW HAVEN, Jan. 29—Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, spoke here today before an audience of 200 students at the Yale Law School auditorium. His speech clearly expressed the Stalinists' approach to the latest developments in the international class struggle.

Hall said virtually nothing in his speech about the upsurge of the working class in Poland and the bureaucracy's use of police to break up demonstrations, killing and wounding hundreds of workers in the process. Instead, he had to be smoked out later in the ensuing discussion.

In answering a student's question of why the Polish workers were attacked and why the "Socialist governments" are suppressing all opposition to their policies, Hall tried to maneuver in order to "criticize" these actions while still basically agreeing with them. His statements amounted to an apology for the slaughter of hundreds and thousands of workers in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, not to mention the bloody purge trials of the 1930's and repression in the Soviet Union.

### DEFENDERS

The leadership of the CPUSA today, including Hall, won their positions as the enthusiastic defenders of the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 and the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. The Daily World has loyally repeated all the lies and slanders on these occasions, just as it does with regard to the Polish events.

Hall began with the concept that "It's not easy to build socialism and a lot of mistakes are made." With this, he excused virtually everything that has happened in Poland. The "revolts" of the working class in the Stalinist countries are caused,

according to Hall, by the fact that "the governments (in Hungary and Poland) tried to impose sacrifices on the people, but the people were not ready for them yet." The consequent slaughtering of workers and youth he simple passed over as "unfortunate." "The governments meant well," said Hall.

But just as Hall consciously ignored the revolutionary upsurge in Poland because of his fear of it, so the manner in which he discussed political repression in the U.S. expressed this very same fear of the masses. What else can it be called when throughout his whole speech, he stressed the need for the working class and youth to keep themselves politically tied to the liberal section of the capitalist class? Hall and the Communist Party can only betray the working class by calling for support to Democratic liberals like Joe Duffey, Bella Abzug, and strike-breaker Kenneth Gibson.

### LIBERALS

Hall refused to analyze repression and the role of workers and students in the context of the latest developments in the class struggle. Instead of beginning from the class nature of the repression, he only saw it as an attack on democratic rights from reactionaries like Nixon and Agnew. This is why the CP has refused to sponsor the Juan Farinas Defense Committee which is basing itself on the understanding of the class nature of the attack on Juan by the ruling class.



Gus Hall refused to discuss Trotskyism in a confrontation at Yale University..

When Gus Hall states that "If we are going to win the freedom of political prisoners, we must launch a massive united movement against repression," he speaks of an "Alliance against Repression, Racism and War." The nature of this "Alliance" became clear later in the discussion.

In response to a question raised about the "Peoples' Alliance" now being put for-

ward by the Communist Party, Hall defended the conception, and stated that workers must support liberals such as Duffey because "Duffey broke from the Democratic Party machine" and "is the son of a working man."

But the "Peoples' Alliance" is a direct descendant of Dimitrov's and Stalin's "Popular Fronts" which led the working class to defeat in Europe and America in the 1930s and paved the way for fascism and war.

What Hall could not discuss is the class nature of the Stalinists' "Peoples' Alliance." He could only say that "we must use the forms of the Democratic Party until a time comes when the mass of the workers are ready to break off and build a labor party." In other words, Hall is saying we must organize the workers to build their own class party by telling them to support the party of "progressives" such as Johnson and Gibson.

The "Peoples' Alliance" is based on the conception that bourgeois democracy must be defended by the workers against bourgeois reaction. But they are just two sides of the same rotten apple—and rotten to the core. That is why the CP and YWLL can openly leaflet the workers at the factory gates calling for a vote to the "progressive peace candidate" Duffey while Duffey, like Nixon, was calling for a wage freeze and "law and order."

### BETRAY

The Stalinists are once again trying to head off and betray the revolutionary movement of the working class. But they are meeting with resistance.

The difficulty they are facing was expressed by Hall when he hastily ended the discussion and walked out of the meeting in a huff, when he was questioned about the history of Stalinism by the Workers League. Unable to answer, Hall walked out calling the Workers League questioners "counter-revolutionary Trotskyist bums."

But it is Hall himself and the CP who are spewing out the forked phrases of counter-revolution.

## PL Sabotages CCNY Cafeteria Boycott

BY A CCNY STUDENT

NEW YORK, N.Y., Feb. 7—The fight against the layoff of over twenty-two cafeteria workers at City College of New York continues. The workers were laid off during semester break.

These layoffs are part of an "economy" move by the college, in line with the layoffs which are taking place at New York City Community College, at Stony Brook (SUNY) and other campuses, and against city and state employees.

