

Bulletin

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Madame Binh's Road To Betrayal

BALTIMORE COPS SHOOT ANTIWAR MARCHERS

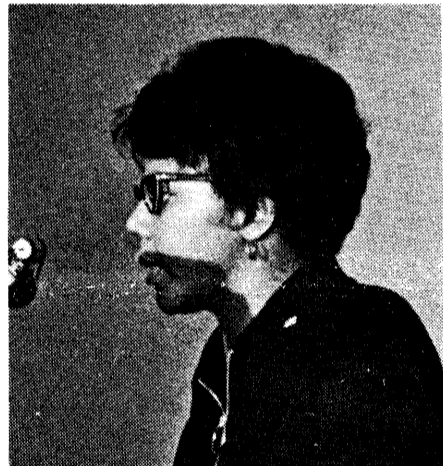
RECOVER
1971
INSTITUTION



Ceylonese workers and youth demonstrate in Colombo in support of Juan Farinas. March and meeting were called by RCL.

WHAT WE THINK

NEWARK TEACHERS UNION & CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP



Carole Graves, President of the striking Newark Teachers Union.

The Newark Teachers Union now faces an extremely grave situation. The central threat now confronting this union is precisely the inability of its leadership to respond politically to attacks which threaten to destroy it entirely.

As a result the NTU has led a series of retreats which has partially demobilized its membership, contributed to its isolation from the Black working class of Newark, and given in so much at the bargaining table that even if it were to win its present demands, it would be a defeat for the union.

The failures of this leadership are not due to personal failings.

They are the necessary and bitter result of functioning on the pragmatic level of "trade unionism," of syndicalism. The lessons of this strike are therefore of vital importance not only as part of a struggle to reverse the present trend within the union but for rearming politically militants throughout the trade union movement.

Most damning of all is the relationship which has developed between Carol Graves, Orrie Chambers and the NTU leadership as a whole and white racist neo-fascist Imperiale. Imperiale is a right-wing Wallacite politician who has built up his own private army of vigilantes in the North Ward of Newark among the Italian-American workers by stirring up their fears in the period after the 1967 Newark "riots."

Imperiale is giving behind the scenes support to the strike and a small section of white teachers in the union support Imperiale. Because of this the NTU leadership has refused to criticize Imperiale in any way.

When the Workers League issued a leaflet which pointed out that the anti-union Black nationalism of LeRoi Jones played into the hands of the "Wallaces,"

(Continued on Page Two)

Lockheed Fires 6500 Workers As Capitalist Crisis Deepens

What The Editors Think...

(Continued from Page One)

the Imperiales and all those who want to use racist poison to split the working class and smash the unions." we were attacked by Imperiale supporters at the union meeting. A union spokesman, who is Black, refused to defend us and even denies that Imperiale was a "racist."

At a NTU rally Orrie Chambers, union organizer, stated: "Those white teachers who are going into the schools ought to have their heads examined because if the union loses the strike, LeRoi Jones will take over." Note he said "white" teachers, not all teachers.

Using this same method the NTU has not only refused to mobilize the masses of workers in the area by refusing to fight for a mass demonstration of labor but has actually demobilized the teachers. Just before Lincoln's Birthday holiday the union actually suspended picketing "as a gesture of good faith." This "gesture" got them only the disdain of the Board of Education and they have been forced to renew picketing.

Finally, rather than exposing Mayor Gibson as the agent of the ruling class and completely responsible for the actions of the Board of Education, the NTU leadership continually calls for his intervention in the negotiations. Thus it creates the illusion that Gibson is some impartial arbitrator or friend of the people.

When it comes to the contract demands the NTU has already agreed to no money whatsoever in the first year of the contract and is only holding out for its \$1,000 cross the board for the second year. Thus the NTU proposes that the workers take an actual cut in pay because of inflation to help Gibson meet his bankruptcy—a bankruptcy brought about by the ruling class and their system.

To understand the seriousness of this situation one must understand the history of this particular union leadership. We are not dealing here with a leadership which is white racist. The leading force in the leadership are Black militants who come into the leadership of the union through a struggle both against Black nationalism and against right-wing elements of the Shanker variety.

But the truth of the matter is that Carol Graves and Orrie Chambers are no different fundamentally than Albert Shanker and the leadership of the UFT which blocked with racists and actually engaged in demagogic attacks on Black militants and radicals in the course of the 1968 New York City teachers strike.

They end up in this bloc with racists because they function with the narrow pragmatic outlook of trade union consciousness in a period when a Marxist political understanding is a prerequisite to the defense of the unions.

It is true that LeRoi Jones, who is subsidized with Federal funds and who is closely tied to the Gibson Democratic Party political machine, uses Black nationalism as a cover to bust the union. But it is equally true that Imperiale is seeking to use the union as part of his white against Black struggle against Gibson. As a result of the refusal of the union to confront this issue squarely, the bulk of the scabbing taking place is done by Black teachers and Black students and parents. Jones cannot be isolated within the Black community if concessions are made to white racist elements.

The union is being attacked politically because of the crisis of capitalism. The political agents of the ruling class have encouraged a racial polarization in the city of Newark to divert, to divide the workers at a time when the capitalist crisis requires that they push back both Black and white workers' living standards.

What is required today is a strategy, a revolutionary strategy, which unites the workers through a ruthless struggle to expose the racist demagogues like Imperiale and the Black nationalist flunkies for capital like Leroy Jones posing as the alternative a united working class fight for the improvement of the living standards, working conditions, housing and education of all workers at the expense of the capitalists themselves.

We answer their talk of bankruptcy of city government with the proposal that the great wealth of the bosses of Newark be taken to meet the needs of the educational system and the workers as a whole. We answer any attempt on their part to threaten to move their factories or declare these in bankruptcy with the proposal that the working people themselves will take over these industries and operate them in the interests of all the people. We expose the Gibsons and propose in their stead a genuine party of the working people dedicated to such a program.

If a leadership in the unions does not start from a revolutionary perspective—a willingness to push the capitalists themselves into bankruptcy and to take over from these capitalists if necessary to preserve the interests of the workers—then the leadership is forced to betray no matter what the subjective intentions involved. Once the leadership accepts its responsibility to maintain capitalism and its profits then it is led logically in this



Orrie Chambers, organizer of the NTU. period to go along with attacks on the working class. This in turn means encouraging the most vile of bourgeois ideologies—racism.

Only the Workers League fights for this revolutionary leadership in the unions.

The Communist Party "supports" the NTU not only by uncritically endorsing its leadership but by encouraging the illusions that Gibson is somehow separate from the Board of Education. It was the CP above all in radical circles which pushed for the election of Gibson in the first place. A graduate of its Stalinist school of politics, Clarence Coggins, sits directly on the Board today.

The Labor Committee, a group of political leeches who read the pages of the Bulletin to discover where next to intervene, accept the leadership of the NTU as given, refuse to criticize it, and seek to mobilize middle class students as an excuse for a serious struggle within the NTU and within the labor movement as a whole for a real class fight against Gibson. In the course of this they cover up for the Stalinists rather than fighting to expose them through a class fight.

SWP

The Socialist Workers Party, which has so far sat out the strike, has in any event contributed its share to the anti-labor forces attacking the NTU by encouraging Black nationalism which in the form of LeRoi Jones must strike out to break up and divide the working class.

These organizations do not start from a revolutionary perspective so they are not capable of giving revolutionary leadership in the unions. They side with the enemies of the working class; they disarm the workers before these enemies.

The task of constructing a new leadership in the unions is the burning task of the hour. It falls to the Workers League. We intend to take it up!

EDITORIAL

Mme. Binh Supporters Push Betrayal Of Viet Revolution

As U.S. imperialism penetrates further into Laos, Nixon is preparing for an invasion of North Vietnam and a major offensive throughout Indochina.

At the same time a counterrevolutionary conspiracy is being perpetrated by the international Stalinist movement and its supporters against the workers and peasants of Indochina. At the head of this conspiracy is Madame Binh, the head of the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government delegation and her supporters in the U.S. who are rallying behind the so-called "Peoples Peace Treaty," the Communist Party, various Maoist groups and middle class radicals.

The whole purpose of this treaty and movement is to cut off and destroy the movement of the students and youth against imperialism, to prevent the mobilization of the working class in defense of the Vietnamese workers and peasants and to justify Stalinism's betrayal of the revolution.

Rennie Davis, the spokesman for middle class radicalism and the leader of this movement, cynically using the heroism of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, claims that the NLF has been backed up against the wall and that unless the treaty is signed the revolution will fail.

But this is far from the case. Despite the betrayals of the Stalinist leadership the Vietnamese workers and peasants have forced back the capitalist enemy to the point where the struggles of the workers in the U.S. can independently strike blows against the same enemy. This is the only way to assure the victory of the NLF. And it is this that Davis, Binh, and their gang are trying to prevent.

The "treaty" refuses to denounce the war as an imperialist war, as a class war. Its preamble states: "It (the war) drains America of its resources, its youth and its honor." In other words the very existence of "America," of capitalism is accepted. The document calls for a "neutral" South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

At the heart of this "treaty" is the policy of Stalinism internationally, "peaceful coexistence." But the point is there can be no "neutrality" in the class struggle. This "neutrality" is a blanket cover for imperialism's right to preserve its interests in Indochina and for the rule by imperialism's puppets like Lon Nol. Above all this treaty refuses to call for the victory of the NLF, for the defeat of imperialism in Southeast Asia.

The treaty also makes a retreat from even the demand for immediate withdrawal. The slogan for the "Peoples Peace Treaty" movement has become "Set the Date." This is a complete concession to Nixon and a justification for the war. In other words the war at present is justified, the problem is to get out some time in the future. It gives Nixon the valuable time he needs to prepare his offensive against the workers and peasants in Indochina.

The stated purpose of this movement is not to fight against Nixon and imperialism but to "put pressure on him to end the war."

Protest politics are bankrupt. Their purpose is to confine the struggles within capitalism precisely when the capitalist class is preparing for civil war, for fascism. It is at this time that the Stalinists with their middle class supporters seek to cut off the movement of the working class and channel it into a Popular Front, the very policy that led the working class into fascism in the 1930's.

This is what makes the role of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance so criminal. While the SWP-YSA state that they have "serious political objections to the peace treaty concept," they also say that these objections "should not get in the way of developing collaborative relationships and joint action."

In other words, and this is the most blatant expression of pragmatism, do not let principled questions like the historical role of Stalinism and its betrayal and defeat of the working class get in the way.

In fact the SWP-YSA is doing everything possible to conciliate with these forces. Its program is the same. The class nature of this program is clearly exposed by the NPAC's invitation to Jacob Javits to speak at the April 24th demonstration. Javits is the man who recently proposed the most vicious piece of anti-strike legislation yet to be introduced in the U.S.

Hiding behind the front of the NPAC and SMC, the SWP-YSA has refused to fight the Stalinists to counterpose the revolutionary program of Trotskyism and to build a revolutionary leadership.

We say it is time to call a halt. The only way Nixon and imperialism can be defeated, the war ended, is through the strike action of the working class on a political program which poses the destruction of capitalism.

It is to this struggle that the students must turn, to close down the universities and fight in the working class for a general strike.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

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Baltimore Cops Shoot Antiwar Demonstrators

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE—On Wednesday, February 10, 500 people gathered in Baltimore's War Memorial Plaza to protest the invasion of Laos. The rally and demonstration developed into a violent confrontation between demonstrators and police, who fired into the crowd.

The rally had been called and publicized by the Baltimore Coalition to Stop the Invasion, a group of loosely connected organizations and independents who supported the recent Ann Arbor conference of the Student and Youth Conference on a People's Peace, February 5 through 7. The ranks of the demonstrators were swelled by many area high school and college students.

In their publicity, the Coalition stated that they would "take to the streets this time not just to protest, but to stop the invasion." In reality, however, they posed nothing new, nothing different from the protest demonstrations of a year ago. When the demonstration, a short march to nearby Hopkins Plaza, started, several demonstrators carrying bricks and bottles broke windows in the banking district.

By the time the demonstrators reached the plaza, the riot squad was out in full force and began firing shots into the crowd, wounding several demonstrators. Mounted police rode through the crowd, beating up and arresting demonstrators. Several policemen were also beaten.

In a press statement in response to the demonstration, Chief of Police Pomerleau stated: "We will react with force and vigor

whenever and wherever groups of this type present themselves." He went on record as blaming the destruction of private property on the permissiveness of city officials in allowing any group a parade permit. He went on to urge that in the future no communist or socialist groups be permitted to assemble for a rally.

The violent reaction of the Baltimore police should not have come as a surprise. It has been nine months since the killing of students at Kent State, Augusta and Jackson State. The movement forward of the working class and youth in this period has already carried the struggle against the war and all manifestations of imperialism to a higher, more intense level.

The ruling class can no longer afford to lose on any battlefield, large or small. What this calls for is not more protest demonstrations, nor is it for "taking to the streets," as the Ann Arbor conference advocated. Such a perspective can only lead to more Kent States.

What is needed at this time is the political mobilization of the working class and the youth. This means the fight for a general strike by the working class against the war.

Workers League Resolution For SMC National Conference

The imperialist war in Indochina and the new invasion of Laos are part of capitalism's international war against the working class. Nixon and the capitalist class escalate the war against the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia at the same time as they step up the war against the working class in the United States.

