

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOL.7 NO. 26-186 MARCH 8, 1971 103 TEN CENTS

*MPI Forms  
Alliance  
With Stalinists*

The Road Forward For U.S. Workers

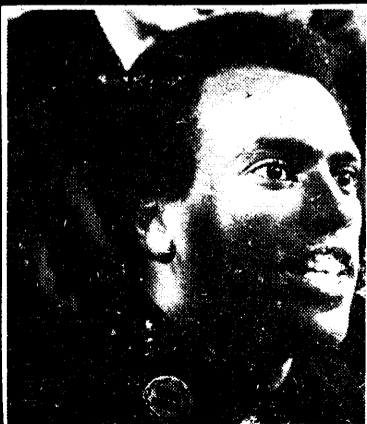
## HUGE GENERAL STRIKE SHAKES BRITAIN



"Hardhats" (above and left) join with antiwar students to demonstrate against Nixon in Des Moines, Iowa. Signs attacked Nixon's anti-working class policies.



## HARD HATS, STUDENTS MARCH ON NIXON



**Cleaver And Newton Clash  
As Open Rift Develops  
In Black Panther Party**

## EDITORIAL

**Stop Stalinist Betrayal!**

As the workers and peasants routed South Vietnamese forces in Laos dealing a heavy blow to imperialism, two million British workers went on strike against the Tories and thousands of Iowa construction workers and students rallied against Nixon.

This tremendous movement of the working class in the advanced countries now joins the struggle of the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia threatening the defeat of imperialism and the struggle by the working class for power.

The gravest danger, however, in this period is the counter-revolutionary plans of Stalinism internationally to head off and crush this movement of the working class.

The Communist Party in the Daily World of March 3 states that a "growing number of commentators here are noting parallels between the current fiasco in Indochina and the battle of Dienbienphu which spelled doom for the French imperialists."

But it was the Stalinists who used the victory at Dienbienphu, not to go forward to defeat imperialism, but to sign the Geneva Accords which opened the door to U.S. imperialism's domination in Southeast Asia. We say it is precisely this kind of betrayal which the Stalinists are preparing behind the Peoples Peace Treaty.

In England the Stalinists join with the "lefts" in the trade union bureaucracy to limit the struggle against the Tories to token protest. In the U.S. the CP and its supporters are trying to channel the fight of the workers and youth against the war into liberal protests and into the Democratic Party.

It is with this understanding that the Workers League intervened in the recent Student Mobilization Committee conference raising the only alternative to Stalinism's betrayals—the fight for Trotskyism and the independent mobilization of the working class.

After the conference and the refusal of the YSA-SWP to fight the Stalinists we warned: "Now that the conference is over and the YSA-SWP have had their April 24 date confirmed these negotiations (between the CP and the YSA-SWP) will be intensified for the purpose of bringing the Stalinists into the April 24 demonstration."

Now the real fruits of this alliance have come forth with the announcement by the Daily World on March 3 that the Stalinists' Peoples Coalition has "agreed to jointly co-sponsor a massive anti-war action in Washington and San Francisco, April 24."

Whole sections of the capitalist class are now backing the "Set the Date" movement which is the slogan of the Stalinists' Peoples Peace Treaty movement. The entire Democratic Party together with Republicans, such as Javits are behind it and it is even said that Rogers and Laird are coming over to a set the date position. It is precisely this alliance with capitalism, with the enemies of the working class, that the Stalinists will push on April 24.

It is no accident that as the Stalinists are moving more openly to head off the independent struggle of the students and workers, they open a vicious attack on Trotskyism, on the Workers League. In the February 27 issue of the Daily World in an article entitled "Buckley Spits Venom at NSA for Peace," the CP attacks the Workers League for denouncing the "Set the Date" slogan at the SMC conference. The whole purpose of this article is to perpetuate the Stalinist slander that the Trotskyists are in league with "ultra-rightists."

The Stalinists attack Trotskyism because it is the conscious expression of the movement of the working class and its program for victory. It is this movement of the working class that the Stalinists and revisionists fear. This is why they opposed the Workers League's proposal for a national student strike centering on the fight for a general strike against the war.

It is now absolutely clear that the Stalinist program will dominate the platform on April 24. But it is this perspective that now comes into collision with the movement of the working class.

The general strike in Britain, the massive demonstrations of construction workers and students against Nixon in Iowa, the call by the AFL-CIO for a general strike against Nixon's attacks on the unions now show the reality and potential of bringing forward the working class in a general strike against the war in Vietnam and at home.

Just as the general strike in England has brought forward the call for the resignation of the Tories, so at every step in the struggle for a general strike in the U.S., the fight for the labor party must be central.



Don't Peek... We're doing just fine!

**What The Editors Think...**

At the conference of the Student Mobilization Committee in Washington on February 19-21 the forces of the Socialist Workers Party-Young Socialist Alliance refused to fight the Stalinists and their Peoples Peace Treaty proposal.

Now the SWP-YSA has taken this capitulation a step further with its reports on this conference in the most recent issue of the Militant, newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party.

So afraid are the SWP-YSA of the historic issues and their life and death meaning for the struggle of the working class today, that they cannot even mention the fundamental struggle which took place at the SMC conference.

This is without a doubt the most glaring distortion in the Militant's report. It simply does not mention the Workers League proposal for a national student strike building toward general strike action by labor against the war. This proposal in fact received the second highest number of votes.

As hard as the revisionists tried to prevent political discussion and ignore the real issues, these issues were brought home sharply by the supporters of the Workers League at the conference. The revisionist-led majority refused to grant an extension of speaking time to Dennis O'Casey while voting an extension to Stalinist youth leader Mike Zagarell.

This same alliance against Trotskyism is now expressed in the Militant's desperate attempt to pretend that the struggle against Stalinist class collaboration did not take place at the conference.

The Militant reports that "Communist Party spokesman Mike Zagarell's impassioned insistence that the terms (of the Peoples Peace Treaty) were not concessions to imperialism won only a scattered handful of votes for the proposal when the question was finally decided."

But the Militant does not report that Zagarell and his supporters distributed free copies of his pamphlet, "Trotskyism—The Inside Job" at the conference. It does not report that only the Workers League showed the importance of this pamphlet and of Zagarell's counter-revolutionary policy, that the Workers League led the fight against Zagarell.

How did the revisionists distinguish themselves from Zagarell and his supporters at the conference? "The conference participants," says the Militant, "recognized that the key problem for the anti-war forces is not to fall into the trap of dissipating their energies in isolated protest actions lacking a central focus and capacity to mobilize significant forces in opposition to the escalation."

Thus it is absolutely clear, and here the Militant is correct, that the revisionists conceded everything to the Stalinists while they carried their April 24 proposal. The "key problem" to the SWP-YSA is not the open call for class collaboration in the

form of the Peoples Peace Treaty and the entire Stalinist line. It is "dissipating their energies in isolated protest actions."

At the same time the SWP covers up for and capitulates to the Stalinists, it launches another diversionary attack on the Workers League. While they have nothing to say about what happened at the SMC, they have plenty of space for slanders against Trotskyism.

In the March 1st issue of Intercontinental Press, Allen Myers writes once again on the Workers League's position on the recent police strike in New York.

We repeat once again for Myers's benefit that we would be very pleased if the police were to strike continuously. Myers again denies that the police strike of 1971, like the Boston police strike of 1919, reflects the deep crisis of capitalism.

Because Myers bases himself on the stability of capitalism when the system is in the deepest crisis, he finds himself more and more in alliance with the liberals and with capitalism.

This is expressed in Myers' mockery of the idea that we could be on the verge of civil war. He calls it an "extravagant contention."

At a time when two million workers in Britain have just come out in general strike against the Tories and their anti-union laws; when the New Jersey AFL-CIO has called for a general strike against the attacks on the construction workers; when hard hats demonstrate together with anti-war students against Nixon in Iowa, Myers says the idea that there could be a general strike bringing us to the verge of civil war is "extravagant," "abstract."

At the same time as Myers accuses us of linking up with the enemies of the working class, his party builds an alliance with the liberals. But even more revealing is the fact that the SWP is running a campaign in Berkeley, California, calling for community control of the police.

Thus the revisionists commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Paris Commune by denying its central lesson, that the capitalist state machine must be smashed and replaced by the armed workers and their political power.

According to the SWP it is possible to reform the police, to make the police susceptible to the control of the masses within capitalism. Lenin must have been wrong when he wrote that the Commune taught the revolutionary movement that it is necessary to smash and replace the old state machine which consists of bodies of armed men whose task is to suppress the exploited.

The meaning of this is clear. Once again we must warn the SWP and YSA that it is time to call a halt to its sharp turn to the right, toward open capitulation to the Stalinists and the bourgeoisie itself. The deepening crisis brings out more sharply every day the tremendous dangers of the revisionist flight from Trotskyism.

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

# Two Million Workers Strike In Britain

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Almost two million British workers stopped work on March 1st in a one day general strike against the Tories' Industrial Relations Bill.

The strike shut down the auto industry, shipbuilding, docks and publishing. 10,000 Merseyside dockers walked off the job, and the Hull dock was shut down as well. All 16 British Leyland auto plants were closed. Chrysler and Vauxhall plants throughout the country were also out. No national newspapers were published, and management at many general manufacturing plants had to close down their factories because the workers would not cross AUEW picket lines.

This strike took place as the Post Office strike goes into its seventh week and as the Ford strike goes into its fifth week. On Monday, one of Britain's largest insurance companies, Vehicle and General, went bankrupt and British rail was described in the March 2nd edition of the London Times as moving into "a Rolls Royce situation."

**BLOW**

The Industrial Relations Bill is a blow aimed by the Tory government at the jugular vein of the working class. It is meant to smash and dismember the trade union movement and drive down the working class in order to preserve a completely bankrupt and decaying capitalism.

The Bill would require all unions to be registered and would provide for fines in the hundreds of thousands of dollars for both unions and individual unionists for "unauthorized" strikes.

The Minister of State for Employment, Mr. Paul Bryan, speaking about the strike made it clear where the Tories stand: "No government, least of all this government, will capitulate to this sort of challenge to its democratic authority." What the Tories mean is that capitalism

will fight to the death against any challenge to its rule.

In the face of this the leadership of the trade union movement is demonstrating its own vacillation and cowardice.

The march last Sunday of 140,000 workers and this strike of almost two million workers demonstrates that the working class is ready, willing and able to take up the fight back. The combativity of the working class cannot be questioned.

But the trade union leadership moves from left wing demagoguery to vacillation to outright betrayal of the working class. Mr. Hugh Scanlon, head of the AUEW, which called Monday's strike, talks "left" about industrial action against the bill. Under tremendous pressure from the rank and file he calls a token one day strike.

But it will take more than protest to stop the Tories. It will take an all out battle to mobilize the workers in their millions—a fight to make the TUC call a general strike—not for one day, but to bring down the Tory government. The fight for the working class to come to power or being driven back into the conditions of the depression and fascism—this is the choice before the working class today.

The TUC is now circulating a report for their emergency congress March 18th absolutely opposing industrial action against the Bill. They say that strikes such as the one Monday would only "harden public opinion against the unions" without making the government modify or withdraw the Bill, and would divide the union movement.

But the perspective of the TUC is made even clearer in the rest of the report which discusses whether or not unions



British workers march in London during March 1 one day general strike against Tories.

should register under the Bill, and how unions could dispose of their assets so as to minimize the funds against which recovery of compensation or damages can be enforced. The report also says that the TUC cannot guarantee that it will meet unions' legal costs or damages awarded to the bosses against a union, "much less the costs or damages against members acting without their union's authority."

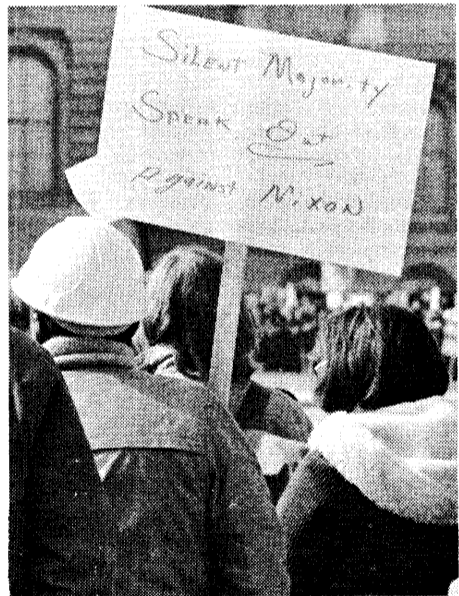
In other words the TUC accepts that the Bill will be passed and that the government has the right and the might to register, fine and jail unions.

