

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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An Open Letter
To The Chicano
Moratorium

Labor Must Convene To Construct Party--

STOP NIXON'S ATTACKS WITH GENERAL STRIKE

Everywhere in the country the working class is under the sharpest attack. In Newark striking teacher leaders are in jail while fines mount daily.

In New York City, 11,000 teachers face layoffs while large sections of city labor work without a contract. NYU maintenance employees face open strike breaking as scabs guarded by guns bring oil in across picket lines.

San Francisco faces a possible general strike of city labor following Alioto's insulting 4% wage offer. Reagan's attack on state employees has forced the CSEA, not even a union, to threaten a general strike of state labor.

Construction workers across the nation are mobilizing against Nixon's open attempt to use scabs to break the unions.

What is absolutely clear is that these attacks on the working man flow from a single cause, are being carried through under

the instructions of a single class. It is the concerted effort by the large corporations and the governments they dominate to break the wage offensive of American workers. The cause of the attacks lie in the capitalist system itself which can now only survive IF the capitalists can force the working man to pay for capitalism's sickness through a cut in his living standards.

But the working class has built a strong labor movement over the last decades and has won important improvements in its standard of living. Workers simply will not be pushed back into the conditions of the 1930s. They will not allow the capitalists to solve their problems at the workers' expense.

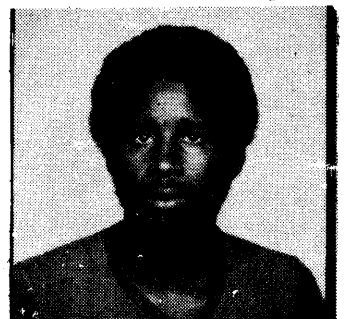
But this is exactly what will happen UNLESS the workers answer this concerted attack in a concerted way. The entire strength of labor must be mobilized into a general strike to force back these

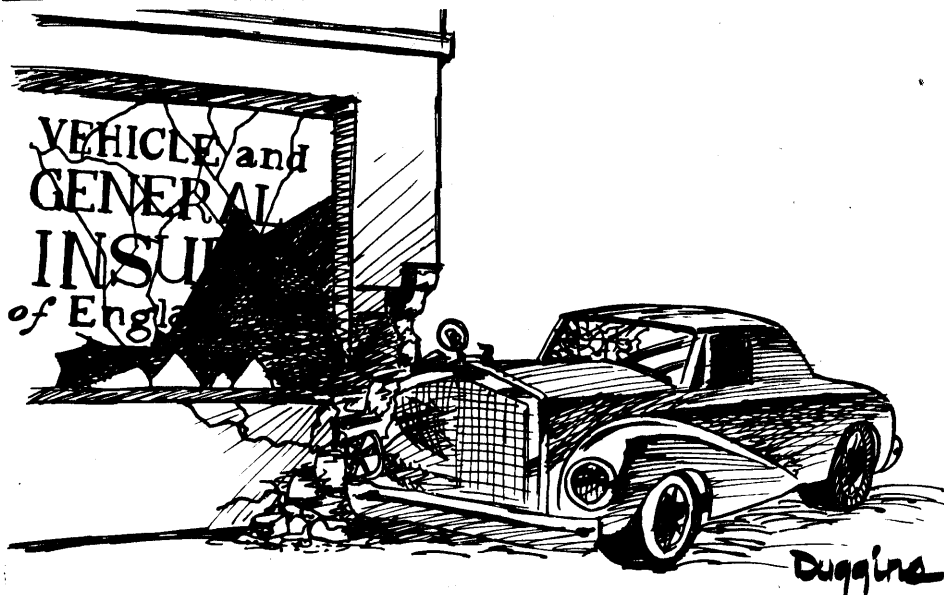
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BEHIND THE SPLIT IN THE PANTHERS

Its Historical Roots, Its Class Meaning
By Li'l Joe





What The Editors Think...

On March 2nd the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice and the National Peace Action Coalition announced that they had packed up their differences and united to co-sponsor antiwar demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco on April 24th.

Harry Ring writing in the March 12 issue of the *Militant*, organ of the Socialist Workers Party says: "The unity of these two groups behind April 24th is a major gain for antiwar forces and helps assure that the Washington demonstration will be huge."

While this demonstration may or may not be huge, the main question remains its political content and purpose. And on this question the statement of unity between the Stalinists and revisionists in the SWP-YSA is clear:

"The National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice will build the Washington demonstration around the central demands: 'Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and material from Southeast Asia' and 'End the draft now.' In addition, the People's Coalition will, on its own, project other central demands: 'Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military, air, land and sea forces from Vietnam and that the U.S. shall set the date for the completion of that withdrawal...'"

To say "Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia" in the context of the Stalinists' "Set the Date" demand is to avoid the question of getting out NOW. It is a demand that Nixon himself can agree to. In fact he claims that he has already begun the process of withdrawing. In actual fact this demand becomes a cover of support to the war now, and gives precious time to imperialism to prepare an expansion of the war.

In other words it is precisely on the basis of the Stalinists' "Set the Date" slogan of the Peoples Peace Treaty movement, that April 24th will be built. This slogan now becomes the basis for unity not only with the labor bureaucracy but with every section of the capitalist class in order to head off and crush the independent movement of the working class and youth.

It was on this basis that the darling of the Communist Party, Democrat Bella Abzug

last week marched with 500 women to James Buckley's office to ask HIM to join the movement. According to the Daily World of March 6th Abzug said: "I'm going to have Senator Buckley join a Congressional committee to end the war. Until now, Congress has abdicated its power to the President. But Republicans and Democrats are determined to act to withdraw all troops from Indochina by the end of the year."

So now we have the real truth behind the CP's slanderous attack on the Workers League that WE are in alliance with Buckley for our attack on the Peoples Peace Treaty and the "Set the Date" slogan.

It is the Stalinists' policy of the popular front of allying the working class to the capitalist class that is the cement for the unity of April 24th. Despite all the claims by the SWP-YSA that they won the day at the SMC conference, it is the Stalinists' program which will dominate. The SWP has joined the Stalinists in hailing "recent messages from Vietnamese liberation forces" such as the statement by the DRV delegation in Paris "to associate all forces and strata of the population irrespective of their skin color, religion and political trend."

Carried to its logical conclusion this perspective could very well bring Mr. Buckley to the platform of April 24th!

The whole purpose of the unity on April 24th is to crush the independent movement of the working class against Nixon and the capitalist class expressed in the growing movement for general strike in cities throughout the country, in the demonstration of Iowa workers and students against the war in Indochina and the war against the workers at home and to prevent the independent political break with the Democratic and Republican Parties.

For our part the Workers League will have no part of this counterrevolutionary cabal. We will give no political support to April 24th, nor will we help build it. The Workers League on April 24th will mobilize independently a massive force of workers, students, youth and unemployed under the independent banners of the working class for a general strike against the war in Indochina and the war against workers at home and for the building of a labor party.

NYU Out To Bust Local 810

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—The strike by Teamsters Local 810 at New York University has entered its fourth week. Local 810 represents 150 maintenance workers at NYU. The major demand being made by the union is for wage parity with the Teamster workers at the NYU medical center. The union's initial demand was for a \$24 a week increase the first year, and \$12 a week the second.

Last Tuesday night the first scab oil truck was able to get through to make a delivery after a violent confrontation between workers, students, cops and armed thugs. Nineteen students and 810 members were arrested, and the incident resulted in a temporary injunction being filed against the union. Since then, more scab trucks and workers have been brought in to make deliveries and repairs.

The leadership of the union has taken no action to counter the offensive of the university and to win the strike. They have made only a token effort to get support from the other locals or students at NYU.

On Monday, March 8, the Local called a meeting to which students were invited. It was here that the bankruptcy of the various Stalinist and revisionist groups on campus was exposed. Progressive

Labor Party, which masquerades as the "University Action Group," throughout the strike has completely supported the 810 leadership. Its only support strategy has been to think of schemes to block the elevators so that the 32B elevator operators would not be able to work and therefore would be de facto supporting the 810 strike.

At the meeting Monday they said "We have no grandiose schemes for the workers." In other words they have no program to win the strike and they line up right behind the union bureaucracy. The YSA, CPUSA and Labor Committee were all represented at this meeting and none of them said a word. The only action the YSA has taken has been to call a meeting with the Stalinists to "discuss what the role of students should be in the strike."

At the meeting, a representative of the Workers League called on the ranks to fight to shut down NYU, to call on District 65, 32B and 32E to strike in sympathy with the Teamsters. He was given a round of applause, although the union bureaucracy kept interrupting him and tried to prevent him from completing his presentation.

The ranks of 810 must mobilize to take up a fight to shut NYU down and win the strike.

EDITORIAL

General Strike Paves Way Build A Labor Party Now

(Continued from cover)

attacks. We cannot continue to fight in an isolated way.

The New Jersey AFL-CIO was right to call for a general strike against the attack on the construction trades. Now Charles Marciante, President of the New Jersey AFL-CIO, has called a general strike for the city of Newark on Monday.

This movement towards a general strike must be taken up nationally. We must answer these attacks through the mobilization of the entire working class against the perpetrators of these attacks—the bosses and their government flunkies. We cannot allow any single section or even member of the labor movement to be attacked, victimized, forced out of work, driven back in wages and working conditions.

At the same time as Nixon attacks us he deepens his war against the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia. So far they have valiantly resisted these new attacks and in fact delivered important blows against Nixon's puppet troops in Laos. These blows of the workers and peasants of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are directed against OUR enemy, the American ruling class. They weaken this enemy and strengthen us.

We must take up the demand for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia as part of a general strike of American labor. In our struggle we will be joined by the movement against the war of our brothers in the American army and strengthened by the struggle of the masses of Southeast Asia.

As we move forward so do workers throughout the world. The British workers have shown the way with their massive march in London and their general strike of two million workers. We face the same enemy and the same attacks. The international movement of the working class is now coming forward. Its leadership must be developed in the course of these great struggles.

The attacks against us are political. Even if we are able through our unions in general strike action to wrest concessions from the ruling class, they will only try to take these concessions away with their government inspired and supported inflation, unemployment and anti-labor laws. We must take up the political fight in the midst of the economic one.

In the course of the general strike movement we must demand a convocation of labor with representatives from every union, every strike committee, every student organization, every working class tendency, every organization of the minority sections of the workers. This great convocation of labor must take the first steps to form a labor party based on the trade unions.

Such a party must stand unequivocally in defense of the American working people. It must answer the anti-union attacks with the repeal of all anti-strike and anti-union laws. It must answer the war with the immediate withdrawal of all American troops from foreign soil. It must answer unemployment with the demand of a 30 hour week with 40 hours pay. It must answer the inflation with federally enforced 100% escalator on all wages, social security, pensions and the like. It must answer the attacks on education and students with billions to expand education and provide free higher education for all.

We are faced with the clear bankruptcy of American and world capitalism as expressed in the collapse of Rolls Royce, the crisis in Lockheed, the tens of thousands laid off in aero-space, the bankruptcy of city and state governments. The workers must declare that we will not be limited by THEIR bankruptcy.

Our demands are based on the actual needs of the vast majority who live in this country and in the world, the working people. If the present owners of the great industrial might in this country will not meet these just means—as they clearly cannot—then we will nationalize these industries, themselves the products of our labor, and use them to fulfill the needs of all of mankind.

There is only one party in the United States which will fight all the way for a general strike of the American working class. There is only one party in the United States which will fight all the way for a convocation of labor to set up a labor party. It is the Workers League! There is only one party in the world which will fight all the way for the workers of all countries. It is the Fourth International!

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Leaders Sell Out British Postal Strike

BY MELODY FARROW

The sellout of the six week British postal strike by the trade union bureaucracy is one of the biggest betrayals of the British working class since the betrayal of the 1926 General Strike.

The 200,000 workers were literally abandoned by their leaders and forced to return to work March 8th after the Executive Council of the postal union voted unanimously to accept a proposal from Employment Minister Carr, the same man who has been directing the government's attack against the unions.

The agreement will establish a "committee of settlement," composed of three members. The "committee of settlement" is a euphemism for what is really binding arbitration. The committee will investigate and hear testimony on the validity of the union's wage claim of 15 percent and on the financial situation of the Post Office. The decision of the committee will be binding on both sides. This settlement is entirely on the government's terms.

In addition the union has agreed to a productivity increase which will automatically be part of any wage increase. This means accepting the government's plans to throw more workers out of work and to institute speed-up. This was agreed to without any guarantee of a wage offer larger than the 8 percent already rejected by the workers.

ARBITRATION

Workers have already had a taste of such arbitration. The Wilberforce inquiry was established last year to settle the strike of electrical workers and it handed down a measly 10 percent which was dependent on increased productivity.

The present "committee of settlement" will go a step further, as Minister Carr pointed out, because it will set up ways to settle future disputes.

A majority of the post office branches voted to return to work only because they

were left with no perspective and no leadership to enable them to continue their struggle. Their real feelings were expressed at a meeting in London on March 5th where Tom Jackson, the head of the postal union, tried to justify his capitulation.

As he tried to speak, militant workers shouted: "It's a sellout," "Jackson Out" and "We aren't going back." Some threw apples at the podium.

Jackson blatantly stated that this was not a victory. He told the workers "It became apparent that we could not afford to pay out to the 30,000 or 40,000 of you...the hardship money you have been receiving." He virtually used the threat of starvation to beat the workers into acceptance.

AFRAID

Despite Jackson's militant talk, he never had any intention of carrying out the confrontation with the Tory government. The strike could only have gone forward by linking it with the movement towards a general strike by the entire working class which would aim at the downfall of the Tories and the establishment of a workers government. This is what Jackson and the entire trade union bureaucracy were afraid of.

