

Bulletin

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**Open
Letter
To Huey
Newton**

REPRESSION HITS PUERTO RICO



Students at the University of Puerto Rico retreat before a tear gas attack by police in the Rio Piedras section of San Juan during demonstrations against ROTC there.

1,500 Youth Line Up For 150 Jobs



Youth slept overnight in sleeping bags in below freezing weather to get a place in line of 1,500 in front of Public Health and Welfare Building in downtown Minneapolis.



Call Off Newark General Strike As Sellout Of Teachers Brews

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK, March 16—Charles Marciante and other leaders of the New Jersey AFL-CIO called off the three-hour general strike and demonstration that was planned for Wednesday in support of the Newark Teachers Union in its fight against the Board of Education's unionbusting attacks.

The reason given by Marciante was that the renewed negotiations were what they were originally fighting for in their call for the strike. Therefore since negotiations have begun again, a general strike is not needed.

But this retreat comes at a time when Carole Graves, the president of the NTU, and other NTU officials are still in jail because they refused to end their strike. Thus, Marciante's calling off the strike and rally really poses the betrayal of the teachers' strike and destroys the unity that is needed in order to defeat Gibson and his capitalist masters.

Gibson has stated that his new offer of a \$500 "cost of living raise" in the second year (no raise the first year) is "the maximum economic commitment the city could make." This ridiculous offer is now being put forward in the new negotiations as a take it or leave it offer. What it effectively says is that Gibson and the Board are out to bust the union and the jailing of the three NTU leaders is only the beginning unless the teachers accept their slave contract. It is in this context that Marciante feels that "meaningful negotiations" can take place.

But it was precisely the explosive political implications that Marciante is running from. The rally in front of City Hall would have been more than simply a rally against the Board of Education's stinginess. As one construction worker said in Newark this week in relation to the rally "Nixon ought to be hung by his heels."

It is this connection that workers are beginning to make that Marciante and the other bureaucrats are so worried about. These bureaucrats have no intention of fighting against Gibson's attacks on the teachers or Nixon's attacks on the building trades unions.

It is because they fear this political movement that threatens continually to usurp their complacent, purely economic trade union orientation that leaders like Marciante are forced now to betray their members and the working class's general movement forward against capitalism's crisis.

But faced with the retreat of the New Jersey AFL-CIO leadership, the leaders of the NTU are helpless. Their reaction was that now that they were betrayed by "labor," the teachers had to go it alone. And they refused to criticize or condemn Marciante and his fellow bureaucrats.

This kind of pragmatic thinking paves the way for the isolation and defeat of the teachers strike and of the NTU itself. Many teachers still have the conception that they are not really a part of the labor

movement. They see the AFL-CIO as separate from their own existence and from their strike and its meaning.

The leadership of the NTU, regardless of their talk that the strike is part of the struggles of the working class, have adapted to these conceptions. They have seen the support of the AFL-CIO in a very pragmatic way. Since it worked as a good way to put pressure on Gibson and the bosses, it was correct to seek and get their support.

But these leaders never really understood the political questions involved in their strike. To them it is a trade union struggle around certain economic demands. Therefore, when Marciante waves goodbye, they wave back and say it was good while it lasted, but now we have to go it alone.

This approach to the question of the strike and the strategy that flows from it is leading to the defeat of the teachers.

The teachers are facing direct political attacks from the government through Gibson, the Board and the courts. These attacks cannot be defeated and the teachers cannot win their strike unless they fight back politically. But in order to do this successfully, they must organize the trade union movement in Newark and the surrounding area on the basis that the attacks on their union are only the preparation for further and more vicious attacks on the entire union movement.

This is why the retreat of Marciante and the others is so rotten. They intend to sit back and allow their unions to be busted by Nixon and the bosses because they are afraid to see the political nature of the attacks and fight on that political basis.

What is involved here is the need for the political unity of the working class against the capitalists. When the NTU leadership is thrown into jail and when Gibson and the Board refuse to give the teachers anything that can be called a wage increase and are openly out to bust the union, and are using the courts to do so, then it becomes a question for the whole of the labor movement. Such attacks on the basic trade union rights must not go unanswered.

The only way to answer Gibson and Nixon is through a general strike of the whole Newark labor movement around the demands:

- Free all jailed NTU leaders!
- \$1,000 across the board increases in the first year!
- All demands concerning class size and school conditions must be met!
- Build a labor party!

OPEN LETTER TO HUEY P. NEWTON

Stalinism And Trotskyism And The Black Panthers

Huey P. Newton
Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party

Dear Comrade Newton:

The struggle within the Black Panther Party and the split with Eldridge Cleaver is, as you say, a process. It is, however, a process of concern not only to the Black Panther Party but to all those who seek a socialist America.

It is for this reason that we have and will continue to comment on this process and make our own contributions on the issues involved. It is for this reason that we propose that a discussion take place between our organizations and involving all those who sincerely seek a socialist America freed of racism and of capitalist exploitation which fosters racism.

In this letter we wish to comment on only one of the many issues involved but one which we feel can bring us to the heart of the process of the construction of the revolutionary party in the United States. This is the question of the American Communist Party, its political character and the lessons to be learned from its history. On this, we feel, we have a certain degree of common understanding.

revisionist

In your television interview in the Bay Area, during which Eldridge Cleaver took the opportunity to openly bring about a split, you also commented on the American Communist Party. You referred to it as the "American Revisionist Party." This is, of course, nothing more than a restatement of a position you have put forward on other occasions as well.

Earlier Eldridge Cleaver had voiced a similar position also in reference to Angela Davis. This statement appeared in the Black Panther and was answered by Charlene Mitchell of the Communist Party in both the Daily World and the Peoples World.

This question comes up once again in a statement by Comrade George Jackson, one of the Soledad Brothers, in the March 15th issue of the Black Panther. Comrade Jackson states that Angela Davis was in disagreement with the Communist Party when she was a member. He states: "The insecure and possibly counter-revolutionary elements of the A.C.P. represent Angela no more than do the Tabor couple, and R.D. (Richard Dharuda) Moore, represent Huey P. Newton. The ungrounded attacks made on the Black Panther Party by these individuals of the A.C.P. must be viewed as they are—individualist and probably of an ulterior motive."

But the attacks made by the Communist Party on the BPP as well as the counter-revolutionary policies of this party are not an individual matter. Charlene Mitchell speaks for the Communist Party. It is this party and not individuals within it alone which is revisionist.

It is true that the USSR collaborates with imperialism as Cleaver charged. It is true that the American Communist Party supports such policies. It is also true that the American Communist Party openly collaborates with our class enemies, the capitalist Democratic Party, right here at home. It is also true that the CP has used Angela Davis Defense efforts precisely to spread this revisionist and counter-revolutionary policy of collaboration with capitalists and of a peaceful road to power in the United States.

Since this is true then it is also true that if the policies of the American Communist Party predominate in the revolutionary vanguard, among the working people, Black, brown and white, then the revolution will be defeated.

luxury

Comrade Jackson states: "I don't think any of us—as Black partisans of the socialist revolution can afford the luxury of a protracted ideological battle of any sort." We do not agree. We can no longer afford the luxury of avoiding one through concentration on action alone, action without conscious direction.

When you, Comrade Newton, raised the question of program, of dialectics, of conscious understanding, we unreservedly supported this. You were right on this score. We agree with you even more now that a deep crisis not only has wracked your party but is expressed in all the parties which claim adherence to Marxism, to revolutionary struggle.

What must be done is to probe to the roots of the revisionism of the American Communist Party and similar parties across the globe. We must go back into history to the period when Stalin, representing a contented bureaucracy, crushed all opposition in the Soviet Union and in the Communist Parties of the world and proclaimed that "Socialism in one country" rather than the international struggle of the working class for socialism would be the policy. That is when the revisionism began, the collaboration with the imperialists. That is also when Stalin murdered almost the whole old leadership of the party that led the October Revolution.

But this means also confronting the question of Leon Trotsky who fought Stalin basing himself on Lenin's policy of socialist revolution and who with his followers were hunted even more viciously than the Black Panthers are today and gunned down and murdered as well for maintaining Lenin's line.

These are no longer just historical questions. They never were. This battle was not as Comrade Jackson says "ready-made, passed down, older, and often not applicable internal, ideological battles." This battle is the battle which today rages over the way forward for the American working class and its Black, Puerto Rican and Mexican sections in particular.

Do we march forward as a class, uniting our class, arming it theoretically with the rich lessons of past victories and defeats, taking those lessons further with the development of dialectics, breaking down all the vile filthy racist crap which divides us going all the way to the socialist revolution? Or do we collaborate with our enemies, do we unite with our own oppressor, and push reformist schemes and leave our actions without conscious, Marxist leadership—and therefore break up class unity leaving imperialism in power? That is the difference between Trotskyism and Stalinism.

The discussion must take place. We cannot afford to postpone it a minute. We will be happy to discuss with you on any level, any place, at any time, about anything.

In the meantime we will continue our class fight to defend all victims of ruling class justices—Angela Davis, Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins, the Soledad Brothers and our own Juan Farinas!

Yours fraternally,

Tim Wohlforth
for the Political Committee
Workers League

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Wounded ROTC student (background) and police sargeant are carried to ambulance.

Unite The Nation, No! Unite The Class, Yes!

BY JUAN P. FARINAS

This Sunday, March 21, demonstrations called by the Young Lords Party will take place in New York, Philadelphia, Bridgeport and in Ponce, Puerto Rico.

The demonstrations are being called along with the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico to commemorate the Ponce Massacre. With this march in Ponce the Young Lords are announcing the opening of a branch there, Puerto Rico's second largest city.

The Ponce Massacre occurred on March 21, 1937, when the colonial police forces under the direct orders of the then governor of Puerto Rico, General Blanton Winship, opened fire on an unarmed and peaceful demonstration called by the Nationalist Party. The Nationalist Party was protesting the incarceration of its leader Pedro Albizu Campos. The permit for the demonstration and march was cancelled just one day before it took place, in an open provocation to the Nationalists, who faced constant repression from the imperialist forces in Puerto Rico.

As a result of the shooting 22 people died, including children and bystanders. Over 200 persons were wounded. This was one more attempt on the part of the U.S. to destroy the then increasingly growing movement for independence, then headed by the Nationalist Party. Ever since, the commemoration of the Ponce Massacre has been a rallying point for the independentista forces in the island and in the Puerto Rican community here in the United States.

CHANGES

Today, in 1971, the massacre should be commemorated in the sense that the conditions which led to it—the imperialist

domination and oppression of Puerto Rico by the U.S.—still exist. But since 1937 there have been many changes both in Puerto Rico and in the U.S. which are of a fundamental importance for the struggle for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico.

Today, unlike the 1930s, Puerto Rico is mainly an industrial country. The influx of American capital into Puerto Rico was achieved mainly during the 1950s and '60s through the so-called "Operation Bootstraps." (This "operation" delivered huge profits to American businessmen, who were given 10-15 years tax exemptions and a very cheap and practically non-unionized labor force.) This dealt a death blow to Puerto Rican agriculture and created a sizeable working class. At the same time thousands of Puerto Ricans emigrated to the U.S. Today over one third of all Puerto Ricans live in the United States, particularly in the New York area.

The Young Lords Party and the Puerto Rican Students Union both express the deep desire and determination of the Puerto Rican youth born and raised here to fight against the conditions of oppression and discrimination facing them in the ghettos of New York and other American cities. The tremendous movement taking place among Puerto Rican youth in the U.S. around groups like the Lords and the PRSU is totally unprecedented in the history of the Puerto Rican community in the U.S. Like similar movements among Black and Chicano working class youth this movement is an expression of the deeper movement going on in the working class as a whole, which today, with the deepening crisis of capitalism, is coming to the surface with greater strength.

But precisely because of its limitations, namely that it is not an organization guided by a Marxist perspective, the Young Lords are unable to take forward this tremendous movement of the Puerto Rican youth. It can neither link it to the general movement of the working class here in the United States nor develop it into the leadership role it must play in the struggles in the U.S. Because, in our opinion, like the Black and Chicano workers and youth, the Puerto Rican working class and particularly the youth here in the U.S. will play a key, fundamental role in the development of the socialist revolution in the United States.

CLASS

Instead, at this point, the Young Lords turn more towards the Nationalist Party and move to opening a branch in Puerto Rico on the basis that in order to further the struggle what is needed is to "unite the nation."

But the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican youth in the U.S. is a CLASS struggle. What is required is not the unity of the Puerto Rican nation but its further division along class lines, a process which is taking place right in front of our very eyes.