On Friday, the Workers League began a boycott of the cafeteria during lunch hours calling upon students not to eat in the cafeteria in support of the fired workers, and linking the fight against these firings to the fight in the labor movement against the government's attacks.

At the same time a petition was drawn up with workers demanding a mass membership meeting of Local 302 to take strike action against the firings. This petition is being circulated among the workers to build support for a strike and to demand that the union leadership

take action.

Up until now SDS has been completely inactive on the question of these layoffs, despite the fact that three SDSers and another student were beaten up by Wackenhut guards after an initial protest rally last week.

On Wednesday SDS called a meeting to discuss the beatings, the firings and anti-ROTC actions. The only thing they had to propose was another "confront the bosses" action, to bring students to a dean's office and confront the one who was responsible for the firings.

The Workers League proposed a student boycott and the fight for a strike in Local 302 against the firings, linked with the question of the new invasion of Laos and the fight for independent class action against the war by the unions.

When their middle class protest and

confrontation policy was counterposed with a class perspective for action, all of PL-SDS's rottenness came to the surface.

The Workers League's proposal was reactionary and "ridiculous" said Larry Goldbetter of Progressive Labor, because to pose a fight in the unions would be "a step backward" for the workers. "Unions suck," said Goldbetter, "and the workers know it."

More than anything else this exposes the completely anti-working class character of Progressive Labor Party and SDS. They stand with Nixon and the ruling class against the trade union movement and the basic defense of the working class.

The only thing they can counterpose to this fight is a completely middle class protest adventure, into which they hope to draw a few workers, who will then in turn be victimized by the employers.

But they have absolutely no perspective for a serious fight to win back the jobs of workers fired at CCNY or anywhere else. Their cries of "racist unemployment" are for a protest, not for a fight back in the trade union movement.

The essence of their perspective is that of the popular front—trying to draw the working class behind the bourgeoisie through middle class protest politics, rather than fighting for the political independence of the working class.

Stalinism's complete hostility to the working class is what lies behind their attacks on the unions and their middle class adventures.

## Rockefeller Tuition Plan Hits State University Students

BY A STONY BROOK STUDENT  
STONY BROOK, N.Y.—

Rockefeller's Board of Trustees has now raised state university tuition hikes from \$400 to \$550 for next fall. This will be doubled again in the fall of 1973.

### INCOME

These tuition hikes will be based on an income scale. Students whose families have a net income of \$2,000-\$6,000 will pay \$100, \$6,000-\$8,000 will pay \$200 and on up.

At the same time that this tuition plan was set up, the Board of Trustees asked the Legislature to increase the funding for state scholarships at a rate of 4.8 million dollars for needy students. It is within these two plans that Rockefeller's fraud is exposed.

### ELIMINATION

The very fact that tuition is based on income implies the immediate elimination of state funded scholarship programs like

AIM and HEP in the state university system.

However you look at it, the brunt is being placed on the working class. These changes mean that thousands of youth will be unable to get a higher education.

The reason that Rockefeller gave for the tuition hikes was for increased expenditures on construction to enable the future expansion of enrollment into the state university system. It has already been announced at the State University at Stony Brook that there will be an enrollment cutback, accepting only 1,000 freshmen while applicants have increased 15%.

At the same time, maintenance and cafeteria workers are being laid off at all universities. There is a cutback in faculty.

### ATTACKS

It is clear that none of these changes are to improve the conditions and facilities in the state university system. They are clear attacks on education. The employers and the government are trying to make the workers and youth pay for the crisis in their system, a system that cannot provide decent education.

We must now take up the fight for: Full restoration of scholarship programs; No increase in State University tuition; No layoffs; Free universal higher education.

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# San Diego Brown Berets Face Frame-up Trial

BY ROBERT RIVERA

SAN DIEGO—Proceeding from hearsay and the flimsiest of non-evidence, key elements in the fabrication of this frame-up trial, three members of the Brown Berets; Carlos Calderon, Richard Gonzalez, and David Rico, known as the "Califas Three," have been indicted for possession, manufacture, and disposal of a fire bomb, committing acts of criminal syndicalism, and soliciting the commission of murder.

The supposed bases for these charges are several unlit molotov cocktails found near the Board of Education Building on the sidewalk one morning, loose talk overheard by an agent of the local police red squad, and the publication of a picture of a fire-bomb in conjunction with the words, "Off the pig" in a newspaper, *El Barrio*, edited by the chief defendant, Carlos.

From the awesome set of details there is conjured a full-blown conspiracy to commit crimes of political assassination. The reality of this indictment as a political witchhunt became clear when one exhibit entered before the grand jury in evidence turned out to be a photograph of Carlos in

Cuba as a member of the Venceremos Brigade.

