

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER TWENTY FIVE 234

FEBRUARY 29, 1972

FIFTEEN CENTS

## NIXON-MAO PLOT VIETNAM DEAL

BY DAVID NORTH

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### Unemployment, USA

### DETROIT, MICH.

## Plant Closings Rock Motor City

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

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layoffs and proposed that all city workers work a four day week—at four days pay—every other week.

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(Continued On Page 15)

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(Continued On Page 18)

### What we think

#### Stalinist Cabal In Versailles

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As Chou En-lai drinks cocktails with Nixon in Peking, the Chinese leadership is making it clear that their number one enemy is no longer U.S. imperialism but the Soviet Union. The Maoists hope to isolate the Soviet Union and win the favors of U.S. imperialism for the Chinese bureaucracy.

The treachery of the Chinese bureaucracy is matched only by its counterparts in the Soviet bureaucracy. While the Kremlin and the American Communist Party claim that Mao's moves towards Nixon are "anti-Soviet," this is a cover for their own moves against China for friendship with imperialism.

Just as Nixon's jet was taking off for China, the Soviet bureaucracy was letting it be known that it would be willing to repay the United States

(Continued On Page 8)

## CWA Ranks Wildcat Against Bell Reprisal

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

WHITE PLAINS, N.Y., Feb. 22—Eight hundred and fifty phone workers of CWA Local 1103 here walked off their jobs today in protest against the Bell Telephone Company's suspension of the local's president and a large number of shop stewards.

The wildcat action came less than a week after the ratification by mail ballot of a contract which ended the seven month strike of the New York phone workers. The vote was 13,769 in favor and 9,193 opposed.

The depth of the opposition not only to the contract but also to the leadership itself was expressed in the membership meetings of the Queens, Staten Island, Brooklyn and Nassau locals, where the ranks went on record as being unanimously op-

posed to the contract.

Beirne insisted on a mail ballot in order to draw out those workers who, although they hated the contract, would vote "yes" because it was financially impossible for them to continue the strike. Beirne and Bell were both determined to put down the New York locals by starving them off the picket lines.

#### LEADERSHIP

Had there existed a leadership within the opposition capable of pointing the way to victory against the power of the Bell monopoly and the betrayals of the CWA bureaucracy, even the mail ballot would have returned a decisive "no" vote.

The wildcat now taking place is a demonstration of the fact that nothing has really been settled by the ratification. Bell is still faced with the task of physically smashing the union, and the

(Continued On Page 18)

### INSIDE

YOUNG SOCIALIST PAGE  
Inside Jefferson High—  
Barbaric Mini School

PAGE 7

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(Continued On Page 18)

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# Heath Retreats In Showdown With Miners

BY ED SMITH

"Nobody in the Government is pretending that the miners' strike is ending in anything but a crushing defeat—with a court of inquiry that ministers had never intended and a settlement that they can hardly bear to contemplate."

This is how the journal of the British bosses, *The Economist*, summed up the terms of the Wilberforce Commission report recommending terms of settlement for the first nationwide miners' strike in Britain for nearly half a century.

The solidarity of the entire British working class in their determination to defend their rights and the rights of the mine-workers has sent the Tory government reeling. It was in fact only by a hair's breadth that the Heath government escaped a complete defeat that would have made the government resign.

That Heath was able to escape was due solely to the betrayal of the Labour and trade union bureaucracies, assisted by the Stalinists.

In the crucial vote in Parliament, on legislation which would enable Britain to enter the Common Market, the government scraped by with an eight vote majority. Five Labour members abstained and three were conveniently "absent"—including two former ministers in the Labour government.

The Wilberforce Commission has put forward a pay increase of about five or six pounds a week, approximately 20%. As miners' leader Joe Gormley observed, "We have won more concessions in the past 24 hours than we have done in the last twenty years."

But the miners Gormley leads are different men now than they were when they began the strike well over a month ago. They have seen the government try to break their strike, whipping up a public hysteria against them as "industrial wreckers."

## POLITICAL

Moreover the realization that the fight is political, that they are in the front line of a battle to defeat the Tory onslaught on the working class, that can only end with the removal of the Tories from office, has taken deep root among the miners.

They know the Tories are making no secret of their plans for revenge on the miners by closing 80 or 90 "unprofitable" pits and throwing literally tens of thousands onto the dole. The government has already announced that 4,000 jobs have already been cut.

There is growing determination in the miners' union to throw back the Wilberforce settlement and stay out for the full nine pounds the union is demanding.

In this situation the Heath government would have only two alternatives. It would be forced into a head on confrontation with the working class, including the use of troops and the Industrial Relations Act to break the

working class.

It would be a confrontation the Heath government is unprepared for. It would mean turning all of Britain into a Londonderry and the threat of civil war.

The only other alternative would be the resignation of the Tories under circumstances that would mean the election of the Labour government with a huge majority.

This last alternative is what the Labour leaders are going all out to sabotage and prevent. Miners' leader Gormley told his men if they rejected Wilberforce and stayed out for their full claim, "the whole country would be in ruins within a few weeks and nobody really wants that."

This is a lie. It is the Tories who have threatened to shut down the entire country to prevent the miners from maintaining their living standards and they have made it clear they intend to put the policy of breaking the working class back into force the instant they feel strong enough to do so.

## RETREAT

Heath knows that he can, with the connivance of the labor leaders, beat only a tactical retreat. Eventually he must take on the workers in order to crush them, using the methods of Northern Ireland.

The Tories are openly crowing about how they intend to get back at the miners through high unemployment and tremendous speedup. "If you play rough, as the miners have done in this strike, you can expect to be treated roughly in return," states *The Economist*.

In this situation the Right to Work March sponsored by the Young Socialists assumes the highest importance. It is a means to rally the working class to carry out the task necessary for its survival: that is, the removal of the Tory government and the fight against the reformist and Stalinist traitors and their revisionist accomplices like the International Socialists.

The miners' strike is proving that the issues raised by the French General Strike of May-June 1968—the need for the working class to take power to defend itself—is coming onto the agenda in country after country.

# Rebellion Shakes Greek Dictatorship

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

After five years of brutal and barbaric rule the military junta is today shaken by a very sharp crisis. The junta's fear of the unbroken resistance of the Greek working class lies behind the establishment at the port of Pireo of the home base of the 6th Fleet with 3,000 U.S. Navy men and their relatives and military personnel.

Despite assurances to the contrary, the military courts are very busy railroading to jail hundreds of workers, youth, intellectuals, and military men who have for long periods been confined in prisons or concentration camps where "confessions" have been extracted from them through Gestapo tactics.

The latest of the long series of condemned persons are six workers and two students who have been condemned to long prison terms. Among the hundreds who are awaiting the farce trials is D. Partsalidis, an old member of the Greek Com-



Workers striking *El Mundo*, San Juan newspaper, confront police. Cops broke leg of one worker and arrested many more in strike.

# 'El Mundo' Uses Scabs Against Strike In P.R.

BY LUCIA RIVERA

PUERTO RICO—The union of journalists and graphic artists have struck against the daily paper, *El Mundo*, here.

The two main issues involved are the question of wages and the closed shop.

The union said that there are 200 workers who perform union work and who do not belong in the union because the company has these workers classified as supervisors.

Since the beginning of the strike, the company has made it very clear that its main task is to bust the union and defeat the strike by any means possible. The daily *El Mundo* is the richest newspaper company in Puerto Rico and is, at the same time, the one which pays least to its workers.

This company owns a television channel, a radio station as well as the newspaper. It has utilized all these media to attack the union.

But what is clear to all strikers is that it is the company that has refused to deal on the negotiations table with the main issue,

the closed shop, that it is the company which has spent thousands of dollars in bringing scabs from Miami to break the strike, and has purchased five helicopters to deliver the paper.

The company contracts mechanics and pilots from Miami to take care of the delivery because the pilots from the island have refused to work with *El Mundo* during the length of the strike.

On Feb. 16 at 3:00 a.m., a truck with food for the scabs was stopped by the strikers. At that moment the police started attacking the strikers and arrested a couple of them.

At the end of that week, the union leaders were arrested and several strikers sent to the hospital, one with a broken leg because one of the scabs hit him with his car. The police have not arrested this scab, although the person with a broken leg was ar-

(Continued On Page 18)

# STALINISTS APPLAUD SUDAN BUTCHERY

BY ED SMITH

In July last year leaders of the Sudanese Communist Party and trade union movement headed by Abdel Khaled Mahgoub were executed by the bourgeois nationalists of General Numeiry after an abortive coup that brought them into power for several days.

Now it has been revealed that the Stalinists backed Numeiry, the executioner, against their comrade, Mahgoub.

This is revealed in a speech by Czech Stalinist leader Vasil Bilak to the Czech CP Central Committee last October 21 reprinted recently in the French newspaper *Le Monde*. According to Bilak, Mahgoub and his comrades were moving towards "sectarian positions"—opposition to the murderous Numeiry regime and to the proposed federation with Libya and Sadat's Egypt.

## "MISUNDERSTANDING"

Thus, revulsion against the killings was a "noble reaction," but "based on a misunderstanding." It would not have been wise for us to abandon our hard-won positions in the Sudan or elsewhere," Bilak told his fellow Stalinists.

"We would have only been playing the game of imperialism, which would be delighted to see us lose the possibility of influencing events by breaking our contacts with the just struggle of progressive forces."

By progressive forces, Bilak means "Numeiry's democratic revolutionary regime of progressive officers," not the murdered Mahgoub, the Sudanese Communist Party or the crushed unions. No wonder the big protest campaign the Communist Parties organized around the Sudan repression has quietly folded up.

## STALINISM

The revelation of Bilak's speech comes just a week after the Yugoslav Stalinists' support to British imperialism against the Irish people. Stalinism must now line up more and more openly with capitalism for the direct repression and murder of the working people when they attempt to resist that system.

mill and on the dock staged a demonstration against the plans to close the mill and clashed with the police and troops. At that demonstration all of the modern anti-riot equipment supplied by U.S. imperialism to the military junta was used and hundreds were injured and arrested.

More than 1,200 intellectuals, professionals and politicians have signed a petition for the immediate release of ALL internees and prisoners. This reflects the enormously growing opposition and resistance of the workers and youth against the dictatorship.

The retreat of the dictators in front of this huge opposition on the proposed legislation for the reorganization of pensions and to the Journalists law which would

require every single reporter operating in Greece to be in accordance with the Greek Christian culture has caused the reorganization of the persons in command and the assumption of more power by Papadopoulos, the junta's strong man.

The policies and relations of international Stalinism with Greece are criminal. Not only the diplomatic relations but the expansion of commerce and collaboration for "peaceful coexistence" in a period of big class struggles internationally have revealed completely the true face of Stalinism.

Albania's rulers, in exchange of favors for the establishment of diplomatic and friendly relations have turned over militants who sought refuge there to the murderous hands of the junta.

# City Workers Threaten To Shut Dayton

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON—City Manager James Kunde rekindled his three-pronged attack on labor as negotiations between the City of Dayton and the police and firemen broke down.

The Dayton City Commission (3 Democrats and 2 Republicans) railroaded through a slave labor strike ban Ordinance against all city workers and police. The City Manager in one week moved to wipe out the seniority rights of the workers and remove whole sections of the union members from the bargaining unit and to lay off workers.

A rank and file movement is demanding that the labor bureaucrats back up their tough talk with action: A GENERAL STRIKE.

Threatened with the anger of



Dayton City Workers picket against slave labor law.

the rank and file that could explode into a general strike, the city political bosses moved on two days notice to rewrite the entire labor laws in Dayton.

Although given only two days notice the city workers, firemen, and police jammed the City Commission hall in protest against this brazen attack on their basic right to strike. Union leader after union leader rose to denounce the proposed Ordinance.

Robert Preston, President of the UAW local at Delco stated, "If you do this, those of us covered by the Wagner Act and not this Ordinance can act in solidarity with our brothers. We can shut this town down."

James Gann, AFL-CIO District Council President told the Commissioners that the AFL-CIO and the Building Trades formed a coalition of 100,000

(Continued On Page 18)

## Connally Forecasts 25% Rise In Unemployment To Boost Dollar

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

For the second time since the Dec. 18 international monetary agreement among the Group of Ten capitalist countries was pasted together in Washington, speculative attacks on the dollar are tearing it apart.

The spark that set off last week's speculative waves against the dollar, forcing European central banks to intervene in its defense, was the Wednesday announcement on convertibility made by U.S. Treasury Secretary Connally.

Connally stated that it would be "sheer folly" of U.S. capitalism to return to convertibility of the dollar at this time, that the U.S. "could not afford it," and that convertibility would not even be considered until there was a major turn about in U.S. balance of payments. He predicted that there was no hope of this before the "end of next year."

In point of fact, the situation is much sharper than Connally poses it. Neither he or Nixon have the slightest intention now

or ever of restoring convertibility. It is not just a question of the break between the dollar and gold not being restored in the immediate period, but rather that this break between paper money and value which took place with the breakdown of the Bretton Woods agreement on August 15 is irrevocable.

In fact the very inflationary crisis that forced the closing of the gold window on August 15 is deepening at every point. Last week, it was announced that not only had the official balance of payments figure for the last year hit a record 29.6 billion, but that the American gold reserve had dropped following a withdrawal by the International Monetary Fund to 9.6 billion: the lowest amount since 1935.

Thus David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Man-

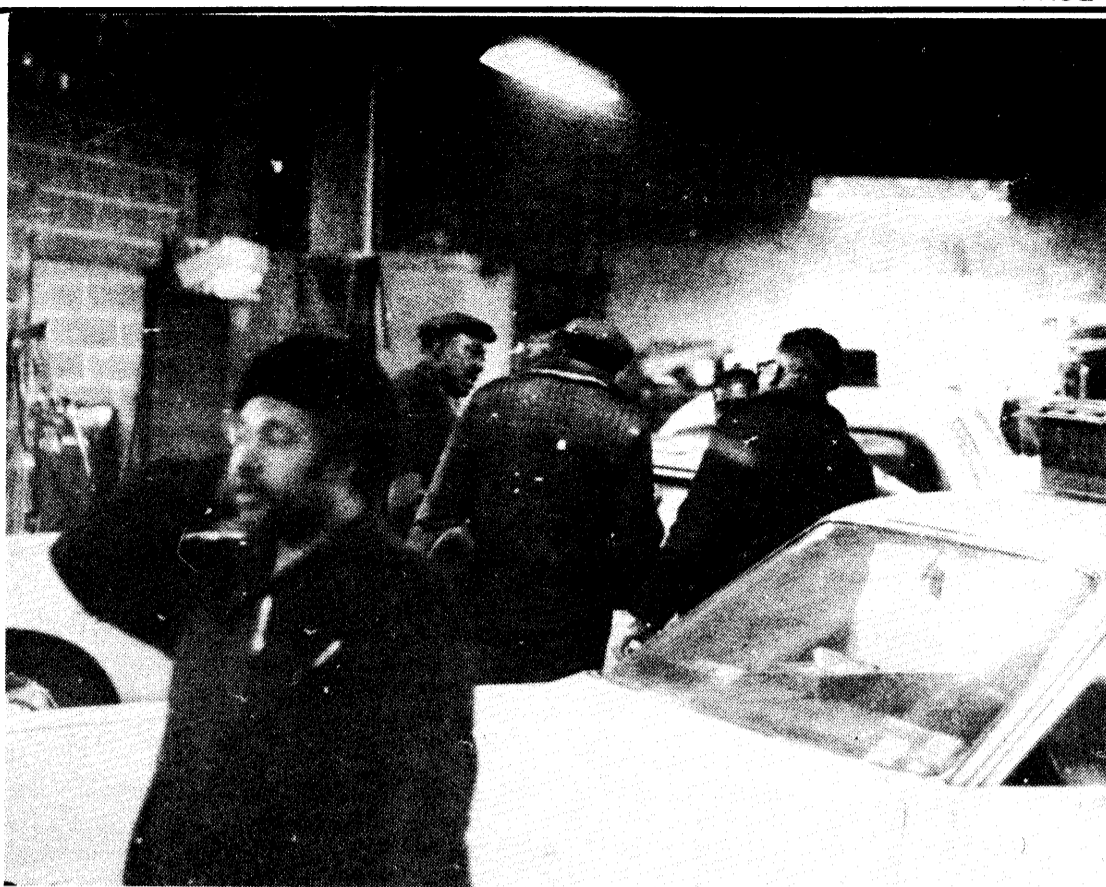
hattan Bank, himself was forced to point out, when speaking in support of Connally that the opening of the gold window at this time "would only precipitate a new crisis."

In this situation the only strategy of Nixon and Connally is to deepen their attack on Europe and upon the American working class.

What Connally is saying to Europe is that it can either continue to follow the suicidal policy of swallowing oceans of virtually worthless paper dollars or it can make equally suicidal trade concessions on the order that would allow U.S. trade surpluses to offset its balance of payments deficits.

In this situation West German Chancellor Brandt and French President Pompidou came

(Continued On Page 18)



Taxi drivers at garage discuss wildcats hitting New York fleets. They have been working without a contract for 16 months. Drivers are demanding 49% of fares for all men and a decent contract.

## Leaders Kill Taxi Wildcat

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The treacherous role of the Local 3036 bureaucracy was revealed in full last weekend, as it torpedoed the wildcat action of taxi drivers which was spreading throughout the entire taxi industry.

Six garages in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx had set up picket lines, eliminating about 20% of the

fleet cab service in the city.

At the same time, many other garages held informal meetings, preparing to spread the wildcat

into a huge city-wide shutdown. In meeting after meeting the idea of "selective strikes" was voted down, as drivers faced the fact that an industry-wide strike was the only answer to the attacks of the fleet owners, City Council, and Taxi Commission.

It was precisely at this point, when drivers were mobilizing on the basis of throwing out the whole rotten contract, that the Local 3036 leadership stepped in and broke up the walkout.

By undercutting shop chairmen on the picket lines, encouraging scabs, holding separate meetings of 42%ers and 49%ers, the Van Arsdale leadership managed to get drivers back to work.

Whatever fight the Local 3036 bureaucracy led around the elimination of 42% was shown to be a fraud. It wants the heart of the present contract ratified, and hopes to slam through the whole agreement on the basis of a minimal protest over 42%.

But what the growing wildcat action showed was that cabbies intend to rip up the whole smelly deal—including the "dime rakeoff."

The Rank and File Coalition must share responsibility for collapsing the wildcat. By endorsing Van Arsdale's policy of "selective strikes just over 42%," and centering its fight for a decent contract around "coffee and donuts for striking Terminal Garage drivers," it left cabbies defenseless against the betrayals of the union leadership.

Fares and tips of taxi drivers are decreasing. At the same time massive inflation is tearing the heart out of cabbies' weekly salaries. The whole question of a driver's right to a decent salary is now in question.

It is within this context that meetings must be held in every garage demanding a special membership meeting by March 15, in order to officially vote out the present agreement. At the same time preparations must be laid for a massive city-wide shutdown if no union meeting is forthcoming, and no contract is concluded by that date.

## Empty Job Promises Won't Pacify Duluth Workers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

DULUTH—Every reactionary force in this area is now frantically working to sabotage the efforts of several thousand Duluth steelworkers to secure their right to a job. In league to pull off this hatchet job are the radio and TV stations, the daily press, the Democratic and Republican politicians, together with the bureaucracy of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

The ranks of USWA Local 1028, now threatened with complete decimation with the permanent closing of the "hot side" (blast furnace) of U.S. Steel's Duluth works, are facing a daily barrage of lies and empty promises. The remaining members of Local 1028 on the finishing side live under the threat of a shut-

down next fall.

Also threatened with permanent unemployment by a total shutdown of the Duluth works are members of USWA Local 1210 at Universal Atlas Cement plant and Local 3391 of office workers.

The militancy of the ranks of the steelworkers forced the USWA bureaucrats to call a mass meeting in the Duluth Auditorium on February 16th attended

by 2,000 angry workers. Speaking from the platform were representatives of Local 1028, the International union—and U.S. Steel.