Within the armed forces, the fight against the war has gone over towards insurrectionary developments.

The fight against the war can no longer be on the level of protest and peace marches. The only way to stop the war is by mobilizing the working class to take industrial action against the war.

Only the working class has the power to stop the imperialist war and capitalism itself. Students can play a vital role in this by fighting to bring out the labor movement.

Therefore the Student Mobilization Committee must take as its immediate central perspective the fight for class action against the war:

- For a national student strike against the war
- For a general strike by the labor movement

Around the program of:

U.S. out of Indochina now—Victory to the NLF!

Against unemployment—For a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay!

Against repression—Free Angela, free the Panthers, Juan Farinas and all Political Prisoners!

Break with the twin parties of war, inflation, unemployment and repression—Build a labor party!

WL Fights For Turn To Labor As NUC Cripples Penn State Strike

BY A PENN STATE STUDENT

STATE COLLEGE—Student power came out of the woodwork once again at Penn State this week, and nipped in the bud an attempt to build a strike in response to the U.S. invasion of Laos. The strike was planned for last Wednesday.

Campus groups backing the strike included graduate and undergraduate governments, the New University Conference, Workers League, Coalition for Peace, SDS and Revolutionary Union. At a meeting held Monday to plan for the strike a Workers League representative posed that a strike could and must be built

around a perspective and program to end the invasion of Laos and the war in Indochina.

To do this students must confront the class nature of the war. The necessity for Nixon to try to protect the interests of American imperialism in Indochina by wiping out the revolutionary workers and peasants is intimately bound with the increasing attacks on the workers' standard of living and the repression of students, minority youth and workers at home.

A petition based upon this perspective was presented to the meeting. Those who

signed the petition agreed that in the face of economic attacks and political repression, the American working class must fight, with the workers and peasants of Indochina, against a common enemy, the American capitalist class.

The petition called upon the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO Central Labor Council to call for a general strike until the war was ended. In a few hours that day the petition had been signed by several hundred students.

At the meeting, a spokesman for the New University Conference said, "a strike at Penn State is impossible." The strike

call would only be to popularize the cause, and would be considered successful if it brought out three or four hundred students.

The Coalition for Peace members supported this proposal, seeing it as a means to build demonstrations and actions that would "educate students" as to the relationship between the university and the war. They saw a movement only being built around issues students could "relate" to. This meant issues such as military recruiting and research on campus.

The proposal made by the NUC members was an attempt to divert the movement of students and to push the "People's Peace Treaty," which is a rotten petition saying that if the people of the U.S., South Vietnam and North Vietnam sign this treaty calling for U.S. withdrawal and free elections, maybe Nixon will pull out, as if Nixon is not determined to protect the interests of U.S. capitalism internationally.

The only thing that Nixon responds to is class action—the class action of the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia and the class action of a strike by American workers.

The only building of the strike itself was done by the Workers League and Picketing Committee. The pickets formed squads and went into classrooms to bring people into the work of the committee.

The leadership did not build a strike but a rally. Before the five speakers at the teach-in were finished, and the workshops begun, about half the people had left.

Nevertheless the War and the Labor Movement workshop in the midst of the old student power fiasco, showed the new way forward to develop a movement. The workshop decided to circulate the petition to the Central Labor Council. The group will fight for the continuation and the building of the strike; to organize students to go to the working class with the perspective of independent class action against the war and the attacks at home.

Political Repression Stepped Up At Washington U.

BY JIM HAYS

ST. LOUIS—Political repression continues at Washington University here as the trials of last May's anti-ROTC demonstrators go on and a Federal Grand Jury renews its investigations.

Howard Mechanic is serving a five year sentence under the 1967 Civil Rights Act. Larry Kogan went to trial February 8 under similar charges. Recently another student, Mike Rudofker, was sentenced to ten years in prison and given a \$10,000 fine. This sentence may be reduced because he pleaded guilty and appears to be fully cooperating with the prosecutor.

The Rudofker case demonstrates the political bankruptcy of the Washington University Liberation Front (WULF) the leaders of last year's anti-ROTC demonstrations. Hundreds of students mobilized to fight against imperialism and the Kent murders at mass rallies. But they were led into blind adventures by their leadership.

When massive repression and federal indictments resulted, the leadership went into political paralysis. No attempt was made to turn to the working class in the defense effort.

DEFENSE

No effort at political defense was attempted as each defendant was forced to

make his case on its own legalistic merits. Rudofker even went to the point of allowing his lawyer to tell the court that he had "learned his lesson."

The repression of W.U. students must be seen as part of the political attack on the working class. It can only be defeated by a united campaign to free all class war prisoners—Angela Davis, Juan Farinas, the Panthers—through mobilizing the working class.

Meanwhile, having learned nothing from last year's experiences, WULF leaders are encouraging mindless adventures against McDonnell-Douglas Aircraft recruiters on campus. But this time the forces of repression are well prepared and will stop at nothing to quickly crush any new WULF actions.

At the same time as WULF continues its bankrupt program, the Peoples Coalition, a front for Stalinism, was formed here on February 9. It is pushing the Peoples Peace Treaty sellout along with local reformist projects like the anti-lead poisoning crusade.

The struggle by students against imperialism can only be carried out by turning to the working class.

BERNADETTE DEVLIN EVADES CRUCIAL QUESTIONS

BY ED SMITH

ITHACA, Feb. 12—This evening Irish civil rights leader Bernadette Devlin spoke to an enthusiastic audience of over 1,000 students in Bailey Hall on the Cornell University campus. In her speech it became clear that Devlin is using her militant and "left" reputation as a cloak to evade a stand on certain fundamental political questions.

In the first part of her speech, Miss Devlin denounced "white liberals", emphasizing that the struggle was not one of Catholic against Protestant, or black against white, but the working class against the ruling class, and urging that her audience work in the American working class. She also denounced the British occupation of Northern Ireland and the recent murder of Irish militants by English troops there.

But when she came to how to implement these laudable objectives, Devlin revealed the real dangers of her perspective. After urging a "proper balance between theory and practice," Devlin attacked those who "get bogged down in discussions of Stalin and Mao and how much Trotsky deviated from Lenin."

In that case, we must ask Devlin how it was that the only political tendency that opposed sending British troops to Ireland were those who concerned themselves with theoretical questions, the British and Irish Trotskyists? Again we must ask Devlin, should not those whose ideas disarm the working class in the face of the enemy—like the IRA with its theory of allying with the Catholic bosses against the British "main enemy", whom Devlin referred to only as "revolutionary socialist"—be fought against?

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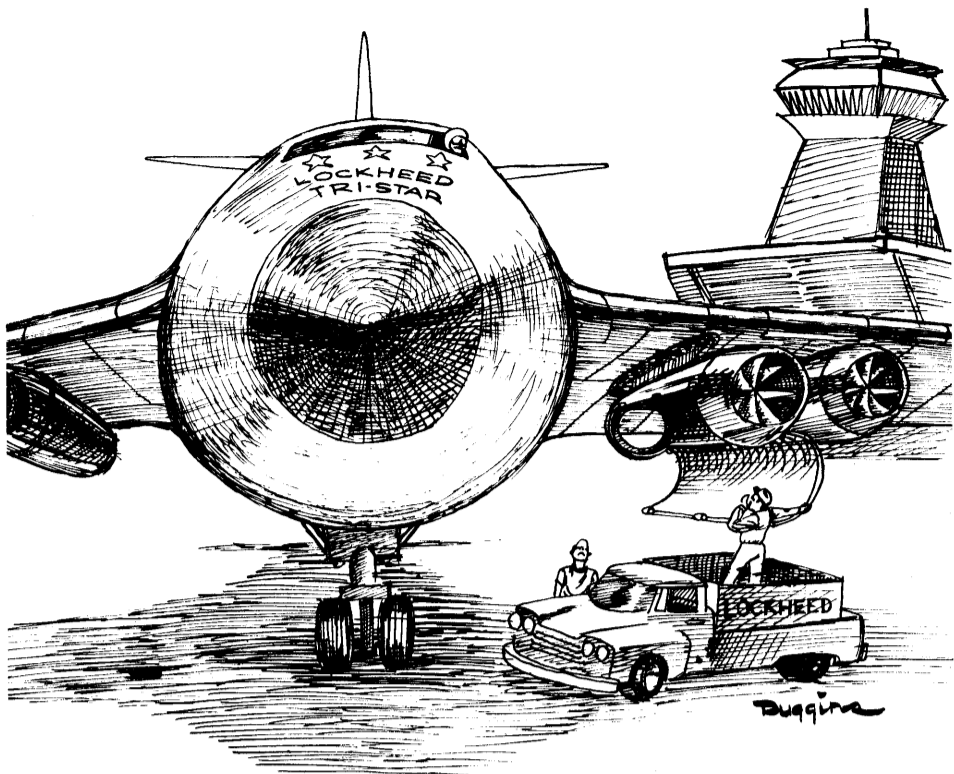
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Hey, doesn't Rolls Royce make the engines for our TriStar?

Lockheed Begins Massive Layoffs As Rolls Collapse Deepens Crisis

BY FRED MUELLER

A week after the declaration of bankruptcy by Rolls Royce, the first layoffs by the Lockheed Corporation were announced in Southern California. 6,500 engineers and other skilled workers were given their severance pay on February 10.

Just days after the deadly earthquake shook the San Fernando Valley thousands of workers felt the first impact of the crisis which will continue to be felt long after the quake is a dim memory.

For some months Seattle has been a depression area, with tens of thousands of layoffs in the aerospace industry. Southern California is not far behind.

Lockheed narrowly averted bankruptcy over the C5A military transport contract with the government. It simply could not deliver the jets at anything near the original cost estimate. The deal which was worked out to avoid the collapse of Lockheed was a bitter pill for both Lockheed, its subcontractors and the government.

The bitter pill was followed by a disastrous new attack which no pill or patch will remedy. Just 72 hours after the original deal Rolls Royce announced bankruptcy and simply threw out the contract it had with Lockheed to deliver at least 500 engines for Lockheed's L-1011 TriStar jet. Thus the elaborate arrangements to save Lockheed so that it could recoup its losses on the TriStar project quickly came crashing down.

UNCERTAINTY

Lockheed now refuses to discuss whether it will be declaring bankruptcy. It does know that it will be laying off thousands of workers. There are two alternatives if it is to continue the TriStar jet and avoid bankruptcy. A new and very expensive deal could be worked out to share the burden of increased costs and delays on the Rolls Royce RB-211 engine between British and American capitalism. Lockheed could go to General Electric or Pratt and Whitney for an alternative engine but this would involve just as much if not more in the way of increased costs and delay.

But this is not the end. The break-even point for Lockheed on its TriStar jets, if they ever are completed, is now going to rise to at least 400 planes. But meanwhile Lockheed's competition, McDonnell-Douglas' DC-10 and Boeing's 747, will be cutting into the market with old customers of Lockheed's and prospective new customers. So the rosier picture is full of uncertainty and a very good chance of disaster.

Lockheed's airline customers, particularly Trans World, are now fighting to maintain their share of the market in the midst of a tremendous profit squeeze and intensified competition. While the competition uses the 747 jumbo jets, TWA and other Lockheed customers are left with no new jets in a shrinking market.

MERGER

This is the atmosphere in which new suggestions are being put forward for the possible merger of Lockheed with McDonnell-Douglas. This is a sign of the

tremendous crisis of capitalism. The capitalist state must help to bring about huge concentrations of capital in order to stave off collapse and prepare for all-out war with the working class.

The Rolls Royce bankruptcy means thousands, tens of thousands of layoffs for British and U.S. workers. The big corporations will be bailed out by the government while the workers go onto welfare and the unemployment rolls.

This is nothing but the most savage attack on the whole working class. The British and U.S. trade union leaders talk of meeting to discuss this crisis. But if this international attack is going to be fought, it will not be through appeals to patriotism, to the "honor" of Britain or the U.S.

The capitalists will not be swayed by appeals for mercy. The unions must pin the blame for the crisis on the capitalist system and demand that bankrupt Rolls Royce and near-bankrupt Lockheed be nationalized without compensation, under workers' control.

Instead of paying off the bosses and laying off the workers as Tory Prime Minister Heath has done, the unions must fight for absolutely no layoffs and no help for the capitalists.

Nixon's Kin Nixes Welfare Cuts

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The announcement that Mr. and Mrs. Philip Milhous, first cousins of the President of the United States, were subsisting on welfare in Northern California, was undoubtedly a source of some embarrassment to their eminent relative.

Mr. Milhous, Nixon's first cousin, is prevented from working by a heart ailment. His wife is crippled by rheumatoid arthritis. They have been aided by the California Rural Legal Assistance Project (CRLA). Governor Reagan seeks to eliminate this vestige of "Great Society" programs.

The Milhouses voted for both Nixon and Reagan. Now they think Reagan is a "menace to society." They say they are revealing their condition in an effort to focus attention on the plight of others like them.

STARVE

How many millions of Milhouses are there, similar in every respect except their relations? How many millions have no way to fight back, no way to vent their anger and frustration, no way to achieve the publicity which the Milhouses received?

