

# Bulletin

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TEN CENTS

THE NEW  
NATIONALISM  
AND THE  
AMERICAN  
NEGRO

## TRUTH ABOUT PUEBLO



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# the truth about the pueblo!



COMMANDER BUCHER AT NAVAL COURT OF INQUIRY

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

From beginning to end "The Strange Case of the Pueblo" has been an enormous farce. Scene after scene has exposed not only total lack of credibility (it is hardly a question of a gap) to be given its propaganda but also the real nature of its imperialist operations.

The way the U.S. government would like us to see it is that the friendly Pueblo was just taking a little cruise in the Pacific when they were put upon by the bad communists.

But things are not so simple as that, especially when the U.S. is fighting today to maintain its imperialist control in Southeast Asia.

## GUILT

It all began when a military official signed a statement admitting the guilt of the U.S. at the time of the release

# SLICK HICKEL AND THE OIL SCANDAL

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

Where have all the flowers gone?—and the birds, and the fish, and the beaches and waters? They have been smothered by the greed of a few for profit in "black gold".

Thirty miles of beaches and harbors in California lie devastated under a blanket of gummy black oil. A "dead sea" has been created for many years by the absolute negligence of the oil bosses and the government which represents them.

This mess was no accident. Mr. Udall, former Secretary of the Interior, a little belatedly, we might add, has informed us that it was known by the oil companies as well as the government that the geological conditions in the area were known to be "unstable" but that the government had not even suggested that there might be a need for tighter regulations. Now that miles of beach and wildlife have been destroyed, Mr. Udall is "sickened".

There should be no doubt that those responsible, in this case Union Oil, are driven by one thing and one thing only and that is profit. These bosses will go to any extent to preserve their profits — that means the destruction of natural resources, wildlife as well as human life. The remarks of the President of Union Oil are most revealing. His reaction to the devastation was that he was "amazed at the publicity for the loss of a few birds".

The oil companies are able to carry out this destruction because they control the gov-

of the crewmen and then stated that he really did not mean the statement. This was a year after the Pueblo had been captured. Why was that statement not issued a year ago? Obviously little action was taken before that because the U.S. had absolutely no grounds to stand on and Mr. Johnson hoped everyone would just forget the incident.

All of this was covered over at the time of the release with a lot of gory propaganda about how the crew had been beaten and tortured. This was done despite the fact that the pictures of a good portion of the crew and the remarks of their relatives showed most of them to be quite healthy.

## FACTS

But this cover has not been able to distract anyone from seeing the real facts being revealed in the hearings,

ernment in their interests. This becomes very clear if we examine just how closely the two are tied.

The Federal Government owns all the coastal land outside the 3 mile limit. It leases this land to oil companies. It receives a small pittance for rent while the oil companies make billions from their drillings of public land. The Federal Government makes no attempt to restrict these companies--they are given a free hand. Any safety measures the oil companies take, of course, cut into their profits. The muck on the beaches is nothing off their backs.

## POLLUTER

The Union Oil Company involved in this latest disaster has been polluting the Los Angeles harbor with its spillages for years. All attempts by conservationists to stop this have been futile. Why? Because the very board which is supposedly set up to control pollution, the Los Angeles Regional Water Quality Control Board, is itself controlled by the polluters. The Board is conveniently composed of these industrial interests and one member from the "public", who is of course outvoted everytime.

If this does not make things clear enough, we have only to observe Mr. Hickel. Mr. Hickel's appointment by Nixon was one of the things indicating that it is the interests of big business that run this country. Mr. Hickel has proven himself worthy of his assignment throughout this oil business. First he flies out to Cali-

## INQUIRY ATTEMPTS TO HIDE INTRUSION IN N. KOREAN WATERS

which do nothing but expose the operations of this supposedly harmless mission.

In September of last year a correspondent for the Guardian was given an exclusive interview with Bucher and other crewmen in Korea. When asked if the Pueblo had intruded into the territorial water of North Korea, Bucher said "That is correct". He further revealed that the "Pueblo was an intelligence-gathering ship. It operated under the cover of an oceanographic research ship." Furthermore, a Lieutenant Murphy said that the ship was authorized to intrude into the territorial waters by the commander-in-chief of the U.S. Pacific fleet.

Bucher, now faced with possible court martial, contends that the Pueblo was not within the twelve mile territorial limit. It is held that the ship came no closer than 13 miles. But this contention is contradicted by the conflicting reports of the navigational team. One officer said that the ship had come within 12.8 miles of the Korean Coast. The ship's navigator said that the navigational device "could have been out of position by as much as five

miles" which would put the ship within North Korea's territorial waters. This would seem to coincide with Bucher's original statement to the Guardian that the ship was "captured well within the territorial waters of the DPRK at a point 7.6 miles from the island of Yodo."

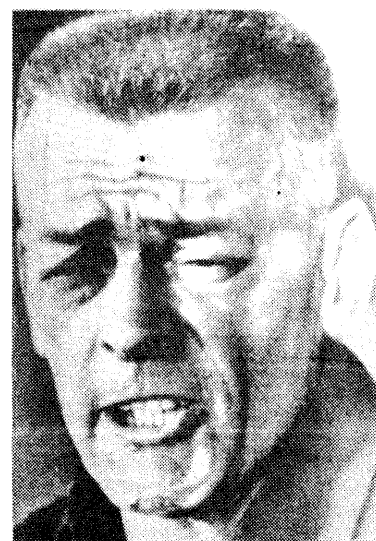
While Bucher now states he gave the order to inform the North Koreans that "I am in international waters," the man responsible for sending the signals said he sent no such signal saying the ship was in international waters, but sent a signal of protest.

There are other pieces of evidence to show that the Pueblo was in fact within North Korean waters. First there is the fact that the Pueblo was given no air protection, that it could not send a message

and that when the North Koreans advised Washington days before the capture that a U.S. ship was violating its waters, Washington did nothing.

## SPY

The fact is the Pueblo was violating the Territorial waters of North Korea and not accidentally but specifically for the purpose of carrying out



COMMANDER LLOYD BUCHER

its "spying mission". This is the reason why the U.S. had no grounds on which to negotiate for the return of the ship or to take action against North Korea without it becoming very embarrassing, and why the US had only one choice and that was to admit its guilt.

Now everyone is scurrying around trying to find a cover, trying to find someone or something to blame. But the blame dispute is nothing but a fight among a den of thieves all trying to protect not only their own hides but U.S. imperialism.

Actually the case of the Pueblo is not so strange but only part of the U.S. imperialism's operations in "secret diplomacy", secret as they are in no way in the interests of the masses of people in this country but only in the interests of the ruling class.



WORKERS CLEANING UP OIL SLICK AT SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

same way--protecting the interests of the bosses. Nixon and Hickel have announced that the Director of the Bureau of Mines, John O'Leary, will be replaced. Mr. O'Leary, after the disaster in Farmington, W. Va., condemned the Bureau of Mines for not enforcing safety regulations. He has been the chief fighter in the government for vigorous enforcement of Federal mine safety regulations and for stricter safety rules. Because of this he has come under heavy attack by the mining bosses. So Mr. Hickel is obliging by removing him.

While these disasters have become a muckrakers delight, the point is that neither the bosses nor the government have any intention of making reforms. While Union Oil may have to stop its drilling in Santa Barbara for a while,

they will be at it again somewhere else with the full protection of the government.

We say there is one lesson to be learned from this disaster and that is that if private enterprise is allowed to exist it will return man to a state of barbarism and destruction.

Man has achieved a high level of technological development, but under capitalism this technology is used for the destruction of man and his environment, so a few can wring out their profits, rather than for the development of mankind. We say that only under socialism can the productive forces, the natural resources be used for man's betterment, under a system that is geared to the needs of the working people and not the greedy bosses.

# SSEU LEADERS RAM THROUGH ATTRITION PLAN

BY MARTY JONAS

NEW YORK--At a meeting on Feb. 9, the memberships of the Social Service Employees Union and Local 371, AFSCME, were handed an "Interim Agreement" between the City and the two unions. This agreement is on what SSEU President Morgenstern calls the "gut issues" --the central contract questions.

In reality this prelude to a contract is a complete scheme for the union's helping the City implement its reorganization over the next two years. The agreement gives to the City the utmost flexibility in staff and workloads that reorganization will need. Once the leadership of these unions caved in to reorganization and attrition, this sell-out agreement HAD to follow.

### DEAL

The agreement gives a sizeable wage package--at least \$1,000 for each year--but what

## cops vs. clerks!

NEW YORK--At the membership meeting of Clerks Local 1549, held on Feb. 17th, the contract was rammed down the throat of the membership. No opposition was permitted to speak as Gotbaum loomed above clerks with patrolmen on each side. As a result mass resignations have taken place in several centers. One steward told us it was the worst settlement ever negotiated.

does staff give up in return for it- that is the staff that remains after 9,000 jobs are slashed?

In place of a caseload limit, a fiat rate of \$340 will be paid in 1969 and renegotiated in 1970 for excess in caseload. This \$340 is based on a "caseload standard" of 67 city-wide; which means that a caseworker carrying a caseload of 50 would get the same \$340 as another caseworker carrying 90. This clause wipes out the victory of the SSEU in winning a 60 caseload limit in the last two contracts. Morgenstern says that the 60 limit was meaningless anyway, since it was never enforced! He backs up his present bankruptcy

with his past bankruptcy.

In place of the present 6% limit on involuntary group transfers from one center to another, the agreement makes it theoretically possible to transfer an ENTIRE CENTER, if the City's reorganization so demands it.

The agreement leaves out the whole question of career ladder for case aides. The career ladder would establish a definition and salary for those workers who hold a critical place in the City's reorganization plans. The latest we have heard is that there is an agreement on \$5750 instead of the minimum \$6000 promised by 1970.

### COMMITTEE

All of this "Interim Agreement", all of this two year plan for reorganization is capped by - and governed by - the provision for a Joint Reorganization and Workload Committee. This committee would consist of six welfare union members, six City members, and an impartial chairman -- some Dean of social work or other. The struggles against the City on all vital issues would be taken out of the hands of the ranks and be thrown into the bureaucratic heights of this committee (in which the unions are outnumbered).

What this agreement and the formation of the JRWC would mean is the co-optation of the welfare unions into the management of the department to help the City to run its welfare mess. In a period when Labor struggles in welfare and all other areas demand the complete independence of the unions from the bosses, this represents a complete step backward and a betrayal by the union leaderships in Welfare.

### RANKS

Morgenstern would like to put off a vote on this "Interim Agreement" until it's neatly tied up in the form of a contract. He and the DC 37 leaders got a sample of just what the ranks think of this sellout at the Feb 9 joint meeting, where due to a snow-



ROGOFF, CRITCHLOW, & MORGENSTERN BEING INTERVIEWED

storm a full vote could not be taken. Almost all of the 150 members present expressed quite vocally what they thought of this capitulation. They want that wage package but they're not going to accept a contract that puts them at the City's mercy in return. At East End Center on Feb 14, that chapter voted overwhelmingly to reject the agreement.

### PREPARE

Rank and file pressure is building up. No amount of money can justify this sellout. The members want the money package AND protection from the City's program of job cuts, speed up, and other abuses.

The membership must throw the package - whether in the form of an agreement or a contract-- right back to Morgenstern and the negotiating committee. Make them come back with something a damn sight better! Money AND protection! No joint committees for the union to help manage the welfare mess!

### STRIKE

A real strike threat must be prepared immediately by the leadership to force out of the City a contract tailored in the interests of the workers not of the City. To prepare a strike of ALL titles in welfare, the issue to be fought is the reorganization of the Department, which as President Morgenstern said recently "is the only thing that will get staff out on the streets."

# CRITCHLOW FORCES CONTRACT ON CLERKS

Committee, which will "foster such cooperation between the union and the City." Beginning with themselves and the high-salaried positions in the Labor bureaucracy, the 1549 leadership completely forfeits the right of the membership to make any decisions on policy, including reorganization.

