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new nationalism-part two

BLACK ANTI-SEMITISM; PL AND RACISM; MARXIST PROGRAM

UNITED STATES PLANS TO CARVE UP NIGERIA



WORKERS PEDAL TO JOBS IN LAGOS. WHOEVER WINS THE WAR THE WORKERS WILL LOSE.

behind the soft soap

NIXON PREPARES OFFENSIVE AGAINST EUROPE

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

Nixon's much vaunted whirlwind diplomatic tour of Europe must be understood to represent the very opposite of what it is made out to appear. Beneath the fanfare, mutual adulation, and lofty rhetoric about resurrecting a new spirit of U.S.-European cooperation; beneath this great international pageant stage managed by Interpol and marred only by a few paint bombs in Germany and a riot in Rome; beneath all this Nixon's trip in fact signals the opening of a Transatlantic trade war unknown since the conclusion of World War II.

WAR

Clearly the trade war has already begun. Nixon's trip occurs on the heels of a rising tide of protectionism on both sides of the Atlantic. In recent weeks the United States has forced Japan and other steel producers to accept voluntary

export quotas on steel. More recently Nixon has made clear that similar voluntary quotas will be sought to protect American textiles. As William Roth, Special Representative for Trade Negotiations in the Johnson Administration, has pointed out in recent criticisms of Nixon's turn toward a restrictive trade policy, voluntary quotas are in effect no different than mandatory controls.

Europe, of course, is moving to retaliate. There is increasing talk of European restrictions against the import of American soy bean oil by means of which American oleomargarine has wrought havoc in the European dairy industry. Soy bean oil represents approximately \$550 million in United States exports and is a considerable factor on the credit side of America's deficit trade ledger. This of course is only a symptom

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BEHIND FRENCH-CANADIAN SEPARATISM

NIXON PLANS OFFENSIVE ON EUROPE

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of things to come.

COVER

We say all the ebullience and good will exuding from Nixon in Brussels, London, Bern, Berlin, Rome and Paris was nothing but a smokescreen thrown up to cover the vicious attacks now to be launched on Europe by the United States. It could not be otherwise. The relatively free trade policy existent among the capitalist countries in the post war era has been based upon the almost unlimited market provided by European reconstruction combined with the stability of the international monetary system throughout this whole period.

Today both of these preconditions for free trade have been removed. Post war reconstruction has raised Europe to the point where it becomes America's competitor, however badly outmatched, and therefore a barrier to continued U.S. capital expansion. At the same time the essentially insoluble international monetary crisis is forcing each capitalist country to go to more and more desperate lengths to protect its balance of payments, the parity of its currency and the profitability of its industry.

From this it is easy to see why free trade must go to the wall in the coming period. Though the fundamental direction in which each capitalist country must move to preserve its position in the world market is against its own working class, thereby lowering the price of its goods and increasing its exports, each country likewise seeks to push this responsibility as much as possible on its competitors. Thus it artificially restrains to its particular advantage the free play of market forces through tariff and non-tariff barriers. Nixon, in particular, seeks to avoid a frontal collision with the powerful American working class. He is therefore prepared at this time to throw the burden of U.S. trade deficits on the European bourgeoisie and in turn on the European working class by going the road of protectionism.

When Nixon says that it is time the United States payed more attention to Europe what is meant is that the plunder of Vietnamese and other colonial workers and peasants is no longer sufficient to pull the U.S. out of its present crisis, that it is necessary now to open up an equally vicious attack on Europe.

FRANCE-BRITAIN

It is within this context that the France-Britain dispute arising over DeGaulle's proposal to British diplomat Sommes to the effect that the Common Market be superceded by a looser trade association embracing Britain and Scandinavia provided Britain breaks with NATO, can be understood.

However confused the diplomatic maneuvers in this blow-up, it is no accident that it should occur on the eve of Nixon's tour. For DeGaulle's part, what was involved was an overture to the British aimed at encouraging them to break off their special relationship with the United States and join Europe in a common effort to defend the European economies from U.S. attack. It was precisely this threat that DeGaulle sought to pose to Nixon so as to strengthen the position of Europe and France in any understanding that

might have been worked out during or after this tour.

The Wilson government, for its part, is hardly adverse to bringing similar pressure to bear against Nixon and this was undoubtedly involved in their timely revelation of DeGaulle's overture. At the same time Wilson is hardly willing to break ties with the U.S. at this time, and thus he remains a staunch advocate of NATO which (quite apart from the advantage to Wilson of a nuclear umbrella bought and paid for solely by the U.S.) symbolizes the special economic and political relationship between the two countries. Wilson had much rather make do with the relatively preferential

sharpest of economic and political attacks on the international working class. This is central.

STALINISM

Therefore there can be no compromise whatsoever with any tendency to look upon the sharpening struggle between the European and U.S. bourgeoisie from the point of view that there is something progressive in these developments. It is precisely the forces of international Stalinism who have used the cover of DeGaulle's opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam to make a distinction as to DeGaulle's representing a more progressive wing of the bourgeoisie. This tendency will deepen in the coming period with Moscow



PRESIDENT NIXON TRIES OUT HIS LISTENING ON PRESIDENT DEGAULLE

treatment due any one of Washington's more prostrate lackeys than take his chances in a dubious pact with DeGaulle and Europe in the exceedingly dubious enterprise of fighting U.S. hegemony over Europe.

TORIES

However with the possibility of Britain playing both roles, that is, remaining in NATO while gaining acceptance into the Common Market ruled out, there are those in Britain who are prepared to opt for DeGaulle's strategy of an independent Europe, namely the Tory party.

This party responded with particular enthusiasm to the DeGaulle proposal, seeing in it not only the basis for an early return to power, but because they see that the handwriting on on the wall in Europe today requires the cartelization of Europe on the basis of bonapartist dictatorship and ruthless attacks on the working class, if European capital is to survive Nixon's onslaught.

It is not a matter of whether or not such a policy can succeed; it obviously cannot. Nixon in Europe is very much a Gulliver amongst the Lilliputians and in like proportions are the strengths of the two economies. But by the same token the United States cannot resurrect itself from the present crisis by pushing Europe to the wall. American prosperity has been based historically on the buoyancy of the European market.

Nevertheless capitalism by virtue of its very anarchistic nature is not governed in its activity by such broad theoretical considerations. Rather intercapitalist relations are reduced to a simple principle of dog eat dog as each country stumbles pragmatically to its own self defense.

It cannot be stressed enough that however much the international bourgeoisie falls out among itself intercapitalist rivalry requires above all the

lining up more and more with bonapartist dictatorships in Europe against the United States. Each European CP will draw closer than ever on this basis to its own national bourgeoisie.

REVISIONIST

Other revisionist tendencies, in particular the Pabloite United Secretariat of Mandel and the SWP, can be expected to use the same muddleheaded theories it uses to justify Scottish, Welsh, Walloon and Black nationalism today to justify slogans for the self determination of the United States of Europe. Precisely when the relapse of imperialism into the conditions of the 1930s calls for the most ruthless struggle against any tendency towards nationalism or sectionalism within the outlook of the working class, the revisionists can be expected to bolster up these tendencies as never before.

We say every blow directed by DeGaulle against Nixon or by Nixon against DeGaulle is directed against the American and French working class and that there is no room whatsoever for any support to any section of the bourgeoisie in this period. Our policy is for the unity of the European and American working class in a struggle to overthrow their respective bourgeoisie.

To the plans of DeGaulle and his associates in Europe for broader, more effective versions of the Common Market we counterpose the unity of the European working class through the slogan "The United Socialist States of Europe." We say with Trotsky that "just as the triumph of the proletariat in Russia gave a mighty impetus to the development of the Communist parties of Europe, so and even to an incomparably greater degree, will the triumph of the revolution in Europe give impetus to the revolution in America and in all parts of the world."

vietcong blows shatter u.s. plans

VICTORY TO NLF! NO SECRET DIPLOMACY!

BY MARTIN JONAS

As President Nixon goes around Europe being a "good listener" and preparing for new offensives on the working class of Europe and the United States, the Viet Cong has started a bold new offensive on the U.S. in Vietnam. This offensive is the biggest launched by the National Liberation Front since the Tet offensive of a year ago. Saigon is again surrounded and at least 24 provincial capitals have been bombarded in the space of a week.

The Vietnamese workers and peasants have again shown that they can turn the whole struggle around any time they

want. They virtually control all of the country.

With the U.S. thinking it was on the road to the equilibrium of another Geneva Accord at the Paris peace talks, the N.L.F. has thrown a monkey wrench into things.

EXPENSIVE

It is clear that the U.S. would like to get out of Vietnam as quickly as possible--leaving a Stalinist-Imperialist equilibrium behind. Vietnam is too expensive a proposition right now. The U.S. needs its hands free to carry on its necessary economic war with European capitalism. This war will be off the backs of European and American work-

ers.

So the peace talks are very important--so important that Nixon has shown remarkable restraint in the face of the new offensive-- he has not ordered a resumption of bombing of North Vietnam, but has only gone so far as to issue a warning to Hanoi that the "understanding" was imperiled.

The offensive must be continued and heightened. The daily life and death struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants cannot be subordinated to any secret diplomacy that would only end up stabilizing imperialism in Vietnam. The drive to vic-

tory must be maintained to get the U.S. completely out of Vietnam. Anything else would be a betrayal of the whole revolutionary struggle.

Nixon and the U.S. capitalists have been counting on the Vietnamese Stalinist bureaucracy moderating the struggle of the Vietnamese, as they are counting on the Stalinist and labor bureaucracies of Europe and America to maintain labor peace in the face of war on their working classes.

DEEPEN

They can afford neither a N.L.F. victory nor a French General Strike nor an Ameri-

can labor party movement.

The Vietnamese people must deepen their struggles against U.S. imperialism, and to that extent will Nixon and company be unable to carry on their war against European and American workers. The European and American workers must deepen their struggles against the capitalist attacks on them, and to that extent will the imperialists be unable to continue its war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

VICTORY FOR THE N.L.F.!
NO SECRET DIPLOMACY--
NO NEGOTIATED SELLOUT!

40,000 MINERS STRIKE AGAINST BLACK LUNG

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

While more than 3,000 militant and angry coal miners demonstrated at the Charleston, W. Va. State House for a "black lung" disease compensation law with teeth, some 40,000 coal miners were backing this demand up with a strike that has totally crippled West Virginia coal production. The strike has spread as well to areas of Kentucky and Ohio where miners face the same hazards of the dread disease which results from continual exposure to coal dust and fumes, even though West Virginia has the highest 'dust level' in the world. The disease not only destroys the health of the miners but takes their lives as well.

Bad as it is, this is only one of the innumerable unsafe conditions that plague a miners life every day on the job. Not too long ago 78 miners perished in the explosion at the Mannington, W. Va. mine of the Consolidation Coal Co. Over 5,700 workers have been killed in mine accidents since 1952, and most of these fatal accidents were not covered by existing safety regulations. In January of this year alone, 29 miners were killed in so-called non-disaster accidents like roof fall and haulage accidents. This was the highest rate of this type of mine fatality since August, 1963.