The whole purpose of the meeting was to capitulate to this vicious attack, and to divert the militancy of the workers with repeated—and vague—promises. One such promise was for 1,200 new jobs at the company's Minni-

tac taconite plants in Mountain Iron, Minn., 60 miles from Duluth. But one laid off steelworker at the Duluth unemployment center exposed this lie when he told the Bulletin that the figure for Duluth workers at Minnitac was only about 200 jobs.

In exchange for helping U.S. Steel turn Duluth into a ghost town the bureaucrats secure promises for a few transfers. But these transfers mean the surrender of all value of a worker's seniority except on pensions and vacations. Those who do accept transfers will have to sell their homes—a near-impossible task today in Duluth, provide for their own moving expenses, and start

(Continued On Page 18)

## JUDGE CALLS FOR HALT IN FOREST HILLS CONSTRUCTION

BY DAVID NORTH  
NEW YORK—The middle class racists who have been picketing the site of the Forest Hills low-income housing project won last week the support of the New York State Supreme Court.

Justice Irving H. Saypol ordered a halt to construction in a decision that asserted the present plan of the 108th Street project in no way resembles the plan as it was approved by the N.Y.C. Board of Estimate in 1966.

For the time being, construction will continue, as the city files an appeal against Saypol's ruling. But it is not likely that the Lindsay Administration will press very hard for the project. The Saypol decision is like a bugle sounding the retreat for the wary liberals who are terrified by the fascist rumblings in Forest Hills.

Mayor Lindsay, now pressing his campaign for the Presidency, has gone on record as favoring a compromise on the size of the project. And other liberals like Congressman Edward Koch are now suggesting that it might be a good idea to build the project somewhere else—or not at all. At any rate, he sees the necessity for "the spirit of compromise."

Construction workers, interviewed by the *Bulletin* after the Saypol decision, were dis-

(Continued On Page 18)

## Court Restrains Anti-Scab Fight

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE—Following pitched battles between unionized construction workers and police over the use of scab labor on several major sites in and around Baltimore, two construction companies have filed a request for a temporary injunction against picketing by the 20 unions of the District Building Trades Council.

A partial victory was won by the unions last week in the Circuit Court when Judge Meyer Cardin refused to grant the contractors a postponement on the hearing. This means that the unions may still legally picket all the scab construction sites in the city.

The judge, however, made it very clear that he sided with the companies on their use of non-union labor. He stated that if any more violence occurs he would seriously consider placing an immediate restraining order on all 20 unions.

On February 22, construction unions will face an even greater threat. On that day a hearing will begin on a company request for a permanent injunction against picketing at the non-union construction sites by members of the Building Trades Council.

This is a blatant attempt to prevent the unions from using any effective means of fighting against scabbing. The companies are consciously trying to use the high unemployment in construction as a weapon against the hard-won wages of construction workers. If they are successful, it will be a tremendous blow not only to the building trades unions, but also to all city organized labor.



Right wing middle class residents of Forest Hills picketed construction site in Queens, N.Y. One worker called them "those people who have nothing better to do than wave an American flag at us."

## Florida Pushes Open Shop Against UFWOC

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

SOUTH BAY, FLA.—The strike by the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) to organize the workers of the Talisman Sugar Company is rapidly assuming the proportions of a number one battle of the American labor movement.

The UFWOC chief organizer, Manuel Chavez, brother of UFWOC President

Cesar, has charged that Talisman is "holding 1,100 Jamaican prisoners in the labor camps and preventing them from receiving visitors by using armed guards."

The imported cane cutters from the impoverished Jamaican countryside are forced to work for \$1.85 an hour through an agreement between the U.S. and Jamaican governments. They work a 12 hour day, 7 days a week

with no overtime rates.

Efforts have been made by Talisman to keep union organizers from talking to the Jamaicans. But Ramon Rodriguez, chief picket captain described a walkout of the Jamaicans:

"Just after they got off the trucks, we started telling them, 'No money, no cane'...soon they were chanting with us...so I shouted to them, 'Stick together brothers, and come out here.'

(Continued On Page 18)

## Automated Port Plan Eliminates Dockers

BY TOM GORDON

Defeat of the contract presented by the shippers to the ILA is absolutely necessary to prevent the shippers from going ahead with huge new automated ports and still sharper attacks on working conditions and destruction of jobs.

Preparations are already underway to construct a new Rijnpoort at Rotterdam which will be a huge container-processing factory (see photo). The port will process 1,500,000 containers per year, unloading them from ships directly onto conveyor belts.

Gantry cranes will then lift them off of the belts and place them onto a large apron or, via the same computer-controlled gantry, directly onto a truck or railroad car, which will also be directed by computer to the right location.

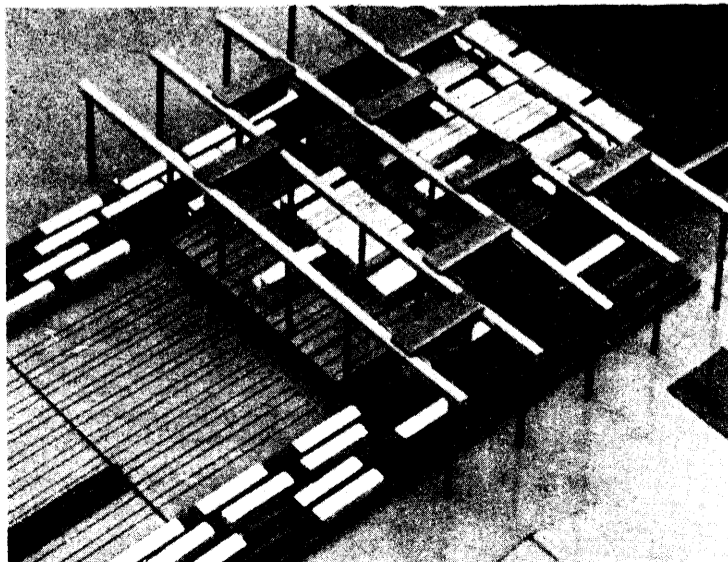
The plans place the greatest emphasis on the high speed needed in order to operate the cranes and conveyors most profitably, but of course do not mention the risk this entails for

dockers.

Such a port will be able to earn an annual gross profit of about 30% through cutting manpower to the bone. Operating at full capacity, it will require only about twelve longshoremen's gangs per week to move 105 million tons of cargo each

year—nearly twice the amount moved in the entire Port of New York with 22,000 dockers!

The proposed 1972 contracts can only prepare the way to introducing complete flexibility of manning, where each man can be forced to do every job, and to permanent unemployment for almost all dockers.



Shipowners are pushing for fully automated, containerized ports like that shown above which would use as few as 12 longshoremen gangs.

## GE Plans Bridgeport Shutdown

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BRIDGEPORT—The General Electric Company is working on plans to shut down its houseware production plant here. This will mean the layoff of nearly 700 more Bridgeport workers.

Official figures already show 21,000 jobless. This 11.9% unemployment rate is up a staggering 1.6% just in the month of January.

GE has been steadily phasing out equipment and putting no new investment for machinery in the plant to the point where legal safety standards are being continuously flaunted, with workers on some machines forced to wear earplugs to shut out the noise of defective machinery.

CLASSIFICATIONS

At the same time, GE is breaking the union's contract by destroying job classifications, forcing workers from one job to another with lower pay.

The local IUE leadership has put up no fight on these pay cuts and is keeping the ranks totally in the dark in regard to layoffs. They have run to the Bridgeport city administration and Congressmen to try to persuade GE not to leave by working out

NEXT WEEK—

UNEMPLOYMENT, USA—CONNECTICUT

some kind of a tax deal.

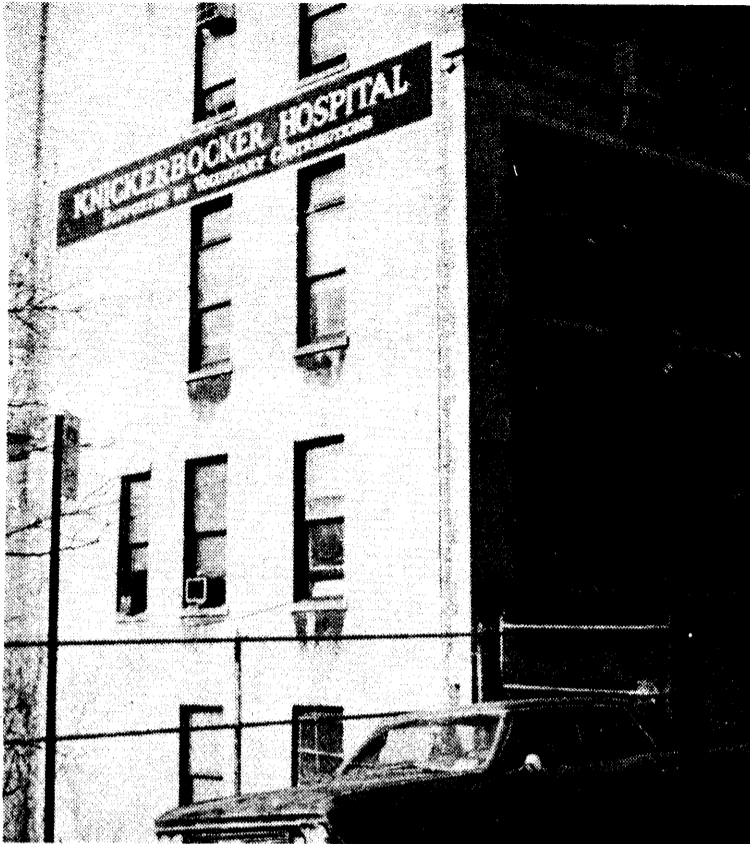
But with all the major employers in town laying off up to half and more of their workers, with plants like Dyna-Truck totally shutting down, GE has made up its mind to move to a new automated location in North Carolina, with cheap labor and high productivity.

As one shop steward told the *Bulletin*, the ranks have no faith in the Democrats and the Republicans to whom the leadership has run.

FIGHT

A young Spanish-speaking worker told the *Bulletin* about the seriousness of the situation: "If things stay like this much longer I'm going to have to leave. There just aren't any more jobs in this city—it's dying." And another young workers was clear: "The only way to stop this is to stand up and fight."

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# Knickerbocker Hospital

## 1199 Leaders Support Bosses Scheme To Cut Workers Pay

**BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM**  
**NEW YORK**—Workers at Knickerbocker Hospital in Harlem work from day to day not knowing whether they will get their next pay check or if they will have a job tomorrow.

One of the most dilapidated, overcrowded hospitals in New York, Knickerbocker has threatened to close down and now is only open on a temporary basis until the end of March. No one knows what will happen then.

The 600 workers not only face being thrown out of their jobs but with the collaboration of the hospital and the union, Local 1199, they have been pressured into taking what amounts to a weekly pay cut.

Knickerbocker is a private hospital servicing a huge section of Harlem where there are few hospitals. If Knickerbocker closes the workers will find it almost impossible to find another job at a time when cutbacks, the job freeze and possible layoffs are hitting hospitals all over the city. Hundreds of workers will have to travel up to already overburdened Harlem Hospital to get medical care.

Nixon, Rockefeller and the hospital bosses are prepared to shut down hospitals if they cannot make any money on them. This is the future facing hospital workers and patients.

**DAVIS**

The Davis leadership has completely accepted the possibility of a shutdown and refuses to lift a finger to prepare a fight against it.

In fact Davis authorized a \$500 contribution from the union to the hospital to supposedly help keep it open! This has been used by the hospital to get many union members to make weekly "contributions."

From interviews with workers at Knickerbocker it is clear that workers were given the choice that either they make a "voluntary" contribution or the hospital would close. The union left them no alternative.

**DONATIONS**

A delegate at Knickerbocker exposed what happened. "They had a meeting here with



Knickerbocker Hospital (top of page) is "Supported by Voluntary Contributions." These now include part of the wages of many 1199 members who work there. Above right, Inhalation Therapist administers treatment to patient in an overcrowded ward. Left, 1199 member at St. Barnabas Hospital supports election campaign of Rank and File Committee which fights such attacks on wages.

Mr. Alan from Administration and he said the union was giving a big donation and they wanted the workers to give something. This is what made them give, because the union was giving. It's anywhere from 50 cents to \$5.00 a week.

"I wouldn't give a dime. I told the members to write a note telling them not to take any more money out of their checks. If they close this place down the union is not going to do anything. They'll tell us they'll get us jobs somewhere else. I think this is a political question.

"You can expect any pay day now they'll say, that's it, we have no money to pay you."

When we asked Juan Colon, a laundry worker, why he gave money he said:

"I signed for one dollar week because they said they would close it down and that it was only for six months until July. After three weeks, they started taking two dollars a week. I went up



stairs to tell the lady there was a mistake and she said they forgot."

Another worker told us: "I just disagree with the whole thing. What I work for is what I should get. It's like I'm paying them to work here. We should protest it. The union should oppose contributing the money."

**ANGRY**

Many other workers including the entire staff of the clinic have refused to give and are angry and confused at the union's position.

Davis has consciously tried to cover up the Knickerbocker crisis. Only when members of the Rank and File Committee forced a discussion on this at the January Delegates Assembly did the whole story start to come out. Many delegates expressed disbelief that union members were giving money.

Davis attempted to suppress the discussion and told the delegates it was only a minor issue

and in any case that the \$500 was not enough to keep the hospital open for one day. So the Knickerbocker workers who only make \$130 a week are making sacrifices so that they can get thrown out of work anyway! This is how much the 1199 leadership cares about the members' jobs.

Davis attempted to avoid the real issues by stating that the union wanted to help the community of Harlem and that Knickerbocker was having certain financial difficulties.

**POLITICAL**

But the real issue is that the threat to close Knickerbocker is a political fight. It is not just Knickerbocker's crisis. This attack comes at the same time as factories all over the country are closing down and workers are being forced to take pay cuts in many industries. It is the government's conscious policy to boost profits by destroying jobs and the most fundamental needs of the working class such as health care.

The hospital bosses are not neutral. When they are ordered to shut down they will not shed a tear. They accept the system and that workers must pay for

the capitalist crisis.

The union is spreading illusions that somehow money will be found in April to keep things going. The real situation is that the bosses are not going to keep Knickerbocker open.

**EXPOSES**

Knickerbocker has exposed the real perspective of the Davis leadership in 1199. All the demagoguery about strike action against layoffs is a fraud. They have betrayed the members at Knickerbocker by collaborating with the bosses instead of taking up a fight against the government.

The workers at Knickerbocker must refuse to give money to the hospital and demand that 1199 prepare for a citywide strike if it closes down. This government cannot provide jobs and decent health care and this is why the labor movement must fight now to build a labor party that will provide free health care for all.

The Rank and File Committee will bring this fight into the April union elections in which it is running two candidates, Fred Mazelis for President and Arnold Marshall for Organizer, to build an alternative leadership in 1199.

# Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

## Young Socialist Resolution To SMC Conference

The national conference of the Student Mobilization Committee is being held at the same time as Nixon and the Stalinist bureaucracy of China prepare to make deals against the movement of the workers and peasants in Vietnam and workers in the U.S. At the same time the Soviet Union is plying the N.L.F. with outdated weapons and is preventing an offensive at a time when U.S. imperialism can be defeated in Vietnam. The SMC must go on record at this conference denouncing Nixon's visit to China. The YS proposes the following resolution to the SMC Conference:

WHEREAS the Nixon government is preparing an escalation of the war against the workers and peasants of Indochina

Whereas these same Democrats and Republicans are preparing to destroy the livelihoods of the workers and youth in the U.S. with the wage freeze, mass layoffs, unemployment, and huge slashes in education

Whereas Prince Sihanouk revealed that the Soviet bureaucracy is supplying the North Vietnamese and the N.L.F. with antiquated equipment

Whereas the Stalinists are preparing a deal with Nixon to defeat the workers and peasants of Indochina

Be it resolved that the Student Mobilization Committee build the April 22 NPAC demonstration around these demands:

- Full employment—thirty hours work for forty hours pay. Labor off the Pay Board.
- No budget cuts in education—free higher education for all.
- No deals in Vietnam! We condemn the Soviet bureaucracy in its deliberate attempt to prevent a victory of the Indochinese workers and peasants. We condemn the Maoist bureaucracy for allowing Nixon into China to make a deal against the Vietnamese revolution. Victory to the NLF!
- For a Labor Party in '72 to defeat the Democrats and Republicans who are responsible for the war, wage freeze, budget cuts and unemployment. For a socialist alternative. Support the SWP election campaign.

## Labor Backs British YS March

BY GIL GONZALEZ  
The British Young Socialists' "Right To Work March" against unemployment has received tremendous support from workers this past week.

The marchers entered the town of Carlisle on Tuesday. There, the local Labour Party had used lies and distortions in an attempt to break up the march.

Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, conveyed the League's greetings to the march and delivered a blistering attack against the bureaucrats of the Carlisle Labour Party for their actions against the YS march.

In his speech before the marchers, Healy challenged the bureaucrats "to present your credentials in the fight against unemployment and see if they match the unparalleled record of the Young Socialists."

He then added: "This behavior by the leadership of the Labour Party means one thing. The British working class have two tasks to carry out. They must get the Tory government out and they have to get the friends of the Tory government within the labor movement out as well."

The culmination of the day was a play directed by actor Corin Redgrave about the English Revolution of 1640. The YS has recorded a song from the play entitled, "Demand the Right to Work" which is now the march's anthem.

Miners who attended the play stated that they would try to get 3,000 pickets to sing the song which shows the tremendous support for the march from the working class.

On Wednesday the march entered Newcastle, an area heavily wracked with unemployment. Financial support was received from the Transport and General Workers at the Byler bus depot, the shop stewards at the massive Reyrolle factory and from workers at Lyle and Scot clothing factory.

A shop steward at Reyrolle said: "I believe everyone should have the right to work which the Tories are destroying. Basically I support the march one hundred percent."

James McAdam, a worker from Reyrolle, asserted this hatred when he said: "Everyone including myself feels the threat of unemployment. If you get support, it will be a chance to lead a big fight against Heath and his government."



Youth discuss fight to build Young Socialists at YS Organizing Committee meeting in Minneapolis.

## Minneapolis Students Fight Racist Attacks

MINNEAPOLIS, FEB. 26—Students at Washburn High School in south Minneapolis who have taken up the fight against inhuman conditions and racism in the school have had thrown at them a vicious campaign of slander and lies in the capitalist press.

Article after article seeks to whip up racist frenzy in the middle class neighborhood of the school, to racially polarize the students and to divert the attention of all from the real problems in the school.

### ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

The organizing committee for the Midwest Conference of Revolutionary Youth held its first meeting on February 20. Thirty-five youth from the Twin Cities and Northfield, Minnesota attended.

The meeting began with a report on the open racist attacks on the students at Washburn High School.

The youth saw this attack not only as an economic attack on the teachers, but as an attack on their education. They understood that the only way to combat the attacks on the working class youth at Washburn is the construction of a revolutionary

youth movement.

### REFORMS

In response to the demand of "no cops in the schools," one youth said that what was necessary was to unite the students against the administration and school board around a program demanding reforms.

Against this reformism, another youth argued that merely organizing students and having meetings isn't going to force out

the cops. "You're going to have to build something a lot heavier than that." He brought out that only a revolutionary leadership can fight back against the attacks on the youth. This posed sharply the fight for revolutionary theory.

Out of this meeting, the youth made plans to carry the fight for the conference into all the high schools and colleges, factories, and unemployment centers in the Twin Cities area, Northfield, and Duluth.

## Chicago Cop Murders Vietnam Veteran

BY MARK ALEXIS

A 21 year old Vietnam veteran was shot to death in Kenwood High School where he had gone to watch a basketball game. The killer was an off-duty policeman moonlighting as a school guard.

Cornell Fitzpatrick and a friend were first confronted by another school guard who deman-

ded that they leave the school if they did not have a pass. Fitzpatrick refused and was about to proceed to the game when the guard slapped handcuffs on his friend.