## LAW

The very law that is being thrown against these militants, that against criminal syndicalism, had its origins in the attempt of the capitalists to provide a legal cover for their moves to smash the strike actions and union organizing drives of the American working class around the turn of the century.

Over and over again, it is the identification of the Brown Berets with socialism, and thereby of the antagonism between the workers and the capitalists, that is seen as the real crime. As with Juan Farinas, Angela Davis, the Panthers, the Young Lords, Los Siete, the Soledad Brothers, the ruling class will stop at nothing to destroy the forward elements of a working class on the move.

As such, only action which is guided by the understanding that the defense of the Califas Three, and of all political prisoners must be based on the power of the working class can succeed.



# Marin Typographers Union Faces Vicious Attack by Courts, NLRB

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MARIN—Numerous harassments have been heaped upon the Typographers Union Local 21 stemming from their strike against the *Independent Journal* last February 14, 1970.

The leadership has responded and militant language has been mouthed but they have placed the very existence of their union in the laps of the middle class and the clergy of Marin.

Accordingly, the result was the sentencing last week of three union officials, including the president, to fifteen days in jail each and a total of \$37,500 in fines.

Six out of seven T.U. members have been convicted on a total thirty-six counts on the basis of non-existent evidence supposedly occurring around strike activity. The National Labor Relations Board has raised an unprecedented demand that the T.U. and Teamster Locals 70 and 85 (who supported the strike) produce their hitherto private records.

To deal with this the leadership called a Printer's Mass in San Rafael to "pray for the successful conclusion" of the strike! They yet rely upon the clergy to enlighten the public and the courts to the morality of the situation.

## CHASTISE

While the clergy of Marin has reported to the public that the situation is "unjust," they cannot defend the T.U. In fact they publicly chastise the union for the violence that erupted when the Teamsters defended the strike by refusing deliveries.

Meanwhile, the San Francisco Labor Council has passed a resolution saying that scabbing unions will no longer be automatically kicked out of the labor council on principle.

The leadership has refused to take a stand to stop the harassment of the NLRB investigation. It has merely requested the San Francisco Labor Council to do something about it. The Labor Council has turned this task over to the California

State Legislature.

The leadership has asked the NLRB for a representative election. The *Independent Journal* now maintains that it is waiting for the result of this election. Whether or not striking members will be able to vote is still not clear. When it gets the results it will decide whether or not it will take up the T.U.'s new bargaining proposals and negotiate.

## STOP

The T.U. must call upon the Teamsters, Longshoremen and other unions to stop this action and the dangerous new trend here that the *Independent Journal* is setting. The T.U. must call upon the entire Bay Area labor movement to defend the right to strike. Otherwise a precedent is set in the Bay Area for every union to be crushed.

# State Workers Fight Reagan's Budget Cuts

BY A CSEA MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—An explosive meeting of more than 100 CSEA Chapter 3 rank and file members was held here last week. At the meeting a motion by the Committee for New Leadership of CSEA for a massive rally of state workers to confront Governor Reagan's budget was narrowly defeated.

This meeting was the largest in recent Chapter 3 history. It was also the shortest in years, as the Chapter 3 bureaucracy was terrified from the first, and repeatedly sought to adjourn the meeting.

The large turnout was in response to a leaflet by the CNL calling for the rally and a mass meeting of all CSEA chapters and state employee unions to prepare for a strike. The leadership, after unsuccessfully attempting to table the motion with just ten minutes discussion, was forced to come out openly against striking. They used such arguments as: it was illegal, it would not hurt the public, state workers were too backward to go out. In short they used every ploy and undemocratic method available to panic those ranks present into voting to table the motion. There were two ballots taken, the first 52-23 for tabling, the second 49-29. The fact that the CNL picked up votes as the meeting proceeded indicates the mere thread by which the chapter's bureaucracy hangs.

## THREAT

Reagan's job cuts, hiring freeze, and impending attempt to hold wages far below a 5% raise pose tremendous threats to more than 100,000 state workers in all categories. In response to this crisis, the statewide CSEA leadership, as well as that of Chapter 3, turns its attention more and more to containing the rising pressure from the ranks.

With the election for General Counsel of an openly pre-compulsory arbitration CSEA president, Reagan is more able to deal devastating mass layoffs to the state work force. The statewide and chapter bureaucracies stand foursquare between the state and its workers as they prepare to meet Reagan's attacks.

The CNL will take forward this struggle against Reagan and the CSEA bureaucrats by circulating a petition of CSEA members in all chapters, to force the leaders to call this rally.



Workers League contingent raises demand for labor party as well as freedom for political prisoners during recent Chicano Moratorium. After the meeting cops killed a young Chicano during brutal attack on youthful demonstrators.