What is required is not the unity of the nation but the unity of the class, of the working class here in the United States with all its diverse national and racial backgrounds and the working class and youth in Puerto Rico in the struggle for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico and socialism in the United States.

Repression Hits Puerto Rican Students

BY LUCIA RIVERA

Last Thursday, March 11, a force of about 150 riot police moved on to the campus of the University of Puerto Rico to crush a rebellion of hundreds of students.

That same day a group of ROTC cadets had attacked pro-independence students with pipes and fire arms wounding one of them. A picket line around the ROTC building was immediately organized and at that point the President of the University called in the police.

The police arrived armed to the teeth and a battle followed which resulted in the death of a police lieutenant colonel, a sergeant and a ROTC cadet. Over 50 students were wounded. Right after the battle was over the lackeys of U.S. imperialism in Puerto Rico began to bark,

calling for the jailings of the "extremists."

Police Chief Torres Massa said: "They (the students) think they can get with bullets what they can't get with votes." All the other reactionary elements unite with him to choke the movement of the youth and workers in Puerto Rico. Antonio Gonzalez, President of the Puerto Rican Unity Party, a right wing split-off from the Puerto Rican Independence Party, attacked the "violence of the students" as something "deplorable to our democratic traditions."

OPPRESSION

All of this comes from the mouths of the very same people who in the name of U.S. imperialism perpetrate the most horrendous daily violence and oppression of the Puerto Rican workers and youth. Just in this case there have been over 50 students arrested and their lawyers have

not been able to contact them. Many of them have suffered beatings and torture at the hands of the police. One prominent lawyer, while being held by the police was severely beaten and threatened by the police that he would be killed.

PERSPECTIVE

This rebellion on the part of the students shows once again the determination of the Puerto Rican youth to fight against the colonial oppression suffered by Puerto Rico. But this determination and willingness to fight are not enough. What is required is a scientific and revolutionary perspective for the overthrow of imperialism. This can only be achieved through the independent mobilization of the working class and the construction of a revolutionary Marxist party of the working class and youth. This is the task that the Fourth International, and the Workers League as part of it, has set for itself.

Minnesota- 1500 Line Up For 150 Jobs

BY CNYTHIA BLAKE

MINNEAPOLIS—When the sun rose over downtown Minneapolis on Friday, March 12, it revealed a somber spectre of the past—the job line. About 1,500 men ultimately made up the line, waiting to apply for 150 summer jobs as unskilled laborers for the city.

Echoes of "Like the Depression...not since the Depression...Depression...Depression..." hung over the city all day as people began to confront the true depth of the present crisis.

The line began to form fully 17 hours before the doors were opened, and hundreds spent all or part of the cold, snowy night huddled on the sidewalk. By the time the office opened at 8 a.m., the line stretched around three sides of the block. Most knew that there was no hope, but "just had to try, once more." Applications were accepted from the first 500 men, and they will be considered only after laid off city workers and others who had worked previous summers.

BITTER

As the night and morning wore on, the line of men, mostly young, grew more despairing and more bitter. Many were Vietnam veterans, some of whom have not found work since their return. College graduates exchanged stories of job interviews—as many as 350 in three months—and of being turned down as a dishwasher because they did not have experience.



Mike McGuire, a 26-year-old veteran wounded in Vietnam was 501st in line for 500 applications after seven hours.

Some in the line were working, but feared layoffs and had decided to accept a secure summer job rather than face

no job at all. One Black applicant said: "This is a sad sight for America, to make men freeze their butts off just so they can get a job—if they get here early enough, that is. They call this the land of the free and the home of the brave, and I call it a bunch of crap." He got no arguments.

But this line was not an isolated, accidental "sad sight." This is precisely the future of the working class as posed today by the bosses and their government.

The fight for jobs for these young workers is the fight to defend the unions. THE UNION MOVEMENT MUST TAKE UP THE FIGHT AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT NOW! In the fight back against wage freezes and anti-strike laws, in the fight for a national general strike against the attacks on the unions, the demand of "Jobs for all—30 hours work for 40 hours pay" must be central. And the fight for a political expression of the power and unity of the working class—the fight for a labor party—must be taken up by all sections of the class.

1934

While the long line of unemployed in Minneapolis raises the spectre of the Depression, another spectre is raised from the history of working class struggle here—the Minneapolis general strike of 1934 led by the Trotskyist movement. The lessons of this struggle will arm a new generation in the struggle to defeat capitalism.

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1199 Leaders Must Answer Layoffs With Strike Action Stop 1199 Leadership Retreat! Shut Down Stony Brook Now!

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—As the Hospital Corporation presses ahead with its plans to attack the hospital workers' union Local 1199, the leadership of the union has made a dangerous retreat.

The stated policy of the union is to strike the hospitals if any worker is laid off. This threat has been used to stop threatened lay offs at New York Infirmary and at Albert Einstein Hospital.

The Corporation finally decided to test the union. The union filed a petition to hold an election at Fordham Hospital which is run under an affiliation contract with Misericordia Hospital. The National Labor Relations Board ordered the election but Misericordia said no and fired four workers for union activity.

The union threatened strike action March 8th if the workers were not reinstated. When the Corporation did not back down, the union staged a half hour stoppage, then a two hour stoppage and the next day a three hour stoppage. There were rumors that the union leadership would accept a deal to re-instate three of the workers and send the case of the fourth, who led the struggle, to arbitration.

Workers at Fordham had begun to return to work in disgust with the union's stalling. Instead of calling an immediate strike at all the hospitals in defense of Fordham they were sabotaging the struggle.

It was only at this point, when the union faced either losing representation of the Fordham technicians or having to call a strike, that a new deal was worked out. The Corporation agreed to "rehire" the fired workers on a temporary basis pending the results of the election to be held March 16th.

This was a tremendous concession from the union leadership's original stand and meant that the Corporation could fire non-union workers. This is precisely what happened at Columbia Presbyterian where two workers were openly fired for union activity. 1199 has, however, not mentioned this.

When delegates from the Rank and File Committee proposed that immediate city-wide strike action be taken if workers were not restored to their original status after the election, President Davis said action could not be decided in advance.

Firestone Strikers Must Demand Nationalization

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—The Firestone workers of UAW Local 174 in Riverview have been out since January 18 on a local strike. They have been without a contract since October 9, 1970.

The strike has been almost completely isolated, with the UAW bureaucracy doing absolutely nothing to defend these workers against the vicious attacks. The only real support has come from the rank and file Teamsters and railroad workers, who have never crossed the picket lines. The plant has been shut down except for salaried employees.

On March 4 the company came out with a letter to the workers, saying that the company cannot afford to pay the workers decent wages and saying that "This strike must be settled within the cost framework of what we (the company) have already offered."

The company threatens to shut down the plant if the workers do not bow before these attacks. It is clear that the only answer these workers can have for the company is to nationalize it without compensation and run it under workers' control.

The demands of the union are: retroactive pay back to the end of the contract (Oct. 9, 1970), a cost of living clause, (they have nothing at all now), and 30 and out. The present pension plan is all but worthless. They are also demanding a dental plan, protection for employees' cars in the parking lot, and new gloves instead of dangerous washed ones.

One older worker with 32 years seniority showed most clearly what the company is threatening to do. He said, "My eyes are going bad, and I'm 57 years old. If they shut the plant down, I won't be able to get a new job anywhere."

Another proposal that the union go on the offensive against the Corporation and Lindsay and fight for a mass labor demonstration against all cutbacks and layoffs was equally ignored despite significant support from the delegates.

ILLUSION

This bureaucratic action expresses the fear of the 1199 leadership in confronting this fight politically. By refusing to take a stand on the fate of the Fordham workers, Davis is leaving the door open to an even greater betrayal on the question of layoffs.

The leadership attempts to spread the false illusion that the plans of the Corporation to attack the union are just "a bad dream" rather than preparing the ranks for an all out fight.

Hospital workers must be prepared to mobilize against any further retreat at Fordham and must take forward the struggle for a mass labor rally in preparation for the joint Delegates Assembly in April.

Oakland AFSCME Strikes: 22% Raise For County Bosses, 1.5% Insult For Ranks



Patrol car watches over striking workers of AFSCME Local 1998 in Oakland, Michigan.

BY KEVIN HAZLETT

DETROIT—Local 1998 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees struck Oakland County on March 3.

While this reporter talked with striking workers an Oakland County sheriff's patrol car sat nearby. One worker said it had been called in by the private security police who were expecting "violence."

The workers' demands are: a 22% wage increase, an agency shop, seniority rights, and a cost of living clause.

The workers spoke vehemently of the Oakland County Board of Supervisors, who had voted themselves 22% increases

AMC: Open Books To Ranks

DETROIT, March 12—The UAW leadership has been using the velvet glove on the American Motors Corporation in the contract negotiations. Woodcock has been using every delaying tactic in the book in an attempt to avoid a strike.

He has finally set the deadline of April 2. The UAW leadership has been reported as optimistic that "local and national issues can be settled and that a strike will not be necessary." The Detroit News says that the union bargainers are "aware of the company's weak financial position." The talks are now shifting to the local areas of Kenosha, Wisconsin; Milwaukee, and Brampton, Ontario.

Woodcock knows that AMC is in a very bad position financially so he is looking for another compromise deal like Reuther gave Studebaker. Woodcock is very afraid of the AMC workers united in a strike and fighting against his attempts to sell them out.

Woodcock's pernicious maneuvering with the AMC management follows by only two weeks a one-week layoff at the Kenosha plant. The layoff of 500 workers signals the beginning of an all out attack on the AMC workers, as GM and Ford have laid off thousands. Woodcock, of course, did absolutely nothing about the 500 workers that were laid off. And more attacks are yet to come.

MANEUVERING

To Woodcock's behind-the-backs-of-the-workers sellout maneuvering, we say no compromises with management! AMC is crying that they are ready to go bankrupt and cannot pay the workers a decent wage. So we say: Open the Books! If AMC claims it cannot run the plants and provide decent wages and working conditions, the workers' answer must be: we can run the plants; nationalize them without compensation and run them under

BY MARK ROSENZWEIG

STONY BROOK, N. Y.—A strike of cafeteria workers at the State University of New York here last week led to the occupation of the Administration Building by workers and students protesting the threat of cafeteria reorganization which would result in the layoff of hundreds of workers.

Now many of the workers and students are threatened by the university with indictments for this action.

The strike has been brewing for a long time. Months ago, Prophet Foods, the company which has contracted the cafeteria service tried to break their contract with union Local 11, which represents the workers by refusing to pay medical benefits which had been agreed

upon.

The Workers League pointed out at the time that this breach would open the way for attacks on job security and layoffs in the near future.

The leadership of Local 1199 tried to avoid confronting this issue and focused on the medical benefits as the central fight. At the same time, the leadership sought to divide the workers pitting those with seniority against the part-time workers, many of whom were students. In the end the bureaucracy compromised even on the medical benefits which were not secured for all union workers.

After the job action around the benefits, the ranks were not prepared for the next step by Prophet. The company announced that they would have to close a number of cafeterias on campus because many students had left the voluntary meal plan service, deciding to cook for themselves. This of course was not the fault of the workers. Prophet Foods was incapable of providing adequate food service and so the students left the plan. Prophet wanted to make the workers pay for their "losses."

The union decided to strike if Prophet went through with its plan. The union bureaucracy immediately advanced the slogan "No massive layoffs" which meant an acceptance of defeat from the start. (How many layoffs constitute massive layoffs?)

Since the time of the original action against Prophet, the Workers League has been active in fighting the policies of the 1199 bureaucracy on the campus. We have increasingly and systematically been kept from the workers by the concerted efforts of the union bureaucracy and their allies in Progressive Labor. They have excluded us from meetings, slandered us and attempted to prevent us from speaking at union demonstrations.

The role of PL in this strike is particularly revealing. They have at every point accepted the program of the bureaucracy. They accepted the slogan of "No massive layoffs" and handed out "official" union leaflets. When the union thought they could mobilize students on the basis of a fight for a better meal plan rather than on the political issues implied by the whole situation, PL-SDS with its conception of the worker-students alliance could offer no real alternative. In practice, PL-SDS was in a bloc with the bureaucracy.

The Workers League alone put the strike in the context of a fight to mobilize the whole campus around a program posing the support of the cafeteria strike in terms of beginning a militant struggle against the government's attacks on education, on the trade unions and against the expanding war in Indochina.