BOYLE

Meanwhile, at the congressional Hearings in Washington investigating mine disasters and safety conditions, United Mine Workers President W.A. Boyle threatened the possibility of a national coal strike in order to enact an improved mine safety law. But the two-face Mr. Boyle who blusters at the Congressmen in Washington, not only disclaims any responsibility for the W. Va. strike and demonstration, but goes even further in being a loyal friend of the bosses by issuing repeated "back to work" orders to the strikers. Boyle, who has a long record of crushing dissident rank and file opposition in the union, has reached a new low in popularity

among the strikers who boo every time his name is mentioned. The "back to work" orders have been totally ignored and as one miner put it, "we don't care what the international says".

The miners are in no mood to be trifled with. When told that the Governor was opposed to extending the session of the State Legislature in order to come up with a strong bill, one miner said that they would then "strike for two years"-when the legislature reconvenes.

The big coal operators, led by subsidiaries of U.S. Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube Corporations have turned now to the courts seeking a back to work injunction along with a \$1,122,000 per day damage suit against the International, two districts and 49 locals of the UMW. Undoubtedly the men will ignore such an injunction just as they ignored Boyle's directives.

ROTTEN

While there is much talk of the legislature acceding to the miners' pressure and passing a strong compensation bill, it is clear that the legislature is trying to shove a rotten compromise down the miners' throats. This will not be so easy. The legislature is now trying to push through a bill which one miners' spokesman declared "does justice only to the West Virginia Coal Association. If passed the committee bill would leave the miners worse off than before."

The miners' strike is one of the most militant and successful wildcat strikes in the United States in some time. More than that, as the miners themselves shouted at the demonstration in Charleston, "This is a political strike for health legislation". In face of this political strike the likes of which has not been seen here in many years, the miners are getting the run-around from the Democratic-Republican legislature. The miners need for a political organization of their own, a labor party which will have the power to challenge the Democratic and Republican boss parties becomes clearer every day.



MINERS FIGHT THE BLACK LUNG KILLER.

NIXON PLANS PROGRAM OF MASS UNEMPLOYMENT

BY DAN FRIED

Tricky Dick is just as two faced here in his own backyard as he is in Europe when it comes to buttering up organized labor in preparation for the kill. In Europe, Nixon is earnestly "listening" to his friends, while at the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida, Secretary of Labor Schultz arrives to "listen" to labor, throws a cocktail party for the members of the Council and invites them to meet with Tricky Dick at the White House after his European trip. But this is only the frosting on the cake. The real pitch comes when Schultz delivers a letter from Nixon which in essence says that we must stop inflation, but without unemployment.

Whether we take Schultz' promises of a fight against inflation without "major additional unemployment" or Nixon's less honest promises, we are in any case dealing with the administration rather successfully pulling the wool over the eyes of Meany and his cohorts who described the President's letter as "very favorable". What the REAL Nixon fight against inflation means is revealed by the Feb. 25th statement of the Federal Reserve Board Chairman, William McChesney Martin and can be summed up in one word -- unemployment. Martin revealed that the Board had been too lax in its anti-inflationary measures last year, but now the Board really "means business". Martin said that the Board was unanimous in their intent to push "restraint" hard enough to convince even the most ardent doubting Thomases in the business community that they wouldn't chicken out, that they would not pull back, that as the Times put it, "restraint would persist even when there were clear signs the economy was slowing and in the face of some increase in unemployment."

RESTRAINT

Nixon's baloney about curbing inflation without unemployment is just that--a lot of baloney. It is clear from Martin's statement which Nixon undoubtedly endorsed in advance while he was promising Meany 'no unemployment', that the longer the inflationary trend continues, the sharper will be the measures of "restraint" and therefore the greater the prospect of unemployment for the American workers in 1969. The most recent figures reveal that the national consumer price index is rising at the rate of 3.6% annually, but that in the New York City area the rise is over 7%. The bankers and Wall Street about New Yorkers having to pay higher and higher prices especially for food and medical expenses, or that the real spending power of an average worker with three dependents is now 2.2% lower than last September. Big Business and their leaders



SECRETARY OF LABOR SHULTZ WITH GEORGE MEANY

in Washington are most concerned with the rise in the wholesale price index which is reported as the highest in three years. What really bothers them is that this foreshadows a continued rise in consumer prices and therefore a setback in the efforts of U.S. business to meet the challenge of European and Japanese business competition, with the resulting U.S. balance of payments deficit. In short, inflation threatens profits and the stability of the world capitalist economy.

CLUB

While Nixon is buttering up the labor bureaucrats, he is using this threat of unemployment as a club over labor's head to hold down wages. Schultz tells Meany that as far as labor's demand for a raising of the Federal minimum wage from \$1.60 to \$2.00 goes, before any "bold steps" are taken toward this goal, there should be a "study" of how such a raise would affect "high unemployment among the youth of the nation". In other words, the working class youth and other lowpaid sections of the population are going to be given both more unemployment and miserable poverty wages. Yet, Meany refers to the meeting at which Schultz proposed his "study" of the minimum wage issue as "constructive".

Meany and the AFL-CIO Council demand the \$2.00 minimum wage, warn that the tax surcharge and other anti-inflationary policies may already have gone too far, oppose Nixon's program of

"black capitalism" and propose instead a program of jobs- with no more than 2.5% unemployment- education and housing. But Nixon and Schultz keep smiling, throwing cocktail parties and holding friendly pow-wows with the labor chiefs at the White House-- while they stab labor in the back by deepening unemployment, pushing pack wages and promoting schemes to buy off black businessmen and a section of the Negro middle class. And what does Meany say? Labor is "not discouraged" with Nixon, he tells us- in fact he may even support Nixon in 1972! What bankruptcy!

BANKRUPTCY

Meany's bankruptcy and servility to the bosses and their political agents is revealed as a shameless retreat from the attack. Meany's policy of supporting the Democrats and if they lose, playing footsie with the Republicans means that even the modest goals proposed by the Meany bureaucracy itself are not fought for. There is a lesson here for every militant, for every trade unionist who already knows that to fight the bosses he has to fight the bureaucrats who control the unions: the only way to stymie the Wall Street-Washington attack on all workers and the trade unions is to end once and for all this collaboration with each and every politician from the businessmen's Democratic and Republican parties- and fight for the unions to start a new party of their own, a labor party.

WORKERS LEAGUE BRANCHES

TORONTO: RM. 27 165 SPADINA

NEW YORK: RM. 7 243 E. 10 ST.

MINNEAPOLIS: P.O. BOX 14002 UNIV. STA.

SAN FRANCISCO: 644 OAK ST.

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FRENCH CANADIAN SEPARATISM



MILITANT FRENCH-CANADIAN CONSTRUCTION WORKERS MARCH DURING RECENT STRIKE.

BY CHARLES HICKSON

As capitalism goes into a deeper and deeper crisis it is forced to attack the working class. In Canada this takes the form of proposed anti-labor laws such as the Rand Report in Ontario, or the present bill now being prepared by Ottawa along the same lines. The attack can be in the form of rises in the cost of living, higher taxes, etc., to cut into the real living standards, of workers in order to maintain a strong balance of payments.

A more subtle way the bourgeoisie confronts the working class is to turn it from its historical task. The classic example of this is the red herring of Quebec nationalism or French-Canadian cultural autonomy.

The Canadian revisionists such as the League for Socialist Education (co-thinkers of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party) stand 100% behind this bourgeois attempt to divide and confuse the working class. In typical pragmatic fashion, they adapt themselves to the "scene" or "where its happening" in order to win support no matter what principles are involved. "Where its happening" at the moment in Canada is the growth of separatism in Quebec, particularly among the student middle class. One after another, all these groups have fallen in line for self-determination for Quebec or freedom for French Canadian culture. For the revisionists a new force had arisen within which they could play a role by giving it a left cover with Marxist phrases thus providing a valuable service for the bourgeoisie.

DECEIVE

Marxists approach the national question in an entirely different manner. The question of national culture is not by itself sufficient grounds for supporting separatism. By its very nature it is a bourgeois slogan used to deceive the working class to which Marxists have to counterpose the unity of the working class. As Lenin put it: "The slogan of national culture is a bourgeois deception. Our slogan is the international culture of the world working class movement." To support separatism in Quebec today is in fact to support the rule of the French Canadian bourgeoisie over the working class.

To be sure none of these groups openly support the leadership of the existing separatist parties but to disagree on this level is meaningless because they agree on the basic aim of the separatists.

To the revisionists the working class is completely subordinate to the task of achieving a bourgeois revolution that in fact happened over 100 years ago. Their complete contempt for the whole history of Marxism is coupled with a refusal to look at Quebec in an historical context in an epoch of imperialist crisis and decline. This, however, is the task of a real Marxist understanding.

INDUSTRIALIZATION

Since Confederation Quebec has been a province of small farmers with the Catholic Church acting as the sole guide and leader of the society taking all educational and social functions under its responsibility. This was the case right up until 1951 when only a third of the province was rural. The farm population in Quebec further declined to the point where by 1961 only 22% of the population were farmers. Quebec had become industrialized. Along side this industrialization the old secular educational system also went through a transformation. No longer was theology, the arts, etc., simply taught, but the universities were transformed to meet the needs of a modern industrial

capitalist society. It is particularly in this enlarged university sector that separatism finds its sharpest expression.

The economy is no longer expanding to absorb these new, professional layers. This leads to growing frustration of these layers of the middle class expressed in the form of the demand for cultural freedom. Thus the question, far from being one of the cultural exploitation of French Canadians has at its base the crisis of capitalism. Separatism becomes linked in particular to the reaction of the middle class to the crisis. The revisionists do not deny the petty bourgeois nature of the movement but try and see in this a genuine movement for national liberation, which does not exist.

Undoubtedly there are sections of the working class who support separatism but these are mainly more backward sections who are frustrated by their union leadership. The Pabloite League for Socialist Action writes, "The French-speaking worker is more conscious of his exploitation... Everywhere he looks there are forces trying to crush his identity as a French Canadian." Instead of providing a conscious leadership on the lines of Lenin's position quoted above these self-styled revolutionaries actually condone and urge the workers to think of himself as a French Canadian rather than as a worker, completely adapting to the backwardness in the working class!

BI-LINGUALISM

For Quebec, the middle class diversion of "national liberation" is completely reactionary while the democratic demand for the equality of the French language is progressive. Thus, bilingualism is a demand around which the working class can unite. When the French-Canadian workers see that the English-speaking workers are prepared to wage a struggle on behalf of their democratic rights, class unity will be strengthened. The revisionists counterpose to this unity the demand of Unilingualism for Quebec. Not only will this further divide the working class but in itself discriminates against the English and Italian-speaking workers in Montreal as was the case in St. Leonard where newly-arrived immigrants from Italy were forced to learn French in the schools.

The Pabloite League for Socialist Action completely supports this and in fact goes further than Lemieux. They state in an election leaflet: "The percentage of French-speaking people in Quebec is falling and in 20 years English could well become the majority language in Quebec. We cannot permit such development. The unilingual French school system chosen in St. Leonard must become the rule in Quebec... Quebec must become French-speaking and officially unilingual."

The example of St. Leonard further illustrates where this demand is leading with the formation of the MIS (Movement for an Integrated School system)-towards "community control." Raymond Lemieux admits, in an interview in the Vanguard, that the MIS under no circumstances wants "Quebeckers" to unite with English-speaking workers in Montreal.