It is a magnificent tribute to the determination and spirit of the British

working class that in spite of the half-hearted and wretched character of its leadership that it came out in the millions against the Tories. The fight now is to make the TUC call a general strike to bring down the Tories. This fight has been taken up continually by the Socialist Labour League and its supporters in the All Trades Unions Alliance, against the Stalinists and reformists who seek to contain the movement of the working class.

The SLL has fought for the perspective that only strike action of the working class in its full strength—not in protests, but in its full strength in a general strike of all industry can stop the Tories and bring the working class to power.

# Iowa Hard Hats Rally Against Nixon



Iowa construction worker tells it to Nixon.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER  
DES MOINES, March 1st—As upwards of two million British workers staged a general strike in opposition to the Tories planned anti-union laws, workers here confronted Nixon with the same spirit.

Construction workers and farmers led an angry demonstration of two to three thousand bringing together workers, farmers, students and old age pensioners.

When the question of the British workers was raised, many of the workers responded with "We'll be doing that too."

The demonstration was called by officials of the Des Moines Building and Construction Trades Council to protest the recent suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act and the threat of a wage freeze. The bureaucrats made only a token appearance at the rally.

Their mild printed signs were over-

whelmed by the large number of hastily scrawled angry ones: "Wait Until 1972" several signs warned Nixon. "Freeze Nixon's Wages, Not Ours" others demanded. The farmers carried signs demanding parity and protesting the "New Depression."

**UNPRECEDENTED**

This unprecedented demonstration protested against both Nixon's war in Indochina and his war on workers here. While Nixon attempted to dismiss the explosive combination of forces present at the capital here, as "rather amateurish," his tight security showed a greater understanding of the depth of the crowd's anger. This anger was expressed in the rally and as snowballs were tossed at Nixon.

The Workers League contingent distributed a leaflet and sold the Bulletin widely among both workers and students. Signs with such slogans as "Build A Labor Party," "Jobs For All—30 For 40" and "Stop Nixon's War Against Workers In

Southeast Asia and America" were carried into the final rally by many workers.

It is almost a year ago that New York "Hard Hats" beat up anti-war demonstrators. Now the struggle has changed sharply as the working class more and more comes under the gun of Nixon's attacks. Now the students and workers march together.

Last fall unemployed aerospace workers and students threw rocks at Nixon at San Jose marking the beginning of political action of the working class against Nixon and the capitalist system.

It is clear that Nixon's suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act is just the beginning. From all sections of the capitalist class, the Democratic Party and Republican Party, and the press, clamors are being heard for an incomes policy and a wage freeze that will hit all workers.

**LABOR PARTY**

But the working class has already begun to give Nixon its answer in this demonstration in Iowa. American workers are indeed beginning to take the road of their brothers in England. The call by the New Jersey AFL-CIO for a general strike against the attacks on the construction unions shows the way forward in defeating the plans of the employers and the government to drive back conditions to the 1930s.

But just as in Britain the struggle posed to American workers is a political one—bringing down the government. The labor movement must prepare for 1972 by building a labor party now.

# Huey Newton Calls For "House Arrest" Of Cleaver

BY STEVE ZELTZER

SAN FRANCISCO—Huey Newton of the Black Panther Party last week called for the house arrest of Eldridge Cleaver because of Cleaver's open break of discipline in the call for the expulsion of David Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the Black Panthers.

Cleaver in the course of a telephone discussion with Newton on a television talk show in San Francisco called the expulsion of the Panther 21 and Michael and Connie Tabor and Richard Moore "regrettable."

"It is our position here, as three members of the Central Committee that it is regrettable that this has taken place. We lay the responsibility at the seat of David Hilliard. We demand that David Hilliard be dismissed or resign."

Newton replied: "I don't think the Chief of Staff is responsible. I'm responsible. I take that responsibility." Later, after the program, Newton said:

"He (Cleaver) found it necessary to bring that point out in public first. It was a shock to me and we will take action against that. If it was left to me he might find himself in jail just like Leary was in jail. If the Central Committee decides he will be disciplined, I will recommend that he be put in jail inside our embassy in Algiers."

The open struggle between Newton and Cleaver comes in the context of Newton's recent turn toward Marxist philosophy. When asked later about this dispute between Cleaver and himself, Newton replied that "within the revolutionary party there is a struggle as there is outside the party. Out of this dialectical process taking place in the party comes a development."

The struggle between Newton and Cleaver represents a sharp political and theoretical divergence. Cleaver represents most clearly the tendency in the Black Panthers calling for the perspective of the lumpen theory and for political agreement with the Weathermen. Newton on the other hand is attempting to reexamine this perspective. His turn towards dialectics puts these perspectives in question.

**CP**

Newton was also critical of Angela Davis for her membership in the Communist

Party. "Angela Davis must be set free. It is our party position that we criticize the American Revisionist Party (the Communist Party) and we ask Angela to renounce that party. But in spite of that small argument, we will go on to support Angela Davis despite her bad judgment. We are the only true communist party in America," he said.

Some of Cleaver's followers have contended that Newton's talk of Marxism and dialectics is just a rhetorical cover for "an ego trip," and "corruption." But the objective reality remains that the question of dialectical materialism and Marxism are at the very core of the fight to build a revolutionary party and fight to overthrow capitalism.

**TROTSKYISM**

It is this which must be confronted and probed by those in the Black Panther Party and all those who want to fight for socialism. This means the fight to go to the roots of the revisionism of the Communist Party, to the question of Stalinism and its betrayal of the working class, and the fight of Trotskyism to express the movement of the working class against these betrayals and construct a revolutionary party.

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Newark teachers are still out despite Gibson's jail sentences and goon squads. The strike can be won with an all out battle for a general strike for NTU demands.

## NTU Leaders Must Fight For General Strike To Win

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEWARK, March 2—The teachers strike now enters its fifth week here. Today the government stepped up its unionbusting tactics arresting four more union members and sentencing them to six months in jail.

These arrests follow on the heels of heavy fines ordered against the union. The fines now total \$75,000 and are growing at a rate of \$7,500 per day. In addition last week three union officials were ordered immediately to jail by Judge Alcorn, who refused to allow "even five minutes" for the processing of an appeal.

On Sunday the teachers defied the court and voted overwhelmingly to continue the strike. But a danger sign in this strike was given by City Councilman Turco who was invited to the meeting by the leadership. He proposed that the teachers return to work on the basis of the reinstatement of the old contract while negotiations continued.

Turco's presence at this meeting is in line with the rotten position of the union leadership that appeals to the "good offices" of Gibson, Cahill, the City Council and other politicians to help win this strike.

At the same time the leadership has played right into the hands of Nixon's attempts to institute a wage freeze by agreeing to accept Gibson's pleas of "bankruptcy" and not to ask for any wage increase until the second year of the contract.

In the face of the new attacks on the union, the New Jersey AFL-CIO, the Teamsters, and other unions are calling a demonstration in Newark this Thursday at Military Park in support of the teachers. This is an important step. The task now is to mobilize the thousands of trade unionists from New Jersey and New York at this rally.

The call that must come forth from this rally must be the call put forward last week by the New Jersey AFL-CIO against Nixon's attacks on the construction unions for a general strike.

The ranks of the NTU must demand that their leadership publicly call at this rally on the leaders of the unions to call a citywide general strike until all legal action against the NTU is dropped and all NTU contract demands are accepted by the Board.

The ranks must demand that the leadership raise the demand for \$1,000 across the board wage increase for teachers the FIRST year of the contract and state that there can be no concessions on the demands for improved educational facilities and working conditions.

**STOP PRESS March 3—NTU leaders agreed in court today to send striking teachers back to work.**

This agreement lays the basis for a formula with which to get the teachers back to work without settling any of the basic issues. The ranks of the NTU must fight against this sellout being prepared by their leaders and must demand that their leadership call on the city and state labor movement to call a general strike until all their demands are met.

## NYC Cuts School Funds; 7000 Teachers To Be Fired

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, Feb. 26—The President of the Board of Education, Murray Bergtraum, today announced a series of drastic cutbacks in the city school budget, effective within two weeks, because the school system is short \$40 million of what is needed for the rest of the school year.

According to the Board, the cutbacks include: reduction in teaching services at all levels; a complete freeze on the hiring of substitute teachers; reduction of office personnel; elimination of all after school activities; indefinite postponement of school repairs and maintenance; cutbacks in the use of transportation passes by city students.

These slashes mean that 7,000 teachers face layoffs and firings, all other school personnel face layoffs, and tens of thousands of students now face more wretched conditions than before: overcrowding, split shifts, larger classes, decaying facilities, no after school activities, and a complete decay of the school system that makes education a mockery.

### REACTIONARY

At the same time as the Board of Education announced the slashes, it announced that it was meeting with the thirty-one community school boards to hear their views on how funds should be distributed to meet the districts' special

needs. The basis of the meeting was to be a report by a consulting firm presenting twenty-four alternative ways to allocate educational funds to local boards.

This alone points out sharply the utopian and reactionary character of the demand for "community control." The local school boards will discuss twenty-four ways of allocating a shrinking amount of money which can no longer even patch together a semblance of an educational system.

The Mayor's office issued a statement saying that "The Mayor shares the Board of Education's pain in making their announcement today, as well as the pain of our entire school community. As extremely difficult as it is, the Mayor believes the Board has taken the only responsible course."

What all this grief and pain amount to is that the School Board and Lindsay, along with the capitalist class as a whole, have every intention of forcing the working class, and their children, to bear the brunt of a capitalist system which is decaying and bankrupt.

## SSEU-371 Ranks Rebel Against Reorganization

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Last week, the City of New York conceded to delay further reorganization in the Department of Social Services until April 21.

This postponement was the direct result of the action of a group of dissident delegates in conjunction with the Committee for a New Leadership. The new sections of rank and file militants and delegates coming forward to fight the City's plans for reorganization reflected a veritable rebellion on the part of the union membership against the City's scheme for wiping out thousands of jobs in the Department.

The City had been proceeding on a schedule of reorganizing three centers every six weeks. The first set of centers were reorganized on the basis of one worker to every 145 cases, but in the next set of centers the ratio was one to every 190. This became a clear warning to the ranks that the City was determined to get along with as few workers as possible, and would cut the ratios even further.

### MOTION

The call went out for no cooperation with reorganization or reorganization training, until the demands for the new 1971 contract concerning manning scales, workload and transfers were negotiated. A motion mandating a referendum of the membership on this position was passed unanimously at large local meetings in several centers.

SSEU President, Stanley Hill, knowing that he could no longer hold back the militancy of the ranks, brought forward at the last minute, in conjunction with various right wing sections of the union, a compromise agreement with the City. Hill tried to head off the movement of the ranks. This agreement, although reflecting certain concessions on the part of the City, still allowed for participation in reorganization training, and leaves open the question of negotiations until the April 21 date.

After vicious maneuvers on the part of the right wing faction in the union failed to prevent Dennis Cribben, representative of the CNL, from speaking at the delegates assembly, Cribben pointed out that the workers had the City on the run at this point, and should not retreat from their demands one inch. Refusal to comply with reorganization training, he indicated, could really put the City on the defensive, and put the union in a stronger position in relation to the contract as a whole.

A real work action was the only leverage at the juncture to force the city to negotiate seriously. The proposal to refuse to enter reorganization training was narrowly defeated by three votes. Nevertheless, the union leadership will be forced

The crocodile tears and the utter and total hypocrisy of the capitalist class is exposed in Lindsay's remarks after outbreaks in several high schools last week. After incidents in which the Jewish Defense League terrorized Black students at Music and Art High School, and in which fighting broke out among students in overcrowded, decaying schools throughout the city, Lindsay said:

"These incidents were fortunately isolated. Nevertheless, they are intolerable as are any disruptions in the education of our children. All authorities are working with my full support to resolve any substantive issues and to prevent recurrence in these or other schools."

But the substantive issues are the real conditions in the schools and the complete decay of capitalism.

### LABOR

The UFT must take up the fight to beat back these attacks. The New Jersey AFL-CIO has raised the call for a general strike against Nixon's attacks on the construction unions. This fight must be made in New York as well as New Jersey, against these new attacks by the government. The Central Labor Council and the AFL-CIO as whole must call a massive demonstration at City Hall of all labor against these attacks.

to bring something substantial back to the membership by the April 21 deadline, as strike sentiment on the questions both of wages and job security is very strong.

The postponement of the reorganization date will have to be used for a serious mobilization of the membership for a showdown if all the demands regarding manning scales, workload and transfers are not met by that date. In particular, the critical importance of the eighty to one case to worker ratio must be driven home.

The strike committee set up by the union leadership must organize meetings in the local centers in preparation for that showdown, and strike bulletins must be gotten out to the membership explaining daily developments in negotiations.

Above all, the April 21 date must be considered a final deadline. The CNL is now launching an all out battle to see that this is done. If the City has refused to grant the demands for staffing, so critical to the job security of every worker, there must be absolutely no participation in reorganization plans.