We said that this strike can only be won around a political program which would mobilize the students in a fight to close down the campus. First of all this means a fight against any layoffs on the campus.

We pointed out how Prophet Foods was out to break the union here and that the State University was behind Prophet. A compromise on layoffs would open the door to further attacks.

The sit-in that was called in support of the strike was sabotaged by the bureaucracy when it realized that the action was no longer in its hands. The situation was too explosive, so the regional head of the union "dismissed" the full timers from the sit-in, undermining the developing unity, only to clear out everyone from the building a few hours later.

At the present moment it is clear that a sellout is being engineered which will try to force a settlement through compulsory arbitration.

The Workers League will fight against the sellout which entails a real struggle against the 1199 bureaucracy and especially against its cohorts in Progressive Labor and the Labor Committee.

"METAPHYSICAL"

The Labor Committee with the notion of "strike support coalitions," envisions the "transcendence" of the trade unions bureaucracy by the creation of an entirely different organizational form of struggle. Therefore they allow the ranks to remain tied to the program of the bureaucracy while they maneuver for coalitions. According to the Labor Committee, the fight against the bureaucracy is "metaphysical."

The "metaphysical" bureaucracy is in the process of selling out the workers at this very moment.

The strike must continue until every job is secure. To make the strike effective the workers, students and faculty must close down the campus. This is the fight the ranks must take up.

for the softest jobs (some only part time). As one worker put it, "If the county supervisors can vote themselves a 22% wage increase, why can't the people who really do the work get even a decent wage? We got only 1.5%!"

Thus far the Local has the support of the case workers, maintenance, and the grounds division of the government complex.

At this time the Board of Supervisors' response has been absolutely negative to the over 1,500 member local, and they have even sent threatening telegrams to some workers.

workers' control. We want production for the use of the workers, not for the profit of the employers.

All rank and file members of the UAW must fight to build a national rank and file caucus to fight Woodcock's sellout policies and build a real workers' leadership in the UAW.

IBT LEADERSHIP SABOTAGES 285 RANKS STRUGGLE

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—The National Labor Relations Board, acting in the interest of the ruling class, once again justified the collusion of the linen supply industry here in Detroit.

Ruling that Local 285 must negotiate with the so-called Linen Association, the NLRB fully lived up to its reputation as a servant of Big Business. The companies are now given the go ahead to smash the Teamsters here.

The adverse NLRB ruling follows the callous reiteration of the International leadership's hands off attitude toward the four month old strike. The reiteration came in response to a rank and file petition calling on the International for support. The International claimed it "did not understand" the situation.

Still another setback confronted the workers last week when it was learned that the out-state Teamster leadership had shamefully betrayed the workers by accepting a sellout contract. This contract is aimed at dividing the workers' unity. Local 285 condemned the sellout contract and was quite explicit in its denunciation of the leadership.

The workers of Local 285 must go on the offensive in taking their fight to the rank and file of all Teamster and UAW locals. The ranks of labor must come to the aid of Local 285.

CLASS STRUGGLES IN AFRICA



by N. MAKANDA

THIS is the last in a series of articles based on interviews with members of the Organization of Ethiopian Students (ALEMAKEF).

ETHIOPIAN STUDENTS at home and abroad now realize that their present government will never satisfy the most elementary needs of the workers and peasants.

It will not end their abysmal poverty, wipe out the widespread illiteracy, remove the tax burdens or put an end to the chronic landlessness.

Years of discussion, persecution and struggle has taught them this same lesson and now they have reached three conclusions.

FIRSTLY, that there must be thorough social change in their land.

SECONDLY that this change must be in the interests of the workers and peasants.

THIRDLY that this cannot be achieved by reform or a coup.

The inescapable conclusion that follows from this is that the new Ethiopia can only be constructed as a result of a popular war of the workers and peasants together with a revolutionary leadership against the vicious feudal and semi-colonial regime.

The aim of this great struggle should be the establishment of a Toilers' Government. (The translation of the Amharic word of 'people' is closer to the term 'toilers' than any other. Although here it is not used in any Popular Front sense, but is equivalent to 'workers and peasants' in content and meaning.)

Summing up this programme, which is among the most advanced in Africa today, the 'Tegilatchin' magazine of the Ethiopian Students

Union in Europe (ESUE), placed the following 'motto' on its cover:

'Students and intellectuals, unite with the peasants and the workers. Learn from them and teach them in return by marching together with them,

CRISIS IN

ETHIOPIA

establish a new Ethiopia.' ('Tegilatchin' cover, translated from the Amharic original.)

Up to 1968 there were annual students' union resolutions on Ethiopia and international affairs. The general viewpoint of the students movement is summarized by these resolutions and discussions. We reproduce only a brief synopsis of these.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

DURING the intervention of imperialism in the Congo in 1964 the students came out against the Organization for African Unity which backed Tshombe at the time and later supported Mobutu.

In 1967 the OAU was condemned for its handling of the Biafra issue, for confusing the people of Africa on this, and for its support of the British intervention 'against' Smith in Rhodesia. They said in this case that Britain could only intervene on the side of the white supremacists.

VIIETNAM

THE UNION demanded the total victory of the National Liberation Front and the com-

plete withdrawal of American troops.

BIAFRA

THE UNION condemned 'Biafra' as an imperialist-backed secessionist state directed against African unity. It condemned the Gowon regime for its links with imperialist Britain and other imperialist states and considered that this government was not the proper force to re-unite Nigeria.

At its August, 1968 conference in Zagreb, the ESUE declared: 'The Association believes that in order that the imperialist forces be eliminated and destroyed in the African national economy, the struggle

ERITREA

THEIR CLEAR stand on Biafra was due mainly to their own experience of an attempt by the feudal and reactionary state of Eritrea to break from Ethiopia. (Likewise their stand on the OAU—almost unique in Africa—flows from the close association of Haile Selassie with the OAU.)

On the Eritrean secession movement, the students stated that every genuine revolutionary movement based on the workers and peasants would be supported by them.

But the Eritrean secession movement was not a genuine movement and the Eritrean Liberation Front, despite the peasant revolts in Eritrea in the 1960s, was not a genuine

ZIMBABWE

THE UNION regards the OAU and the United Nations as dangers to the people of Zimbabwe. The only way to get rid of the Smith regime is by a military, mass guerrilla struggle, in conjunction with peasant revolts and a workers rising.

THE UNITED NATIONS

THE UN 'embargo' was designed, not to remove British economic interests in Zimbabwe, nor the economic basis of the Smith regime, but to confuse the struggle in Africa against imperialism. The UN is an instrument of imperialism, hostile to Africa, Asia and Latin America, say the students.

THE 'AFRO-AMERICAN' STRUGGLE

THE UNION proclaims the right of the Negroes to revolt. In the context of the US political situation, exploitation takes colour forms and the Negro is part of the colonial people. The 'Black Power' movement has to be integrated in anti-imperialist fronts against America.

At the Zagreb congress of 1968, the Union declared that the pacifist ideas of Martin Luther King were proved incorrect by the assassination of King himself.

Some members of the Association in discussion considered the Black Muslims a danger to the Negro struggle for equality because of its racism. The question of the 'Negro state' made no sense in the real situation and only raised apartheid-type ideas, they said, and it could not be the aim of the liberation struggle in the US.

PALESTINE

THE ETHIOPIAN Students' Union has repeatedly expressed total solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Movement against Zionism, which it condemned as a 'creation from the beginning' and now as 'an extension of American imperialism in the Middle East'.



Thirty per cent of the land in Ethiopia belongs to the Church, a major feudal exploiter.

should take an Africa-wide form (in this sense "Pan African").' liberatory movement.

The Zagreb resolution of the ESUE condemned the Biafran leadership as imperialist bandits and stated that the independence of the peoples of Biafra and Nigeria could only be guaranteed by struggles based on a progressive and united proletarian movement (Zagreb resolution August 1968, ESUE publication.)

The cultural rights of the Eritreans had to be fought for, but the task was to overthrow feudalism and establish a united republic which included Eritrea. Secession could only play into the hands of Haile Selassie by diverting the struggle into 'nationalist' channels, and into the hands of certain imperialist powers (Italy, possibly) and their agents who have an interest in a separate Eritrea.

They denounce the US manoeuvre to get Ethiopian support for Israel as an attempt to encircle the Arab revolutionary movement in the Middle East. The Emperor is openly pro-Israeli, which has economic and 'cultural' imperialist interests in Ethiopia. The Emperor's stand is also based on the fact that he fears the Arab revolution.

The Emperor practically dragged Ethiopia into a 'state of war' with Syria, because of his stand on Israel, using the Syrian-backing of the Eritrean secession movement as a cover for his own pro-Zionist position.

At the same time, this gives the feudal regime a means of confusing the struggle against the Emperor, by raising the old fear of an anti-Ethiopian war arising from breakaway by Eritrea. (Italy, for example, invaded Ethiopia on the basis of its Eritrean conquests.)

Bogey

The Arab bogey is a weapon in the hands of the feudal rulers, and this weapon is made easy to use by the semi-colonialism of Nasser and other 'Arab leaders'.

The students oppose the semi-colonial regimes of the Arab states and support the class struggle against them by Palestine revolutionary groups in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt.

Their support for the Arab anti-imperialist revolution is of internal importance. For Ethiopia, despite official propaganda and European legend, is not a 'Christian country'. Only 30 per cent of the population belong to the Orthodox (Coptic) Church. The greatest single religious group is Muslim, observed by 40 per cent of the population. The remaining 30 per cent are 'pagans', Protestants and Catholics.

The overall 'foreign policy' of the students is a direct extension of their 'domestic policy' vis-à-vis imperialism in Ethiopia itself.

The domination of the country by imperialism is hidden by the Emperor beneath the legend of his nation's 3,000 years' independence and the claim that he is the Lion of Judah—the direct descendant of Solomon and Sheba.

Romanticism

But the facts of semi-colonialism are there for all to see and speak louder than this reactionary romanticism. And it is on these facts that the student demands for national liberation are based.

The main imperialist interests in Ethiopia are Dutch and British.

The Americans also have substantial interest in the country; besides the Peace Corps contingent and their military base, they have over 200 companies there.

These include: the Ralph Pearson Co., with a 45m dollar investment in the Danakil desert, a 100m dollar potash investment also in the Danakil, 'two of the world's largest oil companies' (according to the 'New York Times' of January 17, 1967) and a petrol refinery which they took over from the Russians when they were squeezed out of Assab by the Emperor.

Lastly the Italians own banks, export houses and oil companies.

America is the main importer of 'Ethiopian' products. (As is typical of semi-colonies, these

Ethiopian students declare their position on:



The Negro struggle: for 'a common united anti-imperialist front against America'.



Zimbabwe: workers and peasants unite to throw out the Smith regime.



Biafra: for the independence of Biafra and Nigeria through a united proletarian movement.

are produced by foreign interests and not by 'Ethiopians', save as products of their cheap labour.)

Italy is the big exporter to Ethiopia and Britain is the third imperialist power in the country and supplements her economic interests by 'cultural imperialism' through contracted teachers, the British Council 'advisers' to ministries and ECA 'experts'.

The American Peace Corps is one of the largest 'missions'. Blessed by Kennedy, the Schriver mission not only entered the high-school structure, but also indirectly the university structure, where the Americans, after the 1960 coup, steadily ousted the Canadian Catholics from supreme control.

The American interest in Ethiopia is involved not only with direct semi-colonialism, but also with the 'cold war', for the Soviet Union has an Embassy, runs a major hospital and a library with works of Marx, Engels and Lenin and has built an oil refinery near Assab on the Red Sea; Czecho-

slovakia has a trade mission and Yugoslavia runs a rural co-operative.

In recognition of this battle for influence at the top, America wrote in 1964: 'One of the most important show-downs between East and West is in the making of Ethiopia . . . Upon its outcome may depend whether the US loses Africa. The US must stand behind those who have supported it in the past—in this case, Emperor Haile Selassie.' ('Illinois State Register', January 12, 1964, quoted by Ethiopian students' journal.)

The total number of Americans actively engaged in semi-colonial work in Ethiopia at present is more than 10,000. With their dependents they number some 40,000. They occupy luxury 'American districts' in Addis and elsewhere, which rival the equally sumptuous Italian colonies in Addis, Asmara and other cities.

Programme

The 'New York Times' said of the American military base

and communications network in Ethiopia:

'The Kagnew station . . . is in a relatively interference-free area, and has many advantages as the African and Middle-East link in the world-system of US communications. It is one of the most important stations of its kind in the world.' (May 15, 1965.)