### REORGANIZATION

Not one word in this rotten agreement about reorganization. The deletion is central to understanding that the District Council is anxious to avoid any confrontation between the unions and the City. This reactionary bit of anti-working class automation called reorganization is designed to reduce welfare costs in line with Rockefeller and Nixon's drastic reductions in social service spending and in anticipation of ever expanding welfare rolls.

Reorganization affects every job title including clerical. By freezing promotional opportunities through elimination of mandated services, it engenders tremendous competition amongst social service staff for supervisory clerical positions, resulting in interstaff rivalries and hostility. Not one job is safe in the department if attrition is allowed to go through.

Critchlow and the 1549 leadership stand completely exposed with this contract offer and must be soundly thumped. Clerks need guarantees against layoffs, promotions and \$6000 minimum and across the board increases within 2 years, giving all of staff common expiration dates for their contracts. We need absolute unity through an understanding of the real effects of reorganization and to prepare to mobilize all of staff around a serious strike threat so that our negotiating committees can bargain from a position of strength.

All out for a united strike threat in support of guarantees against attrition and for complete independence of the unions from the Lindsay, Rockefeller Administrations!

BY LOU BELKIN

The contract recently negotiated by Critchlow and the 1549 leadership is an absolute sell-out on working conditions and wages and most important a capitulation to reorganization and loss of job security through attrition. The DC 37 bureaucrats stand completely exposed in attempting to put a damper on an all-out strike threat of welfare workers by isolating the clerks' struggle.

The clerks are being handed a 2-1/2 year wage packet deal resulting in a minimum of \$6000 by July 1, 1971, for Grade 2 titles but no equivalent across-the-board increases for higher grades. There are no job specifications, no protection against out of title work, no protection against arbitrary transfers, and a no-strike clause.

### ROT

As if this is not enough anti-labor rot being rammed down our throats, the union permits the city, under a "Management Rights Clause" (section X), "...the right to determine standards for selection of employment, ... standards of service...take disciplinary action and relieve its employees from duty because of lack of work." In other words the union allows the city to lay-off workers as it sees fit. And not a word of protest from the bureaucrats!

A labor-management committee will be set up, analogous to Morgenstern and Ross's Joint Reorganization

# union busting at adelphi hospital

BY JUDITH LEE

The very future of Local 1199 as an effective union is tied in with the struggle at Adelphi Hospital. The workers at this tiny hospital have been battling to get the union in the hospital. For four weeks now the hospital has locked these workers out to prevent the workers from organizing.

The hospital bosses are also trying to get a court injunction that would stop all picketing. This of course would enable the bosses to hire scabs. All hospitals organized and unorganized are watching to see who will win. This struggle will certainly effect

further organizing efforts and most certainly will determine what gains we could win in the next contract.

### WEAPON

The bosses are serious about this fight and are using every weapon they have. They have the law on their side because volunteer hospital workers are not allowed to strike. Plus it looks probable that they will get their court injunction. We must be even more prepared. We are in the AFL-CIO, so we must go and ask for all possible assistance, financial and other. The union must mobilize all 1199ers to walk the

picket line with the Adelphi workers to show them we support them 100%.

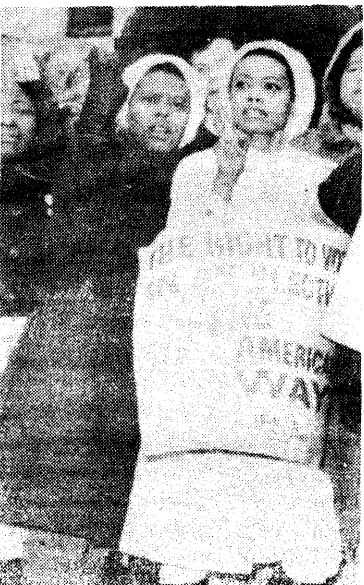
We all face the same bosses and the same anti-strike laws. There was a enthusiastic picket line Saturday, February 15th. Only a handful of 1199ers were notified of this. But despite this, they were able to mobilize many workers. President Davis must mobilize all 1199ers and if necessary, expand the strike.

Also some brothers and sisters from the SSEU joined the line to march with us. This is just the beginning of this strike. All unions facing anti-strike laws must

be notified to urge their members to join the line. This is not just an economic strike. It involves the laws and the courts.

Adelphi must mark the beginning for a battle against these laws. This means an all out fight against the Rockefeller, the Lindsays and the Democrats who make and carry out these laws. Because of these laws union leaders have been thrown in jail and heavy fines have been imposed on the union during the past 2 years.

This must stop now! The AFL-CIO has the power to get rid of these laws and the politicians who make them.



1199 PICKETS AT ADELPHI

# RAND REPORT—A PLAN TO DESTROY UNIONS

BY BOB SHERWOOD

TORONTO—The release of the Rand Inquiry into Labor Disputes marks a new attempt by the government to head off decisively the trade union movement and successfully implement labor control legislation with teeth. Since the release of the Rand Report the Ontario government has indicated that it is preparing legislation following the general line of the Commissions report. Clearly the Rand Report is not a government commissioned report which will be released and then placed on a shelf to collect dust with age.

The Rand Report was triggered by governmental indignation at the militancy of striking workers in Peterborough who peacefully picketed in defiance of an injunction, resulting in the arrest of twenty six and sentences ranging from 15 days to two months. The strike in Peterborough was not the only example, but did serve as a general rallying point for labor opposition to the use of court injunctions.

The events in Peterborough were not soon forgotten as the strike and the use of injunctions became a major issue in the Provincial elections of the following year.

## STATIFICATION

The effect of an implementation of the Rand Report would be the statification in large measure of the trade union movement. Such a move is necessary to the big industrialists and the rest of the ruling class to insure that wages rise in a diminishing ratio to industrial productivity.

The means with which the Rand Report proposes to accomplish its tasks are to set up an all powerful industrial tribunal with a "director of enforcement". Judging from what harm ordinary magistrates have done to the labor movement, this "director of enforcement" conjures up visions of a Mafia type dealing out "the kiss of death" to the trade union movement. If this seems to stretch a point too far, let's examine what this "Labor Tribunal" with a "director of enforcement" can do.

## PROPOSALS

Unions are to be made legal entities, which means they will be the victims of endless court actions and extremely expensive legal costs and fines.

There are to be no strikes in essential industries. The "Labor Tribunal" to determine what is or is not an "essential" industry.

Mass picketing is strictly prohibited. Only persons directly involved in a strike are allowed to picket. Picket captains are to be held responsible for the actions of each and every striker. No solidarity actions of any kind are to be allowed. Boycotts and picketing of customers of struck firms, industries or businesses are to be strictly forbidden.

After a strike has been in progress for 45 days, any striker can ask for and the "Labor Tribunal" may take a vote on whether the strike is to continue. After 90 days, the "Labor Tribunal" can impose arbitration. After one year a strike can be declared by the "Labor Tribunal" to be at an end.

It will be possible for the "Labor Tribunal", rather than a court, to issue injunctions.

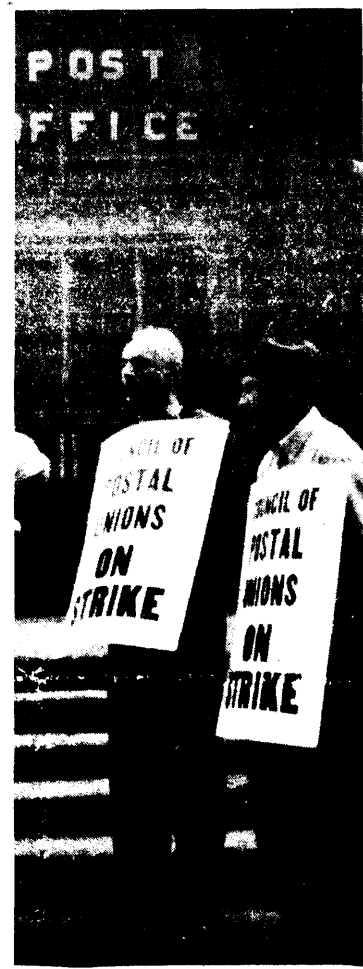
Unions will not be allowed to discipline its members for infractions of union rules. But it MUST discipline members engaged in an unlawful strike (the majority of strikes fall into this category). If a member acts unlawfully in a legal strike, the union must take disciplinary action against such a member.

It also proposes that unions be forced to admit strikebreakers into membership, such members to be expellable only for non-payment of union dues. If a worker refuses to join a union

## Canada's Rank and File Must Fight for General Strike



TORONTO WORKERS PROTEST END OF WINTER WORKS PROGRAM



CANADIAN POSTAL STRIKERS

where a union shop agreement is in force, the "Labor Tribunal" may direct that such an employee nevertheless continue as an employee under conditions determined by it.

There is a lot more to the Rand Commission Report, but this should suffice to show that this is one report that should be relegated to the dusty archives at Queen's Park.

## BUREAUCRATS

The reaction of the Labor bureaucrats was that which one could expect from someone with the most parochial and narrow outlook. First was the expression of surprise, saying the Ontario government couldn't be serious, then following a labor convention at which a government minister said in fact legislation was in draft form, opposition took a more sober form. First was a proposal for a general strike, then for a mass lobby at Queens Park, finally raising a couple of hundred thousand dollars for a public relations campaign to counter implementation of the Bill.

Ontario is fast approaching the situation that exists in British Columbia, where reactionary anti-labor Bill 33 was passed in Legislature with hardly any opposition (the OFFICIAL opposition being the NDP!). Now B.C. labor says if the government tries to use Bill 33 THEN they will fight back!

With the grasp of a weak and fragile man the labor bureaucrats try to hold to their old ways of "wheeling and dealing" with the bosses behind the backs of the working class. The only trouble being that the bosses can't "wheel and deal" any more.

Flowing from the international liquidity crisis which expresses itself in the considerable weakening of the U.S. dollar as international medium of trade, the Canadian bankers who flew to Europe to an emergency conference of the International Monetary Fund have been ordered to return home to "do a job" on the working class, to institute austerity, to bust up opposition if governmental policy is threatened. The purpose behind such measures are to cut the standard of living of the working class, so that profits can be secure, so that Canada can be a safe place for capitalism.

## CAPITALIST

A lot of people are concerned; Canadians who hold considerable speculative capital (as Canada has no capital gains tax), the United States, which

owns the majority of Canadian industry, and Japan, gaining a toehold on the North American continent through holding a good chunk of British Columbia.

The Rand Commission Report and Bill 33 are on the provincial level but Ottawa will get into the act shortly. At present a Commission is preparing its report for the Federal Government on labor management relations. Since such commissions are created for research and advisory purposes prior to the writing of bills, it does not take an astute observer to take the hint that Ottawa has something up its sleeve.

Labor will not be able to bury its head and hope that everything will blow over. The changes the government seeks to institute will blow like a hurricane and cut everything off at ground level. Public relations campaigns against anti-labor bills not only waste labor's money, but sow the dangerous illusion that capital can be influenced by a public relations effort. Who ever heard of a labor movement being built or much less defended by Madison Avenue smoothies, and ad men writing dittys about profits going better with labor unions?

## FIGHT

Labor must fight back, and fight back now! A general strike against the implementation of the Rand Commission Report must be fought for. Queens Park must be lobbied by workers representatives with demands that all pending anti-labor legislation be dropped, and all anti-labor laws be repealed. The strike is central and it must have its political expression. The NDP members of Provincial Parliament must be sought out in preparation for the General Strike. Much of whether the bills pass or fail depends on the opposition the NDP presents. Every worker and trade unionist will want to see to it that the NDP, elected as a party of labor, fights for the interests of the working class. Only a party which fights on behalf of labor deserves to be returned to office.

The student movement being conscious of its own interests should take up the fight for a general strike as a fight of its own. As the solution to the problems facing students rests upon the ability of the working class to fundamentally change society, student revolutionaries should seek not to build a separate student movement but to provide cadres for the building of the working class revolutionary party.

## CONGRESS VOTES ITSELF 42% WAGE HIKE

Congress has done it again. Raised their own salaries, that is. No 6% increase for them, though. The Congressmen have voted themselves a mere 42% pay raise!