The threat of layoffs in teaching as a result of budget cuts in education poses the way for the SSEU if these questions are not fought out now. The SSEU, however, can take the offensive citywide, and can lead the way for all the other municipal workers facing cutbacks as a result of the economic crisis.

## 1199 Ranks Fight Attacks On Jobs

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Members and delegates of Hospital Workers Local 1199 are beginning a campaign for a union-led demonstration against the continuing job cutbacks and deepening health care and hospital crisis.

In a leaflet issued by the Rank and File Committee of Local 1199, the immediate attacks facing hospital workers are outlined and a citywide demonstration at City Hall against these attacks is proposed.

The citywide job freeze is now over 18 months old. The hospitals have proceeded from job cuts through attrition to actual layoff threats and layoffs.

At the New York Infirmary non-union clerical workers were laid off after the union threatened strike action if any of its members were dismissed. But the layoffs of non-union members is a sign of what is in store for the union unless a fight is taken up now.

Meanwhile the city reports that the Health and Hospitals Corporation faces a \$10 million deficit by July 1st and is searching for new ways to cut costs. The crisis is what is behind the efforts of the Hospitals Corporation to get the workers to fill out questionnaires and cooperate in time studies preparatory to actual layoffs.

At Mount Sinai Hospital, Columbia-Presbyterian and others, militants have been harassed and victimized for speaking out against conditions and fighting back.

### MOBILIZE

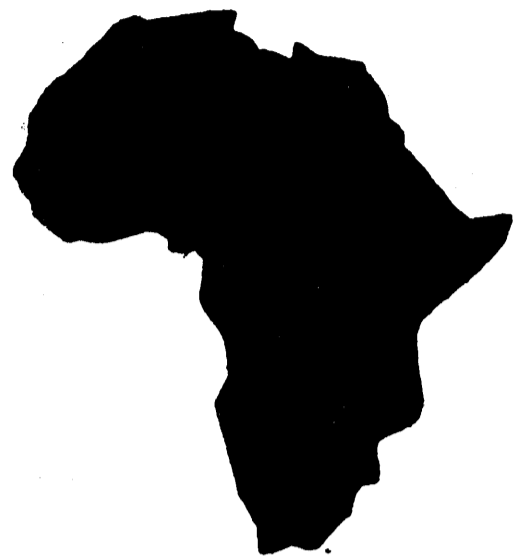
With the organization and rapid growth of 1199 have come increased attacks as the economic crisis deepens. Health care, as well as education and all social services, is being viciously slashed at the same time as inflation and unemployment mount.

The tremendous power of the hospital workers must be mobilized against these attacks. Thus far the 1199 leadership has done absolutely nothing to mobilize the ranks of the union. Now the workers themselves must insist on action against the job cuts and all other attacks.

A large number of union delegates from the Einstein College of Medicine, Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center and other hospitals throughout the city have expressed support for a mass demonstration against the job freeze, all lay-off threats and for decent health care for all.

1199 must appeal for labor support on such a demonstration. The response to such a call among other unions and workers and youth in the community would be tremendous. Rank and file 1199 members are fighting to bring this proposal before the next union chapter and citywide delegates' meetings and to fight for its adoption.

# CLASS STRUGGLES IN AFRICA



by N. MAKANDA

These articles appearing for the next two issues are based on interviews with members of the Ethiopian Student's Union of Europe (ESUA), the Ethiopian Students' Association in Britain and with Ethiopian students who left Addis Ababa in January 1970 after recent struggles there.

**ON DECEMBER 28, 1969, Telahun Gizaw, president of the National Union of Ethiopian Students (NUES) was assassinated in Addis Ababa.**

To date there has been no proper account in Britain of the assassination or the events that surrounded it.

All information on the slaying has been carefully stifled by the Ethiopian government's propaganda machine and its overseas agencies.

On the day of the murder, students had held a meeting and declared 1970 a 'year of propaganda'. After this Gizaw and his two younger brothers left the university building by the rear gate.

Seconds later Telahun lay mortally wounded—shot by an anonymous gunman who sped away in an unidentified, unmarked car.

The students took their leader to the nearest hospital. There he was neglected and allowed to die the same day. An autopsy was demanded but refused.

The students had no doubt that the killer was a police agent, since the police themselves made no serious attempt to chase the car and capture the murderer.

Telahun's body was taken back to the Old Palace university campus where students mounted an unarmed guard and prepared with the dead student's parents for a public burial.

## CRISIS IN ETHIOPIA

On December 29, 6,000 university and high school students gathered for the funeral which became, for the students and in the eyes of the regime, a political demonstration against police assassination of a union leader.

Gauging the students' feelings, the government first sent in the Imperial Bodyguard, leaving the police outside the grounds.

### Trick

This deployment was a deliberate trick of the Haile Selassie regime, for it was the Bodyguard which led the coup against the Emperor in December 1960 with the students' aid.

During the few days of the unsuccessful rising in Addis Ababa, the students broadcast a programme of agrarian and political reforms and organized massive street support for the revolt, distributed leaflets and attempted to 'spread the revolution'.

Eventually they were overcome and persecuted when the Emperor's army, backed by the Coptic Church, ended the military coup and returned the monarchy to the throne.

Nine years later, the Emperor and his advisers played heavily on any lingering sentiment among sections of the students, and succeeded.

After negotiations the students allowed the Bodyguard to enter the campus—a decision also inspired by their determination to avoid an open clash with the army or police when they had yet to forge closer links with a peasantry confused by the Emperor's image and promises.

The Bodyguard and students agreed that the funeral procession leave the campus peacefully, bearing Telahun's body.

In view of the subsequent government propaganda—in the 'Ethiopian Herald', for example—this agreement is important.

The government was later to justify what happened on December 29 by claiming that the students had refused to hand over the body to the parents for burial.

This false claim is belied not only by the agreement mentioned, but also by the fact that the Bodyguard offered the students a special car for the funeral itself.

### Snatch

The students paid dearly for their naivety. No sooner had they begun to form up for the funeral procession than a squad of the Bodyguard tried to snatch Telahun's body. In the struggle the Bodyguard took up military positions and began to fire with machine guns.

This was the signal for a police invasion of the campus while the Bodyguard received immediate reinforcements. Both forces then deliberately unleashed a planned battle against the students.

Machine guns, rifles and batons were freely used as they repeatedly stormed the students, breaking them up into scattered groups, gunning and beating them down as they resisted and fled from the rain of bullets.

The peaceful, unarmed funeral procession was broken up and soaked in blood. Students estimate the number killed ran into 'tens'. Those not massacred were driven at gunpoint off the campus. The same day the university was closed by decree and, two days later, the Minister of Education closed the secondary schools.

Up to the time of this report neither university nor schools have been re-opened.

A demand by university staff for a re-opening, withdrawal of police and a trial of the December 29 killers has been ignored by the government.

### US backing

The NUES is essentially



A nomad in Ethiopia. Of the 25 million population, 95 per cent are illiterate. The average income is £15 a year.

part of the world-wide union (ALEMAKEF) whose overseas sections recently organized demonstrations at the Ethiopian embassies in Paris, Wash-

ington, Moscow and elsewhere.

In Paris, on January 6, 1970, Ethiopian students succeeded in actually occupying their

embassy. Official documents were seized and the French police used considerable force to evict the students; three were arrested and charged. The European demonstrations were paralleled by similar actions in the United States.

These students considered the US as the main imperialist backer of Haile Selassie.

In summer 1969 they had demonstrated at the Washington embassy against Haile Selassie's visit to see Nixon. On this occasion the students were attacked by the police, 25 were arrested and six detained under petty charges designed to intimidate Ethiopian and other African students in the US.

Demonstrations were organized not only in the imperialist states, but also in the Soviet Union, where a large number of Ethiopians are studying under USSR scholarships.

During the Moscow demonstration, the Ethiopian students occupied the embassy and were removed by police and taken back to their various universities. This January occupation of the embassy was preceded in the summer of 1969 by a demonstration directed against the US embassy. This expressed the solidarity with the students arrested in the United States during Selassie's trip.

## Repressed

The summer demonstration against US imperialism and its savage treatment of students in the US was, like similar demonstrations in Paris and Stockholm, repressed by the police.

The Kremlin police, for the sake of the 36-year-old Stalin doctrine of 'peaceful co-existence', used violence against anti-US demonstrators demanding the release of their fellow-students in Washington. Some demonstrators were arrested in Moscow and detained for a while.

These Russian betrayals were not the first. When Selassie toured the USSR a few years ago, the bureaucracy remained a staunch supporter of the Emperor as part of its betrayal against semi-colonialism, which also flowed logically from its policy of 'peaceful co-existence' with imperialism—the real masters of Haile Selassie's feudal class.

The bureaucracy gave the students special holidays in order that they participate in the 'festivities' surrounding the Emperor's visit. Ethiopian students were asked to welcome the 'enlightened Emperor'.

But this was not the time of the Italian fascist invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, when Stalin sold fuel to Mussolini for his invading ships, planes and tanks.

This was a different time—only a few years after the Emperor, backed by the imperialists, had brutally crushed the anti-imperialist coup led by Mengistu and Girmami Neway in December 1960.

## Rejected

Knowing their own country's history, the Ethiopian students rejected the Soviet bureaucracy's invitations.

They did this not because they were in any sense anti-USSR, which many of them saw as the product of the Russian Revolution and as a workers' state, but because they thought that Russia should have a government which supported them and not their feudal enemies.



Haile Selassie with Nkrumah at the OAU founding conference.

Their boycott was heavily criticized after the tour. But they had not forgotten the lessons of this boycott when they demonstrated against Nixon in 1969 and against Haile Selassie in January this year.

And the behaviour of the Kremlin police confirmed that the bureaucracy also had not forgotten the past.

But action against Ethiopian students, both at the US and Ethiopian embassies in Moscow, has not, according to accounts given to this correspondent, made the Ethiopian students anti-Soviet, only more critical of the Kremlin bureaucracy battenning on the USSR.

So there was a three-tier alliance in action against ALEMAKEF members, a three-fold abuse of the students after the cold-blooded gunning down of their Ethiopian Union president.

Against this triple alliance of a semi-colonial feudal regime, its imperialist masters and the bureaucratic betrayers of the Russian Revolution, the students seem to have stood out alone, without local or international allies.

But this is an appearance, not the whole reality, at any rate as far as Ethiopia is concerned.

For there have been many indications that the students do not stand or fight alone and that they did not wish to stand or struggle alone.

The vast majority of them do not come from any feudal or bourgeois class, but from poor workers' and peasants' families. This social fact found increasing expression in a struggle for policy and programme to link their student movement to the struggles of the workers and peasants to form their own alliance.

In reality of course this alliance could only be one of two and not three classes since the students do not come from a separate class or from the bourgeois class, except for a politically dangerous minority which could provide the base for a Popular Front and not a United Front.

Just as the overwhelming majority of students in Europe, Britain and the USA do not usually know the difference between the United Front (of non-collaboration with capitalist parties) and the Popular Front (of collaboration with capitalist parties), so too in Africa there is student confusion on this vital question.

## Confusion

This confusion arises not only from the bourgeois-nationalist influence upon, and partial composition of, the 'upper layers' of the students, but also from the plain fact that, from time to time, there has to be critical, independent support for, and even joint action with the semi-colonial bourgeoisie by working-class parties.

The extreme case of such joint action is war. When the national bourgeoisie 'leads'

(usually betrays) the military front against an imperialist invasion—as with the Japanese invasion of China in the 1930s, the Zionist attack on Egypt in 1948 and the British-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt in 1956—then the revolutionary must give critical, politically independent support to the semi-colonial bourgeoisie, which, incapable as it is of fighting imperialism, can be overthrown in order to win the war against imperialism.

The same criteria apply in the case of the pre-independence, anti-imperialist struggle, before and after independence, under certain conditions, apart from war itself (e.g. CIA and other plots and coups, refusal to remove bases, anti-nationalization sabotage, etc.).

## Combat

None of these conditions apply under any circumstances to any imperialist country whatsoever.

The situation is thus in and difficult, politically, for evitably far more complicated students in semi-colonies than for students in imperialist countries.

Despite this, many in the Ethiopian Students' Union in Ethiopia and abroad have tried to combat the bourgeois coup tendency and to learn the lessons of the earlier failures of the anti-feudal struggle in Ethiopia.

For they know, well enough, that there was a time (1935-1941) when the Emperor himself had to be supported against Italian imperialism, and condemned at the same time for his betrayals of the anti-fascist resistance in Ethiopia (e.g. by abandoning his armies after the first defeats).

The students took part in the 1960 coup, led by officers of the Guard which in December 1969 shot them down—a bitter and bloody political lesson.