The largest US military programme in Africa is in Ethiopia, backed by military advisers, the Mapping and Geographic Institute, the Peace Corps and the American training of air force pilots at Debre Zeit (Bishoftu). The latter played the decisive role in overcoming the 1960 Bodyguard coup.

The great US mining and oil companies along the Red Sea coast of Ethiopia, like other imperialist companies, have duty-free and tax-exemption privileges. They, like all imperialist investments, are protected by law from expropriation since this is the crux of the anti-imperialist programme and movement in Ethiopia, and, because of the intimate alliance of the feudal

class with imperialism, it is crucial, also to the struggle against the regime of Haile Selassie.

The Emperor acts as the guardian of foreign capital. A special Investment Law—No. 57 of 1963, 'designed' by the imperialist 'advisers', and 'passed' by the dummy parliament — gave foreign investors tax exemption for the first five years; import duty relief and exemption; export duty relief and exemption; the right to remit by foreign exchange all 'profits of foreign investment'.

Further (clause 10) foreign investors in 'industry' were given the right to acquire land in Ethiopia.

The dominant role of American imperialism is reflected in the export statistics; 13 per cent of exports go to the US, compared with 10 per cent to Italy and 8 per cent to Britain. These three imperialist countries account for nearly half of total exports. ('Ethiopian Economic Review', Imperial Government Ministry of Commerce and Industries Bulletins.)

In 1969 coffee comprised 60 per cent of exports and was valued at 156 million Ethiopian dollars (E\$), though this 'primary' industry accounted for only 3 per cent of gross national product.

This was followed in the GNP by 36 million E\$ of hides and skins, and 45 million E\$ of food.

Impoverish

The 158 million E\$ exports to the US included the bulk of the coffee crop. To reap this harvest the Americans work together with 'traditional' Italian exporters in Djibouti at the other end of the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway line, still the only rail link in Ethiopia.

One of the major exports of Ethiopia is food, including canned food to Israel, and Britain. Thus the exports themselves not only impoverish the country by denying it industries, but actually increases the starvation of the people, (who are said by many to survive largely due to the protein content of the main cereal, 'tef'.)

Western Europe captures 80 million E\$ of exports while a mere 12.8 million goes to Djibouti, Kenya, Egypt and to the rest of Africa, while Asia receives only 36.5 million E\$ (Asia and, mainly imperialist Japan, is a big exporter to Ethiopia.)

Such is Ethiopia's contribution to the economic unity of Africa and an indication of its subordination to the imperialist-dominated world market.

'Aid'

The American control of the economy is rounded off by financial 'aid', through the World Bank, the International Development Association, the Development Loan Fund and the Export-Import Bank of Washington. The bulk of this goes into the pockets of US semi-colonial personnel, who can remit it back to the US.

The Ethiopian bureaucracy itself scrabbles for shares of the aid, which, in the final analysis is financed by the cheap labour of the Ethiopians.

The semi-colonialists in turn accuse the government of waste and corruption—two social diseases that are created by the 'aid' itself.

While America is the major

importer of goods from Ethiopia, Italy is the main exporter to Ethiopia. In terms of value and volume Ethiopian trade with African states is almost zero (South Africa though is one of the few listed importers of Ethiopian products.)

Exports rose from 36 million E\$ in 1945 to 276 million E\$ by the mid-1960's. By 1966 West European exports to Ethiopia totalled 217.5 million E\$ (compared with 80 million E\$ imports from Ethiopia).

By 1968 Ethiopian imports reached 404 million E\$, the bulk coming from western Europe, with Italy in the vanguard.

The main imports were manufactured (about 20 per cent) and 'machinery and transport', needed for Italian and other construction works in Ethiopia; machinery for the creation of industry in Ethiopia is a negligible item.

Plundered

The sources of this information are as follows: the 'Ethiopian Trade Journal of Ethiopia', September 1968; the Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce, 1964, article 'Ethiopia a Partner in International Trade'; the Ministry of Information (1967), 'Patterns of Progress in Ethiopia' and (1968) article 'Financial and Fiscal Policy of Ethiopia'; the monthly bulletin of the Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce for October 1968; the weekly 'Reporter of the Ethiopian Patriotic Association', January 1969; the Ministry of Information's 'Ethiopian Mirror'; the 'Trade and Economic Review'; the 'Ethiopian Observer', London, and other Ethiopian-based

from the combined companies, who, of course, made massive profits from the project.

The Italian press—supported by the Emperor—mourned the death of one Italian engineer while the hundreds of Ethiopians who died directly and indirectly from overwork and starvation went unremembered.

Italian coffee exporters linked to the ex-Italian colony of Somaliland and Djibouti, continue to play a major role in garnering the coffee produced by cheap Ethiopian peasant-labour and 'bought' from them at a small fraction of the world market price.

Super-profits

This is the source of the super-profits of imperialism in coffee, as it is also in Ghana and Nigeria for cocoa, where the United Africa Company of Unilever is spared the expense of directly employing cheap labour, by buying from independent peasant producers. This is the main pattern of semi-colonialism in the field of coffee in Ethiopia as well.

At the apex of the Italian imperialist pyramid in Ethiopia is their banking system. The Banca di Roma was established as the Bank of Abyssinia as far back as 1905 when the State Bank of Ethiopia was in theory the only bank operating in the country.

Now this powerful bank has an official 'licence' to operate similar to the one given to the Addis Ababa Bank, the first private banking concern to open after Mussolini. The

Guerrillas of the Eritrean Liberation Front rip up tracks (left) causing train in crash in their struggle against Haile Selassie.

secondary industry in Ethiopia is illustrated by statistics which show that 90 per cent of the population is still tied to the land and produces 62 per cent of the GNP. The students have commented on this fact:

Modern industry including electricity and construction, constitutes only 5 per cent of the total output. Modern manufacturing industries only make up some 2 per cent of the total economy... Ethiopia is a perfect example of a one-commodity export economy. Coffee accounts for between one half and one third of the nation's total value of exports.

'The country has been suffering from a rapidly growing trade deficit which has reached such proportions in 1969 that it threatens the collapse of the national economy.' (Article 'Modern Industry' in the student publication 'The Struggle of the Ethiopian People', August 1969.)

The British 'contribution' in the field of plantations, banking and 'culture' has already been mentioned.

Many of the British expatriate teachers have attempted to sow liberal illusions in the ranks of the Ethiopian students. For example during the Rhodesia crisis they conducted a campaign for British intervention, in opposition to the line followed by the students' union.

This politically played directly into the hands of the OAU policy which had the support of the Emperor, ever anxious to divert the anti-imperialist struggles into safe channels.

patriotic and liberation forces mobilized to resist the return of the feudal regime. The most important of these attempts to counter reaction took place in the provinces of Gojjam and Tivre. The peasant nationalist revolt in Gojjam was suppressed by the British imperialist forces.

'A leader of the resistance and revolt against the feudal regime, Bellay Zelleke, was publicly hanged... Immediately after the rebellion in Gojjam, the Weyanne revolt broke out and lasted over a year. It was finally suppressed with the bombardments by the RAF planes from Aden. Yet another rebellion in Ogaden was crushed by the British forces in 1948.' ('The Struggle of the Ethiopian People', p. 18.)

Such then was the role of Britain in Ethiopia after fascism and in other forms the British continue their policies today aided by the confusion spread by their cultural colonizers.

The close political link between imperialism and feudalism, so apparent from the history of British intervention in Ethiopia, means that the struggle against these reactionary and oppressive systems can only be a joint one.

Feudalism necessarily reduced the bulk of the people to a state of utter poverty and this was further intensified by the foreign capitalist intervention.

Target

Ethiopia is 'fortunate' to be one of the few countries on the continent with a large area of rich soil. And this potential fertility made Ethiopia an

lie in wait for him in this disease-ridden land:

'Between 50 and 60 per cent of the newborn children die in the first two and a half years after birth,' it says.

Half the population suffers from venereal disease. Leprosy is endemic. In Gojjam alone there are some 125,000 lepers. Ten million Ethiopians live in malaria-infested areas, in which 20,000 die, on average yearly (the Handbook states that 400,000 died in Tigre alone.)

No change

Typhus, amoebic and bacillary dysentery are widespread and smallpox is endemic. As we have seen, little or nothing has been done in the 'aid' programmes to change this situation.

In these conditions there is only one bed per 3,500 people and services are concentrated in the capital and cater for the ruling class and foreign communities.

In 1968 there were 324 doctors in the country. Addis Ababa claimed 156 of these, 50 were in the 'Italian' city of Asmara and 27 in Harar and Dire Dawa. Thus only 91 doctors served the rural and peasant areas bringing the ratio for most of Ethiopia to one doctor per 250,000 people (taken from official statistics published by the Ministry of Health, 1968).

Health tax

There are in all 76 hospitals, but 44 of these are in Addis Ababa, Asmara, Harar and Dire Dawa; 32 for the rest of the country, that is one for every 800,000 people.

Just to make it extra tough for the peasant to survive the government impose a health tax. In one year there was a health budget of 6.8 million E\$ (this usually approximates to 2.3 per cent of the budget compared with 35 per cent average for military expenditure) but the tax collected from the people was 5 million E\$—almost all the surplus was wiped out!

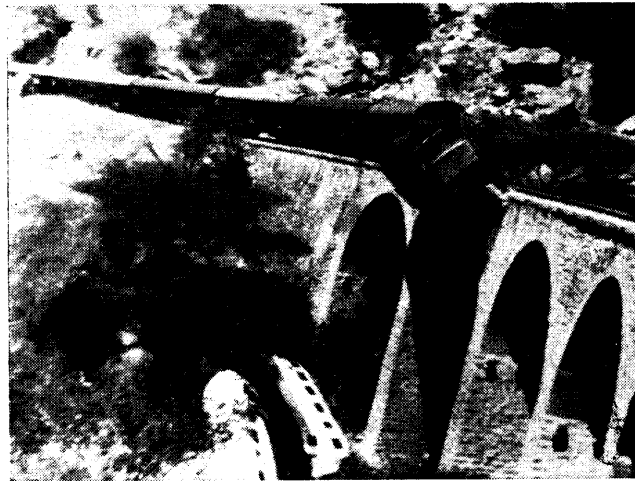
One macabre result of this situation is that Ethiopia is an exceptionally youthful nation. But this is no tribute to the Emperor's concern for the vigour of his people but a grim indication that the mean life of a peasant will be a short one.

Those under ten years account for 35 per cent of the total population, 45 per cent are under 15 and only 5 per cent over 60. (1967-1968 yearly statistical bulletins of the Ethiopian government.) This is a situation in a country with a rich soil, great mineral potential, power and other resources for a thriving manufacturing industry.

Peasants all over Ethiopia have fought against these conditions. In Bale Ogaden, Eritrea, Sidamo and Gojjam there have been risings.

In Bale alone there are some 3,000 regular fighters who have waged an armed struggle for land for four years in the face of air-bombardment and other forms of terror.

In an effort to understand the land question the students have collected figures on the agrarian problem. The total land area of 1,221,900 square kilometres is classified as follows:



sources; plus information from 'Jeune Afrique', Paris, and from American and British weeklies on Africa.

The story told by these statistics is the story of a semi-colonial country being plundered to the bone.

Where fascism failed modern Italian governments have succeeded and tied the Ethiopian economy to their imperialist interests. For example they have built power stations monopolizing most of the construction work, making sure that the Ethiopian industry was tied to their own technical skill and spare parts supply.

One example of this was the Awash II hydro-electric project. In December 1966 contracts were won by Impresit, the Societa Anonima Electrificazione of Italy, the 'experts' of the International Bank, Lahmeyer of West Germany and the Bureau Veritas of France.

Awash II and III cost some 87 million E\$. Seven Ethiopian workers died on the site while the rest of their more 'fortunate' comrades lived to earn a nominal 4.E\$ (14s.) a day

principal correspondents of this bank are the National and Grindleys Bank Ltd., London, itself a strong rival of the Banca di Roma.

Italian financial interests are also served by the International Trading Company which represents the powerful industrial interests like AGIP (oil and benzine), Necchi (sewing machines, etc.), Fiat (cars, heavy transport) and Alitalia (airlines).

Italian and American financial interests did not find it difficult to back the 1963-1967 plan. This envisaged an expenditure of over 678 million US dollars. No less than 255.4 million of this was 'aid' from the foreign banks.