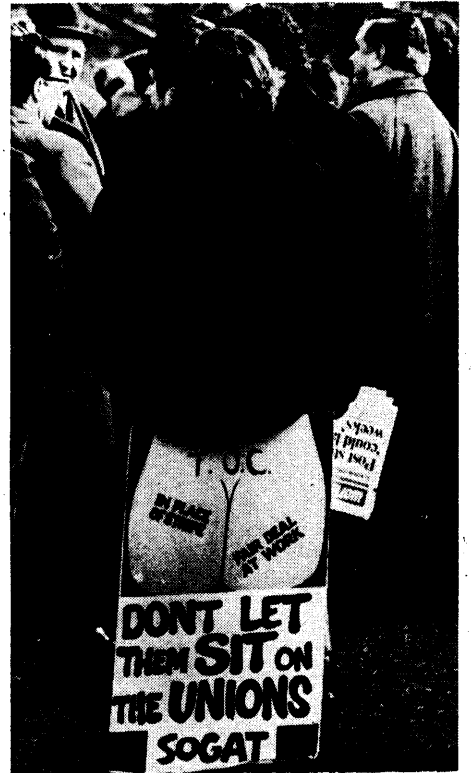
Jackson capitulated precisely at a time when the militancy of the rank and file threatened to break through the one day strikes against the Tory anti-union bill and precipitate a general strike which the union bureaucracy could not control.

On March 1st two million workers struck against the Industrial Relations Bill and a second one day strike is being called by the Amalgamated Union of Engineering

Workers and the Transport and General Workers Union for March 18th. This is the same day that the Trades Union Council (equivalent of the AFL-CIO), will meet to discuss action against the Bill. The ending of the postal strike was an attempt by the Tories and the bureaucracy to partially defuse the explosive situation in the working class.

BILL

The sellout of the postal workers paves the way for an even greater capitulation by the labor bureaucracy in the fight against the Industrial Relations Bill. The



labor bureaucracy views the one day strikes as protests while silently accepting passage of the Bill as inevitable. Their continued reliance on pressuring the Tories to modify the Bill is paving the way for defeat.

This was made clear by Victor Feather, head of the TUC, who is preparing to meet with Tory Prime Minister Heath to discuss the economic situation. He stressed that withdrawal of the Bill was not a "pre-condition" for the talks.

The Tories seek to use every retreat of the labor leaders to strengthen their plans to tie the unions to the state. Heath is threatening a compulsory wage freeze unless the TUC agrees to cooperate in voluntary wage controls.

The government is now proposing an addition to the Industrial Relations Bill which would refer unions to a Monopoly Commission. The Commission's purpose would be to break up large powerful unions that threaten the "public interest" and would eliminate the existence of many unions within the same industry.

WAR

The Tories have made it perfectly clear that they will make no concessions to the unions. They are prepared for civil war. The March 1st general strike showed that British workers will not accept these Bills. They are moving from trade union and parliamentary forms of struggle towards a revolutionary confrontation with the Tories.

A revolutionary leadership must be built in the unions to throw out the cowardly bureaucrats and carry forward the program of the Socialist Labour League for a general strike to force the Tories out.

NLF Laos Victory Threatens Saigon

BY DAVID NICHOLS

No amount of Nixon's double talk can hide South Vietnam's military fiasco in Laos. The invasion has exposed to the world that without the massive U.S. air power, the puppet troops of Thieu and Ky stand naked against the will of the workers and peasants.

The main thrust of imperialism's forces in Laos was to cut the Ho Chi Minh trail before the rainy season began down south. Supplies had to be halted if an attack upon the South could be averted. Although the Saigon generals know that attacks on the South are always imminent, the prospects for an attack increases during the rainy season. During this period, as any pilot will tell you, close air-ground support is severely hampered. Nature aids the NLF and hampers the U.S. and puppet forces.

LOST

Laos then, becomes the key to stopping attacks throughout South Vietnam. The trail had to be cut before supplies could reach the workers and peasants who surround the homes of Thieu and Ky. The trail had to be cut by South Vietnam's puppet troops to back up Nixon's contention that Vietnamization is working. Laos was a gamble that imperialism was forced to take due to its declining military situation and political crisis. It gambled and lost.

The puppet troops were beaten back by a combination of inexperienced replacements moving down the trail, local peasants and workers and Pathet Lao troops. They beat the puppet troops without the aid of a single airplane and that reality sends shivers down the backs of Nixon and Thieu and Ky, and causes Thieu to cry for more U.S. help. But the U.S. used 1000 fighter-bombers out of its entire armada of 1200 when the weather cleared and that only allowed the Saigon troops to evacuate the chewed up elements of the best that Saigon had to offer. It is this reality that prompts the airlifting of troops to a new area where the generals hope the workers and peasants are not, so they can proclaim that the fighting has fallen off.

They can pat themselves on the back for having the ability to stay off of the Ho Chi Minh trail and thereby saving the entire army of Saigon from complete destruction. Meanwhile in the southernmost parts of Vietnam the rainy season has begun.

The rainy season is ending in the North and the Ho Chi Minh trail is not a muddy trail but a well packed dry road on which thousands of trucks can roll. The supplies have not been stopped nor have they been diverted too much off the trail. The workers of Vietnam drive trucks down the roads carrying the bullets that will nip at the ears of Thieu and Ky.

BETRAYAL

The Laos incursion is clearly a victory for the workers and peasants. But their victory can be erased by Madame Binh's Peace proposal and the so-called People's Peace Treaty. This Stalinist betrayal of the workers and peasants calls for a "coalition government" precisely at the time the workers and peasants are moving forward to victory.

Clearly the Viet Cong is readying itself for a new assault upon the puppet government and the prospect for a Dien Bien Phu

type victory looms on the horizon. For if the workers and peasants could beat the best Saigon has then what about all the other unprepared troops that make up the bulk of Saigon's army. But Madame Binh calls for a coalition government!

VICTORY

The Ho Chi Minh trail can never be cut because the trail IS the workers and peasants of Vietnam. To cut the trail—every Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian must be massacred. It is this that imperialism now contemplates with its threats of an invasion of North Vietnam.

Only a complete victory can free the peasants and workers of Vietnam from the oppression of imperialism. But Madame Binh calls for a coalition government following the history of Stalinism to crush the movement when victory is at hand. Only a call for a general strike by the American working class can now aid this victory.

N.J. AFL-CIO Calls General Strike In Newark

BY BRIDGET ELLIOT

NEWARK—Last Thursday, March 4, Carol Graves, President of the Newark Teachers Union was arrested along with two other union officials for refusing to obey a court order to end the teachers' strike.

She was arrested while addressing a labor rally called by the New Jersey AFL-CIO, Teamsters and other unions including the Communication Workers, the IUE, Firefighters.

As Graves was speaking, the sheriff's men walked on to the platform and arrested her and the two other officials. As the crowd threatened the sheriff, Graves said "Cool it, lay the blame at City Hall." "See you when the contract is signed."

As the leaders were led away, supporters of the Workers League began cries of "General Strike" and were soon joined by the ranks. As the meeting continued and as one bureaucrat after another took the mike trying to pacify the membership, the cry was picked up by almost the whole assembly, with calls for "Action," "No More Talk," and "General Strike." Finally, Joseph P. Uzzolino, President of Teamster Local 478 got up and said "I guess we'll have to call a general strike Monday or Tuesday." There were cries of "Monday!"

BOOS

While the ranks were calling for class action, at this meeting the grave danger in the situation created by the perspective of

the leadership was posed when the last speaker of the rally was introduced—Anthony Imperiale.

As he took the mike there were some boos. A large number of the teachers had left or tried to leave the room when his presence was announced. But then Orrie Chambers, Organizer for the New Jersey Federation of Teachers, went up on the platform and shook Imperiale's hand.

IMPERIALE

Imperiale's presence at this rally completely exposes the reactionary relationship the leadership has made with him. While the leadership has attacked the unionbusting black nationalism of LeRoi Jones, it has allied itself with neofascist racist forces like Imperiale.

At the same time the leadership has refused to mobilize the ranks behind a fight for the labor movement of Newark to support the Teachers through a massive general strike.

But the ranks at the meeting made clear that it is precisely this mobilization that is required.

GENERAL STRIKE

On Sunday, March 7 after a support rally for the teachers, Charles Marciante,

President of the New Jersey AFL-CIO said that plans were being made for a general strike in Newark.

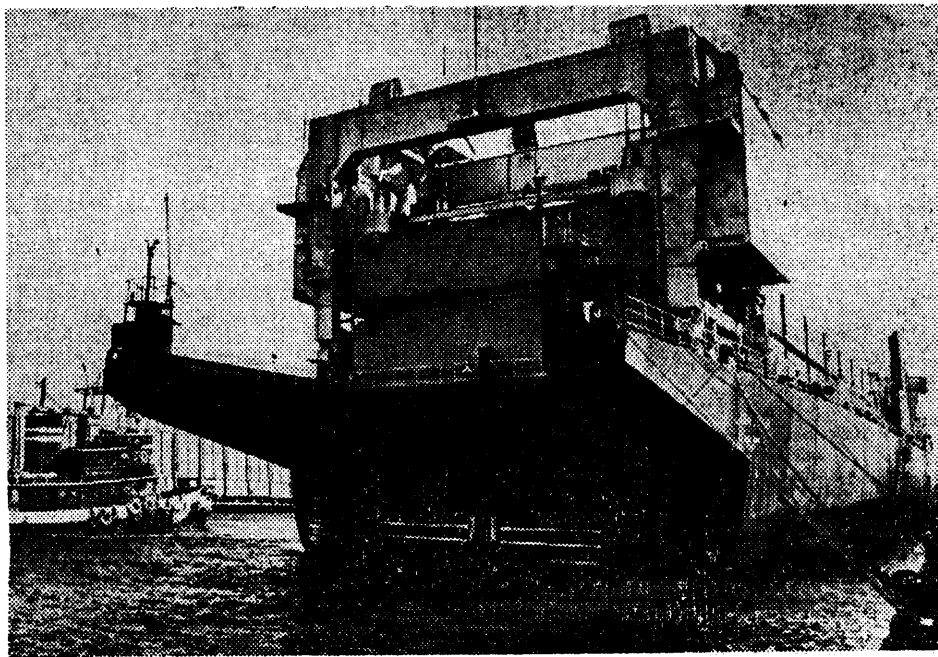
Marciante said: "The building trades will close this city down they're so angry. The Executive Boards will move before the end of the week. We go from airline clerks to zinc workers to give you an idea. We are aiming for a massive walkout, March 15, Monday, to shut Newark down."

DEMAND

Joseph Uzzolino of the Teamsters told this reporter that he wanted to pull out his membership on Monday, March 8. If there is no strike decision by the end of the week, he said, he will call a strike of his membership.

The NTU ranks, along with the ranks of the state and city labor movement must now demand that a citywide general strike be called with the deadline set for Monday, March 15—a general strike to last until legal action against the union is dropped, all demands of the NTU are met, and the NTU leaders are released from jail. The ranks of the NTU must go out to all workers in the city with leaflets to fight for this.

The labor leaders cannot be allowed to stall or hedge on this action. A general strike is the only way to win this strike and to stop the attacks which threaten the entire labor movement. A rank and file caucus must be built in the NTU to fight for this program.



LASH ships, like one above in Brooklyn port, is opening wedge in massive campaign by bosses to smash maritime unions and drive thousands of seamen out of work.

NMU Ranks Must Build Caucus To Smash Nixon Maritime Plan

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—The first stage of the Maritime Act of 1970, the laying up of the American passenger fleet and a large number of cargo liners, has been successfully carried through by the Nixon Administration. Twelve thousand or more officers and crew have been forced out of the industry.

Now the second stage of the Maritime Act, the construction of LASH, container and automated ships, is moving full steam ahead with full encouragement by the maritime union bureaucrats. Three LASH ships are now in operation and others are on the building ways.

Accompanying these technological developments is a wave of monopolization and repression against seafaring unions. Sea-Land and United States Lines are preparing a consolidation in court that would turn the entire U.S. Lines cargo fleet over to Sea-Land. Secretary of Commerce Stans has joined Maritime Administrator Helen Bentley in supporting Nixon's law against strikes in transport.

Nixon's attempts to carry through the next stage of his Maritime Plan occur within a different situation than last year when the layups of passenger liners were completed. The general strike of over two million in England against the Tories' unionbusting laws, the hard hat pickets against Nixon in Iowa, show that the labor movement is willing to fight back.

LEADERSHIP

Every attempt of Nixon and the employers to make the ranks pay for their crisis brings them up against a militant and determined rank and file. For the last six months demonstrations and petitions against the layups and calling for a strike to save NMU jobs, and for nationalization of the companies, have expressed the sentiment of the ranks in the NMU. What is required now is the leadership to carry this forward into the formation of a caucus which can mobilize the rank and file to continue the fight.

The leadership of the Seamen's Defense Committee has pulled back from this fight. The leadership which mobilized several hundred men and women in picket lines at the NMU hall in New York and against the layups of the Prudential-Grace passenger liners, made no attempt to mobilize anyone for the February Port meeting in New York.

Instead of fighting to get the union out on strike, the opposition concentrated on denouncing NMU Political Director, Joe Paul Curran. A spokesman for the Seamen's Defense Committee stated later that "We don't need any prepared material. They (the bureaucrats) tell us only lies so it is easy to rebut them. Whatever they say we rebut them—they even admitted we got beaten up at the last meeting."

The opposition leadership after making a pragmatic turn away from the courts and towards the ranks for support, is now refusing to mobilize the ranks against the leadership on a program that will set back the attacks.

PROGRAM

A sharp warning must be issued at this point. The employers and the Nixon Administration are sinking three billion dollars into shipping at a time when there is already great overcapacity, rate cutting, and bankruptcy threatened for all but the

largest companies on all major routes, due to efforts of the U.S., German and English companies to seize monopolies on the container trade.

In order to get their investment back the owners can only smash the unions, drive down wages, and send thousands more out of the industry. The LASH ships and the anti-strike laws are the opening wedge of this attack.

A caucus must be formed in the NMU to take the fight forward around the following program:

- Boycott all LASH ships.
- Bring the passenger liners out of layup.
- Two full crews on every ship with no manning scale cuts.
- Call a strike to win these demands.
- Nationalize the lines without compensation and under seamen's control.
- Build a labor party.