The other aspect of the unilingual "community control" (supported by the LSA) is that it has as its aim the decentralization of the state. Lenin in his "Critical Remarks on the National Question" has this to say on decentralization: "Other conditions being equal, the class conscious proletariat will always stand for the larger state. It will always fight against medieval particularism and will always welcome the closest possible economic amalgamation of large territories in which the proletariat's struggle against the bour-

reactionary role of unilingualism

geoisie can develop on a broad basis".

It is no accident that with the development of Quebec nationalism we also have the same phenomena as in Scotland, Brittany, and Black Nationalism in the U.S. All these forms of nationalism in the advanced capitalist countries are used to divide and confuse the working class. More specifically Quebec nationalism, like the other nationalisms, is a desperate cry from the petty bourgeoisie which is caught in between the powerful growth of monopoly and the increasing militancy of the labor movement.

Today the working class in Canada is divided between the Canadian National Trade Unions (CNTU) and the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC). It is of paramount importance that the working class be united to withstand the attack of the ruling class. Do the revisionists call for this basic working class unity. Never! The Canadian Party of Labor (Maoist) not only calls for the breaking away of unions from the AFL-CIO affiliated CLC in Quebec, but in the rest of Canada as well. The LSA (Pabloite) also refuses to call on the CNTU to join with the CLC. By their adaptation to nationalism both these groups end up opposing this basic class unity.

UNITY

Canada never developed a national homogeneity and has never been able to control foreign investment. Thus the unity that seemed apparent in the fifties in the boom period of Imperialism disappeared overnight. The breaking down of the national consciousness can be seen in the present dispute of the provinces with the Federal Government on tax levying or in the trend to have 4 or 5 provinces thus increasing the power of these regions and weakening the central government.

Foreign investment tended to develop regionally, e.g. Japanese capital in British Columbia where it now controls 1/3 of all basic industry, the U.S. capital in the more industrialized areas of Ontario and Quebec and British capital in the traditional field of forestry. Canada is a country that is eating and being eaten. It is both an imperialist nation in its own right and at the same time is deeply penetrated by foreign capital.

The Quebec workers over the past few years have shown their willingness to struggle but have been hampered by the absence of a political arm. The classic example of this was the Montreal Transit strike where despite the great militancy of the rank and file the strike was smashed by emergency legislation of the Quebec government. The leadership of the QFL and the CNTU must be forced to support the NDP on the basis of an alternative to capitalism. The support for cultural nationalism holds back the development of such a political arm.

Because International Capitalism is in crisis and this crisis manifests itself in Canada by a slowing down in the economy as a whole, the working class is faced with a bleak future of rising unemployment and real cuts in the standard of living. The state is increasingly forced to directly intervene in every strike situation on behalf of the ruling class. This is the meaning of all the anti-labor laws now being prepared by the Provincial and Federal Parliaments. Every strike in this situation is political because of this intervention of the state.

The task is now to take the working class through this political experience by calling for an NDP government. Only by going through a political fight from an all Canadian NDP can the working class come to a revolutionary understanding. This is the task of the Workers League. We must on the one hand expose every middle class movement and on the other to fight along these lines in the labor movement.

A prerequisite for building a revolutionary party in Canada today is to destroy the revisionist tendencies through which the ruling class is able to further divide the working class. For us the problem is above all to unify the French and English speaking working class. This is why we oppose Quebec nationalism. A conscious development can only take place in the revolutionary situation when a united working class is prepared to take over the centralized state apparatus. This was the Lesson of October.

THE NEW NATIONALISM AND THE NEGRO QUESTION

by Tim Wohlforth

PART TWO

BLACK ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE SWP

Now we come to the question of black anti-Semitism. The Militant has recently run a series of articles by Elizabeth Barnes in defense of black anti-Semitism, or shall we say "explaining" it. In addition George Novack has written a long discussion review of Deutscher's book "The Non-Jewish Jew", the heart of which is a similar "explanation" of black anti-Semitism.

Both Barnes and Novack correctly attack the hypocrisy of the campaign of New York City officials against racism among Negroes both of the anti-Semitic and anti-white kind when they in fact defend a white racist system in the country as a whole. "To equate anti-white feelings of black people with the racism of their oppressors is the worst kind of hypocrisy." So true. But the question is not whether we equate one with the other but whether the existence of white racism can be used to excuse a racist and anti-semitic reaction among Negroes. And excuse is exactly what the SWP then proceeds to do.

BUT

"It is wrong to confuse Jews as a people with the real perpetrators of racism in this country", Barnes correctly states. "But", (ah, that three letter word which is so often used to deny everything that precedes it) "the Jewish people—who have every legitimate right to be concerned about genuine anti-Semitism or persecution—must think out the consequences of the present situation." "Consider this single fact," Barnes goes on. "A majority of the pupils in New York's public schools are black or Puerto Rican. But the majority of the teachers are Jewish. The only effective way anti-Jewish prejudice can be effectively combated in such a situation is if the Jewish community demonstrates that it is a genuine partisan of freedom and justice for all and not simply concerned with preserving jobs or privileges at the expense of the black and Puerto Rican people who are seeking nothing more than their rights."

FACT

Well, Elizabeth Barnes, consider this single fact. A very large portion of small business in Germany between the two wars was in the hands of Jews. Thus, we can assume, you would feel the only way to have countered anti-Jewish prejudice among the non-Jewish Germans would be to have the Jews abandon their business to non-Jews. And consider one more single fact. The bulk of small business and a large portion of government jobs in Kenya was until recently in Indian hands. Thus the way to remove anti-Indian prejudices among the Africans would be

for the Indians to give up their jobs. And a large portion of petty trade in Indonesia used to be in the hands of Chinese...And finally Nigeria where petty trade, teaching and government jobs throughout the nation were largely in the hands of Ibos. If only the Ibos had been genuine partisans of freedom and justice rather than being simply concerned with preserving jobs and privileges then there would not have been the massacres, the war, etc.

What this shows is once the monstrous method of thinking in national and race terms creeps into one's outlook it takes total control and nothing, nothing can be seen in anything but racial terms. We would propose to Barnes that an effective way to counter anti-Semitism is to fight it tooth and nail, give it no quarter whatsoever wherever it rears its head and expose it mercilessly as the fraud it is and as an opening wedge everywhere for fascism. We fight anti-Semitism because it destroys working class consciousness and hides the class realities of capitalist society and not from some sort of liberal moral position. Once you start with the "fact" that the majority of teachers are Jewish you have conceded everything to the anti-Semites just as if you start in Nigeria with the "fact" that the majority of petty trade is in Ibo hands you concede everything to tribalism.

CAPITALISM

We start with another fact--that we live in capitalist society, that teachers are workers who have a right to union protection, that the oppression of the blacks is the responsibility of capitalist society and will exist as long as capitalism exists and not the responsibility of Jews as Jews, that as long as Negroes see their enemy as the Jew and not the capitalist class their progressive rebellion against racial discrimination and class oppression will be turned in a reactionary direction, that we have the responsibility to point this out without giving any quarter to anti-Negro racism wherever it exists—among Jews, workers, Puerto Ricans or what have you.

Now what about the fact that there are few Negroes teaching in New York City's public schools when contrasted to the large percentage of Negroes attending the schools. Barnes proposes to solve this problem by asking Jewish teachers to give up their "jobs or privileges" so that Negroes can teach. Not only does posing the question this way pit Negro worker against Jewish worker but the underlying assumption is an acceptance of capitalist society as unchangeable. Barnes sees no way for Negroes to find jobs as teachers other than taking them from Jews. It never seems to occur to her that the New York City school system is falling apart at the seams, the classes are getting bigger, and there is a tremendous need for more teachers.

Shouldn't the teachers, the Negro masses and the workers of the city as a whole unite in a common struggle to expand the school system, to produce more job openings for teachers, funds to train Negroes to become teachers, and a better education for all working class youth? Once one starts from a nationalist and racist perspective various racial and other minority groups fight each other for existing jobs instead of uniting to fight the capitalists for jobs for all. This is why nationalism is so inherently reactionary under the current economic crisis.

Finally we come across the following state-



LESLIE CAMPBELL WHO READ ANTI-SEMITIC POEM

ment in one of Barnes' articles: "For the Lindsay Administration and the white Anglo rulers of New York City who cannot grant self-determination for black people--the 'backlash' is a part of their well-tested strategy of divide and rule." This is no quote in the Militant from a black nationalist but a Militant writer speaking for herself. It seems for Barnes New York City is not dominated by the capitalist class but by "white Anglo rulers." The white working class is blocked with the ruling class and "whitney" not capitalism is seen as oppressing the Negro people. Such is the racist ideology of these purported "Marxists"!

ISRAEL

Now we must turn to Novack's contribution to this question. He draws a parallel between Jewish-Negro relations in the U.S., and the Arab-Israel situation. "At the present time there is a deadly symmetry between the attitude of the Israelis toward the Arabs and that of the American Jews toward the Afro-Americans and their liberation struggle...Furthermore, the upper and middle ranges of American Jewry, comfortably ensconced in bourgeois America, some of them bankers, landlords, big and little businessmen? participate in the system of oppressing and exploiting the black masses, just as the Zionists have become the oppressors of the Palestinian Arabs. Jewish teachers in New York, reluctant to give up their small privileges, resist Afro-American demands for control of the schools in their communities."

What this proves is that Novack is no longer capable of understanding anything in the Middle East or the United States in class Marxist scientific terms. Everything everywhere is seen

This is the second in a series of articles discussing black nationalism within the context of the international crisis of capitalism. The next and concluding section will answer Joseph Hansen's recent article in Intercontinental Press "The Healyites Begin to Unravel Their 'Trotskyism'" and George Breitman's Militant article "Is It Wrong For Revolutionaries To Fight For Reforms?"



FASCISM WAS BUILT ON ANTI-SEMITISM-IT CAN RISE AGAIN



AMERICAN NAZIS ATTEND BLACK MUSLIM RALLY

in racial national terms and therefore nowhere can a socialist struggle be waged with this outlook. In the first place the question in the Middle East is not "the attitude of the Israelis towards the Arabs" but rather the existence of the bourgeois state of Israel, conceived of as exclusively Jewish, and imposed upon the Arab peoples by the imperialists. We do not blame the Israeli workers for this state of affairs but their capitalist rulers and the world imperialists. This understanding in no way leads to support in any form of the oppression of the Arab nation. We stand for the self-determination of the Arab peoples and defend the Arabs against the imperialist-inspired Israeli aggression. At the same time we seek to bring about a unity in struggle of the Jewish and Arab workers against their own bourgeoisie. This requires particularly of the Jewish workers an absolutely unqualified statement of the right of self-determination for the Arab peoples including a settlement of the Arab refugee problem to the satisfaction of the refugees. Now to the extent that Arab nationalists attribute the oppression of the Arab peoples not to Israel as a bourgeois state and the imperialists but to Jews as Jews and foster anti-Semitism we do not simply write "explanations" of this but fight such views which can only hold back the workers struggle in that area and unite the Arab workers with their own bourgeoisie.

NONSENSE

Then we have all this nonsense about the Jews participating "in the system of oppressing and exploiting the black masses..." Now the system which oppresses and exploits the black masses in the United States is the capitalist system. There are a number of Jewish capitalists as well as Protestant ones and Catholic ones and even a few black ones. We fight capitalists as capitalists and not capitalists as Jews. We certainly are not foolish enough to address the Jews as a "people" suggesting that they withdraw their members who are capitalists from the exploiting

process. That is absurd. We fight capitalists regardless of nationality, color or religion and we fight for the unity of the working class despite national, racial and religious differences. Novack accepts the way the world "appears" to nationalists whether in the Middle East or the United States. He then, as a liberal moralist, urges the Jews to change the appearance of things rather than exposing this appearance and fighting to change the essence of things, fighting for the socialist revolution.