# Stalinists Betray Defense of Magee, Panthers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BERKELEY—A conference called by the United Committee to Defend Angela Davis brought out over 500 persons to discuss prison conditions and the defense of political prisoners.

A very large attendance by Black youth posed the possibility of taking this defense deep into the working class as well as the potential for taking a whole section of youth into a struggle against Stalinism.

It was clear from beginning to end of this rally that while Nixon prepares for a vicious war on the unions by seeking to isolate militants and destroy the Black Panther Party, the Communist Party is desperately trying to repeat the defeats of the 1930s with a new generation of youth and trade unionists unfamiliar with the historic betrayals of Stalinism.

All the militant rhetoric and all the fine talk about unity cannot conceal the fact that objectively this conference struck a blow against the defense of Black militants. Its central purpose was to separate out the defense of Angela Davis from other political prisoners because of her innocence judged by the criteria of bourgeois justice.

This was the main basis for the remarks by Attorney Terrance Hallinan who de-

fended the famous Presidio 27 mutiny case in 1968 on the grounds that these were confused young men who were driven mad by stockade conditions and who were getting a raw deal from the military.

## MAGEE

Obviously reeling under attacks that they refuse to defend Ruchell Magee the Stalinists used this occasion to try to cover up behind the remarks of Los Siete Attorney Mike Kennedy. Kennedy defended Magee from newspaper attacks that he has a low IQ by saying, "Magee has been turning out some of the most powerful, brilliant, political legal documents I've ever seen."

Certainly this is no substitute for a campaign to defend Ruchell Magee side by side with Angela Davis as a victim of precisely the same political attack. At one point in the meeting the mother of Jonathan Jackson took the floor to defend her son. She was even given the microphone by the conference chairman. It is indeed ironic to note that had Jonathan Jackson lived to stand trial he would today be treated by the Communist Party identically with Ruchell Magee, as a political leper.

It is very significant that a two day conference called to defend political prisoners and featuring many speakers was unable to come forward with a single speaker representing the defense of the Black Panther Party. It is all too clear that the CP was

only too happy to avoid any painful incidents. Not a single explanation was offered as to the absence of the Black Panthers.

Under these circumstances the conference only served to obscure and isolate the defense of the Panthers. By boycotting this conference the Panthers demonstrate their own inability to take up a serious fight against the Communist Party and objectively weaken their own struggle.

At the Berkeley conference, the Stalinists attempted to paint a "left" face for the revolutionary youth. Priests, ministers, and the Democratic Party politicians with whom the Stalinists are in alliance were consciously not invited to speak. Instead the link to these forces was maintained with the politics of Stalinism.

Precisely at a time when the very lives of these political prisoners depends on taking up their defense within the labor movement to prepare mass working class action and at a time when the youth are seeking out such a lead, this conference is held. The youth are told that the labor movement is just another pressure group subordinate to the community in an entirely civil liberties struggle. Victory will come only through unity of the Black community will "all progressive forces"—that is with the priests and capitalist politicians. The way forward for the youth now involves taking up the conscious fight against these policies.



# Unemployment Runs Rampant in San Jose

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—Thousands of new layoffs have hit the workers here and have sent the local unemployment rate up to its highest level in the last decade.

At the same time the prospects for relief point blatantly in the opposite direction of Nixon's apocryphal pledge of "full employment" as the jobless rate already at 7.5% promises to continue its climb.

These realities of the present economic crisis are fully recognized by the state government, which is forced to admit that it can suggest to the working class no favorable solution for the prevailing situation. Rather, through the Department of Human Resource Develop-

ment, the workers here are told that "Further layoffs and rising joblessness may be expected during the coming months."

This is the prospect offered to the workers who in the local low-income areas are characterized by the U.S. Labor Department as living in the toughest place in the continental United States to keep up with the spiralling cost of living. It is prospects like these combined with an increasingly intolerable and repressive economic crisis that sponsor

such outbursts of class hatred as was seen last week in East Los Angeles where police shotguns momentarily quelled the movement of militant Chicano youth. These same prospects face the predominantly brown and black East San Jose area.

## JOBLESS

This same discontent is strongly manifested at the focal center of the local unemployed, the Unemployment Claims Office. Here one finds hundreds of jobless workers waiting out long lines in the fashion which is now commonplace across the country. The lines have lengthened significantly since the end of November to include almost 4,000 recently laid off workers who come predominantly from the major manufacturing, construction, and aerospace industries.

When asked their opinion of the present situation, these workers respond with anything but apathy or indifference. An unemployed railway worker said that "The big companies are cutting back and Nixon's the axeman for them."