And at present the most far-thinking members are seriously studying their immediate and future tasks against the background of their own experiences and knowledge.

For this reason alone, they constitute one of the most important groups in the anti-imperialist movement of Africa today.

**MANY OF THE illegal pamphlets and articles circulating among Ethiopian students at home and abroad have compared 'education' and other social conditions in the country to those existing in South Africa and Rhodesia.**



**They are also devoted to the day-to-day conditions of the peasants and workers of Ethiopia and cover aspects of economic and political life in the semi-colony.**

The political behaviour of the Ethiopian students' union is supported by the union's members in Europe and the United States.

These constitute the worldwide Ethiopian students' union, ALEMAKEF, which issues pamphlets and journals of the students abroad and co-ordinates their struggles.

The union in Ethiopia itself has widened its membership and caters for some 6,000 university and some 20,000 high-school students.

In Europe, the USA and the USSR it recruits from among some 2,000 Ethiopian students.

The national union has two magazines, one in Amharic, the other in English with common contents, 'Struggles' ('Tegil' in Amharic).

The magazine has had to be circulated clandestinely at times, although it is 'legal'.

Abroad, the European union publishes 'Tegilatchin' in Amharic, a monthly review and a biennial magazine of theoretical studies, called 'Tatek' ('Arm Yourself': the term 'arm' meaning both political and military arming).

In North America, the union has two publications, an English one 'Challenge', and an Amharic one 'Fano' ('Guerilla Patriots' being a near translation).

These six publications circulate throughout the world-

wide union and especially in Ethiopia itself where their distribution and entry frequently baffles the police.

Almost daily, illegal pamphlets and leaflets are distributed in the streets, offices, bars and factories.

A very recent issue caused consternation in the Ministry of Defence itself where a bundle of leaflets were found in a lift—from which they were rapidly distributed.

No one knows where these clandestine leaflets are printed, or who distributes them. Wide layers of the population participate in the process of handing them out and protecting the original distributors.

The secret police has often produced its own 'students' leaflets' in attempts to confuse and discredit the students, who have replied by denouncing these fakes. And the population has learned to distinguish between the genuine and fake illegal leaflets.

## Solidarity

THERE is a solidarity between the students and extensive layers of urban workers and of the 'employees' (office workers), especially in the vast civil-service machine in Addis Ababa and the provinces.

Taxis have carried students fleeing from the police or going into hiding free of charge and some colonels in the army were jailed in 1969, during the height of the student struggles, for allegedly having a 'soft attitude' towards the students.

In the students' movement itself are young relatives of some of the highest-placed people in the state machine.

**Haile Selassie (right) with his Imperial Bodyguard, allies of the students in the abortive coup of 1960 and used treacherously against them in the recent demonstrations.**



Poor peasants in Ethiopia: the majority of students come from such origins and fight continually to link their movement with the struggles of the peasants and workers.

When the government expelled provincial students from the capital's university dormitories in an attempt to break the student struggle, the regime thought that it had ended the revolt.

In fact there was a well-organized system of gathering money from government offices and these students were able to live with sympathetic families in Addis Ababa and were not forced back to the provinces.

Women students, like those from the Itegi Menon school, have shouldered the main weight of pamphlet distribution and money collecting. Since they challenged the traditional feudal attitude to women, many were driven from their homes by their own families; but they continued their struggle as the first major step towards emancipation.

This unusually broad students' movement has its roots in the educational policy of the Imperial government. The Emperor, one of the feudal lords to fully understand the interests of his class, began educational reforms long before the Italian invasion.

At first he limited reform to the sons of the 'Balabats' (lords) in his ministry, and one such school, Medhane Alem, in the Gulilee district of Addis Ababa, was actually called Balabat school (the Italians converted it into a military hospital for their troops).

The education attempt proved a failure.

This stemmed from the way

of life of the feudal lords themselves. It is generally considered in Ethiopia that the Ras (big lord) is a stupid person and that the feudal and also 'bourgeois' groups are 'stupid' even in their manner of defending their own classes.

Even their children are regarded as failures at the school to which they were sent to dam the flow of sons of workers and peasants into the Ministries.

### 'Reforms'

So none of the 13 children of the leading lord next to Haile Selassie, Ras Mesfin, reached university and the exploits of Ras Kassa to arrange Cambridge 'degrees' for his sons, when they failed to graduate, became a standing jibe against the aristocracy.

His first reform having failed, the Emperor tried to canalize the profound mass demand for free education to his own interest. A limited number of 'free' schools were built after the liberation of the country from Italy and, later, the British occupation.

Special stipends were given to encourage students. Clothes were provided at the time, presents by the Emperor were distributed during feast-times, prizes were awarded and education was declared 'free'.

At the same time the facilities made available restricted this 'free education' to a minute proportion of the population, one which, however, was not, for reasons we have seen, comprised of the upper

layers of the population.

The purpose of this limited 'free education' was to rapidly provide cadres for the feudal government's expanding Ministries.

Education for the poor, on the other hand, became a means, the only means in a stratified society, of 'changing one's class', and a new 'aristocracy' was formed in this way after the war.

This policy came to an abrupt end with the December 1960 coup which, although abortive and crushed, changed the entire 'atmosphere' of Ethiopia and aroused and evoked a political consciousness which had not openly, except in a sporadic way, existed or manifested itself before.

The new 'aristocracy', together with the old, then began to stem the popular demand for free universal education. They barricaded themselves by restoring and raising school fees, by introducing new fees for registration and examinations which 99 per cent of the population, as figures will show, could not possibly afford and, ultimately by closing down all schools in 1969.

But their action has come too late—as the history of the student movement itself reveals.

The significance of the students' movement lies not only in the social origin and connections of the student majority, but also in the educational starvation of Ethiopia by feudalism and by imperialism.

## Feudal

THE FEUDAL and semi-colonial nature of Ethiopia is reflected in the fact that in 1969 the average national income was about £15 a year. This is one of the lowest in the world, though typical of British, French, Belgian and Portuguese Africa.

Against this, increased fees and other educational starvation must be viewed.

The school registration fee which a worker and peasant must pay for each child is about £1 10s—or 10 per cent of their annual income!

Then there are 8th- and 12th-grade examination fees, plus uniform fees which reduced tens of thousands of Ethiopians to starvation level when it was ordered that 'well-dressed' children should be seen on a Royal Tour by the British monarch.

In many schools parents must pay electricity and water bills and often new schools are built with unpaid, voluntary labour in vain attempts to force the authorities to provide education.

After the 1960 coup, stipends were practically abolished. The 20-dollar stipend was cut to 15 dollars, then to 10 dollars and finally to nothing for primary and secondary school students, making it impossible for the toilers to educate their children.

Only the university remained free. In 1959 school boarding was also abolished, driving students back into the villages, and boarding was abolished at the university in 1962 as a reprisal against student political activity.

University boarding, politically important for the students, was denied to Addis Ababa students and was restricted to provincial students who were crowded four or five in a room made for one or two.

Every student demonstration brought more provincial expulsions in attempts to break the struggles.

Physical starvation of workers is therefore accompanied by education starvation.

Of the 25 million population, some 95 per cent are illiterate—no worse than any British or West European colony in Africa.

The feudal and semi-colonial nature of Ethiopia is also reflected by the average age of death—30 years—less than half that of Italy, the US and Britain, the three main super-exploiters of Ethiopia.

## Plunder

As a result, the majority of the population is under the age of 20 and no fewer than 10 million are children of school-going age. So the tasks of education are at least twice as great as any imperialist country of equal population.

But the plunder of the country has meant that its value-creating resources are a half of those of an imperialist country. The educational problem is thus four times greater than in a capitalist 'democracy'.

The contradiction created by this situation is revealed in this statistic: of the ten million children, only 186,200 were in schools at the last count (August 1969).

Thus only 1.86 per cent of Ethiopian children are receiving an 'education' and of

the potential school population over 15, less than 0.3 per cent receive education.

There are only 20,000 secondary school students and the Ethiopian university in Addis Ababa, Harar, Asmara and Gondar have enrolments of a mere 6,000; this in a country with half the population of Britain.

In addition, there is a racial scale of salaries for teachers—imposed by British 'advisers' after the Italian collapse in Ethiopia.

This gives the lowest salary to Ethiopian teachers, who batten on the poverty of Ethiopia through organizations like the British Council and the American Peace Corps.

Similar scales run also through the Ministries, dominated by United Nations 'experts' and 'advisers'.

Finally there is the inevitable indoctrination of the students by these 'Western-minded' teachers.

## Machine

THE EDUCATIONAL structure is the machine through which the Ethiopian student has to pass as he grows up. His experience in the actual education process, preceded and surrounded by the whole of the process of living as a poor Ethiopian play an important part in his political education.

This experience, multiplied, compounded by persecution, built up the student body politic.

The modern student movement dates from the abortive anti-feudal coup of December 1960. After being addressed by the Bodyguard officers the students voted to support the coup and they were the first group to know of the coup.

During the few days in which the American-backed movement conspired to return the Emperor, the students of Addis Ababa university college worked intensely, preparing political material, speeches and poems; organizing broadcasts and street processions.

## Terrorized

A few were killed by the army which brought down the Bodyguard—a fact denied by the government—and many were arrested and terrorized.

The triumphant Emperor, blessed by the Coptic Church Patriarch, tried to humble the students by forcing them to ask for official pardon. This tactic repeatedly confused the more remote peasantry with illusions about the grandeur and generosity of the Lion of Judah; it was a device to keep the students apart from the workers and peasants—a factor that the students themselves had repeatedly to take into account in mapping their own strategy.

The students were restricted to organizing an annual 'college day'—a festival of poems and declarations to which they invited the whole population. Thousands came to these events to listen to poems and oratory against the regime and its foreign supporters.

The Students' Association president and the authors of the poems were regularly expelled from the university each year, but these demonstrations continued to 1964.

During the 1960-1964 period the students used methods of petitioning the Emperor for pardon and for reforms. But



Beggars and cripples in Addis Ababa were removed from the city streets and forced into concentration camps during the Queen's visit in 1966.

in 1964, for the first time, they did not go to the Palace. Instead they went to the parliament to demonstrate its sham character and inefficiency—it is a mere rubber stamp of the Emperor.

1964 marked the beginning of a new mood.

A brochure of the Ethiopian students, called 'Some Facts on Ethiopia—The struggle of the Ethiopian People', August 1969, denounces the constitution as a mockery.

'No political parties are allowed. Members of the upper house are personally appointed by the Emperor who is free to overrule any decisions of the lower house. The Emperor's decisions and legislation on all matters are binding and are not subject to review by the parliament.' (p. 7.)

It was with this attitude that the students began to adopt a wider, democratic programme for Ethiopia in 1964.

By the end of that year, inspired by peasants' and workers' struggles, the students launched a campaign: 'The Land to the Tillers'.

The students utilized a Ministry of Education instruction that all graduates should serve as teachers in the provinces for a period to propaganda. When the government withdrew this instruction, the students offered to do this 'teaching work' voluntarily and many did so, against Ministry warnings.

This was one economy measure the near-bankrupt government did not want!

THERE WERE illegal trade unions growing up in Addis Ababa in the small industries permitted by imperialism and feudalism. Students joined the frequent strikers' and unemployed processions in the streets and identified themselves with the struggles of their parents against the school fees and lack of places for pupils.

In 1966 they caused a political storm in Addis Ababa during the British Queen's visit.

Part of the preparation for the Royal visit was the removal from the city centres of beggars, invalids, cripples, lepers and other victims of the Italian occupation, the British military regime and of feudalism.

These people were forcibly taken into concentration camps. The students entered the camps illegally, took photographs, developed and enlarged these themselves and demonstrated against the camps in Addis Ababa on the eve of the Queen's visit.

When the Ministry of Education tried to force parents to buy special uniforms costing a year's income, the students protested. They knew that they and their families would perish as a result of such expenditure.

The students, together with parents, boycotted the festivals for the Queen, denouncing them as 'unnecessary luxury' which had brought special and heavy taxes on the peasants to pay for the visit. The police imprisoned hundreds of students in an attempt to crush the boycott.

MANY semi-colonies, Ethiopia included, have a state which is not only subservient to, but also 'merged with' foreign monopoly capital.

Such states have all the qualities of a fascist state, for fascism is the merging of monopoly capital with the state and all the dictatorial consequences.

The dictatorship in Ethiopia

rests on the feudal nature of its society, but this, with the crushing influence of imperialism, has resulted in an internal 'legal' regime that approximates closely to fascism.

Many laws strike heavily against all sections of the people, including the students.

Every university academic year since 1964 has been interrupted for a certain period, since 1967 secondary schools, and in 1969 all schools, including primary schools, were closed for long periods.