Trying to free his friend, Fitzpatrick wrestled with the guard. At this point the moonlighting Chicago cop came to the scene with gun drawn and shot Fitzpatrick once in the chest. The police claim that Fitzpatrick was reaching for a weapon when he was killed.

The murder polarized the students at Kenwood along racial lines. Kenwood, in the Hyde Park section of Chicago, is on the border of a middle class area and surrounded by some of the most depressed ghettos in Chicago. School authorities have become experts at pitting the youth against each other.

The murder of Zip Fitzpatrick is the continuation of the government's attack on all youth and workers.

## Midwest Conference Of Revolutionary Youth

Saturday, March 18th  
10 AM  
Union Hall,  
10 W. 25th St.  
(at Nicollet and 25th)  
Minneapolis

for information, call: (612)-336-9966  
Minneapolis  
evenings & Saturdays

# Inside Jefferson High-

## Barbaric Mini School

### Gives 'Mental' Therapy

BY KIKI MENDEZ  
AND ABBY RODRIGUEZ

Thomas Jefferson High in East New York has been hit with the economic crisis very seriously. It is situated in one of Brooklyn's many ghettos in which working class youth are forced to live.

The education in Jefferson has always trailed behind the times. Overcrowded classrooms and inadequate, outdated equipment has been one of its trade marks. Youth seeing these conditions and their hopeless future begin an attempted escape from reality through drugs and in this way one problem leads to another.

After continuous budget cuts, teachers have been laid off so that the remaining teachers are attempting to teach 35, 40 or more students in one class.

Because of the overcrowded situation, the administration has

capitalism. So what should be done is change the situation. The problem is in the system.

The Mini school treats the youth as mental patients. Whenever they are frustrated they are given rubber padded bats to beat their frustrations out on each other.

This is where this logic is designed to lead youth—into wasting their energy beating each other instead of fighting against the people responsible for conditions in the ghetto, the government.

The administration deliberately pushes these ideas. Students in this program know that psychology and "therapy" sessions are not going to find them jobs.

The Young Socialists spoke to several students in the program. One stated:

"The school does not train or educate us because of the massive layoffs of teachers. Even if we had training we wouldn't be able to find jobs because right now workers are being thrown out. This means that the youth will never have a chance to work."

When asked who is to blame for this he said, "the government. They keep taking money out of the school budget and causing unemployment and spending on the military." He also stated that a fight against this is the only solution.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

On the question of unemployment, the Young Socialists interviewed Richard Correy who is in charge of the employment office at Jefferson. On his door there is a note to the effect that there are no jobs available. Mr. Correy told us that unemployment is highest among minority youth.

The response from employers has been very discouraging. He stated that: "out of 100 letters only three have been answered. Out of 100 phone calls only six jobs are found." He further stated that: "the demand for jobs has increased, last year 420 youth were not able to find jobs, this year already 737 youth have applied for jobs, but have not received any."

The administration at every point extends its hand to capitalism to help it attack youth. Students at Jefferson are being treated more and more as convicts. This has been most sharply seen in the Jefferson annex.

Last year well over 3,000 attended Jefferson. This is a five story building that still has antique wooden desk chairs attached to the floors. The annex was built to solve the overcrowding.

In the annex conditions are worse. The annex is an actual prison. Students are not allowed to move from their seats during lunch hour. A fence was erected to keep students in. Every mor-



Young Socialists are recruiting militant youth such as these to Jefferson High Club.

ning they are locked in until the afternoon when the gates are unlocked. One student cracked his skull in an attempted escape over the fence.

The students move everyday against these conditions. A few months ago a riot broke out between students and the administration. They were protesting all the rules and regulations which are being used against them. These students proceeded to walk out from the school.

#### CABINET

Since then the administration has talked to the leaders of the walk out and created an organization to represent students. This organization, the Cabinet, is now being used by the administration to keep the students in line.

The leaders of the walk out have been given privileges and in this way have been bought off. These students now at every point fight against the movement of the youth at the annex.

They were given strict instructions not to have any association with the Y.S. because the administration fears the unity of students under a Marxist leadership at a time when both the students in the main building and in the annex are being attacked by the government.

The Young Socialists' March 29 Demonstration poses the way forward in the fight against these attacks. The YS is calling on the power of the trade union movement to act to put an end to unemployment and the cutbacks in education. It is only through the strength of the trade unions that the youth can beat back the threats to their futures.

After a long struggle with the school administration the Young Socialists of Thomas Jefferson High School have finally been chartered.

The administration consciously used tactics to stop the YS from being formed in the school. They delayed all the meetings in which the chartering of the YS was to take place and they thought of all kinds of bureaucratic rules and regulations.

We understand that the reason for their panic is that the YS is a Marxist organization that can lead students in a fight against the attacks on youth from the government. The administration finds it very easy to allow reformist and even racist organizations because these will allow the ruling class to step all over the students.

The YS will continue to fight against these forces which stand against the working class youth.

sought to "alleviate" the problem. One of its schemes is the "Mini School."

This Mini school is a program in which so-called "problem" students are separated from the rest of the students. The Mini school is situated in the school basement. Next to the boiler, stock room and among dusty broken chairs, space has been found to set up this program.

Students here are supposed to receive "special attention" but almost every student is dealt with as a psychological case. This is because the administration encourages the reactionary conception that the problem is in the heads of the youth.

But the problem isn't in the minds of the youth at Jefferson. The problem is in the real material world. The students at Jefferson don't drop out, or fail classes, or turn to dope because they are retarded, slow or stupid.

It is because of real material conditions which youth are forced to live in under

Young Socialists Call  
**MASS  
DEMONSTRATION  
OF YOUTH!**  
**JOBS FOR ALL!  
NO BUDGET CUTS!**

THE TRADE UNIONS MUST ACT to put an end to unemployment and to protect and expand the education of the youth. With unemployment growing among older workers, what chance do youth have for jobs? The trade unions have the power to mobilize millions on Washington. The trade unions have the power to insist on a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to protect the jobs of older workers and open up new jobs for youth. The trade unions have the power to stop the attacks on the education of working class youth, to end the reactionary war in Vietnam, to stop the repressions of Angela Davis, the Soledad Brothers and Juan Farinas. The trade unions have the power to build a labor party to replace the Democrats and Republicans who encourage unemployment to split and weaken the working class.

**WE, THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH AND STUDENTS ARE DEMONSTRATING TO AWAKEN THE LABOR MOVEMENT TO THESE TASKS!**

**March on the Federal Building**

FOLEY SQUARE  
WEDNESDAY,  
MARCH 29  
4-6PM

NEW YORK  
For Information  
Call: 924-0852



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Judge Declares War On The Dockworkers

The recent British coal strike brought England to the brink of a general strike and nearly toppled the Tory government. It prompted Prime Minister Heath to seriously consider intervening with troops.

What coal was in Britain, the docks may become in the United States. The struggle of the longshoremen on both coasts is far from over.

In the recently accepted West Coast contract, the shippers got the kind of concessions from the union leaders that will wipe out thousands of jobs by making the wage "guarantee" virtually worthless. The same concessions are contained in the East Coast contract which comes up for ratification by the ILA on March 8.

But Nixon and the ruling class are far from satisfied with these concessions. Pay Board Chairman Boldt has made it clear that "the Board would apply its standards as it would to any other contract despite the power of the dock unions."

Boldt's statement means that the dock contracts which provide for wage increases of more than three times the "standard" of 5.5% will be trimmed. This is a declaration of war against the labor movement which even George Meany could not ignore.

At the Bal Harbor meeting, Meany warned that there would be new dock strikes if the Pay Board trimmed the wage agreements. Two months ago, Gleason of the ILA and Bridges of the ILWU publicly concluded an agreement for a joint strike that would shut all ports on both coasts if either contract is touched.

Meany attempts to use the strike threat to put pressure on the Pay Board, referring to a "commitment" made by "public" Board member Arnold Weber on November 8 that both the aerospace and dock agreements would be honored. Everyone knows what such "commitments" are worth. UAW Leonard Woodcock even charged that he had been "doublecrossed" by Weber after aerospace was trimmed. The longshoremen and the rest of the labor movement cannot afford another "double-cross."

Nixon and Congress are now moving rapidly to pass legislation for compulsory arbitration against all transportation strikes.

Nixon's preparations for war on the docks can mean only one thing for dockworkers and every union member in the country—if war is what they want, war they will get. All the rights and conditions of the working class are at stake.

- Hands off the longshore contracts.
- Labor off the Board now.

• Nationwide dock strike supported by a general strike if the longshore or any other contracts are touched.

## Editor's Notebook

### A Night At The Opera

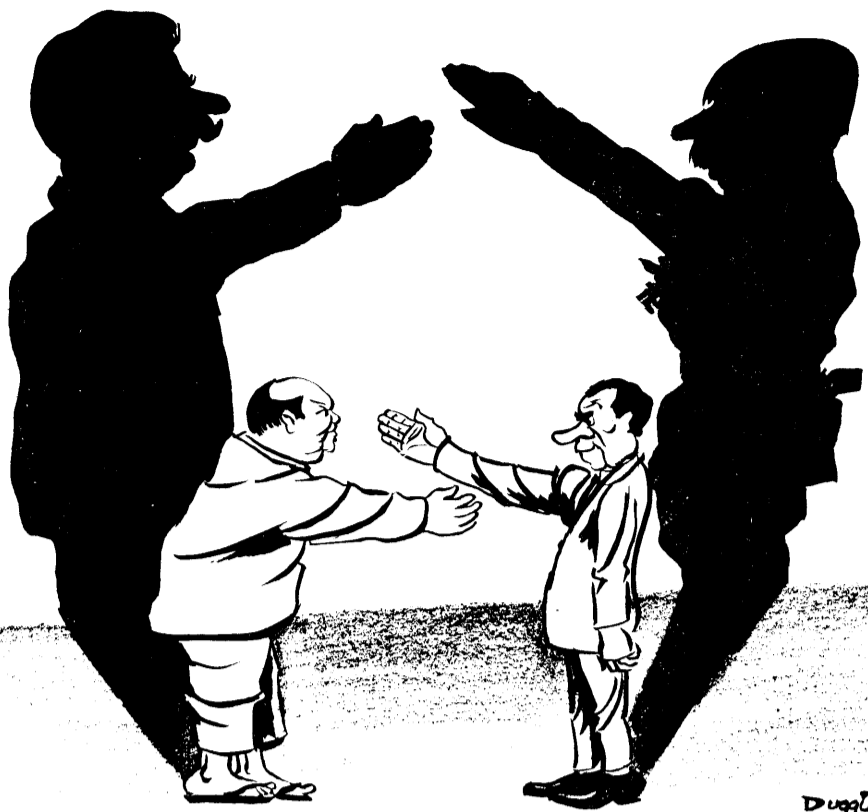
Judge Boldt, the so-called impartial head of the Pay Board, had a weary day last week. He had just finished slashing wage increases for hundreds of workers and was girding for his push against the dockworkers settlement.

Mr. Boldt's corporate buddies on the Pay Board, of course, were very sympathetic to his plight and one sought to reward him for his good deeds.

Virgil Day, a vice president of General Electric and business spokesman on the Board, chartered a GE plane to fly his wife and Mrs. Boldt to New York for a

night on the town. Busy in Washington, Mr. Day and Mr. Boldt flew up later. The Boldts and the Days dined out, went to the opera and generally lived it up—all paid for of course by Mr. Day. Then they all returned the next day on the GE plane. Mr. Boldt did pay, he claims, for his hotel room.

When reports of the bash came out in the press, Mr. Boldt called the whole thing "a trifling affair." But for those workers who have had their wages slashed by Boldt's axe who can barely feed their families much less fly to New York for a night on the town, it is not so "trifling."



## What we think

(Continued From Page 1)  
for Lend-Lease debts outstanding and forgotten for 22 years. In effect, the Kremlin is offering to cough up \$800 million if the money would make Nixon reconsider his rapprochement with China.

The price which the Stalinists are now willing to pay for "peace" with imperialism is the heroic thirty year struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. This is at the heart of Mao's talks with Nixon. They are preparing the deal which will mean the defeat of the Vietnamese revolution and the maintenance of U.S. imperialism's power in Southeast Asia. So at the extravagant banquet, the Chinese bureaucrats drink toasts to the butcher of the Vietnamese people as bombs rain in Vietnam.

Meanwhile the Soviet bureaucracy sends outdated weapons to the liberation fighters so that they cannot win against imperialism.

It is within this context that we must see the "World Peace Conference" in Paris and Versailles last week called and organized by the Stalinists. The sole purpose of this conference was to boost the Stalinist strategy of betrayal in Southeast Asia and to prepare the cover for beheading the Vietnamese Revolution. The conference occurred as the U.S. stepped up its bombing and as Nixon prepared to leave for China.

The perspective outlined by the Stalinists at this conference addressed by representatives from North Vietnam was for "progressive forces" to put "pressure" on Nixon to "seriously negotiate."

The conference called not for the mobilization of the working class internationally to defeat imperialism but for a deal with imperialism at the bargaining table.

The American delegation to this Stalinist conference included not only representatives from the American Communist Party and the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice but also representatives from the National Peace Action Coalition and

the Student Mobilization Committee including members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The SWP-YSA's participation in this conference to map the betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution shows how far they have gone from Trotskyism. Today the role of the SWP-YSA is one of complete capitulation to Stalinism.

It justifies its construction of an antiwar movement with the Stalinists based on an alliance with sections of the capitalist class with the statement that they are just doing "what the Vietnamese want."

The SWP-YSA has refused to raise any criticism of the role of the Soviet Union in Southeast Asia. Thus it is no accident that the SWP-YSA ended up in Versailles and Paris.

At this conference they played an absolutely criminal role. From the beginning the Stalinists made it clear that "Trotskyites" would be excluded from the conference. In fact the SWP's co-thinkers in France were actually excluded from the conference. According to the Feb. 25th issue of the Militant:

"The exclusion of the FSI was initiated by leaders of French organizations, including the massive French Communist Party. The pretext was the standard Stalinist slander that militant youth are 'provocateurs'..."

What the SWP refuses to say is that the "Stalinist tactics and slander" flowed from the whole counter-revolutionary perspective of Stalinism which was the basis for this conference.

So far have the SWP-YSA gone in embracing the Stalinists that they did not even walk out when their own comrades were excluded for being "Trotskyists."

"The key result of the Paris conference," the Militant concludes in its article, "was the call for international mass actions simultaneously with the U.S. April 22 demonstrations." In other words summing it up

the revisionists are gratified that the Stalinists have given their blessings to their antiwar action.

But all the shameful grovelling before Stalinism has not saved the SWP-YSA from attack. For the job the Stalinists must now do for imperialism requires a vicious slander against those organizations which have any historical connection with Trotskyism.

Upon returning to the shores of the U.S. from Paris, the American Stalinists lashed out at the SWP's presence at the conference in the Daily World, accusing it of being an agent of imperialism.

"Having failed to ban or to sidetrack the Assembly, American imperialist intrigue then focused on one of its often-tried last resorts: to attempt to disrupt the Assembly with dissension. It is not surprising that the weapon for this maneuver was concealed in the large and rather unwieldy American delegation, in the person of certain Trotskyist adherents."

This is contained in the same issue of the World in which the editors print the most vicious attack on the heroic oppositionists in the Soviet Union who have risked their lives to oppose Stalinism. The World's filthy slander accuses the poets, writers and scientists who have opposed the bureaucracy of being CIA agents.

The revisionists have collaborated with these traitors who would seek to crush the Vietnamese Revolution just as they have sought to crush the opposition within the Soviet Union.

There is no middle road between Stalinism and Trotskyism. The victory of the Vietnamese Revolution requires a ruthless battle with Stalinism.

The Student Mobilization Committee that meets this weekend must condemn the Paris conference and Stalinism's role in Vietnam and take up the fight to mobilize the working class and youth to defeat imperialism.

### Tea For Two

Chairman Mao once said that making a revolution is no tea party. But of course things have changed since Mao first inscribed this bit of wisdom in the "Red Book." Today revolution for Mao, or more appropriately counter-revolution, has become a tea party with the imperialists.

While the Chinese leadership in Peking was watching over the elaborate preparations for the welcoming feast for Nixon, the Chinese mission to the U.N. in New York was having its own banquet for the "running dogs of imperialism."

The guests at the banquet at the Roosevelt Hotel last Thurs-

day night were none other than New York's "finest." The cops were treated to some fine Chinese delicacies for their splendid protection of the mission.

The tough stomachs of these Maoist bureaucrats were not turned in the least by the brutal murder of a Black militant in St. Louis the day before as a result of the "shoot to kill" witchhunt the New York police have whipped up over the death of two East Village cops.

"They're very affable and eager to make us comfortable," said the special council to the Police Commissioner.

The Maoists have come a long way from the Long March.

### Scratch A Liberal And...

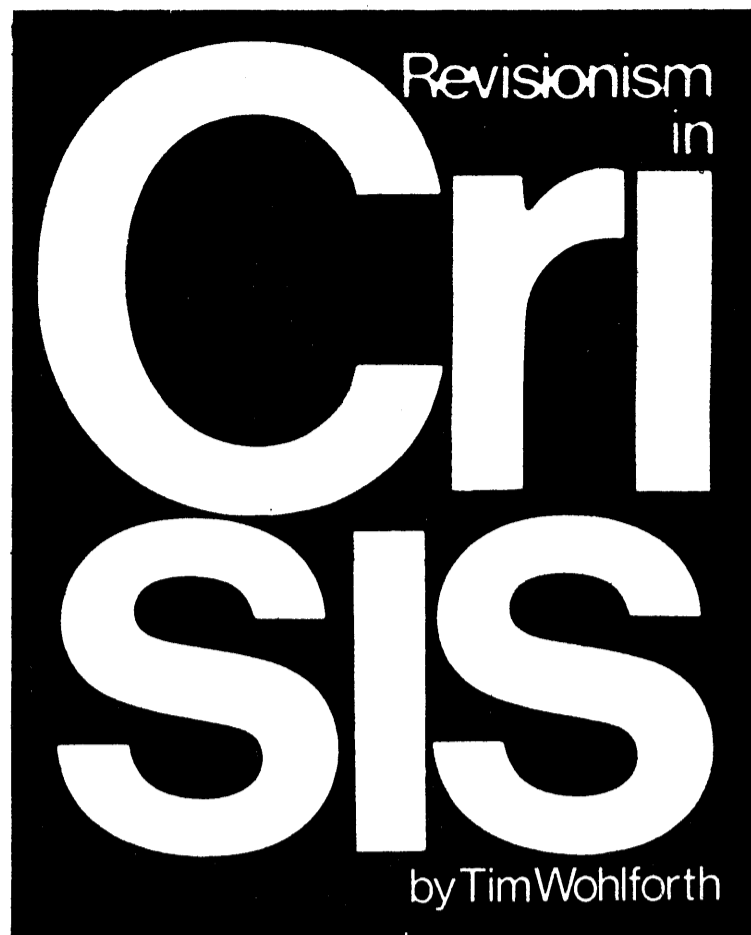
While Mayor Lindsay was campaigning in Miami Beach last week, he was met with catcalls and obscenities from some of the wealthy local residents and some vacationers from Forest Hills.

They accused Lindsay of being "soft" on crime and shouted "Go back to Harlem." at which point Lindsay launched into an attack on Nixon for being "soft" on crime and "law and order." Lindsay deplored the attacks on cops, taking a page from the book of not only Nixon himself but the Southern racists like Wallace and Maddox.

It only goes to show where the hearts of the liberals lie.

In 1969 we published a series of articles on the crisis within the United Secretariat. The following is an introduction to a new edition of this material which outlines the deepening of that crisis over the last two years.

SECOND OF TWO PARTS



# The Crisis Deepens 1969-1972

What is particularly striking about Hansen's contribution is that he forcibly brings into the discussion questions of policy outside Latin America in contrast to the effort of Mandel and Maitan to restrict their discussion to this one issue. Hansen insists that what is at issue is a general policy of guerillaism, adventurism, and ultra-leftism which is advocated in the advanced countries as well. The effect of this is to deepen the divisions within the international movement, to push the issue closer and closer to split.