A Black technician responded with, "Why talk to me about unemployment? Talk to anyone in this place and each one will tell you the same thing: no money, no jobs, plenty of bills, and kids to feed." An elderly worker said, "At one time I'd have been ashamed to be standing in this line. But not any more. I don't feel bad about things I've got no control over and it sure wasn't my fault I lost my job."

## RESENTMENT

The deepening distrust, dissatisfaction, and class consciousness expressed in such comments as these are direct manifestations of the simultaneous deepening of the



Youth and workers demonstrate against unemployment last fall during Nixon's visit.

international economic crisis. They express the resentment of the working class here against Nixon's programs of inflation, unemployment, and the crushing of the trade unions, and against the supporters in big business like Vice President of U.S. Steel R.H. Larry.

Larry urges the government to "use its own strong voice to point out very forthrightly the dilemma we face—and to pull no punches whatsoever." These "punches" are aimed directly at the entire working class with its own formidable political and economic power.

Only labor unified into a political party can at this point pose this power and direct the growing class hatred into a program of victory for the working class.

## Bookbinders Local 3 Leaders Abandon Contract Demands

BY A LOCAL 3 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Bookbinders Local 3 has been without a contract for 11 months. Two contract proposals have been unanimously rejected by the membership. These proposals were blatant attempts by the employers to smash the union.

After ten months, negotiations came to a halt, the employers refusing to budge. A special meeting was called by the union leadership on the morning of January 15th. The union bureaucrats discouraged any idea of strike by spreading rumors of injunctions and fines for breaking the no strike clause in the contract.

These leaders then proceeded to concede on every major issue in this contract. The demand for parity with the pressmen was central. The pressmen received \$205 from March 1970 to August 1971; the bindery journeymen start with \$195.11 in March 1970 and go to \$205.11 by August 30, 1971. In August 1971 the pressmen will go for about a \$15 raise while bindery men will stay at \$205 for six more months.

Another central demand was for protection of the journeymen's jobs from incursion by specialty workers. The bosses hoped to have the lower paid bindery workers do all the jobs of the journeymen thereby ending the apprenticeship program and journeywoman standing. In the new proposal, the wording describing the duties of specialty workers is changed, opening the door to this attack.

Journeywomen fought for parity with lithography women who got \$137 from March 1970 to August 1971. Bindery women were sold out for \$132.65 from March 1970 to March 1971 when they will get \$136.15 and in August, they will get \$139.65 just when the lithographers will be getting a new contract and a raise.

## OVERTIME

A demand for 70% of journeymen's wage for the miscellaneous worker was lowered to 69%. A demand (by workers

forced to work hundreds of hours overtime) for overtime pay on the retroactive for overtime worked was ignored by the union leadership and the bosses. Straight time pay was offered, and was accepted by the leadership.

At one meeting the union bureaucrats refused to accept the validity of a vote by the rank and file to refuse to work overtime. At first Local 3 members were told that retroactive pay would be coming within 90 days. At the January special meeting it was increased to six months.

The only thing that was fought for by the leadership was the maintaining of their own positions at the expense of the members. At a meeting on January 19, even before all the members had arrived, the leadership said everything was settled, that they would mail out the new proposal and advised everyone to go to work.

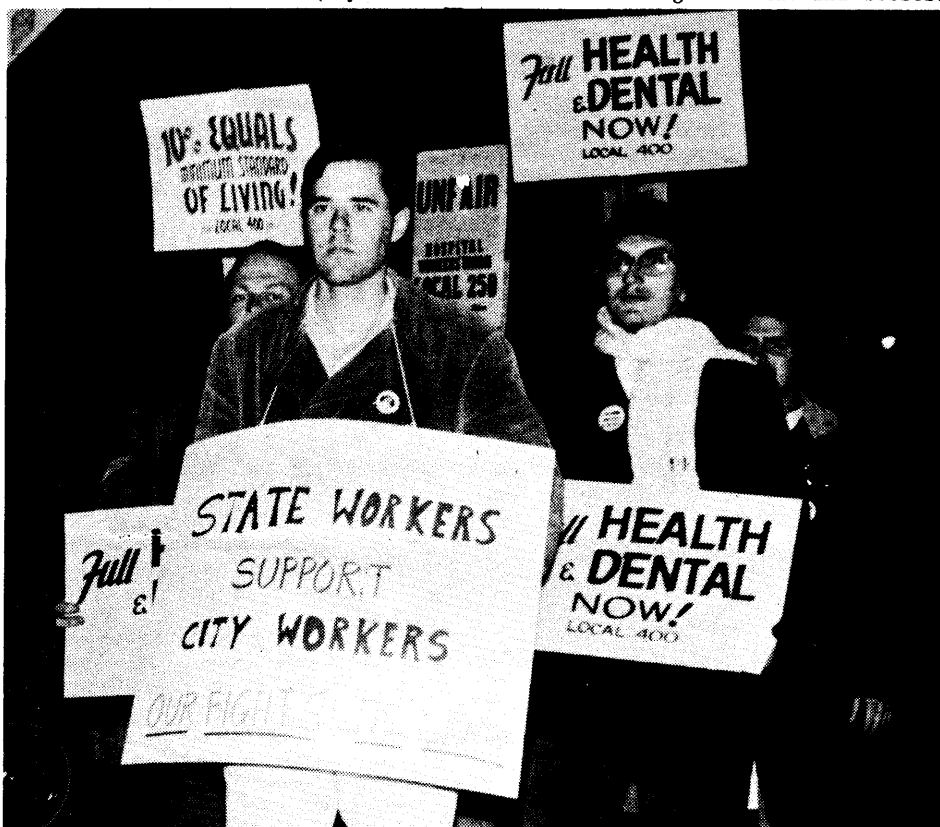
The members battled with the leadership for half an hour to open up discussion of the new proposal. A representative from the International Bookbinders told the membership to stop their "ballyhooing" and that they would just be confused if they talked about it.