These closures were sometimes due to strikes of students, at other times to government action. The students' strikes were paralleled by those of workers, both often accompanied by street processions. The government retaliated by a 1967 law which prohibited all gatherings of more than five people. Even religious feasts were prohibited.

In March 1969 the government decreed that a person could be imprisoned without charge for three months, a term that could be renewed.

Student pamphlets and magazines condemned this law, comparing it with the 90-day's detention law of the Verwoerd-Vorster regime.

THE ANALOGY with South Africa is a common factor in student propaganda. Addis Ababa is the centre for pan-African movements like the Organization for African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations in Africa.

The students and workers have always attempted to dispel any of the kudos the regime draws from its special position and expose its formal opposition to apartheid.

The sham has been denounced as a cover-up of Ethiopia's own racial discrimination operated in foreign companies. This may sound strange to people who do not know that most semi-colonies operate various forms of colour discrimination. But for people who live there it is a daily experience, even though the apologists hide the fact by arguing it is 'not really a colour bar, but a class bar'.

Those who are perhaps most subject to colour discrimination in Ethiopia are the 20,000 wage slaves of a Dutch sugar plantation and refining company at Wonji, near Addis Ababa.

This company together with interests of the Imperial family, has a long lease on the plantation land and has integrated all the stages of sugar production from growing the cane to refining the end product.

The company paid its Dutch workers at about 30 times the rate of native labour and they enjoyed the strictly segregated amenities of swimming pools, luxury living accommodation, restaurants, etc.

In 1967 the workers struck and were supported by students, who have always spotlighted Wonji as a blatant example of apartheid in their own land. The strike failed, but in 1969 the Wonji workers rose again and occupied the plantation and factories in one of the most massive strikes in recent African history. Once again the students backed them.

THE STUDENT movement reached its highest point in 1969, coinciding with the great workers' struggles at Wonji and elsewhere. At the same time the peasant struggle for land and against feudalism became more widespread, sharpened by the rapid rise of taxation to

subsidize the corrupt and near-bankrupt government machine.

The student magazine 'Some Facts on Ethiopia' says:

'The last eight years have been a period of extensive armed peasant struggles, initiated in Eritrea and Balle.' (p. 19.)

These were preceded by peasant uprisings in Wollo in 1958, 'which was met with the eradication of a whole chain of villages from the map of Ethiopia'. (p. 18.)

In April 1960, peasants in the south protested against Emperor's daughter and some of her children. ('Africa Today', May 1961.)

As a result more than a thousand peasants were massacred when the army crushed their revolt. This was followed by the December 1960 coup, which was put down with the



Throughout its history Ethiopia has been a target for imperialist plunder. Above; the evacuation of Addis Ababa during the 1936 Italian invasion.

use of American pilots, all the coup leaders being hung in public.

As new taxes were levied on land, peasant uprisings spread from Balle, Eritrea and Borena to Gojjam, Arussi and Harar.

Army divisions were launched into Gojjam and elsewhere and peasants were bombed by the air force, using methods introduced into Ethiopia by the Italian fascists. The students say:

'In many areas, whole villages have been wiped out, and their inhabitants brutally murdered.' (ibid, p. 21.)

It was against the background of the peasant revolts that the students came out with their campaign of 'The land to the Tillers' from 1964 onwards, though some students had put this basic agrarian programme forward on the radio during the short-lived 1960 coup.

The raising of taxes was part of a general drive against the peasants.

In 1969 the new law was enforced that parents should pay 10 Ethiopian dollars for school fees, excluding compulsory fees for uniforms and exam registration.

A widespread student strike followed this decree. For the last five months of the 1969 academic year the university was closed and 80 per cent of the students did not sit for their finals. The university protest spread to the secondary schools, primary schools and to the parents, who encouraged their children to strike. In 1969 all primary schools were closed.

During the student struggle one student was killed in Debre Berhan and one was thrown from an army truck and died in the street.

A total of 500 students were

imprisoned and some were sentenced to seven years.

Among those persecuted were top students from the 'upper class' itself, including a relation of the Army General Kabebe. In its final reprisal, the government closed the university.

The students estimate that at present the prisons contain over 25,000 prisoners, the majority there for political 'crimes'. Some of the labour leaders were 'arbitrarily dismissed or physically eliminated'.

Over 2,000 students and young workers have been imprisoned in labour camps near Addis Ababa and many others rot in provincial and district prisons.

Hundreds were expelled from school and arrested under the new detention law. Four students and one teacher, in one instance alone, were condemned to five years' jail with

immediate ousting of the 500-odd Peace Corps 'teachers' and their replacement by teachers who were not 'cultural colonizers'.

There was also criticism of the type of teacher contracted with India, in terms of an old British-made plan which aimed at using one group of indoctrinated semi-colonials 'to indoctrinate another group at a racially-differentiated salary-rate.

6. The punishment of those responsible at the time for the assassination of students, including Shieferaw Kabebe in Debre Berhan.

The students declared that until these six points were conceded there would be no return to the university and no further negotiations with the government.

'From now on, we shall not be guided as children. We have decided as responsible adults,' the declaration added. 'The blood of the patriotic ancestors flowed in their veins too and the time to prove this has now arrived.'

It ended: 'Until the rights of the Ethiopian peasants and workers, which have been usurped by a few hyenas, are respected, we shall not move a single line from our position.'

It was signed: 'Vanguard of Ethiopian Students' Union'. The original was in Amharic. THERE WAS to be no examinations at the end of 1969. In September, the Emperor 'pardoned' all students in prison or suspended from school for their part in the student demonstrations of last March and April and he 'promised to amend laws and regulations when it is found necessary to do so'. ('Ethiopian Herald'.)

Despite the cunning wording of the Imperial 'pardon', it was generally regarded as a victory for the students. Special supplementary examinations were arranged for those 'pardoned'.

The students noted publicly that of 12,000 secondary school students who had sat a university entrance examination at the end of the 1968 academic year, only 2,000, according to a government statement in March that year, would get places. The situation had not altered now, they said.

After the Imperial announcement, the students re-entered the university and the secondary schools re-opened in October.

The students declared that, given the existing political evolution of the population, (implying illusions sown by the Emperor's 'pardon'), the year 1970 would be a Propaganda Year of political education and propaganda.

The government, terrified at the idea of a Propaganda Year, searched in many ways to undermine this campaign by closing the university on any pretext. The students gave them no chance of finding one.

The day when their president Telahun Gizaw was assassinated was, in fact, a day of political theatre, as part of Propaganda Year.

Finding no other way to force the university to close, the agents of the feudal regime gunned down the president in cold blood, broke up the ensuing funeral procession, massacred the students 'in tens' and invented non-existent faction-fighting among the students as the official pretext for closing down the university and the secondary schools.

hard labour for 'defamation and endangering of national security'. Some of those jailed were beaten to death, some 'tied to cars and dragged over pebble roads', others 'kept in ice or stagnant water for days on end, and others were subjected to electric-shock treatment.

'In the face of such persecution,' say the students, 'the present uprising continues.' (ibid. p. 24.)

IN APRIL 1969 the Ethiopian students put forward a six-point programme, supported by their comrades abroad.

These points were specific and arise out of the situation at the moment. They are:

1. The sacking of the Minister of Education.
2. The revision of the unjust way of allocating study grants.
3. The abolition of examination fees and registration fees, and the raising of the expenditure on education to a normal proportion of the budget. (Education, like health, which accounted for 3 per cent of the budget, was to have received a mere 1.8 per cent of the funds for the 1963-1967 plan. The budget provided for 30 per cent for defence and 22.5 per cent for the police, i.e. over 50 per cent for 'security'.)
4. The cutting of expenses of embassies, luxury travel, banquets, entertainment of foreign guests and the slicing of Ministers' salaries.
5. The removal of the American Peace Corps, which was condemned as an agency of 'cultural imperialism'. The students wanted the



# MPI Forms Alliance With Stalinists

BY JUAN FARINAS

On January 22 a conference took place in San Juan, Puerto Rico, between the Movement for Independence (MPI), the Communist Party of Puerto Rico and the Communist Party, U.S.A.

These organizations were represented by their respective leaders, Juan Mari Bras, Felix Ojeda and Gus Hall. As a result of this conference a joint statement was issued by the three organizations.

The reason why the MPI, which is a nationalist organization, can have a joint conference and issue a joint statement with the Stalinist Communist Parties is that, despite all its recent talk of "socialism" and turning the MPI into a "Leninist revolutionary vanguard," it has never fundamentally broken from its nationalist and middle class past.

It sees the struggle in Puerto Rico as a "patriotic" one whose aim is the establishment of an independent republic of Puerto Rico which, through some unknown process will eventually move toward socialism.

The nationalism of the MPI fits right into the policy of the Stalinists, who have for ages pushed precisely this kind of perspective in the colonial countries. This perspective of a "two-stage revolution" (first the fight for independence, later the fight for socialism) in the colonial countries has brought defeat after defeat to the international working class. The struggle of the working class for power, for socialism is relegated to some time in the future. This perspective is particularly treacherous and dangerous now, when the deepening crisis of capitalism and the movement forward of the working class poses sharper than ever the essential alternative before humanity: barbarism or socialism.

## STATEMENT

The joint statement issued by the conference, which was headlined "Parties Act to End Imperialism" in the February 13th issue of the *Daily World*, organ of the U.S. Communist Party, establishes five main areas of "concrete forms and actions": the elimination of U.S. military forces from Puerto Rico, particularly from the island of Culebra; the struggle to free Angela Davis; to "expose the hypocrisy of U.S. imperialism in now proclaiming that Puerto Rico is not included in the Tlatelulco Treaty for a Nuclear Free Zone in Latin America"; to defend and support those arrested or indicted for their stand against the U.S. military draft. Finally, the parties plan to seek ways to promote

"unity and a fighting, militant, fraternal relationship between the working class and trade union organizations of our two nations."

What is avoided throughout the whole declaration, despite its headline, is precisely the question of how imperialism can be ended, that is, the question of the independent mobilization of the working class on the basis of its own program for power. Without this, all the MPI's and the Stalinists' talk of "anti-imperialism" and "internationalism" is shown to be nothing more than nationalism and reformism. This is a clear and conscious expression of Stalinism's counter-revolutionary policies.

This is expressed with particular sharpness by the policies put forward by the CPs and the MPI in relation to the questions on which they agreed to have "concrete actions." The U.S. Navy has been using the island of Culebra, a small island off the shores of Puerto Rico, as a target for its naval maneuvers and shooting practices. This has provoked a reaction from the overwhelming majority of the Puerto Rican population against the Navy and the U.S. But the MPI and the other nationalist forces in Puerto Rico such as the bourgeois electoralist party, the PIP, have consistently refused to fight to mobilize the working class and the trade union movement against these actions of U.S. imperialism. Instead they have sought to divert this movement of the youth into protest politics.

These protests have taken a character which, if it were not for the seriousness of the situation, one would have to characterize as carnivalesque. What the PIP and the MPI have been trying to do is to "disrupt" the maneuvers of the U.S. Navy by setting up camps, chapels, and incursions into the zone of firing. The latest of these "actions" was the incursion of two small motor boats manned by none other than Juan Mari Bras himself and other MPI leaders and members into the waters within the firing zone.

Needless to say these "actions" have only served the purpose of victimizing those militants who have taken part in them and in no way have posed any threat to the presence of the Navy in Culebra and much less to the continuation of imperialist oppression in Puerto Rico.

These actions on the part of the leadership of the MPI go hand in glove with the policies of the Communist Party here in the United States in relation to the struggle against the imperialist war in Vietnam. Here the Stalinists seek to channel the tremendous militancy among the youth and growing sections of the working class into protest politics to force a deal with imperialism which will only perpetuate imperialist oppression in Southeast Asia. That is the meaning of the People's Peace Treaty which the Stalinists are pushing around the world.

But this is not all. All the reformism and outright betrayal of Leninism comes out on the question of the defense of Angela Davis and other victims of repression. The joint statement says the following in relation to Angela Davis:

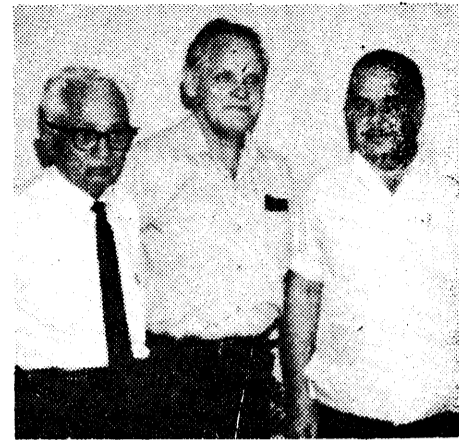
"We see this as a struggle to save the life of a beautiful human being and symbolic of the struggle against racism and all other forms of imperialist ideology. We see it symbolic of the need for unity of all victims of imperialist oppression."