Of course Hansen does not have to look particularly hard for manifestations of adventurism particularly in the IMG group in England. But at the same time it is difficult to picture Ernest Mandel as an urban guerillaist and Hansen says nothing about the policies of Pierre Frank and the French section which is without doubt the only large section of the United Secretariat outside of the SWP. One gets the definite impression that Hansen is making a case. But let us look at the case.

Hansen hits away at the IMG and the Red Mole making a correct criticism of their refusal to call for a vote for the Labour Party in the last election. Most of his fire is directed against Robin Blackburn, not a member of the IMG but prominent on the Red Mole, and Tariq Ali. The former has written extensively not only calling for the disruption of Labour Party meetings, but lauding drug culture, the Weathermen and the like. The latter, in Hansen's opinion supported the terrorism of the FLQ in Canada during the period of Trudeau's martial law.

But even when dealing with the IMG, Hansen cannot carry through the discussion to the end by taking a principled stand or exposing the real historical roots of the positions he attacks. Let us look at

what he says about the Red Mole:

"The Red Mole is remindful of a sui generis 'left centrist' Trotskyist paper—but viewed in a mirror in which the former sign 'keep right' reads, as it should in a reflection, 'keep left.'"

"The new schema would seem to run as follows: The milieu in which we work is the radicalizing students. In their first stage, they pass through ultra-leftism. You have to be there to meet them and attract them. The best tactic in speaking with them is to adopt an ultra-left stance. Just as the old sui generis paper tried to include genuine left centrists on its editorial board, so the Red Mole tries to include genuine representatives of the 'new wave of urban guerillas' or facsimiles thereof, like British Weatherman Robin Blackburn.

"It should be observed that in both instances—both the old sui generis paper and the Red Mole—the premises are sound enough. Revolutionists have to remain in contact with the masses, either a sector in movement or one likely to move. Currently, the Trotskyists have to remain in contact with the radicalizing youth, recruiting to the maximum from them.

"What is disputable in both instances is the symmetrical tactical course, which in neither case follows from the premises. To remain in contact with sources of recruitment, and to carry out actual recruitment successfully, does not require adaptation to the mistakes, prejudices, or low level of political experience and understanding among those we are seeking to win over. Their training as Trotskyists must begin in the very process of recruiting them."

First Hansen is forced to go back into the history of the struggle with Pabloism to get ammunition against the IMG but he refuses to do so openly and to probe the question fully. The reference to "sui generis" is a reference to Pablo's whole liquidationist policy of entry into the Stalinist and social democratic parties. Far from being viewed at the time as a "tactical" matter, it was assessed as an expression of the fundamental abandonment of the basic principles upon which the Trotskyist movement was built. Because of this assessment the Socialist Workers Party led a split from Pablo in 1953 and formed the International Committee.

It was Hansen above all who insisted that the reunification in 1963 take place without a discussion to clarify the questions raised in 1953 including entrism sui generis. In 1969, the majority of the United Secretariat submitted a resolution on this question: "Draft Resolution On Our Tac-

tics In Europe" which stated:

"Taking everything into account, despite the error committed with respect to the conjuncture in 1952-53, it was not possible at the time to project any other tactic than entryism."

This resolution is an open endorsement of the old policy which led to the destruction of whole sections of the movement. Needless to say this resolution was not even discussed in 1969 but tabled for future consideration.

What must be said is that the "premises" of sui generis work are not "sound" at all. These premises are thoroughly pragmatic and totally hostile to revolutionary Marxism. They are that we begin from the present level,—more accurately our impressions of the present level—of the "masses"—more accurately, the middle class radicals. We then seek to find a common denominator with them and form a common organization, paper, cause or what have you hoping in the process to move these centrists to the "left."

Trotskyists begin from the objective needs of the working class, not the middle classes, fight for a program which expresses these needs even if such a program at the moment collides with the current ideology of workers, and seek through intervention in the actual struggle of the masses to construct our party, the revolutionary party.

Hansen, of course, proceeds from the same premises as Pablo in 1953 and the Red Mole today as expressed in the peace movement, women's liberation, gay movement, etc. Because he proceeds from these premises he, too, adapts to the "mistakes, prejudices, or low level of political experience and understanding among those we are seeking to win over." After all is not the presence of Senator Hartke on peace platforms excused on the grounds that the thousands who the SWP seeks to bring out on peace demonstrations have not broken from support to Hartke?

What becomes increasingly clear is that underneath Hansen's rhetoric about "the Leninist strategy of party-building" is the same liquidationism that dominated those he opposed. Hansen can understand adapting to a Hartke but not to an armed guerilla. We find the latter more understandable than the former.

What then stands behind this controversy? First of all we must see it as a reflection of the very character of centrism. We live in a period of the sharpest capitalist crisis and of deepening class struggle. The working class has not been

defeated and in fact is surging forward in all countries against the attacks of the capitalist class. These are not the conditions for the stability and growth of centrism which rests on the defeats, on the weakness of the working class. It is this renewed class struggle which rips apart the centrists. They are forced against their better judgement and will to confront issues they have sought for so long to avoid. But at the same time they cannot confront these issues in a principled manner and to fight through any theoretical point to the end.

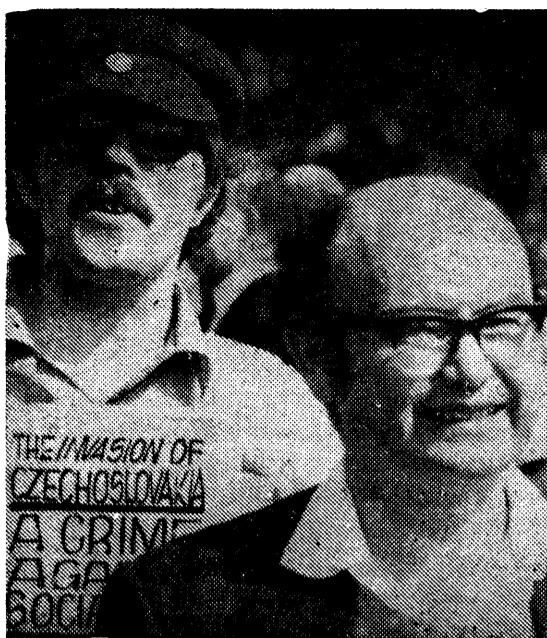
Outside of these general considerations there is the question of the evolution of the SWP itself. Right in the midst of all its demagoguery over guerillaism and Castro, the SWP revealed its real class position when it sent condolences to President Kennedy's widow and spoke of people like Earl Warren as a "voice of sanity."

Shortly after reunification the SWP became involved in a series of activities and movements on the basis of minimum agreement over reforms and democracy—the peace movement, women's movement, various defense cases, Black nationalism. This became what it called "new radicalization."

Accompanying this turn the SWP ran a barrage of attacks on "ultra-leftism." This barrage, of course, began with attacks on the International Committee for insisting on the depth of the capitalist crisis, the necessity to orient to the working class and fight for the Transitional Program, the immediacy of the battle to construct Trotskyist parties in all countries. But the Stalinists were also attacked as "ultra-leftists." Progressive Labor was seen exclusively from this point of view and not as a Stalinist organization quite capable of opportunist turns.

Even the Communist Party itself came under fire for ultra-leftism and conciliationism with ultra-leftists and for being too critical of Black nationalism. Within the Black movement Huey P. Newton, previously supported, came under sharp attack as an ultra-left as he deepened his break with nationalism and sought, if only for a moment, a road to Marxism.

Lenin in *State and Revolution* noted the tendency of Kautsky to polemicize against ultra-leftism and anarchism in a very orthodox manner but to use this polemic as a road away from a Marxist understanding of the nature of the state and the violent character of the revolution itself. Hansen's polemic is thus above all a cover for a rightward course in the United



Ernest Mandel (center left) is supported by British IMG headed by Pat Jordan (with Ken Purdie in background, top left), who in turn are accused of supporting Weatherman Mark Rudd (top 2nd from left). Mandel supporter Krivine (bottom left) says issue is SWP's anti-internationalism. Joseph Hansen (center right) is supported by Ross Dowson (top 3rd from right with IRA man) who was disturbed by Tariq Ali's (top 3rd from left) support of FLQ. Hansen backs OCI (top center) on method which has led him to endorse Hartke in peace movement (top right) and MIR in Chile which in turn supports Allende (bottom right).



States, an evolution to the positions of the social democracy and Stalinism on the question of the state and the revolution.

## The Domingo Affair

In preparation for the August, 1971 SWP convention the crisis within the United Secretariat was brought to a head around the "Domingo" letter. It seems that in November, 1970 Livio Maitan wrote a letter under the name of "Domingo" which was distributed by "Uruguayan Committee (Fourth International)" throughout Latin America. It was essentially a polemic against Moreno and in defense of the PRT group. It contained in a footnote a criticism of the Moreno group for holding a national congress without informing the United Secretariat and for having "a representative of the International minority" present. This representative turns out to be a certain "Pedro" from the SWP.

Some six months later on May 11, 1971 the SWP Political Committee sends a formal letter of protest over the matter to the United Secretariat. A considerable portion of the letter deals with such factional issues as why Maitan used a pseudonym, in whose authority the letter was issued, what is the Uruguayan Committee, and that Pedro just happened to be passing through Argentina at the time of the Moreno congress so dropped in to have a look-see. This section of the letter appeared to be a very conscious effort to abstract as much factional sharpness as possible from the "Domingo" epistle.

But there are some political points in the letter bearing on the questions we have

been discussing. Maitan (Domingo) made the following accurate assessment of Moreno's political history:

"It must be remembered first of all that the group that played the preponderant role in building the PRT had a very peculiar role in the vicissitudes of the international Trotskyist movement since the war. The third World Congress in 1951 decided not to recognize it as a section of the International (this was a unanimous decision) fundamentally because of its sectarian attitude toward Peronism. After the 1953 split, this group lined up with the International Committee but without really integrating itself into it. As a result it developed rather independently of the principal current in the Trotskyist movement (in the meantime it made a 180 degree turn on the question of Peronism, adopting an entry tactic toward this movement, which, moreover, took the form of tail-ending and complete opportunism.) This was also reflected in the fact that it did not enter the international at the Reunification Congress, but later as the result of special negotiations within the framework of the general reunification agreements. One of the most important consequences of this situation was that the Argentine comrades developed conceptions differing distinctly from those of the International on crucial questions."

The Political Committee does not challenge Maitan's facts or make any assessment of Moreno's political evolution. Instead it rejects making any historical assessments at all by seeking to reaffirm the position taken in 1963 on no discussion of the past, a position Hansen himself violated a number of times in his polemics: "This is a very serious matter, in our opinion, for Comrade Maitan has thereby

injected differences into the international pre-congress discussion that were considered superseded at the time of the reunification. By doing this, he indicates that he holds doubts about the reunification itself."

Next comes a motion of the United Secretariat passed by a vote of 7 to 2 stating that the "Domingo" letter was the private correspondence of Maitan and that under no circumstances would it disaffiliate the PRT of Argentina. Then on May 28, 1971 Maitan wrote a reply on his own dealing with the detailed factional issues but adding nothing to the political issues under discussion.

The discussion was brought to a higher level of factional heat with the article by Alain Krivine and Pierre Frank, "Again, And Always, The Question of the International." This article claims that underlying this growing dispute within the United Secretariat was an opposition to the whole conception of a disciplined international organization on the part of the SWP, a question which we dealt with extensively in this pamphlet. Krivine and Frank quote Jack Barnes:

"The principal condition for international organization is international collaboration between leaderships developed out of the experiences of real organizations fighting to build mass revolutionary Trotskyist parties in every country."

Barnes here clearly bases himself on Cannon's position in 1953 and this position in turn contributed to Cannon's refusal to take up political leadership of the International Committee over succeeding years. Krivine and Frank make a good case for internationalism being the actual construction of a world party which func-

tions in a democratic centralist way. They call for more support to the international center.

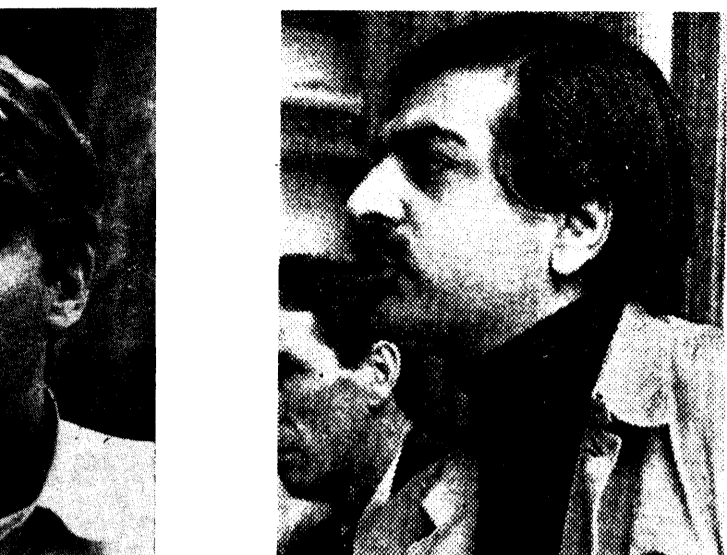
Of course it is easy enough to favor a strong international center when one controls that center. Also the question of the functioning of an international movement was a central one in 1953 for Pablo utilized his organizational control of the international center to intervene in national movements so as to destroy and disperse them. Ah, but the question of what happened in the world prior to 1963 is supposed to be verboten!

On July 7, 1971, in preparation for packing their bags for the trip to Oberlin, Ohio, the Political Committee dashed off an answer to the United Secretariat. The essence of that letter was to accuse the United Secretariat majority of maintaining that the reunification after all was not a reunification but "a process of progressive assimilation" of the International Committee rump group headed by the SWP. In conclusion, as we have already pointed out, the SWP made it clear it was organizing an international faction.

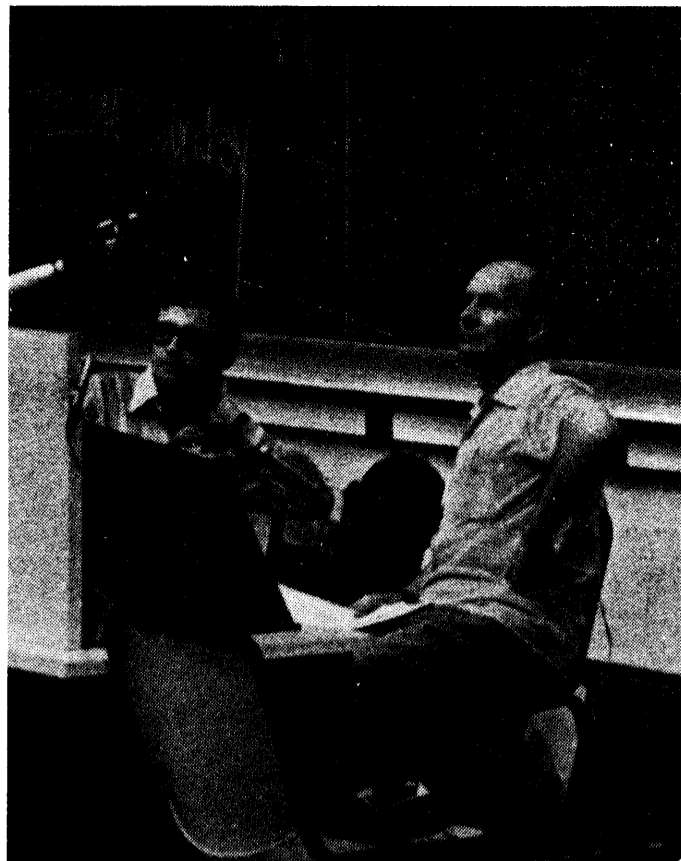
After eight years of "reunification" it now emerges that the original lineup remains intact with the exception of some forces which had supported the SWP now supporting Mandel and Co. This is not a very good track record for reunifications which avoid questions of principle!

At the National Conference of the SWP an international perspectives report was given by Joseph Hansen and a special report on the factional situation inside the United Secretariat was given by Mary Alice Waters. Both reports were carried with only one vote against. The conference went on to reject the proposals of





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the Proletarian Orientation Tendency that the SWP turn to the working class and to endorse the proposals of Jack Barnes that the New Radicalization was getting broader and deeper and deeper and broader. Tom Kerry spoke directly to the opposition within the SWP warning them that if they appeal to the United Secretariat over the heads of the Political Committee of the SWP they will be forthwith expelled. This, of course, is what Barnes and the SWP leadership mean by "international collaboration!"

### The Broad Front

In the period following the National Conference of the SWP the crisis within the United Secretariat in no sense abated. Particularly significant were the events in Uruguay where a small group, called also the PRT, existed which while not affiliated with the United Secretariat plans to join at the next congress. This group shares the majority line and it was in the name of this group that "Domingo" issued his letter.

In November, 1971 the "Broad Front" ran in the elections against the traditional Colorado and National parties. The "Broad Front" is modeled after the popular front in Chile and includes the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and sections of the bourgeois parties. Its candidate for president was a bourgeois ex-general by the name of Seregni.

Significantly the Tupamaros, the most famous and successful of the urban guerilla groups in Latin America, offered its support to the Broad Front's electoral bid. This follows the pattern of the MIR of Chile, which models itself after Castro and

has engaged in peasant land seizures and the like, and which also supports the popular front government of Allende.

Under the cover of ultra-leftism and armed guerillaism, these tendencies had never broken with nationalism and Stalinism. They represented petty bourgeois forces who easily find a way back into traditional Stalinist electoral activity when such activity becomes popular. The issue all along with the United Secretariat is the issue of the reform road of Stalinism or the revolutionary strategy of Trotskyism and not guerillaism as a tactic or strategy. The latter was never more than a form of liquidationism, of a turn by forces once within the Trotskyist movement to the political position of Stalinism.

The political position of the PRT is especially revealing. From the beginning they participated in the Broad Front seeking to promote within it various political positions against the Stalinists and nationalists. Then they ran a slate of their own as a constituent part of the Broad Front, something permitted under Uruguayan law. They sought to run their own candidates for the office of president and vice president against the bourgeois candidates running on the Broad Front ticket. But the Broad Front leadership intervened and insisted that all sub-slates must run Seregni on their tickets. This the PRT agreed to do under protest.

Hansen reports all this in *Intercontinental Press* complimenting the PRT for their "intensity of activities," etc. Only at one point does he differ with their strategy. He maintains they should have withdrawn from the election rather than run Seregni on their ticket. Hansen did not object to the PRT's participation in the popular front coalition in principle but only

ficant here is that when a split occurs from our international movement the two sides of the United Secretariat are drawn farther apart rather than being able to come together to try to take advantage of the situation. One factor could be that Hansen could be shopping around for possible future allies should a definitive split take place in the United Secretariat, and Frank, suspecting this, seeks to make things as difficult as possible by etching out differences with the OCI.

A more fundamental difference springs up in the course of Hansen and Frank's comments. First is the question of the history of the Fourth International itself. Hansen gives this version of the split in the international movement and Pabloism:

"In 1953 a sharp factional struggle broke out in the world Trotskyist movement. Michel Pablo, the secretary of the Fourth International at the time, headed one faction. The other was led by James P. Cannon, the present national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party..."

"By 1957, the main political differences separating the International Committee and the International Secretariat had been overcome..."

"While proclaiming adherence to Trotskyism, Pablo today stands on such concepts as 'centuries of degenerated workers states' and the possibility of Communist parties 'reforming' themselves, which he advanced some two decades ago and which helped precipitate the factional struggle and split of that time. From 1955 until 1965, he retreated publicly from this position. Upon setting up shop as an independent formation, he proclaimed them publicly." "

Frank, however, approaches this question differently:

"In fact 'Pabloism' is an invention dating from 1952-53, when it was used in an attempt to explain the split. This concept represented an incorrect extrapolation of the policy advocated by the Fourth International at the time." "

Hansen holds that the split in 1953 took place over "political differences." He further maintains that these differences included Pablo's liquidationist theories on Stalinism. He then seeks to explain away the SWP's going over to Pabloism by trying to claim that by 1957 these differences had been "overcome" but seem to live on privately in the head of the indi-

vidual Pablo, only to come out publicly after the individual Pablo broke from the United Secretariat.