The entire leadership was in conscious conspiracy to hide the proposal and avoid the continuation of the special meeting with more than 1,000 bookbinders present. When discussion opened, every effort was made to sell the proposal to the members.

## CAUCUS

On January 30, the membership met to vote. A three hour circus was put on by the bureaucrats aimed at deceiving everyone of the real nature of the new proposal. Several members spoke on the sellout proposal. One member exposed the role of the leadership, and received loud applause and shouts of solidarity.

The base for a caucus was formed which can expose the leadership and fight for a program to protect the union from the attacks of government and bosses.



City workers march at night in demonstration aimed to force San Francisco government to negotiate. The marchers took up labor party chants under the leadership of Workers League supporters in the demonstration.

## Workingclass Students Hit By Shutting Down Of Merrit College

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER  
OAKLAND—Plumbers, electricians and movers were in the

process last week of dismantling and shutting down Merrit College.

The shutdown has come even though many of Merrit's 3,000 students, mostly Black and Chicano, face the prospect of being unable to continue school because of increased transportation expenses, length of time in commuting to another school and the lack of space and facilities at the new Alameda College.

The Peralta Junior College District which governs Merrit and two other campuses has condemned Merrit which was built in the 1920s and has built another campus in the Oakland-Berkeley hills.

For many students however the time required to commute to the new campus would make it impossible to keep part-time jobs. In addition there are over 6,000 students in the local area who are now enrolled in college with the limit of the new college being 5,000.

A 43 million dollar bond that was passed by the voters was to have been used by the trustees for the building of a new college and the re-building of Merrit. However, the

board now says they have run out of money for Merrit.

## STRIKE

Students at Merrit struck last Monday and occupied Merrit administration offices. The Black Student Union which led the strike is demanding that the old campus be maintained until a community controlled college can be established on the site.

The trustees who met the following night agreed to set up a committee which would include student, faculty, elected representatives of Berkeley, Albany, Alameda and the four Oakland poverty "target areas."

These representatives would be "involved in the transfer of equipment to the new campus and in decisions affecting the future operations of the present Grove Street campus."

With massive cutbacks in education funds and the bankruptcy of many school districts, "community control" will only be used by the state to step up their attacks on the schools.

The trade unions must call for an end to these attacks, mobilizing workers and students in mass rallies.

The rights of the working class to have its sons and daughters educated must not be taken away.

## ILWU Longshoreman Speaks Out

BY BULLETIN REPORTERS

The following is an interview with a longshoreman at the San Francisco Longshore Hiring Hall. The longshoremen face a sharp fight this June when their present contract runs out. The major question is containerization, which if allowed to continue, will throw thousands of men out of their jobs.

Q. What is the most important issue on the contract?

A. Containers, that is to get control of the containers.

Q. Do you think that the present leadership in the union will fight for that demand?

A. They will sell us out. They're all crooks. You can not have a union president working for the city and the union too. The president, Harry Bridges, works on the port commission and he's head of the union too. There's a conflict of interests there. I don't know whose man Bridges is, ours or the establishment's.

Q. Do you think that the rank and file can win the strike in spite of the leadership?

A. I don't know. But if we lose it will mean the end of the union.

Q. Do you think the rank and file will get together and fight to win the upcoming strike?

A. This 'B' man business has the union split right down the middle. You see we 'B' men are not full fledged members of the union, we're only casual workers. So when the strike goes down, the P.M.A. (Pacific Maritime Association) is going to tell us to go to work, to do the 'A' men's work. If we go to work, we're out of the union. So we cannot work, and the PMA will fire us. We'll be used as political footballs. There should be no such thing as a 'B' man.