This raise comes at a time when all businessmen and their Republican and Democratic representatives in the government are bemoaning the danger of inflation caused by

wage demands of workers in all industries; and are trying to shove wage guidelines of 6% or less down the throats of the trade unions.

## FRINGES

The salaries of Congressmen have jumped from a miserly \$30,000 per year to \$42,500 per year, plus fringe benefits, of course. And those "fringes" are something else

again...like pensions ranging from \$10,000 to \$34,000 per year after 5 years in Congress; a \$3,000 per year tax deduction for the added burden of maintaining two homes; and a salary allowance for staff (which usually includes a brother-in-law, a maiden aunt and two cousins back home) which ranges from \$100,000 to \$350,000 per year!

Not to mention free mailing privileges, free long distance phone calls, free telegrams, free parking, free flowers for offices and entertainment, and private, cut-rate dining rooms at the Capitol. And that ain't all! For the convenience of the hardworking Congressman there are also free hair cuts, free swimming pools and steam rooms with mass-

eurs. The value of these "fringes" adds up to about \$150,000 per year for Representatives and \$400,000 per year for Senators.

The effect of this pay raise is supposed to increase competition for the job, and result in a "higher caliber" of congressman. Which remains to be seen.

# THE NEW NATIONALISM AND THE NEGRO QUESTION

by Tim Wohlforth

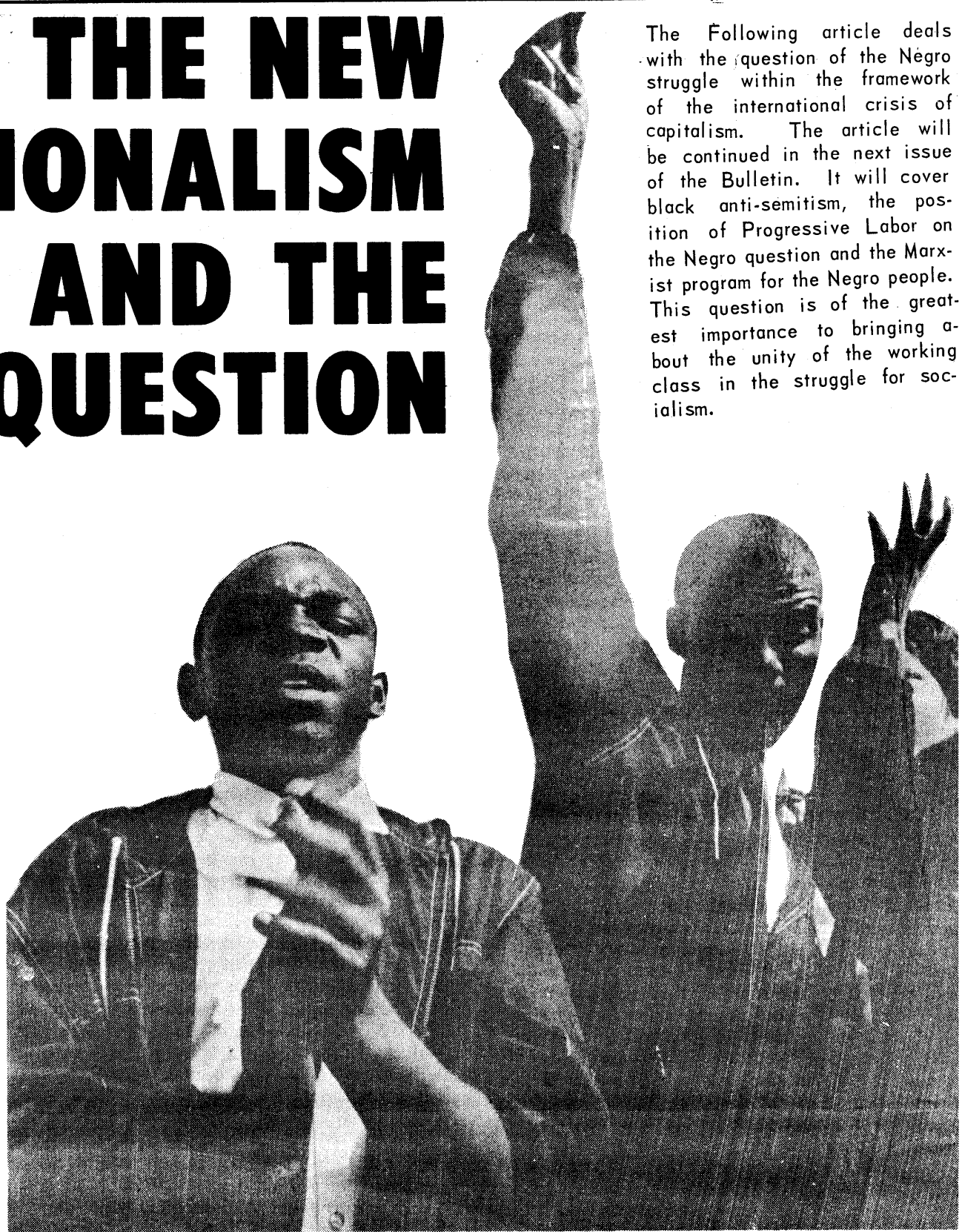
## INTRODUCTION

In the recent period we have seen an outburst of a very peculiar kind of nationalism within many of the advanced capitalist countries of the world. Belgium has been torn apart for several years now by a struggle between Flemish-speaking and French-speaking peoples with demands for federalism and separation being raised. In Scotland and Wales, long united with England as Great Britain, separatist agitation is growing. In Ireland, conflicts between Protestant and Catholic Irish in Ulster, a feud which goes back to the 17th century, has suddenly and violently erupted.

In Canada French Canadian separatism has become a central political issue in the country threatening to tear apart the very Canadian national state. Even DeGaulle, who has opportunistically encouraged French Canadian separatism, now faces similar agitation in Brittany. Finally, in Switzerland, which has existed for centuries as a multilingual bourgeois state with particularly tranquil relations among its linguistic groups, the French speaking population of the Jura region in a German speaking Canton has been agitating for separatism.

The growth of Black Nationalism among American Negroes must be seen as part of this same international trend. An understanding of the causes for and the nature of this new form of nationalism internationally is indispensable to an understanding of Black Nationalism in the United States.

Wherever these trends have emerged the revisionists of the SWP, its international co-thinkers, the Maoists and the Stalinists have reacted in the same way. Each particular nationalist agitation is seen in isolation from its international context and at the same time Lenin's position on the right of nations to self-determination is applied as an ab-



stract schematic formula and used as an excuse to adapt to the particular national trend.

Here we have methodologically a combination of pragmatism and metaphysical formalism which leads inevitably to opportunism of the crudest sort. What a Marxist approach to the national

question requires is quite the opposite: to begin at all times from the point of view of the international struggle of the working class and at the same time to understand reality in all its concreteness -- to place the particular nationalist movement within its proper historical evolution.

## LENINISM VERSUS REVISIONISM ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

A study of the writings of Lenin on the national question will make clear that it is with this latter method that Lenin, basing himself on Marx, approached the question. We look to Lenin, therefore, to deepen our understanding of the methodological approach to this question and certainly not to find some simple schematic formula to define "nations" or to declare our attitude towards "nationalism" as some sort of abstraction. Even a very cursory study of Lenin will reveal that Lenin was at no time and under no conditions a "partisan of nationalism" as the January 31st Militant describes him.

Particularly important among Lening's many writings on this question are his articles "Critical Remarks on the National Question", "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination (Theses)" and "The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up". This material written between 1914 and 1916 represents a mature development of his views, the result of a long struggle since 1903, and is the basis for the policies of the Bolshevik party during and after the October Revolution.

These writings take the form of an integrally related polemic, first against Otto Bauer's theory of "cultural-national autonomy" and then against Luxemburg's opposition to the right of self-determination of oppressed nations and finally a summary of the central lessons of both polemics in the form of theses. Lenin's views were developed in a polemic against those like Bauer and

the Bundists who adapted to the nationalism of the oppressed nationalities as well as those whose formal schematic denial of the question of self-determination objectively bolsters the nationalism of an oppressor nation.

### BOURGEOIS

Lenin saw the demand of national self-determination as a bourgeois democratic demand, as part of the bourgeois revolution. The demand is to be supported by the working class under conditions where it will mean the development of a national state within which the working class can advance its struggle against capitalism, remove national bickering and unites the working class of different nationalities into a common struggle against capitalism. Like all bourgeois democratic demands, it is subordinate to the international struggle of the working class but at the same time necessary to achieve this international unity.

Nationalism is therefore bourgeois nationalism and can be nothing else but bourgeois nationalism. Lenin never claimed nationalism to be anything else and NEVER supported nationalism of an oppressed or oppressor nation. Thus the recent attacks by Tony Thomas and Gus Horowitz in the Militant against Progressive Labor for daring to call nationalism "bourgeois" have absolutely nothing to do with Marxism. As Lenin put it: "Working class democracy contraposes to the nationalist wrangling of the various bourgeois parties over questions of language, etc., the demand for the unconditional unity and complete amalgamation of

workers of all nationalities in all working class organizations--trade unions, co-operatives, consumers', educational and all others - in contradistinction to any kind of bourgeois nationalism."

### CONTEXT

For instance Tony Thomas states about Lenin's views: "The nationalism of any oppressed nation, he explains, 'has a general democratic content that is directed against oppression and it is that content we unconditionally support.'" Let us take this quote from Lenin, give it in its entirety and in its proper context and then we can see that Lenin had in mind the exact opposite of what Thomas attributes to him. This is what Lenin really said: "The bourgeois nationalism of any oppressed nation has a general democratic content that is directed against oppression, and it is this content that we unconditionally support. At the same time we strictly distinguish it from the tendency towards national exclusiveness; we fight against the tendency of the Polish bourgeois to oppress the Jews, etc." On the next page he point blank states: "We combat all nationalism and uphold the equality of the various nations."

So what Thomas does is first remove the section of the quote which refers, not to nationalism as a classless generality, but "bourgeois nationalism" for Lenin could not consider nationalism as anything but bourgeois and then rips the quote out of context so as to obscure exactly what Lenin was stating. He was not claiming to support nationalism as "progressive", but rather the general

democratic content that is directed against oppression." This content, as Lenin stated, can be summed up in one demand "Support to the right of self-determination". He fought any tendency to support national movements in any way or any aspect of nationalism aside from this right. He stated on several occasions that the Bolshevik position on this right was "negative" in the sense that we do not fight for the secession of a nation but uphold the right to secede.

#### PROGRESSIVE

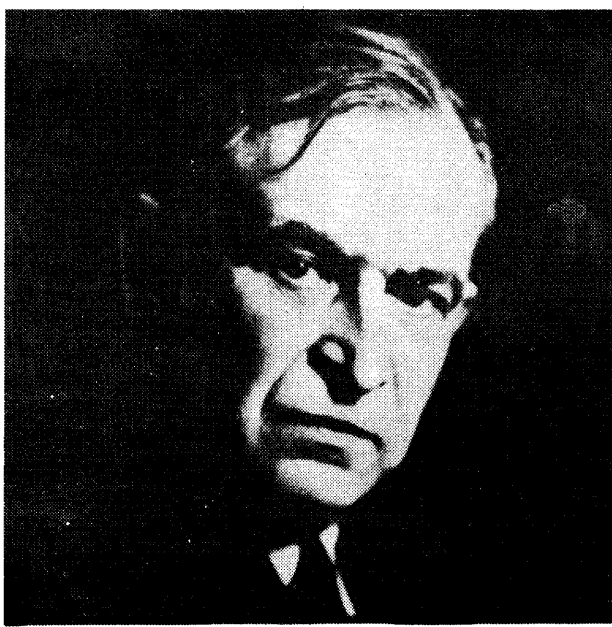
Gus Horowitz then comes forward with an even more unbelievable statement, so much so that he must paraphrase Lenin since a quote even to be distorted cannot be found. "Lenin explained", Horowitz informs us, "that the nationalism of the oppressors is reactionary but the nationalism of the oppressed is progressive." Lenin said nothing of the kind. What he did say was: "Insofar as the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation fights the oppressor, we are always, in every case, and more strongly than anyone else, in favour, for we are the staunchest and most consistent enemies of oppression. But insofar as the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation stands for its own bourgeois nationalism, we stand against. We fight against privileges and violence of the oppressor nation, and do not in any way condone strivings for privileges on the part of the oppressed nation." Lenin found no difficulty in fighting absolutely and all the way for the right of self-determination of oppressed nations without making the slightest concession to the bourgeois nationalism of the oppressed nation.