The plan in consequence held minimum benefit for the Ethiopian people. A tiny 1.8 per cent was devoted to education and only 2.3 per cent to health. Industry—and then not genuine secondary industry to increase the living standards of the people—received 18.8 per cent; 20.9 per cent was devoted to agriculture.

The deliberate starvation of

In fact this progressive posturing and political patronage of the student movement by the liberal hangers-on of the British Embassy only serves to hide the history of Britain's role in the country.

After the Italian collapse in 1941 Britain occupied Ethiopia by force (aided with the arms and men of the South African army) propped up the Emperor and robbed the guerrillas and peasants of the fruit of their heroic resistance against the fascists.

'Liberators'

The 'liberators' went further, giving safe conduct to the Italian troops and officers, and helping to return Somalia to Italian trusteeship and Eritrea to its former Italian masters. All this was done with the blessing of the United Nations.

Fortunately the students see through the attempts of their British 'teachers' to dress up the diabolical record of British imperialism in their country. They have written on the post-war restoration of feudalism:

In fact a number of

Fertile	841.1 sq. km.	68.8 per cent
Cultivated	126.6 sq. km.	10.4 per cent
Crop land	99.0 sq. km.	8.2 per cent
Swamps	51.8 sq. km.	4.2 per cent
Grazing land	662.4 sq. km.	54.2 per cent
Forests	87.8 sq. km.	7.2 per cent
Vacant land, towns	172.1 sq. km.	14.2 per cent
Lakes and rivers	122.9 sq. km.	9.9 per cent

(Fertile land mainly includes coffee, 'chat' and fruit; grazing land is divided—cattle 25m., sheep 12.1m., goats 11.1m., fowl 45m., asses 3.8m., horses 1.4m., mules 1.4m. and camels 1m.) Figures from the 1967-1968 yearly statistics.

Total oil crops, legumes, fruits, vegetables and wheat, barley and tef crops totalled 8.5 million tons a year. This works out at about one third of a ton per person, placing the rural and urban population below subsistence level.

There are no fewer than 11 different types of land tenure, mostly feudal.

Church

Thirty per cent of the land belongs to the Imperial family, 30 per cent to the church (a major feudal exploiter) and 30 per cent to the feudal lords, leaving 10 per cent for the 90

per cent of the population living on the land, a figure almost exactly the same as South Africa where the agrarian revolution is a major task of the 'democratic revolution'.

This is the real situation in spite of the Imperial promise in November 1961: 'It is our aim that every Ethiopian should own land.'

Serfdom

Article 2991 of the Civil Code enables the landlords to take 75 per cent of the crop yield of the peasants, who are thus reduced to serfdom. The landlord can expel tenants

when the land is transferred. For the sake of 'equality before the law', the peasant has the 'right' to terminate his services if he is too ill to work, providing he gives four years' notice, or if he dies!

The four-year clause was inserted into the law because it takes about three years to clear land for cultivation, so that when the tenant leaves, the landlord is guaranteed productive land before the tenant is released from his feudal obligations. (Student brochure: 'Some Facts on Ethiopia', p. 13.)

There is a state land tax of 15-35 E\$ a year per gasha (about 1 square kilometre) for fertile land, 10-30 E\$ on semi-fertile land and 5-10 E\$ on non-fertile land.

According to the 1955 Constitution the owner should pay the land-tax, but according to the Ministry of Finance reports, the tax is paid by the peasants who work the land. Lords, like Ras Mesfin, never pay land taxes. On the contrary, even their servants are paid by the government, these being, for example, members

of the police force.

Other feudal obligations involve various services which amount to **one out of three working days**. Of the tenants in Sidamo province 62 per cent were required to provide the cash for government taxes usually paid by the landlord.

The tax burden has been increased by indirect taxes, and, furthermore, food prices since 1963 have risen by 35.6 per cent, clothing by 26.8 per cent while wages have remained stationary and even fallen in some provinces. On top of this there are the educational fees previously mentioned.

The result is mass poverty in a country which could, if developed, feed the entire population of Western Europe; a country which is a major producer of millet, the second largest wheat growing area in Africa, the major barley growing area on the continent—with hydro-electric potential, oil, iron ore and potash resources; this contradiction is one which only a revolution can resolve.

The agrarian revolution, under the banner of 'The Land to the Tillers', is the basis of the struggle against feudalism and its imperialist masters in Ethiopia.

Combined with the struggle for the expropriation and nationalization of all imperialist interests, including the 'cultural colonizers' and military bases, the agrarian revolution forms one of the two main pillars of the struggle for a democratic and independent Ethiopia.

There is a significant, almost unique and growing awareness among the Ethiopian students nationally and abroad of the leading role of the Ethiopian working class, heavily concentrated under imperialist super-exploitation, in this struggle.

The students, engaged in placing themselves in the struggle of the workers and peasants ask for, and are entitled to expect, maximum international solidarity and support for the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle in Ethiopia today.

IN AREAS like South Africa imperialist investment is direct, through giant financial houses, mainly centred in London.

In other parts of Africa, as in West and East Africa, in addition to direct investment, imperialist investment takes the outward form of 'aid'.

This is both through private capital and by the imperialist states which act as channels and collecting agents for the great private investors.

'Aid' comes also through international financial agencies of world capitalism, such as the World Bank and United Nations 'development' organizations.

The various forms of aid go mainly to 'newly independent' states, such as Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, etc. A small fraction consists of non-refundable grants, while the bulk comprises loans.

The grants themselves are invariably meant for world public opinion, to show how generous the imperialists are.

In reality, they are ancillary to great loan and direct investment projects.

The aid, in all known cases in Africa, has aided not the 'beneficiary', but the donor.

The receiver has usually slowly gone bankrupt. An example of this is Ghana.

When the leader of the Ghanaian government, Dr Busia, was in London on October 23, 1969, he stated that no less than 13 per cent of the export revenue of Ghana went to service debts.

As usual, of course, he blamed the debt on the extravagance of Nkrumah's government, which, in fact, was merely laying what is called the 'infra-structure' for semi-colonial investments by Britain, the USA and company in 'independent' Ghana.

When this government had done its job, it was removed by a timely 'coup' in the interests of imperialism, which wanted a monopoly of Ghana, without the presence of Russian technicians and advisers.

The debt that Busia was talking about is the debt due to British and US 'aid'.

The facts behind imperialist 'aid'



Workers dig for diamonds for the benefit of foreign imperialism. Foreign capital dominates the lives of 99 per cent of workers and peasants in Ghana.

The repayment of the interest gradually caught up with the capital repayments until the total of both crippled the budget.

The consequence of receiving aid, according to Busia himself, has been that the national income was rising by less than the increase in population.

The nominal national income per head in Ghana has, said Busia, been rising by only 1 per cent, while population was rising by 2.5 per cent.

The 'liberals' of Britain, of

course, are quick to demand birth-control as a solution in an attempt to hide the 1 per cent figure by focusing attention on the 2.5 per cent figure.

'Over-population' is simply a distorted reflection of 'under-production', which is typical of the semi-colonies which imperialism under-develops by its entire policy of industrial starvation and of primary production for the export of raw-material crops.

The hue-and-cry of the Malthusians about over-popu-

lation and birth-control remains one of the propaganda of the South African governments for the past 50 years, in blaming the African peasants for 'over-stocking' the soil with cattle and using this as a pretext to cull the cattle.

What they are really doing, in fact, is to use the question of cattle in order to drive the peasants in the reserves (labour-reservoirs) out on to the British and other foreign-owned mines as cheap labour.

At the same time they hide the root cause of 'over-stocking', namely that it is not an absolute but a relative factor and that it is caused by landlessness.

The conquests, land-robberies and consequent subjection of the African peasants are pushed into the background by the propaganda of 'over-stocking'.

The victims are blamed for the crimes of their oppressors and are further exploited as cheap labour as a result of this propaganda.

It is the same with the propaganda about 'over-population' and the birth-control 'remedy'.

The Busia government's 'remedy' is not to raise the national income, which is impossible without the uncompensated expropriation of imperialist investors in Ghana, but to conduct a deportation battle against 'non-Ghanaians'.

There are two million of these people in Ghana, constituting a quarter of the population.

Hounded

These 'foreigners' are being hounded and persecuted in an attempt to 'solve' the 'over-population' problem which imperialism aid helped to aggravate by reducing the national income.

The deportation campaign is part of the divide-and-rule game of imperialism, with Busia doing the job on the spot.

Those being driven out by force and at all times of the day and night are other landless, homeless African workers, whom the imperialists who control the economy of Ghana do not require at the moment for the labour-needs.

They provide a convenient scapegoat for Busia to get out of his domestic problems.

The real 'foreigners', the British, American, West German and other Western investors, businessmen, 'advisers', 'experts', 'teachers'—they are not 'foreigners'.

They are not driven out of Ghana. They remain, with the vast properties they guard and serve.

Such is a typical 'independent' African state today.

The real 'foreigners' are the representatives of the foreigners whom the people of Ghana never see in person: the mighty ones who own the financial and raw material companies which dominate the lives not only of the cocoa-producing peasants, but of 99 per cent of the workers and peasants of Ghana.

They are far away, mainly in the City of London.

They are what one may call the absentee imperialists.

And they cannot be driven out of Ghana unless their investments are seized and their trading interests taken over, without compensation.

If anyone expects a Busia to do this, he is slightly mistaken. For Busia could draw only one conclusion from his description of present-day Ghana.

He did not condemn imperialism for his stated fact that 600,000 out of the 2.4 million workers—that is 25 per cent—were unemployed today, in a country where even to be employed still means chronic starvation.

Nor did he show that the imperialism of 'British democracy' was responsible for dictatorships in the semi-colonies, where imperialism could not 'afford the luxury of democracy'.

He merely declared that 'to rule democratically... was a difficult problem for an elected government'.

And then Busia, the leader of post-Nkrumah Ghana, declared the subordination of Ghana, and, indeed, of all independent African states, to imperialism:

'He therefore,' reported the 'Daily Telegraph' of October 24, 1969, 'pinned his hopes to western sympathy for a democratic regime in Africa.'

As if even a Busia believed that 'Western aid', for which he was clearly pleading, ever had anything in common with or to do with democracy in Africa or anywhere else!

Review Of 'Questions Facing Progressive Labor'

Progressive Labor Takes On Lenin

BY ELIZABETH KELLEY
QUESTIONS FACING PROGRESSIVE LABOR. By Lucy St. John, Labor Publications, 65 pages, 50 cents.

This pamphlet which was originally published as a series in the *Bulletin* appears at a critical time when the class struggle is producing a deep crisis within the Stalinist, revisionist and nationalist movements.

The developments in the class struggle today raises sharply the resolution of the crisis of leadership within the working class and the development of the revolutionary strategy for power. At the heart of this development is the question of Trotskyism versus Stalinism.

It is this question which Progressive Labor from its very origins in a split from the American Communist Party has refused to confront and is at the source of its crisis.

Because PL has refused to confront this question its whole perspective, its left-center coalition, its worker-student alliance are actually rooted in Stalinism, in the Popular Front, in reformism and tying the working class to capitalism.

AVOID

As the pamphlet points out, PL in the past has attempted to avoid the question of Trotskyism by maintaining that Stalin was a "great proletarian revolutionary" but admitting that he made mistakes. But no matter how hard it has tried it cannot run away from that central question.

At about the same time that this series was originally published a struggle broke inside Progressive Labor which raised precisely this question. The documents of this discussion are contained in this pamphlet.

In this discussion in answer to a document by "Comrade X" raising the question of Trotsky, Mort Scheer set the record straight. Stalin and Stalinism were to be maintained at all costs. So afraid was the leadership of this struggle that it expelled Desafio's editors, Juan and Helena Farinas, when they submitted a document attacking Scheer and defending Trotskyism against Stalinism.

Trotskyism is the conscious reflection of the movement of the working class and its program for victory. Now, as the international working class moves toward the struggle for power challenging the history and betrayals of Stalinism, the struggle of Trotsky and the movement he built cannot be avoided.

This is why today this question is ripping at the seams of PL. In this pamphlet the author states:

"PL is not in the least concerned with a serious, consistent analysis—Stalin must be maintained against Trotsky. The strategy of Stalinism must be kept intact even if it means discrediting Stalin himself a bit. ... This involves PL in the most dishonest theoretical game. Nothing is beyond these people... when it becomes efficacious they are quite willing to throw even Mao to the winds."

And so PL has today. In the discussion within PL the leadership is preparing its break from Mao and from China. While it has not yet characterized China as capitalist and fascist, as it has of the Soviet Union, it claims that China is revisionist.