Perhaps the capitalists will tell us this proves how democratic we are. Everyone can starve! When the workers and the rural and urban poor who voted for Nixon, Reagan, Humphrey, Wallace or any of the other capitalist candidates come to see through their struggles the necessity for

Stalinist Bureaucracy Shaken As Polish Textile Workers Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

On Thursday, February 11, 10,000 Polish textile workers, mostly women, went on strike in the city of Lodz for higher wages.

Piotr Jaroszewicz and four members of the Politburo of the Polish Communist Party, after unsuccessfully keeping the strike quiet, were forced to meet with Lodz workers. The workers were told that their wage demands were "unrealistic and exceeded the government's present possibilities." Jaroszewicz said that any wage increase would have to come out of either other workers or investments which he claimed were essential for creating future jobs.

The Lodz strike means that absolutely nothing has been solved since December when the strikes first broke out in Gdansk over increases in food and fuel. The formal ouster of Gomulka as party chief along with others by the new Party head Edward Gierek was an attempt to bring the workers uprising to a close. The real situation is that a new chapter is opening in their fight.

Partial concessions and promises have not stopped the Polish workers. They want real improvements and they are tired of waiting. It is clear that the next wave of strikes will not be answered with sweet words but with the club.

In response to the Lodz workers the Premier said that "What Poland needs now is work, peace and order." He said social discipline was necessary which he defined as following the government's decisions after a full discussion. A little discussion is fine but don't dare to try and change anything.

Standing in the background, silent and ominous is Moczar, head of internal security and second in command of the government. His presence in the government, bitterly opposed by the workers, is a sign of the forces that are prepared to move in if Gierek does not do the job.

The next stage of the Polish workers' struggle poses the need for a general strike to overthrow all sections of the bureaucracy and establish a workers government. This is the only way to fight the threat of Soviet intervention and to answer the bureaucracy's cries of economic poverty.

Nixon Hits Hard Hats With Job Cuts, Wage Freeze

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Nixon's attitude toward the "hard hats" was clearly revealed last week. Also revealed was the complete bankruptcy of the trade union bureaucracy to protect the gains of the working class or any section of it.

Construction workers face a two-pronged attack from the government and the bosses: a proposed new Federal regulation requiring quotas of non-white apprentices, and a new proposal for wage freezing in the construction industry.

This is Nixon's reward to the hard hats, many of whom were mobilized behind his war policy and in violent attacks on student protesters last year.

Workers who think this is "their" system had better think again.

POLARIZE

The proposal of non-white quotas is a direct plan to further polarize the working class along racial lines. At a time of huge unemployment in the construction industry the government moves in to demand that it be shared. Long-standing discrimination against minority workers is to be used as a club against the entire working class.

BUREAUCRACY

The bureaucracy's answer is that there is no discrimination and that quotas will only lower the quality of construction work. They hold out to the Blacks the opportunity to take a few jobs away from whites, while both whites and Blacks are thrown onto the unemployment lines and while the bosses rake in the profits.

The bureaucracy's answer is that there is no discrimination and that quotas will only lower the quality of construction work. They completely play into the hands of the bosses by refusing to fight for jobs and apprenticeship openings for all workers. Any workers who go along with the bureaucracy, who think they can protect themselves at the expense of other workers are only preparing the noose for their own necks. The only way to fight the government-employer attacks is through a sharp fight against racism demanding an end to the racial barriers in the unions and to unemployment in the construction industry.

On the question of wages the capitalist press plays up the fact that the Building and Construction Trades Division of the AFL-CIO flatly refuses to go along with Nixon's proposal for wage freezing in construction. But this NO really means YES to attacks on the working class. The union bureaucrats say no wage freezing in construction alone but they do suggest the President freeze all wages!

FREEZE

They even spell it out. If the President wants to freeze or stabilize wages, he has the Congressional authority to do it himself. That is what the construction union bureaucrats have to say in defense of their members!

The only way to defend jobs and wages is to fight against the attacks facing these workers now. Even the capitalist press is being forced to admit that after seasonal and recession-induced unemployment the construction worker is lucky to come out with as much take-home pay as other sections of the skilled and semi-skilled working class.

ENEMY

The government is after the construction workers in order to set a pattern for all of labor. The government's attack has been greased by the super-patriotic support for Nixon which many workers fell for. These workers will have to begin to realize that they have been disarming themselves. They will have to see that, exactly as the Bulletin has warned over and over again, Nixon is their enemy, not their friend.

Rank and file workers must fight through their unions for a continuation of the wage offensive, protection against inflation and jobs for all through a shorter work week. They must fight against the reactionary bureaucrats who are the bosses' biggest friends.



Philip Milhous, Nixon's cousin on welfare.

a political fight and a break with the Democratic and Republican parties, then we can turn this "embarrassment" into the defeat of Nixon and the class he represents.

CLASS STRUGGLES IN AFRICA



by N. MAKANDA

The 'black republic' slogan

THE Communist Party of South Africa has never, nor can it ever, shed the collaborationist influence of social democracy and of white liberalism.

The former remained an ingrained element of the Party, even as it receded from the surface, while white liberalism became a more pronounced, 'indigenous' influence upon its thinking and actions.

For just as the essence of social democracy is collaboration with imperialism, so the essential CPSA policy remained collaboration—on one level or another—with the modus operandi of imperialism in South Africa: apartheid.

And it was for this reason—its basic adherence to collaboration—that it rejected organizations which were later, in the 1940s, to openly proclaim the policy of non-collaboration as paramount.

Marxism is the science of class struggle. Its antithesis is class collaboration.

In the Popular Front period of 1923-1934 the CPSA violated this principle by collaborating with two sections of the oppressors—white labour and the white farmers.

This was to be followed, in the 1930s, by collaboration with other sections of the oppressors, such as white industry and commerce, and even imperialist mining-finance, as represented—in social reality—by the 'liberals'.

Before this, there was the 'black republic' period in the CPSA story.

In 1928 the Party's spokesmen, like Bunting, had declared for a workers' and peasants' government 'predominantly native in character'. (p. 386.)

By 1926, the CPSA had 'advanced' only as far as

The history of the 'Communist'

demanding the abolition of certain colour bars, not the entire colour-bar system.

Its policy at that time was for the repeal of certain racial laws, for 'an extension of the Cape franchise to other provinces' (i.e. for segregation politically, because the Cape franchise denied 90 per cent of the non-Europeans the right to vote and all non-Europeans the right to sit in parliament).

It also proposed 'the right of Africans to elect representatives to "native councils"' ('South African Workers', August 13, 1926, p. 388).

These 'native councils' were set up as the nuclei of the present Bantustan 'parliaments' by Cecil Rhodes in his notorious Glen Grey Act.

They, like the Cape franchise, were integral parts of the whole apartheid system.

In 1926 the CPSA was still defending the system of apartheid by trying to reform it on the basis of segregation (apartheid) itself, as its policy clearly showed.

It was the rise of the International Coloureds Union and the strikes and political struggles by the ICU, the African National Congress and other non-European organizations, rather than the CP's policy, that brought a small number of African and Coloured members into the CP.

And, in 1927, three Africans were elected for the first time onto the Central Committee.

One of the Coloured recruits James la Guma, a delegate to Brussels and other overseas anti-imperialist conferences, advocated 'self-determination' for the Africans.

Whether he knew it or not, he was expressing, in an early form, the politics of what was later to become the most valuable agency of imperialism: African nationalism.

The authors of this book succeed in supporting this creed, combining it with their

defence of 'native representation', which discriminated politically against Africans.

The social base of this latent nationalism was not the African workers, but the small, albeit oppressed, non-European, would-be bourgeois.

And the latter was again and again to prove an essential factor in the apartheid system of using 'Quislings' to regiment the Africans.

La Guma went to Moscow in 1927 and met the executive committee of the Third (Communist) International, including Bukharin.



Party of South Africa

The CPSA and the 'Left turn'

This was during the critical period in the persecution of Trotsky's Left Opposition and the rise of Stalinism.

Bukharin was passing through a phase in this process and was later to be liquidated as a 'right-winger' by the Stalin terror.

But at the time of the La Guma-Bukharin meeting, the rising and usurping bureaucracy in the Soviet Union was on the point of a 'left turn', known as the 'Third Period', when 'anti-imperialism' was on the order of the day.

It was also the period of the forced collectivization and similar drives against right-wing elements like the Kulaks.

The 'black republic' slogan, mooted by La Guma and echoed by Bunting, temporarily suited the rising Stalinist bureaucracy's foreign policy.



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

The Simons are silent about this and many other aspects of Stalinism.

On the other hand, the CPSA's 'right wing', led by Andrews, was opposed to the 'black republic'.

In its eyes the 'black republic' stood for an attack on white labour whose colour-bar interests were still being upheld by Andrews and others in the CPSA. (This was the period when Andrews rejected the ICU application to join the TUC.)

Bunting was being influenced by Gumede and others in the reformist, 'nationalist' African National Congress.

But he had a paternalistic (i.e. basically a white liberal) attitude towards the Africans and did not believe they could make a revolution 'yet', because of 'the extreme backwardness and widespread apathy of the native masses' (p. 393).

He came out, at first, against a 'Negro republic'.

The Simons say: 'As in 1922, he tended to equate workers' power with white power, and refused to credit the possibility of majority African rule' (p. 394).

(The last phrase of the Simons sounds like present-day British Labour - imperialists speaking on Rhodesia.)

Bunting and other opponents of the 'black republic' argued not from the Africans' viewpoint, but from the white workers', using the argument that the slogan would antagonize the white workers.

Roux, who sympathized with Bunting, and later wrote the biography 'S. P. Bunting', accused the Communist International of 'forcing' the slogan on the Party. But this was later (1949), and was made from a liberal standpoint, not a revolutionary one.

La Guma defended the 'black republic' against Bunting from a bourgeois-nationalist viewpoint (and later became a militant 'nationalist', often hounded by the CPSA).

He had a hard time fighting for his slogan in the CPSA, despite the fact that there were 200 Africans in the Party in 1927, swollen, by 'Third Period' recruiting, to 1,600, out of a total of 1,750 by 1928.

The adoption of the slogan was followed by a purge of Bunting, Roux and others, although they upheld the policy in public.

It is significant that they took the slogan to the first major Bantustan—the Transkeian region—during an 'election' in which Bunting stood as a European to be 'elected' by a handful of 'Cape franchise' non-Europeans, who themselves could not sit in parliament.

But even during the 'black republic' period, the Party continued to collaborate with the apartheid 'machinery of oppression', as critics of the CPSA were later to call the racial elections.

The League of African Rights

The CP took the lead in setting up the League of African Rights, with the slogan 'Long live the native republic'.

The idea came from the Comintern's 6th Congress and from the British CP's 'colonial commission'. It was negro-philistic.

Roux later said that the League was dissolved on orders

from Moscow (p. 421) in late 1929.

Bunting appealed to the British CP against the order, but to no purpose.

The propagandist League was to be replaced by the general strike. The inevitable result of this adventurist 'turn' was the shooting down of militants and demoralization in and around the party.

One of the victims was the Durban 'Zulu' CP member Johannes Nkosi, stabbed to death and mutilated.

An adventurist 'anti-pass' campaign had sacrificed Nkosi.

Again, the Simons are silent, when they are not justifying the 'Third Period', as they do on page 436. But more was to come.

In May 1930, the Executive Committee of the Comintern (ECCI) indicted the CPSA for 'serious mistakes of a right-opportunist character' (p. 438).

The Simons make no attempt to explain this in terms of the Soviet bureaucracy's policy at the time, nor to relate its foreign policy to its domestic policy.

The ECCI proposed an anti-Leninist two-stage theory for South Africa: first 'capitalist democracy', then 'socialism'.

The time was ripe, it said, for the 'national revolution' to realize the first stage.

The ECCI condemned the League, the ANC and the ICU as 'petty-bourgeois nationalist parties', with whom the CP should not form a common front (the same CP which had formed a Popular Front with the apartheid Labour and nationalist parties).

While the Simons gently criticize the ECCI resolution, they fail to explain its causes.

Bunting came in for direct attack by the ECCI, together with Roux and Andrews, whose chauvinism they had previously condoned.

The ECCI called for 'a struggle against the entire system of imperialist oppression', which had to be translated there and then into action.

The Party had to form 'independent native workers' and peasants' republics as a transitory stage towards a subsequent Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of Africa'.

The white delegate to the Comintern, Wolton, led the attack on the right wing. He held that the workers were 'ripe for revolution'. (This was at the height of a government offensive against the African workers).

Bunting, Andrews, Sachs and other 'right wingers' were expelled in September 1931.

Wolton, leader of the campaign, had himself stood for parliament as a white standing for an all-white parliament.

But this was not 'right-wing activity'.

La Guma was expelled. He had opposed Wolton in his 1929 'election' campaign.

Many of those expelled rejoined the Party and became expellers during the period following the 'black republic'.

In these expulsions, the right wing was accused of 'Trotskyism', among other things, a sin they were very innocent of. Thibedi, an African Party member, was accused of starting an 'Oppositionist' Trotskyist Communist League, with Bunting's aid.

(Bunting later wrote a book on South Africa in which he spends only 50 lines on the CPSA !)

The Simons go as far as saying that the ECCI's accusations that the right wing were 'agents of imperialism' was as groundless as the ECCI's assumption of an imminent revolutionary upsurge' (p. 452).