#### CULTURAL

Particularly important in this respect is Lenin's long struggle on the Jewish question against the Bund and his battle against the theories of cultural and national autonomy of Otto Bauer and the Austrian centrists. It is particularly important that this whole struggle is completely ignored by Thomas and Horowitz. Lenin's position was one of complete opposition to autonomy in "cultural" matters, control of the schools, etc. which he held meant support for the bourgeois aspirations of the oppressed nationalities and led to the divisions not unity of the working class. He repeated over and over and over that the only progressive aspect of the national question was the right of nations to self-determination and that this right meant one thing only the right to secede, to form an independent state.

To give the national question any more "support" than this was in effect to ally oneself with the national bourgeoisie and to tie the working class of the particular nationality to its own bourgeoisie. We will return to this question when we deal with the Negro question directly for we will see that the ONLY content of black nationalism is precisely the reactionary "national-cultural autonomy" demand. (See "The Negro, Nation and Marxist Theory" by Lucy St. John - December 16th Bulletin)

But Gus Horowitz proceeds differently: "The essence of self-determination is the right of oppressed nationalities to decide FOR THEMSELVES what they want and need. Revolutionaries have the obligation of supporting this right, re-



OTTO BAUER, THEORIST OF NATIONAL AUTONOMY

ardless of what they may think best." Horowitz states this in a section of his article where he waxes indignant over PL's audacity in criticizing the 15 demands of the Black students at SF State.

The political meaning of this formula is of course abject subordination of the revolutionary party to whatever happens to be in the heads of the black nationalist leaders at the time. This formula is the rationale for the role of the SWP and Militant in uncritically supporting everything and anything the black nationalists do.

The formula is in essence a result of a complete confusion of the question of self-determination with that of cultural-national autonomy and makes crystal clear why Lenin fought the latter trend so hard. As Lenin says self-determination is only a matter of the right to secede and he saw the task of the revolutionary party in this respect as "largely a negative one." That is, the party does not tell an oppressed minority that it must secede -- in fact under certain circumstances it might agitate for them not to secede. The principle involved is that the revolutionary party in the oppressor nation must uphold the right of the oppressed nation to secede. In this sense and in this sense alone Horowitz is right. The revolutionary party does not decide this secession question for the national minority.

#### OPPOSITE

But when this reasoning is applied to the programmatic demand of a national or any other minority it turns into its opposite. This is why Lenin warned that there is a "limit the proletariat can go to in supporting nationalism, for beyond that begins the 'positive' activity of the bourgeoisie striving to fortify nationalism." Never, never, never would Lenin or any Marxist for a single second conceive of granting to the national movement, which means granting to a bourgeois tendency the right to determine its own policies free from the sharpest criticisms of the Marxists and certainly not to extend a blank check to such bourgeois nationalists to put forward whatever they wished and we in turn would support them. Even the Bund and Otto Bauer would have recoiled from such crass opportunism and adaptation to

the bourgeoisie.

#### CONCRETE

An understanding of nationalism as an aspect of the bourgeois democratic revolution has fundamental implications which our Militant pundits do not even begin to tackle, much less comprehend. First of all it requires of Marxists that we view the national question in its concrete historical circumstances rather than abstracting out of history some general metaphysical notions. It was precisely the latter metaphysical method which led Luxemburg to write off the question of self-determination entirely. This very same method leads the revisionists to raise the question of self-determination under every and all conditions and to utilize it as a way of adapting to bourgeois national movements.

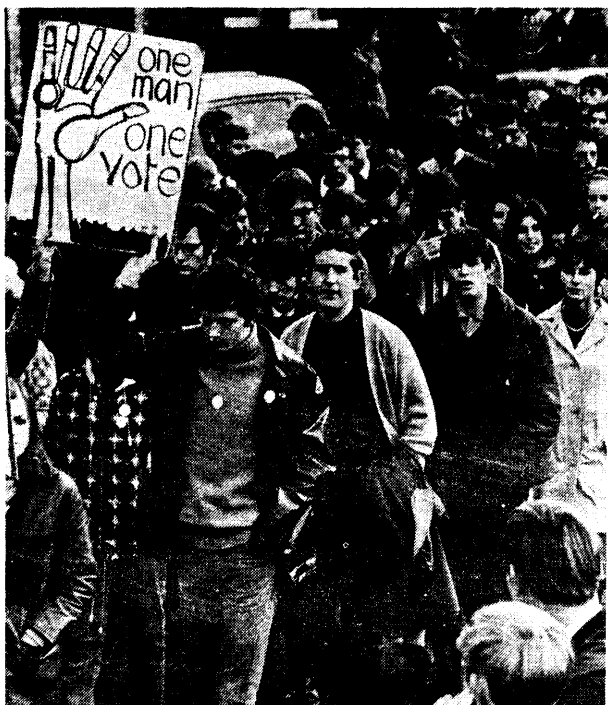
Lenin devoted a whole section of his polemic against Luxemburg to the "Historically Concrete Presentation of the Question". "The categorical requirement of Marxist theory in investigating any social question is that it be examined within definite historical limits, and if it refers to a particular country (e.g. the national programme for a given country), that account be taken of the specific features distinguishing that country from others in the same historical epoch." This is Lenin's method.

#### STAGES

Utilizing this method Lenin analyzes three distinctly different kinds of countries which existed side by side in his day, each representing a different stage of historical development (See point 6 of his "Theses"). The first are "the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe and the United States." Here the bourgeois democratic revolution was completed long ago and Lenin saw no validity whatsoever to the right of self-determination of nations within such countries. In these countries its only importance was the absolute necessity for the workers movement to defend this right in the colonial sphere, especially where their own imperialist bourgeoisie was concerned. The second category includes "Eastern Europe, Austria, the Balkans and particularly Russia." In these countries the bourgeois democratic revolution had only partially succeeded creating multi-national states with one bourgeois national grouping dominating over other oppressed nationalities and many features of feudalism remaining. It is within such a country that the question of the right of self-determination has particular meaning, is in fact essential to bring about the unity of the working class of many nationalities in a common struggle against the bourgeoisie. The third grouping is of course the colonial and semi-colonial countries where the slogan is also of great importance but here the struggle is against a foreign imperialist power.

Lenin emphasizes throughout his writings that the necessity for raising this demand for self-determination is always associated with a country in a state of backwardness which has neither not passed through the bourgeois democratic revolution or where this revolution has only been partially successful. Thus his insistence on historical concreteness.

## THE NEW NATIONALISM IN SCOTLAND, IRELAND, CANADA



CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATORS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

It is precisely the fact that the bourgeois revolution has long been completed in Belgium, England, Canada and the United States which makes the current nationalist and semi-nationalist movements in these countries so completely reactionary and the demand for the right to self-determination absolutely out of place. A look at a few of these situations will make this absolutely clear and also what is the real underlying cause of this new kind of nationalism.

#### SCOTLAND

First a look at Scottish nationalism (for a more detailed account see; "Scottish Nationalism and Revisionism" by Ian McCalman, Winter 68-69 Fourth International). The question of Scotland was settled definitely in the 18th century. British capitalism required a larger geographical basis for its capital development than England alone so by the beginning of the eighteenth century important capital development occurred in the Lowland areas of Scotland in particular. It was precisely this capital development which led to the closest collaboration and fusion of the Scottish and English bourgeoisies resolving the old conflicts between Scotland and England and laying the economic basis for what is now Great Britain.

Thus the bourgeois democratic revolution was completed in England and Scotland a long, long time ago, though of course the Highland areas remained more primitive, much like areas of Appalachia in the United States. This led to a very different evolution of Scotland from Ireland, where even to this day the country is subjugated to British imperialism and the partition of the country prevents its free development as a nation. Wales, on the other hand, evolved as did Scotland.

The current growth of nationalism in Scotland is in fact directly related to the development of capitalism in Scotland. It can only be understood by understanding the deep crisis of international capitalism which has had a particularly severe impact on Great Britain. Lowland Scotland precisely because of its early capitalist development has been particularly hit by the capitalist crisis, its industry being old and less competitive internationally. This has led to growing unemployment and great pressure not only on the workers but sections of the petty bourgeoisie. In this respect it does not differ significantly from similar sections of England proper such as the Northeast.

So Scottish nationalism is essentially a movement of the petty bourgeoisie which seeks to save itself from the impact of the crisis by arguing for its

particularly parochial and sectional interests. This petty bourgeoisie seeks to advance itself at the expense of the rest of Great Britain and over the backs of the workers. The workers, who feel most directly the impact of the crisis, are turned from the true cause of the crisis--capitalist rule--to nationalist attempts to see their hardships as resulting from English domination of the Scots. Thus nationalism plays an extremely reactionary role of tying the Scottish workers closer to the capitalists and hiding the real causes of their difficulties.

The revisionist collaborators of the SWP in England, the Maoists and the Stalinists have all used the very same arguments as the SWP does in relation to the Negro question to support Scottish nationalism. At the same time growing from within Scottish nationalism are fascist tendencies who propose a military dictatorship in Scotland. And so nationalism becomes a screen for collaboration between revisionism and fascism. This fascism is the absolutely inevitable result of nationalist tendencies within advanced countries during a period of crisis and shows most deeply the reactionary and petty bourgeois nature of such nationalism.

#### IRELAND

When we turn to Ireland the extremely reactionary and dangerous character of this new nationalism is manifest all the clearer. In Ireland there is a genuine national question involved. As long as Ireland remains partitioned the working class of Ireland remains divided and weakened. The demand for the destruction of the partition and the creation of a real Irish nation is an absolutely indispensable part of the program of Marxists not only in both Ulster and the Irish Republic but in Great Britain as well.

But it is not this absolutely correct and supportable battle for Irish self-determination which is presently rocking Ireland. Instead we find Ulster torn asunder by a fratricidal struggle between the dominant Protestant and the minority Catholic sections of the population. Again underlying this warfare is the deep economic crisis as industry in Belfast is as vulnerable as that in Glasgow. But instead of a common fight against the capitalists we have this fratricidal religious war which pushes the Protestant workers in the direction of fascist Paisleyism and ties the Catholic workers even closer to reactionary clericalism.

But there is another aspect of this Irish struggle which is particularly important to our understanding. The present struggle centers around a "Civil Rights Movement" made up of liberal and radical students with the participation of Catholic workers. The movement has many of the characteristics of the early civil rights struggles in this country, in particular Martin Luther King's marches into white working class suburbs of Chicago in 1964. By posing the issue as a "civil rights" one this movement acts only to encourage the reactionary Paisleyism of the Protestant workers. It begins, as did King, with demonstrations to get concessions from the government on housing and other forms of discrimination against Catholic

workers. But it already shows signs of going over to the ghettoism of current black nationalism, of an internal partition of the Catholic neighborhoods within Protestant dominated Ulster.

What is really required in Ulster is a fight against capitalism within which will be posed the destruction of all forms of religious discrimination. Only in this way can these divisions be broken down. These civil rights protests only solidify centuries-old antagonisms among the working class.

#### CANADA

The French Canadian question poses many of the same questions. Here, too, Canada long ago went through the bourgeois revolution and emerged as an important imperialist country in its own right, despite the penetration of British and American capital in the country. In no sense was or is Canada a backward country like Russia which maintained right up to the October Revolution important feudal vestiges in the government and on the land.

Canada is, however, a multilingual nation much like Switzerland and Belgium. To an internationalist this is all to the good as long as there are no privileges allowed to be connected to one language or the other and every concession is made to see that there is complete equality of languages. This is the way Lenin approached the question of Switzerland. Thus Marxists must defend the language rights of the French Canadians.