In other words, the Communist Party sees the attack on one of its own members as an attack on beauty and humanity and not as a CLASS attack on the part of the capitalist class against the working class. Therefore the struggle is to save "the life of a beautiful human being" and not to independently mobilize the working class against repression. That is why the Communist Party, in its defense of Angela Davis, can unite with liberals, reform Democrats and reverends and ministers who hate and despise the working class. This flows directly from the Stalinist conception of the Popular Front, that is, that there are "good" capitalists and "bad" capitalists, that the fight now is not to bring the working class to power but to defeat the "ultra-rights" by blocking with the liberal bourgeoisie.

## REFUSE

That is why when a Trotskyist is attacked by the government for his fight against the war in Vietnam, and a class defense is organized, a defense which is rooted in the movement of the working class and which seeks at every moment to bring forward this very movement in the defense of militants, both the MPI and the Communist Party refuse to sponsor or participate in any way in his defense.

This position which the leadership of the MPI and the Communist Party have adopted in relation to my own case places them objectively on the other side of the bar-



Felix Ojeda, Gus Hall and Juan Mari Bras.

ricades, with Nixon and Agnew. It reveals that their talk of "unity of all victims of imperialist oppression" and the "need to render assistance and mass support to the hundreds who have been arrested or indicted because of their courageous stand against the U.S. military draft" is phoney through and through.

This conference and the turn of the MPI's leadership toward the Communist Party must serve as a very sharp warning to those militants both inside and outside the MPI who have taken the leadership's recent demagogic remarks about "socialism" and turning the MPI into a "Leninist revolutionary vanguard" at face value.

What this turn on the part of the leadership reflects is the deep crisis of all nationalist and petty-bourgeois organizations as the crisis of capitalism deepens and the working class moves forward with greater and greater strength. What we have in this case is an attempt to brake and hold back the youth in the MPI on the questions of socialism and Leninism by trying to cover up the MPI's middle class program and perspective with references to "socialism" and the working class movement.

## PARTY

We say that there can be no talk of socialism and Leninism without confronting the central question in the workers movement—the question of Trotskyism vs. Stalinism. This question has been historically and is right now the question of REVOLUTION vs. COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

The question is not as the Stalinists pose it to build an alliance with nationalism subordinating the working class to a bloc of four classes, but the struggle to build a revolutionary party of the working class which sees the struggle for independence as the struggle for socialism in Puerto Rico.

# Bureaucracy Suppresses Bolshevik-Era Art

were produced during and after October. The great movements in art such as abstractionism, suprematism and constructivism were greatly encouraged by Lenin, Trotsky and Lunacharsky and other leaders of the Bolshevik Party. But the British Arts Council was informed that according to the Soviet Ministry of Culture, such works were "decadent."

## STALIN

In point of fact, this whole development of art came to a violent end with the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It was Stalin himself who put forward the term "socialist realism" for the arts, saying that the workers state had become "a socialist society" and required its own "proletarian art." Great artists and scientists were prevented from experimenting in new artistic and scientific forms. Everything that was not "appealing to the masses" was destroyed and artists and scientists sent to prison camps, tortured or compelled to produce only in the monolithic "socialist realist" style.

One of the artists whose works in London were censored by the Soviet Ministry of Culture designed a "Monument to the Third International" during 1919-1920. A reproduction of the monument was allowed to remain in the exhibition. Stalin formally dissolved the Third International after the bureaucracy had destroyed its leading thinkers, the Bolsheviks, and its leading artists, like Mayakovsky, Babel and Dziga-Vertov. Others were allowed to live but worked under the watchful eye of the bureaucracy.

Lissitsky, in particular, was the object of official Soviet censorship at the London exhibition. He was a leading architect, sculptor and typographer and designed for the Soviet theater. He constructed a whole room, completely furnished, called the "proun room" (meaning new art). He wanted the observer to come to grips with a new

sense of space. He and other constructivists were heavily influenced by the events of October and technological development. The "proun room" of Lissitsky's was completely shut down under orders from the Soviet embassy.

These developments come at a time of vicious suppression of artistic work in Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and

East Germany. The Soviet bureaucracy, fearful of the growing opposition of artists, intellectuals, youth and the working class seeks to clamp down on all opposition. So fearful is this bureaucracy of the past that it must suppress the great achievements culturally and politically which manifested themselves after the October Revolution.

# Czech Regime Brings 26 To Trial On Charges Of "Trotskyism"

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The Stalinist bureaucracy of Husak in Czechoslovakia has accused twenty-six young workers and students of "Trotskyism" and is attempting to bring them to trial. They have been in jail since December 1969.

On February 18, 1971, a former television commentator, Skutina, who was once congratulated by Svoboda for his coverage of the Soviet invasion was accused of "inciting to agitation, defamation of the President of the Republic and representatives of allied countries."

The basis for the charge was a manuscript stolen from his car in which he described the actions of the television networks the first days of the invasion. He was given two years in jail.

Now the situation is changing sharply. It is not enough for the bureaucracy to denounce the opposition as provocateurs or anti-Soviet or even counterrevolutionary. Trotskyism is and always has been the real threat. The Stalinists are proposing a return to the purges and confession trials of the 1930s.

The Stalinists thought they had finished with Trotskyism when they assassinated him in 1940. Since then the Fourth International has grown throughout the world and its ideas have been expressed in the struggles of workers in the capitalist countries as well as in Eastern Europe.

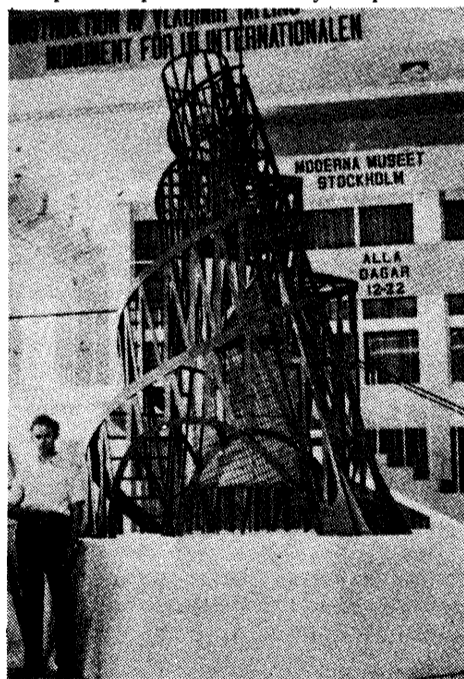
The upcoming trial exposes the real

plans of the bureaucracy. In Poland the concessions are only an attempt to quiet things down while repression is prepared behind the scenes.

The Stalinists have postponed the trials again and again. The twenty-six youth were to go on trial February 8 but it was put off until February 20. They did not want the opening of the trial to coincide with the Conference of the International Union of Students held in Bratislava from February 3-10. The organizers of this conference refused to allow the Trotskyist leaders of the French student union to attend. They cannot answer the Trotskyists openly but must slander and murder them.

The Stalinists have reason to be frightened. This is not 1936 or even 1952! This is a period when the working class is on the offensive all over the world. Every attempt to repress the struggles in Eastern Europe will only lead to bigger explosions especially at this stage of the events in Poland.

They have reason to be afraid because Trotskyism is emerging as mass parties to challenge the hold of the Stalinists.



Tatlin's Monument to Third International.

BY LOU BELKIN

Russian officials in London have demanded that English officials bar from public view several great works of art produced in the years immediately succeeding the October Revolution.

The British Arts Council was informed by the Tory government that one whole room of works by Lazar Lissitsky, major sculptor, and works by the great suprematist painter Malevitch, and by abstractionists, Vladimir Tatlin and Lyubov Popovy, should be sealed off and removed.

The Council had organized the exhibition "Art in Revolution" for the purpose of assembling theater designs, posters, films, sculpture, painting and architecture of the period 1917-1920. These works

# Auto, Aircraft Unemployment Soars

BY A UAW MEMBER

FREMONT—The bankruptcy of Rolls Royce and the layoff of 6,500 Lockheed engineers and skilled workers in Southern California continues to heighten the speculation that Lockheed will go up against the wall and declare bankruptcy adding tens of thousands to the welfare and unemployment rolls.

These two dramatic events were proceeded by numerous other shock waves although of a lesser magnitude but none the less reflecting this deepening economic crisis.

UAW members especially in Southern California seem to be carrying the brunt of Nixon's "fight inflation with unemployment" program. In the past year nine major units of Local 509 have been shut down. In addition, Federal Mogul, represented by UAW Local 109 in Redwood City, has been shut down, and Philco-Ford Local 1430 in Lawndale will close in March.

In one short year here is what happened. Ten UAW represented plants, mainly in the Los Angeles area closed their doors laying off a total of 3,545 workers. The total membership of Locals 230 Chrysler Corporation, 887 North American Rockwell, 148 McDonnell-Douglas Aircraft, 179 Bendix Electrodynamics, 506 Ryan Aeronautical Company, amounted to 48,054 in 1968. One year later that figure dropped to 40,268. And a year after that in 1970, membership in those five locals had dwindled to 27,126.

## WAR

In California this growing economic crisis is aggravated by a combination of Reagan's and Nixon's open declaration of war against the standard of living of the working class and means more unemployment. "Official figures" list unemployment at 7% and this is rapidly rising. Unemployment in San Francisco has reached 5.9%. San Jose with depressed aerospace and electronics industry now stands at 7.5%. Los Angeles County jobless figures are now at 7.3% and Orange County has climbed to 7.7%. But these figures don't tell the whole story!

Workers needing jobs who are no longer eligible for unemployment benefits are not counted; those working part-time but needing full-time jobs are not counted; those who no longer look for work are not counted.

Sixty percent of manufacturing unemployed in California come from the aerospace industry. In December 1967 there were 616,000 aerospace workers employed in this state. Today the figure has dipped to 466,000 and is still plummeting downward.

The picture has become so dismal that UAW Western Regional Director Paul Schrade has called for "nationalization" of this industry in the hopes that this

take-over by the capitalist state will stave off collapse.

So severe is unemployment at three UAW represented plants in Western Region 6 that negotiated unemployment benefit funds have been bankrupted. Local 179 members at Bendix in North Hollywood and Sylmar are no longer entitled to SUB payments, amounting to over 90% of take-home pay when they are laid off. They now received only continued hospital, surgical, medical insurance coverage. The same is true of the Supplemental Unemployment Benefit program at McDonnell-Douglas Local 148 in Long Beach.

Again, arrangements were made to continue hospital, surgical and medical insurance coverage but payments amounting to 90% of pay were ended; at North American Rockwell, represented by Local 887, the extended layoff benefit fund which had provided lump-sum layoff benefits of up to \$1,500.00 ran dry months ago.

Union bureaucrats have criminally defaulted in their responsibilities to these workers and now can only whine and whimper in a hypocritical manner.

Five years ago UAW Local 887's North American Rockwell membership was almost 30,000. Then, as the Apollo lunar project neared an end the figure was cut in half. When Nixon took office in 1968, Local 887 membership stood at about 16,000. Today there are fewer than 9,000. Local 887 is the power base and home local of Regional Director Paul Schrade who during the GM strike, called out Bay Area Mobile Tactical Police for "riot duty" in preventing the United Action Caucus from holding a strike support rally on union property and helped sell-out and betray UAW members in their contract fight.

Meanwhile 20,000 North American Rockwell workers have lost their jobs. Apollo is almost completed, and the corporation's space division in Downey has no other work to offer. The once gigantic Rocketdyne in the Valley has dwindled in size. It now employs only 600 workers, and there is no prospect for new rocket engine orders.

## MYTH

It is ironic that the arms economy and huge defense spending which helped to stabilize American capitalism for twenty years, now tends to become the most destabilized factor contributing to an inflationary crisis and squeeze on

profits which now threatens world-wide collapse of bankrupt capitalism.

The reformist myth that government intervention could indefinitely prevent a collapse is being completely exploded on every front. The union bureaucracy led by Paul Schrade can do little in the face of this crisis and mounting attack against the working class except hold closed door meetings in Sacramento and Washington. He pleads for government intervention to reopen these closed and depressed plants and help finance his reconversion scheme to build assembly line low-cost houses and mass transportation vehicles as a reformist solution to the deepening capitalist crisis.

Schrade has scheduled a UAW confe-

rence on the aerospace crisis on March 3-5 in Sacramento at which he and Woodcock will plead the plight of the unemployed. This will have little effect unless it is backed up by a massive march of the unemployed and all trade unionists on the state capital as well as on Washington, raising political demands such as the shorter work week with no loss of pay (30 for 40), and no layoffs.

We must raise these demands at all union meetings. The unions must pin the blame for the crisis on the capitalist system and demand that bankrupt and near bankrupt industries be nationalized without compensation, under workers' control.