Closures Menace 1199 Ranks

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Hospital workers throughout New York may be facing immediate mass layoffs. The job freeze has steadily whittled down jobs for over a year and now the hospitals are hinting that tremendous cut backs are imminent.

Hospital workers should have no illusions that their services are considered essential or that the City is concerned with health care. The crisis that hit the teachers is now about to hit hospital workers.

On March 4, Joseph English who heads the Hospital Corporation, said in Washington that: "Some voluntary hospitals were threatening to close their outpatient departments." This would mean the loss of

Fare Rise Threatens Wages Of NYC Cabbies

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Taxi business here was off twenty to twenty-five percent this weekend, as the new fare schedule went into effect.

Weekend day drivers were hardest hit as many drivers found it difficult to average one fare an hour.

The rates call for a sixty cent fare for the first fifth of a mile, ten cents for each additional fifth of a mile, and ten cents for each seventy-two seconds of standing time. Since few meters have as yet been changed, drivers have to convert the old rates to the new rates, causing much confusion.

Though the rates for individual rides have obviously increased, the reality of the new situation has put the cabbies in a real squeeze. Even if a driver manages to gross his previous bookings, he does it on fewer fares, fewer tips, and smaller tips. Thus, more of his income is taxable. Physically, the demands of the job have greatly increased since he needs to cruise

'No Job Security,' Says City To SSEU-371 Negotiators

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—For the first time in the history of the SSEU-371 collective bargaining discussions with the City, the City negotiators told the SSEU leadership on March 4 that there would be layoffs in the next contract and absolutely no guarantee of job security would be given.

Anthony Russo, the City negotiator, said: "The City will concede no further money until the union moves in other areas. The union must come down to earth. The City is in trouble and there can be no job security for New York City employees. Workers can now be subject to layoffs." "The Civil Service Law means nothing if there is no job for people to perform. Within the next two years agencies may be wiped out, the government may take over welfare, in the face of the realities of the situation. There can be no guarantees, like in the last contract. This contract won't be like the last one."

The City spelled this warning out quite clearly at the bargaining table. Union leader Bart Cohen and DC 37 negotiator Dan Nelson countered with threats that there could be no contract without job security. "We're not the UFT, you know," quipped Nelson. However, the union leadership regarded the City's position as a posture. "They'll come down if we make concessions" commented one of the union negotiators after the negotiating session.

In the face of the most vicious threats made by the City against the SSEU-371, the Hill leadership is completely retreating. It is pulling back from the decision of the last delegate meeting which endorsed a policy of no compliance with further reorganization on April 21 until agreements on workload, manning, job security, pay and transfers are negotiated. It has refused to take up a fight against the City's plans to lay off workers in the next period, contract or no contract.

There has been not a peep from Hill about the proposed UFT layoffs, nor about the grave dangers the attacks on the teachers and school employees poses for the SSEU-371. On Friday, March 13, the UFT has organized a mass rally at City Hall protesting the school cutbacks, and President Hill remains uncommitted about this rally.

The Committee for New Leadership, which has fought the City's policy of



Dennis Cribben, left, of SSEU-371 CNL.

reorganization for the past two years, is seeking to build for mass SSEU-371 participation in the UFT rally around the demand for a general strike of all city labor against the plans of the City to lay off thousands of teachers in preparations for immediate firings of welfare workers and other municipal employees.

To this end, the CNL is calling for chapter meetings in all centers around the UFT rally, and demanding that Hill commit the SSEU to full participation in this rally. Additionally, the CNL is demanding an immediate delegate assembly meeting for the purpose of taking action in the face of the City's layoff threats.

At that meeting the CNL is proposing that the strike committee, which has been organized around support to the leadership's do-nothing policies, be transformed into a policy-making body that will seriously organize the SSEU membership around the April 21 showdown with strike bulletins, meetings at all chapters and mass leafleting and a press campaign putting the City on notice that SSEU is prepared to take the offensive with strike action against Lindsay's attacks.

The membership correctly fears reorganization and is demanding firm action by Hill. We say there is no time to lose. The rank and file momentum that forced the City's hand in delaying reorganization must be taken forward to assure full job security and workload manning ratios in the new contract.

have doubled and tripled.

Hospitals like Beth Israel and Mount Sinai have extensive research facilities and have spent millions of dollars on new buildings such as the Mount Sinai Medical School. Outpatient clinics have always been overcrowded and inadequate but they are the first to be axed. Even the actual shutdown of hospitals is possible.

The Hospital Corporation which will administer the city hospitals in July is claiming a deficit of \$10 million which it is openly preparing to save out of job cuts. It backed down from layoffs at Albert Einstein and New York Infirmary only after the union threatened a strike. But nothing has been solve.

On March 5 the technical workers at Fordham Hospital, a city hospital under affiliation with Misericordia, attempted to organize an election for 1199 representation. The hospital responded by firing five workers and suspending twenty-five others.

The hospital knew that if a union came in before the Corporation took over, it would be much harder to lay off the workers. At the same time the blue collar workers at Fordham have been hit with a vicious increase in work.

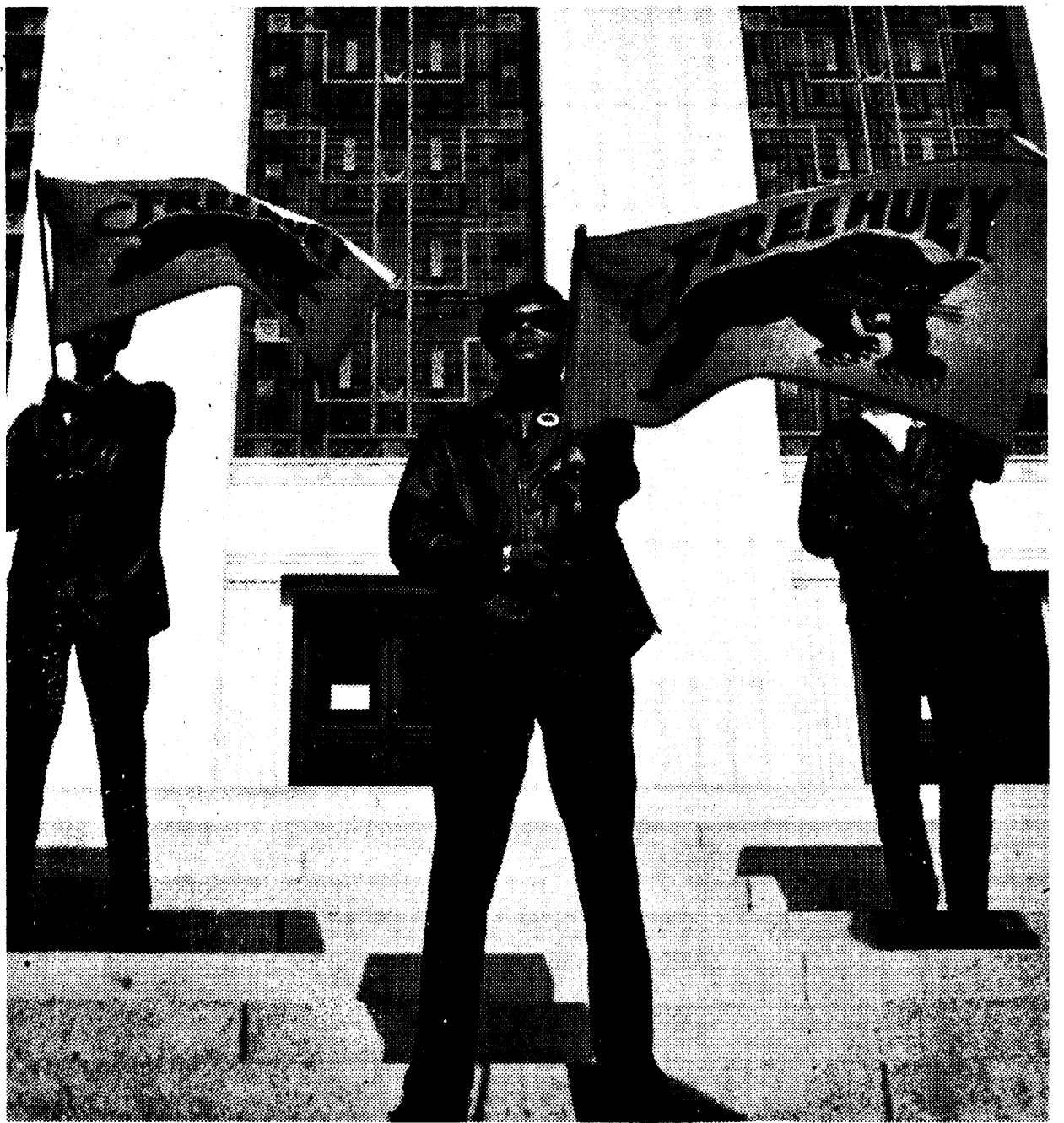
A worker, member of DC 37 Local 420, from the Housekeeping Department, said: "We have to clean two, sometimes three wards" instead of one. He also said: "I was one of the 500 provisional city workers that was laid off so I came here." Now he may be facing lay off again.

Hospital workers must realize from the teachers that the City is absolutely ruthless. It is preparing to go ahead with these cut backs.

The 1199 Rank and File Committee is campaigning for Local 1199 to join with the teachers and other workers who face attack in building a mass demonstration at City Hall.

the split in the panthers

Its Historical Roots Its Class Meaning By Li'l Joe



THE BLACK PANTHER Party was founded in 1966 by Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton. The party was organized around the principles of armed self-defense. It was organized within the ideological framework of the then dominant SWP advocacy of an independent "Black Political Party."

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense came on the scene at a time when the "Black Power Revolt" was in full swing. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was organized in the heat of Black rebellions, its organization followed the spontaneous rebellions of Black workers in Harlem, Jackson, Chicago and Watts. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was, in fact, the conscious expression of spontaneous uprisings. It is in this sense that the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense went beyond those spontaneous rebellions from which its historical framework proceeded.

July 20, 1967, amidst the spontaneous rebellions of Black workers throughout the country, Huey was cognizant of their limitations. Thus,

"At this time," wrote Huey "the Black masses are handling the resistance incorrectly. The brothers in East Oakland learned from Watts a means of resistance fighting by amassing the people in the streets, throwing bricks and molotov cocktails to destroy property and create disruption. ... This manner of resistance is sporadic, short-lived, and costly in violence against the people. ... The Vanguard Party (Huey is referring to the Black Panther Party) must provide leadership for the people. ... When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four, and then escapes the might

of the oppressor the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy." (Huey P. Newton, "In Defense of Self-Defense: The Correct Handling of a Revolution," July, 1967).

Huey's strategy however, was not correct. Huey's strategy cost the lives of many young Black Panthers and Panther sympathizers. His strategy cost him a number of years in the penitentiary and nearly his own life.

NATIONALISM

Ideologically, Huey's strategy was not simply insufficient, but wrong. Huey's strategy rested on an incorrect premise. The ideology of Black nationalism fostered by the SWP and articulated by Stokely Carmichael—it is here that the "White Mother Country-Black Colony" madness found its highest theoretical expressions—led Huey and the Panthers into an unavoidable dead end. Huey actually believed that Black people in the United States constituted a nation.

Thinking of Black Americans as a colonized nation Huey tried to plot out a course for armed struggle for the liberation of that nation. But the American working class—of which Black Americans are a part—were not and are not ready for armed insurrection. Many Black workers were and are ready for armed struggle and thus if they were a nation, they might well have been ready to fight the fight of liberation. But Black workers are not a nation.

Black militants must look beyond surface impressions of their "racial" enemies, i.e., "white" landlords, "white" racist police, "white" bosses, etc., and see their actual class enemy, the landlords, police and bosses. Black workers can become and in many instances are an important vanguard section of the American working class, but they cannot be thrown into battle alone.

LENIN

In "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder," Lenin wrote:

"The proletarian vanguard has been won over ideologically. That is the main thing. Without this not even the first step towards victory can be made. But it is still a fairly long way from victory. Victory cannot be won with the vanguard alone. To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive battle, before the whole class, before the broad masses have taken up a position either of direct support of the vanguard, or at least a benevolent neutrality towards it, and one in which they

cannot possibly support the enemy would be not merely folly but a crime. And in order that actually the whole class... take up such a position, propaganda and agitation alone are not enough. For this the masses must have their own political experience."

Such is the fundamental law of all great revolutions. But Huey was acting upon his impressions. Huey saw Black rebellions and sought to organize those rebellions.

WRONG

"It is not necessary to organize thirty million Black people in primary groups of two's and three's" according to Huey's early views, "but it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution." How was this to be done? "When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance." Well, Huey was wrong. Huey learned from his bitter experiences that it is not enough for the masses to "see" a policeman get killed. The masses must, as Lenin observed, have a political experience of their own.

According to Lenin: "In these circumstances we must not only ask ourselves whether we have convinced the vanguard of the revolutionary class (not race, class—LJ) but also whether the historically effective forces of all classes—positively of all the classes of the given society without exception—are aligned in such a way that everything is fully ripe for the decisive battle; in such a way that 1) all the class forces hostile to us have become sufficiently entangled, are sufficiently at loggerheads with each other, have sufficiently weakened themselves in a struggle which is beyond their strength; that 2) all vacillating, wavering, unstable intermediate elements—the petty bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois democrats (like Booker Griffith and Julian Bond—L.J.) as distinct from the bourgeoisie—have sufficiently disgraced themselves through their practical bankruptcy; and that 3) among the proletariat a mass sentiment in favor of supporting the most determined, supremely bold, revolutionary action against the bourgeoisie has arisen and begun vigorously to grow."

STRATEGY

What is posed here by Lenin is Bolshevism. According to Trotsky: "The

task of the working class—in Europe and throughout the world—consists in counterposing to the thoroughly thought out counter-revolutionary strategy of the bourgeoisie its own revolutionary strategy, likewise thought out to the end."