CONCESSION

Does a fight against the racialism of an oppressed group in any way mean concessions to the dominant racism in the country? This is only the case when attacks on the racism or "extremism" of the Negroes is used as an excuse not to fight white racism. This is certainly the case with Mayor Lindsay and also with Shanker of the UFT. But the truth is once one makes any concession to racism, even in the form of the racism of the black nationalists, one is actually paralyzed in the fight against white chauvinism.

WALLACE

The recent Wallace campaign illustrates this perfectly. Throughout the entire fall period the Workers League campaigned day in and day out against the Wallaceite racist poison fighting in the unions for the unions to recognize the danger in this racism to the whole working class and to mobilize the working class to crush this frontman for the fascists. We did this not only in the Bulletin which we took not only into Negro areas but to white workers as well, but we issued leaflet after leaflet in the unions and sought to raise the issue from the floor of union meetings.

This was not true of the Militant. First the paper completely ignored the Wallace issue and later ran a few commentary articles on the inside of the paper. In this the SWP was only following the lead of the black nationalists whose ideology led them to actually welcome Wallace.

The position of the black nationalists was that America as a whole is simply a white racist society and all whites are therefore racists and the enemy of the Negro. The only difference they saw between Wallace and anyone else was that he was "honest" about his racism. This led some black nationalists to actually urge a vote for Wallace either on the grounds that Wallace in power would bring things to a head or actually agreeing with his aim of dividing America permanently on race grounds. We found in our fight against Wallace a real cleavage between black workers and the petty bourgeois nationalists. The latter reacted hostilely to our campaign while black workers welcomed it.

JAIL

The position of these black nationalists is much like that of the German Communist Party to fascism. The CP claimed that there was "no difference" between Hitler and the Social Democrats and even talked of "first Hitler then us." But as it worked out first there was Hitler and then the Communist workers were in jail.

While it is true that racism pervades American life it does not flow from that that all whites are racists or that there is no distinction between a movement which bases itself on racism and the traditional bourgeois political parties in America. We recognized this and thus were able to launch an effective campaign against an extremely virulent form of racism. The SWP did not and capitulated to racism, accepted the existence of the racism of many white American workers as an unchangeable fact, utilized this existent racism as an excuse not to fight racism and to continue in its path of ignoring the struggles of American workers.

Racism can only be fought by refusing to accept its existence as permanent instead of accepting race divisions by asking for black control of black ghettos. Our position is one of complete and absolute opposition to every form of racial discrimination. Negroes are forced to live in ghettos. We do not accept this compulsion but fight for the right of Negroes to live where they choose, to have housing of the same caliber as the people as a whole, schools as good, job opportunities as good, etc.

RACISM

It is precisely our principled opposition to separatism which has made it possible for us to fight white racism within the working class on a class basis. It is precisely the SWP's support to black nationalism which paralyzed it in fighting white racism and forces it to treat racism in a non-class moralistic way. This outlook in actuality reflects an acceptance not only of racism as a permanent feature of capitalism but capitalism as permanent as well.

In 1923 Leon Trotsky wrote a letter to the American Negro Communist McKay in which he urged the importance of carrying on work among the Negro people. "Needless to say," he stated, "the work is not to be carried on in a spirit of Negro chauvinism, which would then merely form a counterpart of white chauvinism--but in a spirit of solidarity of all exploited without consideration of color." This is one position of Trotsky's you will never find mentioned in the pages of the Militant. Its spirit, however, fills the pages of the Bulletin.

YSA Excludes Whites; Panthers Bust Up SWP Forum

The Young Socialist Alliance, youth group of the Pabloite Socialist Workers Party recently held a weekend educational conference in the Boston area. Typical of the grovelling before black nationalism was their decision to exclude all but "Afro-Americans" from the panel on the Black Liberation Struggle. Despite their ill-fated attempts to justify this grovelling with misquotes and quotes torn out of context from Lenin, the YSA leaders completely ignore Lenin's struggle against the demand of the Jewish Bund for autonomy within the Russian Social Democratic Party. Lenin pointed out that the granting of this autonomy to the Jewish section of the Party so that it could decide questions "affecting" the Jewish workers was not only an adaptation to Jewish nationalism but would lead to the destruction of democratic centralism itself.

In essence the YSA, which claims to be Leninist and Trotskyist, proposes that blacks determine the line of the party on the Negro question rather than the party as a whole de-

termining its line on the Negro question as on all questions.

Of course this critical tailing of the black nationalists in no way lessens the hostility and hatred of any kind of working class tendency by the black nationalists. It is highly significant that at a recent Militant Labor Forum in San Francisco, called to commemorate the anniversary of the death of Malcolm X, the SWP was invaded by a group of nationalist youth carrying the Black Panther paper. The chairman was pushed around and sent packing down the street as a counter revolutionary who dared to use Malcolm to build a white honkey group.

That this is no isolated incident is illustrated by the recent attack on SDS's office at Queens College by black nationalists who resented an SDS leaflet which made some mild criticisms of SEEK's demands. Let there be no doubt about it, more and more these nationalists will unite with the fascists in their hostility to the working class.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY AND THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM

We have made quite clear what the Negro question is not—it is not a national question and, any confusion of this question leads to divisions in the working class and defeat for the workers as a whole and the Negro people. But the question still remains as to what the Negro question IS and flowing from that how the Negro struggle can advance itself.

DEBS

It is the pat formula of the SWP that anyone who refuses to see the Negro question as a national question is thereby falling into the trap of the old Debsian socialists. Debs and the early socialists refused to raise any demands related to the Negro claiming that the working class was what counted and the triumph of the working class would take care of the Negro's problems. In actuality, despite Debs' own wishes on the matter, this formula became a cover for a tremendous amount of white chauvinism that existed within American labor at the time. In particular sections of the Socialist Party actually agitated to bar Chinese immigrants on racist grounds and some expressed similar hostility towards blacks.

The task for Marxists as we see it is not

black nationalist program.

METAPHYSICS

First we must dispense with the "national in form and working class in content" metaphysics. The particularly reactionary aspects of black nationalism are strengthened precisely by the unity of form and content in the black nationalist movement. The content of any movement is not the class origins of its participants but its program. Otherwise we could claim that the Democratic Party in Michigan is bourgeois in form and working class in content as it is based on a bourgeois program, but most of the voters and participants in the party are working class. The content of black nationalism is its bourgeois nationalist program. The form which expressed this content is the organization of blacks as blacks.

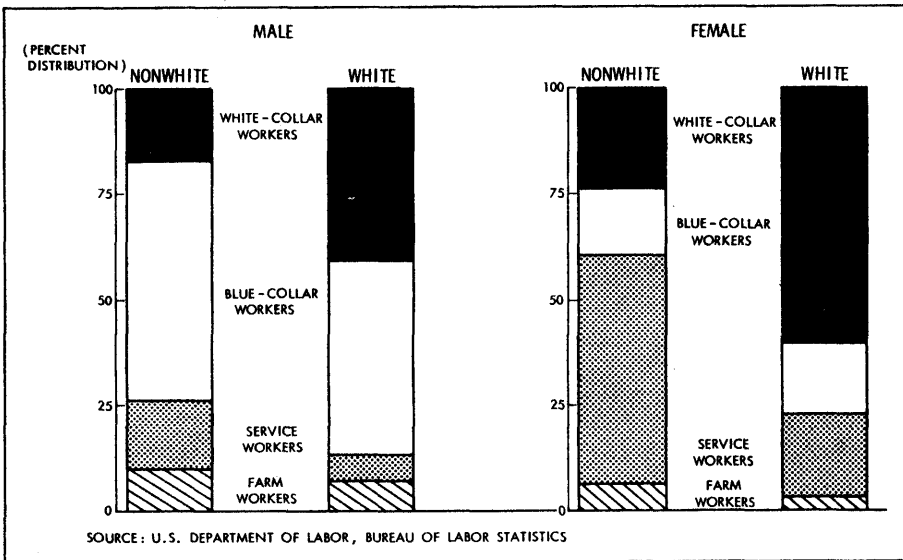
Progressive Labor makes this metaphysical distinction between content and form so that it can both criticize nationalism but support the nationalist movement.

WORKERS

More important, even, is Progressive Labor's assertion that since the Negro people are over-

at least partly justified through racism. Negroes as well as other minority groups share disproportionately in this category. Further, the existence of race divisions within the working class has helped keep wages down for white workers as well, particularly in the South. However it does not follow from this that the Negro as a whole represents a super-exploited grouping or caste in American society. While a case could be made for this a century ago when Negroes were still tied to the cotton and tobacco plantation economies it does not hold water today. In every category of low pay and poverty at least two-thirds of the workers in this category are white. In addition, as PL's own statistics reveal, perhaps a million or more Negro workers are in unionized basic industry and thus are not super-exploited but exploited as are all other workers.

The importance of raising this point is that it makes clear that programmatically the workers movement cannot raise separate economic demands for Negro workers only. We cannot, for instance, demand a \$100 week wage for Negro workers only ignoring the fact that the majority of workers earning under \$100 a week are white.



PL USES STATISTICS LIKE THIS TO SUPPORT ITS THEORIES

to deny the existence of a Negro question and see no role for demands related to this question in the general program of the workers party. It is rather to define, as Lenin did in his program for actual national minorities, the limits we go in our demands related to the Negro question, limits which if surpassed in actuality bolster the bourgeoisie and thus defeat the Negroes as well as the workers as a whole. In this way we can see how demands related to the Negro properly fit into the general program of the American working class as part of the international program of the world working class.

PL

A look at the position of Progressive Labor will help clarify this point. Progressive Labor has developed a position which on the one hand attacks black nationalism as reactionary but on the other hand concedes everything to black nationalism through the back door. In this respect it is similar to the Jewish Bund in Russia which attacked Zionism but was a "special character" to the Jew and thus the need for a separate Jewish workers organization, cultural autonomy for the Jew, etc.

The February issue of Progressive Labor magazine makes this clear in three interrelated documents: "Program for Black Liberation", "Black Workers: Key Revolutionary Force", and "SDS NC Resolution on Racism." In essence PL's position is as follows: (1) Nationalism is bourgeois and reactionary; (2) but 95% of blacks are workers; (3) not only are they workers but they are victims of "super-exploitation" and thus suffer a "special oppression"; (4) because of this the black nationalist movement is "national in form and working class in content"; (5) the task of revolutionaries, white workers and student is to "fight racism" by supporting critically these "national in form but working class in content" movements like black caucuses in unions, Third World Student battles on the university campuses, the battle for community control against the teachers union in New York (though it opposes community control as reactionary) etc. So in practice Progressive Labor ends up with the same policy as the SWP, except that it maintains its "criticisms" of the

whelmingly working class in composition "the essence of black liberation is working class liberation" and the related thesis of the super-exploited special oppression of the Negro people. While it is true that the essence of black liberation is working class liberation this is not simply because Negroes are primarily workers. There are Negroes of all classes and they all face discrimination and racism in some form or other. This fact cannot be simply dismissed by pointing to the preponderance of workers among the Negro people. Further, to do so slights the very important role the Negro middle class plays in the black nationalist movement. This is particularly true on the university campus for while black students may come largely from the working class and lower middle class homes their objective in going to college is to enter middle class occupations and this objective has had a great deal to do with the kind of demands raised by these black nationalist students.