LENIN

But this is just the beginning. Its attempts at all costs to avoid the question of Trotskyism leads it today into the crudest distortions of the history of the Marxist movement and into a broadside attack on Lenin and Leninism. So PL must not only discredit Stalin a bit but go to war against Lenin.

Internally the leadership of PL is saying that it was actually Lenin who was responsible for the degeneration of the Soviet Union, for Stalinism and all its crimes, for the bloody defeat of the working class in China in 1927, in Germany, in France, in Spain.

While PL opens an attack on Lenin it praises Stalin as a great leader of socialism. In an internal document entitled "Synopsis of Report on Nationalism and Marxism-Leninism" PL states:

"Stalin was the architect and leader of the world communist movement. He was the leader of the working class' first attempt to build socialism. Because he symbolized the communist revolution no man was ever more loved and respected (!) by the working people in country after country than was he..."

"Lenin believed the peasants were a petty bourgeois stratum who would never fight for socialism, but who could be won to support it once they experienced it. Since the peasants made up the bulk of the world's population Lenin felt the workers could only win and hold power by fighting for the bourgeois demand of land for the peasants. On this basis peasants would support workers rule. This was called the 'democratic' (as opposed to socialist) dictatorship of workers and peasants. ... Politically this calls for unity with every type of bourgeois force willing to support a radical reform program. Mao's New



Lenin speaks at unveiling of Marx-Engels monument. PL now sees him as revisionist.

Democratic strategy is a restatement of Lenin's approach...

"Evaluating the 70 years of experience the mass movement has had following this line we conclude Lenin was wrong in his estimate of the socialist potential of the peasantry, and therefore wrong on the national question."

Such distortions PL must make to maintain Stalin! In the first place Lenin never, never saw the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry as "unity with every type of bourgeois force willing to support a radical reform program." Lenin never equated the class interests of the proletariat and the peasantry. Above all Lenin pointed out the absolute necessity for the working class to organize independently on its own class program. He said explicitly that there could never be a "fusion of the different classes or parties of the proletariat and the peasantry."

Lenin himself writing in April of 1917 said that "In connection with the formula of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, it is worth mentioning that, in Two Tactics (July 1905) I made a point of emphasizing this:

"Like everything else in the world, the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry has a past and a future. Its past is autocracy, serfdom, monarchy, and privilege. ... Its future is the struggle against private property, the struggle for the wage-worker against the employers, the struggle for socialism. ..."

APRIL

But what above all PL refuses to mention is the struggle which Lenin conducted after February contained in the "April Theses." PL does not mention this because among others Lenin was fighting Stalin who wanted to continue with the perspective of the "democratic" dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. Writing in April 1917, Lenin said quite clearly:

"The person who now speaks only of a 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' is behind the times, and consequently, he has in effect gone over to the petty bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; that person should be consigned to the archive of 'Bolshevik' pre-revolutionary antiques (it may be called the archive of 'Old Bolsheviks')." (Vol. 24, p. 45)

PL seeks to hide precisely the theoretical struggle which laid the basis for the October Revolution. This is done in order to defend Stalin against Trotsky. The "April Theses" confirmed Trotsky's work on the permanent revolution. The outcome of October indicated that Trotsky had been closer on the question of the relationship of the proletariat and peasantry saying that the proletariat would have to be in the leadership. It also showed that there were no fundamental differences between Lenin and Trotsky when theory was put into practice.

It was this strategy that was later developed by Lenin and Trotsky in the first five years of the Communist International.

It was Stalin who after Lenin's death put forward the theory of "socialism in one country" and with it rehabilitated the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." Stalin thus destroyed the strategy for international revolution substituting peaceful coexistence with imperialism. In doing so Stalin had to destroy and distort everything Lenin wrote and did. He had to murder the entire Bolshevik party. This is the tradition PL continues today.

It is no accident that precisely as PL takes up the cudgels against Lenin that it begins to elaborate its counter-revolutionary strategy for the working class. This is the meaning of its turn on the question of the trade union movement. What PL is developing is the position that the trade unions are reactionary and should be abandoned. This is justified with a left cover that workers cannot ally with sellout bureaucrats and liberals. But this position is completely reactionary.

NIXON

Objectively PL ends up with Nixon who also agrees that the unions should be destroyed. The unions, which are the organs of the working class to defend its conditions, must be decimated by the capitalist class in order to drive back the living standards of the American working class and save capitalism.

What PL is really abandoning is the fight against the trade union bureaucracy leaving the working class under its leadership. This is what is really at the heart of its "left-center coalition" and the worker-student alliance. The "left-center coalition" which fights to take over the unions is based on the consciousness and program of the center (rank and file workers), on reformist and trade union consciousness. It is precisely this consciousness that the trade union bureaucracy uses to tie the working class to capitalism. It is through this that a bloc is formed with the capitalist class.

At a time when the Communist Party is organizing a rank and file movement in the trade unions based on support to the trade union bureaucracy, PL becomes merely its left expression by abandoning the trade unions, by refusing to fight the trade union bureaucracy, by posing no alternative to it.

PL attempts to substitute its unemployment demonstrations based not on the independent mobilization and leadership of the organized working class but on a classless formation. Above all it refuses to fight for the political independence of the working class and the formation of a labor party to break the working class from the capitalist parties. It thus ends up again aiding and abetting the Communist Party which seeks to prevent the independent political struggle of the working class by channelling it into the Democratic Party.

In the context of PL's primary orientation to construct a student movement this position on the trade unions only serves to create hostility among the students to the working class. The real anti-working class perspective is further revealed in the further degeneration of the worker-student alliance which has become nothing more than a cover for student power politics in the form of "Off ROTC" activities.

This PL takes up at a time when the struggles of the students join with the struggles of the working class and as protest politics are pushed by the revisionists and the Stalinists to hold back the struggles of the workers and the youth.

What is involved in PL's attacks on the unions is that the unity of the working class can be achieved from below, rejecting the struggle of the revolutionary party to win the workers in a struggle against the trade union bureaucracy and its revisionist supporters. It is precisely such a position that Stalin took in Germany in the 1930s in relation to the trade union bureaucracy and the Social Democracy. This policy led the working class into fascism.

This is the road to betrayal that PL stands on today.

4,500 Youth, Workers Call For General Strike Against Tories

On February 14th 4,500 workers and youth attended a rally against the Tory government at Alexandra Palace in London sponsored by the British Trotskyists in the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists. The following is the resolution passed by the rally. Since the rally occurred in the midst of the postal strike, the resolution is translated from the paper of the French Trotskyists, *Informations Ouvrieres*.

Every experience since the general elections of June 18th of last year has shown that the Conservative government is pursuing a conscious policy of offensive against the working class. By imposing massive unemployment and working for the destruction of the fundamental rights of the working class, they want the working class to pay the cost of the crisis provoked by the capitalist system itself.

This meeting declares that the Conservative government uses the cowardice of the leaders of the trade unions and the Labour Party, seconded by the Stalinists and the revisionists, to develop its strategy of destruction of the union movement, of reducing the working class to misery and unemployment.

The central task which confronts the workers' movement today is to impose the fall of the Conservative government. The entire power of the workers' move-

ment must be mobilized towards this goal.

The Labour Party is a different party than the Conservative Party. The Tories represent directly the interests of big capital; the Labour Party is based on the working class. These leaders can be forced to retreat before the mass movement of the working class: this was shown by the movement which forced the Labour government to withdraw the anti-union laws in 1969.

The most important question today is thus to mobilize the mass movement of the working class; in the course of the struggle to impose the resignation of the Tory government, the leading bureaucracy of the unions and of the Labour Party can be swept away and a revolutionary leadership constructed.

Therefore we call for the replacement of the Conservative government by the election of a government of the Labour Party which will take up the re-establishment of all the gains attacked by the Tories, re-establishment of full employment and rejection of all anti-union laws. The basis of the legislative action of the government must be the Charter of Workers Rights which alone can protect the working class in this period of crisis of capitalism.

This meeting is convinced that the most urgent question to resolve so that a solution is brought to these political problems is the preparation of conditions for the building of a revolutionary party of the working class of Great Britain and is undertaking to lead this fight together with the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists, defending this goal in the struggles ahead.

Labor Congress Attacks Trudeau On Unemployment, Martial Law

BY STEVE FINNEY

MONTREAL—The Canadian Labor Congress, representing 1.7 million union members across Canada, has attacked the Trudeau government for over-reacting to the problem of inflation and the FLQ "crisis" in Quebec.

The 15,000 word brief issued March 2 placed the blame on the government for the mass unemployment. It also failed to produce any evidence to justify "the

propriety of proclaiming the War Measures Act and plunging this country into a state of panic..."

ON TOP

The attack came as labor leaders met with Trudeau and his cabinet. Donald MacDonald, leader of the CLC, and William Mahoney, Canadian Director of the United Steelworkers of America, the largest union in Canada, stated that the meetings were characterized by sharp exchanges. They said the unions had come out on top. MacDonald accused Trudeau of having been overly concerned with inflation "to the almost complete exclusion of other economic problems." He stated that the government's anti-inflation policies had led to mass unemployment and a great deal of suffering.

FEAR

With regard to the so-called planned insurrection last October, Mr. MacDonald said that there was no proof that such an insurrection had threatened the government. He stated that of the 450 people arrested under the arbitrary powers of the War Measures Act, only 62 had ever been charged and "and we cannot conceive of an insurrection led by only 62 people."

Thus he showed that the government's War Measures Act was not due to the "apprehended insurrection" but was in fact due to the government's fear of the increasing militancy of the working class. MacDonald went on to state that by inciting fear and suspicion the government has weakened the democratic process.

The working class has too long had faith in the workings of bourgeois justice. As has been shown during this trial, the trial of Michel Chartrand before it, and that of Juan Farinas, a political prisoner in the U.S., justice applies only for the capitalists. The Quebec working class must join with the rest of the North American working class in order to prevent more Rose trials.

GENERAL STRIKE

They must mobilize for a general strike and demand the freeing of all political prisoners. The capitalists must be stopped once and for all times from their arbitrary imprisonment of workers and militants.

CPR Workers Demand Right To Vote On Pact

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL—About 300 members of two Montreal locals of the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Employees picketed outside their union headquarters last night to protest against the collusion between union bureaucrats and the Canadian Pacific Railway management.

The rank and file members of the union explained that they had received no support from their leaders for about 25 years. They complained about the procedure that the bureaucrats use with regard to voting on contracts. The union leadership only allows the rank and file members to vote on the contracts if they think the workers should. This has inevitably led to numerous sellouts on the part of the union bureaucracy. The last time that a contract was negotiated, the leadership blatantly sold out the membership, stating that a vote on the contract proposals was unnecessary, even though the wage settlement was 20% less than what the rank and file had been demanding.

With regard to present contract negotiations, the union negotiators C. Smith, M. Peloquin and W. McGregor are

currently meeting in closed sessions with management representatives and they have refused to disclose any details of the new contract to their membership. This contract was supposed to have been signed in December, but union negotiators do not seem to be in any hurry.

This demonstration, although organized by only two locals, has posed a serious threat to the union bureaucrats. The organizers of the demonstration have stated that if they are not satisfied with the union's response, another demonstration would be organized, this time with all 8,000 Montreal area CPR workers taking part.

The picketers also complained about the way the union was being run. They stated that since the local chairman only meet once a year, the rank and file have no idea who to vote for on the national executive. The task for the rank and file CPR workers is clear. They must build a caucus within their union and fight against their corrupt leaders. This is the only way they will be able to win their demands and to make the union representative of its members.

Stalinists Dominate Rally

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEW HAVEN, March 13—Over 1,000 demonstrators marched around the Federal Court building in downtown New Haven today protesting the trial of Panthers Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins and all other political prisoners.

Signs and banners carried in the march called for the release of Bobby and Ericka, Juan Farinas, Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee and the Soledad Brothers.

The demonstration began with a march from Beaver Pond Park and three other locations which united on the Green by the Courthouse. The march itself was spirited with a continuous flow of chants and songs such as "Free Bobby, Free Ericka, Power to the People."

The Workers League contingent raised chants which established the class nature of political repression and posed the only strategy that can combat it. Among them were: "Free Bobby, Jail the Bosses, Build a Labor Party!", "Free Juan, Jail the Judge" and "Fight Repression With General Strike, Build a Labor Party!"

The same spirit dominated the march which encircled the block containing the Courthouse. Yet, for all the militant marching and chanting, the rally was dominated by protest politics even though the Panthers themselves tried to move away from this.