The expulsions were soon

followed by the hounding out of the Party of the expellers and, indeed, of the 'black republic' itself.

The 'black republic' slogan was given many interpretations by the CPSA, including one which meant the tribalization of South Africa.

Thus Lazar Bach, one of the 'Europeans' who led the expulsions and controlled the voluntary association of national republics' — Sotho, Tswana, Swazi, Zulu, Xhosa — 'in a federation of independent native republics' ('Umzebenzi', May 5, 1934. p. 473).

This was not an extension of the Leninist nationality thesis to South Africa, but an adaptation of tribal divide-and-rule policy, an acceptance of the racist status quo.

Bach did not advocate separate republics for Jews, Englishmen, Germans and Afrikaners.

He accepted the unity of the 'white nation', but did otherwise for the Africans. He treated the 'tribes', whose system had long been destroyed by imperialism, as 'nations'.

What was sound for the USSR, when transferred mechanically to South Africa, was not national liberation, but plain segregation.

The Simons express the CP's barrenness in theory by making no attempt to analyse this question.

The Industrial Conciliation Act

During the 'black republic' period the CP operated the 'red trade union' tactic in theory.

In practice their white leaders continued to operate in the white trade unions, whilst most of their organizers in the African and coloured unions were non-white.

They did not 'mix' their unions, except for a few attempts such as that of W. Kalk, who tried to form a leather workers' union for white and non-white workers in 1934.

The attempt failed. The CP then began to operate the anti-African, segregationist and class-collaborationist Industrial Conciliation Act of the 1920s.

This was part of the government's policy of drawing the white workers into a common anti-black front with the employing classes.

It set up machinery for state control of white unions, for recognition of white labour as 'civilized', for the registration of unions which excluded



Wards in South African hospitals for Africans operate at 50 per cent beyond capacity. Chairs are used for beds.

Africans, defined African labour as 'uncivilized', denied registration to African unions and segregated the 'recognized' unions into separate 'white' and 'Coloured' branches.

The CPSA worked this anti-African, racial, apartheid Act to the full from 1934-1935 until it was banned in 1950.

Its trade unionists continued to operate this Act after the banning of the Party.

This well-known fact is admitted by the Simons (p. 458). However, they make no admission of its significance: that on a large scale and for a very long time, the CPSA worked, upheld and benefited from a major apartheid law and policy in a major field, the economic plane.

On the contrary, the authors criticize the 'black republic' period's refusal to work the segregationist Industrial Conciliation Act and they defend its operation by the CP

(p. 458).

Ray Alexander was a party Party, said that it meant 'a to this acceptance and working of racial discrimination in the industrial field.

She was party to the CP practice of running registered unions of white, coloured and Indian workers (often dividing these into segregated branches with coloured and Indian members in second-class branches, as in the Garment Workers' Union of Solly Sachs on the

Rand).

At the same time the CP formed 'parallel' African unions, unregistered and without a legal say in the union or in wage determinations.

Moreover, when anti-segregationists attacked this racial policy and proposed that the only correct principle and practice was the formation of non-racial, unregistered unions outside the Act and independent of the state, the CP condemned this as 'impracticable', 'idealistic' and 'Trotskyist'.

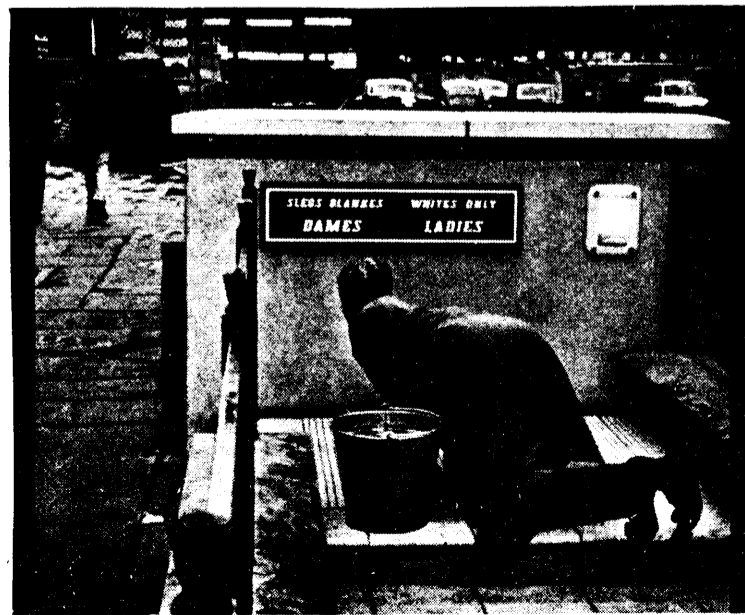
The Simons apologize for the anti-African trade union line of the CP on the grounds that it was 'expedient' and that it brought results.

It is not the first time that they had betrayed principles on the altar of expediency, nor the last time that this sacrifice (of African labour to white apartheid) was to be justified by means of British pragmatism—results.

As for the latter, the African workers—segregated into inferior, tail-ending unions—might well ask, with the unions in ruins anyway, what were the 'results' of the CP's 'expediency'.

THE BETRAYAL of the non-European workers in industry by the South African Communist Party's operation of the Industrial Conciliation Act began during the period when the Stalinist bureaucracy suddenly reversed its foreign policy of 'anti-imperialism' to 'social-fascism' and adventurism, and turned over onto its stomach with a 'right turn'.

Democracy had to be saved, fascism destroyed, Popular Fronts built up in place of the 'revolutionary struggle against imperialism', old enemies made friends, old friends made enemies, expellers expelled, the old expelled reinstated as the new expellers, the 'black republic'



An African woman scrubs the steps leading to a (white) 'Ladies'.

dropped and replaced by 'democratic' slogans.

The Simons make little analysis of the relation between Stalinism and the CPSA in this period.

Nor do they explain the social reasons why the Popular Front carried the white leadership of the CP, as it was, so readily along with the new policy, which was really a return to the old days when Andrews, Sachs and Bunting flourished.

The fact is that the new policy appealed strongly to the privileged 'radical' white petty-bourgeoisie, which made its way rapidly into the Left Book Club, the Anti-Fascist League and other Popular Front set-ups, and into the CP and its leadership.

The book of the Simons does, however, contain much useful material on CPSA activities in this period. Thus they show that the CPSA repeated its 1923-1924 policy of moving close to the Afrikaner worker and radical, by issuing an Afrikaans monthly, 'Die Arbeider en Arme Boer' in January 1935 (p. 471). Afrikaners began to move into the CPSA.

The Anti-Fascist League, formed in March 1934, and the Friends of the Soviet Union, a patronizing, liberal, reformist organization dominated by proto-Zionists and other 'radicals', drew sections of the urban white middle class closer to the CP.

Labour Party members helped to form the Anti-Fascist League (p. 471), which had no compunction in admitting pro-fascists (pro-colour bar) members into an 'anti-fascist' front.

While the All-African Convention (AAC) against the 1935 Hertzog land and franchise bills was being formed, the CP initiated a League Against Fascism and War.

Into the latter poured the liberals, who, at the same time, disorientated the AAC and led it into collaborationist channels (Native Representation).

The 'black republic' slogan came under attack.

Bach and company came under fire. All who doubted the 'importance of the African middle class', like Tefu and Coka, were suspended or expelled (July 1935).

Supporters of Kotane (for a long time to come the secretary-general of the party) and a fifth of the Johannesburg branch were suspended for criticising the new line ('Umsebenzi', 1935).

Kotane opposed the expulsions and was dropped from the political bureau by the white bosses of the party (for 'white man boss' really ruled the CPSA through his social position).

When the militant non-European members, like Kotane and Gomas, together with Roux, asked the Comintern to intervene, they were opposed by Richter, a Latvian who had 'emigrated' to the Free State (a Boer stronghold).

Richter and Bach went to Moscow to state the Party view against Kotane and Gomas.

Both had, however, backed the 'Third Period' line.

Simons reports (p. 477) that both, plus the brother of Richter, were expelled by the Comintern from the Party 'for having shielded a follower of Leon Trotsky' (p. 477).

'The three men', write the Simons, 'were put on trial, sentenced to death and executed' (p. 477. 'South African Worker', June 19, 1937. 'Sunday Express', July 18, 1937).

Thus former leading mem-

bers of the CPSA were executed in Moscow by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Simons have absolutely no comment on this!

Small wonder, for both were, at the time, deeply involved in supporting the Moscow Trials, and have no critical comment to make on this counter-revolutionary annihilation of the Bolshevik vanguard in the 1930s.

The Comintern was represented in South Africa for most of 1936 by George Hardy from the British Communist Party.

The CPSA was thus under the influence of a combination of chauvinistic British social democracy (via the British CP), of Stalinism and of white liberalism patronizing an ineffectual and weak non-European petty-bourgeoisie.

A worse combination could scarcely be imagined.



The South African Communist Party in 1943 influenced the ANC to adopt a 'Charter of Rights' modelled on the Atlantic Charter of Churchill and Roosevelt.

In this period, leading CP members like Sachs, leader of a segregationist Afrikaner Garment Workers' Union, could dare to propose an all-white front, for he 'wanted to free the hundreds of thousands of poor whites from imperialism and fascist influences' (p. 478. 'South African Worker', January 1, 1939, February 5, 1938).

Hardy, in opposing Sachs, proposed, instead, what amounted to a white-controlled 'common front' with the AAC as a member to 'assist in maintaining the higher standards of the white workers, while obtaining better wages for Africans' (p. 478).

The British Comintern representative thus counselled the CPSA on the basis of white supremacy racialism.

In giving up temporarily the struggle against imperialism and fighting, instead, 'to ward off fascism and war' (p. 478), the CPSA reduced the space in its paper given to Bantu languages (p. 479).

The leadership swung from the executed white, Bach, into the hands of men like Issy Wolfson, a Jewish, local-born white who, with Kalk, led the Party on the Rand after joining it only in 1934.

He spoke in 1936 on a platform together with 'a bishop, a rabbi, Mrs Ballinger' (p. 479) and Labour Party and St John Ambulance representatives 'sat on the platform'.

The CP proposed to support the segregationist Labour Party

in provincial council elections. 'It was a pity that they stood for complete segregation' (p. 480), 'This apart, Labour was sincere . . .' (p. 480).

Sach's policy of an all-white front was enforced by Hardy.

'The Party joined in forming an all-white People's Front at a conference called in October' (p.480).

Bill Andrews warned: 'Let us not discuss details and reforms [ie segregation] in face of the great danger' (Forward', October 9, 1936).

The objections of Kotane were swept aside. The CP leaders were in no mood to hear his cry that 'anti-fascists were defending the existing state of affairs, which was rotten in the eyes of Africans and Coloureds' (p.481. Minutes of CPSA meeting, Johannesburg, December 29, 1938).

Violating the policy of non-collaboration put forward within the All-African Con-

The Liberation League

IN DECEMBER 1935 La Guma (of 'black republic' fame) and Cissie Gool, a recruit to the CP, led the newly-formed National Liberation League, an individual-membership organization against apartheid.

The aims included full political equality. When the League opposed 'organization on racial and sectarian lines', R. Bridgeman, international secretary of the League Against Imperialism, tried in vain to get the acceptance of racially segregated organizations.

The League became more principled and militant when the late Dr G. H. Gool became the new president and issued a call for a national convention of 'Bantu, Coloured,

Representation Act, as the CP was doing, with the liberals, yet made no headway against the missionary-trained reformist leaders, lured by the meagre stipend or the prestige of sitting in a mock parliament' (p.495).

The Left Opposition in the Convention lost in the attempt to get the AAC to accept the boycott of separate racial elections.

George Hardy, British CP agent of the Comintern, said:

'Trotskyists and other opportunists were playing into the government's hands by proposing a boycott' (p.496).

The Simons comment feebly: 'A foundation member of the British CP, Hardy (1884-1965) suspected a Trotskyist in every left-wing critic of communist policy' (p.496).

Against the Trotskyist policy of boycott as a weapon of the policy of non-collaboration, Hardy and the other white CP leaders proposed a policy of working the apartheid 1936 Native Representation Act (p.496 CPSA, 'Organize a People's Front in South Africa', 1936).

Thus the Popular Front meant no more and no less than collaboration with the system of apartheid.

Nor could it be otherwise, for its essential basis was class-collaboration between the oppressed and their ('liberal', 'democratic') oppressors.

'Anti-fascism meant only the acceptance of the fascist system of totalitarian colour discrimination in South Africa.

The CP, assisted by the 'missionary-trained reformist leaders', defeated the Trotskyists of the All African Convention, at the moment when African workers at Vereeniging (September, 1937) and elsewhere were being killed, wounded and jailed by the police of the system which the CP was defending against the boycott.

The CPSA carried its policy into the League where, as the Simons again do not tell us, they split the organization in the struggle against the so-called Trotskyists.

This, the other side of the Popular Front (with the white liberals), was intensified in the Non-European United Front (NEUF), born out of the NLL in Cape Town in March 1938.

The NEUF called for a 'non-European United Front of Africans, Coloured and Indians against all colour bars, and hoped that white labour would support their efforts to secure equality' (p.501).

A year later, on March 27, 1939, the NEUF organized a giant demonstration in Cape Town against the colour bar.