The early Black Panther Party under the pragmatic leadership of Huey P. Newton was unable to develop the strategy necessary for revolution in America. On the one hand, the Black Panther Party was unable to lead an American revolution because it was a vanguard party based not upon a class but upon a race of people. The "Black" Panther Party was not a class but a racial organization, organized by and for Black people in general, poor Blacks in particular. Membership in this organization was based upon color rather than class.

But revolutions are class and not racial phenomena. What Huey saw in 1965 were not "racial rebellions" but class rebellions that took on a racial character. That the "Black" rebellions took place in Harlem and in Watts is very significant. That these rebellions were condemned by the "respectable Negroes" that lived not in Harlem or Watts, but in Mount Vernon or Baldwin Hills is even more significant. The "riots" that were to flame America with rage were, as Huey observed, spontaneous and short lived. They were spontaneous rebellions waged by the most exploited, oppressed, frustrated and angry sections of the American working class. They were also put down by the might of the state.

LESSON

The suppression of the "Black" revolt by the military might of the state taught Black workers a very valuable lesson. Black workers began to organize newer forms of struggle. The forms of struggle which spoke to their militancy most were the forms offered them by the Black Panther Party. It was not the ideology of the Black Panther Party that attracted the young Blacks, but the boldness of that combat organization. The young Blacks wanted to fight and the Black Panther Party offered them forms through which they could fight.

By the time Huey P. Newton was arrested and imprisoned for killing an Oakland policeman, the Black Panthers had made some very important advances. The experiences of the Black Panther Party had taught its membership and leadership the necessity to advance beyond the purely militaristic point of view. The Black Panther Party dropped the "Self-Defense" from the name and began to make poli-

tical strides. With Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in jail, most of the formidable political developments within the Black Panther Party were undertaken by Eldridge Cleaver.

DIALECTICS

Through the study of dialectics, we learn that the seeds of destruction of each entity—i.e., in the case of its natural destruction, death—is inherent in its birth. Black nationalism as an ideology, with the development of international class struggles, was also doomed to destruction. The nationalist ideology that expressed the class upsurge of Black workers in America and also inspired many, was to find itself incapable of defining that class rebellion which it, in the first instance inspired, and in the last instance tries to contain. The logic of nationalism is expressed by the current reactionary trends represented by LeRoi Jones, the Chicano Moratorium "leadership" and Ron Karenga. The racist logic of Black nationalism (and any other "racial nationalism," for that matter) is to isolate and contain any and every minority segment of the working class, to place race above class and in that sense, attack class struggles as "racist" and in so doing place those who so advocate "nationalism" on the side of the ruling class.

The Black Panther Party was organized as a nationalist organization. Unlike the other nationalist groups, however, it was organized for the most part, by ghetto Blacks—the most oppressed sections of the ghetto youth—the unemployed and if employed, employed in low paying industry. As nationalism is a middle class ideology of "unity of race or nation" rather than "unity of class," the Black Panther Party, organized by and for Black working class youth necessarily took on a class character.

Hence in its earliest development the Black Panther Party was thrown into conflict with nationalism itself. The Black Panther Party, however, externalized this struggle by declaring itself "Revolutionary Nationalist" as in primary opposition to that which they described as "Cultural Nationalism."

What the Panthers would not do was confront the fact that "cultural nationalism" and ultimately "Black Zionism" under the guise of "Pan Africanism" was the logical conclusion of Black nationalism by virtue of the fact that Black people in America share not a national, but a cultural or racial identity.

By externalizing their struggle against "Black nationalism or "cultural" nationalism, the Black Panther Party was able to prolong, to "put off," an inevitable explosion within the Black Panther Party itself. While denouncing "Cultural" nationalism and maintaining itself as a racial rather than a class organization—"Revolutionary Nationalist"—the Black Panther Party was able to make criticisms of sorts, while at the same time bowing to the pressures of the Black middle class "nationalists" themselves.

CLEAVER

In the political arena, the logic of Black nationalism began to reach its highest limits of bankruptcy as expressed by Eldridge Cleaver. Unable to make a consistent "nationalist critique" of American society, Cleaver adapted to a combination of Maoism, Romanticism, and religious mysticism (seeing America as "Babylon" which in the Book of Revelations is doomed by God for destruction). Unable to attract the working class to this ideology, Cleaver began to denounce the working class as "right-wing" and

appeal to the "Black lumpen" to make the Cleaver vision a reality.

Unable to attract students to his ideological program, he attacks students for being students—particularly the Black students—that have betrayed their people for the goals of a comfortable future. The students relate more out of guilt (or fear) logic they do from ideological agreement in fact becomes but a means of justification.

Finally, with an organization of guilt-ridden students and lumpens, the Black Panther Party, under the leadership of Eldridge, cannot forge a consistently revolutionary program to involve its members, basing itself upon race rather than class. The only consistent activity possible for the party is reformist activity, free breakfast programs and free clinics, which is also consistent with Cleaver's strange mixture of Maoism ("Serve the People") and mysticism—the great sage or Buddha expressing sublime love for humanity.

REPRESSION

The intense repression of Black rebels in general, and of Black Panthers in particular over the last three years, coupled with the fact that the Black Panther Party recruited most of its "lumpens" to "off the pig," made it necessary for the Black Panther Party as the Black Panther Party to bloc with the Communist Party and also with Democratic Party "lefts" through its "United Front to Combat Fascism" to organize a campaign for "Community Control of the Police." The community control of the police campaign, however, was doomed to failure due to the bankruptcy of the "democratic" apparatus upon which it relied for fulfillment. In the meantime, the repression continues to rain down upon the heads of Black militants and Black Panthers.

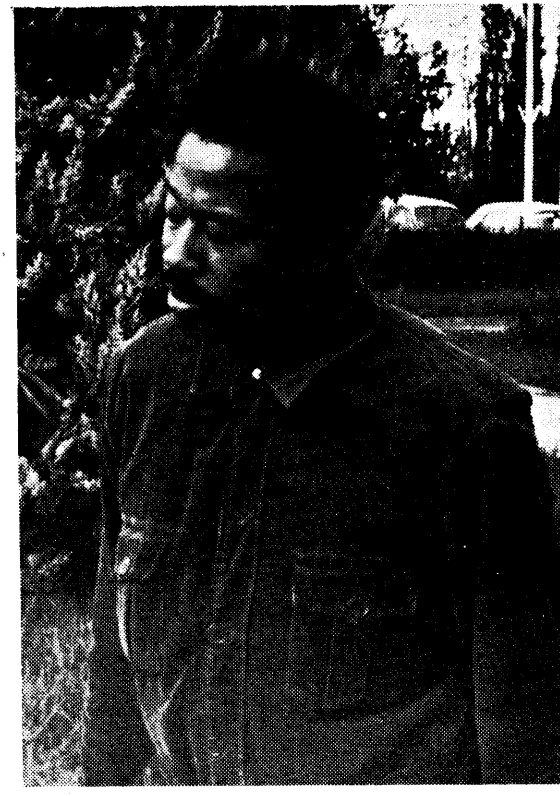
The logic of nationalism makes it impossible for Cleaver, now in exile, to fight this class repression in a class way. At the same time, in other sections of the American working class—postal workers, Teamsters, auto workers, etc.—movement is beginning to surface. Everyone, Cleaver included, remembers the French May-June events that brought the French working class to the brink of power, and the French government to near collapse.

The logic of Black nationalism is being challenged within the Black Panther Party itself by the international movement of the working class, proving that the working class alone, is that social force capable of smashing the bourgeoisie and its state for the purpose of transforming society. The logic of Marxism, of proletarian internationalism, is proving itself out. Cleaver in exile, is hostile not only to the working class, but to its theoretical expression—Marxism.

Thus, Cleaver speaks of "socialism" while at the same time denouncing the American working class and Marx as "racist." Cleaver begins to sound more and more like Stokely Carmichael, Jones and Karenga did three years ago. He now talks about the possible inevitability of "race" war if Bobby Seale is not set free. Unable to confront the fact that nationalism is unable to throw back the ruling class's attacks, Cleaver blames organized labor (30% Black!) for "supporting" those attacks. Cleaver fails to see things dialectically.

When Huey is released from prison he enters into an organization that, though built in his image, is both politically and ideologically, as well as organizationally, dominated by "Papa" Cleaver.

While in prison, Huey, as reflected in his prison writings, was beginning to



Origins of Panthers go back to nationalism of Malcolm X (top, left). Reactionary character of nationalism is expressed in Cleaver-Timothy Leary alliance (top, center, in undertake a serious study of Marxism and philosophy. Once released, however, he began to adapt to Cleaver's domination of the party while at the same time fighting for that which the movement requires—Marxism. Bowing to the pressures of Cleaver and the nationalists on the one hand, and the requirements of the movement on the other, Huey developed a confused "theory" of "Intercommunalism." This is the meaning of "Marxism-Leninism-Pantherism-Intercommunalism."

What Intercommunalism means is that Huey can both adapt to nationalism and Marxism. Seeing the world as "communities" of the American "Empire" he can at one and the same time advocate a serious study of dialectics and maintain his "Black" organization, emphasizing the liberation of the "Black Community." But even though the conflict between Marxism and nationalism is resolved in Huey's head, it is not resolved in the real world. In the real world Huey must either adapt to nationalism, and abandon Marxism, or he must develop Marxism and abandon nationalism.

THEORY

Huey's turn to theory exemplifies the need for serious class militants to burst

out of their previous limitations and pragmatic thought patterns that lead to dead end "programs." On the other hand, Huey seeks to develop theory outside of theory. Huey seeks to develop theory in his head, but theory is an actual social force, a reflection of material reality which in turn acts upon that reality to change it. The social activity that is the basis for social theory results only from social-historical activity that is at one and the same time both practical and critical. According to the Marxist view, as expressed by Tim Wohlforth in his latest pamphlet, "Marxism and American Pragmatism" we come to the conclusion that philosophy is not something abstract and scholastic:

"We would pose the question of why study philosophy in a sharper form. We pose it in this way. We would say that the question of philosophy is the question of the party. They are not separate questions. They are essentially the same question. In the world today there is no philosophy, there is no development of philosophy outside of the revolutionary party. And in the world today there is no revolutionary party outside of the development of philosophy."

Historically, all of the advancements of man's scientific and cultural achieve-

Mass rally in support of imprisoned Huey P. Newton. In prison Newton took up study of Marxist philosophy but remained a nationalist. At right is Stokely Carmichael.





ments, thus far, can advance only by the forward motion of the working class. Because the productive forces of the world have come into collision with its present, i.e., the capitalist mode of production, it is necessary for that class—the proletariat—which is the historical product of capitalism standing in opposition to capitalism, and can develop society further only by the destruction of capitalism, to move forward politically. The proletariat can move forward politically, however, only by its development of a conscious vanguard party that is capable of understanding the world and based upon that understanding provide leadership for the movement of the working class to change the world. This knowledge of the world however, cannot take place outside of a revolutionary struggle to change the world.

Thus: "We see that basically the party, and the construction of the party, is a philosophical question. To the extent that the construction of the party is a philosophical question, philosophy is therefore a practical task. ...At heart, what the party is is its program. ...So at heart you can say that the party is an idea." (Wohlforth)

TROTSKY

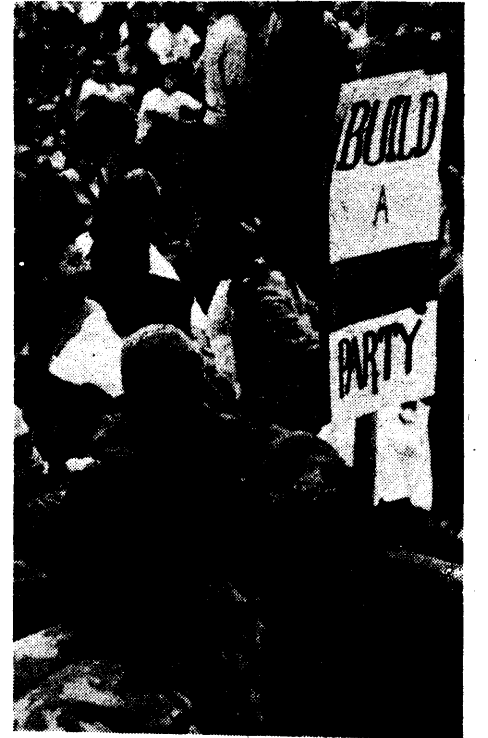
Marxism as a revolutionary theory was developed through the revolutionary praxis of the working class. The struggle for Marxism has been and shall continue to be identical to proletarian internationalism. In Marxism is contained the whole history of the working class theoretically, enriched and developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky through the undertaking of theoretical struggles for revolutionary practice in the First, Second, Third and Fourth Internationals.

Marx speaks of constant and variable magnitudes of development. The truth of each development of Marxist theory in this way is as the embodiment of the positive and the negation of the negative tendencies within the working class movement on higher levels each time maintained. The struggle for Marxist theory is therefore identical to the struggle for the Fourth International, a struggle in which the development of Marxism as a negation of anarchism, syndicalism, opportunism, chauvinism, Kautskyism, Stalinism and the various revisionist tendencies is maintained.

The conscious and constant struggle for Trotskyism against all of these tendencies

is the task posed to the International Committee of the Fourth International for the leadership of the working class. This is what Marxism is all about. Marxism is a theory of class war both within and without the working class. By posing the question of Marxism to the Black Panther Party and at the same time identifying the "Hard Hat" construction workers as our objective class brothers, what Huey is either consciously or unconsciously posing is the Black Panther Party as a class rather than a racial organization.

Huey P. Newton is not a Marxist. Huey Newton is a nationalist who has raised the question of Marxism in a pragmatic way. But by raising the question of Marxism Huey has necessarily come into conflict with the nationalists and the revisionists. This is both the meaning of the attacks by Eldridge Cleaver and the SWP-YSA groups upon Huey as well as the basis for Workers League support of this development.