## State Workers Plan Strikes As Reagan Says No '71 Raises

BY A CSEA MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Ronald Reagan, in his annual California budget message, denied to all state workers a raise in 1971. This includes state college and university faculty, who got no raise last year.

The hiring freeze and mass layoffs, both of which began months ago, were but a preparation for this direct blow by the state. Together with the criminal cuts in medical care and welfare, and the freeze on funds for the schools, this zero raise poses a most dangerous threat.

It has produced the beginnings of tremendous explosions of hatred for Reagan and his policies by all state employees.

Spontaneous petitions have sprung up in the San Francisco area. Professors have called for a demonstration in Sacramento. Even the CSEA General Manager, Loren Smith, has warned of "wildcat" strike actions if the wage policy is not changed and has been forced to call a rally and meeting in Sacramento on March 2.

Reagan has made it plain that there will be more and more layoffs. The most recent and most severe was the elimination of 43% of the Department of Architecture and Construction. This wholesale execution of jobs is now posed for the larger agencies with thousands of employees.

A defeat for state workers will be a green light for mass repetitions of Reagan's cuts and of the attacks following the San Rafael Independent-Journal strike in which scores of militant trade unionists have been jailed. For this reason it is imperative that CSEA begin a campaign to officially affiliate with the California AFL-CIO and bring this mass of workers into a sharp political confrontation with Reagan and the state.

This campaign must be taken up in the state colleges and universities. Reagan's budget axe is hacking away at both the jobs and wages of school employees and the quality of education for the youth. Faculty positions are being abolished while class sizes are increasing and whole departments are shutting down. Students have an important political role to play in this fight.

The Socialist Workers Party constantly seeks to divert students' energies away from this battle. At a time when the labor movement can challenge Reagan, the revisionists are holding meetings on the ecology violations of Standard Oil. This turn to middle class movements in a period of intense combativity between the government and workers is expressed most dangerously on the campuses. On the campuses the fight must be made to bring students into a class campaign against the Reagan budget.

The Committee for New Leadership of CSEA is leading the campaign within the state work force for a mass rally and a strike against Reagan's budget. This struggle raises immediately the necessity of building a labor party.

The CNL intends to make this political fight at the mass meeting of state workers in Sacramento on March 2. The CNL will build a contingent to go to the meeting with banners and slogans calling for a strike on July 1st around the following program:

- Average 13% raise
- No layoffs—end the hiring freeze
- State paid medical and dental plans
- Collective bargaining contract, right to strike

## Labor Council Sabotages AFSCME 1695 Strike

BY TOD ZWER

BERKELEY—A crucial strike by AFSCME Local 1695 (representing non-academic employees of the University of California at Berkeley) has been sabotaged by the Alameda County Central Labor Council.

Only hours before the strike deadline, Richard Groux, Executive Secretary of the Council, announced that he would not release strike sanction.

The University has announced that twenty-two of the dormitory maids who

the union has centered its demands around, are going to be laid off at the end of June.

AFSCME Local 1695 has been negotiating for several months with the University around the demands of equal pay for equal work (at present the maids and janitors in the dormitories are paid about \$100 a month less than custodians on campus), twelve month employment (dormitory workers are currently laid off during the summer), and recognition of AFSCME as sole bargaining agent.

The University's actions throughout the


negotiations, along with the statements of Reagan, University President Hitch, and the campus personnel director, make it crystal clear that the policy of state budget cuts means that rather than conceding to the union's demands, the University is preparing to destroy the union. This strike is to be the first battle in the fight of state workers against the budget cuts.

Most significant in the development of this struggle are the roles that the revisionists and Stalinists are playing. The Communist Party has constantly tried to obscure the role of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy in the strike calling for patience, caution, and "solidarity." The logic of the Communist Party's line is carried by Progressive Labor which refuses to fight the trade union bureaucracy.

The YSA has followed a line that the importance of this strike lies in the "triple oppression" of black women workers, obscuring the fight against the attacks on the union and the class nature of this fight by trying to turn this into an issue of women's liberation.

The fight against racial and sexual discrimination can only be made as part of the fight for the defense of the working class. By making these the only issues, the YSA abandons any fight to defend the union against the attacks of the state, and capitulates to the Stalinists.

The Workers League fully supports the demands of AFSCME and in addition demands an end to the state hiring freeze, no budget cuts, no tuition or fees. A fight to release strike sanction must be carried out by the ranks of the Alameda County Central Labor Council. It must be centered around the fight to defend the unions from the attacks of the state.



**INCLUDING SUPPRESSED DISCUSSION OF TROTSKY BY LUCY ST. JOHN**

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**QUESTIONS FACING PROGRESSIVE LABOR**

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# Interview: Marine Veteran Speaks Out On Vietnam-Laos War

The following is an interview with a former Marine who served in Vietnam and also in Laos.

**Q. When were you in Vietnam?**  
 A. I was in Vietnam from January 1969 to August 1969. Then I was sent to Okinawa as part of the withdrawal program. However, myself and some other Marines from my unit were sent back in October 1969 and stayed until January 1970.

**Q. Why were you sent back?**  
 A. I was sent to train Montagnard tribesmen on the Laotian-Vietnam border. I was assigned to train them in "village defense."

**Q. What unit were you stationed with and where was it during your tour in Vietnam?**  
 A. I was with the 9th Marine Regiment. We were a "search and destroy" regiment so we weren't stationed at a particular base. Most of the time we were out in the bush. When we would come in from the field we would go to Vandergrift Combat Base which is three miles from Khesanh on Highway 9.

**Q. Did you ever cross over the border of Laos?**  
 A. Yes. During my first tour there our regiment was involved in Operation Dewey Canyon from January 22 to March 19, 1969. We went into Laos to take a couple of hills where the North Vietnamese had been shelling us.

**Q. How many U.S. troops were involved and how long were you there?**  
 A. I don't really know how many guys were in Laos with us. I just know that my company, about eighty men, were there. We were engaged for two days before we left.

**Q. Did your company sustain any casualties?**  
 A. Yes. I don't know the losses of the company but in my squad (six man squad) we had three casualties.

**Q. How did the men feel about going into Laos?**  
 A. Nobody liked to go anywhere. One guy refused to go at first, but later decided he'd better go.

**Q. Speaking of your own views on the war, did they undergo any change as a result of your experience in Vietnam?**  
 A. Yes. After being over there it was obvious that we weren't doing the Vietnamese people any good. They didn't seem to want us there. People in villages close to us harbored many North Vietnamese

soldiers. All the talk about democracy was meaningless.

**Q. There has been a lot of news recently about G.I. "fraggings." Did any fraggings occur when you were there?**  
 A. Yes. A lieutenant in charge of our company was blown up because he was too "gung ho" and was getting us killed by making us go out on dangerous patrols.

**Q. What is behind these "fraggings?"**  
 A. U.S. soldiers aren't interested in the war. They want to survive and go home. Morale there is pretty low.

**Q. Do you think the morale is such that a widescale rebellion among the troops is possible in the near future?**  
 A. I don't really think so. There is too much going against you over there. The military has intelligence that can infiltrate and expose anything before it gets going. Many of the guys do their own thing such as not taking their malaria pills so they can get malaria and go on the hospital ship and not out in the bush.

**Q. Why do you think the U.S. is fighting a war in Vietnam?**  
 A. I'm sure economic gain is in the back of the government's mind and who is the government run by but the industrialists.

**Q. Do you believe that the U.S. working class can be mobilized to oppose the war?**  
 A. In the long run the workers do have an interest in being against the war. The working class is the vast majority in this country and should have the power in determining its policies, foreign and domestic.



American soldiers (above, near Laotian border) want to "survive and get home".



San Francisco city workers march at City Hall against wage slashing and job cuts.

## San Francisco City Workers Fight Wage Slash, Layoffs

**BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER**  
 SAN FRANCISCO—City workers are now being offered a 4% increase (up from 3.25%) by the city administration.

No fringe benefits are being offered, nor does Mayor Alioto appear to have any intention of filling the hundreds of vacant positions he has "frozen."

The trade union leadership in the past months, under pressure from the rank and file, organized two picket lines around City Hall. But the union leaders did little to build demonstrations. It becomes more and more apparent that the union leaders have no intention of mobilizing city workers.

The union leaders are trying to balance between the rank and file on one side and City Hall on the other. Caught in his own trap, one Local 400 business agent handed in his resignation recently accompanied by a speech in which he denounced his own sellout.

week only twenty-five hospital workers showed up for the first union meeting to deal with a strike the unions want to call. It can be read as a healthy sign..."

Instead of building a rank and file struggle within the unions and preparing a general city workers strike, Wildcat is organizing a "Community-Workers Health Alliance" to "...get the word out to the people in their communities."

The Stalinist newspaper, Peoples World, has not one word of criticism of the bureaucracy of the city unions. At the end of the city workers' strike last March, Peoples World defended the betrayal of the strike, denouncing those who fought to continue the strike. What is required is the building of a new leadership in the union.

Bus drivers, formerly one of the most privileged sections of city workers, now face the elimination of all overtime pay, which many bus drivers depend on. In addition, over 100 bus runs have been cancelled and layoffs with the opening of the Rapid Transit System are threatened.

### ANGER

Much of the anger of city workers now appears to express itself in outbursts, such as the two wildcat strikes of cable car drivers and hospital interns here. Both strikes were isolated and beaten.

At this point there are many so called "radicals" who are playing a reactionary role by opposing the fight inside the unions. The newspaper Wildcat influenced by the Revolutionary Union, has this to say: "Last

### STRIKE

Teachers also face layoffs and the elimination of all special programs and for that reason are calling a meeting to decide on strike action on March 10.

Petitions initiated by a Rank and File caucus are now being circulated among city workers calling upon the trade unions to coordinate action to build a mass rally of city workers and prepare for a general city workers strike.

## WL Youth Club Formed In Irvine

**BY A BULLETIN REPORTER**  
 IRVINE—An advance in the fight against Stalinism and revisionism and a step towards the building of a revolutionary youth movement was made here with the formation of a Workers League Club.

A dozen students and young workers discussed the development of the crisis in which world capitalism finds itself today and how it manifests itself in the U.S. in the deepening of American involvement in the Indochina war, unemployment, the rising cost of living, attacks upon the workers and their unions, and the mounting repression against all tendencies and workers who have taken up struggles against these conditions.

It was stressed by Workers League members that what was essential to the success of the struggles of the working class and their most politically conscious elements was conscious revolutionary leadership. It was emphasized that key to the struggle for leadership was the fight against Stalinism and revisionism especially in the anti-war movement and a class defense against political repression.

On the basis of the analysis put forward by the Workers League, the students and working class youth who attended this meeting are taking up the defense of Juan Farinas with a class program.

They have also taken up the struggle against Stalinism which has been expressed in the formation of a People's Peace Treaty Committee on the University of California Irvine campus. The Workers League Club is intervening in the anti-war movement on the campus with the understanding that only working class action can end the war.

The club has agreed that crucial to the struggle for revolutionary leadership is a study of Marxism in order to fight for socialism.

## Steel Workers Continue Strike At American Can

**BY A LOCAL 1684 MEMBER**  
 SAN FRANCISCO—A strike at American Can's Pacific Plant has affected some six hundred workers. Five hundred of the striking workers are members of the United Steel Workers Union, Local 1684 and about one hundred members of six other unions are honoring the Steel Workers' picket lines.

Before the present contract expired on February 15, 1971, a tentative agreement was reached between the national representatives of the United Steel Workers of America representing the workers of American Can, National Can, Continental Can and Crown Cork & Seal.

This tentative agreement was to ask management for a 33% raise over a three year period and an equitable minimum cost of living increase for each of the three years. The demand for a fair increase in salary, when broken down amounted to approximately 38 cents an hour over a three year period. Management refused and on midnight, February 14, the strike went into effect and the picket lines were set up.

### DESERTED

Within twelve hours of the strike the workers of National Can Company deserted their fellow workers in the other locals and accepted a three year contract for approximately 45 cents an hour increase for three years and a minimum cost of living increase of 12.5 cents per hour for each of three years in the contract and left the other can company workers to their own fate.

The fate of American Can Company workers turned out to be a flat offer of 10 cents an hour increase for the life of the contract and no minimum cost of living increase. The rank and file unanimously voted down this rotten offer. The bosses promptly broke off negotiations.