Progressive Labor holds that Negroes represent a strata of the population paid less than the general average for the working class as a whole. Through the mechanism of racism the ruling class is thus able to abstract super-profits from these lower paid black workers. This lays the economic foundation for the Negroes' "special oppression."

PL backs up this theory with three pages of statistical charts. What the charts show is that Negroes are on the average paid less than white workers, make up a larger proportion of workers in low paid industries, live in poorer housing, go to worse schools, die sooner, make up a larger section of the unemployed, etc. In all these cases the Negroes' share of poverty conditions is way out of proportion to its percentage of the work force— in some cases as much as double. At the same time PL notes that Negroes make up some 30% of all auto workers, 25% of steelworkers, and similarly large percentages of other basic industry—out of proportion to its 11% of the population.

SUPER-EXPLOITATION

Super-exploitation, that is paying some workers less than the general average wage, does exist in the United States and its existence is



PLP LEADERS: FRED JEROME, BILL EPTON, MILTON ROSEN, MORTIMER SCHEER

Whether one deals with unemployment, housing schools, low paid jobs, or what have you—in every such category there are white as well as Negro workers facing the same problems and requiring the same programmatic fight.

SEPARATE

All that PL's statistics prove is that more Negroes are super-exploited than whites proportional to the number of Negroes in the work force. Nothing more can be garnered from these statistical averages. But PL utilizes these statistics to come to very different conclusions. It concludes that the Negroes face a "special" oppression in an economic sense that white workers do not face. Thus it is correct for Negro workers to organize separately from white workers in order to push for these special demands. This leads it to support black caucuses in the unions. As far as the black nationalist movement is concerned it accepts the need for a separate Negro liberation movement to push for these separate demands to counter the special oppression. Thus it objects not to the form of the black struggle—its separateness—but to its content—its black nationalist program. Thus we see in another way the confusion it creates with its slogan "nationalism in form and working class in content." In actuality it seeks to accept the real form and reject the real content of this movement. And this it cannot do for form and content are a unity in the black struggle. So its support to the independent form of the black struggle leads it to adapt to its nationalist content.

PREFERENTIAL

This leads it to adopt what is in reality a very reactionary demand—the demand, not for equality, but for preferential treatment of Negroes. This takes two forms in its immediate program—the demand for preferential hiring of Negroes and preferential advancement of Negroes in industry and the demand for preferential admissions of Negroes to universities.

The concept behind these demands—which by the way originate in bourgeois university and foundations studies and have been pushed by the government agencies for some time now—is that

since the Negro has suffered a special oppression for centuries for the Negro to achieve real equality today he needs an edge to counteract this oppression. However, the problem is that the white workers whose job the Negro is to be given the preference of is not responsible for the past and present oppression of the Negro but it is this white workers who is asked to make the sacrifice. Such program can only be justified on two grounds (1) the acceptance of the presently available number of jobs and promotion possibilities as sacred and unchangeable, that is the acceptance of capitalism, and (2) a theory that Negro oppression is the result of the whites as such, not the capitalist system.

Needless to say such preferential demands only deepen racism among white workers and few workers can be dissuaded from this with moralistic "fight racism" campaigns. The Wallaceites tell the white worker that the Negro threatens to take his job away and the radicals come along and agree with the Wallaceites, urging the white worker to "fight racism" by giving

up his job or promotion to aid the Negro.

What is lacking completely, as we pointed out in the teachers question, is a common struggle against capitalism to demand more jobs, more promotions, more training programs for all workers regardless of race so that the advancement of the Negro will not mean the unemployment or demotion of a white worker. Only this kind of struggle can unite the working class as a whole in a battle to bring socialist consciousness to the class. This is an extremely vital issue today when the world capitalist crisis means increased unemployment in the United States making the fight for jobs take on a transitional character, raising the question of power--of socialism or capitalism.

Much the same can be said about preferential admissions policies in the university. The need is not for unlimited admissions of "Third World students" but a free university education for all working class youth.

Progressive Labor, like the SWP and all other so-called radical groups in the United States,

approaches the Negro question completely abstracted from the international crisis. In fact they have no conception at all of this crisis. They note the movement of the Negro people but they cannot objectively root this movement in the deepening capitalist crisis. And thus they are forced to see this movement as the result of the Negro's "special oppression" just as the SWP sees this movement as a result of the Negro's "national oppression."

CRISIS

But, as we have seen, the Negro struggle is very much a part of the international crisis which produced the May-June revolutionary events in France as well as reactionary nationalism in Scotland, Canada, etc. The international crisis not only is the fundamental cause of the basic movement of the Negro people but offers the solution to the Negro peoples plight through the international struggle of the working people as a whole.

PROGRAM TO ERADICATE RACISM THROUGH SOCIALISM

What then is the special character in the Negro question, and how is this character to find programmatic expression in the program of the Marxist party, in its press, in its daily work in the unions and on the campuses? Here we confront the same kind of problem as Lenin did over the national question. The existence of racism cannot be wished away by thinking that class

at all to white chauvinism on this question will also lead the working class as a whole to defeat. The revolutionary movement must be the most militant uncompromising fighter against every and all forms of racism and in support of every and all demands for the removal of racial restrictions no matter how subtly put forward. This means, of course, a head-on collision in the unions

shorter work week so that the working class benefits from automation. To the bosses' program to rob our wages through inflation we demand escalator clauses so that wages rise as prices rise. We fight each and every law aimed at restricting the rights of the labor movement and fight at every point not only to defend the unions but make them effective instruments of class struggle in behalf of all workers by dumping the bureaucratic stooges of the bosses that dominate the unions.

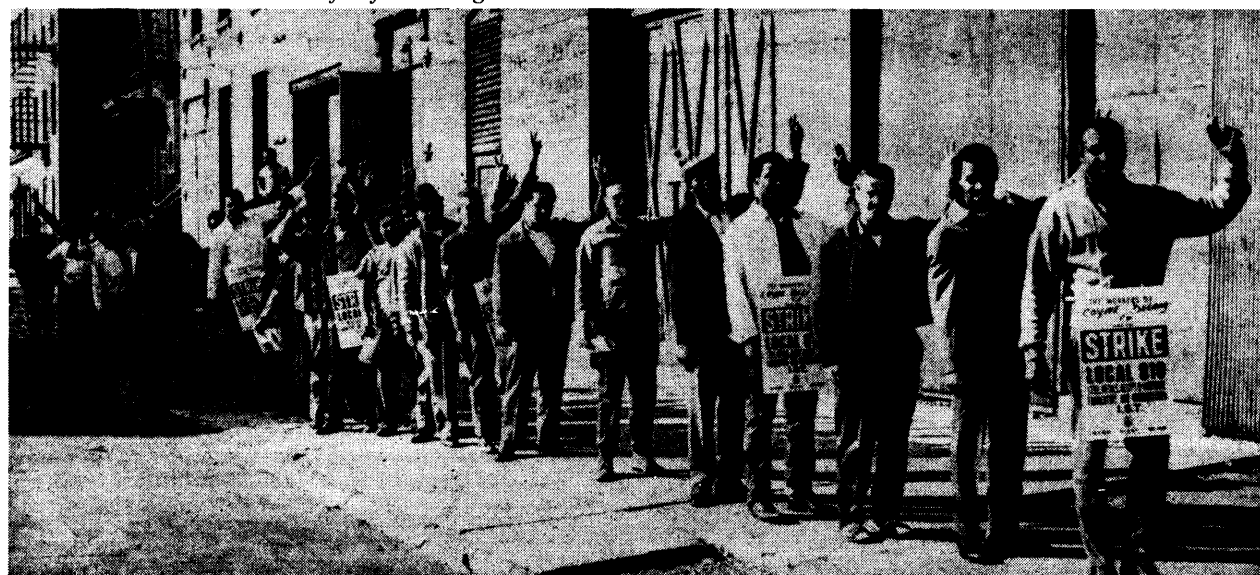
If the bosses answer that our demands will endanger the dollar or bankrupt particular companies and industries, we reply that we will run the industries in the interests of the working people and under the control of the working people.

There can no longer be any substantial progress in jobs, living conditions, housing, schools for the Negro worker or the white worker. We do not beg for reforms from the bosses and the bosses' government but propose instead that the working people take over the government and administer industry in their own interests. To accomplish this we fight for a labor party as the first great step toward workers power. Such a party must fight aggressively, uncompromisingly, absolutely against any and all forms of discrimination in the United States coupled with a socialist program which reflects the interest of all workers. Such a party must unite not only all workers in the United States regardless of color into one mighty class army but become part of a world class movement to eradicate capitalism and imperialist domination from the face of this earth.

TRAITORS

The SWP with its theory of the Negro as a nation has openly sold out everything to black nationalism and through black nationalism to the bourgeoisie. Progressive Labor through its "special oppression" formula has ended up doing the same thing but with more of a "radical" cover. Both groups show through their position on this question they have no understanding of the international crisis of capitalism, of Marxist theory and method, and essentially accept the capitalist reality as given, not something which can be overthrown through proletarian struggle.

"Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism--these are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world, and express the two policies (nay, the two world outlooks) in the national question... There are two nations in every modern nation..." This was Lenin's policy. This is our policy.



IT IS THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS-BLACK AND WHITE-WHICH WILL BRING VICTORY

demands alone will take care of it. At the same time if we overstep by even a little the strictly democratic content of the Negro struggle we end up in the end giving everything away to bourgeois nationalism, weakening the working class and the Negro people in the process. This is what Progressive Labor ends up doing.

DEMOCRATIC

There is a democratic content in the Negro movement, a content which must be incorporated into the program of the working class, which is essential to bring about the unity of the class, and which can only be realized through the triumph of socialism; for the bourgeoisie is no longer capable of realizing any democratic demand. That content flows from the existence of racial discrimination in the United States, that is from the racial not the national character of the Negro people. It is this racial discrimination which is the reason why Negroes share disproportionately in low paid jobs, promotions, unemployment, poor housing, etc. The Negro is exploited as a worker and discriminated against as a Negro. It is this combination of class and race factors which account for his "special position".

Our program for a solution to the democratic aspect of the Negro question is the program of EQUALITY. There can be no compromise on this question. Any and every manifestation of discrimination because of race must be eradicated from the working class movement first of all and then from society as a whole.

SOCIALISM

While this program is a democratic one--that is a program which should have been accomplished by the bourgeois revolution--even a "liberal" one in that same sense--it is today a revolutionary program for only through the struggle for socialism can it be achieved. To seek to give this program any more content than this is to lead the Negro to separatist defeat. To give in anything

with the labor bureaucracy which caters to white chauvinism.