Q. Isn't one of the demands a thirty hour guarantee?

A. Yes, but they can't give the 'B' men a thirty hour guarantee. They cannot have both. They're putting us in a spot right now. They're freezing the work. They're making it hard for the 'A' men, so that the 'A' men will settle for anything. You can go to the business agent's office and they just give you the run around. All we want is work. We're hungry and worried. Our last chance is the union. The union is the last hope we have.

## Montreal Teachers on Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL, P.Q., Feb. 4—Catholic teachers are continuing their strike in protest of the Quebec government's decision to reclassify teachers. All 103 schools under the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal were also closed today as Protestant teachers walked out in support of the striking Catholic teachers.

The teachers are fighting the reclassification scheme thought up by the government's Department of Education, which will force them to undergo wage cuts as well as retroactive reductions in salaries. Yesterday 6,000 members of the Alliance des Professeurs de Montreal met at the Paul Sauve Arena to discuss strategy for the strike.

As seventy-five teachers continued their occupation of the Montreal Catholic School Commission's board room, the striking Catholic teachers were joined by Protestant teachers in a meeting where they decided to hold rotating strikes to support the Catholic teachers' demands.

### REFUSAL

A number of students yesterday occupied the Quebec government's offices in Montreal in support of the teachers and to protest against the government's refusal to negotiate until the teachers return to work. This attitude on the part of the government has led to an even greater militancy on the part of the teachers and has led to the teachers' union calling for all teachers throughout the province to support the struggle.

The three year contract that the teachers are now working under expires this year and the government is preparing the way to force a wage freeze upon the teachers. The reclassification attempts of the government is only the beginning of what is in store for the teachers as for all workers as



Teacher wears noose to show conditions.

the government is forced to combat rising inflation. The working class must fight the government's attempts to fight inflation at their expense.

## Cop Kills Youth in Mpls. Drug Raid

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS—Nineteen year old Mark Salzer was shot in the chest in his own apartment the evening of February 1st by James Decowski, an undercover narcotics agent, who then left Mark to lie on the floor fifteen minutes and bleed to death.

Four other youth in the apartment were arrested in the raid.

In a spontaneous outpouring of anger over this, 250 youth swarmed into City Hall demanding to talk to Mayor Stenvig. They demanded the release of the four arrested persons, an open, public investigation of the Minneapolis police narcotics and tactical squads and an end to the use of undercover agents.

Stenvig did not bother to show, but Deputy Police Chief Wilson shouted angrily back to the youth: "There's no question in my mind that undercover people will be used in the future."

The youth insisted that Salzer and his friends thought they were simply being robbed by Decowski. They claimed that Salzer's girl friend was beaten up during the incident.

After the protest the youth announced the formation of a "Mark Salzer Inquiry and Defense Committee" to answer the question: "Who's going to defend us against the police?"

At a meeting on Friday night, attended by over 100 youth, this question was answered by a real retreat into Community Control, the whole "counter-culture" perspective which begins from the notion that the West Bank (an area adjacent to the University of Minnesota) could be some separate island of youth culture immune from the class struggle.

Demands such as a community controlled police review board were posed as the way to stop such attacks on the youth.

Representatives of the Workers League posed sharply at the meeting that this attack wasn't simply a drug raid on the West Bank, but part of a broader attack on the youth, a warning to get out of the struggle. The way to fight back is to get into the struggle, to take sides with the working class, to break with the whole perspective of youth culture.

The bourgeoisie and their police are only too happy to see youth get stoned instead of



Deputy Police Chief Wilson faces youth protesting murder of Mark Salzer by cops.

struggling against capitalism. In the past period they have indulged youth with drugs to divert them from the struggle. Now they come crashing down on these youth to throw them into panic and confusion, to tell them to get out of the struggle altogether.

All sorts of pious hypocrites are bemoaning the killing of Salzer as "too much force" or "unnecessary" while pointing out that by using drugs Salzer was in part guilty.

Our opposition to drugs does not lead us to joining this crowd. It is important to

point out that Eldridge Cleaver recently denounced the drug movement and its high priest Timothy Leary, saying that the Panthers "were finished with relating to this madness."

"Leary seems content to continue advising people to turn on, tune in and drop out, and he really means it when he says that freedom means getting high," Cleaver said.

The development of revolutionary consciousness comes only through the fight for Marxism.

## Striking Detroit Teamsters Attacked by Goons

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT, Feb. 3—For over 11 long and bitterly cold weeks, the 400 members of Teamsters Linen Supply Local 285 here have been engaged in a struggle to defend their right to have a union. The bosses are attempting to reduce the workers to a state of complete submission—without any rights or security.