The government, for the moment, 'dropped its own [additional] segregation proposals. For once the militants could claim that they had blocked the way to racial totalitarianism' (p.502).

The CP waged a bitter war on the Trotskyists in the NEUF and NLL.

They expelled La Guma, Dr Gool and others.

The Simons say nothing about the real content of the struggle, but run away from the history of the time in a series of strange mis-statements.

They say (p.503) that Gool was backed by 'a group of white Trotskyists calling themselves the Workers' Party' (p.503). Unlike the CP of the time, the Workers' Party was not led or composed mainly of whites.

They say that the Workers' Party and its organ, 'Spark', 'gave rise to the notion that the League or the Coloured intellectuals who composed it[] were followers of Trotsky'

Indian, Malay' in September, 1937.

Dr Gool, the Simons do not tell us, was one of a new generation who were to be persecuted as Trotskyists by the CPSA.

This generated the Left Opposition and, later, the Workers' Party and Fourth International Organization. In Cape Town, Johannesburg and elsewhere they were the CPSA's most formidable opponents among the non-Europeans.

Dr Gool declared:

'Our only hope lies in unifying all those forces that feel the weight of oppression as we do, into a cohesive and determined whole in opposition to imperialism' (p.489. 'Liberator', vol. 1, No. 5, 1937).

The Simons gloss over the work of Gool and others of similar views by means of a bit of racialism: they are virtually dismissed as 'Coloured intellectuals'.

The Africans in the Trotskyist movement are conveniently omitted.

This, despite the verbal and physical attacks on the 'non-European Trotskyists', as the CP chose to label them, in the National Liberation League and the AAC where they steadily fought for a policy of non-collaboration as the basic method of struggle against apartheid.

At best, the Simons refer to this group as 'a small left-wing group, who foresaw the futility of working the Native

In what sets out to be a history of the liberation movement, the Simons make not the least attempt to describe the origins, rise, influence, activities and policies of the Workers' Party and 'Spark', irrespective of how significant and weighty these were in the anti-apartheid movement of the late 1930s and afterwards.

They make only empty, evasive reportage, such as that 'Communists, Trotskyists and members of every racial group sat together at a non-European United Front Conference in Cape Town on April 8, 1939; the Fourth International was represented and also the New Era Fellowship, a students' society allegedly under Trotskyist influence' (p.504).

Nor do they deal at all with the contribution of the New Era Fellowship, which played a role not unlike that of the early Jacobin and Cordelier Clubs in the days of the early French Revolution; in bringing liberatory consciousness to the oppressed.

Nor yet do they describe the real cause for the collapse of the NLL and NEUF, namely that they were killed by the CPSA for the sake of the 'war against fascism'.

They say only that 'Dadoo [a CP leader-to-be] . . . called off the campaign [a passive resistance struggle] . . . The impact of external events had once again turned the national liberation movement away from the path of mass struggle' (p.507).

The facts, as the Simons fail to relate, are that the CPSA liquidated the NLL and the NEUF at conferences called after the Nazi invasion of the USSR.

Before this destruction of the most advanced anti-imperialist organizations formed up to that time, the CP was to go through a period of virtual collaboration with the Afrikaner Nationalists who now govern South Africa.

Not only on the political but also on the industrial front the CP worked segregation—quite apart from its working of the Industrial Conciliation Act.

During the Popular Front period, in 1937, Kalk of the CP, on the basis of a policy initiated by Hardy, of the British CP, proposed a scale of wages to the white-dominated Trades and Labour Council (TLC) which discriminated against Africans.

'The Communist Party', say the Simons, 'influenced by Hardy's reformist ideas and the argument that displacements might outweigh the benefits of equality, proposed "as an immediate practical measure", a differential minimum rate of 10s. [a day] for whites and 5s. for Africans' (p.514. 'Umsebenzi', July 11, 1936).

Kalk's motion to the TLC, backed by Andrews and Wolfson, was based on Hardy's colour bar.

The white CP wage segregationists were opposed by a Coloured dockers leader, October, who said that many of his members were, in fact, earning 8s. a day, or more than the wage proposed by the CP.

October was outvoted and the TLC backed Kalk's colour-bar policy (p.515. TLC, Report of 7th Annual Conference, 1937).

The 'anti-war' period

WHEN THE WAR broke out in August 1939, the CPSA declared it to be 'an imperialist

war for raw materials, markets, capitalist domination and the power to exploit colonial peoples in Africa and Asia' (p.528).

It declared that there could be no war for democracy when there was 'a vicious system of racial discrimination at home'. 'The fight against fascism must start in our own country' (p.529).

Despite his own statement of the fact that the CP reversed this line after the invasion of Russia by Hitler, Simons says 'That was the keynote of communist policies throughout the war' (p.529).

The NLL and NEUF said that 'the first duty was to struggle for democratic fights on the home front' (p.531. 'Guardian', December 22, 1939), but La Guima and some others followed the Popular Frontist line out logically and enlisted in a segregated Indian-Malay corps.

Simons has nothing to say about these whom the CP continued to call 'Trotskyists' and who, unlike the CP, maintained an anti-war, anti-imperialist line throughout the whole of the war.

Nor has he anything to say of their leading role in the NEUF until its liquidation by the CP in 1941.

Dadoo, following the anti-war policy of Nehru, who, however, did not reverse his attitude in 1941, was jailed for being anti-war.

He declared in 1940 and in 1941, just before the CP reversed its line, 'that the war would be just only if full democratic rights, freedom and independence were extended to the oppressed peoples of South Africa, India and the colonies' (p.533. 'Guardian', August 29, 1940, June 2, 1941).

The CP expediently 'forgot' about Dadoo's and also Kotane's definition of a 'just war' when they followed the Party in supporting the war of Smuts in 1941, despite the fact that full democratic rights, freedom and independence were not extended to the oppressed peoples of South Africa, India and the colonies.

Unlike the anti-colour-bar policy of the anti-war Trotskyists, the CP continued to work apartheid during its 'anti-war' period.

Sachs, for example, submitted a clause to Madeley, Minister of Labour in the war-cabinet, which 'would allow a factory inspector to prevent "objectionable contact" between white women and employees of any other class' (p.534).

In 1940 his Garment Workers' Union in Johannesburg established a separate branch for its Coloured members' (p.535. 'Guardian', September 26, 1940).

The Simons say: 'Once introduced, segregation gradually spread, until it included separate entrances, lifts and offices for Coloured and African garment workers.'

'They resented segregation, and Sachs maintained that it was the only way by which he could appease the "violent prejudices" of his white members' (p.535. TLC, Report of Annual Conference, 1942).

The Simons evade the 'flirtation' of the CPSA with the Nationalist Party from 1939 to June 1941.

During this time the CP published a special paper, 'Ware Republikein' in order to attract Afrikaner members.

It held joint meetings with Nationalist Party speakers, even while 'condemning' the Nationalists as Nazis.

In Johannesburg the CP organized special meetings from which non-Europeans were explicitly debarred in order to 'educate' Afrikaners to socialism and 'overcome' their

colour prejudices.

At the same time as 'coquetting' with the Nationalists, CP members physically attacked Trotskyists who condemned them for glorifying the Nazi-Soviet Pact.

The book says nothing of all this, nor of the work of the Workers' Party, the Fourth International Club and the organ, 'Workers' Voice' in the war.

'War for democracy'

IN JUNE 1941, when Hitler's troops invaded the USSR, the CPSA adopted a pro-war policy, covering up their reversal of policy by demanding that Churchill, Roosevelt and Smuts 'grant democracy' to the non-Europeans and arm them to fight for the democracy that did not exist in South Africa.



Albert Luthuli

The dependence of the CP on a white middle-class base was reflected by the sudden rise in circulation of the 'Guardian' from 12,000 in 1940 to 42,000 a week in 1943, and by a rise in membership of the Party from 400 in April 1941 to 1500 by December 1943.

While the CP launched a 'Defend South Africa' campaign in 1942 (p.538), it sent Mofutsanyari, Maliba and Lekgotha into elections under the anti-African Native Representation Act, which perpetuated the disfranchisement of the Africans and set up a system of Bantustan 'councils' for Africans 'and a system of 'Native Representation' by Europeans in parliament and Senate and provincial councils.

White communists entered the field in the parliamentary (all-white) elections of 1943' (p.538).

The CP influenced the ANC to adopt a 'Charter of Rights' modelled on the Atlantic Charter drawn up by Churchill and Roosevelt in August 1941. Colin Steyn, Minister of Justice in the Smuts government, became a patron of the Friends of the Soviet Union, which thus received official backing from the most racialistic regime in the world.

The CP built up the Springbok Legion which attracted 40,000 members and was a recruiting body for Smuts' war.

Busy with recruiting for and backing the war, the CP became isolated from the anti-apartheid struggle.

During the war, which the CP supported, the government introduced many new colour-bar laws and institutions, against the Africans, against

the Indians (Peggling Act, etc), against the Coloureds (the Coloured Affairs Department 1943, etc).

It was the New Era Fellowship in Cape Town, even on the admission of the Simons, which took the initiative and the lead in the struggle against the CAD, which formed the anti-CAD movement in February 1943, which in turn, combined with the AAC to form the anti-imperialist, anti-war Non-European Unity Movement with a programme of 'nothing less than full democratic rights' and the method of non-collaboration (p.543).

The first anti-CAD conference represented '109 societies and groups' (p.541).

In spite of this, the Simons' book contains no real history of this important movement, nor of the NEUM, nor of the Teachers' League of South Africa or the Cape African Teachers' Association, or the many struggles of the NEUM.

On the contrary, the Simons, true to the anti-Marxist policy of collaboration of the CPSA, condemned the boycott of the Native Representative Council and elections as 'a strategy of withdrawal'. (Like a strike?)

They defend the CP against the charge of Kies, an anti-CAD spokesman, that among the Quislings and collaborators were 'dozens and dozens of so-called radicals and socialists and communists who paid lip-service to the emancipation of the non-European, while they rode into the council or parliament on his back, or grew rich at his expense by organizing trade unions' (p. 545. NEUM, 3rd Conference, January 1945).

After saying that the anti-CAD 'initially followed the Marxist line', the Simons accuse it, the AAC and NEUM of anti-whiteism, a false charge, as all statements of these organizations reveal.

They say, in true Stalinist fashion, that 'the main achievement of the anti-CAD was to immobilize a generation of Coloured intellectuals, immunize them against Marxist theory' (p.546).

They denounce non-collaboration, as put forward by Gool, Kies and Tabata, as a 'synonym for inactivity' (p. 546), while upholding the collaborationist activity of being 'elected', in defiance of the NEUM boycott, as 'Native Representatives' to the Nazi parliament.

To cover up their essential collaborationism, the CP took up anti-pass and other struggles, but in isolation from the demand for full democratic rights.

It took up the struggle of Orlando squatters whose leader, Mpanza, with his cry 'Sofazonka' (we die together) aroused Colin Legum of the Labour Party to chair a committee and draft a manifesto which 'urged the government to deport Mpanza and expel squatters from Orlando township' (p.549).

But the Legums were only the erstwhile allies of the CP and the Party's criticism of them was not based on the abolition of the whole system of locations like Orlando and of Location Advisory Boards which the CPSA helped form.

The systematic failure of the book to deal with the full history of the Non-European Unity Movement and the patent hostility of the authors to this movement, which boycotted the election of Sam Kahn, Bunting (junior), Carneson and Ray Alexander (co-author of the book) as European 'Native Representatives', make the remainder of the account of the CPSA almost worthless.

For the dominant political force, especially in the Cape Province, including the Tran-

skei, was more and more the NEUM in this war-time and post-war period.

'Traitors to Africa'

FOLLOWING THE AAC, the ANC in October 1946, at a conference of 500 delegates, voted for a motion by Kotane, secretary-general of the CPSA, which 'urged Africans to struggle for full citizen rights and to boycott elections to the NRC and to parliament' (p. 579. M. Kotane, 'The Boycott of Elections', 'Freedom', Vol. 6, No. 5, September-October, 1947).

This time the Simons do not talk of the boycott, which Kotane took over from the NEUM and the so-called Trotskyists, as a 'synonym for inactivity'.

At the ANC annual conference in December 'the people . . . called for a boycott' (p. 580).

The Simons concede the enormous achievement of the NEUM in this single statement. The CP, on the other hand, though supporting the boycott in January 1947, did so with an 'implied reservation' (p. 580).

The 'reservation' was simply that the CP would break the boycott when it chose. And it did so, against the decision of the African people, even according to the Simons.

The authors concede that in June 1947 the liberal Buchanan was 'elected in the teeth of a strong boycott movement' (p. 581), but make no mention of the fact that this boycott, as well as that against Molteno and those against the CPSA quislings who broke the boycott, was waged by the Non-European Unity Movement.

The authors regard it as a sign of what they call 'loyalty' that the CP 'refrained from contesting the election' in which Buchanan stood (p. 581).

Such is their opinion of the 'loyalty' of the CP to the African people!

They justify the CP breaking the boycott of what they themselves call 'a vicious piece of racial discrimination' (p. 582).

They uphold the decision of the CPSA at its annual conference in January 1948 to work the Native Representation Act—this 'vicious piece of racial discrimination'—by taking part in the fraudulent elections under the Act. ('Guardian', January 8, 1948.)

