

inside: allies, enemies conspire on vietnam

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 2, No. 9

May 17, 1965

10 Cents

Defend



Dominican Revolution

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The background to the latest events in the Dominican Republic includes the brutal Trujillo dictatorship, which tortured and murdered millions of Dominicans over a 30 year period, and to which the U.S. government suddenly

discovered aversion several years before its downfall, when the handwriting was clearly written on the wall, and when it was becoming more and more important, in the eyes of at least some of the imperialist policymakers, to present a liberal face to Latin America. Trujillo was finally assassinated in 1961, and in early 1963, a liberal reformer, Juan Bosch, won an election that was quite free compared to earlier standards, and assumed the presidency. Bosch was very much the sort of figure that Washington has made certain inconsistent efforts to support in Latin America over the past few years -- the kind that safeguards North American property and interests the "easy way", with a relatively mild bourgeois liberal regime.

Bosch, however, was unable to fill the bill. As the saying goes, the natives were getting restless, and quite obviously harsher methods were going to be necessary. Whether Washington actually had a hand in the overthrow of Bosch in the autumn of 1963 or not, it made no secret of its unhappiness with his "weak" rule, and expressed hopes for the right wing civilian junta which took power with military backing at that time. Now, only about 1½ years later, the discontent of the Dominican masses, with the urban workers playing a leading role, has resulted in the overthrow of the right-wing junta and the attempt to bring reformer Bosch back to power.

Washington's Motives Clarified

Several hundred Marines were dispatched to the Dominican Republic almost immediately after the revolt, and these hundreds grew to 14,000 by May 3, with every indication that more would be sent before any were withdrawn. At first we were informed, just as we had been at the time of the Congo paratroop action just six months ago, that the troops were being sent only to protect American citizens and other foreign nationals. But very quickly, almost as if the State Department didn't really expect anyone to believe their absurd and unimaginative excuses, the real reasons for the troop action were made clear. On Friday, April 30, the New York Times reported from Washington:

Publicly, Administration spokesmen continued to emphasize that the marine landing was a humanitarian move that did not represent political intervention.

But in private briefings given to newsmen and members of Congress, there were also suggestions that the landing could have a precautionary political value in guarding against a Communist take-over of the insurrection.

And this was soon spelled out further to indicate, of course, that the troops were going to be used to prevent a "Communist takeover" -- in other words, to smash the Dominican Revolution, and that they were going to remain in the Dominican Republic precisely as long as they were needed to accomplish this counterrevolutionary aim. That is exactly what President Johnson told the nation in his television

speech on May 2 in his own inimitable style, a mixture of pomposity and unctuousness:

As the Times admitted, the determination and efficiency of the rebel snipers forced the U.S. to send in many more Marines than they had at first anticipated would be necessary. Meanwhile, Washington made some hasty moves to cover itself somewhat by convening the puppet Organization of American States and pushing its essential policy through the OAS. The Latin American regimes, nearly all of them completely-doeile puppets of the U.S., with perhaps a handful merely not-so-completely docile, nevertheless were forced to react with a certain amount of uneasiness to the unilateral action of the U.S. This uneasiness, however, reflected more a concern with domestic repercussions to the U.S. move than any real concern with the aspirations of the Dominican people. Washington was able to set up a so-called "peace mission" through the OAS, but as of May had been unable to round up the necessary support for a resolution calling for troop support by the Latin American states to the U.S. "pacification" mission in the Dominican Republic. As this article was going to press, the main object of the imperialists was to secure enough political backing combined with their military moves to secure a cease fire which leaves them with the upper hand and with the necessary time to maneuver to dredge up some figure or ruling group which can then be offered to the Dominicans to "elect".

Harsh Policy in U.S. Government's Interest

There are some very interesting differences in the foreign policies, and particularly the Latin American policies, of the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Administrations spanning the last decade. These differences show once more that there are no basic differences between the two major capitalist parties, and imperialist foreign policy depends much more on the seriousness of the problems facing the U.S. ruling class than on personality or party.

Of the past three presidents, Eisenhower's policy was perhaps the mildest; Kennedy's became much more bellicose, and at this point Johnson is beginning to make even Kennedy look cautious. The point is that Eisenhower's policy was cautious because the imperialists could afford a cautious policy at that time, and such a policy, the "easy way" of extending and maintaining capitalist rule, is always preferred. Kennedy's policy was harsher because of the development of the Cuban Revolution, its expropriation of capitalist property, the fact that it strengthened the Soviet orbit, and that it posed at least potentially a tremendous danger to imperialism in all of Latin America, which contained 10 times as much American capital as did Cuba itself.

Johnson's policy has been still harsher precisely because the circumstances call for such a policy to defend imperialist interests. It is becoming harder and harder for

the reformers in Latin America to maintain any sort of stable rule, and thus it is becoming harder and harder for the imperialists to tolerate the reformers. Part of the uneasiness of the Chilean and Venezuelan regimes over the U.S. role in the Dominican Republic stems from a well-grounded fear that they will be the next to fall victim to the pathological fear of revolution or the possibility of revolution which haunts the imperialists.

Washington has a very graceful way of doing these things: the liberal who is being dumped is told that his integrity and his anti-Communism are not being questioned in the least; it is simply necessary to deal with the specter of Communism in a somewhat stronger fashion, but no offense is meant! This is the fate that befell Gourelart and which now may befall Bosch for the second time in two years. For all of the talk of constitutional government and self-determination, of international law and absolute morality, the imperialists are forced to remove their masks and show that all this is subordinate, that their talk of morality and law is a ruse, because it is thrown by the boards at the first sign of serious crisis. Every day the imperialists confirm the exactness of Lenin's characterizations of bourgeois democracy and the role of the state in his State and Revolution.