The Panthers originated, planned and organized the demonstration but in the process of doing so, they sought the aid of the Stalinists and their liberal cohorts who organized a "March 13th Committee." These forces immediately seized upon the reformism inherent in the Panthers' program and began to organize a rally complete with speakers and music.

CAUSE

The Panthers have stated that they are tired of meetings and rallies at which speakers speak and then the crowds of people melt away until the next "event." Therefore, they decided not to have a rally, but a march around the Courthouse in order "to bring down the decadent 'Walls of Jericho'" with singing and chanting. But the Panthers are unable to understand and politically fight the cause of the complete bankruptcy of previous rallies—the Stalinist, popular front character of these rallies.

It is precisely the Stalinism of the Communist Party which is at the heart of this. The rally which they tried to organize through the "March 13th Committee" was but another attempt to create an alliance of the working class and youth with the liberal capitalists, not on an understanding of the class nature of the attacks but on heart-rending, middle class moralism.

The "March 13th Committee" was able to use the confusion they created in order to put some of their forces onto a speakers' platform. The performance of Dave Dellinger, perennial pacifist and speakers from the Angela Davis Defense Committee



Paul Rose Convicted In Sham Trial

BY STEVE FINNEY

MONTREAL, March 13—Paul Rose was today sentenced to life imprisonment for his alleged part in the killing of Pierre Laporte, Quebec's Minister of Labor.

Rose, who prior to his arrest had been a teacher, was sentenced by Judge Marcel Nichols as soon as the jury had returned a guilty verdict. This verdict was inevitable after the judge's instructions to the jury. The judge's alliance with the ruling class in its fight against Rose was obvious as he instructed the jury: "There can be no middle ground (in your verdict)." He added that they must either find Rose guilty of all charges or else set him free.

This was not the first time that Judge Nichols has shown his support of the ruling class in its attacks on the wor-

doing this while he was being held during the trial. However, Nichols immediately rejected this request.

"GAMES"

In refusing to allow the motion he stated: "For a long time you have been playing games and wasting the time of the court." He ordered Rose to immediately call the witnesses. Rose had only questioned one witness when he asked the judge to subpoena two other witnesses for his defense. As neither witness was in court, Nichols immediately ordered the jury out and accused Rose of deliberately delaying the trial. He demanded that Rose show evidence that the testimony of the two witnesses would be pertinent. Rose was on trial for murder and the judge demands that he show that the testimony will be relevant. He does not even bother to hear the testimony in order to rule on its pertinence.

RULING CLASS

This is yet another example of the judge's relationship with the ruling class. At this point Rose refused to give the evidence demanded of him by the judge and during the ensuing argument he was ejected from the court after calling Nichols a hypocrite. Fifteen minutes later Nichols came back with a ruling on the defense. He stated that Rose's defense had been nothing but a "systematic obstruction" and said: "I consider the defense terminated."

UNPRECEDENTED

This decision, unprecedented in Canadian courts, demonstrates the extreme crisis of the ruling class. The decision, along with all the others made by Nichols during the trial, was obviously so arbitrary that it is blatantly obvious that the trial was a complete frame-up from the start to the abrupt end. The trial was merely one of the formalities that the ruling class still maintains in order to deceive the workers. The outcome was known before it began. Paul Rose was to be found guilty as an example to all workers who oppose the rule of the capitalists. And he was found guilty, although it took many contraventions of their own laws for the ruling class to get their guilty verdict.

The verdict and sentence will be appealed next week. But this is not enough!



Paul Rose gets life imprisonment.

kers. At the very beginning of the trial, he banished Rose from the court after Rose had stated that Nichols was prejudiced. This occurred on February 8. At the time, Rose was conducting his own defense and he was not allowed to be present as the prosecution presented its case.

REJECTED

He was readmitted to the court last Monday to present his defense. Nichols was forced by law to allow Rose into the court. But after the first witness for the defense had testified, he refused to allow an adjournment request by Rose. Rose had asked for a ten day recess in order to prepare his case. He stated that he had been hampered by police from

McGill U. Cutbacks Hit Library Workers

MONTREAL, March 5—As the crisis in education continues, the libraries are now feeling the government's cutbacks. The most severely hit are the English language libraries.

McGill University is cutting back on the number of employees, making at least a 10% cut in the number of workers and forcing subsequent workload increases for the rest. McGill has said that the jobs are not necessary, but we know that the library's classification system is at least 10 years behind and continues to fall further behind.

The McGill library employees are beginning to mobilize to fight for their jobs and for better working conditions. A union is being organized and is trying to get enough library workers into the union (there are about 300 workers in the library) so that it can become the legal bargaining agent for the employees.

One of the workers' demands is for all information concerning the budget and studies done on what jobs are needed. The

workers have the right to see the books, and should fight to have the books opened.

Another cutback in education in the province is the discontinuation of service of the mobile library to remote English-speaking communities. This is due to a lack of government money and cutbacks by McGill. This service has been run for over 70 years and is needed now more than ever. This attack is a clear indication of the inability of capitalism to continue without severe cutbacks in the public services.

The library workers must mobilize themselves to fight for their demands and for better education for all. To win this fight, they must unite their struggle with that of the militant provincial teachers, high school and CEGEP students around the following demands:

- No job cuts
- Better working conditions
- Build the union—fight for full recognition
- Open the books

WL Poses Class Fight Against EOP Cuts

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Governor Reagan's proposed slashes in EOP funds face thousands of Black, Chicano and poor working class students with the immediate prospect of dropping out of school.

These cuts will amount to a wholesale purge of minority students from all state colleges. The situation is so serious that the Workers League intervened in force with contingents from the Bay Area and Los Angeles in a San Luis Obispo conference at Cal State Poly called by the EOP students.

The conference was an extremely sharp confirmation of the absolute deadend represented by the Black and Chicano Power movements. Many colleges which will be completely gutted by the cuts did not even attend and the approximately 150 students who showed up were treated to a display of total bankruptcy by their leadership.

From the beginning this leadership made clear that it did not possess a clue as to what was happening, why it was happening, or what to do. Before the conference even began an attempt was made to ban the Workers League from intervening or even selling and distributing its literature on the grounds that politics had no place in an EOP conference.

PANIC

The excellent response to the Bulletin and the distribution of a leaflet relating the cuts to the entire attack on the working class and calling for a national student strike to bring out the labor movement in a general strike threw these "leaders" into a panic.

The real reason for this class hatred of Marxism was also evident in the mood of petty bourgeois despair and cynicism and outright fear displayed by this leadership. Faced with the same attacks that now bring thousands of construction workers out into the streets calling for a general strike, the same attacks that brought 10,000 state workers to Sacramento to threaten a shut-down of Reagan's state, the same attacks that drive a section of the Black Panthers towards Marxist theory, these leaders see only that the little havens of security from the class struggle they thought they had achieved are about to disappear.

One after another they moaned about their weakness and isolation and the power of the government. Their proposals were enough to make the most timid reformist blush. Petitions to the governor, begging sessions with state legislators, speeches before the Democratic Party clubs and even attempts to solicit funds from generous industrialists.

One proposal really summed up the position of this leadership when it was suggested that a demonstration in Sacramento might lead to police attacks and that what was needed was for EOP students to send their mothers to demonstrate instead! Even Reagan supports motherhood.

The most vicious role at this conference was played by leading members of the Black Student Union organization at San

For Panthers

("Please write a letter to Angela—she's lonely") and other groups effectively put aside the political nature of repression, so that they may pave the way for support from such liberal politicians as Bella Abzug, Shirley Chisholm, Joe Duffey and the like.

STALINISM

These betrayals of the working class cannot be fought against with reformism, with organizing free-food programs. This only plays into the hands of the Stalinists. You cannot destroy a hungry ant eater by throwing it more ants. You need a hatchet.

The hatchet to destroy Stalinism and its popular front politics which try to dissipate the revolutionary energy of the working class through reformist programs is Trotskyism. That is why the "March 13th Committee" refused to allow a spokesman for the Workers League to speak at their "rally."

The only way to fight political repression is to understand that this repression is aimed at the working class. Only a general strike of the tremendously strong labor movement can pose the way forward to ending repression, war and inflation. Only by posing within this movement the political nature of the attacks and the need to fight against the attacks politically through the formation of a labor party, can the struggle go forward.

Such a struggle will mark the beginning of a movement that will once and for all sweep away capitalism and its repressive system in order to make way for a society in which the power will truly be in the hands of "the people."

Francisco State. Far more sophisticated and cynical than other delegations, these frauds attempted to coat their reformism with revolutionary rhetoric. They apparently believe that world history is measured in terms of "Before the San Francisco State Strike" and "After the San Francisco State Strike."

They ridiculed ideas for petitions and reforms that call for militancy. But behind all the verbiage, the real message came through: Ranting against Trotskyism, they claim the days of strikes and mass actions are over. The San Francisco State strike proved that the state was too strong. In short they advocate a policy of doing little more than holding socials and getting rock groups to help raise funds and, one can only assume, that when all else fails, going out with begging bowls.

REACTIONARY

Smashed during the San Francisco State strike and hypnotized by Hayakawa, this BSU leadership now tries to hold back and isolate all real sentiment to fight back. They emerged here trying to spread their reactionary poison all over the state.

Also well aware of their own shaky position these same leaders were forced to threaten members of the Workers League that if we dared to report on the EOP conference or on their role, they would come after us. The Workers League was able to get the floor and fight for the need for Marxist theory and understanding of the new situation in the working class and the real possibility for mass strike action. There was enough support so that the organizers had to immediately shut down the conference and retire to a tiny caucus meeting to prevent any real discussion from taking place.

The fight is far from over. The thou-

SF NPAC Meets On Berrigans , Peace Treaty

BY JILL ROSSI

SAN FRANCISCO, March 7—The National Peace Action Coalition and the Catholic Peace Fellowship held a meeting for the defense of the Harrisburg Six in a conscious strategy to lead the anti-war movement into a betrayal of the Vietnamese peasants and workers and the entire international working class.

One of the main speakers was Jane Fonda who spoke in favor of the Peoples Peace Treaty stressing that the eight points of the treaty represent "true concessions" and that she is in agreement with the Provisional Revolutionary Government to "set the date of troop withdrawal."

The Peoples Peace Treaty represents more than concessions. It represents a total betrayal and is agreeable even to Nixon. As the Vietcong is smashing back the imperialists the Stalinists push for a treaty, for a deal, a settlement with the capitalists in Southeast Asia in order to maintain peaceful coexistence throughout the world.

The imperialists and Stalinist bureaucracy cannot allow victory to the Vietcong because it would mean an immediate explosion of revolutionary struggle all over the world to defeat U.S. imperialism and to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracies with a political revolution.

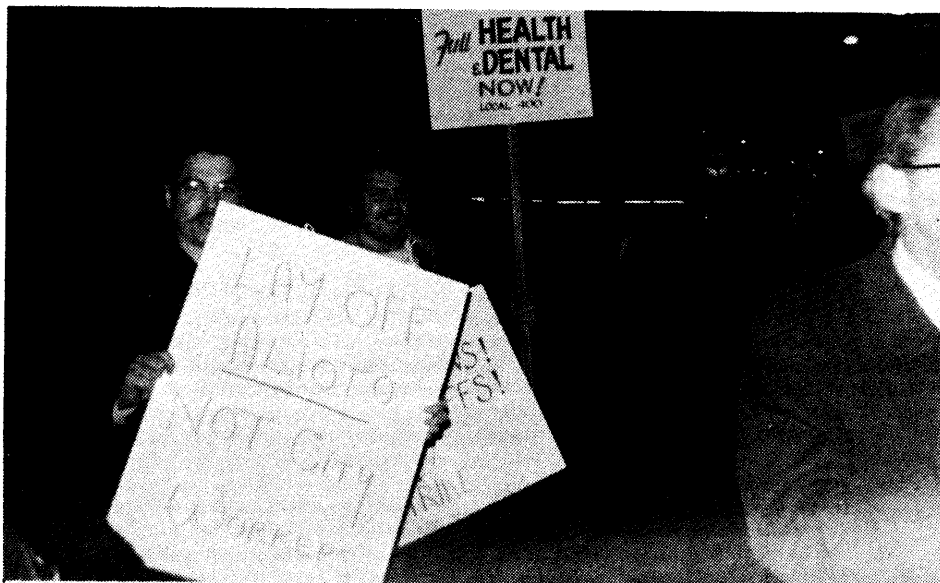
One of the speakers was John T. Williams of NPAC and President of Teamsters Local 208. He said that to stop production will end the war. He said we must "stand together for peace and justice." A section of the audience shouted for a general strike. Instead of leading the working class to a general strike to end the repression and to end the war now, Williams, along with every other speaker at the meeting, appeals for reforms to the church, the liberals, and the Stalinists.