In November 1948 the CP candidate Sam Kahn was elected, 'in the teeth of the boycott', as the first Communist Party Native Representative.

Kotane himself apologized for this betrayal, for it was none other than the same Moses Kotane who had declared 'anyone who stands for election as a Native Representative is a traitor to Africa' (NEUM sources, not quoted by the Simons).

Kahn was followed, in October 1953 by CP Native Representative Brian Bunting and in April 1954 by CP Native Representative Ray Alexander (Mrs H. J. Simons, co-author of 'Class and Colour in South Africa, 1850-1950').

The only possible conclusion to draw from the book as a history of the Communist Party of South Africa is, indeed, that from its inception in 1920, to its banning in 1950, it was, and remains, in the words of its secretary-general, Moses Kotane, 'a traitor to Africa'.

Hospital Bosses Step Up Attacks With Harrassment At Mt. Sinai

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The retreat of the Local 1199 leadership on the situation at Mount Sinai is a warning signal to all hospital workers who are seeking a way to fight back against worsening working conditions and the threat of lay-offs.

As reported in the February 1st issue of the Bulletin, a dietary worker at Mount Sinai, Marjorie Davis, died at Misericordia Hospital in the Bronx. The day before she visited the Employee Health Service complaining of severe pain but was sent back to work.

This incident was a very real expression of the crisis in the hospitals which workers and patients are paying for with needless deaths, inadequate care and extra workloads on the job.

After this incident the hospital proceeded to attack a young doctor, Jerry Gelles, who issued a leaflet exposing these conditions. The hospital has tried to hold closed hearings and has threatened disciplinary action.

The union leadership refused to launch an independent workers' investigation on this incident. The hospital claimed that Mrs. Davis had never been to the Health Service.

The Rank and File Committee of Local 1199 raised this at the Guild delegates assembly and made a motion that the union put the hospital on notice that any attack on Dr. Gelles would be treated as an attack on all hospital workers and would mean a strike to shut Mount Sinai down.

The leadership's reaction was fear and slander. They accused the delegate who raised this issue of lying and closed discussion without allowing a reply. They claimed that since the hospital had agreed to certain improvements in the Health Service the problem was solved. In one breath they admitted that Dr. Gelles had raised real issues and in the next breath they refused

to defend him. They absolve the hospital of blame and leave militants open for victimization.

The latest report is that the hospital is going to drop the matter and not proceed with charges against Gelles. This is obviously not due to any fight put forward by the union leadership but reflects the willingness of the ranks to fight and the fear by the hospital of the struggle that could be unleashed if it moved now.

At the same time as the Mount Sinai incident expresses the great dangers to which hospital worker militants are exposed, the union leadership refuses to fight the job freeze, which is only the beginning attempt by the hospitals to save money at the workers' expense. If they refuse to fight the job freeze and its concrete consequences as at Mount Sinai, how good is their word that they will strike any hospital which lays off workers?

The Hospital Corporation which is taking over the municipal hospitals is challenging the union all over the city. At Morrisania Hospital workers and their delegates went to the director's office and told him they would not cooperate in filling out a questionnaire circulated by the Corporation on salaries and job descriptions. These studies only pave the way for cutting jobs.

In the voluntary hospitals the attack is also proceeding. At New York Infirmary the bosses tried to lay off 100 workers and then laid off non-union clerical workers. At Beth Israel they are giving workers written warnings for every minor infraction of discipline to force them to quit or be fired.

This goes hand in hand with Nixon's attacks on Medicaid and Medicare such as reducing the days spent in a hospital which are paid by the government from sixty to twelve.

It is just a matter of time before there is a major confrontation between the hospitals and 1199. The union must begin the fight now against intimidation and harassment on the job, against firing any worker who fights back, against any attempt to introduce time studies or increase workload.

The unwillingness of the leadership to fight was also reflected in discussion at the last delegates' meeting on the expansion of the war in Indochina. When a delegate moved that the union, rather than issuing statements of protest and tailing behind the liberals in another demonstration in April, seek to mobilize the labor movement for a one day general strike against the war, beginning with 1199, this proposal received substantial support. Workers are ready to fight back against the attacks of Nixon and the bosses.



Still-suspended welfare worker Henderson, Hill of SSEU, and Gotbaum of DC37.

SSEU-371 Ranks Oppose Hill Over Reorganization

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—At an emergency meeting last week, SSEU-371 President, Stanley Hill, announced plans to go back into negotiations with the City. The union's contract expired on December 31.

Negotiations were broken off about three weeks ago because of the arbitrary suspension of Dorrance Henderson, a welfare worker, who placed a family in the Waldorf Astoria Hotel on an emergency basis. Mr. Henderson still remains suspended, however, despite union promises of action if the charges were not dropped.

Despite opposition from broad sections of the union, the Hill leadership proposed to allow the City to proceed with its plans for further reorganization on its own basis, and to simply continue negotiations at the same pace as before talks were broken off.

This would allow the City to reorganize more and more centers on the basis of its own very low staffing scales, before any agreement is made on the union's staffing demands. Job security will go right out the window with the City's plans to scale down social service staff and to eventually eliminate social services altogether.

THREAT

More and more sections of workers in the SSEU are beginning to realize this serious threat despite the conscious encouragement of complacency by the leadership.

This was made clear at a membership meeting last week where the ranks expressed the opposition to reorganization and their willingness to fight it.

The rank and file also understands that the City is not going to give them the \$720 overwork bonus this year without a fight. That is why there has been serious movement among the workers toward a dumping down to sixty cases, no work on emergencies, and toward the policy of non-cooperation with further reorganization until it is negotiated.

The City has been consciously trying to divide City workers in order to head off a real united labor offensive. There has been no progress however, in fire and sanitation talks. Thus, the objective conditions for precipitating such an offensive still remains.

CONTRACT

The Committee for a New Leadership is calling upon all forces in the union who agree on the basic questions of a case dumping down to sixty, and non-participation in further reorganization until staffing scales and other conditions are negotiated, to join with it in the fight to get this policy approved at the next delegates assembly meeting.

Hill is running out of tricks and out of time as far as the membership of the union is concerned. The membership understands that a decent contract cannot be won without a real fight, and that the fight will be all the stronger if the entire City labor movement is mobilized in a common struggle against Lindsay.

Yale University Raises Tuition, Attacks Workers

BY MIKE CARLSON

NEW HAVEN—The Yale University administration has unveiled its plan to solve its financial crisis by attacking workers and students through tuition increases and decreases in scholarship aid. It is also preparing to break the upcoming strike of campus workers.

Kingman Brewster, Yale President, announced last week a \$500 increase in tuition this year and plans for an increase of at least \$900 more over the next three years. Brewster also announced Yale's adoption of the deferred tuition plan, a thin guise for Yale's attempt to drastically cut financial aid.

This plan, devised by the conservative economist Milton Friedman and backed by the Ford Foundation represents an attempt by the capitalist class to force more and more of the burden of college costs onto the working class and middle class students. It will freeze the amount of scholarship aid and raise tuition, forcing the student to pay these increasing amounts over a 35 year period. Yale's plan is experimental in nature and will be adopted by most schools coast-to-coast if it proves successful.

The Yale administration is also planning to break the upcoming strike of Yale campus workers by attempting to use students and non-unionized workers as scabs in the university dining halls. Administration documents reveal plans to reassign non-union workers, mainly secretaries, to scab on the dining hall workers. They have placed a clause to this effect in their contract.

The union leadership has already refused to fight against the hiring freeze. It is delaying action against these attacks until the contract runs out in May. Meanwhile the administration will hold out until May when the school year is over.

The SDS at Yale, led by supporters of the Progressive Labor Party, are leading the workers right into the hands of the bureaucracy by refusing to fight for a program to drive back these attacks. Instead, they call for students to "support" the workers by refusing to scab, but they accept the sellout program of the union bureaucracy.

The Yale Workers League Club is fighting around the following demands: End the job freeze; Minimum 50¢ per hour wage increase the first year; 18 month contract.

TV Networks Start Big Layoffs As Budgets Slashed

BY LOU BELKIN

NEW YORK, Feb. 14—Today the Columbia Broadcasting Company announced that it was permanently laying off members of its News Department. Dismissal notices have been sent out as part of a 15% budget cutback.

These firings which CBS euphemistically describes as "economies" follow by only two weeks the announcement by the American Broadcasting Company that it would lay off 300 employees.

These layoffs reflect what the New York Times underscores as the gloomy picture of "TV, reeling under the worst slump ever." The three major networks, ABC, CBS and NBC, have begun drastic cutbacks in the form of layoffs as well as in technology, news broadcasting and more sophisticated entertainment fare.

One TV executive commented on the transformation of television from an industry with creative potential to one completely dependent on advertising for funds and on its abysmal cultural and creative level. He said pointedly: "It's really now like dealing in a wheat or corn exchange. Prices are fixed day by day, with premiums for spots in top shows, and give-away for the days and a lot of pure gambling on future crops of entertainment for later

delivery."

In other words if viewers watch a program with a high rating, advertisers, the giant corporations, will pay about 2/5 of a cent to project their product on the TV screen. But if a show has a low rating the price they are willing to pay halves. In the words of an ABC executive, TV is "a vassal of the big business concerns, without which we could not function."

Particularly hard hit will be live broadcast shows, news programs and "topical" programs and documentaries. Richard Jencks, CBS news chief, commented that there seems to be a future "only for the soft stuff, nothing too controversial or bone-shaking. This is what the advertisers want." Consequently there will be more and more reliance on video taping, with cutbacks on live TV camera and film crews and technicians. The NBC news department reported that 70 producers, directors, writers and correspondents were summarily dismissed and the budget is frozen. Virtually all daytime news broadcasting will be eliminated or farmed out to subsidiary stations who will have to cope with the situation.

AGNEW

On November 13, 1969, Vice President Agnew said that "as with other institutions, perhaps it is time that the networks were made more responsible to the views of the nation (sic) and more responsible to the

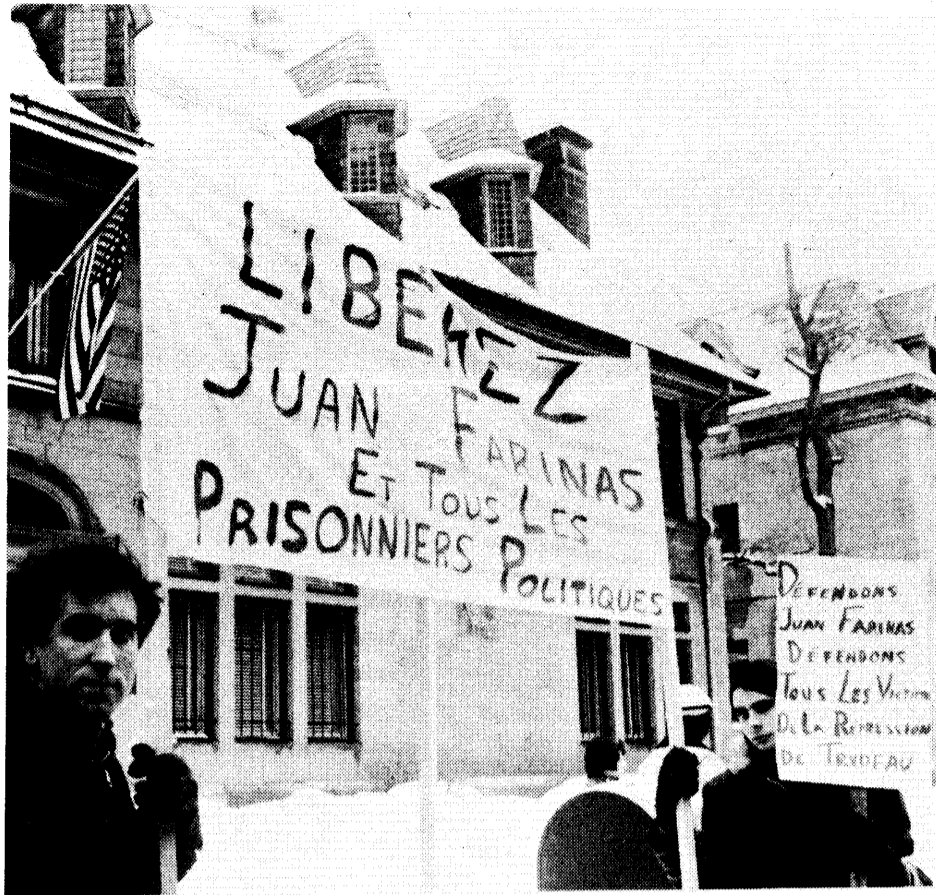
people they serve." While employees shuddered at the prospects of increasing governmental censorship, their superiors took a more guarded tone. The recent invasion of Laos was kept a secret and reporters and technicians were threatened with expulsion and loss of accreditation if the news leaked out. The cutbacks in programming have been combined with more and more control over the content of programs.

Meanwhile the Federal Communication Commission plans to cut down prime television time, shorten the broadcasting days and pave the way for open government intervention in the industry as a whole. We will see the beginnings of open censorship on all news information, more unemployment, less money spent for technology and creative development in education and more and more soft shows.