Frank dismisses Pabloism altogether as a mistaken interpretation of Pablo's views, as therefore a myth!

So this question of the original split in 1953 reasserts itself in the discussion no matter how the participants seek to keep it out. It, however, reasserts itself in a particular way—through the SWP. The two factions are not identical in their history. The factions are divided along the lines of the original reunification which makes Hansen's protestations about the removal of political differences in 1957 very difficult for anyone to believe. The SWP, in its fight against the old group that was nurtured and trained by Pablo and stuck with him for a decade against the International Committee including the SWP is forced to draw on its history of past struggle against Pabloism. All Mandel and Frank can draw on is two decades of defense of liquidationism!

This is highly dangerous to the SWP because it raises all the questions which the International Committee has raised. It reveals the perfidious nature of the actions of the SWP in 1961-63.

The development of Pabloism is the most contradictory of processes. The development of Marxism comes from a struggle against this opposite and requires that no seemingly incongruent element be sacrificed, no discontinuity discarded for the sake of a continuum of analysis. For this discordant element will, if ignored, overthrow the whole schema.

We do not accept the impression Hansen seeks to create that he is fighting for orthodox Leninist party building against ultra-leftist adventurists. We see in his polemic against guerillism a defense of the peaceful road to socialism, of reformism and liberalism.

But we cannot accept the impressions of the United Secretariat majority as presenting a "left" or more working class oriented formation. They stand on the basis of two decades of Pabloism. Their history is different. We give them no quarter whatsoever nor support of any kind against the SWP.

Significantly both factions of the United Secretariat lined up with the OCI on the question of method. Hansen, as we noted earlier, agreed with the OCI on the IC ma-

majority's amendment on the question of method and theory. Frank explains the position of all of them the clearest:

"In summarizing Healy's attack, I deliberately left aside Healy's main theme. He accused Lambert of more or less openly rejecting dialectical materialism. Ever since he read Trotsky's In Defense of Marxism, Healy has not been able to engage in a tendency struggle without bringing up this question. He forgets that Trotsky was polemicizing against Burnham, a professor of philosophy who openly rejected dialectical materialism, and Shachtman, who was utterly indifferent to it. Trotsky wanted to show that this 'bloc in philosophy' corresponded to their bloc on the character of the Soviet Union, one arguing that it was not a workers state, the other that it was a question without any importance. Healy likewise forgets that Trotsky conducted other tendency struggles that were not less important without speaking about dialectical materialism. In any case, as soon as he sees a political disagreement, no matter how minor, Healy turns to philosophy and tries to prove that his adversary has idealist leanings. In his reply, Lambert has no trouble dealing with Healy's philosophical mania." "

If one returns to the struggle in 1940 to learn its real lessons, the question posed is how was it that Shachtman, a leader of the Trotskyist movement in the United States

from its origins and of the early Communist Party ended up in a bloc with the anti-dialectician Burnham against the Fourth International? Trotsky explained that this occurred precisely because Shachtman held to the view that the question of Marxist method was a matter of personal taste which did not affect political questions. Thus he, and not just Burnham, had gone over to a pragmatic method and reflected the class pressures of the bourgeoisie.

Now it is Frank who takes the position of indifference for he claims that philosophy perhaps played an important role in this one struggle but was in no sense central in other disputes. He states that one thus can have sharp disputes—these disputes can reflect class differences—while the two sides share a common method. A study of the Marxist method then has no use whatsoever. This, of course, was exactly the position which Shachtman held.

Both the majority and minority tendencies within the United Secretariat play the same role today that Shachtman did in the 1940s. Both represent breaks with Trotskyism, with the Fourth International. There is no road out of the present bind they find themselves in outside of the International Committee of the Fourth International. This is what a study of the history of the Fourth International, of the Marxist method, and of the present crisis of capitalism shows conclusively.

## FOOTNOTES

15. Ibid., p. 25.
16. See: "Towards a History of the Fourth International—2) The Fourth International Under Michel Pablo" by Lucy St. John & Tim Wohlforth, Bulletin, December 13, 1971, Volume 8, Number 18, 224, p. 10.
17. Ibid.
18. "SWP Reform or Revolution—An Assessment of the Socialist Workers Party—2) New Radicalization As Structural Reform" by Fred Mueller, Bulletin, February 7, 1972, Volume 8, Number 20, 231, p. 9.
19. "May 11, 1971, Letter From the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party to the United Secretariat," International Information Bulletin, No. 4, June, 1971, Socialist Workers Party, p. 8.
20. "The Crisis of the Trotskyist Movement in Argentina" by Domingo, International Information Bulletin, Op. Cit., p. 3-4.
21. "May 11, 1971 Letter..." Op. Cit., p. 9.
22. "Statement of the United Secretariat Concerning the May 11, 1971 Letter of the Political Committee of the SWP", International Information Bulletin, Op. Cit., p. 10.
23. "Reply to the Political Committee of the SWP" by Livio Maitan, International Information Bulletin, Op. Cit., p. 11.
24. "Again, and Always, the Question of the International" by Alain Krivine and Pierre Frank, International Information Bulletin, No. 5, July, 1971, Socialist Workers Party, p. 3.
25. "July 7, 1971 Letter From the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party to the United Secretariat," International Information Bulletin, Op. Cit., p. 6.
26. "The 'Broad Front' Suffers Defeat" by Joseph Hansen, Intercontinental Press, Vol. 9, No. 44, December 13, 1971, p. 1086-1088.
27. "The International Committee & the OCI," Bulletin, November 8, 1971, Volume 8, Number 10, 219, p. 7.
28. "The Healyite Case Against the Lambertists," Intercontinental Press, Vol. 9, No. 41, November 22, 1971, p. 1017.
29. "The Split Between Healy and Lambert," by Pierre Frank, Intercontinental Press, Vol. 9, No. 42, November 29, 1971, p. 1047.
30. "The Healyite..." Op. Cit., p. 1015.
31. "The Split Between..." Op. Cit., p. 1048.
32. "Lambert's Reply to Healy" by Pierre Frank, Intercontinental Press, VVol. 10, No. 3, January 24, 1972, p. 86.

## BULLETIN PAMPHLET SERIES



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# BOOKS

DAVE NORTH

## PL's War Against Lenin



Workers and soldiers led by Bolshevik Party storm the Winter Palace in October, 1917 in revolution which created first workers state. PL rejects Lenin's strategy which guided this revolutionary struggle.

**PL'S WAR AGAINST LENIN,** by Lucy St. John. Bulletin Pamphlet Series, No. 8. Published by Labor Publications, 1972.

The theoretical wealth of the Marxist movement, developed during more than a century's bitter struggle, is the most powerful weapon of the working class. The defense and advance of revolutionary theory is at the heart of the fight to construct a leadership that can take the proletariat to power. It is for this reason that after the death of Lenin, Trotsky understood his own work as being—above all else—a theoretical fight against the most monstrous attempt in history to liquidate from the consciousness of the proletariat every lesson drawn by Marxism from the class struggle.

The survival of the revolutionary movement was possible only because Trotsky fought Stalinism on the highest level of theory. Only by establishing the class roots of Stalin's betrayal of the Third International was Trotsky able to begin the construction of the Fourth International.

In the discussions he held with political tendencies that had broken with the Stalinist parties, Trotsky insisted that the split could not be left on the programmatic level. He declared time and again that a tendency that avoided a theoretical confrontation with the whole history of Stalinism would ultimately capitulate to revisionism, and find itself in the camp of the bourgeoisie.

The history of the Progressive Labor Party is the clearest example of the prescience of Trotsky's warning. In *PL's War Against Lenin*, Lucy St. John shows how the refusal of PL to fight for a theoretical understanding of Stalinism has led that organization to abandon Marxism and turn against the working class.

In its document *Road to Revolution III*, analyzed by St. John, Progressive Labor goes all out to discredit Lenin and defend Stalin. The man who built the Bolshevik Party is described as a muddle-headed individual who is responsible for the degeneration of the state he founded. On the other hand, PL assigns to the man who exterminated the best elements in the Bolshevik Party—Stalin—great respect for his "leadership in building the communist movement."

Progressive Labor undertakes its distortion of the history of Bolshevism for a specific purpose. For all its leftist phrasemongering, PL is a centrist tendency terrified by the deep capitalist crisis. It is trying to beat a hasty retreat away from the working class. In maintaining Stalin against Lenin, PL is defending the anti-

Marxist perspective that it will use to cover its liquidation into the middle class.

The real aims of Progressive Labor are exposed in its criticisms of Lenin's position on the Russian peasantry. Just as Stalin attacked Trotsky during the 1920's for "underestimating the peasantry" to justify the Soviet bureaucracy's capitulation to the kulaks as well as the development of a class collaborationist perspective in the Comintern, PL now claims that Lenin overlooked the revolutionary potential of the peasantry in order to justify its present search for an alliance with the middle class.

At the heart of revisionism is the denial of the proletariat's historical role as the only revolutionary class. The determination of the middle class radical to tie the proletariat to the bourgeoisie is expressed in PL's search for all sorts of class combination. The big theoreticians of Progressive Labor seek to obscure the

sharp class lines drawn in capitalist society:

"The unity of the industrial and the agricultural proletariats of the world must be the foundation for the broader alliance that must be forged with middle peasants, revolutionary students and intellectuals, and other petty bourgeois forces who can be won to the banners of socialism. The contradictions between the proletariat and these petty bourgeois forces are not antagonistic..."

In answering this gibberish, St. John gets to the root of Progressive Labor's intentions:

"PL raises the question of the peasantry in order to justify its middle class movement, its alliances with other forces outside the working class, to justify the position of the American middle class whose position is now threatened by the movement of the working class. This is what makes PL so utterly reactionary."

The class collaborationist perspective of Progressive Labor is drawn from Stalinism. Though it emerged out of a break with the American Communist Party, PL has never permitted a discussion of Stalin's responsibility for the destruction of the Third International. *Road to Revolution III* declares:

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

That is how PL describes the man who perpetrated the most terrible crimes against the working class, whose memory is covered with the blood of millions of workers.

"What guides PL is one thing and one thing only," writes St. John. "...Stalin

must be maintained against Trotsky, even if it means attacking Lenin. What PL actually does is turn history inside out, to attribute to Lenin positions which were never held by Lenin but by Stalin."

The point is that PL wishes to trace the degeneration of the Soviet Union to Lenin himself. It is in this way that PL hopes to strike a blow at Marxism and carry out the policies of Stalinism. PL is a bankrupt party in the most fundamental sense: it attempts to construct a movement on the basis of a totally fictitious presentation of history.

Its slander of Lenin prepares PL for an assault upon Marxism itself for PL states that "Communists can win state power even though they follow a wrong political strategy." PL is saying in the bluntest terms that theory is useless and that the history of the working class means nothing.

As PL goes to war against Lenin, it breaks every tenuous connection it ever had with the working class. In *Road to Revolution III* PL served notice that it is prepared to close ranks with the bourgeoisie against the working class. No one should be surprised when PL ends its frenzied race away from the working class by falling into the arms of the Democrats.

PL has already given sufficient warning of this. As St. John writes:

"At a time when the capitalist class is moving to break the offensive of the working class through destruction of its unions, PL sides with Nixon, advocating that workers leave their unions and dissolve their struggles into middle class protest marches. The other side of the CP's support to the trade union bureaucracy is PL's abandonment of the fight in the unions and leaving the workers to their present leadership. PL stands with the CP and the revisionist forces against the central fight in the working class to construct a labor party."

## TV

NANCY VASQUEZ

## Sanford And Son

**SANFORD AND SON: Starring Redd Foxx and Demond Wilson. Friday—NBC, 8:00 p.m. Bud Yorkin and Norman Lear Production.**

The capitalists are going all out to bombard prime time television with anti-working class garbage. One show after another is being put on the air to whip up racism in the working class while attempting to prove that the workers themselves—not the bosses—are responsible for racism. The message of *All In The Family* is that the working class is the reactionary force in society.

Now the writers who produced that slanderous show have collaborated to invent another insult to the working class: *Sanford and Son*. In both shows, workers are held up in ridicule before the millions that watch television. The target of *All In The Family* is white workers; the target of *Sanford and Son* is Black workers.

Racism is the central theme of the new show, which picks up right where *All In The Family* leaves off. Almost every episode tries to prove that the working class thrives on racism. Let us take just a few examples from *Sanford and Son*. In one scene, the son Lemont takes Sanford out for cocktails to "no ordinary honky-tonk restaurant." Sanford looks around and says with racist glee that the place "sure looks like one with all these honkies."

Later in the same show father and son enter a Chinese restaurant for dinner. The son orders for both himself and his father,



and the Chinese waiter then takes the menu away. The hastiness of the waiter angers Fred Sanford, who declares "These Chinks sure are getting pushy—maybe we shouldn't have let them in the U.N."

All these racist remarks are used to divide the working class into segments of races, nationalities and religions. It is implied that these divisions—the products of capitalist exploitation—are natural and healthy for workers. Furthermore, the character of Fred Sanford bears a striking similarity to either Amos or Andy. Like those two stereotypes produced by the sick capitalist minds of an earlier period, Sanford cannot break away from his ignorance and backwardness even if he has the chance to. At one point, Sanford admits that he would "rather buy a six

pack and drink it in a parking lot" than stay in a restaurant.

Every scene of the show gives us a clear idea what the bosses—not the workers think. It is no accident that this show arrives on television when it did. The political character of the serial is blatant. *Sanford and Son*, like *All In The Family*, is a vicious attack on the working class. It tries to make workers look like a caste of idiots, and it does everything it can to divert the class from the real problems that exist today.

But the bourgeois programmers are not succeeding. In spite of their efforts to allow the workers no alternative to shows like *All In The Family* and *Sanford and Son*, the working class is uniting to decisively smash capitalism and the disease of racism.

## CPUSA Convention

# Hall Covers Up 40 Years Of Stalinism

BY FRED MUELLER

The 20th Convention of the American Communist Party was held against the background of the tremendous forward thrust of the international working class. The world capitalist crisis has produced within the working class the determination to defend every gain that it won during an earlier period. It has created the conditions for the development within the working class of a revolutionary consciousness.

Within the Stalinist movement itself, the breakup of the conditions of the boom is producing a deep internal crisis.

Furthermore, within sections of the Communist Party, especially among the youth in the YWLL, this crisis produces a revulsion against the crass class collaborationism that seeks to head off the independent development of the working class.

However, as the movement of the Stalinists in this period must be further and further to the right, the CPUSA strains every nerve to contain its crisis. It seeks to answer all criticisms of Stalinism's historic role as the most pernicious agent of the bourgeoisie within the working class with a fraudulent campaign against those members of the CP who are taking Stalinism to its logical conclusion: open endorsement of the bourgeoisie's attacks upon the working class.

This "logical conclusion" has already been drawn by more than one Stalinist party. Only recently, Marshall Tito lined up behind the British troops that murdered 13 Irish workers, and the Czech CP endorsed General Numeiry's butchery of Sudanese Communists.

Whatever criticism made by the leadership of the CPUSA of the extreme right wing is intended only to preserve the Party's official cover, and to head off a real discussion among the militants of the roots of Stalinism. Therefore, when Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CP, told reporters at a convention press conference that the "main hindrance" facing his party is "right opportunism," he was indulging in a careful maneuver to disorient any opposition that might develop.

Just as insincere was Hall's censure of those who are "unduly optimistic" about Democratic Party leaders. In all his criticisms of the right, Hall attempted to brush over the fact that the strongest force for right opportunism within the CP is its leadership.

The responsibility for the "right opportunism" that Hall now denounces lies with the Party leadership. The real relationship between "right opportunism" and the leadership is clearly shown in the battle now shaping up in the CP over the pending expulsion of 80-year old Paul Novick, editor of the Jewish *Morning Freiheit*. Novick has been in the Communist Party for 50 years.

It is important to consider the relationship of the *Freiheit* to the CP. A break developed between the two in 1956, following the Khrushchev revelations. A large number of Jewish members left the CP, while another section began to rebel over the issue of Soviet anti-Semitism. Naturally the CP sought to deal with this issue without confronting the material roots of post-revolutionary Russian anti-Semitism, namely in Stalinism and the nationalism it fostered.

In the early years of the Soviet regime, anti-Semitism disappeared as a significant social force. So rigorously did the Leninist government fight anti-Semitism

that even a flippant racist remark could result in prosecution.

It was Stalin, acting as the agent of Russian chauvinism and as the leading opponent of the Left Opposition, who consciously sought to revive anti-Semitism. He found it a useful tool against Trotsky, who was of Jewish origin.

The purge trials of the 1930's made direct use of anti-Semitism. The criminals who directed the Moscow trials made a point of harping on the Jewish background of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek and other defendants.

The anti-Semitic hysteria reached new

It uses the same method of deception on the 1972 elections.

Understanding that the working class has just about had it with the Democrats, the Hall-Tyner campaign plans a reformist campaign against the "Nixon-Kissinger" clique to drum up support for the Democratic Party, on the basis of its defense of democratic rights.

Although Gus Hall modestly assured reporters that he did not expect to win, he knows that the bourgeoisie has a great interest in the progress of his campaign. It expects the Stalinists to do something that

stage of political development that Chile has attained.

### CAMPAIGN

Hall and Tyner are running this campaign in a serious manner precisely because they realize that a similar stage of development is being reached in the U.S.—the stage when the bourgeoisie cannot rule directly. It was no accident that leading CP members were called at one point at the Conference, "future cabinet members."

There can be no serious discussion of "right opportunism" without a confrontation with the history of Stalinism. The CPUSA will not face the past. Its history and its present policies are wedded to the degeneration of the first workers state. The crimes of Stalin and his heirs are accepted as everything else that emanates from the bureaucracy—uncritically.

The American CP leadership is among the most experienced and enthusiastic among all the world Stalinist parties when it comes to grovelling before the bureaucracy and defending every single one of its crimes. There is not a single instance of independence by the U.S. leaders from the bureaucracy in Moscow which can be recorded for the last forty years.

The American Stalinists have defended everything, from the Third Period, to the Popular Front, to the purge trials, to the alliance with Hitler, to the super patriotism of World War II, to the new Soviet and East European purges in the postwar period, to the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution and the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Serious questions were raised by the critics of the Soviet invasion. In the U.S. these included Dorothy Healey and Al Richmond on the West Coast, and Gil Green in New York.

But the American CP leadership would have nothing to do with any thing that touched the raw nerve of the bureaucracy and the defense of its privileges.

Hall and Company cannot answer the questions posed by the Czech workers. They cannot even answer the questions raised by Dorothy Healey and Gil Green. They want to deal in an organizational manner with all the questions which have meant the life and death of the working class.

### TERROR

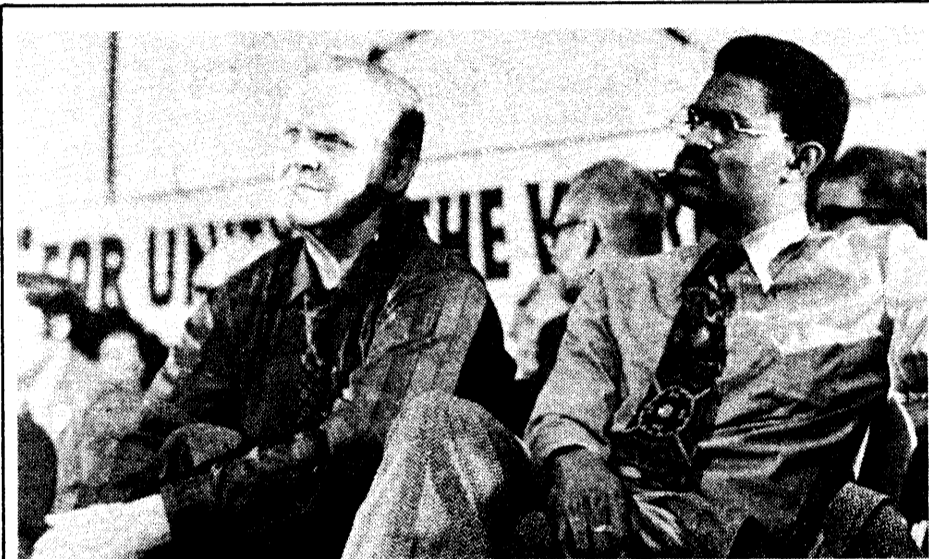
In the years since the invasion, the character of the regime installed by the Soviet bureaucracy has become unmistakably clear. It rules through terror and persecution; and openly endorses the murder of Sudanese workers.