But to support the current Canadian separatist movement is something quite different. This movement has absolutely nothing to do with the right of self-determination. Like the Scottish movement it is a completely petty bourgeois movement and a reaction to the international crisis. Quebec has been going through an extremely important industrial boom in the post war period. As a result Quebec today is the most industrialized province in Canada outside of Ontario. While it is still backward when compared to Ontario and wage levels lower, it stands way ahead of the English speaking Maritime provinces with their deep poverty, decaying agriculture, and stagnant economics.

The real roots of French-Canadian nationalism lies in the slowing of the boom, so dependent as it was on foreign - largely American - capital of the past few years. As a result unemployment has increased and the petty bourgeoisie, limited in moving to other provinces because of knowing only one language, has been particularly squeezed. At the same time the French Canadian working class has been involved in fundamental union struggles which have threatened capitalism throughout Canada. When we add to this the general tendency throughout Canada toward deepened sectional rivalries (this has been expressed in British Columbia as well as the Maritimes) we get a picture of centrifugal tendencies within Canada coming to the surface as various regions vie with each other for a shrinking amount of new capital - most from the U.S.

Marxists, as Lenin pointed out, have no interest

whatsoever in federalism or confederation. We seek, not the decentralizing of the centralized state, but the conquering of that state by the working class and its withering away and replacement by world socialism. So tendencies towards fracturing a country like Canada are reactionary in character and can receive no support from Marxists. We can make no concessions whatsoever to French Canadian nationalism. We are not like the ISA, Canadian supporters of the SWP, who support unconditionally the "self-determination of French Canada" and thus adapt completely to French Canadian petty bourgeois tendencies.

At the same time we will give no quarter to the "strivings for privileges" of the French Canadian nationalists. Most recent example of this was their insistence that Italian immigrants in Montreal be forced to educate their children in French even though these immigrants preferred English. Thus these separatists want to deny the freedom of choice of language to the Italians which they themselves fight for correctly in predominantly English speaking parts of Canada.

We stand for the complete unity of the Canadian working class despite language differences in a common struggle against capital. Further we urge the closest collaboration of Canadian and American workers to destroy capitalism on the North American continent and to pave the way for the fullest socialist development of all the people of North America.

#### FORMULAE

We could add more on Welsh nationalism, the Breton question and Walloon-Flemish controversy (see "A New Party? Some Lessons For Belgian Labour" by Peter Arnold for an account of Ernest Mandel's complete capitulation to Walloon federalism) but the point is clear. The question of self-determination of nations is not applicable under every and all circumstances. No Marxist formula is an excuse for avoiding concreteness--the concrete analysis of a particular phenomenon within its particular historical circumstances. This demand is part of the general bourgeois democratic program for countries where the bourgeois democratic revolution has not been completed. When applied to advanced imperialist countries this demand, rather than bringing the class together in a common battle against capitalism, fractures the working class, subordinates sections of it to petty bourgeoisie movements and fosters fascist tendencies.

Finally, where such a demand is correct it means one thing and one thing only the declaration of the right of a nation to secede. It does not mean support to nationalism or national movements of either oppressed or oppressor nations. It does not mean support of any sort of "cultural autonomy", "community control", and any of the narrow and reactionary ideology of "ghettoism". "The slogan of national culture is a bourgeois (and often a black hundred and clerical) fraud," Lenin stated. "Our slogan is: the international culture of democracy and of the world working class movement."

## ARE AMERICAN NEGROES A NATION?

The only way the question of the American Negro can be understood is within the kind of international framework discussed in the first part of this article and with a completely scientific, objectively Marxist, concretely historical analysis. The writings of all the revisionists on this question are completely pragmatic, sociological, psychological--in fact any and every method is used but Marxism.

#### NATION

The position of the YSA and SWP on this question is absolutely clear. Tony Thomas' article in the recent Militant speaks of "support to self-determination of the black nation." Gus Horowitz is only a slight degree more careful with his talk of "a multi-class national minority", and that "black people were nationally oppressed". Both writers base themselves on the YSA resolution "On the Revolutionary Struggle of Black America for Self-Determination". This is the most remarkable document to be produced by self-styled Marxists in the history of the movement. It states that "the job of black revolutionary socialists is to Afro-Americanize Marxism" by combining "the traditions of Martin Delaney, Nat Turner, Marcus Garvey, and Malcolm X with the traditions of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and Cannon..." Its position on the national question is absolutely clear: "Black people make up what is known as an intra-colonized nation."

So it is the position of the SWP and YSA today

that the Negro constitutes an oppressed nation to whom the slogan of the right of self-determination correctly applies. Such a statement is of considerable importance for the whole struggle for socialism in the United States and thus for the whole international struggle. It requires a serious Marxist analysis, a concrete historical study of the specific evolution of the Negro people within the United States as it relates to the economic development of the United States within world capitalism. This is not supplied by the YSA and SWP. For all their harping on the importance of "facts" their resolution is as empty of concrete historical analysis as it is full of all sorts of psychological and sociological rubbish stolen from the universities about "identity" and "African heritage" and "spiritual armament".

#### BLACK BELT

The approach of the Communist party to this question must also be considered because their black belt theory, while schematic and absurd, represented at least a serious attempt at making a case for the Negro being a nation. As we have noted, the question of the right of self-determination has only one content, only one meaning--the right of a nation to secede or if an external colony the right to break from imperialist domination. It has no other content. It does not mean the right for national groups sprinkled throughout cities to have autonomy in "cultural" matters. It certainly never meant support for bourgeois



BLACK BELT FARM WORKER

nationalism in any way. So if the Negro is a nation to which this slogan applies this means it must have a "homeland", a region where it has developed its independent national culture and where a national bourgeoisie has arisen. It means

then that the United States never completed its bourgeois democratic revolution and like Russia is a multi-national state with an oppressed nation within it.

The Communist Party attempted to make a case for the Negro as a nation by delineating the counties in the South where the Negro was in a majority as a "black belt". This black belt was seen as dominated by the archaic sharecropper plantation economy, a real "intra-colonized nation." While the CP could not fail to note the wide dispersion of Negroes throughout the country as a whole they claimed that the majority still lived in this "homeland" and the others sought to someday return to their Black Ukraine. If this position of the CP, which they have conveniently shelved recently as even the most ardent black nationalist is not the least bit interested in returning to his "homeland", is historically correct, then the slogan of self-determination has at least some semblance of reality to it.

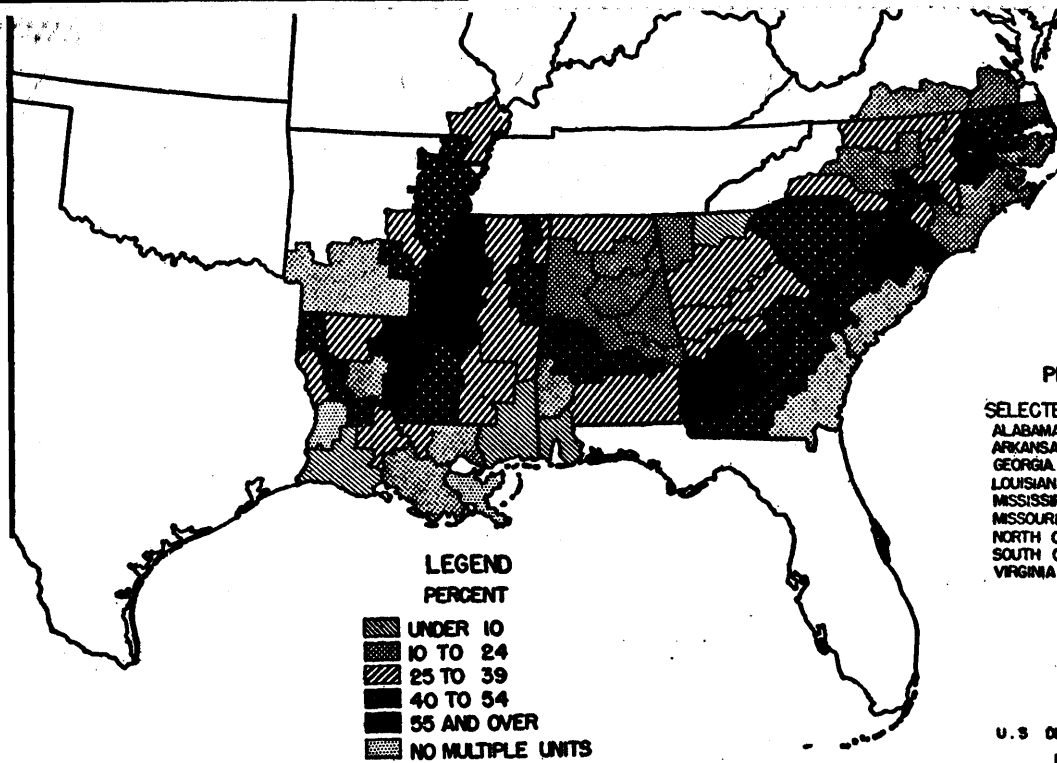
#### HISTORY

This whole question was in reality settled as a result of the American Civil War. The development of industrial capitalism in the North made the continuation of slavery more and more intolerable. Above all the Northern capitalists could not submit to a breaking up the country through a confederation and the possibility of the extension of slavery into the new states of the West. Rather they needed to extend capitalism into the South as well as the West. The Northeast region was too limited to support the development of capitalism just as England was a century earlier in relation to Scotland and Wales.

Concern for the plight of the slaves was the least concern of the Northern capitalists but all the same, as Marx and Engels pointed out, the struggle of the North against the South was historically progressive and necessary if the working class was to develop in the United States.

After the victorious conclusion of the war the main question shaking American politics was the future of the South. Some considered transforming the South into an internal colony, perhaps a black dominated one and openly supported the black reconstruction movement. But the dominant capitalist interests had something else in mind. They wanted peace with the old ruling class of the South to pave the way for fusion with this class such as the English did with the Scottish bourgeoisie and to open capital development of the region. Of course, as we shall see, they carried through this fusion in a very reactionary way. One reason for this solidarity with their old enemy was fear of the new enemy--the danger of a combined movement of Negro and white small farmers with the industrial workers of the North which took an early form in the Populist movement.

So reconstruction was scuttled and the old ruling classes continued to hold on to a semblance of their old plantation system through sharecropping which tied the rural Negro to the



BLACK BELT AS CP SAW IT IN 1945. AREA SHADED FOR OVER 40% IS PLANTATION REGION.

land almost as securely as slavery. It is from this period that the race system as such can be dated with all the Jim Crow laws of the South. The race prejudices were maintained to hold the Negro down as a source of cheap labor, to keep the working class divided and thus to hold the class down as a whole North and South.

#### INDUSTRIALIZATION

But despite the partial survival of the old plantation culture industrial development flourished in the East and Mid-West and started in the South. The North's victory in the Civil War and the destruction of the South's special regionalism laid the basis for the fantastic growth of capital in the period of the Robber Barons which made it possible for the United States to emerge from World War I as the dominant imperialist nation of the world. This industrial development was accompanied by a tendency of Negro immigration from the rural south to the urban North and later the urban South.

#### DECAY

At the same time the plantation economy went into decay. By the 1930s mechanization was introduced into cotton farming leading to the almost total destruction of the share cropper system and increased Negro migration out of the "black belt". Many Negroes, however, were allowed to remain in their cabins rent free so that a ready and cheap labor supply would be available for cotton weeding which still had to be done by hand. Now modern science has abolished this task as well, as hundreds of thousands of Negro families of the old South are being forced out of their homes. Crops

restrictions in both cotton and tobacco also have contributed to this process.

Today there is little left of the old black belt and the plantation economy upon which it rested. Even by 1950 close to a majority of the Negroes in America lived in the North and a majority of those who lived in the South lived in cities. Industrial development has made the South, while not as industrialized as the Maine to Virginia Atlantic belt and the Great Lakes region, more industrialized than Appalachia, the Mountain States and most of the Midwest plains area.

The American Civil War marked the completion of the American bourgeois democratic revolution and the emergence of a strong nation state with a powerful and integrated national economy. Any possibility of a Negro nation died with the destruction of reconstruction, the attrition of the plantation economy and the migration of the Negro and his at least partial integration into the American working class economically. This is why the Negro is not today in any sense whatsoever a nation or a national minority.