NATIONALIZATION

While funds for advertising have increased, production costs have been cut. What is clear is that the workers in the industry are being forced to pay for the crisis and any cultural development is turned backward. More and more big corporations and the government seek to use the mass media to control the working class.

The crisis in the television industry poses sharply the fight for nationalization of the industry under workers control.



Pickets at demonstration outside U.S. Consulate in Montreal in defense of Juan Farinas.

Trudeau's Cops Harass Farinas Rally In Montreal

MONTREAL, P.Q. February 12—Workers League members and supporters today set up a picket line outside the US Consulate here to protest against the conviction of Juan Farinas.

A huge banner was set up directly in front of the Consulate, stating "Free Juan Farinas and all political prisoners." "Liberez Juan Farinas et tous les Prisonniers Politiques."

The demonstrators carried signs in French and English: "Stop all capitalist attacks on Farinas and on LaPalme workers and Montreal Teachers"; "Stop Trudeau's war on youth and workers, Defend all victims of repression, Defend Juan Farinas."

The picketers also chanted slogans: "Free the Panthers, Free Juan, U.S. out of Vietnam," "Hands off the Unions, Justice for Chartrand," "Free Juan, Free Chartrand, Free all political prisoners."

The demonstration lasted about one hour, during which police took photographs of all picketers, and took the names of all who participated in the demonstration. They demanded identification from some who were marching.

Even bystanders were not exempt from police harassment. Their names were taken and they were ordered to move on. The number of police (two cars of plainclothesmen with several tactical police and

motorcycle cops, and a total of about 50 movie cameras, in all) and the tactics they used is further evidence of the sharpness of the capitalist crisis in Canada, and the fear of the ruling class of any organized movement by workers and students.

The police actually went beyond their legal rights by demanding from one of the demonstrators to know where he worked and other information. When one of the marshalls intervened and stated that the police had no right to this information, the cop said that they could do what they wanted, that he had been taking pictures of them, and they wanted this information on him.

Reporters covering the demonstration from the McGill Daily, a campus newspaper, were questioned and their names and numbers were taken.

The demonstration was a success, especially in Montreal under War Measures Act, in pointing out the reality of ruling class terror against the working class.

This demonstration, however, is only the beginning of a campaign for the defense of Farinas and all political prisoners in Quebec.

New Haven Striker Says Workers Face Conditions Of 1930s

BY KLAUS KNIGHT

NEW HAVEN—The young employees of Hungry Charlie's restaurant here have struck against their boss, Restaurant Associates, Inc. which is the largest and wealthiest group of its kind in this country.

The militant employees have joined Local 217 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union. This is a tremendous leap forward for these workers whose job conditions are even worse than those of most restaurant workers.

The following is an interview with the organizer of the strike, Scott St. John.

Q. How did the strike start?

A. The real reason was that I was rushing around behind the bar. I had already asked the people to give us proper conditions. They promised me that when I was on the job that I was going to get two other people in that room constantly or at least the help of one of the managers at all times in buffing glasses and doing the floor job. I ran out of glasses and there was nobody to help me. Both the beer kegs were out and there were thirty-five customers screaming at me. The manager came

upstairs and yelled at me and said it was my fault.

Q. Do you think they could afford to hire additional help?

A. There is no doubt in my mind about it. We know they are the largest (restaurant corporation) in the U.S. Plus they have some international restaurants as well. If they can't afford to do that—who else can. We work for them. Why can't they work for us?

Q. Do you see your working conditions as similar to most restaurant employees?

A. I have worked in restaurants for five years. Some of the workers here have been in it for thirty years. It has never improved. It has never changed. It is just now that it is coming to a head because we are headed towards a depression. The cost of living is jumping up and they are not doing anything about it. We are not getting decent working conditions. I think people all over the world are just realizing it is all happening again, like it did in the 1930's. People are just tired of getting stepped on.

Q. Is that why you organized the union? Could you tell us about the union?

A. The union is something we can use. It is a lever. It is a bargaining agent. It will keep us together. It will be more efficient for the management. The only

thing management is griping about is management wants to have all the profits and see that we don't get any of the benefits out of it. What we want to do is share equally in the benefits and see that our conditions are upheld and this is what the union can do for us.

Q. What has been the company's reaction to your joining the union?

A. They do not want to hear about it.

Q. What are the demands in the strike?

A. We are demanding better working conditions. Our main demand is that they realize that our union is the sole bargaining agent to begin with and the second is that none of the employees will be retaliated against. We want this demand agreed upon right now. Then we can go in and talk to them and negotiate the rest of our demands which are better wages, medical benefits (we don't have any now), better job definition and with that we could end the understaffing and we wouldn't have to worry about this.

Q. What support is there for the strike?

A. We have the support of many of the students and the complete support of people who frequent the restaurant which is why they closed.

Q. What support have you gotten from other unions?

A. At the moment we haven't gotten any. We haven't requested any yet. We are in the process of doing that now.

Q. Do you think it is important that you get the support of the local labor

movement?

A. We certainly do. We believe we are going to get the solidarity of many employees of this company and many of this kind of company and possibly even the teachers union.

Q. How do you see this strike in relation to what is going on in the world?

A. I see it as people expressing their anxiety. We need change. We need a governmental change. We need a system that is for the people rather than against the people and exploiting it.

Q. What do you think of a labor party to break the working people from the Democratic and Republican parties?

A. I am completely for it.

Q. What do you think of the escalation of the war and the invasion into Laos?

A. I believe it is about time we got out. We have all said that we have got to do something about it and we have got to put the pressure on with every means available to us.

Q. What do you think about the case of Juan Farinas and the repression of Angela Davis and the Panthers?

A. It has all been said basically before. It's about time we got up and we got together and freed all political prisoners. Right Now. Every time one of us tries to stand up and organize a unit of the people to do something towards the struggle, we find ourselves arrested, put in jail, with poor defense and end up in a circus of supermarket justice. That is just not freedom and that is just not right.

Labor Must Back Local 285

BY FRANK BECKER

DETROIT—Teamsters of Linen Supply Local 285 are up against the press, the police and the National Labor Relations Board who are united behind the bosses in trying to break their three month old strike.

Workers striking Economy Linen Service here told this reporter that they felt that the capitalist press, especially the Detroit News and Free Press, had throughout the strike sided with the bosses. "They pay for expensive ads, these are a sort of bribe. When something comes up, like the scab attack at Economy, they don't even ask for our side." Many workers said they were cancelling their subscriptions to these papers because of the deliberate distortions run against the strike.

Meanwhile the Detroit police are making sure that all the scab trucks get into the plants. The cops look the other way as workers are brutally beaten. Ken Link, the union steward at Economy Linen, received a near fatal thirty-two stitch gash on his head during the savage attack reportedly by company goons on January 29.

The National Labor Relations Board, getting its orders from Nixon, has ruled against the workers. It has justified the eleven plant lockout which began the strike.

The workers are determined to fight all these forces. They know that the scab trucks, most importantly those going to Ford and Kroger must be stopped. At the same time Local 283 must call on all the Teamster locals and the rest of the labor movement to support their strike.

GM Lays Off 750 At Tarrytown

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NORTH TARRYTOWN, N.Y., Feb. 15—Members of the United Auto Workers, Local 664, at the General Motors assembly plant here were informed last week that 750 workers would be laid off with the elimination of the truck assembly line in April.

The layoffs are permanent and will affect all workers with less than eighteen months seniority—about one-sixth of the work

force.

At a union meeting yesterday, Ray Colore, President of the Local, admitted he knew about the layoffs about a month ago. Clearly exposed is the role of the union bureaucracy in failing to prepare the ranks for these attacks.

The ranks must demand that the UAW shut down the Tarrytown plant until GM rescinds the layoffs. This must be combined with the fight for the thirty hour week at forty hours pay.

Just Out!

50¢

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

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

Labor Publications, Inc.
135 West 14 St. 6th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10011

Ceylon: Workers March For Farinas

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

COLOMBO, CEYLON—On January 29 over 150 workers and students marched through the streets of this city to protest the sentencing of Juan Farinas.

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

This international solidarity march was held at the time in which the factories and workplaces close for the day and thus thousands witnessed it and got to know about the case. Participants included students from all the four universities and workers from the harbor, estates, Ceylon Transport Board, railways and government press.

Following the march a meeting of over 200 was held. Both the march and rally were organized by the Revolutionary Communist League, the Ceylonese section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, together with its youth group, the Revolutionary Communist Youth.

The real link between U.S. imperialism and the Ceylonese government was shown when on the night of the 27th eight members of the RCL and RCY were arrested by police while pasting posters to publicize the Farinas demonstration. They were kept overnight in the police station and were interrogated by the police who took about three hours to record the statement of a single person.

FRAME-UP

Now they have been charged before the courts for allegedly pasting posters on the walls of the "Queens House"—the official residence of the Governor General—and the wall of a government building, both of which are completely false frame-up charges. They were illegally fingerprinted and photographed by the police as well.

This is a part of a massive growth in police repression during the past period. Many other organizations generally described as "revolutionary" have had their members arrested and harassed by the police. Militant youth have been arrested for pasting posters denouncing the recent visit of Trudeau to Ceylon who came

here at an invitation of this supposed "anti-imperialist" government, supported and participated in by the Stalinists.

This turn towards the imperialists by the government has been accompanied by an even stronger anti-working class policy internally. All the recent statements of the Prime Minister and Ministers have been directed against strikes "which sabotage the development effort." Inflation has



Some of the 150 young workers who marched in Ceylon in solidarity with Farinas. Several were arrested by Mrs. Bandaranaike's cops—Pabloism in the service of capital.

reached an all time high. On the estates, after the police murder of two militants last November, six more deaths have been reported either by police or employer shotguns. The feelings within the estate working class are so high that even the LSSP and CP (Moscow) led unions have been compelled to come out in joint action with the other unions.

In the "Davara" group of newspapers—strongly pro-government—the lock-out of

800 workers is continuing after five months.

The RCL is campaigning for a joint general strike of the CMU and UCMU—two major unions which have workers in the same sectors—against the union busting attacks of the government and employers like the above.

In this situation the Pabloite LSSP-R is seeking to divert the struggle around an appeal to "all mass organizations" to "put before the government the question of breaking from the Commonwealth." These people refused point blank to join with the RCL in a campaign to mobilize the UCMU

break with all that Trotsky stood for—a situation in which hundreds of thousands of workers are seeing through the anti-imperialist pretences of the government and openly mobilizing for battle against it—is of course the logical end of Pabloism. To invite the SLFP to prepare a campaign to put the question of a break with imperialism before a SLFP government!

RIGHT

This new turn to the right is their response to the development of the crisis, which now threatens to explode in the near future, posing an independent struggle for power by the proletariat. Precisely at this moment the Pabloites huddle closer to the bourgeois government through their fake united frontism.

Greek Section Expands Press

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The new Greek paper *The Time of Change* is a great step forward for the international Trotskyist movement. *The Time of Change* is the official organ of the Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

This section is growing in Greece and abroad where thousands of workers and students are forced to emigrate and in spite of the enormous repression which its members suffer under the junta. Eight Greek Trotskyists are in jail with life sentences and hundreds of others with lesser sentences.

SUPPORT

The paper has just become bimonthly and with a bigger format, with eight pages which cover the national and international situation and the theoretical fight for Marxism with all the revisionist tendencies. This was made possible by the political and financial support the members and sympathizers of the E.D.E. (Greek Trotskyists) have given to the *Time of Change*.

STATEMENT

The following political statement was in the editorial of the new edition:

"At the base of our development and optimistic perspectives which we project exists the crisis and rottenness of the capitalist system and of Stalinism on a national and international scale. More and more sections of the masses are becoming radicalized, especially the youth, and are demonstrating their willingness for a real fight which is aimed at the capitalist system itself.

"Only the Trotskyists have a program which is not limited by the boundaries of the actual establishment of forces in the world but looks forward to the elimination of this establishment. Therefore only the Trotskyists are able to give the policy and the organization that is required for all those who really want to fight.

"The task of Trotskyism is the fight for truth which is the condition for social progress. All the factions of K.K.E. (Greek C.P.) are afraid of the truth and therefore they are not in a position to speak even for themselves. They don't have anything to say about the factors which permitted the establishment of the dictatorship, about how it will be overthrown, what will follow, how the problem of the unity of the workers' movement will be solved, what the economic support of the East European governments to the junta means, and about what happened and is happening in Czechoslovakia and Poland.

TROTSKYISM

"Today militants in the working class search more vigorously than ever before for answers. Objectively they search for Trotskyism. Because of this the *Time of Change* can outline optimistic perspectives, can transform them into reality....

"The bimonthly paper is a slap in the face to all those who agonize in the middle of the road, for those who lack political courage to break from revisionism and who lack faith in the working class and Marxism. Yes! *The Time of Change* can go forward and march forward."

Tories Drive To Smash Postal Strike

BY MELODY FARROW

The leadership of the Union of Postal Workers in England is now moving quickly to end the four week strike and sellout the workers' 15% wage claim.

On February 14 Tom Jackson, General Secretary of the union sat down with the Post Office to reopen negotiations for the first time since the strike began January 20. The Post Office has so far refused any more than an 8% increase.

The basis for the negotiations is the Wilberforce inquiry, a three man board set up to recommend a settlement of the electrical workers demand for a 25-30% wage increase. The workers had staged a work to rule action, blacking out large sections of the country but were brought back to work on the basis of putting their faith in Wilberforce.