Workers League participated in Chicano Moratorium march on a class basis.



Algeria.) This perspective provides no defense for militants who now come under fierce ruling class attack. (bottom, left, Philadelphia cops stage gestapo raid on Panthers.)

Open Letter To Chicano Moratorium

WITH THE DEEPENING CRISIS of American and international capitalism, the capitalists, through use of state violence, i.e., police force, wage freezes, scabs, patriotic, religious and anti-Communist propaganda, are forced by the threat of extinction to launch a vigorous sustained campaign of repression against the working class. The working class, on the other hand, internationally as well as nationally and locally, is forced to launch an economic, and in the final analysis, a political offensive against their employers and the employers' state for the main-

tenance of its previous gains while at the same time moving forward to consolidate more money, jobs and power to survive the present crisis.

The ruling class understands its task as that of breaking the back of organized labor if it is to maintain its privileged, exploitative and oppressive socio-economic position. As the present crisis deepens (and it shall deepen!) the ruling class becomes more desperate, more open with their hostility, more barbaric: the Jewish Defense League has announced the opening of another chapter—in Los Angeles.

In the face of the present crisis, the working class, confident and strong, organized and disciplined by its traditional—and successful—trade union struggles is moving forward in its economic offensive. Amidst inflation it demands a living wage, an escalator clause. Amidst depression, full employment is demanded, but capitalism is unable to meet the needs both of the ruling and the working classes. The great boom of the Fifties is over, the workers are met by repression. Both the ruling and the working classes must prepare for civil war, i.e., class war.

The ruling class understands this, it has already begun its preliminary attacks upon such working class militants as Juan Farinas, Bobby Seale, Martin Sostre, Angela Davis, the Panthers, and most recently, AFSCME. Southern California Union Coordinator, Gordy Baxter, was arrested as a result of his participation in the January 9 Chicano Moratorium's demonstrations against repression.

The working class cannot and will not take these attacks lying down! It must not rely upon the "left-wing" liberals, civil liberty "Lenins of the Court Room" attorneys and their Stalinist (CP) "left" coverups to protect them. The working class must throw back these attacks by the formation of a United Class Defense, a common front of all working class militants organized to mobilize the working class in defense of itself.

A class defense of all political prisoners is what is required in this period. To bring the Indochina war to an end—with victory on the side of the workers and peasants of Indochina—to acquire decent housing, full employment, a living wage, the release of all political prisoners, etc. A single general strike accompanied by political demonstrations all over this country could accomplish more in one week than all the "letters to Nixon" that Gus Hall could gather in one hundred thousand weeks!

Remember, it was the power of the

Thousands of youth marched in Chicano Moratorium against Vietnam war. Leaders see struggle as national one and end up lining up with Mexican dictator Diaz Ortez.





HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE, BLACK PANTHER PARTY



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Open Letter To Chicago

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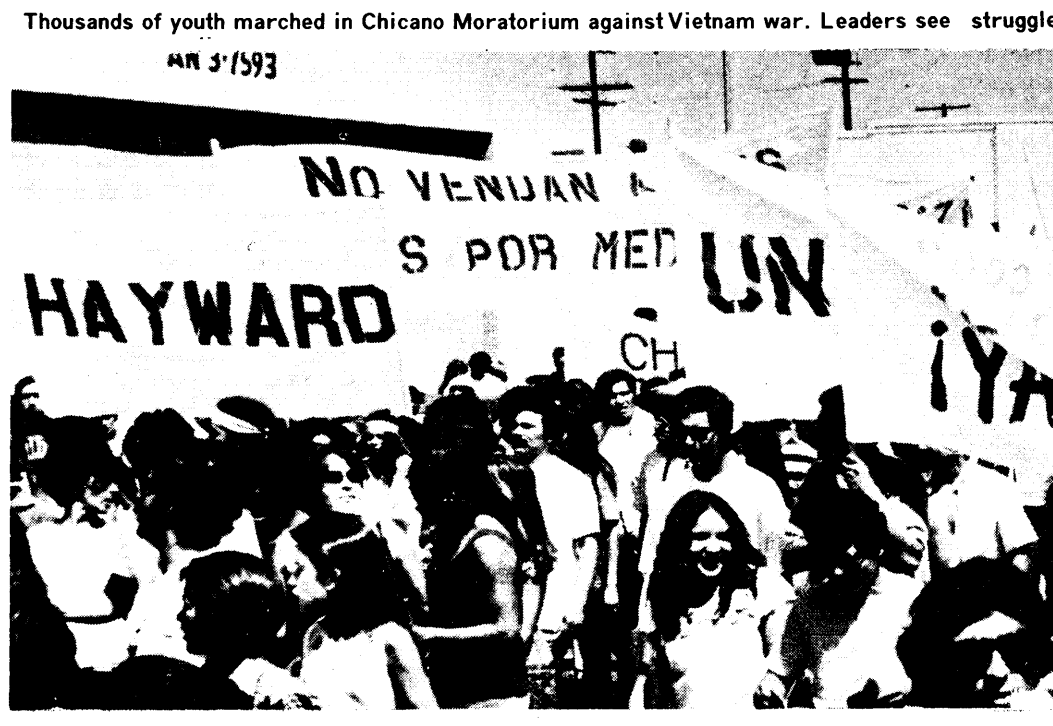
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Thousands of youth marched in Chicano Moratorium against Vietnam war. Leaders see struggle

Spanish and European workers expressing solidarity with the condemned Basque nationalists through general strikes, not the slickness of the lawyers there, that made working class justice possible. Power responds only to power, not to moral appeals. We have to force the capitalist courts to give justice to the working class and this requires a fight, a class fight that will bring into question the "legality" of the courts as well as capitalism.

CLASS

Munoz! Sanchez! Rank and Filers of the Chicano Moratorium! Workers living in the Barrios! We must fight a class fight! We must build a **United Class Defense** of all working class militants for the purpose of mobilizing the entire working class in defense of itself. All workers—male and female, Chicano, Black, Indian, Oriental and white—must unite! To preach racial or sexual division, chauvinism, mysticism or discrimination from either side is to obscure the actual relationship of classes in society and, acting as an ideological class militant being ignored—discriminated against—causes conflict there instead of unity, defeat in the place of victory.

Munoz, there is a class struggle in existence, even though you now have David Sanchez, a former "socialist" and leader of the Brown Berets, believing that there is none; there is. Munoz, when, following the October Rebellions in East Los Angeles last year (1970), at a press conference you made an appeal to President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico to "call off his meeting with Nixon until the murderers of Ruben Salazar were brought to 'justice.'" Munoz, what were you thinking of? Munoz, Munoz! Had you forgotten that "President" Diaz Ordaz was responsible for the murder and class repression of countless workers, peasants and students—Mexican workers, peasants and students—residing as "citizens" of their Mexican nation?

Munoz, there is no "national interest" per se, there is only "class interest." National interests are always consistent with the class interests of the classes in power. By appealing to Diaz were you appealing to your class brother, i.e., the class brother of a petty bourgeois "Chicano Nationalist" who objectively serves in the interest of Mexican capitalists and puppets in that it causes confusion and disunity within the American working class (as does "Black" nationalist, "white" racist, male chauvinist, religious mystic and anti-Communist patriot) so as to keep the American ruling class and or its strength, the Mexican, Ethiopian, South Vietnamese ruling classes, etc., in power, while at the same time creating and main-



Chicano youth, above, after being wounded by cops in East L.A. incident. Chicano Moratorium leaders refuse to take up defense of those arrested after outbreaks.

taining the conditions for which the "Chicano" petty bourgeoisie can cheat, rob and exploit "Chicano" workers through segregated markets? Munoz, is this the goal of "Chicano Power"??

SIDE

Munoz, which side are you on? The Karengas and LeRoi Joneses have already chosen sides. By preaching Black racism and opposing "white" communism (i.e., communism is a "white boy's thing") they have taken sides with the capitalist government and joined it in its desperate attempts to at one and the same time create Black capitalists, install Black mayors, etc., and destroy what LeRoi Jones calls "white racist unions."

In the whole of organized labor, Black people alone constitute 30%. Behind the

demagogy of LeRoi Jones (as also George Wallace) there is no question of racial but of class hatred. Identifying with the interests of petty bourgeois and bourgeois Blacks they join their white class brothers in an all out effort to destroy the working class. They hate and fear the working class, Black as well as white. This is the logic of nationalism, "Chicano Power" notwithstanding. It is in the interest of Chicano workers to join with their class brothers of all colors and oppose racism, nationalism and repression. They must fight for class unity in defense of the working class.

UNIONIST

Finally, this brings us to the purpose of this letter, the question of Gordy Baxter. Gordy Baxter is a young trade

unionist—Southern California Coordinator of AFSCME. Realizing that every class struggle is a political struggle, Gordy is also a political activist. Thus, Gordy's political understanding required of him that he participate in the January 31 Chicano Moratorium against repression. At the demonstration, as you know, the police attacked the people and a "riot" began. Following this "riot," it was announced by Los Angeles Police Chief Davis that two arrests, including a Brown Beret Lieutenant and a union organizer had been made.

Gordy, who was the unionist, contacted the Workers League upon his release. He was bailed out by the civil libertarian "Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights," a front organization of the Communist Party. Gordy discussed with members of the Workers League the necessity for a defense of the working class and the necessity to organize a political class defense for himself and other class militants arrested in or around the various Chicano Moratorium demonstrations. We went immediately to the Brown Beret headquarters and left word for Sanchez and or others to contact us. They never did. We attempted to get Gordy a spot on the January 31 Chicano Moratorium's speaking rostrum. We were unsuccessful.

WHITE

Is Gordy Baxter, union organizer and class militant being ignored—discriminated against—because he is white? Do the Chicano Moratorium leadership find that they have more in common with such butchers as Diaz Ordaz of Mexico and the Chicano brothers on the police force than they do with Gordy Baxter, a person whose freedom is on the line to prove that the cause of Chicano workers is his own?

Or are the leaders of the Chicano Moratorium afraid of Gordy Baxter and class defense? Are they afraid of civil war? Or are they sent into the Chicano movement to prevent the class unity necessary for a victorious class struggle?

We demand answers! The Chicano worker too, must demand answers! Why won't the "leadership" of the Chicano Moratorium seriously take up the defense of Gordy Baxter and other arrestees on the basis of a class defense? Of what are they afraid? In whose interest do they work? We demand an answer.

Finally, let there be no doubt about it, the working class is ready to fight because it has to. The recent wave of wildcat strikes are indicative that the working class is ready to fight.

Lil Joe, Workers League
Gordy Baxter, AFSCME Organizer

Bulletin Plans Western Regional Office For 16 Pager

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, has just completed a two week tour of the West Coast to lay the basis for the West Coast section of the new 16 page Bulletin. The Bulletin plans to expand to 16 pages per issue starting April 5th.

The Workers League has operated since its Western Regional Educational Conference, held in February, 1970, with a perspective that the West Coast would play a critical role in the coming American Revolution. Precisely because of the great expansion of capital in that region starting with World War II an immense working class has been created as well as an extremely unstable industry now in deepest crisis. The situation with Boeing and Lockheed as well as widespread unemployment generally indicate this. It is not accidental that the Panthers started on the West Coast and that at the very moment that the plans were being laid for the expansion of the Bulletin on the Coast the split in the Panthers came out in to the open.

DEMONSTRATION

The political situation in California is best exemplified by the recent development of the CSEA. Not even a trade union it has been pushed up against the wall by Reagan's attacks on state employees. They were forced to call a mass demonstration in Sacramento. Predicting an attendance of 5,000, over 10,000 turned up. Now the CSEA is threatening to strike in July.

At the same time San Francisco city employees move towards a citywide strike. In San Jose construction union heads call for a national general strike in April. On the Berkeley campus a pending strike of maids could lead to closing down the whole university.

This movement in the working class, heading towards a general strike, leads at the same time to deep crisis and strug-

gle among revisionist and Stalinist forces opening up a new situation for the development of Trotskyism. The Workers League understands that it must prepare for this new situation through a theoretical development which in turn will find ex-

pression in the development of the Bulletin. It has, in fact, been preparing in this way for some time.

In November, 1970 the Workers League held an educational conference at Monterey, California devoted to questions of

philosophy. This conference, more than anything else, laid the basis for the further development of Trotskyism on the Coast. Active branches are now functioning in San Francisco, Berkeley, San Jose, Los Angeles-Orange County and San Diego.

Key to the expansion plans will be the setting up of a Western Regional Office for the Bulletin with a full time staff. The office will be in San Francisco and Jeff Sebastian will be in charge as Western Editor. He, with the help of writers throughout the region, will produce a minimum of two pages of Western news and features each issue.

DRIVE

Other plans for the 16 page paper are also being developed. A series of cultural features is being developed to cover books, films, plays, television and other fields. A new layout and design for the paper is in planning stages.

Starting with this issue the Bulletin is launching a two month drive to get 2,000 subscriptions to the paper as part of its effort to raise the paid circulation to 10,000 by September. We urge all our readers, who do not presently subscribe, to do so immediately. We urge present subscribers to use this blank to solicit subscriptions from friends and workmates. Your help will make a major difference in helping us to surpass our goals and at the same time continue to improve the Bulletin in every way.