#### IDEOLOGY

In fact this objective reality is reflected in the ideology of the Negro nationalists themselves. Outside of its more exotic fringes the Black Nationalists do not demand repatriation to Africa, or return to the South, or any clear secessionist demand. Rather the very objective conditions of the Negro people restrict their nationalism exclusively to "cultural nationalist" slogans such as black control of the black communities or black control of the schools, etc.

## THE REAL CAUSES FOR THE GROWTH OF BLACK NATIONALISM

Wherein then lies the objective causes for this recent outburst of black nationalism in the United States? If seen in its international context this becomes extremely clear. Like Scottish nationalism, French Canadian nationalism and Protestant-Catholic feuding in Ireland, it is a reflection of the deepening crisis of world capitalism.

A brief look at the evolution of the Negro movement since the 1954 Supreme Court Decision will make this patently clear. From the Montgomery bus boycott through to the marches into Cicero the Negro struggle was primarily a reform struggle. Mass demonstrations were held in order to force concessions from the government. This was the policy of both King and SNCC. But the result of all the demonstrating was, despite the passage of all kinds of laws, no real change in either the economic lot of the Negro masses or racial discrimination in the country. Civil rights proved the bankruptcy of capitalism which entering into a new period of crisis and decline was incapable of bettering the lot of the Negro masses or wiping out race discrimination, prejudice and ghetto existence.

#### REVOLUTION

With reformism exposed there was no other road open to the Negro masses than a revolutionary struggle against capitalism itself. This required the building of a revolutionary working class leadership not only of the Negro masses but of the class as a whole. It was precisely at this point, when the need for revolutionary class struggle

was posed, that black nationalism entered the scene. The importance of black nationalism lies precisely in its turning away of the Negro masses from a struggle which posed the end of capitalism itself to a racialist battle for one or another form of cultural autonomy.

It must be understood that the crisis which has ended any hope for a bourgeois reform solution of the Negro question is international in scope. As we have noted the victory of the North in the Civil War paved the way for the emergence of the United States as the dominant world imperialist power. But this has occurred within the general historical period of imperialist decay. This means first of all that the rise of the United States has meant the decline of Europe, Great Britain in particular. Secondly it has meant that United States hegemony, rather than being accompanied by a period of relative peace and international stability, is accompanied by a period of crisis, war and revolution.

This new explosive situation internationally places the Negro struggle in an entirely different context. It has internationalized it so that the fate of the Negro people has become deeply intertwined with the fate of the world working class, in particular, the developing revolutionary situation in Europe. Precisely at this moment enters black nationalism with its revisionist supporters seeking to separate out the Negro not only from the rest of the working class in the United States but at the same time from the international class struggle.

It will soon be shown that the impact of the

revolutionary struggles in Europe, attacks on the working class as a whole within the United States, and the conscious struggles of Marxists against black nationalism will transform the very surface nature of the current racist polarization of American politics. Acceptance of black nationalism is thus deeply connected with a pragmatic retreat on the part of the revisionists from an international outlook and an acceptance, not of the crisis of international capital and the struggle of classes, but the permanence of capitalism and its race divisions.

The black nationalist struggle by its very ideological character accepted the race divisions in America, the black ghettos, the poverty. Its goal is to seek control over the ghetto rather than its abolition, to preach acceptance of racism and racial pride rather than the abolition of the race system and class solidarity. Under black nationalism not even reforms are any longer sought. A whole struggle is waged in New York City for community control of the schools without a single demand raised against the bourgeois state for the betterment of the school system, the abolition of the slums, and the like.

#### BENEFIT

Black nationalism is petty bourgeois not only because its ideology turns the Negro masses away from class confrontation and internationalism, from a fight against capitalism itself, but because the petty bourgeois strata of the Negroes are the only ones to benefit in the slightest from black nationalist demands.



# ILA votes contract despite opposition

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK--The unity of the ILA dockworkers has been broken. After eight weeks during which nothing moved in all ports from Maine to Texas, longshoremen here have been forced back to work even though their brothers in the other ports are still on strike in an effort to obtain a uniform national contract along the lines of the New York settlement. In effect the sacrifices made by the New York dockworkers for the last three or four weeks when they extended their strike until all ports settled--have been for nothing.

It was the U.S. government acting through the NLRB at the nominal request of the N. Y. shipowners, that got the injunction forcing a ratification vote in New York. The strike was beginning to hurt not just the shipowners and import-exporters, but Big Business as a whole. Every ILA man and class conscious worker has had another lesson on the U.S. government as the nations number one strikebreaker and agent of the employers. But the responsibility for surrendering totally to the government must be placed where it belongs--on the shoulders of the so-called leaders of the ILA, especially Thomas W. Gleason and Anthony Scotto.

## LOUDMOUTH

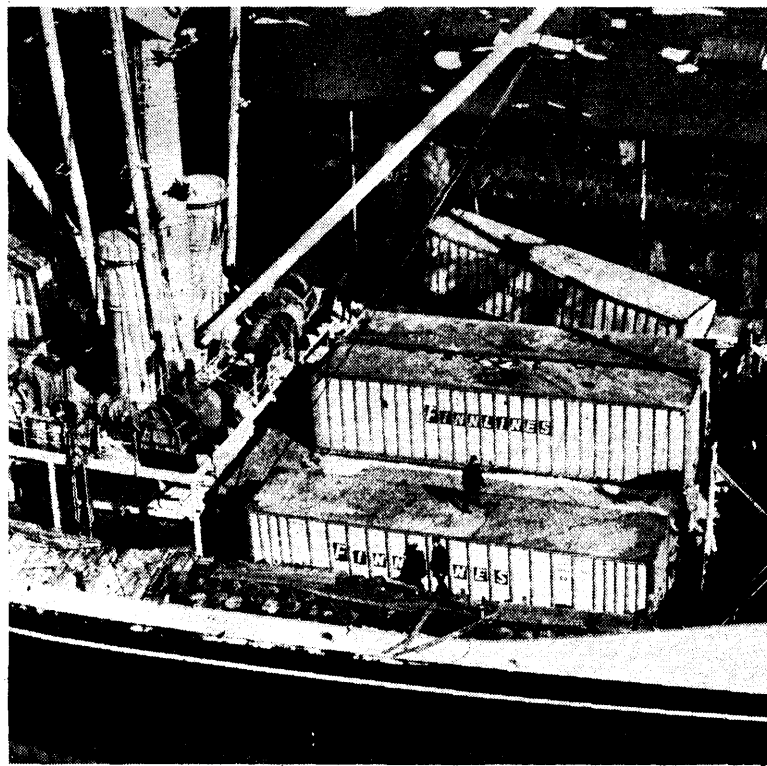
Gleason proved himself to be just another loud mouth, windbag bureaucrat whose threats against the bosses were a bunch of bull! When the request for a court injunction by the New York shippers first met the light of day, Mr. Gleason talked tough. "The only thing we can do if forced to it at this time is advise the men to vote against it", threatened Gleason. That was on February 8.

Within two days Gleason was keeping quiet about his threat and talking about how sad and disturbing it would be for the ILA unity to be broken: "They'll have to go back--if the men want the contract, there's nothing I can say about it. It was a good offer." By Feb. 12, Gleason had not only dropped the threats but had come out openly and enthusiastically in favor of ratification. Gleason had become a renegade and traitor to the union's policy which he and the other leaders had so loudly proclaimed, "one port down, all ports down."

Ending the strike in New York while the other ports are still out is a major gain for the bosses and setback for the union. There is no doubt that, as Gleason himself had contended, management in the other ports are by and large mere agents for the New York shipping bosses. The New York bosses could easily have brought the other ports into line with the same terms on wages, job guarantees and containerization as in New York. What the bosses hoped for all along--to give concessions in N. Y. while hanging

tough in other ports even with a view of closing down some ports over a period of time--is made a lot easier now.

After eight weeks without strike benefits and without any unemployment compensation, it was significant and a sign of the unrest among longshoremen that almost 35% of the New York ratification vote was for rejection of the contract. This, despite Gleason's cowardly about face and Scotto's "education campaign" and his attempt to buy time on two New York radio stations to "explain the bene-



WITH STRIKE OVER NY LONGSHOREMEN LOAD CONTAINERS

fits of the contract and urge a big turnout and ratification." This despite the large vote which Scotto had obtained in favor of ratification, in face of a strong and vocal opposition at a meeting of Brooklyn ILA local 1814, earlier in the week.

## MILITANCY

Behind the 35% vote for rejection is a good old stubborn militancy of workers who balk and say NO to government strike breaking regardless of what their leaders say. But there is more to it. The dissidents feel that whatever job guarantees are offered by the new contract (40 hour weekly minimum) the plain truth is that as both Gleason and the bosses have admitted, since the new containerizations require only about one tenth the stevedoring manpower as the old ships, within a few years the work force in New York and other ports may be cut in half!

The employers are now more than ever determined to cut out jobs. One employer representative complained that the costs of the new contract "will be murder", and that "the only salvation rests in seizing all benefits of the new trend carrying most of our general cargo in the big box containers." No wonder some dock workers are upset that the union didn't win the 6 hour day (which the west coast has had for some time) or double time on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. No won-

der many longshoremen were upset over a clause in the contract which allows "that a docker discharged for cause by an employer may be barred from working for other employers."

Job guarantees or not, the work force on the docks is to be decimated by "attrition" and the bosses will do everything to hasten the attrition process along from firings "with cause" to encouraging men to use the "early retirement" provision of the contract by gradually worsening the working conditions on the

docks.

If, as is entirely possible, there is an economic downturn, a recession, the employers will try to dump the work guarantee provision in short order. If the shipping bosses have it their way, the trend is for many less jobs, worse conditions and a growing number of able bodied workers forced to take lower paying jobs or go on welfare. No longer will the sons of longshoremen have the choice of following in dad's footsteps.

## STORY

Mr. Scotto had a little story to explain why the workers can't ask for too much from the bosses. "We don't want to kill the companies that employ us--we're hoping to keep them in business and still get our fair share", said Scotto. This concern for the bosses is most touching and we're sure that thousands of longshoremen will spend countless numbers of sleepless hours worrying that if they ask for too much they might put the boss out of business. Some chance. No. The job of a union is to fight for its members and 'let the chips fall where they may'. Workers are not strike happy and do not think lightly of staying out for eight weeks with no strike benefits or compensation.

In answer to Scotto we say no, the workers don't need private ownership! If the bosses plead that they are too 'poor', we say take the ship-

## Disgruntled Steel Ranks Give Opposition Candidate Big Vote

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

The Feb. 10 election for the Presidency of the United Steelworkers of America is another clear indication that the labor bureaucracy which holds power in the American trade union movement is facing the sharpest attack by the union rank and file in almost twenty five years. In this election, the incumbent President I.W. Abel was challenged by one of his own 'team', union staff lawyer Emil Narick who, with only 75% of the vote counted, received some 37% of the vote, according to early unofficial figures released by the union.

The official tally need not be announced until May 1, but if anything, Narick will probably get a higher percentage and could conceivably win the election. This is because many of the votes yet to be counted are from larger locals where Narick has his greatest strength, particularly in the Pittsburgh and Youngstown areas.

Before the election, Abel had stated publically that he would be surprised if Narick got 10% of the vote. But one district director, an Abel man who ran unopposed for reelection, didn't seem to be surprised at all. "You could run a dead horse and he'd do almost that well", he said.

## RESENTMENT

The element of truth behind this statement is that even though Narick is no less a bureaucrat than Abel, the issues he raised against Abel found a deep response among the ranks. Together with rank and file resentment against a recent dues increase the strong support for Narick was on the basis of his 'bread and butter' criticisms of last year's contract as inadequate in wages and fringe benefits. Narick asserted during the campaign that wage increases have been eroded by inflation, the vacation schedule weakened, and that a no strike clause prevents local unions from putting pressure on management.