FORM

At the same time this poses the FORM through which this content must be expressed. Precisely because this essential democratic demand, a demand which affects all classes of Negroes, can only be realized through the struggle for socialism, the demand must find expression as an essential part of the general transitional socialist program. The fight for this program requires the organization of the workers on a class, not a racial basis. This means the revolutionary party must be the party of all workers, regardless of race, and caucuses and other organizational forms thrown up to struggle around the program of the party must likewise organize workers as workers not as a race. This is why black caucuses are wrong in the unions and why caucuses like DRUM in Detroit have had a tendency to take up bourgeois nationalist slogans, to express deep hostility toward fellow white workers, and through the black nationalists come closer to the bourgeoisie. Separate black unions, the next step in the black nationalist program we can be assured, are even more reactionary. We will give such groups no quarter whatsoever.

CLASS

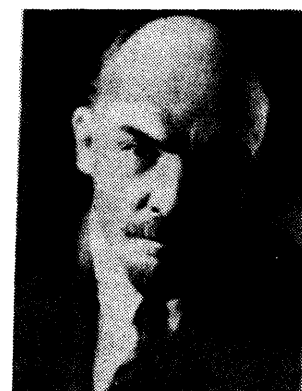
Is this then the totality of our program for the Negro WORKER? Certainly not. The struggle for equality is the programmatic demand which affect the Negro workers as NEGROES but it is his class position which is most critical. But at this point our program becomes a program for all workers regardless of race.

It is a fighting program of transitional demands which absolutely refuses to accept the existence of capitalism as "given", as a "limit" upon the needs of the working people of this country and of all countries. To the bosses' plans of job cuts and unemployment we answer with the fighting demand of No Job Cuts in any industry and a

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USSR RESURRECTS STALIN; 'LIBERALS' FLIRT WITH CHURCH



JOSEPH STALIN

BY FRED MULLER

The Soviet bureaucracy is moving to restore a "balance" in the official assessment of the Stalin era. For more than four years, since the ouster of Khrushchev, the bureaucracy has slowly but steadily improved Stalin's "image". It is especially concerned at the more and more frequent challenges to official party history. A recent lengthy article in *Kommunist*, the theoretical organ of the Soviet CP, makes clear what the bureaucracy is after.

The authors of the article denounce various playwrights, filmmakers and authors for including in their criticism not only the so-called excesses connected with the "cult of the personality", but also the period of the 1920s and 30s, including the forced collectivization campaign and the notorious frame-up purge trials.

HEROIC

The bureaucrats want to make sure there is no questioning of the "heroic history of our state and the Leninist party". They refer specifically to the defeat of the left and right oppositions in the early period of Stalin's rule, to the campaign which led directly to the Moscow trials and the liquidation of an entire generation of revolutionary leadership, including almost the entire Bolshevik Central Committee of 1917. They support, they stand foursquare behind this liquidation.

Brezhnev-Kosygin want it clear that there can be no rehabilitation of Bukharin, Zinoviev or Kamenev, and certainly not of Trotsky. Lest there be any confusion at all on this score, the bureaucracy is "rehabilitating" Stalin. Official articles repeatedly emphasize that the criticism of Stalin must be limited to the cult of personality, to the period when loyal Stalinists fell victim before his purges.

COVER

Thus the talk of "balance" is a cover behind which the bureaucracy moves against all opposition. It is the kind of balance made necessary by the bureaucracy's balancing act between the world working class and imperialism. Stalin will be used more and more, the bureaucrats are forced to move in the direction of a total rehabilitation, although they cannot help but know the explosive situation within the entire Soviet bloc this would lead to.

The growing challenge to the

bureaucracy is being met by growing repression. This is the meaning of the constant attacks on the intellectuals, on all those who attempt to shed some light on Soviet history. Scientists and intellectuals have come under broadside attack, individual dissidents are continuing to be sent to forced labor camps.

The bureaucracy fears Trotskyism most of all, it will do everything in its power to see that the truth about "our state and the Leninist party" is kept from the Soviet people. This is why the recent translation into Russian of the Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International, and its circulation in Eastern Europe is of such historic significance.

SOB

The program of the Fourth International is an absolute necessity for a successful struggle against the bureaucracy and capitalist restoration. This is shown by the petty bourgeois nationalist and downright pro-imperialist views spread by so-called liberals within the bureaucracy. Some of these people have recently found religion.

Thus Milan Machovec, professor of philosophy at Charles University in Prague, is touring the U.S. for one month under the auspices of the Methodist Office for the United Nations! Machovec no doubt reflects the views of a section of the Czech regime, and he is in the U.S. to urge a continuation and deepening of the Christian-Marxist dialogue. This so-called Marxist speaks of the need for an alliance with the church, of the "contributions" of Christian doctrine, and so on.

A section of the bureaucracy and of its supporters in Western Europe is becoming more and more indistinguishable from Social-Democracy. This is no opposition to Stalinism, but in fact its logical outgrowth, leading to open alliance, in domestic as well as foreign policy, with imperialism. This kind of evolution poses the danger of capitalist restoration in the workers states. Both so-called liberals and conservatives within the bureaucracy help this counterrevolutionary process along. The liberals share with the old guard the same method, the same vicious hostility to the working class, the same policies of class collaboration, the same identification of Bolshevism with Stalinism and ruthless hostility to genuine Bolshevism.

Our opposition to the repressions of Moscow, and to the invasion of Czechoslovakia cannot involve the slightest political support for tendencies such as Dubcek and his allies within the Italian, French and other CPs. There is only one way to fight Stalinism-- the building of revolutionary parties on the program of the Fourth International and on the basis of implacable hostility to Stalinism and imperialism.

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH ORGANIZE IN FRANCE

BY ROBERT JAMES

Four hundred delegates attended the first conference of the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (AJS) in Paris last weekend. They represented several thousand members throughout France.

In a call to action, national secretary Charles Berg, who was re-elected by the conference, said the AJS was the only organization which could mobilize working class resistance to the savage attacks of the state.

AJS had to build through ac-

porate state.

The ruling class had recognized that the Kremlin bureaucracy, reflected in the French Communist Party, could no longer control the working class and was preparing stronger measures against the class.

Charles Berg also attacked the revisionists whose policies were not based on Marxism, but on impressionism. This was why the revisionists had linked up with the Stalinists and, despite their heroism on the barricades,

could be no boycott of the elections over the education 'reforms'.

The campaign for the conference had shown the enormous possibilities for the movement and, at the same time, the enormous dangers that the only guarantee of survival was through the building of the revolutionary party and the mass youth movement.

GREETINGS

Bringing greetings from the Federation des Comites d'Al-



NATIONAL SECRETARY CHARLES BERG ADDRESSES AJS MEETING IN PARIS

tive intervention in the class struggle.

The conference, he said, was taking place in a situation of crisis, reflected in the recent enforced military service for 11 students, the vicious attack on demonstrating teachers, the police repression and redundancies in big plants like Citroen and Sud-Aviation.

The general strike of May and June had shown the ruling class that it had to crush the working class to survive. This was the situation internationally, said Comrade Berg.

DYNAMICS

But May-June had also shown the strength and dynamic power of the working class resistance to these attacks.

The general strike posed the problem of power, which the union bureaucracy had been unable to prevent.

"Today, in the words of Pompidou, we are entering a period of instability. This is why the ruling class is preparing all the more," he said.

But miners and aircraft workers would not accept redundancies, nor would students accept the Fouchet Plan, or police control of the universities.

The policy of 'participation' would mean the integration of the trade unions into the state machine, involving the destruction of the unions and paving the way for a cor-

helped the Stalinist split and break the general strike.

They refused to pose the central question of power and attempted to create an artificial link between students and workers.

But youth could only fight with an organization like AJS, which created a unity with all layers of youth, said Comrade Berg.

This responsibility of the AJS meant they not only had to have correct policies, but had to develop their organization and function nationally.

This was why the AJS had local branches throughout France, with federations and a national committee, as a means of intervening in the class struggle.

Many Communist Party members were now looking to the AJS. The CP's betrayal was now very open. 'L' Humanité', the CP paper, had now assured Education Minister Edgar Faure that there

liance Ouvriere (CAO), national committee member Francois Demassot said the relation between the CAO and the AJS was the intervention in the working class and building a leadership for the working class.

Greetings were also brought to the conference from the Young Socialists in Great Britain by Dany Jenkins.

She congratulated those who made the conference possible through their struggles during and since May and June in a battle against all revisionist tendencies during the most difficult conditions of repression.

In several commissions, conference discussed trade union, student, and international work, including an international youth conference and the election of the national committee. They voted on a manifesto laying out the perspectives of the AJS in the coming period.

NEW ISSUE!

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Published by the International Committee of the Fourth International

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL STATEMENT ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA
SCOTTISH NATIONALISM AND REVISIONISM
TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL
INSURRECTION OR DEMOCRATISM

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CLIENTS MASS IN ALBANY RALLY

welfare workers join in; labor bureaucracy and progressive labor abstain

BY LOU BELKIN

ALBANY—Children's Day, Feb. 25, officially designated by City and Statewide welfare groups and the SSEU, to protest Rockefeller's cuts in Welfare and vicious legislation against the poor, brought to Albany some 6,000 Welfare recipients and caseworkers.

Rocky's cuts, which amount to 5% reduce the average budget for a Welfare family of four from \$4,200 per year to \$3,700, in a period when the cost of living is rising at a tremendous rate. Laws which are designed to reduce the number of Home Relief cases (employable unattached males and females) through placing

more of the burden of financing from the state to the City, as well as legislation which compels parents and children to support each other where possible, throw the welfare system back to the fifties and early sixties. Only this time, Rocky and the legislature act against the poor because the Federal government, acting out of the financial crisis and balance of payments deficit, refuses to finance state and city welfare loads.

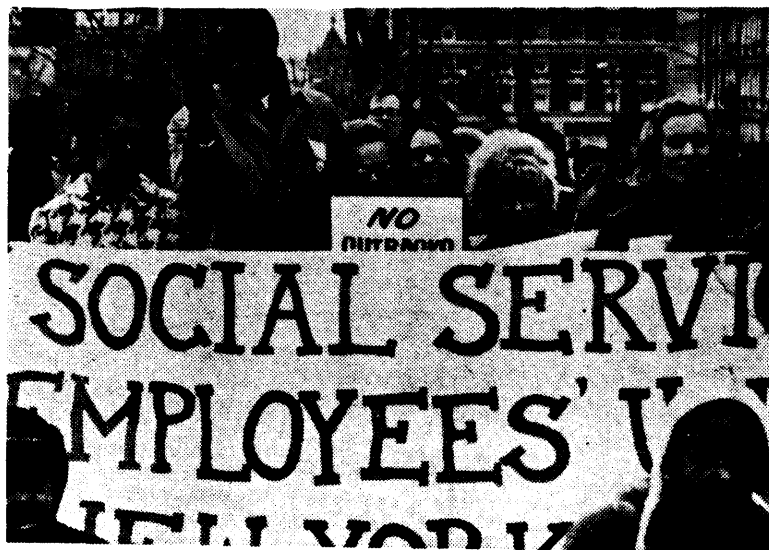
CUTS

In such a period of economic disequilibrium, the bosses and their lackeys in government are compelled to

introduce legislation cutting social service spending in all areas--education, housing and welfare, and in fact, the standard of living of the entire working class.

What became obvious to the poor people on the March in Albany was that Rocky had support from both Republican and Democratic assemblymen and state senators, who refused to even meet with these people or speak at the public rally. Rather demonstrators heard clergymen pray for Rocky's soul with divine guidance, and social work school heads got on their knees for aid. Hulbert James, leader of Citywide Welfare Rights groups refrained on this occasion from demanding community control of Welfare, but expressed hope that liberal politicians would help.