There can be no "peace and justice" between the working class and the capitalists. The Socialist Workers Party which is behind NPAC is conceding completely to middle class protest. They refuse to take up the struggle for leadership of the working class and ally themselves with the Stalinists in building the Peoples Peace Treaty movement.

sands of students posed with giving up their education have no choice but to fight. These students can lead the way to rallying students all across the country for a national student strike. This means the all out fight to break with the bankrupt nationalism typified by the leadership of the San Francisco State BSU. Only the fight for Marxism taken up by the Workers League can show the way forward.



Local 400 Pulls Back On Strike As S.F. City Workers Vote To Go Out



Local 400 demonstration last month has now been sold out by refusal to call for strike.

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Last week city workers in San Francisco began to voice their opposition to the city's policies of wage and job cuts for teachers, hospital and other city employees.

Several days before the AFT strike vote, the Board of Education announced that nearly 200 school administrators would be demoted, causing them to bump many principals who in turn will bump teachers.

This attack on teachers comes at a time when Reagan is attempting to pass a law that will make it much more difficult for a teacher to acquire a tenured status, thus leaving more and more teachers vulnerable to future "demonstrations."

The proposed collective bargaining package proposed by AFT, Local 61, includes the following demands: no cutbacks in teaching positions, a grievance procedure with binding arbitration, a reformed student discipline procedure, and increased salaries and fringe benefits.

When this package was presented at a prior AFT meeting, members of Progressive Labor Party attempted to amend the package with their "smash racism" demands including: "Cops out of the schools," "Throw out racist textbooks," and "Throw out racist teachers," pointing to some problems in the schools. But when these demands were voted down, PL members spoke in opposition to the "racist" strike. The only alternative provided was for teachers to join PL in order to "overthrow capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Separate groups of Black and Latin teachers also opposed the strike on the grounds that it was a racist strike as

there was no demand for preferential hiring and because the union had taken no formal position against racism.

PL

During the discussion of the motion to strike, PL attempted to pose the question—are you for the students or for the teachers? This was to imply that to support teachers' demands for smaller classrooms and job security was to perpetuate racism. PL again tells the workers to struggle outside the trade union movement, as is evident in their planned march on Sacramento and Washington, March 20. It presents the struggle of the unemployed as separate from the struggle inside the trade unions.

Despite the confusion projected by the groups opposing the strike, the teachers voted 330 to 257 to strike, beginning last Wednesday. Machinists and janitors also took an affirmative strike vote and school bus drivers have expressed their solidarity with the teachers.

STRIKE

Hospital workers Local 250 also voted to strike. Local 400 represents the only "no" vote, but most of its membership would be effectively locked out when the rest of city labor goes out.

Members of the Rank & File Caucus spoke in favor of strike action in the face of the city's attempts to use miscellaneous city employees as scapegoats for the city's pending bankruptcy and also characterized the leadership as sell-out.

It was pointed out that a no vote would only postpone the inevitable strike action and that the cutbacks could only be successfully fought if the ranks provided a new leadership that would coordinate the actions of each local into a general city workers' strike. It is this action that must now be taken forward.

INCLUDING SUPPRESSED DISCUSSION OF TROTSKY BY LUCY ST. JOHN

JUST OUT!

50¢

Labor Publications, Inc.
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QUESTIONS FACING PROGRESSIVE LABOR



CSEA Rally Demands Leadership Fight Reagan For Contract

BY A CSEA MEMBER

SACRAMENTO, March 3—More than ten thousand state workers roared their hatred for Governor Reagan and his budget yesterday at a mass meeting of the California State Employees Association in Sacramento.

Speaker after speaker representing chapters from all over the state denounced Reagan's refusal to include any raise in the budget for more than 100,000 workers and called for militant action by CSEA. Loudest applause went to those rank and filers who attacked the statewide CSEA Board of Directors for not putting up a fight to defend the jobs and wages of the members.

When a worker from the Committee for New Leadership of CSEA called for the CSEA President to state what kind of fight he intended to make, the bureaucrat refused to reply amid shouts of "Answer, answer" from the audience.

The Board of Directors made it clear from the beginning that the meeting was called to "defuse strike sentiment" and was not even a protest, simply a "show of unity." The only unity expressed, however, was by the overwhelming majority of the membership in favor of confrontation with Reagan. In response to this opposition from thousands of CSEA members, the leadership passed a resolution setting a Board of Directors' emergency meeting on July 2 to determine "sanctions" against the state.

They intend to get away with calling upon a letter-writing campaign at this meeting. The CNL calls upon state employees to prepare for a strike and force the nature of that emergency meeting to change from letter-writing to strike.

The way forward to a strike in July depends primarily on two factors: a strong program in opposition to the statewide leadership's compromise bills and a fight to involve the whole labor movement in defeating Reagan's budget, which means CSEA affiliation with the AFL-CIO.

The Committee for New Leadership of CSEA is taking up the fight statewide for a turn by state workers toward the labor movement and for strike preparation around the following no-compromise program:

- Average 13% raise (CSEA pay bill of 1970)
- No layoffs; reinstatement with back pay for all laid off so far this year; end the hiring freeze
- State-paid medical and dental plans (employee and dependents)
- Full collective bargaining; written contract; right to strike



10,000 roared their hatred of Reagan.

General Strike Call To Stop Nixon

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—The call for a general strike made by the New Jersey AFL-CIO Executive Board to fight back Nixon's attack on labor has begun to echo throughout the entire labor movement.

On February 26, U.E. Withrow, Executive Secretary of the Santa Clara Building Trades Council and B.T.C. President, Floyd Reed, sent telegrams to the head of the state AFL-CIO Building Trades Department and head of the state B.T.C., James Lee. In the telegrams they called for a nationwide general strike on April 1st to protest Nixon's suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act.

Withrow said that the county B.T.C. and 100% of the Santa Clara plumbers local are seeking state and national support for a nationwide general walkout on April 1st. In statements to the press early last week, Withrow said "It's time for labor to stand on its own two feet and tell Nixon where to go."

NIXON

"Nixon picked the building trades but he can do the same to other unions. ...I take it as a national right to work threat," said Withrow. He is correct on all these points—what is at question here is whether the gains the labor movement has won over the last 100 years will be smashed as the capitalist crisis deepens.

BETRAYAL

Although Withrow is correct about what Nixon plans to do, his own role is also obvious. By stating "I feel in talking to union rank and file they would agree to a freeze of wages and prices" he is

clearly announcing his betrayal of the unions. The working class is not responsible for the crisis of the capitalist economy. Workers have no say in whether the U.S. government is in Vietnam or whether federal interest rates are raised or lowered.

Withrow and all union officials must be held to their threats for a general strike. This is the only way labor can counter Nixon's vicious attacks on their standard of living!

PARTY

The construction and aerospace workers in the Santa Clara Valley have been especially hard hit by these attacks. Many construction workers have been on the unemployment lists for up to three straight months.

The call for an April 1st general strike must be taken forward by all union rank and file throughout the country. This general strike movement will lay the basis for the construction of a labor party.

BUDGET CUTS CRIPPLE SFSC

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO—1,400 faculty positions in the state college system are to be eliminated because of the planned cuts in the State budget for education.

Seventy-eight members of the San Francisco State College faculty are going to be standing in the unemployment lines, instead of college classrooms, due to Reagan's budget cuts. No cost of living pay increases for state employees show that Reagan is trying to mend the economic crisis the state faces by making the workers pay out of their pockets.

EOP, the meager economic assistance given to working class youth has been cut 82% at San Francisco State College, completely crippling that program. Second year students will not receive any assistance at all and first year students will only receive \$100.

Three state college campuses have had their EOP cut completely. What this will mean is that those working class youth who were on EOP will be forced to take out loans or leave college.

Increased foreign and out of state student tuition will make many return to their homes. Two buildings will remain closed because there is not enough money to equip the rooms with desks and other necessary material.

The same political attack that is hitting the construction workers is hitting the students. The budget cuts are aimed at the working class youth. The only way to force back Reagan and Nixon is a nationwide student strike and the fight for a general strike of the entire labor movement. In San Francisco city workers have voted to strike against the attacks on wages, jobs and conditions. At the center of the fight of the unions and the students must be the building of a labor party.

WL FIGHTS LAYOFFS AT STANFORD

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

As part of its budget cut of \$5 million over the next five years, the administration of Stanford University has laid off twelve food service workers and announced that it will lay off an additional sixteen to twenty physical plant workers. More layoffs are expected over the next several months.

The layoffs come at a critical time for campus workers. Since early October several unions have been involved in hearings in San Francisco with the NLRB to determine bargaining units and set up elections for union representation. Evidently the University intends to move against the workers while the hearings drag on and the workers are disorganized and uncertain about the prospects for unionization.

The unions involved in the hearings are the International Association of Fire Fighters (AFL-CIO), the Stanford Police Officers Association, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Stanford Employees Association (SEA), which is affiliated with the California School Employees Association, and the United Stanford Employees (USE), a leftist offshoot of SEA. The Teamsters submitted a plan to represent the physical plant workers but it was rejected by the NLRB early in October.

VENCEREMOS

The USE leadership and Venceremos have organized a boycott of all university cafeteria facilities to protest the layoffs. The boycott has been only minimally effective. Moreover the USE and Venceremos have in effect negated their original demands that the workers be rehired and that no further layoffs occur by calling upon the administration to give adequate notice and initiate retraining programs and unemployment compensation.

In the recent strike at Stanford led by Venceremos against the invasion of Laos, the petty-bourgeois, empiricist core of

this Maoist organization was exposed. Venceremos never presented a class analysis of the war, never attempted to mobilize the campus workers and the labor movement in the area, but simply vacillated between bankrupt forms of student power protest and adventurist acts. The thrust of the strike was to drive war-related research off the campus and to end university complicity with imperialism by means of sit-ins and protest marches. When these tactics failed to change the capitalist nature of Stanford, Venceremos made an open-ended appeal for any individuals or groups to suggest new tactics, which they would unconditionally take up. When a speaker suggested a turn to the working class and offered a class analysis of the war, Venceremos ignored him.

BANKRUPT

The same bankrupt methods are now being applied by Venceremos and the leadership of USE to fight the layoffs of campus workers and political repression at Stanford.

The administration's cutbacks in education and layoffs of workers reflect the nationwide attack on students and workers in response to the deepening economic crisis. The administration has instituted a virtual freeze on faculty hiring and has made substantial cuts in scholarship funding, while tuition has soared from \$1,575 in 1967 to \$2,400 this year, and will go up to \$3,000 in 1974.

REPRESSION

At the same time the administration has followed the national pattern of political repression. Seven students, members of Venceremos, have been given suspensions ranging from one to four quarters for heckling Henry Cabot Lodge when he attempted to speak at Stanford on January 11. A library worker was suspended from his job for taking part in the protest, and Bruce Franklin, a professor and leader of Venceremos, has been suspended by President Lyman, who has announced he will seek Franklin's dismissal.

More recently the administration obtained temporary restraining order enjoining seventeen named individuals, all

of whom are members of Venceremos, and anyone "aiding, abetting," or "acting in concert" with them from encouraging or participating in any activities which obstruct "normal University functions." Hearings are now underway on the University's request to extend the temporary restraining order into a preliminary injunction, with an additional provision banning non-student members of Venceremos from campus, including Franklin (since he is currently suspended).

WL

A Workers League Club has recently been formed at Stanford, which will provide a Trotskyist alternative to Venceremos. The Stanford Workers League Club calls for a student strike at Stanford against the war in Indochina as part of a nationwide strategy to close down the universities and lead the way for a general strike of labor.

Moreover the strike at Stanford will call for: (1) the immediate reinstatement of all campus militants, including those members of Venceremos suspended for the Lodge demonstration, the seven students, library worker John Keilich, and Professor Bruce Franklin; (2) the rescinding of the temporary restraining order, which seeks to crush Venceremos and all other militant campus groups; (3) no layoffs and no cutbacks in education.

The students must fight for a general strike of labor against the war and against Nixon's policies of unemployment, union-busting, and political repression.

MUST READING!

Leon Trotsky On

Labor Party

20¢

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