The meaning of this arbitration is now clear. The Wilberforce inquiry stated on February 10 that the workers deserved no more than 10% which was the last offer of the Electricity Board and which was rejected by the union. Actually the 10% is not 10% at all but is tied to productivity so that the worker will be making far less. Chapple, General Secretary of the Electrical and Plumbing Trade Union, had stated before the report came out that even 13% "would not be acceptable."

PRODUCTIVITY

Now Chapple is claiming that the increase will actually come out to around 16%. Chapple includes in this mythical 16% the incentive schemes for putting in more work, extra holidays, etc. As the Wilberforce statement said, the 10% was awarded because of the "outstanding record of cooperation in increasing productivity."

The Wilberforce report is attempting to step this up by offering incentive payments if workers will just sign an agreement that they are not opposed to productivity deals in principle. In addition Wilberforce pro-

poses to increase severance pay for younger workers so that they will leave the industry.

The Wilberforce decision was handed down precisely at a time when the situation in the British working class was becoming very explosive and postal workers were demanding more militant action from their leadership. The Wilberforce report represents the determination of the Tories to beat back the workers' wages.

RENEW

Jackson is jumping on this agreement as a handle to end the postal strike. The Post Office and union agreed to renew negotiations based on some rule changes that would save the Post Office 3%.

Jackson has rejected demands of militants to stop all volunteer labor which is being used to deliver pension checks. Last week workers from the London Overseas Telegraph headquarters passed out a leaflet calling on strikers to storm the post offices manned by scabs.

The workers are seeking to take their fight forward. The Wilberforce report may spark a renewal of the power workers fight which combined with the postal strike poses the need for a general strike against the Tories' attacks. Only the union leaders are afraid of this.

FORD

This situation becomes even sharper with the wildcat strike of 45,000 Ford auto workers which began on February 1. Although their contract does not expire until March, the workers walked out when management offered the workers only 8%. The union leadership was finally forced to make it official. The workers are still out.

and CMU for a joint general strike to defend basic trade union rights. But they invited every political party in Ceylon—pointedly excluding the RCL—for a conference to discuss the above campaign.

PABLOISM

One of the parties invited was the SLFP! The SLFP is the bourgeois government party of Madame Bandaranaike. This open

At the same time, 1,000 workers from Rolls Royce came to London to lobby their representatives in Parliament. Thousands of workers throughout England and Scotland from Rolls Royce and companies related to it are facing layoffs. When the M.P.s refused to talk to the workers fifty of them decided to barge into the House of Commons to confront them.

These actions reflect the growing feeling among the workers that waiting and patience is not enough and that they must take matters into their own hands. The demand to storm the post offices means in essence that these strikes are posing a state of civil war.

The wildcat of the Ford workers over the 8% offer poses that all sections of workers can and must be mobilized in a counter-offensive against the Tories' wage attacks and the union busting Industrial Relations Bill.

The Ford company has told the auto workers that their wage demands would be "ruinous" for the country and threatened that Ford would go the way of Rolls Royce.

STRIKE

The workers must wage a ruthless fight against the labor bureaucracy which accepts that workers must pay for the capitalist crisis and in the case of Rolls Royce proposes that the government and the company renegotiate a contract so that Rolls Royce can continue to exploit the workers.

What is required is to unite and bring out all the workers against the wage attacks, against layoffs, and for nationalization of industries under workers' control and to oust the Tory government and replace it with a workers' government with socialist policies.

The Socialist Labor League and the Young Socialists have fought for this by building a massive anti-Tory rally in London on February 14 to call for a general strike to bring the Tories down. This is the only way to defeat them.



WEST COAST NEWS

San Jose Youth Build WL Club

SAN JOSE—A step towards the building of a revolutionary youth movement was taken here with the formation of an off-campus Workers League Club.

The dozen high school youth which comprise the group are prepared to bring working class politics into their high schools and take up the fight to unite the movement of workers and students.

These students have been meeting regularly to discuss the role the high school plays in a capitalist society. There is the boredom, the indoctrination, the racism and all the other tactics that are used to control the thinking of students, preparing them for their future roles in the army, the working class, or universities.

Students have taken up the defense of Juan Farinas and all political prisoners on

a class basis. Many of these students demonstrated in defense of Farinas on the 29th in San Francisco.

The club is studying Marxism to understand dialectics and to fight for socialism.

The group is being built on the understanding of the need for a revolutionary youth movement to carry forward the interests of the working class and the youth.

From the heroic acts of Jonathan Jackson to the Chicano rebellion in Los Angeles recently, it becomes increasingly evident that the youth are not going to take these attacks lying down. The education and welfare cutbacks, the draft and the political attacks against students and militants are, in essence, attacks against the working class.

SWP Covers For Redbaiting At Moratorium

BY BILL WINGFIELD

LOS ANGELES—With the publication of Baxter Smith's report of the January 31 Chicano demonstration in East Los Angeles (Militant, Feb. 12), the Socialist Workers Party took a further step in its retreat from the class struggle.

As the Bulletin reported on February 8, the leadership of the Chicano Moratorium Committee sent out roving squads of monitors (provided by the Brown Berets) to harass all socialist tendencies present in Belvedere Park. Brown Beret monitors forcibly ejected at least one member of the Progressive Labor Party and confiscated, or suppressed the selling of newspapers of all socialist tendencies.

The SWP was certainly aware of that; indeed, the first word that reached the Workers League contingent in the park concerning red-baiting and acts of intimidation came from a member of the SWP. Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that the Militant itself was suppressed, not one word about these actions is to be found in Smith's "report"!

There are other important omissions in Smith's report. Smith tells us that: "The central theme of protest against police violence in the barrio was reflected in many picket signs and banners."

What Smith fails to report is that some of the major leaders of the demonstration actually denied that the "central theme" of the demonstration was police violence. Thus, Oscar Zeta Acosta proclaimed at the rally that the issue "is not poverty and not police brutality." "The only issue," said Acosta, "is la tierra."

Moreover, Acosta's statement and the fact that almost every speaker concentrated on "the struggle for Atzlan" lends credibility to the reports that Esteban Torres—head of the Congress of Mexican American Unity (CMAU)—had said privately that he was not all that displeased with the police, but that it was necessary to call for the demonstration around that issue because that issue would bring out greater numbers from the barrio!

Evidence that such is indeed the viewpoint of the middle-class, nationalist leaders of the CMC and the CMAU was given when that leadership denounced so-called "irresponsible" militants among the youth for "provoking" the police violence that followed the rally.

Finally, Smith also fails to say one word about this alignment of the leaders of the CMC and the CMAU with Sheriff Pitchess and the bourgeois news media in denouncing the violent rage that was expressed by thousands of youth after the rally.

Local 400 Ranks Must Prepare Strike

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—City workers here know they can expect no more than an offer of a 3.25% increase in wages if anything from the city this year. As picket signs at a recent demonstration pointed out, this actually means a 6.75% decrease.

The collective bargaining the mayor agreed to after last year's strike has never materialized. Massive budget cuts on all levels of government spending threaten further layoffs and speedup for all city employees.

There are at present nearly 300 unfilled budgeted positions in the Department of Social Services alone. In many departments only temporary workers are being hired, and in others no new workers are replacing those who leave. The leadership of Local 400 refuses to mobilize the ranks for any kind of struggle.

These leaders claim that calling such actions is premature. They say we must first "wait and see" what the city does. Then by the time the city says what it was obvious it was going to say, there will not be sufficient time to prepare the action which is necessary.

The leadership has refused to take up seriously the demand of a guarantee

Unionbusting Court In Marin Jail ITU, Teamster Head For I-J Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MARIN—The alliance of the International Typographers Union Local 21 and Teamsters Local 85 with the clergy of Marin County and other conservative elements opened the door to the jailing of President Leon Olson and Organizer Don Abrams of ITU and Jack Goldberger of the Teamsters for fifteen days

This vicious attack on the union was quickly followed last week with the sentencing of six men involved in the strike activities against the Independent Journal on Valentine's Day, 1970. These men were given a total of ten years probation, ninety days in jail and \$3,625 in fines. All ITU members and the one teamster involved (except the ITU Vice-President) were forbidden by Solano County Judge Jensen to participate in further union activities or rallies. This is a flagrant alliance of the courts with the union-busting Independent Journal.

To protest their incarceration, the three leaders, rather than mobilizing the support of labor, invited Mayor Alioto to wave farewell to them as they marched into the jailhouse. Alioto cited the "record of the three men in helping to keep labor peace—not just in San Francisco but the entire area."

Alioto is no friend of labor. He befriends the three leaders for containing the fight to bring the I-J to its knees. This turn towards Alioto is a far cry from the way the strike was conducted a year ago. Then the ITU, Teamsters and Longshoremen battled the police in front of the I-J building. The leaders who now turn to Alioto called the rally on Valentine's Day

last year with a militant cry. There was no attempt to stop the stoning of the building. That day in Marin saw the real solidarity of Bay Area Labor against the I-J. That day the paper was not put out.

These leaders have now been jailed for refusing to stop the class struggle. Their turn towards the clergy and Chavez in the summer of 1970 has won them only the crocodile tears of Alioto and has opened the union to further attacks.

The ITU leadership applauded and supported Chavez' rallying plea for the tactic of economic boycott against Safeway and other advertisers in the I-J. They also rallied to his genteel plea to trust in the clergy of Marin

On February 12, 1971, 125 Teamsters staged a mass demonstration against the sentencing of the six members—calling them political prisoners. The reason for this rally was their recognition that the attacks of the I-J, the courts and the NLRB, and Jensen's order for no-strike or union activities, are part and parcel of the repression against the unions and those who fight back.

The demonstration poses the only way forward through the mobilization of the labor movement.

against layoffs and full hiring which seriously affects the Department of Social Services and General Hospital. One way the union leaders attempt to deal with this problem, is by trying to pawn off a section of workers to another union, rather than fighting for a contract guaranteeing no layoffs and an end to the hiring freeze.

There is little doubt that the leadership's hedging on these two questions represents a desire to avoid a real confrontation with the city and compromise some workers jobs in exchange for pay raises for other workers.

Last Wednesday at a negotiating committee meeting, the Local 400 Rank and File Caucus fought to get the union to call a mass meeting of all city unions to prepare for joint strike action. The motion was supported by many members of the negotiating committee as well as by some executive board members who are beginning to see the seriousness of the situation.

ACTION

The motion was defeated by one vote. Later at the full membership meeting a compromise motion was passed which allowed for all interested city workers to attend the next meeting. At the initiative of the Rank and File Caucus, a leaflet was written to urge the membership of the AFT and bus drivers as well as the rest of city workers, to attend this meeting, declaring that the central point



S.F. city workers march at City Hall.

of that meeting should be to discuss strike action. The leaflet was signed by members of most of the major city unions.

City workers should take the lead from the emerging militancy of the California state employees. Although the new state budget is not to be passed until July 1st, already the union is calling for a demonstration in Sacramento on a workday and is threatening strike action if their demands are not met.

Crisis In Education Reaches Breaking Point

BY FRANK O'NEIL

SAN FRANCISCO—The crisis in California education has now reached the absolute breaking point. A meeting of state school board superintendents and board of education members issued a warning that the entire system was on the verge of financial ruin and that even the drastic cutbacks and firing of personnel already underway is not enough to save it.

All over the state from San Francisco, to Bakersfield, to Los Angeles, schools are being closed down. Programs to build new schools are being cancelled. Large numbers of teachers are being laid off. Pay raises for staff have been rejected. Students are forced to go to schools where even basic janitorial and other maintenance duties are no longer being performed.

In the Hayward school district alone, there has been deficit financing for the past four years. Two elementary schools have been closed, all high schools and most junior highs have been reduced from six to five periods a day, most special elementary and nursery school programs have been eliminated and fourteen vice principals have been summarily fired.

At the University of California at Berkeley, not only has the question of pay raises been dismissed out of hand, but

also teachers and other campus workers are going to have to perform all their regular duties plus the additional ones of normal campus expansion, but minus 500 employees.

However the sharpest expression of this all out assault against education is being posed in San Mateo, where two recently built junior colleges, Canada and Skyline, face total closing and a third of San Mateo College might have its staff, faculty and student body cut in half. A last ditch effort by the county to save the school by shoving through a massive tax increase on county residents is given by even its most optimistic backers no chance whatsoever of passing. (A similar tax increase was rejected by the people of San Mateo just a few months ago.) Tens of thousands of students, not to mention hundreds of teachers, now face not only the loss of

their right to an education, but also face massive unemployment in a county that already has been suffering staggering layoffs in the airline, steel and other industries.

But students and teachers all over the state have been fighting back. In San Francisco not a day went by last week without hundreds of students pouring out of their schools to protest against the deteriorating conditions—first in the junior highs, then in the regular high schools and vocational training schools. At Merritt, which is also being threatened, thousands of students shut down their classes in a one day strike to keep the school open. Mass teacher demonstrations have been called for by the California AFT.

The Reagan administration, in conjunction with employers all over the state is on a campaign to smash education in California.

The only way to fight these attacks is through a political offensive by the working class, that is through the mobilization of the labor movement for political strikes against repression and for a massive movement for the building of a labor party now.