Abel's talk of the last contract as the "best contract in the union's history" cannot be taken seriously. What Narick says about the July 31 contract is no news. We pointed out in the Bulletin of Sept. 2, 1968 that after a close look at the wage increases AND the increased cost of living, it was: "No wonder that steelworkers expect the rise in the cost of living to wipe out their wage increases by the first of the year. No wonder that there was a rash of wildcat walk-outs by steelworkers affecting

ping companies out of the hands of the private profiteers and put the industry under public ownership. This is the only way for the workers to benefit from automation and containerization and not to be it's victims.

The way of Gleason and Scotto is capitulation to the bos-

every major steel producer following the settlement."

## RATIONALIZATION

We further pointed out how the companies had built up a huge inventory surplus during the pre-strike period, gave a few miserable crumbs to Abel in the contract and then drastically cut back production after the settlement. The aim of the cutbacks and resulting layoffs was "to rationalize, modernize and introduce a basic re-tooling of the industry...to eliminate inefficient, marginal productive units and introduce more automated processes in order to better compete with foreign producers."

This is exactly what has been happening in the industry and is another reason for the large Narick vote. Narick actually ran ahead of Abel in those large locals in the Pittsburgh area where many workers are employed at the older mills most likely to be affected by plant closings, production cutbacks and other features of "rationalization". Yes, as in other industries such as shipping and maritime the spectre of unemployment haunts the steelworkers and in large part accounts for the revolt against the labor bureaucrats.

Meanwhile, the steel corporations, from large to small are driving inexorably to the replacement of the old open hearth furnaces with the new and far more productive Basic Oxygen Furnace and the electric furnace which is used primarily for high quality specialized steel production.

## LAYOFFS

For the steel bosses, these fantastic new developments in productive technology are an absolutely necessary means to reaping profits especially to "keep alive" in their fight against surging steel imports of foreign producers. But for the steelworkers they add up to--a layoff slip. They add up to an acceleration of the permanent unemployment in an industry where in 1946 some 650,000 men produced half the steel that is today produced by only 450,000 men. Such is the irony of the system of capitalist private enterprise, where the advances of science and technology mean misery and suffering for the working people.

This is why it is not enough for the steelworkers simply to vote against Abel. They need to fight in the union for a thirty hour week and full production with full employment based on the nationalization of the steel companies.

ses and collaboration with the government and the Democratic and Republican parties. Our way is for a political fight against the bosses and their two parties and for the organization of labor's own party to fight for public ownership of shipping and all major industry.

## Economic crisis spurs monopoly trend and unemployment hits workers

# the merger mania



STEEL STOCKPILE IN DETROIT, MICHIGAN

BY FRED MUELLER

Hardly a day goes by without the report of new mergers and acquisitions involving major corporations. Information on the overall merger picture is harder to come by, however, not to speak of the significance of the merger trend.

Recently the Associated Press reported on what was termed "the third great merger wave of this century." 4400 firms were swallowed

up in mergers or acquisitions in 1968, and this represented a whopping 50% increase over the previous year. These deals involved over \$50 billion.

An understanding of the significance of mergers is crucial for the working class and the trade union movement. The trend to monopolization and ever greater concentration of capital was analyzed by Lenin over 50 years ago in his book, "Imperialism."

This trend is characteristic of 20th century capitalism, as the capitalists are literally forced together in order to increase efficiency and counter the tendency of the rate of profit to fall.

The past few years have also seen a wave of merger activity in Great Britain. It is a necessity for British capitalism to streamline and modernize its industry in order for British exports to compete on the world market. U.S. industry, though technically far in advance of British, also faces increased problems on the world market, particularly from West Germany and Japan. The U.S. trade surplus dropped to almost zero in 1968, the lowest figure in 31 years. Thus the merger trend accelerates in the U.S. for the same reasons as it does in Britain.

### UNIONS

Mergers mean unemployment and speedup, as the employers seek to push labor costs down. The trade unions are going to be facing more and more direct attacks on this front. So far they have been shielded by the tremendous wealth and power of U.S. capital, but this is changing quickly. In the U.S. and throughout the capitalist world the employers are moving together in larger and larger aggregates as the stronger swallow up the weaker within each country in order to do battle internationally. They are following the same path they have followed historically in preparation for crisis and world recession.

Now there is talk of a Federal Trade Commission in-

vestigation of the merger trend. This is so much window dressing. Whatever governmental intervention takes place, we can be sure it will be aimed toward aiding and guiding the concentration of capital in the long range interests of the employers and against the working class. This is clear from the work of the Industrial Reorganization Corporation in Great Britain which has, quite simply, poured government money and other aid into the campaign of the British capitalists to improve their position internationally and to take on the British workers in the process.

### BANKS

Recently Congressman Wright Patman complained about the growing influence of commercial banks in other areas of the economy. It seems for example that nine of the 12 largest banks in the country, with deposits in the tens of billions of dollars, are connected through holding companies with such other sectors as transportation, real estate, manufacturing, mining, petroleum, agriculture and insurance.

Patman talks about the undue influence of the banks as though it were a new phenomenon and can be reversed by the proper legislation. Of course it is not new and no legislation can control it, though there are frictions between different sections of the bourgeoisie regularly aired by Patman, which require negotiation and resolution.

What is characteristic of imperialist development,

however, is that the old distinctions between industrial and finance capital are partly broken down as the role of finance capital becomes greater and greater. It is finance capital which runs the U.S. and the world economy; it is the world bankers who make the important decisions in the face of the deepening crisis, though internal and international rivalries complicate and for that very reason accentuate the crisis.

### POWER

The supremacy of finance capital goes hand in hand with the greater concentration of capital, as the banks acquire more and more assets and overall control. The talk of the growing power of the banks is significant, coming at the same time as the ever-growing wave of mergers. This is an acceleration of the underlying processes of the capitalist economy, a response to growing problems and preparation for full-scale depression. It is a complete confirmation of Lenin's theory of imperialism, against all those who claim to have discovered some supposedly new or different fundamental features in the world economy. This includes the revisionists such as Ernest Mandel, with their talk of neo-capitalism as a new and completely different stage of capitalism beyond imperialism. What we see in reality is a deepening of the essential contradictions of imperialism, and the development of the capitalist crisis which can only be resolved through the socialist revolution.

## Robert Sherwood Wins Acquittal in Toronto!

BY A BULLETIN CORRESPONDENT

TORONTO-The February 13th trial of Robert Sherwood ended with a resounding victory. The case against Sherwood was dismissed. An appeal by the Canadian government is possible but is considered very unlikely.

Sherwood had been charged under section 50f of the Canadian Immigration Act with knowingly falsifying his immigration questionnaire upon entry into Canada 19 months ago, by failing to list on it convictions received during civil rights activities in Chicago in 1963 and 1965. Conviction on this charge probably would have led to deportation proceedings against Sherwood, a draft resister and an active socialist and member of the Toronto branch of the Canadian Workers League.

### DISMISSED

The case was dismissed by Provincial Judge G.B. Greene, who stated that he accepted Sherwood's statement that he had not knowingly falsified the immigration form because he did not consider the Chicago convictions to be for "criminal offenses". Judge Greene went further in his decision, criticizing the Immigration Department for not defining

its terms in asking prospective immigrants about criminal convictions, and stating that the prosecution had not proven its case.

Sherwood's lawyer, Mr. Paul Copeland, had emphasized that Sherwood's arrest record consisted solely of arrests for political activities and did not involve "moral turpitude." Copeland asked the court what would be done with an immigrant who had merely spoken against a totalitarian regime and had been imprisoned. Should such an immigrant consider this a criminal conviction, or should he consider that the real criminal is the regime which imprisons its political opponents?

### WITNESS

As its sole witness the prosecution called a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who had questioned Sherwood several months ago. The RCMP officer, under defense cross-examination, made no attempt to prove that Sherwood's arrest record showed criminal convictions.

The early victory in this case is an inspiring confirmation of the correctness of the aggressive legal and political campaign waged by the

Committee to Defend Robert Sherwood. In just over two months this Committee enlisted over 70 sponsors, including a large number of active trade unionists, as well as university faculty and leading members of student, radical and antiwar organizations. Hundreds of signatures on petitions protesting the charge against Sherwood were forwarded to Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau. Hundreds of dollars were raised as a beginning step in insuring that this case was fought and appealed to the highest level if necessary, and a protest demonstration which sent a strong letter of protest to Trudeau was held at the Canadian Consulate in New York.

### POLITICAL

The early acquittal does not in any way contradict the view expressed in the founding statement of the Committee, which clearly labeled the charge a political attack and which guided the Committee in fighting back politically. As the founding statement said, "This case involves far more than draft resistance or the Vietnam War. Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau has publicly expressed his fear of

social unrest spilling over from the U.S. into Canada. The Rand Commission Report is a direct attack on the Canadian trade unions. In the U.S., the incoming Nixon Administration is preparing to continue attacks on black militants, radicals and the entire working class movement. This prosecution is a political attack and it must be answered politically. The plans of the Canadian and U.S. rulers must be exposed and the broadest support possible won for Sherwood on this basis."

The political nature of the attack is further confirmed by a report in the Toronto Telegram on the very same day on which Sherwood's case was decided. Telegram columnist Ron Haggart reports on various telephone calls which the RCMP has made to several welfare department officials, inquiring whether "draft dodgers, or young American immigrants generally, were presenting any problem, as a major factor in welfare costs." Not a single American on welfare has been found. Haggart goes on to suggest that the RCMP is probably looking for propaganda, to imply that draft resisters have

become a great burden on the public by going on welfare and to prepare a political witchhunt.

There are significant forces within the Canadian government and ruling class moving rapidly to the right, and searching for scapegoats as they move. Thus the Sherwood case is clearly no accident. Moves taken against draft resisters today will extend tomorrow to other immigrants and very soon to Canadian workers and student militants, and especially to the trade unions as the crisis deepens.

### FIGHT

The Committee to Defend Robert Sherwood stands ready to take up the fight again in case the government should decide to appeal the verdict or to continue harassment of Sherwood in other ways. We urge all of our supporters to come to the defense of all those in the student and working class movement who come under attack.

We want to thank all of our supporters and sponsors for the aid they have given. We also want to express our appreciation to Mr. Paul Copeland for his able legal services, and to the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee for its advice and encouragement.

# LONGO'S CROCODILE TEARS FOR CZECHS

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

Addresses delivered by Italian Communist Party head Luigi Longo and other party leaders at Bologna this month, scene of the party's 12th national conference, have been completely dominated by biting denunciations of the August Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

On the one hand, the Italian party heads desperately want to avoid an open break with Moscow. This is why they identify with and praise the "sense of responsibility" of the Prague leaders in capitulating to Moscow and why they acquiesce themselves to the call for a Soviet world conference later this year. At the same time they are absolutely forced to take up cudgels on the Czech issue to the point of vitriolic attacks on Moscow.

## RIFT

The sharpness of the rift with Moscow at Bologna was reflected in the contrast between wild ovations afforded the Czech delegate and the stony reception given his Russian counterpart as well as virulent open attacks on the Italians coming from Polish and East German representatives and the clandestine dissemination of polemical material to rank and filers by the Russians.

The fact is, however, that the opposition of the Belgian, French, British, and Italian CP's to the Czech invasion did not arise out of consideration for the interest of the Czech or international working class. The stand of the Stalinists in these countries represented in the main a pragmatic adaptation upon the part of these parties to the exigencies of maintaining close relations with their respective national bourgeoisies. This is the real meaning behind Longo's reaffirmation of the "Italian road to socialism" and his defense of polycentrism in the Communist camp.

In each of these countries the Stalinists, basing themselves upon theories of peaceful and parliamentary roads to socialism, have played so consistently a reformist role that the bourgeoisie has been able to tolerate their growth and integration into the existing bourgeois framework as parties of loyal opposition.

## AUTHORITY

In a country like the United States the predominant source of authority of the CP lies in its ties to Moscow, its identification however false with the October Revolution. In Italy on the other hand the authority of the CP over 4,520,000 members, 25% of the electorate as well as its control of dozens of Tusco-Emilian cities and towns, CGIL (Communist and Socialist run Trade Union Federation), and the League of Cooperatives rests predominately upon the delicate opportunist relations between the CP and the parties of the Center Left coalition and in particular the Socialists.