### WIN

The attitude of this giant of American capitalism towards its workers was also evident in September of 1970 when approximately fifty employees with two to five

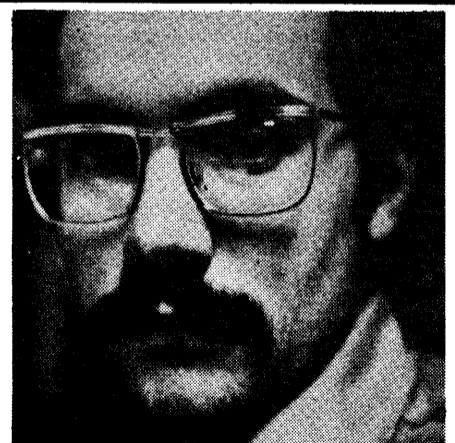
## National Tour Set For Farinas

**BY BRIDGET ELLIOT**  
 Juan Farinas will begin a national tour this month. Despite the attempts of the government to prevent Farinas from leaving New York, the court has been forced to grant permission for the tour.

Juan Farinas is the young worker who was tried and convicted on three counts of violating the Selective Service Act. His only crime was to distribute a leaflet in opposition to the Vietnam War at the Whitehall Induction Center in the summer of 1968. He was sentenced on January 29 to serve two years in jail and bail was set at \$5,000. The defense will be taking the decision to the court of appeals in the upcoming months.

The tour will start on March 19 when he will fly to San Francisco, and from there to Los Angeles, San Diego, St. Louis, Chicago, Madison, Detroit, Minneapolis, State College, Pa., Philadelphia, Baltimore, and will wind up in Boston on April 7. There will be a benefit concert and show held in New York City on a city college campus tentatively scheduled for April 16.

Farinas' tour occurs precisely at a time of tremendous offensive on the part of the working class. The struggle for which Farinas came under attack by the government has come to a head as the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia



drive back imperialism, as the G.I.s rebel within the army, and the American working class fights Nixon's attacks.

It is in the working class that his defense has been and must be rooted. The powerful movement of the class shows the way forward in defending Farinas and all victims of political repression.

The national tour will involve radio and TV spots, newspaper interviews, public meetings, union meetings, and benefits, campus and high school meetings.

In order to carry forward our plans, money is urgently needed and a national fund raising campaign is now in full swing. We ask all supporters of the defense to rush contributions and inquiries to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14th Street, 6th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011, (212) 924-0852.

# Montreal Teachers Strike Against Wage Slashing

BY A CORRESPONDENT

MONTREAL—For the last three weeks, the teachers of Montreal have been out on a rotating strike. The main issue in the strike is reclassification.

As each teacher is hired, he or she gets certain classification for the type of education he or she received. The teacher then gets a base salary according to the classification, which increases with the more teaching experience gotten.

In 1969 the Quebec government negotiated a province-wide teacher contract and set up a commission which was supposed to revamp and standardize the entire province with the classification system. The decisions of the commission were made retroactive to the beginning of the contract in 1969.

## DECISIONS

As the commission's decisions began coming in, it became clear that many teachers were having their classification lowered. Because these decisions were retroactive to 1969, teachers whose classification and therefore salary had been lowered were being asked to pay back money to the school boards. Sometimes this amounted to up to \$2,000 to \$3,000. Many other teachers were told that their salaries would be cut or they would not receive the pay increase expected with each additional year of teacher training.

The French Catholic teachers in Montreal went out on study sessions and rotating strikes led by L'Alliance de

Professeurs de Montreal. They have been joined by the English Protestant teachers under the leadership of the Montreal Teachers Association.

Both unions have overwhelmingly rejected the government's offer of a mediation in the dispute and have continued their rotating strikes. The government has answered with repression. Teachers who were occupying the two education buildings have been hauled out by the police. At a meeting of the Quebec school boards, the Chairman, Monsieur Lefevre, warned of using fines and jail sentences against leaders and militants in the teachers unions.

The government has bared its teeth in this vicious attack on the teachers of Montreal and all over the province.

One union militant told the *Bulletin* of the main issue in the strike: "The government wants to cut salaries to save money." She said the teachers are ready for a long strike and their morale is very high.

"The government," she said, "has not acted at all in good faith. This has been an education for us." The government through lies, slanders, fines, police and public campaigns to whip up hostility to the teachers, is trying to break the back of this strike.

This attack on teachers is a cutback on all workers and can only be answered by mass labor action. Rotating strikes, as have been seen in the last three weeks, are not enough. There must be a coordinated province-wide general teachers strike to counter the government's latest attacks and to take forward the teachers' fight to victory.

# 200 Detroit Teachers Laid Off

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—Workers here are feeling the impact of Nixon's recessionary policies. Unemployment is around 50% higher than the national average. The cost of living went up .7% last month.

There have been cutbacks in every sphere of industry and social services. The latest attacks are in the field of education. Two weeks ago the Board of Education proposed a cutback of 260 teachers.

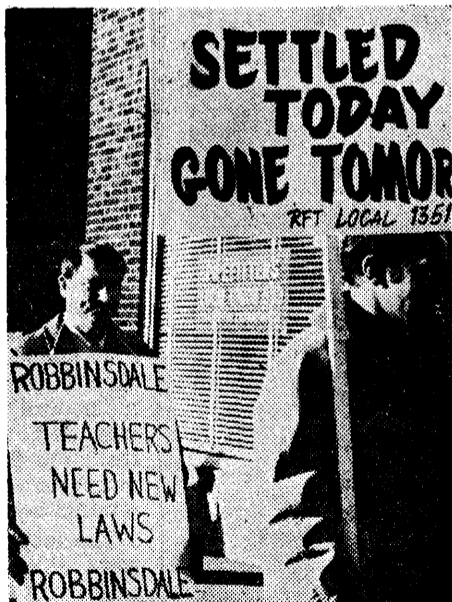
The Detroit Federation of Teachers responded to this with a demonstration in front of the Board of Education's weekly meeting. During the demonstration the president of the DFT, Mary Ellen Riordan, disclosed her plans. She said: "We're taking this one step at a time.

We hope we don't have to do anything further than this."

At the Board of Education meeting 2,000 teachers tried to convince the Board to reconsider the cuts. The president of the Organization of School Administrators and Superintendents proposed a reactionary plan of postponing paychecks in order to prevent the cutbacks. The DFT leadership is already beginning to back down under pressure from the City Administration.

Later on this week it was finally voted by the Board of Education that 192 teachers would be laid off. It is now necessary for the ranks of the DFT to demand that the union take strike action to prevent this and further cutbacks.

# Minneapolis Teachers Fight Against Attacks By City And Court



Teachers from Twin Cities suburban areas picket against Board of Education attacks.

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS—Teachers who struck last spring have had the knife shoved into them, and, on February 24, the Minneapolis School Board gave it a sharp twist.

Not only was the strike settlement declared illegal by the state courts, a settlement that was to pay striking teachers a lump sum this spring equal to the increase the non-striking teachers received was denied.

Now the School Board is out to "recover"

seven days pay that the striking teachers got while the schools were shut down during the strike.

While the Board was meeting to decide how to carry out this attack, about 100 union teachers from all over the Twin Cities were picketing outside the meeting place in support of their Minneapolis teachers. This inspiring show of support is only the beginning as far as what can and must be mobilized in the labor movement by the teachers if they are going to defend themselves against these vicious attacks.

The leadership of the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers has been in steady retreat since the strike. It was a real betrayal to give an ounce of credibility to last year's settlement which was presumably within the limits of the state's no-strike law for teachers. Now the avoidance of the fight against the law is having its impact on the teachers.

Norm Moen, MFT President, said that if the School Board voted to recover the seven days pay that "will be a very serious mistake fraught with far-reaching significance. I don't want to speculate on what they (MFT teachers) are going to do, but if they want to strike I certainly wouldn't back away from that."

But the point is that the teachers struck last spring and are now being made to pay for it. What kind of different program does the MFT leadership propose this spring? Moen revealed his complete bankruptcy when he countered to the Board's plan to recover the money an arrangement by which teachers could "work off" the seven days pay by putting in extra hours.

To offer to work off the pay with extra hours is a total capitulation to the attacks on the MFT. The building of a new leadership inside the MFT is now the central task.

# Army Spies Fear Insurgency

BY PAT CONNOLLY

In December 1970 news first broke out in the bourgeois press that the Pentagon and Defense Department, in addition to the tens of thousands of spies they have in Latin America, Vietnam, Greece, the Middle East and elsewhere, have at least 1,200 domestic intelligence agents spying on civilians in the U.S.

The Army's public spokesman "admitted" that "things got a little out of hand," when it was revealed that those spied on included not only socialists and radicals but the former Governor of Illinois, Otto Kerner, Senator Adlai Stevenson III, and Eugene McCarthy.

## "INSURGENCY"

But now more has come to the surface which completely exposes this fraudulent "admission." A directive issued by the Army in February 1968, as part of its program of spying on civilians, showed that senior officers feared the development of "a true insurgency." A second document requested the FBI and CIA to provide Army Intelligence with "evidence of subversion" in predominantly left wing groups.

These two documents—the Intelligence Annex of the Army's Civil Disturbance Plan, and the Civil Disturbance Information Collection Plan—also show that the

Army's civilian spying was set up under orders from and with the full knowledge of high government officials, including President Johnson himself.

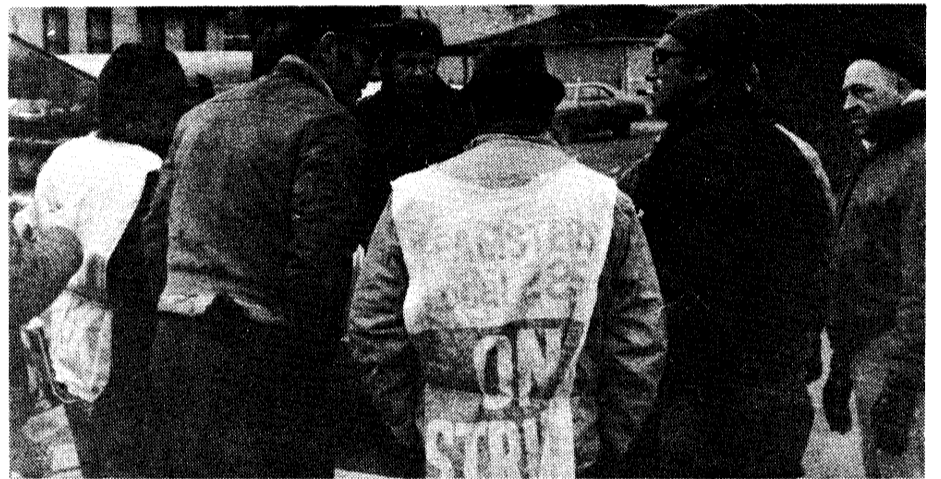
The plans for collecting information on civilians grew out of high level meetings at the White House, and copies of the plan were sent to the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and the National Security Council, of which the President is chairman.

## BATTLE

This is not a situation where the Army simply "got a little out of hand." The President and his top advisors were in on this from the start, as they prepared to face the onslaught of the working class in the U.S. When top Army officers speak of a "true insurgency" they echo the words of British Prime Minister Heath that the 1970s will be a decade of civil war.

Heath is now locked in mortal battle against the British working class, a battle which will be resolved by the toppling of the Tory government and the establishment of socialism, or by the driving of the working class back to the conditions of the 1930s through fascism. This is the same battle that is now raised in the U.S.

# Linen Drivers Strike In 15th Week



Detroit Teamsters, in 15th week of strike against linen supply companies, remain solid.

BY FRANK BECKER

DETROIT—In response to the failure of the International leadership to do anything to aid the strike of Local 285, a rank and file petition, which calls for action from the International leadership has been greeted enthusiastically by the members.

The International has virtually ignored the fifteen week strike being waged here against linen supply companies. The workers see the need for labor support in their effort to resist the vicious attempt to "push us back thirty-five years." The call for action originated at Domestic Linen Supply, where the workers have been out since December 1st.

The rest of the 440 workers were locked out the next day. The criminal collusion on the part of the eleven linen companies has been met with the firm unity of Local 285. The companies must be defeated with the firm unity of every teamster. Local 285 must not stand alone.

As one older worker at City Towel told the *Bulletin*: "If all workers don't stick together, the bosses are going to get us.

A boss is a boss, they're all the same and if we aren't together, they'll push us all back thirty-five years."

The workers have even strengthened their already tight vigilance. At Banner Linen, for instance, pickets remain stationed twenty-four hours a day outside the plant, in order to prevent the delivery of oil. At other companies wherever scab trucks appear, the workers continue to engage in "informational picketing."

At Marathon Linen Company, Domestic and Economy Linen, the workers have compared the attack on their union with Nixon's attack on the construction workers. The ranks feel that Nixon is following a conscious anti-working class policy to drive the wages of workers down.

At Marathon, workers have raised the demand for the company to "open the books."

The Teamsters and the entire labor movement in Detroit must mobilize to defend Local 285.

# 100th ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE

SPEAKER: FRED MUELLER

THURSDAY—MARCH 18 8PM

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