The Western branches of the Workers League are also hard at work building support for Juan Farinas' national tour. Present plans call for Farinas speaking at San Francisco State, University of San Francisco, San Jose, Stanford, Cal State Los Angeles, Cal State Long Beach, Compton College, Cal State San Diego. At the same time plans are being laid for a mass Workers League contingent in the April 24th march in San Francisco.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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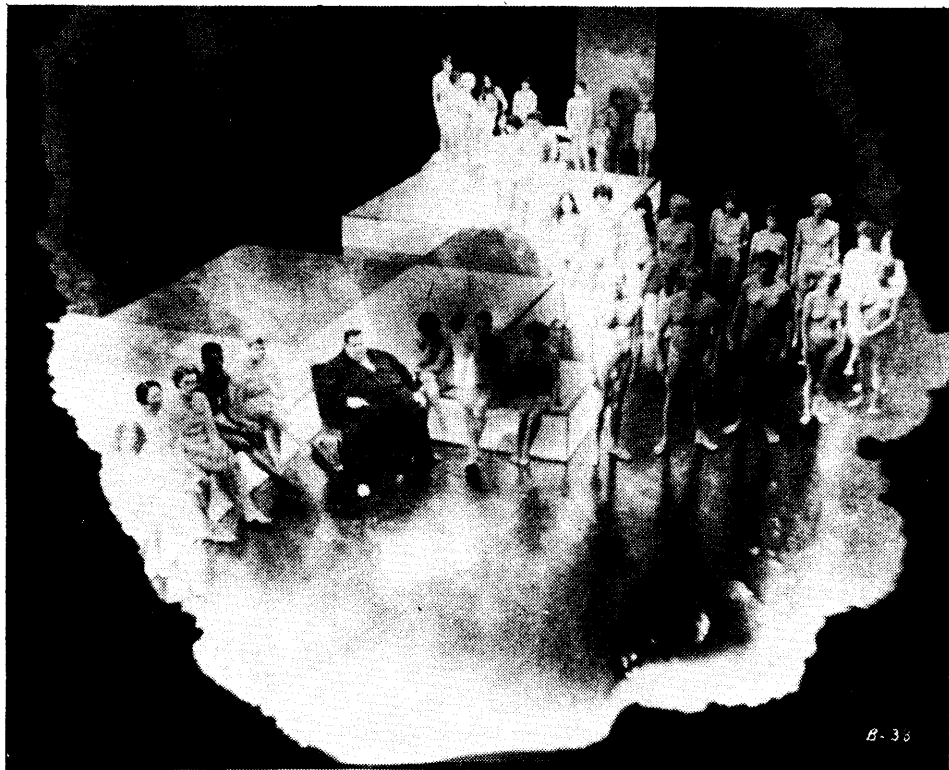
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In Place Of Mystery And Taboo: A Materialist View Of 'The Body'



Scene from "The Body", produced by Tony Garnett and directed by Roy Battersby.

REVIEWED BY MARTY JONAS AND TOM GORDON

As the roar of rocket engines grows louder we circle around what appears to be a lunar mountain. We come closer and the mountain, which turns out to be the nipple of a human breast, grows and stands erect. Thus at the beginning of this film, we are introduced to the human body as an object as explorable and knowable as the moon.

The feeling of awe in watching this film can only be compared to watching the television shots of man's first footsteps on the moon two years ago. It is the discovery of phenomenon up to now shielded in mystery.

This is a film which strips that mystery away. In place of the mysticism and taboo with which the body has always been treated, this film, produced by Tony Garnett and directed by Roy Battersby, attempts to understand the body as a material object. The body is explored as a living thing, not as something static and mechanical.

The body is shown as always in motion. The process of growth, birth, death and decay dominate the film. The body never stops working until death. Heraclitus, whom Lenin refers to in his *Philosophic Notebooks*, said "Even sleepers are workers and collaborators in what goes on in

the universe."

EXPLORATION

The exploration and understanding of the body is done by several people who are in a series of clinical-looking rooms. Here they are able to probe each other's bodies; watch each other jump, eat, nurse a child, smoke, run, lift weights, and anything else the human body is capable of doing.

They feel each other's bodies, they ask questions about each other's bodies. They are old, young, thin, obese and of all colors. They are able to do in these rooms what they cannot ordinarily do, explore and understand all the facets of the human body. Here, they and we, free from the restraints of capitalism, are able to see the richness of the human body, all of its varieties and all of its possibilities. In contrast, we also see the abuse of

Three ASU Organizers Framed In Madison

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MADISON—Three organizers for the American Servicemens Union were indicted here on Monday, March 1st, for allegedly setting a bomb at Camp McCoy, an Army Reserve Training Base in central Wisconsin.

The act of which the three A.S.U. organizers are accused resulted in the destruction of the base's telephone exchange, its electrical system and in the weakening of a reservoir dam, totalling more than \$100,000 damage.

The three men, originally arrested at Fort Carson, Colorado, where they were serving on active duty were then held incommunicado for a full week after they agreed to waive extradition proceedings and were only recently produced in Madison after pressure from the A.S.U.

There is no evidence whatsoever that the three A.S.U. organizers, whose bail was tentatively set as high as \$20,000, had any connection at all with the bombing. This attack on the men, rather, represents a political attack aimed at destroying the A.S.U. and the political movement within the armed forces as a whole. If convicted of the charges against them, each of the organizers could be sentenced to thirty-five years imprisonment.

SEVERITY

The extreme severity of the charges is but an indication of the importance which the ruling class is putting into this case.

It is because of the deepening of the crisis of U.S. capitalism and the development of insurrectionary movements in the armed forces that the army is forced to lash out at any and all tendencies which might seek to pit the G.I.s against the military and against capitalism itself. The assault on the A.S.U. must be seen as part of the attack by the capitalist class against the upsurge of the working class.

The intensity of this attack demands all the more urgently that a class defense be taken up for the Camp McCoy 3. This is the only possible way to defend them and to show the political meaning of the attack. The Workers League led the fight in the meetings of the Camp McCoy Defense Committee for the adoption of a class defense.

CLASS

The central thrust of the work of the A.S.U., to this point, has been to seek to attract the old layers of middle class radicals by pushing a program immediately acceptable to the middle class. This has led them into alliance with the forces behind *Kaleidoscope*, a "youth culture" paper, and the Stalinist Mother Jones Revolutionary League.

The class nature of this attack is clear. The explosive struggles of the G.I.s within the army reflect the hostility of the working class to the war. It is these struggles that the government fears.

The defense of the McCoy 3 must be taken into the trade union movement and the working class in general as well as into the broad masses of students.

the human body. We see the pollution of the land and the waters and we see the pollution of the human body by capitalism. The employers turn the body into its opposite, a machine in the factories. Instead of the enormous possibilities and richness of the human body, the film shows the body imprisoned by the repetitious, back-breaking tedium of the assembly line. "Five days of work and two for recovery" says an auto worker.

We see a new born baby in a crib surrounded by almost a warehouse full of food. This is the food the child will eat in his lifetime. The camera roams over the stores of food, thousands of dozens of eggs, thousands of gallons of milk, thousands of pounds of meat. In a corner of the warehouse we come to many sacks of rice, and several sacks of vegetables.

This, a voice tells us, is what an Indian child will have to eat in a lifetime. It is a fraction of the other's food.

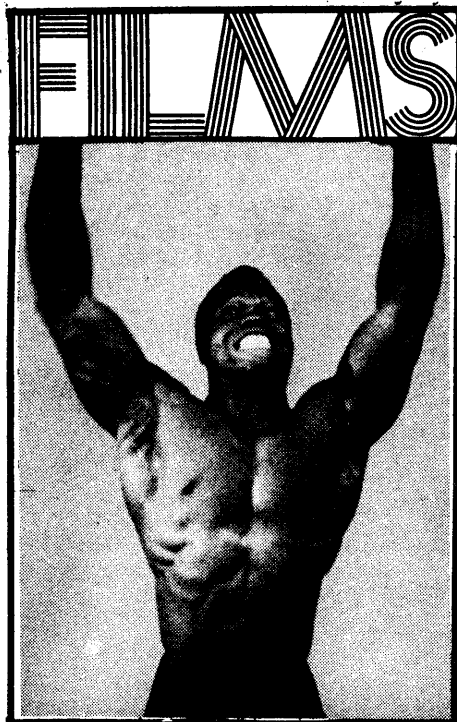
COMPLEXITIES

The complexities of the body and its relationships are brought home with great artistic and technical skill. Without the development of new photographic techniques, it would be impossible to photograph the internal workers of heart, lungs, even gall bladder and lower intestines. Artistically, avoiding a conventional plot and using nonprofessional actors, allows director Battersby to move in at his subject from many angles and to develop a very complex relationship to it.

One example of this is the treatment of the heart. There is one scene in which the nonprofessional actors debate among themselves as to whether or not they should get undressed. Finally most of them do and begin exploring each other's bodies by athletic games, by touch, etc. Part of this is to draw on one person's body where they think the organs are. A middle aged woman draws a very small heart on the chest of a young worker. Interspersed in these scenes are shots of the insides of a heart—the valves operating, the main arteries, etc, and in one of the arteries an ugly fat deposit which the narrator explains can cause a heart attack.

There is a cutback to the group of people and one of them, a medical student, finally draws the heart of an athlete's body in its proper size and shape. Later in the film and in other connections the heart is seen—in a model of the nerve system, in a model of the circulation, and in a sequence showing from the outside the organs as they operate.

Besides its internal workings, the external struggles of the body to survive are also shown. One older worker in the film describes his life in the factory and we are shown a long sequence of men assembling autos. As various workers talk about the boredom and strain we can actually see it happening. The exploitation, the dangers of the work, the constant mechanical and inhuman repetition of the line are there. Then the old worker shows his scars caused by a sheet of steel crushing four ribs, and comments matter



of factly that he got little compensation for it.

MATERIALIST

The *Body* is not a didactic film. Its two hours of images and sounds reflect the richness of all of the processes of the human body. This film is a struggle to come to a materialist understanding of the human body. Garnett and Battersby are trying to understand every facet of the human body as the workers in the room are trying to. The human body is as knowable as the moon and all material phenomena. The enemy of this knowledge is the capitalist system.

Capitalism shrouds this all in mystery, as it shrouds the nature of its system, so as to be able to enslave the body and turn its possibilities into nothing more than exploited labor. In order to stretch knowability to its limits, Battersby and Garnett have used the most modern photographic techniques in this film. Different parts of the body are shown in super-sharp closeups.

We travel through the inside of the body with a tiny camera and light which are swallowed. A special process is used to photograph the heat radiation given off by human beings. Even at rest, heat waves like flames envelope the body. The body, it can be seen dramatically, is never at rest, always "collaborates with what goes on in the universe."

The *Body* is an optimistic film. It sees no limits to the knowability of the material world. The working class will not take being chained by a brutalizing exploitative system. Through its ability to explore and understand reality and its processes and contradictions, as the workers do in this film, the working class will be able to liberate itself.

Only through the overthrow of capitalism will man be able to realize the possibilities of the material world and will science be turned from an instrument of exploitation into a means for extending man's understanding of and conquest of the material world.

This is the meaning of the lengthy, wonderful birth sequence with which the film ends.

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Jobs Threatened As Rolls, Lockheed Wheel And Deal

BY FRED MUELLER

Lockheed Chairman Daniel Haughton recently returned from London with the "best offer" submitted by the British government for the continuation of the Rolls Royce RB-211 engine for the Lockheed Tristar jet.

Mr. Haughton was clearly disappointed with the results of the lengthy negotiations with the British over possible salvaging of the RB-211 engine. They had simply not come up with enough money. Lockheed is still undecided over whether to proceed with the RB-211 engine or to switch to an alternative engine from either United Aircraft or General Electric. In any case additional hundreds of millions of dollars in losses are going to have to be absorbed.

GUARANTEE

Haughton said Lockheed's decision would be made within 30 days. But he pointedly refused to guarantee that the Tristar would be produced. "I can't sit here and guarantee that things will or will not happen."

Lockheed furthermore would not guarantee the British that their investment would not be lost should Lockheed collapse. "I don't have anybody to give me such a guarantee."

As Haughton readily pointed out, no matter what happens, "chances are we'll need some more money." And while the banks appeared to be "sympathetic" to Lockheed's problems, "what banks do is based on what's best for banks."

After weeks of behind the scenes wrangling and wringing of hands, there is no solution. There is no escaping the crisis. While the gentlemen in the boardrooms tremble with uncertainty, tens of thousands of workers wait for the news that they may no longer have jobs. Millions of workers will be affected by this acute symptom of the crisis which threatens capitalism with complete collapse.

UFT Must Strike To Stop Layoffs

BY A UFT MEMBER

NEW YORK—Mass teacher layoffs, firings and severe budget cutbacks threaten New York City teachers and students.

Over the last weekend a temporary court order was issued postponing the Board of Education's economy moves to save \$40 million, but the Board and Mayor Lindsay have made it clear that the cuts must be made. Lindsay said the City cannot put off "today's pain until tomorrow."

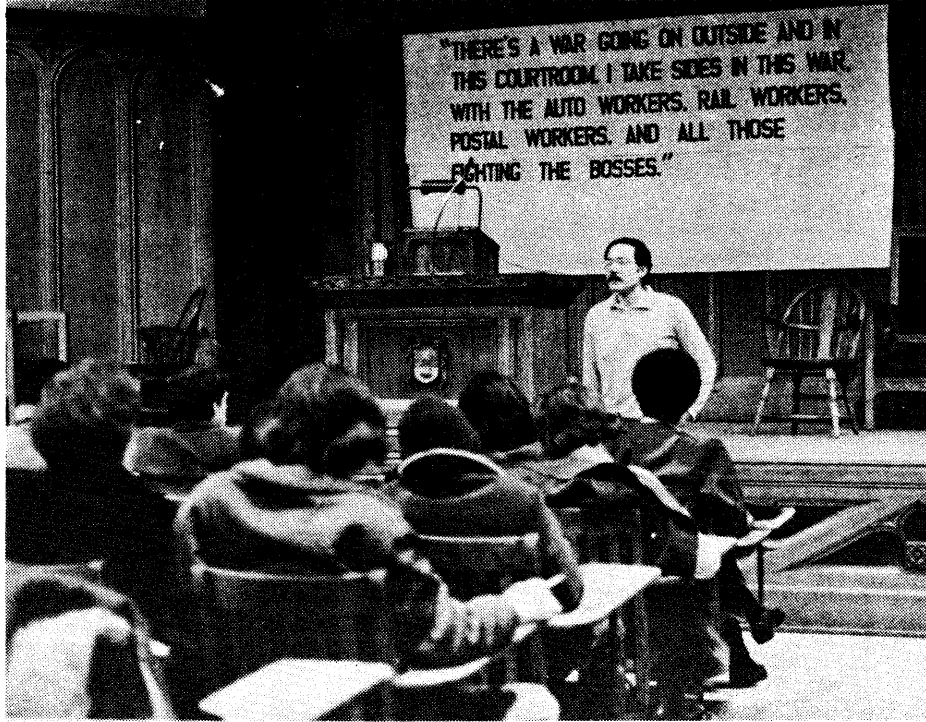
The cuts planned would halt the hiring of some 4,000 day-to-day substitutes, lay off about 6,500 full-time teachers, stop all athletic and other after school programs, freeze all but emergency repairs and maintenance, and stop the sale of reduced fare pupil transportation passes.