Trade union representation was minimal. This reporter was told by Joseph Rogoff, head of 371 Supervisors Local of DC 37, that Gotbaum and the rest of DC 37 turned a deaf ear to the pleas of the poor. Instead of mobilizing thousands of workers in the District Council, many of whom receive supplementary welfare or will join the rolls as a result of Medicaid cuts, the bureaucrats were represented by only token forces. It is clear that, just as these



WELFARE WORKERS JOIN CLIENTS AT ALBANY DEMONSTRATION

bureaucrats refuse to fight for the job security and control over speed up for their members, they refuse to fight for the betterment of living conditions for the poor. The unions are the only forces which have the power to stop the government in its attacks on the workers and the poor. The leadership should not only support, but sponsor such rallies, and more importantly, should tell these politicians that those they represent are sick and tired of the way the Democrats and Republicans are juggling their lives around in their little budget games. The workers and the poor now want a party in government which truly represents THEM.

along with the CP, the SWP and the bureaucracy, supports the attrition of staff as a progressive and revolutionary means of destroying the concept of "services" and reform couldn't be bothered with attending this rally, which it deemed non-revolutionary and reformist. Presumably a struggle of clients and workers against the state legislature and Rockefeller is a mere ruse. This ultra-leftism of PL is just the other side of its economism. If you stand on the sidelines of the struggles in the unions and the struggles of the poor, especially in a period when all meaningful reform is dead, no matter how loud you shout revolution, you have in effect abandoned the struggle.

Progressive Labor, which

deal 'settles' strike at adelphi hospital

BY A HOSPITAL WORKER

NEW YORK--The workers at Adelphi Hospital in Brooklyn began returning to their jobs on February 26, after a hard fought strike and lock-out which had lasted almost 5 weeks.

After locking out the workers who were organizing into Local 1199, the hospital bosses had removed almost all the patients from the 150-bed hospital. The settlement provides for the return of the workers in groups as the hospital beds are reoccupied. The picketline was immediately removed and the question of union recognition is before the State Labor Board.

An election was held over a month ago, but the hospital had challenged every ballot cast by locked out workers.

Union officials claim that with the workers back the challenge will have to be dropped and the union speedily recognized. Then comes the task of negotiating a contract. Raising the level of the wages to the citywide minimum of \$100 achieved by 1199 last year will require increases of \$25 and more by July of this year.

CUMBERLAND

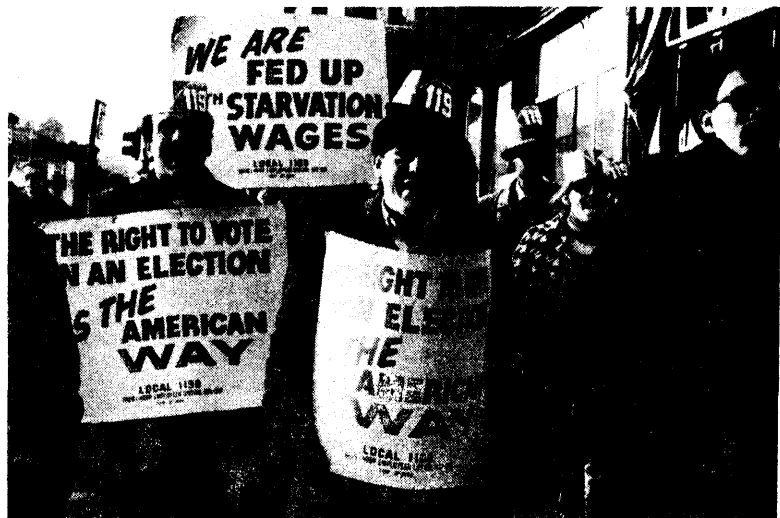
The union has not gotten the kind of commitment it received in the past after strikes for union recognition. At Cumberland Hospital last June, for instance, the hospital agreed to recognize the results of a speedy election and the workers went back on this basis. At Adelphi the election has already been held but there has been no comm-

itment from the bosses to recognize the results without further delay. Union militants must question this kind of deal which leaves the issue of speedy recognition still up in the air.

Settlement came after several demonstrations at the hospital which included rank and file workers from other hospitals. During the course of the fight there were over 70 arrests and numerous cases of police harassment and brutality. At the same time scabs the bosses had managed to hire found crossing the picket line a harrowing experience and there was a high turnover among the handful of scabs.

An indication of the seriousness with which the fight was viewed on both sides was an incident involving a supervisor at another hospital who was scabbing in the evenings at Adelphi. 1199 members at Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center made clear to the supervisor involved that they would not tolerate the situation. When a strike was threatened over this the supervisor left. The Kingsbrook bosses denounced the so-called intimidation of the scab and have threatened to send individual letters to the workers involved in the incident.

It was the determined fight of the workers which has brought them as far as they have come.



MILITANT WORKERS WALK THE LINE AT ADELPHI

new york race battle rocks high school

BY PAT CONNOLLY

NEW YORK--A series of racial disturbances between Negro and white students has shaken public high schools here. Canarsie High School in Brooklyn is the latest scene of large scale disturbances between black and white working class youth.

On February 25 a fist fight broke out between a Negro and a white student, and erupted into a larger battle between a number of students. It was the third such scuffle in three days, and sixty policemen were called to the school which was then closed for three days.

In attempting to deal with the problem, the school administration has taken a number of measures including shifting the class scheduling, replacing five overlapping sessions with two end-to-end sessions running from 7:05 am to 6:15 pm; providing for the arrest of students who bring narcotics or weapons to the school, and tightening discipline in the school overall by adding more policemen to the patrol at the school. The school administration speaks of "reducing tension" with these measures.

ROTTEN

The basic cause of the extreme tension and friction is the increasing rottenness of the school system as a whole. at Canarsie this is expressed by the fact that the school is overcrowded by 63.5%. There is a student body of 5,000 in a school built for less than

2,500 students. This means overcrowding of classrooms and other facilities, an inadequate number of classrooms, overworked teachers, and rapid deterioration of the already inadequate facilities.

The new 5% budget cut by Rockefeller will hit the school system hard, as hard as the financial crisis of the city already has. At a time when the number of students is increasing rapidly, the City has cut back on per pupil expenditures on education. The entire rotten New York City public school system is capable only of preparing its students for welfare, dead-end jobs or the army. Even the City Colleges, which have provided a way out for some youths, have been forced to cut back on the number of freshman admissions for this Fall because of the latest budget cut. The awareness of the students of this fact--that they face nothing but the draft, \$65 a week jobs or welfare-- is a major part of the frustration and tension which makes black and white working class students turn on each other rather than on the rotten system they are trapped in.

SOLUTION

The only solution for the increasing deterioration of the school system is for students and teachers to fight for the demands for more money for the schools, for new school buildings, less students in each classroom, courses geared to college placement and job training and advancement.

This fighting between black and white students, obviously encouraged by black nationalist propaganda on the one hand and Wallacite propaganda on the other, is extremely detrimental to the struggle of students. There can be no concessions whatsoever to any kind of separatism among high school students whether it emanates from white racism or black nationalism. Let's start fighting together against the real enemies of the working class youth-- the government and the bosses' system that this government represents.

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RIGHT WING TERRORISM GRIPS BAY AREA

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN
 SAN FRANCISCO—A campaign of right wing terrorism has been unleashed against the working class in the Bay Area. The racism and anti-unionism of the Wallace campaign strengthened this tendency. The headlong rush to the right of the entire ruling class with its calls for "law and order" is providing the cover and giving the confidence for the emergence of gangs of lumpen scum.

While the state is going about its business of tear gassing and clubbing striking hospital workers and oilworkers, beating down striking teachers and students at S.F. State, bringing in the National Guard in Berkeley, and preparing new legislation to discipline the working class the fascists are all too eager to provide a helping hand.

A wave of terror bombings in Palo Alto directed by a Nazi style organization was followed by the looting of the headquarters of striking S.F. State teachers and now the beatings at the S.F. Board of Education meeting. These hoodlums are for law and order you see, its just not being carried out by the state in a sufficiently thorough and systematic manner.

finest." It is no suprise that the goons are reported to have told the police, "we're your friends; we're here to help you."

Suddenly there is a cry of rage from the ruling class. The Chronicle which managed to contain its anger when the tactical squad "mistakenly" cracked reporters' skulls at S.F. State, which assessed the death of a striking oil worker run over by a scab truck as an accident, is calling for blood. Indeed the editor claims to be prepared to "punch the teeth down the throats" of these goons if he gets his hands on them. Mayor Alioto who gives the orders to the tac squad is calling for blood, demanding a full investigation and arrests.

The working class must view these incidents with the greatest seriousness. The ruling class is disturbed precisely because these thugs threaten to give away its game before it is prepared to show its hand fully. Nixon and Humphrey attack Wallace only to run as fast as they can to catch up with his program of law and order and anti-unionism. The Tories denounce Powell in England as a racist only to cover their compete acceptance of his racial and trade union plans. The Unionists denounce Paisley in N. Ireland only to stand idly by while his thugs massacre the Catholics. De Gaulle denounces violence of students and workers in France only to bring the right wing fascists back into legality while banning the left. Everywhere the bourgeoisie denounce the extremists of the right while their own programs not only strengthen the right but force them into a greater and greater dependence on it.

CORRUPTION
 The Board of Education incident is the most clear because it sharply illuminates the corruption and swinishness of the government for all to see. A gang of well organized thugs broke up a meeting called to discuss implementation of school busing for S.F. A Chronicle photographer and three members of the Progressive Labor Party were viciously assaulted. The police did not interfere and no arrests were made. These goons were clearly working for an organization known as Americans Against Communism, Crime and Corruption headed by Teamsters business agent Jim Rourke whose local systematically discriminates against blacks, and is engaged in a campaign to unionize the police. He was seen talking to a number of the goons before the beatings took place.

Another member of this sinister organization is Alexander Laguillo who operates several gymnasiums which train 10 to 15 police candidates a month. He is obviously quite familiar with a large number of "S.F.'s

DETERMINATION
 These incidents are a reflection of the growing determination of the ruling class to take on and discipline the workers. They will make use

of these criminal gangs when necessary. If they pull back now it is only to embrace this scum more closely later just as the German bourgeoisie was compelled to embrace Hitler.

It is intolerable that an official in the labor movement should be allowed to continue to mix with this racist filth. Jim Rourke and any union members who support his fascist AACCC must be dealt

with by the rank and file in the same manner one deals with any scab who crosses a picket line.

The labor movement cannot afford to give the slightest confidence to Alioto and his boards of ruling class white-washers. The working class must form its own committees to investigate and deal with those responsible for this incident.

NIXON PUSHES BLACK CAPITALISM

BY ANDREA GOLDMAN
 On February 22nd, just a few days before President Nixon kicked off his program of black capitalism in California, the AFL-CIO Executive Council scored the whole concept of Black Capitalism as a "dangerous, divisive delusion." The Council said these programs will attract small sweatshops or some marginal plants of big business with little additional employment at low wages and that in a society where the majority of people are wage earners such a program would only prove beneficial to a small number of people who would move into a position of owner or manager of a business. The Council proposes as an alternative for the solution of ghetto unemployment, education and jobs at a decent wage - a minimum of \$2.00 per hour.
 WATTS

The Nixon administration's first venture into Black Capitalism is being established in Watts, Los Angeles. The Federal government has provided loans to Negro businessmen to set up an industrial park which so far has attracted the Lockheed Aircraft Company. Participating companies are given the incentive of tax exemptions. In the words of the Negro businessman Richard Allen "We have tried to approach the problem of poverty and urban deterioration as businessmen." He states that although they're aware of racial elements they have not been so distracted by this factor as to act as sociologists. In other words he's saying they've approached the venture from the point of view of making profits for the companies involved by providing cheap labor.