But the CPUSA is not aroused by these facts. It endorses every crime. On the morning the 20th Convention opened, the *Daily World* published the greetings of the Czech CP which wished the American Stalinists "much success in the realization of the objectives laid down by the 20th Congress of your party in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress."

What is involved here is not merely the position of the CPUSA on Czechoslovakia. What it does now is the result of 40 years of unprincipled politics.

But the past is not simply past. Despite the efforts of the bankrupt cowards who lead the American Stalinists to turn their backs on history, they will not succeed.

Any new forces coming towards the CP today must inevitably sharpen up the crisis enormously within that party. Those militants who cry out in anger against class collaboration, as George Jackson did before his murder and as Angela Davis has done in objecting to the liberal approach to her defense, have a great responsibility. These militants must search for the reasons behind today's crisis in the history of the CP itself, and in the history of the material force upon which it rests, the Stalinist bureaucracy.



Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, Stalinist candidates for President and Vice President.

heights just before Stalin died. As the "Doctors Plot" set the stage for a vicious campaign against "rootless cosmopolites."

Khrushchev's revelations produced demoralization among Jewish CP members because the issue of anti-Semitism was raised outside of Stalinism.

The CPUSA's policies made the Zionist escape route very accessible. Following the lead of the Kremlin, the American Stalinists had welcomed the establishment of Israel. And so even those members who remained in the CP after the 1956 secret speech, were able to remain attached to Zionism.

Paul Novick remained in the CP although the *Morning Freiheit* broke with the Party. But his double life has come to an end now that he has gone all out to defend Israel against the Arabs. His actions threaten to destroy the cover that the CP requires to operate effectively.

It is with considerable fanfare that the CP has established a Party Commission to decide the future of Novick. The preparation for this case has been quite deliberate. Hyman Lumer contributed two articles to *Political Affairs* in order to set the Stalinist line straight. But in doing this, he clearly shows that the trial of Novick will be divorced from any analysis of the role of Stalinism in the Middle East. For all his denunciation of Zionism as reactionary, Lumer never bothers to explain why the Soviet Union endorsed the establishment of Israel in 1948.

And a statement by Gus Hall last Friday at the Convention makes it very clear that with or without Novick, the CP will continue its under-the-table support of Israel. He told newsmen that the CPUSA disagreed with those Israeli policies "that are not in Israel's best interests." He asserted that all nations must accept the right of Israel to exist, but that Israel must be more considerate in the conduct of its foreign policy. In other words, what Israel could use is a man like Gromyko as foreign minister.

The Novick affair expresses with great clarity the method which the CP now uses to prosecute "right opportunism." It intends to meet all right wing rebellions with treacherous maneuvers designed not to extirpate the rightists, but to confuse those probing for a way out of the Stalinist quagmire.

It cannot do alone—discipline the American working class. And the CP has already mapped out the strategy.

Gus Hall says it all quite plainly in his report to the Convention. According to Hall, the 1972 election is "critical because the nation is on a very dangerous course. In general terms, our aim is to expose and defeat the reactionary candidates—to sharply criticize the liberal candidates and to give support to the progressive independent candidates. We will expose to defeat, we will criticize to strengthen and we will support to elect."

Hall speaks of "priorities" in the "electoral tactic." "First, the Communist Party campaign; second, the building of independent political action movement candidates, and third, directly influencing the movement in the old party orbit." Superimposed upon these priorities, according to the *Daily World*, and actually topping the list, "is the defeat of Nixon."

By "progressive independent candidates," Hall undoubtedly means those, like McGovern, Chisholm and Dellums, whom the Stalinists seek to differentiate from the other liberals as being more "attuned" to the masses.

The CP campaign is solely for the purpose of placating more militant elements within the party and covering up the alliance with the liberals. The meaning of the absurd statement that the first priority is the CP campaign, while the "top" priority is defeating Nixon, is that the real priority is the support of the Democrats. The CP campaign is completely subordinate to that aim and is going to be used precisely to build support to the Democrats.

Hall restates the Stalinist line of class collaboration in the very same report in which he criticizes "right opportunism."

That the campaign against "right opportunism" is nothing but demagoguery is shown by the special praise reserved for Chilean Stalinist Luis Figueroa on the second day of the Conference. The Alende "road to socialism" was held before the assembled as the perfect method. Both Tyner and Hall publically embraced Figueroa. Tyner spoke of Chile as "the land of the beautiful experience" because it has a popular front government. And Figueroa replied that he anxiously awaited the day that the United States reached the



# UNEMPLOYMENT, USA

# Detroit, Mich.



## Plant Closings Rock Motor City

(Continued From Page 1)  
 more and more firms have announced their intention to shut their doors and leave Detroit, giving the same reason as GM—to improve their “competitive” position.

The rash of closings and the spectre of mass unemployment is at the same time being used as part of a campaign by the bosses in Detroit to demand that workers accept a combination of layoffs, speedup and wage cuts as the price for not moving their particular plants. This pattern has been brought forward as a central part of the vicious attack on the working class since Nixon’s wage freeze was initiated last August.

### DANA

Now, as part of a campaign to “make Detroit competitive” the same kind of demands are being made by the bosses in the Detroit area. At the Dana Corporation, a large auto parts manufacturer with plants throughout the country, Local 2 of the UAW has agreed to enter into negotiations with the company to help solve Dana’s “economic difficulties.”

A worker at the plant, however, told us, “They want us to take a 17 cents an hour pay cut and give away our job classifications. They want more speedup. There are 750 men in the plant now and they plan to cut it down below 600 and eventually close down the plant altogether.

The union should tell the truth and stop being so much for the company.”

A Dana worker who is not involved in production directly, joined in the discussion. “The unions should all get together. I think the UAW should have a general strike. All these guys with 15 or 20 years in a plant—they’re really getting screwed. They can’t even get five more years in and get their pensions.”

### FISHER BODY

Meanwhile General Motors is issuing statements to reassure the Mayor and the UAW leadership that it has no intention of leaving Detroit at all. The complex of plants around Fisher Body Number 23 is alive with rumors of closings and cutbacks. Bulletin reporters were denied access to the plant 23 parking lot by GM guards who had instructions not to allow any interviews with the press on company property.

One man that talked to us at the plant 23 gate seemed grimly resigned to his fate and fully convinced that the UAW leadership had no perspective of fighting these cutbacks. Out of a thousand employees at the plant, little over 200 have gotten new jobs. With 18 years at the plant he said his job prospects were bleak, that after his SUB payments run out in one year he doesn’t know what is going to

happen.

Another tool and die maker with about the same number of years at the plant, remarked sardonically, “America, the land of opportunity. One thing’s for sure, if we work at all, we’ll get to see a lot of the country.”

### FEDERAL-MOGUL

Last October, the Federal-Mogul Corporation, a Detroit roller-bearing manufacturer, announced that its two Detroit plants would close, throwing 2,000 workers onto the street.

We spoke with two Federal-Mogul workers on their lunch hour across the street from the plant. One of the men, with 17 years at the plant, had previously put in 18 years at the Hudson Motor Company before they went out of business.

“I think there are seven plants in addition to Federal-Mogul that are moving out. I don’t know how much further it’s going to go. Pretty soon this will be a ghost town. I heard that down South where Federal-Mogul is moving the highest wage is \$1.80 an hour.

“This business about taking pay cuts to keep your job. I don’t know how many places in Detroit took a cut or had their wages frozen and the company still closes. You got young guys now getting out of the Army, can’t even get jobs. I’m of the opinion that older workers should be able to retire after 20 years on a decent pension they can live on.”

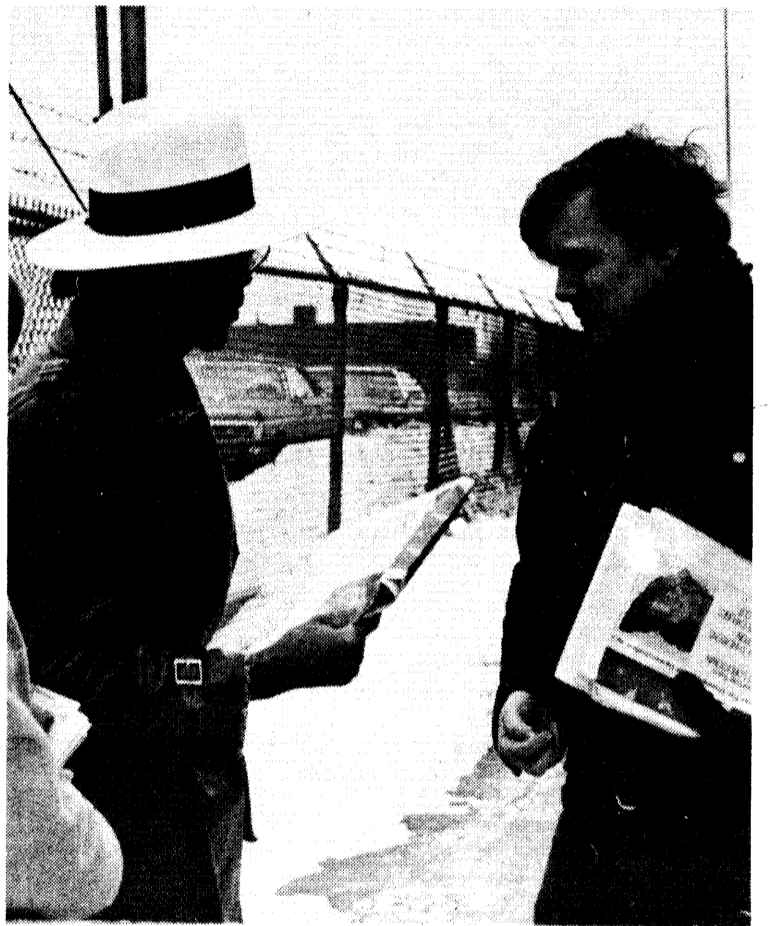
On the same day we talked to the Federal-Mogul workers, the unemployment center serving Detroit’s East Side was jam-packed. Many unemployed workers who had exhausted their 26 weeks of benefits had come down to find out if they could get the 13 week extension.

We asked one young Black worker on the line how long he had been unemployed:

“Ever since I got out of the service. That’s a year and a half. Man, it’s as simple as this, they ain’t hiring nobody, nowhere. I was in Vietnam one year. Ever since I got out I been walking the streets.”

Another young man waiting on line told the Bulletin that he had been coming down for 5 weeks and still had not gotten any benefit checks. He has previously worked at Chrysler for 12 weeks before getting laid off, and then at another shop for 2 months. They laid him off after announcing they were going “bankrupt.”

“One more week at Chrysler and I would have had my 90 days



Top, unemployed workers wait in line for check in Detroit. Above, G.M. Fisher body plant which is closing, laying off 1000 workers. Below, Bulletin salesmen discuss closing with young auto worker.

to become regular. They do this purposely to save money. After the 90 days they have to pay 20 cents an hour more. What I don’t understand is why they lay off people that’s been working 10, 15 years and then don’t even let the new guy get his 90 days in. When I was going out they had a new crew coming in. The guy on one job who was getting laid off was showing the new guy how to work that job! People have to live. The companies are messing up the whole system. Every day I come down here the line’s longer.”

The UAW leadership together with labor leaders of other Detroit unions are making a big show of a fight to save jobs in Detroit. They have joined together with Mayor Gribbs in the setting up of a “blue ribbon committee” designed to put pressure on business to remain in the area. The program put forward by UAW Regional Director Bard Young and UAW GM Director Irving Bluestone is summed up in their campaign for a federal law requiring permits to move from high unemployment areas like Detroit.

Their approach is to plead for crumbs from the employers and look to the very city government which has its own wage slashing, job cutting program.

The UAW is more than willing to accept the Frigidaire pattern. This was expressed by Local 2 (Dana) President Mose Miles

who told the Bulletin that the Blue Ribbon Committee was long overdue. As far as Mayor Gribbs’ efforts, Miles told us: “My heart goes out to the cat because he’s trying to keep GM in the city. He’s on the same wagon I am—‘people.’”

### RELIEF

Miles spelled out what he meant by concern for “people”:

“If the company will call the union in and say, look, we’re having problems, we’re not making money, we may have to move out, can we get together and do something, the UAW will not say, ‘We don’t give a damn about you losing money, we’re not going to give you any relief.’ We’re too intelligent for that.”

This is the approach which tells the American working class that in order to save their jobs, so the employers can continue to amass profits, the workers must accept speedup, short weeks and wage cuts.

But the workers are not going to accept wage slashing and unemployment. They are looking for a fight and a program. The fight for this program—for jobs for all, the 30 hour week, nationalization of closed plants and the campaign for a labor party against Nixon and the Democrats must be taken forward in Detroit above all in the UAW.



# Fascists Hurl Yevtushenko Off Platform

BY V. BARAT

ST. PAUL, Minn., Feb. 18—The Nixon government's encouragement of a pogrom atmosphere among reactionary and fascist elements led tonight to an actual physical assault on the Soviet poet, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, in the Macalester College fieldhouse.

On this last stop of a three week poetry reading tour through the United States, Yevtushenko, in the presence of 3,000 horrified spectators, was hurled off a three-foot high platform by four fascist thugs, members of the ultra-nationalistic Ukrainian Student Organization of Mykola Michnowsky.

Upon remounting the platform he received a thunderous ovation from the sympathetic audience. "It doesn't matter," he declared. "I spent my childhood under fascist bombs. I am not afraid."

But it does matter to the working class against whom such attacks are ultimately aimed and for whom it is rapidly becoming a question of life and death.

And furthermore what matters is not only the criminal complacency of Stalinism in the face of the real fascist menace, but its bankrupt coexistence policy which insists upon the workers' reliance on the capitalist state for defense from such attacks.

For Yevtushenko answered the assault by reading his latest poem: "Bombs for Balalaikas," dedicated to the secretary killed last month in Sol Hurok's New York office. Hurok has been a target of the fascist Jewish Defense League. The poem's main theme denies the depth of the social crisis in America as the cause for the violence deliberately inspired by the desperate capitalists.

In conformity with Kremlin policies, Yevtushenko even caters to the most backward religious prejudices of his American audiences. At a press conference before the recital, he responded to a question as to his belief in God by saying: "I believe in the human soul. If there is a God, I believe he is inside us."

The introduction of Yevtushenko, a quarter hour of nauseating praise of him as a "new Mayakovsky," which was met by indignant cries from a number in the audience at such dishonesty, was made by Professor A. Guss, chairman of the Russian Depart-

ment at Macalester. It is fashionable these days for the liberal intellectuals to make of this facile rhymster something that he is not. Mayakovsky was first of all a communist, a man of principles who never weasled out of a question that might prove embarrassing to any men in government.

In contrast to this great poet, Yevtushenko would not even come out in a forthright defense of his persecuted countrymen who are risking their very lives against the Soviet bureaucracy and demanding a return to Lenin's policies. Asked to comment about the staunch oppositionist, writer Alexandr Solzhenitsyn, he responded: "I consider it superfluous to answer it here because the United States is not the proper place to deal with this question."

In the dozen or so poems that he read, Yevtushenko displayed a flamboyant and pompous style of delivery. His voice would become as dramatic and his gestures as exaggerated when he spoke of the bark of a puppy as when he sighed for close relations between Nixon and Brezhnev lest "it take another Hitler to unify us."



Railroad workers in Wisconsin listen with little interest to Hubert Humphrey's speech over the radio. They live near Duluth, where Humphrey was speaking and where the rate of unemployment has passed 10% as the steel mills and other industries shut down.



Bulletin is sold at Washburn H.S. where disorders broke out recently. See story on Page 6.

## Gas Ranks Resist Speed-Up

BY A LOCAL 101 MEMBER

BROOKLYN—New work rules are hitting TWU Local 101 meter readers at the Brooklyn Union Gas Company's Montague Street office and the Greenpoint and Canarsie plants.

Meter readers are now required to indicate on their work reports 4's and 6's respectively to show that they have tried on two separate occasions to read skipped meters. This, it was explained to meter readers by a training supervisor, "Would not only reduce the number of meters not read, but would improve consumer rela-

tions."

But what is really underneath this productivity swindle is that the use of 4's and 6's enables the efficiency experts to get a picture of the meter reader's work.

### DRIVEN

Once attained all so-called "unproductive" movements are eliminated and the workers are driven to maximum output. The

next step is to throw out half the meter readers, while at the same time forcing the remaining half to produce at even greater speeds.

As one meter reader said about the new work rules, "It used to be okay when I first got the job but now the work is harder and the foremen are always on top of you."

### SALESMEN

BUG, in a further drive at liquidating the non-profitable new business department, has thrown out 88 older salesmen.

A Local 101 member in the street department stated angrily: "The company at first politely asked these guys to retire, then they begin to push them out. It's just not right for a guy to spend 14 to 15 years at a job and then be thrown out. I feel the union should defend its ranks, especially the older workers."

### CANARSIE

At the Canarsie plant the situation is even more explosive. Three customer service workers, one a union delegate, were suspended by their foreman when up to 25 minutes time discrepancy was found in their work reports.

The work slowdown presently being staged by the customer service workers shows not only the willingness to fight speedup and productivity but complete lack of confidence in the present union leadership.

At the Feb. 16 section meeting of meter readers and clericals, the Local 101 Rank and File Caucus put forward five resolutions for discussion and vote.

When questions from the floor were raised as to why a vote was not allowed to take place and what concrete action the union was prepared to take against speedup, layoffs and the threat to the 10 percent increase, the bureaucrats openly showed their contempt and fear of the ranks by shouting, "Look, I'm running this union, not you!"

It is precisely the growing militancy of the Local 101 membership that threatens the bureaucracy.

## St. Louis Cops Kill Ron Carter

BY ED SMITH

The racist hysteria being whipped up over the so-called "Black Liberation Army" has begun bearing the fruits its police sponsors have planned.

Ron Carter, a Black man labeled a "member" of the "Army," was shot to death in St. Louis and two men riding in a car with him wounded last week in a shootout provoked by the police.

The police promptly declared that Carter had been "accidentally shot" by one of the men in the car with him, Henry Brown, and announced plans to bring Brown on charges for

the murder of Carter and two New York City policemen to boot.

### FRAME-UPS

Already one man has been killed, two wounded, several more face frame-ups as a result of the police hunt for the "Black Liberation Army." New York Police Commissioner Murphy has stated, "I think the hunt for these men should be one of the highest priority problems in the country."

Yet the police have produced no evidence about the existence of such an "Army" beyond wild conjectures and surmise that the

"Army" has no leaders, no organization, no connection with the Black community, and is unfailingly polite and respectful to the police except when it is shooting at them.

The best Murphy can do is to attempt to smear the Panthers by stating that Panther members and alleged members of the "Black Liberation Army" happened to be in the same jails together.

In fact this particular form of sensationalistic witchhunting and smearing of radicals and minorities has a long history as a weapon in the ruling class arsenal.

Sacco and Vanzetti were framed up and executed for supposedly murdering two bank guards. The prosecution also suggested that since they were Italians, they must be tied in with the Mafia.

More recently in the case of the Harlem Four, several Black youth have been put through trials over the course of nearly a decade for allegedly murdering a storekeeper and his wife.