The court order in no way halts or overturns these cutbacks. It does not even question the wisdom or necessity of the cuts themselves, but just the manner in which the Board ordered them. Assemblyman Wright of Brooklyn who obtained the order said he deplored the cuts, but exposed his bankruptcy when he said that if they were necessary, the community school districts themselves should decide how they would be made. Needless to say, such legalistic maneuvers are worthless as a weapon for teachers and students.

The way to fight the attacks is raised by the "March for 1 Million" rally being called for this Friday by the UFT, parents, and community groups. The rally is being planned as a massive protest, but this is not enough. It must be turned into the beginning of an offensive of the teachers—and all of city labor—against Lindsay's attacks. The schools must be closed on Friday.

At the rally the City must be warned that the schools will stay closed if any cuts are put into effect, if one teacher is laid off. The ranks of the UFT must demand that Shanker be prepared to call a strike and call for the entire city labor movement to support the teachers with a general strike.

We must make it clear to Lindsay that we will not pay for the City's budget crisis. The threat of a strike is the only weapon we have to force the City to roll back all of its planned cuts.



Juan Farinas addresses meeting at Yale University in New Haven last week. About 70 persons attended rally and heard speakers, including representatives from the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords, the Workers League and representatives from the trade union movement. Farinas begins a national tour next week, to the West Coast and Midwest.

Clever Partisans Show Contempt For Marxism

BY ERNIE LEWIS

The real character of the open split in the Black Panther Party between Newton and Cleaver was shown even more clearly on March 5th at a rally held in defense of Bobby Seale and other political prisoners at New York City Community College in Klitgard Auditorium.

The meeting, called by a third world coalition, had its tone set with the playing of drums, the reading of poetry, and a call for third world unity. The questions of a working class defense, the international crisis of capitalism, and dialectical materialism were totally ignored. In their place were repeated calls for "action" and "organization."

LOGIC

Under these conditions it was only natural that one of the speakers, Gilberto Garcia from the Black Science Society, would take nationalism to its logical conclusion. Standing between his two bodyguards he first thrust his open hand forward in a fascist salute. He revealed his plans for the forced mobilization at gunpoint if necessary, of the masses of Black people in a war against the white world.

While chastizing the other speakers for their "soft hearted" attitude towards the masses of Black people, Garcia implied the political assassination of all those Black leaders who could not meet the "needs" of the "people" during this period. It was in this atmosphere that the video tape of Eldridge Cleaver was brought into the room by members of the New

York chapter of the Black Panther Party.

According to Cleaver the split in the Panthers was caused by the expulsion of the Panther 21 and the lack of "democratic centralism" within the party. Maintaining that the responsibility for those expulsions rested with David Hilliard, Cleaver demanded his resignation as Chief of Staff.

During the course of the discussion that followed the showing of the tape, the real issues facing the Black Panther Party were raised by members of the Workers League. In support of the move forward by Newton in his call for dialectical materialism and the building of a revolutionary party it was pointed out that it was Cleaver with his call for a kamikaze consciousness, his alliance with middle class radicals, and his support of the military dictatorship in Algeria who represented the right wing section of the party. Exposing the arguments Cleaver offered as a cover, it was revealed that it was his contempt for revolutionary theory and the working class that was at issue, not "democratic centralism."

It is only with the probing of the question of Trotskyism vs. Stalinism that the revolutionary struggle can be taken forward. It is this question that is facing the Panthers and it is this issue that was brought out in that meeting.

It is no accident that the only force that supported Newton's call for dialectics at that meeting was the Workers League, and it is also no accident that the same forces that supported Cleaver showed an outright contempt for the working class and revolutionary theory.

Auto Workers Face Layoffs

BY KEVIN HAZLETT

DETROIT, Feb. 27—Ford has announced it will lay off 3,000 hourly workers from its Wixom assembly plant near here for a one week shutdown to adjust their inventory of Thunderbirds and Lincoln Continentals.

American Motors will also lay off 2,500 workers at the Milwaukee body plant and 500 at the Kenosha assembly plant all next week.

These new attacks on the jobs of the auto workers follow by a few short weeks the nationwide one week layoffs at Ford totalling 2,800, many at the River Rouge complex here. This follows the reports that in April General Motors would lay off one sixth of the entire work force, 750 workers at the Tarrytown, N.Y.,

Detroit Layoffs Spur Teachers To Fight Back

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT, March 4—The Detroit Board of Education, citing a deficit of \$29 million, laid off 192 teachers last week. One teacher laid off had 15 years tenure.

Teachers responded to this attack and forced the leadership of the Detroit Federation of Teachers to call a special meeting last Sunday.

At this meeting the gulf between the leadership of DFT Local 231 and the rank and file members was widened. The teachers reacted to other budget cuts with equal hostility—to cuts in school facilities, remedial and special ability programs, substitute service, textbooks and supplies,

plant with the permanent shutdown of the truck assembly line there.

It is clear that these attacks by the employers and their government are aimed at workers as a whole, and are just the beginning of what Nixon has in store.

The government reported on February 25 that wholesale prices rose in February 1.5 percent, the biggest rise in fourteen years. It is obvious that everything Nixon says about an economic upturn six months or a year from now is a fraud. We say that these attacks demand the unity of the workers against the employers and Nixon.

The ranks of the labor movement must fight for: jobs for all—thirty hours work at full pay; a full cost of living clause in every contract; build an independent labor party.

and Saturday preschool and summer school sessions.

Mary Riordan and the resto of the timid leadership agreed that the teachers should pay for the crisis and that they should "fight" back with weekly trips to the state capital to "pressure the politicians."

The majority of the teachers view the leadership with distrust. Although it was obvious that the majority favored a strike until the cuts were rescinded, Riordan adjourned the meeting and cancelled another one.

The ranks must now fight to force their leadership to call a strike of all teachers until the layoffs are rescinded and to call on the rest of Detroit labor to support this strike.

Pressure For Deal Mounts In Middle East

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Amidst the mounting diplomatic maneuvers on all sides as the Middle East cease fire expires, one thing is absolutely clear. The danger of a complete sellout of the Arab masses continues to grow.

Both the Egyptians and Israelis are scurrying around the corridors of the United Nations appealing to "international opinion." The Egyptians are seeking to put maximum pressure on the Zionists for a total withdrawal from all occupied territories before negotiations begin, while the Israelis continue to resist this demand.

The struggle of the Arab masses for liberation from imperialism is cast aside in this disgusting diplomatic game. With the masses in the background, the imperialists coo about the "increased chances for peace."

Thus, on the eve of the cease-fire expiration, Nixon himself stated, "I am cautiously optimistic on getting a cease fire...Both of the major powers will exert a restraining influence. I'm looking at it from the standpoint of realities out there." He further stated, "Breaking up the peace would not be in the interest of either. We can expect some days of tension and difficulty, but there are great forces at work for a live-and-let-live attitude."

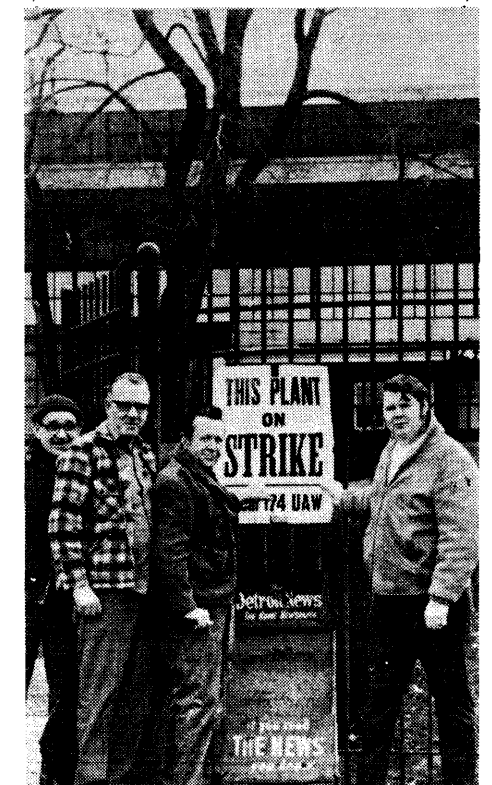
STALINISTS

Nixon is openly boasting of the aid he is getting from the Stalinist bureaucracy in defeating the Arab masses. These are the "great forces at work for a live-and-let-live attitude."

The Middle East is a major testing ground for the Stalinist policy of peaceful coexistence with imperialism. Egypt's Sadat and the entire national bourgeoisie are tying their policy as much as Nasser ever did to the Stalinists and the aim of winning over the imperialists, not defeating them. They seek to gain the support of Washington for a settlement which would maintain imperialist interests in the area. They seek to persuade the butchers of Vietnam that their interests would be better served by a slight loosening of ties with the Israelis.

Washington uses Cairo and Moscow to divert attention away from Indochina. They want to use a settlement in the Middle East to resolve the other thorn in the side of both Washington and Moscow, the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The danger of betrayal is greater than ever. U.S.-Soviet policy is aimed at shoring up the bourgeois regimes and halting the social revolution. But the movement of the masses can and will throw the imperialists and their helpers off balance again. The only policy which can defeat the imperialists and their Zionist partners is a revolutionary policy, linking the struggles of Jewish and Arab workers, linking the fight of the Palestinian masses to the fight for a socialist Middle East.



Auto workers from UAW Local 174 are on strike in Detroit. All over the country the auto companies are on the offensive, with massive layoffs from Tarrytown, N.Y., to California and Detroit.



Interview: Union Organizer Framed By L.A. Cops

The following is an interview with Gordon Baxter who was arrested as a result of his participation in the Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles on January 9. An open letter from him and Joe Johnson appears in this issue.

The purpose of this interview is to expose to the general public your arrest following the recent Chicano Moratorium demonstration and the political ramifications surrounding the case. But before we go into that aspect of this interview, can you tell us a little about yourself.

A. Well there really isn't much to tell. As you know, my name is Gordon Baxter. I am a former UCLA student and currently employed as a health worker at UCLA and am also the secretary of our union, Local 2070 UCLA Health Workers, AFSCME, and Southern California coordinator for the CCUVE #99, statewide council of AFSCME locals on all California university and state college campuses.

Q. What are your political views and affiliations if any?

A. I consider myself to be a Marxist, a communist. I am affiliated with a radical political group, an off campus political group here in Westwood called the Westwood Liberation Front.

Q. Was it because of your affiliation with this group that you decided to participate in the Chicano moratorium?

A. Yes.

Q. You decided to go as a group?

A. Yes.

Q. And it was as a result of your participation in this Moratorium that you were arrested?

A. Yes.

Q. What happened?

A. There was a march called by the

Chicano Moratorium from Hollenbeck Park to Hollenbeck police station in East Los Angeles to protest police brutality. At the same time there was a rally called by the Peace Action Council in support of the Chicano movement. I went to the march originally and the two finally merged into one protest rally. Across the street from the police station where the rally was being held a group of kids were sitting on a construction site. The kids were ordered off and with some reluctance they obeyed. The police nevertheless used this "refusal to obey police orders" as an excuse to move into the crowd of demonstrators and with force and violence proceed to break them up.

At this point many demonstrators fled into the downtown area of Los Angeles a few blocks away. The police pursued. Several windows were broken. I myself was a part of the crowd that ended up downtown. Like everybody else I was running from the police. As I and the people around me were running, we heard a shot fired and turned around and saw a Chicano youth fall.

We saw a police car come up and pick him up. We immediately went back to see what happened. The car was gone and there was blood on the sidewalk. I took several pictures and then plainclothes policemen from across the street came over and began to harass and intimidate me, and the people with me. They searched us. A girl was also present and was also searched by these police.

Q. Were you arrested at this time?

A. No.

Q. What happened?

A. We were released and told to get out of the area.

Q. When were you arrested?

A. On the 19th of January, ten days later.

Q. What happened?

A. I had got off work and got together with friends and we were going off to dinner. We were driving down the street and one friend noticed an undercover cop searching around the house but he ignored it. Then we drove down Westwood Boulevard near the union office in Westwood Village near UCLA and an unmarked car pulled up alongside us, showed his badge out the window and demanded us to pull over. We obeyed and pulled over. At this time I was commanded out of the car and placed under arrest. The police had recognized me and made me get out.

Q. What were you charged with?

A. Violation of 242 Penal Code—felonious battery on a police officer. The policemen claimed that I threw two bottles, hit one policeman's leg and missed the other.

Q. Did you?

A. Of course not.

Q. What do you think should be done in your defense?

A. I have been following the case of Juan Farinas, and the way that his defense is being handled. I think this is the way that all political prisoners should be defended—with a class defense.

I also think that it is important that the Chicanos who were also arrested during this incident be defended not as Chicanos but as workers, and that a class defense be extended to them also.

L.A. City Council Defends Cops Who Murdered Mexicans

BY LI'L JOE

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles City Council has voted 8 to 5 in defense of three policemen charged with federal civil rights violations in the murder of two Mexican nationals.

Although the city of Los Angeles is in a financial crisis, the Mayor, Sam Yorty, the Board of Police Commissioners, together with the city's Police, Fire and Civil Defense Committee recommended that the L.A. workers, i.e. the city's "tax payers," take up financially the legal defense of these policemen.