Unemployment is a glaring problem in the ghetto areas and so the unemployed are caught in a bind as to whether to remain unemployed or accept these substandard wages. The AFL-CIO has got to do more than just talk on this issue; it has got to put up a real fight for jobs for all at a \$2.00 minimum. It can not allow the capitalists to set up run-away shops in the ghetto. In the coming recessionary period companies will seek to cut labor costs by shifting their operation from unionized to non-unionized plants, and thus strike at the power of the organized labor movement itself, and sow racial dissention among the working class.

Union Teachers Face Defeat At San Francisco State College

SAN FRANCISCO--The S.F. State strike has reached a critical point. The teachers have been posed with an ultimatum. Either return to work under conditions which mean defeat for the strike or face the loss of their jobs.

The only thing the state has offered is a phony grievance committee which will guarantee nothing but a further run around. They refuse to offer any sort of contract and refuse even to admit that they recognize the union. Just what all this will mean was made clear when Professor Hare was fired from his job and all teachers told they would be fired if they didn't return immediately.

The teachers must vote to stay out until they win the guarantee of a contract and union recognition. Their strike is in extreme danger. Throughout they have been too confused to break from the fif-

teen demands of the students and base their struggle on the labor movement. In practice they have become tails for the student's struggle. Although the labor council has granted sanctions its actions so far have been to try to cool the teachers fight while preparing to help the state force a rotten settlement down their throats.

The students led by PL-SDS have virtually ignored the teacher's fight concentrating instead on gimmicks and confrontations. It is essential that a real fight be made to spread the strike by winning support from the S.F. elementary and secondary school teachers for sympathy walk outs. The teachers have done next to nothing to take their fight to the rank and file of these unions and other workers relying instead on the manipulations of their lawyers and the labor council bureaucrats.



COPS CHASE OIL STRIKERS IN RICHMOND, CALIFORNIA

BRIDGES DENOUNCES STUDENT RADICALISM

SAN FRANCISCO--Harry Bridges has outdone himself. The Feb. 21 issue of the "Dispatcher" contains one of the most reactionary editorials he has ever written. In a tirade swiped from the French Stalinists, Bridges joins hands with the thugs who call for "law and order" by fighting to deepen the isolation of the students from the working class.

Bridges is petrified of the young workers he can no longer discipline. He lives in fear that they may draw important lessons from the state's suppression of the students. "There is a distinct and important difference between students and young people", he tells us. The students are privileged snobs who free from the need to support themselves by working "sneer at organized labor and see no hope for the organized working class as a source of social reform."

LESSON

The lesson is clear. Stay away from these wealthy idlers. This is an open appeal to every reactionary anti-intellectual prejudice of the more backward workers. Not only is Bridges seeking to separate the students and workers but, he is trying to drive a wedge between the older more conservative workers and the young workers a number of whom support and have fought with the students against the brutality of the police.

Above all Bridges fears that revolutionary theory and or-

ganization may penetrate the working class. He contemptuously dismisses the need for theory by lumping it all together as just so much anarchism or Chinese idealism. "Students can raise hell on campuses, run around waving the little red book of Mao's thoughts and quoting Herbert Marcuse but, working class problems they won't solve." That must be left to the bureaucrat.

Bridges' article is a very clear reflection of the crisis of the labor bureaucracy. Faced with the growing militancy of the rank and file and clearly seeing the danger from student unrest spilling over into the working class they myopically peer at the world through the distorted prism of their own bureaucratic self interest and privileges. Pragmatically they hit out at anything that threatens to rock the boat.

REJECT

This is completely consistent with his scabbing on the ILA strike and even more so with his support of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia on the grounds that the Czech working class had too much power! Bit by bit Bridges is preparing a massive sell-out for the dockers in 1971. The rank and file must completely reject this reactionary rubbish and stand for the absolute defense of the students from the state. An injury to one is an injury to all is just as true when that broken head belongs to a student.

NIGERIA

United States Prepares Move To Intervene To Take Over Divided Country From British

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

A new element has entered the Nigerian-Biafran Conflict and it could well be the decisive factor to the detriment of the people of Africa. That element is the United States which is carefully, cautiously, slyly changing its policy towards the war.

From the beginning of the war in July, 1967 the main prop for the Federal Government in Lagos has been the British. This, of course, was to be expected as Nigeria was a former colony and Britain continues to dominate it economically. And a rich prize it is! The most populous African country, it has rich resources in agricultural products and minerals.

OIL

Recently this has been enhanced by critically important oil reserves with a very low sulphur content providing an important oil source some 7,000 miles closer to Europe than the Middle East. Just prior to the war Shell-BP was pumping some 500,000 barrels a day out of the country. Today oil production is back close to normal at the 350,000 barrel level and when Gulf and Mobil production potential is added the London Economist expects some one million barrels a day to be pumped within a year.

From the beginning of the war the United States saw an opportunity similar to the Congo-Katanganese War which ended with the U.S., emerging as the dominant imperialist power in the Congo and Belgian capital pushed to a marginal role. However, this time the Central government was dominated by its British ally and it had to operate very carefully so as not to openly disrupt this relationship. So the United States with one hand puts a military embargo on both sides and with the other refuses to recognize or aid in any way the Biafran breakaway.

The Biafrans in turn received covert aid from some of the most reactionary imperialist powers with interests in Africa. These included the Portugese, covert Rhodesian and South African aid and more recently French aid. Clearly the tribal differences in Nigeria had seized upon as an excuse for a new battle to see what imperialist power would end up on top--especially as far as the oil reserves were concerned.

CHURCHES

Next enters the churches and the muddleheaded liberals from Country Joe and the Fish to Congressman Allan Lowenstein and Senator Edward Kennedy. With a huge campaign of publicity in all the bourgeois papers in the country, the churches and the liberals started organizing food relief for the Biafrans. It is excluded that a campaign could have been run on such a scale with the Catholic Church in particular playing such a role in it with such favorable publicity in the press, without covert government support.

The actual effect of the relief shipments was to relieve economic pressures of the Biafran Government which freed economic resources for arms purchased through the Portugese and French. As a result of both the food and military shipments the Federal offensive has been, at least for the time being, stymied.

Now U.S. involvement is stepping up under Nixon. Even Johnson had lent American planes to fly relief shipments and now Nixon has appointed a Rutgers Professor, Clarence C. Ferguson, Jr.; to direct Nigerian relief activity. Congressmen are meandering around Nigeria and Biafra while direct American diplomatic intervention will be the next step.

U.S.

It appears that what the United States wants is a stalemate in the war. This will permit the U.S. either through the UN or in concert with the USSR which has blocked with Britain in support of the Federal Government, to achieve a ceasefire and eventual deal which will lead to the emergence of a Nigeria further pulled apart by sectionalism and tribalism with the British oriented Central Government largely a figurehead and American economic influence thus dominant.

This is precisely what Colonel Ojukwu, head of the Biafran government is plugging for. He is openly hoping that such a deal will be worked out between DeGaulle and Nixon during Nixon's present European tour. While such a deal would be too crass and cause too much friction with

England, especially following the recent French-British diplomatic war, this is quite likely the policy the U.S. is now pursuing more subtly. As Ojukwu correctly summarizes the current reality in Africa: "The key to Africa falls upon the United States, whichever way she jumps--and until she jumps we won't really know where Africa jumps."

CRISIS

This Nigerian situation is of the greatest importance for it makes crystal clear the impact of the current international crisis upon the colonial areas of the world--particularly Africa where imperialist divisions of the 19th century conflict with imperialist reality of the 20th century--the

wards, that is centrifugal forces towards tribalism and regionalism have tended to eat away at any form of national cohesion making the country increasingly subservient to imperialist control and leading to complete stagnation except for extractive industries of direct benefit to the imperialist nations like oil, mining, plantation products, etc. These industries in turn give the imperialists not only much needed raw materials, but at extremely cheap prices, and with large profits then give the African people nothing but deeper and deeper poverty and misery.

FEDERATION

This situation gives the question of national self-determination a particular urgency but at the



1964 GENERAL STRIKE IN NIGERIA SHOWS POTENTIAL OF WORKERS STRUGGLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM

past European dominance of Africa gives in to the current American dominance of Europe. The growing conflict between American capital and European capital is finding a sharp reflection in an internecine struggle for the imperialist spoils of Africa.

Under these new conditions tribalism is playing a particularly pernicious role. When the imperialist nations carved up Africa in the 18th century and 19th century they created artificial colonies which were essentially administrative units for the economic exploitation of sections of the continent. The African people were at a state of barbarism divided on tribal lines into thousands of different groups with their own languages intermixed among themselves.

The capitalists with one hand were forced to break up the old tribal culture in order to free workers for the mines, plantations and other exploitative enterprises and with the other hand encouraged tribal antagonisms to keep the African peoples divided and in subjugation. So with the emergence of formal independent countries after World War II none of these African "nations" actually had any national identity. The only language common to the nation was the language of the imperialist power which was understood by an elite of less than 2% of any of these nations' population.

NATION

While some left nationalists like Nkrumah and Toure sought to develop some kind of national cohesion which was necessary for the independent economic development of the new nations, none succeeded in this. The problem was that economic development itself was necessary for the development of a base for a real nation while a real nation was necessary as a base for economic development. What the bourgeois revolution was able to accomplish in its infancy in Europe and America it could no longer carry through in its period of age and decay in Africa and the rest of the colonial world.

So every one of the new African nations, and Nigeria in particular, has tended to develop back-

same time a unique form. The real content self-determination takes the form, not of future attempts to create a real bourgeois nation state out of such artificial creations as Ghana, Guinea or Nigeria, but of a concerted struggle of the African peoples to drive all the imperialists out of the continent and create a federation of the African peoples. Even nationalists like Toure and Nkrumah were forced to make some gestures in this direction.

At the same time weak as capital development has been in Africa it has created a small working class whose social weight is of the greatest importance. In Nigeria, for instance, prior to the current deep tribal sectionalism the country was rocked by a series of dock strikes (1963-64) which threatened the very existence of capitalism in Nigeria. Clearly the current tribalism has been encouraged at least in part by fear of this working class.

The working class in Africa is the only force capable of breaking through the tribalism and uniting the African peoples against the imperialists and it can do this only on a socialist program. The capitalists were forced to break down the economic and cultural foundations of tribalism in order to have African labor to exploit. For all their current fanning the flames of tribalism, in the future it will be this act which will be their undoing.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The social weight of this working class increases in proportion to the increased independent struggle of workers in the metropolitan countries. As the very same crisis which compels the imperialists to fight fiercely over their African spoils also forces them to crack down on their own working classes, the objective stage is being set for a renewal of the whole international class struggle with the African and other colonial workers playing an extremely vital role.

This is why it is so pressing to build the Fourth International to carry forward the programmatic struggle to unite workers in all countries into a common army to destroy world capitalism.