The stand on Czechoslovakia arose out of national considerations of preserving the party



LUIGI LONGO ADDRESSES CP CONGRESS

apparatus in Italy at the very moment when this apparatus is desperately required to contain the new upsurge in the Italian and European working class within the bounds of reformism.

## UNREST

In past months Italy has been wracked with worker and student unrest. This has included numerous one day general strikes as well as battles with Italian police in dozens of cities. As recent February 5th over 90% of the Italian work force subject to the strike call of the three major labor federations went out on a one day action in support of upward revision of the state pension allowances. This was followed on February 12th by a strike of 5 million workers in private industry against a government backed system of lower pay scales in underdeveloped areas.

As we have pointed out in earlier articles the resurgence of the Italian labor movement is directly bound up with the fact that the Italian working class has failed to participate in the Italian prosperity of recent years. In so much as there has been prosperity, it has been prosperity for the Italian capitalists and "bookkeeping" prosperity in the sense that by holding down wages Italian capitalism has built up gold reserves exceeded only by the U.S. and West Germany. However, now at the very moment that the Italian working class has decided that it is time that they partook of the affluence they have created in past years, Italian capitalism is faced

with the competitive squeeze arising out of the general European and American monetary crisis and can hardly afford any concessions.

All of this has led not only to sharper class struggle on the economic plane but has found a sharp political expression in the continuing crisis besetting the Center Left coalition since June, 1968.

## BANKRUPTCY

The bankruptcy of Italian Stalinism in the face of these developments was nowhere better expressed than in the strategy laid down at Bologna by party Secretary Longo. Precisely at a time when the Italian bourgeoisie is finding it increasingly difficult to rule through the traditional parliamentary democracy, Longo proposes a program of reformist demands to be backed by a course of harassment, strikes, mass demonstrations, parliamentary obstructionism, etc. aimed at the shaky Center Left coalition. At the same time he holds out the illusion that such a course will lead to the peaceful and constitutional accession to power of a Communist majority and CP government.

We say, on the contrary, that the break up of the Center Left coalition in Italy will be superseded not by a government of the CP but by a bonapartist dictatorship unless there develops within the Italian working class a party prepared to utilize the developing crisis within the bourgeois parties as well as the strike movement for the revolutionary seizure of state power in the next period.

Such a party can no more be constructed from the standpoint of the ultra-left anarcho-syndicalist and new left currents with which Longo took issue at Bologna, forces which essentially deny the problem of state power, any more than from the pacifist illusions of Longo himself. The only prognosis for Italy must be the construction of a party of the Fourth International which alone can succeed in uniting all sections of the Italian working class together with the Italian students and focusing all these struggles on the problem of state power.

## IDENTITY

It is precisely to head off the possibility of any such independent development within the Italian working class that Longo and the Italian CP must preserve the wide authority of the CP even though this means a rift with Moscow over the Czech events.

When analyzed thus from the standpoint of the working class, the policies worked out in Moscow and Bologna are seen to be complementary and identical. In Czechoslovakia the containment of the working class required the Stalinists to undertake an armed intervention. In Italy the containment of the working class requires opposition to this intervention. But the fundamentally counterrevolutionary aims of the two policies are identical and equally in the interest of world imperialism.

## SPANISH CLASS STRUGGLE DEEPENS DESPITE REPRESSION

At the end of January the Franco regime imposed its emergency police power act to deal with the deepening economic and political crisis in Spain, part of the crisis which is sweeping the whole of Europe. This decree represented a sharp turn to the right by the government which over the past few years has moved towards liberalization, allowing various reformist forces to enter into the government.

Central to this reaction by the government has been the resistance and offensive of the working class in Spain. This is seen clearly in Spain today. Despite the passage of the police powers act, 19,000 workers have closed down the plants in Bilbao in the Basque area. The main industrial area of Spain. The strike is being led by underground strike committees independent of the state con-

trolled official trade unions or syndicates.

## PICKLE

The spirit of the workers is unbreakable. As one worker put it seeing three workers entering a struck plant: "Scabs—we will hang them." And about the gray-uniformed police in the area, he said, "The grays, the grays, we will pickle them on trays."

This determined spirit of the workers can only be contrasted to the betrayals of the Communist Party and its leaders in the unions. The Communist Party has fought in Spain to stop the strikes and get the workers to accept the moves by the government. During the period of liberalization, the CP has sought to ingratiate itself with the Franco regime seeking a few crumbs from its table.

The workers have seen things quite differently and

have sought to build a new leadership represented by the clandestine strike committees.

The struggles in Spain are

part of the general upheavals occurring throughout Europe which are a result of the crisis of European and world capitalism and the resistance

of the working class to any and all measures taken by the capitalists and their state to save their fast decaying system.

## IMPERIALISM MOVES TO DIVIDE CONGO SPOILS

mcnamara engineers deal

A deal is presently in the works for the final distribution among the imperialist nations of the spoils from the Congo. This is the meaning of the trip by Robert McNamara, former Secretary of Defense and present head of the World Bank, to Brussels following a visit to the Congo as part of a general African tour.

The background for the trip was the defeat by the U.S.-supported central Congolese government of the Belgian-supported Katangese rebellion with the UN's help some time

back. As a result the rich holdings of the Belgian firm Union Miniere were taken over by the government. In this way American capital has become dominant throughout the Congo.

Now the question is to throw some crumbs to the Belgian imperialists so that the imperialist exploitation of the Congo can move along smoothly. To accomplish this McNamara is using as bait the possibility of a large loan to the Congo. In return he wants a settlement for Union Miniere which will give this

firm part of the \$800 million in cash it wants plus a share in annual copper revenues. The U.S., of course, will continue to have the main economic dominance in the Congo.

## THIEVES

The thieves may fall out as they did in the Congolese-Katanga War but they are quite capable of coming to terms once again. Either way the people of the Congo lose—until such time as they throw out all the imperialists not only from the Congo but from the whole African continent.

# sds labor expels trotskyists



LYN MARCUS EXPELS THOSE HE CANNOT ANSWER POLITICALLY  
SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

NEW YORK-- The SDS Labor Committee, led by L. Marcus, has expelled all members and supporters of the Workers League as "dis-

ruptors." The expulsion took place at a rump session of the group after WL members and supporters had left.

In the session prior to the expulsion long time SDS La-

## WORKERS LEAGUE CALLED 'DISRUPTERS'

bor Committee member Tom Gordon had presented a paper criticizing the group for abandoning the struggle for the revolutionary party and adapting in a reformist way to the current level of struggle among students, workers and blacks. The SDS Labor Committee refused to discuss the paper. Clearly the expulsion was their way of answering the political critique.

### DISCUSSION

For some months now Workers League members and others have been pressing for a serious discussion within the Committee of its theories and political practice. It is this struggle for a serious discussion which SDS Labor and L. Marcus consider "disruptive."

In the meantime the Committee has been moving fast to the right. After first opposing the black nationalists for using community control to break the teachers strike today it seeks alliances with the black nationalists on the

basis of the black nationalist program. After months of work in the Garment Center and among other unions the Committee has failed to win over a single worker remaining an intellectual middle class sect.

At a time when students in large numbers are recognizing, if in a confused way, the need for a revolutionary party, SDS Labor is completely opposed to such a conception. L. Marcus himself comes from the Socialist Workers Party while the rest of the leadership comes from Progressive Labor. The Committee members at no time have made a serious study of their own political past.

So today they carry on the methods of both groups in using organizational means to squelch a political opposition. They carry forward all the weaknesses of the groups they have broken from with none of their strengths. They represent a right wing break from the SWP and PL and rather than posing a revolutionary alternative, contribute to the confusion of the new student radicals.

## ARMY PANICS OVER MUTINY

Last week the Army convicted three soldiers ages 21, 20, and 26 to 14-16 years at hard labor for their participation in a "mutiny". They are three of 27 men who staged a sit-down work stoppage at the stockade at Presidio, a large army installation in October to protest the fatal shooting of a fellow prisoner and the deplorable conditions in the military jail. The rest of the 27 men are yet to be tried but it is expected they will receive similar sentences.

These incredibly harsh sentences indicate the frenzy with which the military is reacting to the growing dissent within the armed forces to the Vietnam war. These victims of state repression must have the all out support of the entire working class. The Vietnam war which is being perpetrated in the interests of U.S. imperialism is against the interests of the workers in the U.S. as well as the workers and peasants in Vietnam. It is clear that the rulers of this country and their military arm will stop at nothing to continue this murder.

## TROOPS ATTACK STUDENTS IN MADISON

BY PAT CONNELLY

The National Guard arrived on the campus of the University of Wisconsin at Madison riding in jeeps mounted with machine guns. They were called up by the Governor Warren P. Knowles, on the recommendation of the school administration and the Mayor of Madison, on February 13th to put down a strike by students in support of demands raised by Negro students. The Guardsmen patrolled the campus with fixed bayonets, stationing themselves inside and outside of buildings.

Students have demonstrated for over a week in support of the demands. Over 1,500 demonstrators tried to picket buildings on the 13th, and in response to the calling in of the National Guards, their ranks swelled to 5,000.

The students marched from the campus to the State Capitol chanting "On Strike, Shut It Down." National Guardsmen and local police armed with riot equipment broke up groups of students, using tear gas and clubs. When some of the teaching assistants at Madison refused to teach in support of the strike, they

were threatened with loss of their assistantship stipends.

The demands raised were essentially the same type as those raised at Brandeis and San Francisco State, that is, more Negro admissions, more Negro teachers, a degree program in Negro studies administered by Negroes.

As we have written in the BULLETIN before, those slogans are separatist and nation-

alist in character—they tend to divide students on racial lines on the university campus and in the rest of society. Nevertheless, they call down the armed might of the state and the ruling class, which feels threatened by any kind of militancy and unrest on the campus. We defend the students unconditionally against the intervention and brutality of the police and National Guard.

The students, however, are without a program. They unfortunately are in a position that even if they win demands such as a Black Studies Department (as has happened on many campuses in recent months) they lose, because they have no perspective, no program for uniting students in a common struggle with the only other section of society which is capable of changing society, the working class.

## New Struggles Erupt in India and Pakistan

The recent triumphant general strike in Pakistan together with the sweeping victory of the United Front parties in India's industrial West Bengal province indicate the impact the world crisis is having in the underdeveloped countries.

In West Bengal, a province which includes Calcutta, a coalition of left parties led by the left Communists, associated with China, won a sweeping victory against the ruling Congress Party and now has firm control of the government. At the same time a mammoth movement has

swept Pakistan in opposition to President Ayub Khan, who rests on the military and U.S. imperialism. A general strike called by a maverick liberal Ali Bhutto was totally effective, virtually the entire economic life of the country stood still, and Ayub Khan was forced to release his imprisoned opponents granting some democratic reforms.

This illustrates the revolutionary spirit which is sweeping the entire Indian continent right across the partition lines left by British imperialism. In the forefront of the struggles in both Pakistan and India has

been the renewed militancy of the working class. This illustrates once again the key role of the working class in the socialist revolution in the colonial countries and the profound crisis these countries have been thrown into as a result of deepening crisis in the metropolitan countries.

The real need today in India and Pakistan is a revolutionary Marxist leadership. Even the Left Communists, openly supported by the Chinese, have revealed their complete bankruptcy almost immediately after the election returns came in. Jyoti Basu,

head of the Left Communists, has made clear the new government intends to do nothing to hurt the capitalists. "We're not mad, We don't want factories to close down and people to become unemployed", he stated. "Not bad", commented B.M. Birla, chairman of Hindustan Motors, one of the largest firms in the province.

The great revolutionary events which are coming in the metropolitan and colonial countries will gruffly sweep these fakers aside and prepare the way for the construction of real Marxist parties

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### marxism and the trade unions

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March 12--THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM--PROGRAM FOR POWER. Reporter: Dennis O'Casey

March 19--THE RISE OF THE CIO. Reporter: Daniel Fried

March 26--TRADE UNIONS TODAY. Reporter: Fred Mueller

April 2--BLACK NATIONALISM VS. THE LABOR MOVEMENT. Reporter: Lucy St. John

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