The Los Angeles City Council approved a recommendation by its Police, Fire and Civil Defense Committee that it authorize the city attorney to defend the murderers of Guillermo Beltram Sanchez, 22, and Guillermo Alcazar Sanchez, 21, both of whom were Mexican citizens killed in Los Angeles.

This move by the City Council was opposed by Chicano militants as well as City Council liberals. Richard Cruz, state chairman of the Chicano Law Students Association berated the Los Angeles City Council for backing people who had obviously "committed atrocious crimes." Cruz accused the Council of forcing Mexican-Americans to "pay for the legal defense of murderers of our own people."

Also opposing the Council's decision were Councilwoman Pat Russell and Councilmen Billy Mills, Gilbert Lendsay, Ed Elderman and Tom Bradley. Councilman Bradley himself pointed out that to defend the three police would mean that every other city employee indicted on criminal charges would in like manner have to be defended.

Accordingly, the working class is once again "footing the bill." Amidst the current crisis of capitalism, when city, county and state governments throughout the nation are facing bankruptcy; at a time when, in California the Reagan administration is forcing state, city and county employees to bear the brunt of the crisis (blaming it all on the unemployed "welfare recipients").

The city of Los Angeles is forcing those very people off of whom its parasitic politicians and police live, to foot the bill for the defense of policemen who committed a murder so cold blooded and obvious that the federal government had to embarrassingly step in and condemn it in order

to save face and spread illusions of bourgeois "justice."

The workers of Los Angeles must not take this lying down. We must rise and fight back. Workers—of all colors, Black, white and yellow or red as well as brown must unite on a class basis to defend themselves. No single group can do it alone.

It is not enough for certain Chicano militants to go to the City Council and "protest." Power responds only to more power. We must all—together—build a common defense to turn the situation around. This is the meaning of the Juan Farinas Defense case, and this is the meaning of the class defense of Gordy Baxter. We must mobilize the working class in defense of itself.

S.F. City Unions Vote On Strike

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Nearly every city workers' union—transit, teachers, janitors, hospital workers, clerks—is voting this week whether or not to strike.

The trade union leaders now find themselves calling for a strike which they opposed preparing for. Jeffries, head of Local 400, stated at a union meeting in January that the talk of strike then would put Mayor Alioto "up tight," as if obtaining fringe benefits, salary increases were a question of putting the mayor in a good mood!

Three months later the board of supervisors and the mayor in the same unperturbed mood, were offering city workers only a 4 percent increase, no fringe benefits, and no commitment to fill vacancies or stop layoffs.

In two months the Board of Supervisors have plans to eliminate the civil service classification which covers "temporaries." In the process of eliminating the classification, thousands of city workers will be facing layoffs. In the data computing office 75 percent of the workers are temporaries. In the probation office, 40 percent are temporaries. It is clear to everyone except the union leaders that the city plans to lay off these workers and then freeze the positions.

The head of the Central Labor Council, George Johns, offered to make a compromise deal with the city administration. If they would grant city workers a 6 percent increase and fringe benefits, he would not recommend strike sanction. During the

city workers strike a year ago, Johns appointed himself negotiator and promptly sold out the strike. Again he offers a compromise without even consulting the unions involved, in violation of the bylaws of the Labor Council itself.

But the City Fathers rejected John's compromise and are now begging city workers on radio and television not to strike because of their "civic responsibilities."

A general strike of city workers is imminent, but city labor must call upon the rest of the labor movement in the Bay Area if it is to win. The 3000 construction workers who demonstrated for jobs in front of City Hall only a few weeks ago, the typographers, fighting for their jobs against the owners of the Independent Journal in San Rafael, and longshoremen facing strike action this summer to protect their jobs against containerization, have the power to shut San Francisco down.

A general strike could not succeed if it only won a few economic demands but left the Aliotos and Reagans in power who will take everything right back from the working class as soon as the strike is over. A San Francisco general strike would pose the resignation of Alioto and the Board of Supervisors and the formation of a labor party by the unions.

San Diego Construction Workers Form Caucus

BY ROBERT RIVERA

SAN DIEGO—In response to the heightening of the war in Southeast Asia and the government attacks against American workers, a group of construction workers in San Diego have formed the Construction Trades Committee for Militant Leadership.

The Committee feels that Nixon's strong moves against the construction unions cannot be fought by any isolated protest movement of labor. Coming as it does in a period of deepening economic crisis and further imperialist invasions in Southeast Asia, government attacks on construction workers are only one part of the government's attempts to destroy the unions and halt the forward movement of the working class.

Union leaders in this area have not lifted a single finger against these attacks. Their program is to oppose Nixon by strengthening ties with the Democratic Party that wants to clamp a wage freeze on all workers.

For this reason it is no accident that when the convention of the Associated General Contractors was held in San Diego, the employers used this forum to issue a call for a wage freeze in construction. It is no accident either that the government is preparing the San Diego Plan that would force racially segregated hiring in construction much like the Philadelphia Plan. These are direct blows against the unions, attempting to pit workers against each other.

It is at a time of great danger to the unions that the Committee comes forward to fight for leadership in the unions. The Committee was formed around a program of general strike of all labor to end the war, complete independence of the trade unions from government control, no anti-union laws, against unemployment, 30 hours work at 30 hours pay, against repression, defend Juan Farinas, defend all political prisoners, break with the twin parties of war, inflation, unemployment and repression, build a labor party.



The newly formed Workers League club on the Irvine campus meets for first discussion. One of first activities planned is support for the Juan Farinas case, and preparation for Farinas' tour to the West Coast.

Waffle Leads Quebec NDP Into PQ

BY SIMON NELSON

MONTREAL—The Quebec wing of the New Democratic Party held its annual provincial convention here from February 19-21. This convention was of great importance as it was held during a period of great crisis for capitalism in Canada, and especially in Quebec.

The two major resolutions before the convention were first, that the NDP withdraw from all provincial politics in Quebec, and second, that the Quebec NDP recognize that Quebec has the absolute right to self-determination. Both resolutions were passed by overwhelming majorities.

We must see the nature of these new political moves by the Quebec NDP within the context of the political developments taking place in Canada. The Canadian bourgeoisie is in a deep state of crisis. It lashes out at the working class, hoping to destroy its movement and force it back to slave labor conditions. This intensification of the class struggle throws the middle class, especially those leading the labor

the service of bourgeois nationalism. The more the capitalist attacks on the workers sharpen, the more treacherous will be the role of the PQ, in defusing the workers' opposition, dividing the French and English workers and demoralizing them.

All this is of little significance to the social democrats who are on the run. To them, all that counts is that the PQ won 25% of the popular vote in the last Quebec provincial election and won several seats in the Quebec National Assembly from Montreal working class districts. What is ignored is that the PQ is bourgeois, that it is consciously preparing to betray the workers both of Quebec and Canada by splitting them and thus immeasurably weakening their common struggle against capitalism. Any talk about socialism is thrown out.

NATIONALISM

First, the NDP withdraws from provincial politics, leaving the workers of Quebec without any independent voice and in the hands of the PQ. Along with this many hints are dropped about how, during federal elections (which the PQ does not run in), the NDP will ask for the support of the PQ in Quebec. In other words, a comfortable, working relationship is created for the bureaucrats inside the NDP but the workers' fight is betrayed.

In relation to the question of the right of Quebec to self-determination, NDP leaders insisted that the resolution was not an endorsement of Quebec nationalism. All it meant, they insisted, was that Quebec had the right to do what it wanted. This resolution passed only after long discussion and debate.

When the resolution states that "Quebec" has the absolute right to self-determination, it means more than just the workers of Quebec. It means that all classes, both workers and capitalists, have the right to determine Quebec's future. The second resolution represents a move to form a political bloc with the Quebec middle class and a section of the capitalist class. Here we have the interconnection between the two resolutions. First, an electoral bloc with the PQ and, finally, to cement this first bloc, an ideological turn to the PQ. This is the answer the NDP gives the workers of Quebec and Canada at a time of great crisis—run, as fast as possible, away from even a semblance of independent working class leadership.

It is significant to note the role of the



Waffle Caucus, the so-called left wing of the NDP in the Quebec Convention. In the Pabloite League for Socialist Action's paper, Labor Challenge, Dick Fidler writes:

"Unfortunately, some leading partisans of Quebec self-determination in the NDP have handed a weapon to their right-wing opponents, by proposing at the same time an alliance between the NDP and the bourgeois Parti Quebecois.

"That is the essential thrust of the proposals of the Quebec Movement for a New Alliance. Composed mainly, if not entirely, of Quebec Waffle supporters, this group will propose to both the Quebec NDP convention February 19-20 and the April federal convention that the NDP abandon any presence on the Quebec scene, and that it run candidates only in those federal ridings which it can win—presumably the English ridings in west-end Montreal."

Further on in his article, Fidler writes: "Waffle leader, Jim Laxer, the left candidate for the NDP federal leadership, has echoed the 'new alliance' group's proposals in recent statements. He told Montreal papers that Waffle supporters will ask that members of the PQ be seated at the April Convention as official delegates. This, he said, would illustrate 'the real situation of social democracy in Canada, represented by the NDP in English Canada and the PQ in Quebec.'"

WAFFLE

Here we have it. It was not the right wing of the NDP, but its so-called left wing, the Waffle, that led the turn of the NDP into the PQ. For Fidler, of course, it is an "anomaly" that the "anti-U.S. imperialist Waffle" could support the "pro U.S. capital PQ." To Fidler and to all the



Melville Watkins, head of Waffle caucus.

LSA/YS (co-thinkers of the Socialist Workers Party) this move by the Waffle group—their active, open alliance with bourgeois nationalism—may seem an anomaly, an "unfortunate" occurrence, especially since the Pabloites gave almost uncritical support of the "left" and "anti-U.S. imperialist Waffle."

This would further seem an anomaly to the Pabloites especially in conjunction with Waffle's support of Quebec self-determination which they support. But the Waffle group has only gone one short step further than the Pabloites along the road of Quebec nationalism. They have now abandoned all pretense of an independent class fight and have forged their blocs with the bourgeoisie ("the real situation of social democracy in Canada, represented by the NDP in English Canada and the PQ in Quebec").

There is no anomaly here. Indeed, this is a direct extension of the Waffle's program of Canadian and Quebec nationalism. No matter how "unfortunate" this may seem to the Pabloites, to take the road of Quebec nationalism is to abandon the struggle for an independent working class leadership. The Pabloites, along with Waffle and the entire leadership of the NDP, have done this.

The whole position of Waffle in regards to the Quebec NDP is of great importance in understanding how to build a new leadership in the NDP. The LSA/YS has given almost uncritical support to Waffle and their leadership candidate, Jim Laxer. They see him as the "left" candidate inside the NDP. Yet, this "left" candidate has supported the fight inside the Quebec NDP for one of the sharpest turns away from socialism and to the right, into the camp of bourgeois nationalism, that has ever occurred inside the NDP.

Although Laxer and the Waffle use a great deal of "progressive" terminology, in reality, they represent only a slightly different shade of exactly the same thing as does the right wing of the party. In times of crisis these NDP "lefts" can be as effective as the Labor "lefts" in Britain are in selling out the workers in the most revolutionary sounding way, to the bourgeoisie. It is time now for the ranks of the NDP and for the entire workers' movement to break from both wings of the bureaucracy and the middle class, as represented by the present leadership on the one hand and the Waffle group on the other.

It must build a new leadership based on the independence of the working class in the fight for socialism and the unity of the Canadian working class in a revolutionary struggle to destroy capitalism.



Jim Laxer, Waffle candidate in NDP.

movement, into a state of panic.

The labor bureaucrats and many of those in the leadership of the NDP look around for alliances with the bourgeoisie. And there, ready and waiting, is the Parti Quebecois. The Parti Quebecois is a petty bourgeois nationalist party built by the Quebec middle class in response to the growing crisis in hopes that it can get more foreign (especially American) capital in a separate Quebec instead of being tied to Canada.

The PQ serves an extremely dangerous role now in diverting the struggles of some of the most militant workers in Quebec away from the fight against capitalism into

Quebec Teachers Press Strike Against Wage Cuts



Montreal teachers at meeting to prepare fight against "reclassification" scheme which means huge wage slashes.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL—The Corporation des Enseignants (CEQ)—Quebec Teachers Corporation—and its largest local, the Alliance des Professeurs de Montreal, are in disagreement with regard to the course of action to be taken in the fight against the government's reclassification and wage cutting policy.

The government has demanded that all teachers go back to work before negotiations can resume and has stated that the reclassification clauses are non-negotiable. The CEQ is in favor of a temporary truce in the study sessions to test "the good faith of the government and the school board federations."

The Alliance has stated that negotiations cannot be held without also holding public forums of the National Assembly Civil Service Committee. The Alliance voted on February 25 to end their walkout when it heard this committee meeting had been convened, but quickly annulled their deci-

sion on hearing the meeting had been cancelled. The CEQ is opposed to the demand for these public forums, saying this action is only taken as a last step, and wants to continue its negotiations with the government.

"GOOD FAITH"

We know from the past what "good faith" the government has shown in negotiating with the teachers and other workers. This good faith has been shown in the form of wage cuts and work load increases.

The Alliance wants to continue its walkouts to force the government to convene the Civil Service Committee in order to bring the education crisis to the public and out of closed-door negotiations that the CEQ is in favor of and has participated in. This is the essence of the disagreement in the union which the CEQ and the Alliance have tried to bridge.

The Alliance is now being pressured

not only by the government but also by its own parent union leadership. The Federation of Catholic School Commissions is now attacking the teachers in the form of pressures on the government and the Protestant School Commissions to make the teachers union pay \$100-1,000 a day in fines for what they term is an illegal strike.

STRIKE

This attempt by the ruling class to declare the study sessions illegal shows its fear of the working class. Its solution to its present economic crisis is to slash wages and lower the quality of education in the province of Quebec.

All teachers must go on a province wide strike until all demands are met. This is the only way the teachers will be able to fight the government's attempt to place the load of the present economic crisis on the shoulders of teachers and students.