The pursuit of the "Black Liberation Army" is nothing but an excuse for police murders and the creation of a shoot to kill hysteria that will cover for attacks and murders of militants.



# DEATH OF A MINER

**Fred Matthews, a British miner, died on Thursday, February 3 under the wheels of a blackleg coal truck on the pavement outside Keadby power station near Scunthorpe.**

With his fellow-strikers from Hatfield Main colliery he was taking part in a peaceful picket. He died fighting for a living wage against the Tory government and the National Coal Board.

Fred Matthews was 37 years old. All his working life was spent at Hatfield Main colliery where his workmates remember him as a generous man and a good friend. Billy Hesselden, who knew him well, was with Mr. Matthews at Keadby on the day of his death.

He said: "Fred would do ow't for anybody. He was a good-hearted lad. He was my best friend."

His killing has deeply moved and angered the miners. It has strengthened their resolve and hardened their determination to fight this strike through to the end. On Wednesday, 6,000 miners followed Fred Matthews' coffin through his native village of Dunscoft to the Stainthorpe cemetery three miles away.

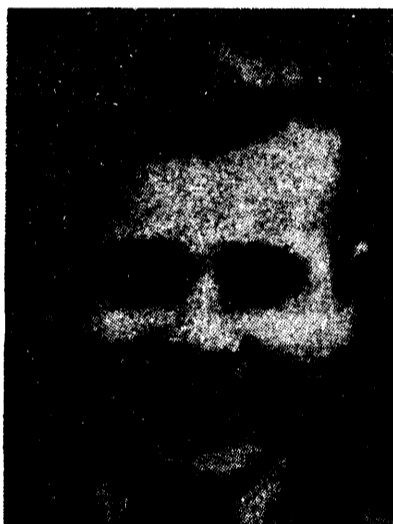
They came from every pit in the coalfield and every coalfield in the country. Their silent cortege stretched three-quarters of a mile down Dunscoft's main street, behind the crepe-draped banner of the Hatfield Main lodge with its portrait of Kier Hardie, inscribed "His vision was our inspiration."

The Hatfield colliery band, its big drum muffled in black cloth, led the banner through the village, past the Regal Social Club where Fred Matthews was a committee member, and past Thorpe Marsh power station, closed by picketing.

The slow procession took more than an hour to reach the little Methodist chapel where Fred Matthews was buried. There were no rousing speeches, either in the chapel or at the graveside. The huge crowd of mourners stood silently outside in a dignified assertion of their solidarity with the dead picket and his family.

## EXAMPLE

It was the largest miner's funeral anyone in the coalfield could remember. It spoke for miners' feelings more elo-



quently than any number of words.

After the funeral, his mother Ellen said: "I've lost a good son. I hope he has not died in vain. I hope Freddie has set an example to the miners that are on strike. I hope every miner fights to the last for the cause he died for. I'm solid behind them to stick out for what they want."

At 74 Mrs. Matthews has a passionate hatred for the Tories and an unbreakable loyalty to the miners. She has given more than 45 years active service in the labor movement as a parish councillor and Labour Party organizer in the village.

"We're a mining family and we've always stuck out in all the strikes. We've always been staunch Labour and union all our lives. I want to see Heath out and Wilson in.

"Never mind what Wilson did—at least they're Labour," she says. "I've got a son who's a single man and I would gladly give him half my pension, if he needed it, to stay out on this strike."

The bloody price of coal is no secret to the Matthews family. Fred's father died of pneumoconiosis at the age of 53. His lungs were destroyed by the deadly coal dust.

"He would have had a more merciful death if it had been a fatal accident," says Mrs. Matthews.

Her sister, 83-year old Mrs. Elizabeth Chambers, recalls how the dust killed her husband, too.

"I watched him crawl to the pit many a time with the dust," she says. "He wasn't allowed to enjoy his retirement because his lungs were rotted away."

Fred himself was named after an uncle who was killed at Usworth pit in Durham County 63 years ago. Another of his mother's brothers was killed there, too. Ten months before the scab truck ran him down, Fred Matthews narrowly escaped with his life in an accident at Hatfield Main.

"He almost fell down the shaft because the cage was not properly shut," says Billy Hesselden.

After his injuries had healed he was told he would never work underground again. He restarted work as a pithead boilerman on 19 pounds a week.

"He would have had a 4 pound pension for life but he'd only just drawn the first week's installment when he was killed," his brother Jimmy explained.

Billy Matthews, another of Fred's four brothers, said the tragedy had made him more determined that the strike must be won.

"We know we're not getting what's right. This makes us more militant. We really believe that we should be top paid amongst the industrial workers. Even though the job is mechanized to a large extent, it is still a dirty, dusty, dangerous and physically arduous job.

"We know we're fighting the most vicious Tory government of this century, administered by people like Heath and Carr who are completely heartless. It would be far better for the pits to close altogether rather than us go back for nothing."

All Mrs. Matthews' sons have worked in the pit. But they don't all work there now. Henry Matthews left Hatfield Main two

and a half years ago and is now unemployed. He won't go back to mining:

"I left the industry because of the dust. I was 33 years and working in thick dust. I thought, within another 20 years I'd be a spent man like my father was before he died."

Henry is bitter that picketing should ever have been necessary in this strike. Other unions should have blacked the coal shipments, he says.

"There shouldn't have had to be any picketing. A miner deserves every penny he gets. These people who have the power to refuse the miners their money don't know one little bit about how the miners get their coal.

"The Tories couldn't be as big and boastful as they are if it weren't for the miners who supply their fuel."

The whole village of Dunscoft was in mourning on Wednesday for Fred Matthews. Tom Mullany, the Hatfield NUM delegate, explained why:

"The miners live in closed communities. They have their own morality. The only one unforgivable thing is to break the solidarity of the miners in their work. That's why this killing has aroused everybody here."

Fred Matthews' 1,500 workmates at Hatfield are bent on avenging his death. "Our executive must notice that we are adamant. Other trade union leaders should take note too," warns Councillor Leonard Caven, Hatfield NUM president.

"If we fail this time, which we must not, we will be betraying what Fred died for and we will be letting down the whole trade union movement."



Top, 6000 miners join funeral of brother Fred Matthews (center), murdered by scab truck. Above, Henry, one of Fred's four coalmining brothers and his mother, who called on miners to fight for victory.

## NIXON-MAO...

(Continued From Page 1)

to intensify his offensive against American workers.

Similarly, he is counting upon the Maoists to come to the rescue of American imperialism in Vietnam. Nixon has made no secret of the fact that he is hoping that the Chinese will use their influence to disarm the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

In Hanoi, an effort is being made to mask the apprehension that the Vietnamese revolution will be sold down the river in Peking. A leading government spokesman stated last week: "It's not that we are worried, you must not think that. We are not afraid of a sell-out."

But that the spokesman should use the term "sell-out" in reference to the Peking talks indicates that the North Vietnamese expect one.

The highpoint of Nixon's first day in Peking was a one hour chat with Mao Tse-tung and a banquet in the Hall of the People. The consumption of delicacies was accompanied by the playing of "America the Beautiful." In order not to offend Nixon, the band did not play "The East Is Red."

Not since the diplomatic farces of the 1930's has a trip been draped in more cynicism and hypocrisy than Nixon's visit to China.

Standing on the White House lawn a few minutes before leaving for the airport, Nixon told a large gathering that "if there

was a postscript that I hope might be written with regard to this trip, it would be the words on the plaque which was left on the moon by our first astronauts when they landed there. We came in peace for all mankind."

Within minutes of these remarks, the "journey for peace" was under way. At the same time, American bombers were conducting massive raids over North Vietnam—part of the new unlimited "limited duration" assaults announced by the Pentagon.

### DENUNCIATIONS

As the preparations for a rousing welcome for Nixon went forward last week at full steam, the Maoist regime indulged in a few random denunciations of Nixon and American imperialism. Of course, there has never been any possibility that the trip would be cancelled and the festivities called off.

In spite of the fact that the relationship of the Peking Stalinists to imperialism is revealed more accurately by the menus than by the denunciations, it would be wrong to dismiss them as unimportant.

News of Nixon's trip has been carefully trimmed in Chinese newspapers. It is evident that the regime is trying to avoid discussion of the reasons for Nixon's visit. The denunciations and the news blackout reflect the bureaucracy's fear of the people's response to this open betrayal of the revolutionary movement.

The difference between the official and popular receptions show clearly that the visit is a closed affair for the Stalinist clique and the leaders of American imperialism.

Information coming out of China suggests that it was the announcement of the Nixon visit that touched off the bitter dispute last September within the Chinese Central Committee that resulted in the political (and perhaps physical) liquidation of Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta.

It is known that both men, especially Chen who was closely identified with the Red Guard movement of the Cultural Revolution, were the most strenuous opponents of American imperialism within the Chinese Government.

Given the fact that Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta had wide popular support within China, the bureaucracy is evidently aware of the opposition that exists to the negotiations with Nixon.

Within the capitalist class, the support for Nixon's maneuvering is quite solid. A national day of prayer was arranged for Monday, the day of Nixon's arrival.

Within the ruling circles there is little apprehension that Nixon will lose anything for imperialism during the coming week. For as the *New York Times* wrote, "The Nixon Administration now views China as a fairly prudent nation..."

## DULUTH...

(Continued From Page 3)

at the lowest labor grades on their new jobs.

The next day after the meeting, Senator Humbert Humphrey spoke in Duluth at Morgan Park High School to an audience mainly composed of steelworkers and their families. The place of this meeting was no accident.

## CWA...

(Continued From Page 1)

Beirne bureaucracy has still to put down the rank and file rebellion.

### FIRING

At the heart of the opposition to the contract was not only the question of wages. Even more fundamental was the phone workers' opposition to a clause in the contract that would allow Bell to harass and fire union militants who had been merely charged with crimes and misdemeanors associated with strike action. The contract was worded as to permit the firing of even those workers who had been acquitted.

### SUSPENSION

That the rank and file correctly evaluated the intentions of Bell has been revealed in the actions by the company since the men went back to work. The leadership of Local 1103 faces suspension because it held a union meeting that men attended on company time.

### "OUTRAGEOUS"

This meeting had been approved by a Bell Telephone Vice President. Now, the company is telling the press that it is "outrageous" that workers should be holding meetings after a lengthy strike.

Humphrey and his entourage chose Morgan Park to speak at because this high school has been the center of activity of Duluth working class youth against the closure of the steel plant. The youth here and at Denfeld High School now face a bleak future if U.S. Steel is allowed to get away with the shutdown. A leadership has developed among these youth

Besides the action taken against Local 1103, numerous instances of harassment have been recorded during the past week. Those militants who the company has been able to identify have been placed on "discipline." Experienced workers have been told that they require special supervision.

### REPRISALS

But it should be clear that the worst is still to come. The Bell Company will begin mass reprisals as soon as the fifteen day cooling off period stipulated in the contract has expired. Then it will proceed to fire whoever it possibly can.

Bell wants to break the ability of the CWA to resist the mass layoffs it is planning. Like every other corporation, it is now hoping to meet the economic crisis through the trimming of its work force and the increase of the workers' productivity. There are indications that the layoffs will be in full steam by April.

It is one thing for Bell and Beirne to sign a contract. It is another for them to enforce it. The wildcat by Local 1103 means that this fight is not over. At this time it is necessary that the defense of the CWA be conducted as a political fight to mobilize the entire working class in general strike action.

which has organized a petition campaign against the closing, gaining 10,000 signatures.

Governor Wendell Anderson talked about tax incentives for U.S. Steel. He and his fellow liberal hacks cynically used the petition to cover up for their own deliberate inaction.

Local political figures, such as Lt. Governor Rudy Perpich and Duluth Mayor Ben Boo tried to pacify the youth and the workers by holding out illusions of new development schemes, tax incentives and other ways to encourage industry to relocate in Duluth. Humphrey did everything to evade the plant closing issue in his speech but was finally coerced in the question-and-answer period. He mumbled some more rhetoric about tax incentives. But few of the workers and youth present were taken in.

## FLORIDA...

(Continued From Page 4)

Strike!

"Then they just walked out, about 100 of them. Wow! We just lined up and down the road and I started to lead 40 of them off...to join the picket line. But we turned back to get the rest and a truck came along. So the workers got onto the truck and were driven back to the camp."

### THE STATE

The company, working hand in glove with U.S. authorities, had 5 of the Jamaican cane cutters deported to Jamaica—where they are blacklisted for this kind of work—as part of their effort to beat back the union.

The biggest attack comes from the Florida state legislature. The House has just passed a "Right to Work" bill which outlaws the union shop. The bill which is still to go before the Florida Senate is aimed explicitly at farm

## ECONOMY...

(Continued From Page 3)

together again last week in renewed efforts to hold together the rapidly deteriorating unity of the Common Market. While discussions centered on a scheme for the reduction of currency fluctuations to a 2% margin within the EEC (Common Market), the real meaning of these talks was that the European bourgeoisie, crushed on the one side by Nixon, is now being forced to bring forward a more solid counterrevolutionary alliance against the European working class.

At the same time, the limits upon such European capitalist unity found sharp expression last week in the massive strike movement of British miners.

This is why Connally is forced at every point to confront what continues to remain the central task before the U.S. capitalist class: the breaking of the U.S. labor movement.

## DAYTON...

(Continued From Page 3)

workers and that: "If the Ordinance passed, you'll create the biggest monster you ever wanted on your hands."

City Manager Kunde used as a pretext for this slave labor law the breakdown in negotiations with the police, who have been working without a contract since January. Fred Wade, spokesman for the Fraternal Order of Police, stated, "There is no clear and present danger of a strike but if you pass this Ordinance, there will be one."

Despite the pleas of the union leaders, their lawyers, and the mass turnout of workers jamming the municipal building, the five Commissioners voted unanimously for the slave labor Ordinance. The majority are so-called "friends of labor" Democrats, and their blatant anti-labor vote stunned both the workers and the bureaucrats who have poured tens of thousands of workers' dollars into this rotten local and national Democratic Party machine. The workers booed one Democrat who tried miserably to explain his vote.

## EL MUNDO...

(Continued From Page 2)

rested for "obstructing justice." The company went to federal court and filed an injunction against the union to reduce the number of pickets. The Movimiento Obrero Unido (MOU) demonstrated last Friday in front of the federal court against the injunction on the strikers. The MOU represents more than 40 trade unions in

In the same talk in which Connally gave his view on convertibility of the dollar, he revealed what he and Nixon now have in store for the American working class. Connally stated that as far as he was concerned a 5% unemployment figure was too low and that 6% was "not critical."

What Connally actually has in mind, however, became even clearer in his statement that "if we put our minds to it," meaning both labor and management, there could be an increase in productivity "in a short period" of 25%. In short, Connally is talking not only of massive speedup but in effect an unemployment figure of 25% to use as the bludgeon the American bourgeoisie desires to pulverize and open up the way for the destruction of the working class.

In fact it is the movement and resistance of the working class in both Europe and the United States that makes completely hopeless all attempts by Nixon and Connally to hold together the crumbling Dec. 18 Smithsonian accord and prevent the opening of a new more disastrous stage of the present crisis.

## HALT...

(Continued From Page 4)

turbed by the way the Lindsay Administration was handling the controversy.

"If you ask me, this project should go up right here even if it kills those demonstrators," said one worker. "If they can stop this project, they'll start doing this all around the country."

Another worker said that Lindsay "is scared of those people who have nothing better to do than wave an American flag at us every day."

When asked about the political meaning of the daily demonstrations at the site, one construction worker stated: "At first I just thought those people only were worried about things like overcrowding and pollution. But now, after seeing their signs and hearing all that shouting, I think they're against all working people."

Puerto Rico.

The APATE (artists and technicians union) has instructed its members not to work in any of the agencies of El Mundo during the length of the strike.

This movement is growing more every day, especially when the workers see the "neutrality" of the police and government in the strike.

Talisman sugar, would support the strike after being threatened with a national boycott has largely been dropped. Now, Chavez is relying on the state authorities to force the growers to recognize union cane cutters and end the importation of Jamaicans.

A recent rally of the fascist United Klans of America, which was addressed by Imperial Wizard Robert M. Shelton near Fort Lauderdale, Florida, should be a warning to the entire labor movement. The legalistic reformism and pacifism of the UFWOC only strengthens the attacks on labor by the fascists represented by the Klan.

The Talisman strike can only be won with massive labor support and the closing tight of the Talisman property. The endorsement of the strike by 600 UAW pensioners who met in St. Petersburg points in the right direction.

### REFORMISM

Chavez' assurance that the Borden Company, which buys

## West Coast News

# Dock Pact Means Mass Unemployment

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—By a vote of approximately 70%, ILWU members have accepted the proposed longshore contract and agreed to return to work.

This vote follows Nixon's strikebreaking legislation and all out fight by the leadership to convince the rank and file that there was no alternative to acceptance.

Fear of the real sentiment of the longshoremen was expressed by the leadership caucus which decided to exclude hundreds of "B" men from a vote on a contract that "guarantees" them only 18 hours.

The fight on the waterfront has however just begun.

The thousands of workers who withstood the tremendous pressure and voted to continue the fight are by no means isolated. Thousands more had serious reservations about the contract, but did not see any clear way to fight.

The large no vote under these conditions is a massive repudiation of the leadership.

This contract is a blueprint for speedup and unemployment and its impact on the docks will not be long in coming.

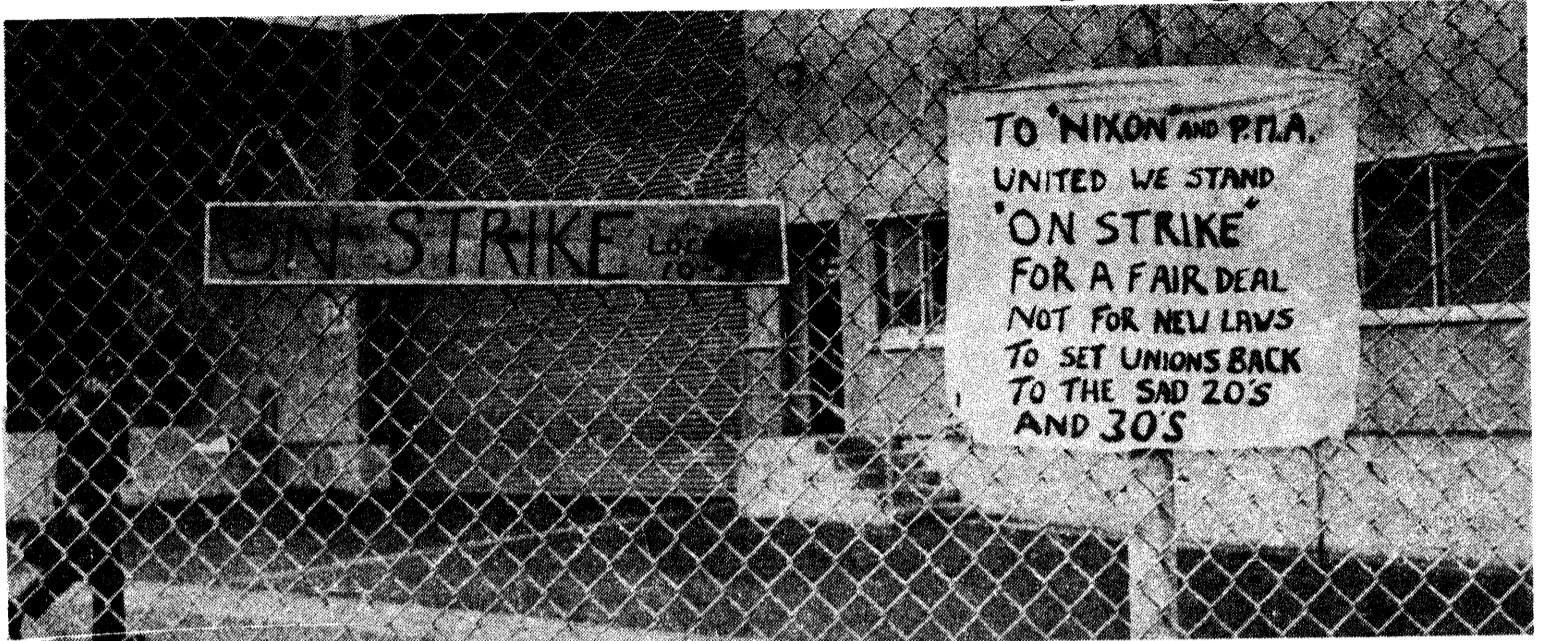
The ranks were not even presented with a complete version of the settlement. As one docker put it, "first we sign it and then they write the contract."