On December 2, workers at eleven plants were locked out. This is seen by the rank and file as part of a nationwide plot (Kansas City, St. Louis, Philadelphia and now Detroit) instigated and financed by Sanatos and Work-Wear Corporation to smash the union.

## Winter Soldier Investigation Reveals U.S. Atrocities In Vietnam

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—At the Winter Soldier Investigation here, which started January 30 and ended on February 2, veterans of the Vietnamese war from around the United States testified on the atrocities committed in Vietnam in the interests of American imperialism.

It has come to light that there was a real conspiracy to keep veterans from testifying and to restrict the execution of the plans for the investigation.

It is obvious why the Canadian government refused visas at the last minute for the North and South Vietnamese witnesses who had planned to testify via closed circuit television from Windsor. There was also intimidation on the part of Armed Forces and government officials to prevent veterans from appearing at the investigation. For example, one veteran said that he knew of a man in a Veterans' Administration hospital who was afraid to come for fear of losing his medical benefits.

Many of the veterans interviewed said that they could see many distortions and omissions in the bourgeois press con-

cerning America's role in Vietnam. One veteran spoke at Wayne State University a few days before the investigation. The Detroit News ran an article on him stating that he had never served in Vietnam and that the whole investigation was a fraud. On the first day of the investigation, the chairman presented official documents from the Pentagon proving that he had been honorably discharged after serving in Vietnam.

While this investigation is an impressive array of anti-war evidence, some of the veterans present were dubious about the real value of the investigation and whether it might actually help "force" Nixon to end the war.

The real question for the struggle against the war today is the mobilization of the working class. One veteran expressed the essence of this question most succinctly when he said, "The only way to end imperialist wars is not appeals to morality but the destruction of capitalist society through the formation of a workers' party based upon socialism."

## Curran Scabs on LASH Strike

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—The Masters Mates and Pilots Union has gone on strike against all Prudential-Grace ships and is picketing them as they come into port.

This strike began two weeks ago when the union idled the LASH Italia in a dispute over union demands for two full crews for each LASH ship, and for the addition of a purser to the crew. After several weeks

of bargaining, ILA leader Teddy Gleason got the two sides together to work out a compromise aimed at getting the LASH ship moving.

### COMPROMISE

This "compromise" proved to be fully in the company's favor when it refused to clarify the language of the agreement, continue to sail with BMO scabs aboard, and docked the Italia in a Hampton Roads shipyard to avoid MM&P pickets. Captain O'Callaghan, leader of the MM&P, then called a strike against all Prudential-Grace vessels, and denounced Curran as a scab.

Joe Curran's policy from the beginning of the strike has been to do everything he can to smash it. Curran wired Gleason that "any indication of support on your part or disruptive action by the Masters Mates and Pilots leadership can only prolong and aggravate the present dangerous situation." The "dangerous situation" is no more than the growing threat of a rank and file revolt in the NMU and other maritime unions, which would spell the end of Curran, Gleason, and Paul Hall alike.

### CURRAN

Curran comes down one hundred percent on the side of Maritime Administration chief Gibson who is now warning that "restrictive" labor practices threaten the three-billion dollar Nixon Maritime Plan. The Nixon Administration is now struggling to take the question of manning scales completely out of the hands of the unions by setting manning and subsidy levels at the time of ship construction and allowing no bargaining on them.

The Masters Mates and Pilots picket lines, already respected by the ILA, must not be crossed by a single NMU or BMO members. Ships' meetings and port meetings must pass resolutions that the fight of the MM&P for two full crews on each LASH is the same fight as the NMU fight for job security.

chains. He was also stabbed in the arm. He required thirty-two stitches in his head as a result of the mauling. The other six workers were also hospitalized after the assault.

Witnesses reported that company goon Leonard Zundiac directed the attack, and that six smiling company goons were within a few feet of the beating. The company refused to telephone for medical assistance, despite the desperate need. The workers were surprised by the bosses' goons once; they will be prepared next time.

The unflinching unity of the men of 285 has thrown the bosses into a state of panic. One boss has been so frustrated by the strength of the workers that he gives daily "lectures" to the picketing workers. Seeing no alternative but to fight as long as necessary, these Teamsters have vowed not to be intimidated or coerced by anyone—whether it be the company, the federal negotiator or the union leadership—into accepting a contract dictated by the bosses.

### MARXISM & MILITARY AFFAIRS

By Leon Trotsky

LABOR PUBLICATIONS  
135 W. 14th St.

New York, N.Y. 10011

special price; \$ 1.25