Huge sections of the contract concerning hours, grievances, manning and stop-work meetings have been handed over to the arbitrators for settlement by compulsory arbitration.

It is absolutely clear that the tax on containers is so worded as to remove over 80% of containers from any tax and there is nothing to prevent employers from installing container stuffing installations beyond the 50 mile limit covered by the penalty tax.

The guarantee does not even cover work opportunity lost through recession but refers only to automation. The strings are so complicated that dockers fear they will have to practically live in the hall scrambling for every possible work opportunity to meet the conditions. Many do not expect to see a penny of it.

It is reported that the guar-



Picket signs of West Coast dockers still express their sentiment although Bridges sent them back to work.

antee is worded in such a way that work stoppages on a single job can jeopardize it for the entire port.

The PMA threw in a few sops on dental care, medical coverage and insurance to make Bridges' sales job a little easier. They are more than willing to pay a little more for an agreement that will leave them absolutely free to do anything they wish.

There is an enormous bitterness about this contract among the ranks. At a mass membership meeting before the ballot hundreds of dockers milled about outside the hall discussing the terms.

One docker reported that many speakers at the meeting stood up and denounced the contract and Bridges answered by saying, "everyone says it's no good but what is their program?"

### PROTEST

This demonstration that the leadership was determined not to lead a fight forced many longshoremen to see a no vote as simply a protest.

"Better have the president send me back to work than the PMA. At least this is a protest." Another said, "At least we have a beef if the government sends us back. This way we sign our own death warrant."

Many denounced Bridges for appealing for support based on pensions for the older men and fear of the government.

There is no question that the long strike took its toll. Seeing no way forward a number of men said, "I'm starving, no choice."

Bridges was able to ram through this agreement not by convincing the ranks that it was any good, but with confusion and demoralization. He stressed their isolation, the strength of the government and the impossibility of obtaining anything better.

The Stalinists went all out to back him up in this. While faking militancy and criticizing the contract they refused to campaign for a fight. The edition of the *People's World* that came out before the vote simply reported on the settlement as though its acceptance was a foregone conclusion, termed it "an unfinished document" and did not even suggest a no vote.

The Stalinists played a particularly vicious role in walling dockers off from the enormous support that could be mobilized in the unions for their fight.

They reinforced the sentiment that a no vote was a hopeless protest and built up the idea that compromise is still possible.

All of this is directed at preventing dockers from understanding their own strength and breaking from the bankrupt limits of pure trade union militancy.

West Coast dockers return to work with the worst contract in their history and still face the prospect of a Pay Board attempt to reverse their wage gains.

Nevertheless the PMA will be forced to try to implement this contract against the determined resistance of thousands of dockers who have no intentions of peacefully giving up their jobs and conditions.

## Plant Closures Hit Paper Mill Workers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ANTIOCH—The pulp and paper industry on the West Coast has announced the second round of drastic cutbacks in production up and down the coast.

Over 1600 members of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers have been notified that their jobs will end within the next year and a half.

These cuts, which represent the closing of three plants and cutbacks in a fourth, could be just the start as long term orders for paper and cardboard have fallen drastically in the last year.

The two cities where the layoffs are taking place, Everett, Washington, and Antioch, California, are already areas of extremely high unemployment. Everett is just outside of Seattle, where unemployment has skyrocketed to over 11% with the cutbacks in the aerospace industry. Antioch, located about 50 miles east of San Francisco, has an unemployment rate officially over 6%.

All four of the companies involved are in the process of carrying out crash programs to cut out their older, less efficient plants, and to speed up workers in the remaining plants. The largest shut down, which affected 750 workers, was at the Simpson-Lee plant in Everett, which was built in 1892.

The Fibreboard plant in Antioch, which is shutting its doors to about 400 workers, was built in 1913. These two, plus the shutting of a Weyerhaeuser Corporation sulphite mill, and half of the Scott paper mill in Everett, bring the total announced layoffs to well over 1600.

These cutbacks are being made by the paper companies with the greatest arrogance conceivable. At a time when even more layoffs are in the offing, Fibreboard is telling its workers that it will give them priority in any job openings in its other plants. Simpson-Lee has not even bothered to make this kind of gesture, saying merely that "There are very few, if any, jobs available."

If the companies have their way there will not only be no new jobs, but there will be increasing unemployment and plant closures.

These cuts are not the first for in the last couple of years every company in the business has made large cutbacks. A partial list of these includes: Crown Zellerbach, West Linn, Ore.; Boise Cascade, Vancouver, Wash.; Coos Head Pulp, Coos Bay, Ore.; and Fibreboard at Port Angeles, Wash.

All of these except the Fibreboard plant were sulphite plants and were allegedly shut down because of the companies' inability to pay for new equipment to meet the government's pollution standards. This excuse falls apart in light of the new closures.

The paper industry has been one of the most profitable to the capitalists in the last period. In reality both the first cuts and these new cuts have nothing to do with protecting the environment, but rather they are all measures to maintain the profit margin of these huge corporations in a period of economic crisis.

These cuts must be fought by the union. Up until now the AWPWW leadership has done absolutely nothing to prevent them.

## Reagan Whitewashes Sylmar Tunnel Disaster

BY A CORRESPONDENT

SAN FRANCISCO—As Nixon and the employers demand increased productivity to meet the growing crisis of capitalism industrial safety has become the major scandal in America to the extent that industrial casualties per year far exceed those reported at the height of the Vietnam conflict.

Here are some of the macabre facts: 2,200,000 industrial injuries were reported last year in which 2,100,000 were classified as "temporary total disability" and 90,000 with permanent disability as well as 15,000 deaths from job related injuries...This is not all of the injuries that occurred on the job, just those reported.

These grim disasters make news for at least a few days, but what never makes news is the gruesome story about the thousands of industrial deaths brought about by corporation indifference to life and limb in their desperate pursuit of profit.

The exception to this rule is the disaster that occurred last year in the Sylmar Tunnel explosion in the San Fernando Valley which claimed the lives of 17 workers

that has been politically difficult for Gov. Reagan to whitewash.

It seems that his Department of Industrial Safety is guilty of callous disregard of pleas to investigate reported violations in the Sylmar Tunnel project and then attempting to cover up these violations after the disaster occurred.

The Democrats in Sacramento saw this as an embarrassing political issue for Reagan. They held their own "inquiry" into this disaster headed by Democratic Rep. Fenton who charges that Reagan's Safety Division "stinks, absolutely stinks" and was "employer orientated."

Reagan replied with his own Blue Panel inquiry headed up by the same accused top safety officials. Fenton promptly charged

that this investigative arrangement was "like the fox guarding the hen house." Reagan proceeded to appoint a seven-member committee for whitewash purposes. So odorous was the smell that Reagan's own handpicked committee had to issue a 25 page critical report criticizing "the maze of uncertainty, ambiguity and complexity that has historically grown up with the elaborate (state) process for obtaining compliance" with safety regulations.

### PRODUCTIVITY

This callous disregard of workers' safety is not abating but increasing in direct proportion to capitalist demands for increased productivity.

# West Coast News

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## Border Patrol Shoots Down Farmworker

BY TED BAKER

MERCED, CALIF.—Farmworkers from all over the state came to Merced on Tuesday to pay their respects to murdered farmworker, Romulos Avalos.

Over 1,000 marched through the streets of Merced carrying the red flag with the black eagle, flag of the United Farmworkers. The march demonstrated their absolute solidarity against the government's terror campaign that has been launched against farmworkers.

Avalos was killed in one of the



Cesar Chavez

ever more frequent sweeps of the Border Patrol through the agricultural areas of California. Although the purpose of these sweeps is supposedly to enforce immigration laws, the murder of Avalos makes it clear that what lies behind these laws is a campaign to terrorize Chicano workers and to whip up racism against all foreign-born workers.

According to UFWOC, all eight witnesses agree that the officer shot with absolutely no provocation as Avalos was working in a peach orchard. Border Patrol officers claimed that Avalos was an "illegal" Mexican and that he struck the officer when questioned. Since this statement was made, however, the Merced County Sheriff's office has confirmed that Avalos was an American citizen born in Hancock, Texas.

This murder, following by one week the murder of a UFWOC

picket in Florida, has hardened the farmworkers against the increasing government-employer offensive against UFWOC.

### CHAVEZ

Cesar Chavez released a statement saying that no further government intimidation would be allowed by farmworkers. All future attempts by Border Patrol officers to enter the fields will be met with sit down strikes.

Despite the pacifist language of Chavez' statement, it reflects the growing determination of farmworkers throughout the country to use every means they have to fight the employers and their government.

This terror is the real purpose of Reagan's anti-Mexican labor bill. Those AFL-CIO officials who support this bill assist these murderers and must be repudiated by the ranks.



Alameda Central Labor Council demanded an end to anti-picketing law used against supporters of Angela Davis' defense efforts.

## Unions Support Angela's Rights

BY BARRY GRAY

SAN JOSE—The decision by the California Supreme Court against capital punishment removes any legal basis at all for denying bail to imprisoned revolutionary Angela Davis.

The massive show of support for Davis from hundreds of workers and youth who gathered last week outside the courthouse in San Jose must now be taken forward in a fight to mobilize the entire working class for the freedom of Angela and all political prisoners.

While setting February 28 as the starting date for Davis' trial, Judge Richard Arnason rejected defense motions for a change of venue, state payment of Angela's legal fees, and broadening the method of jury selection. However, he ordered the state to turn over to the defense all information it obtains on prospective jurors summoned for duty in the trial.

At the same time the twenty four supporters of Angela, who were arrested on January 31 and February 2 for violating the newly invoked reactionary law outlawing picketing within "sight and sound" of the hearings, pleaded not-guilty before Municipal Court Judge Louis C. Doll. The judge set April 6 for the jury trial for all twenty four, three of whom are free on their own recognizance and the rest on \$315 bail.

The tremendous potential for mobilizing the labor movement in defense of Angela Davis as part of its defense against the government's union busting attacks was expressed last week by the Alameda Central Labor Council. They condemned the anti-picketing law and called on other labor bodies to take similar action. This follows by one week that council's resolution calling for bail for Davis.

Support for Angela is being expressed by all sections of the working class. A member of Local 508 of the Meatcutters' Union told us: "I think they won't give her bail because they're afraid she'll communicate with the people."

"Here Nixon is breaking the laws laid down by the courts, like he's trying to outlaw bussing. You're supposed to be able to speak your mind, whether you're a communist or not, as long as you don't break the law. But they break the law themselves."

An unemployed Chicano youth said: "I don't think she belongs in prison. They were waiting for an excuse to put her away, and when those prisoners tried to escape, they used that. They don't have a case against her."

A middle-aged Black woman told us: "It's a shame. I know she didn't do it. They have murder, conspiracy, and kidnapping—all those charges against her for nothing—because she told the truth. I have a son in San Quentin and I know what they do to people in prisons. It's the whole system that has to come down to change it."

Speaking at last week's demonstration for Angela, Larry Gurley, treasurer of the National Black Caucus of the AFT spoke of the support building in the unions and said that the attack on Angela was part of a preparation for fascism and went hand in hand with government attempts to smash the unions and destroy the right to strike. He called for a massive fight back within the labor movement as the key to taking the fight forward.

## Portland Teachers Face Cutbacks

BY A CORRESPONDENT

PORTLAND—As the Portland school district prepares wholesale cutbacks in personnel and programs, the board is moving to isolate and break the teachers union. The school board is mobilizing the leading financial and political forces in this city in support of its efforts to impose a contract that drives back teaching and learning conditions.

School Superintendent Robert Blanchard predicted in a recent statement that more than one-sixth of the district employees face unemployment this fall. And at the same time students face the elimination of basic educational programs.

According to Blanchard:

"It's my conservative estimate that the gap between resources and needed expenditures for the next school year will be at least \$10 million. If we assumed at least a \$10 million gap, trans-

lated into personnel costs, at least 1,000 individuals presently employed by this school district—by no means exclusively teachers—would have to be eliminated from employment to close that gap. Entire programs in the basic areas of instruction would have to be removed."

These threats follow the board's decision to shorten the present school year by 20 days. The shortened year has meant that Portland teachers receive about 10% less pay than last year.

In the face of these threats, the Portland Federation of Teachers

has presented a bargaining package to the school board demanding salary increases averaging 25%, a maximum class size of 20 students and a decrease in the teaching day to allow more time for class preparation.

The school board is refusing to negotiate these matters with the union. Last spring the board imposed a two-year contract on the teachers over the heads of the Portland Association of Teachers' leadership, which was then the teachers' bargaining agent. The board asserts that this "contract" remains valid through the next school year.

The imposed contract provides only a 3% salary increase along with a 2.2% cost of living increase.

In other moves to introduce wage freezing and speedup, the board has proposed a "supplemental agreement" providing demerit pay and the institution of performance contracting. This proposal would establish a procedure for denying a teacher the annual experience increment, if it is shown that the teacher is performing "at only a marginal level of satisfaction."

Teachers will have to prepare for a strike and an all out fight to mobilize labor in their support.

## Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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BY TED BAKER

MERCED, CALIF.—Farmworkers from all over the state came to Merced on Tuesday to pay their respects to murdered farmworker, Romulos Avalos.

Over 1,000 marched through the streets of Merced carrying the red flag with the black eagle, flag of the United Farmworkers. The march demonstrated their absolute solidarity against the government's terror campaign that has been launched against farmworkers.

Avalos was killed in one of the

ever more frequent sweeps of the Border Patrol through the agricultural areas of California. Although the purpose of these sweeps is supposedly to enforce immigration laws, the murder of Avalos makes it clear that what lies behind these laws is a campaign to terrorize Chicano workers and to whip up racism against all foreign-born workers.

According to UFWOC, all eight witnesses agree that the officer shot with absolutely no provocation as Avalos was working in a peach orchard. Border Patrol officers claimed that Avalos was an "illegal" Mexican and that he struck the officer when questioned. Since this statement was made, however, the Merced County Sheriff's office has confirmed that Avalos was an American citizen born in Hancock, Texas.

This murder, following by one week the murder of a UFWOC

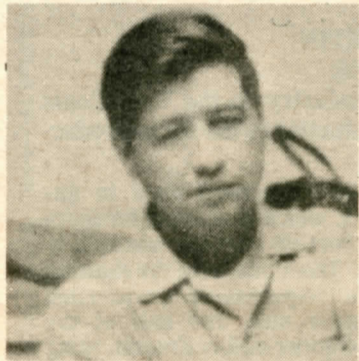
picket in Florida, has hardened the farmworkers against the increasing government-employer offensive against UFWOC.

### CHAVEZ

Cesar Chavez released a statement saying that no further government intimidation would be allowed by farmworkers. All future attempts by Border Patrol officers to enter the fields will be met with sit down strikes.

Despite the pacifist language of Chavez' statement, it reflects the growing determination of farmworkers throughout the country to use every means they have to fight the employers and their government.

This terror is the real purpose of Reagan's anti-Mexican labor bill. Those AFL-CIO officials who support this bill assist these murderers and must be repudiated by the ranks.



Cesar Chavez

## Portland Teachers Face Cutbacks

BY A CORRESPONDENT

PORTLAND—As the Portland school district prepares wholesale cutbacks in personnel and programs, the board is moving to isolate and break the teachers union. The school board is mobilizing the leading financial and political forces in this city in support of its efforts to impose a contract that drives back teaching and learning conditions.

School Superintendent Robert Blanchard predicted in a recent statement that more than one-sixth of the district employees face unemployment this fall. And at the same time students face the elimination of basic educational programs.

According to Blanchard:

"It's my conservative estimate that the gap between resources and needed expenditures for the next school year will be at least \$10 million. If we assumed at least a \$10 million gap, trans-

lated into personnel costs, at least 1,000 individuals presently employed by this school district—by no means exclusively teachers—would have to be eliminated from employment to close that gap. Entire programs in the basic areas of instruction would have to be removed."

These threats follow the board's decision to shorten the present school year by 20 days. The shortened year has meant that Portland teachers receive about 10% less pay than last year.

In the face of these threats, the Portland Federation of Teachers

has presented a bargaining package to the school board demanding salary increases averaging 25%, a maximum class size of 20 students and a decrease in the teaching day to allow more time for class preparation.

The school board is refusing to negotiate these matters with the union. Last spring the board imposed a two-year contract on the teachers over the heads of the Portland Association of Teachers' leadership, which was then the teachers' bargaining agent. The board asserts that this "contract" remains valid through the next school year.

The imposed contract provides only a 3% salary increase along with a 2.2% cost of living increase.

In other moves to introduce wage freezing and speedup, the board has proposed a "supplemental agreement" providing demerit pay and the institution of performance contracting. This proposal would establish a procedure for denying a teacher the annual experience increment, if it is shown that the teacher is performing "at only a marginal level of satisfaction."

Teachers will have to prepare for a strike and an all out fight to mobilize labor in their support.



Alameda Central Labor Council demanded an end to anti-picketing law used against supporters of Angela Davis' defense efforts.

## Unions Support Angela's Rights

BY BARRY GRAY

SAN JOSE—The decision by the California Supreme Court against capital punishment removes any legal basis at all for denying bail to imprisoned revolutionary Angela Davis.

The massive show of support for Davis from hundreds of workers and youth who gathered last week outside the courthouse in San Jose must now be taken forward in a fight to mobilize the entire working class for the freedom of Angela and all political prisoners.

While setting February 28 as the starting date for Davis' trial, Judge Richard Arnason rejected defense motions for a change of venue, state payment of Angela's legal fees, and broadening the method of jury selection. However, he ordered the state to turn over to the defense all information it obtains on prospective jurors summoned for duty in the trial.

At the same time the twenty four supporters of Angela, who were arrested on January 31 and February 2 for violating the newly invoked reactionary law outlawing picketing within "sight and sound" of the hearings, pleaded not-guilty before Municipal Court Judge Louis C. Doll. The judge set April 6 for the jury trial for all twenty four, three of whom are free on their own recognizance and the rest on \$315 bail.

The tremendous potential for mobilizing the labor movement in defense of Angela Davis as part of its defense against the government's union busting attacks was expressed last week by the Alameda Central Labor Council. They condemned the anti-picketing law and called on other labor bodies to take similar action. This follows by one week that council's resolution calling for bail for Davis.

Support for Angela is being expressed by all sections of the working class. A member of Local 508 of the Meatcutters' Union told us: "I think they won't give her bail because they're afraid she'll communicate with the people."

"Here Nixon is breaking the laws laid down by the courts, like he's trying to outlaw bussing. You're supposed to be able to speak your mind, whether you're a communist or not, as long as you don't break the law. But they break the law themselves."

An unemployed Chicano youth said: "I don't think she belongs in prison. They were waiting for an excuse to put her away, and when those prisoners tried to escape, they used that. They don't have a case against her."

A middle-aged Black woman told us: "It's a shame. I know she didn't do it. They have murder, conspiracy, and kidnapping—all those charges against her for nothing—because she told the truth. I have a son in San Quentin and I know what they do to people in prisons. It's the whole system that has to come down to change it."

Speaking at last week's demonstration for Angela, Larry Gurvey, treasurer of the National Black Caucus of the AFT spoke of the support building in the unions and said that the attack on Angela was part of a preparation for fascism and went hand in hand with government attempts to smash the unions and destroy the right to strike. He called for a massive fight back within the labor movement as the key to taking the fight forward.

## Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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