Thus, for the third time in six months the U.S. has intervened or is intervening against a revolutionary movement which would have easy victory within its grasp were it not for this direct military intervention of the world guardian of the status quo and of counterrevolution (in the Congo, Vietnam, and the Dominican Republic). As Times' correspondent Tad Szulc reported in an unusually frank dispatch on May 1:

In the eyes of a growing number of Dominicans, including those who accepted the need for the presence of American marines and paratroopers to help halt the carnage, the United States has become identified with hard-line military elements here.

There is no question that Washington is lined up with the three-man military junta, which operates from the San Isidro base across the Ozama River from this embattled capital but has no control in Santo Domingo.

The junta thus is a fictional government, whose military forces have been badly mauled by the rampaging rebels. In one sense it owes its existence to the United States, which supplied it with food and medicine when San Isidro was at a point of collapse earlier this week.

The weakness of the right wing forces which the U.S.

is forced to lean upon is just as apparent in Vietnam and almost as apparent, at any rate prior to the big mercenary and imperialist drive, in the Congo. The basic point, which is not understood by as many as it should be, is that imperialism has no choice, that it has been backed into a corner, that it cannot go along with revolution. In other words, it cannot commit suicide and shouldn't be expected to. As so often happens, reforms can whet the revolutionary appetite of the masses. This is what the imperialists correctly see as a potent danger to them in the Dominican Republic. Thus even reforms become taboo, because they can no longer be held in check. The lesson of all this is that we have no business giving advice to the State Department to change its insane policy. Its insane policy is perfectly logical for an insane and decaying social system; the only way we can really change that policy is by going to the root of it and changing the system.

Revolutionary Leadership Needed

The imperialists pursue a constantly more aggressive policy not only because they are faced with continuing revolutionary upsurges which must be put down, but also because they have met no serious resistance to their previous aggression, most recently in the Congo and in Vietnam. The thousands of people, largely students and young intellectuals like the ones who marched in Washington 25,000 strong on April 17, feel understandably hopeless, frustrated and impotent in the face of Johnson's latest war moves. This is his answer to the giant protest march on Vietnam! Just two weeks following this action he sends Marines into a Latin American country for the first time in almost 40 years! Nothing seems to point up the futility of opposition more than this contrast.

This is exactly what the U.S. government would like to see among the radical youth who are protesting its counter-revolutionary policies -- despair and eventually cynicism. But we cannot fall victim to this despair. We have to see the present developments as just the beginning and not the end. We have to build a genuinely revolutionary movement in this country, a movement which becomes a part of the class struggle and which links up the workers' struggles with the struggles of the colonial peoples. It is not enough to support in words the fight of the colonial peoples and to sympathize with them. We must support them directly; we must join them in what is an international struggle for workers' power and socialism.

While the Dominican revolutionaries continue to fight and display great heroism and determination, it appears, as this is written, that their leadership for the most part shares neither the heroism nor the determination. Juan Bosch himself called on his supporters to refrain from attacking the marines, and expressed the belief that the marines would discharge their duties in an impartial manner! Bosch presented a pathetic figure as his words of trust in the motives and moves of Washington were rudely interrupted by

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It seems, furthermore, that both Moscow and Hanoi may yet agree to Johnson's April 7 'peace proposal' plot for the repenetration of capital into North Vietnam. (Their denunciations were not as forceful as Peking's, centering, in the Soviet case, on the issue of U.S. attacks on North Vietnam, and 'The Economist', 17/4/65, says there have been 'reports of private intimations from Moscow and Hanoi that the Communists governments' public statements might not be their last words'.)

Prince Sihanouk, the feudal 'socialist' who guards French investments in Cambodia, has expressed opposition to such a cover, but whether this relic of days gone by will maintain his opposition depends probably on the Chinese, who influence both Sihanouk and the popular Pracheachon (Communist) Party which supports him (although, be it noted, it is but semi-legal).

And the Chinese, although they fear both a U.S. imperialist presence and a joint Soviet-American one just across their strategic southern border, are far from being the friends of the Vietnamese revolution that they make themselves out to be in platonic declarations on the subject. Mr. William Warbey, a self-professed 'friend' of the Vietnamese revolution, is a reliable witness to that.

During the recent parliamentary debate on foreign affairs, he said that:

'during his recent visit to Hanoi he had seen the assistance obtained by the North Vietnamese for the development of their economy and to defend themselves against American attacks.

'Most of it had come from Russia or Eastern European countries: some had come from West Germany. He had seen the markings on the machines and very little had come from the Chinese.' ('The Guardian', 2/4/65.)

PARADOX NO.1

Progressive Labor unanimously approved a constitution at its April Convention which has the following clause in it: "Groups having discipline outside the Party -- factions and cliques -- shall not be tolerated." The April issue of Progressive Labor reprints a 1925 Comintern document entitled "Lenin on Organization". Even though this document was written in a period when degeneration had already set in the Bolshevik Party, not enough time had passed to allow a total distortion of Lenin's views. The document states the following of Lenin: "Of course, he insisted on the freedom of factional conflict; he demanded freedom of discussion, and criticism of the Central Committee."

Question: Do Progressive Labor members read their own press?

direct clashes in Santo Domingo between marines and armed rebels, and by the brazen admission that the U.S. was now intent on crushing the rebellion.

Clearly the Dominicans will need more than the compromising leadership of Bosch or other figures who have rushed to proclaim their anti-Communism. Although it appears at this point that the rebels have not yet given in to the pressure for a so-called cease fire on U.S. terms, there is reason to doubt how long they can hold out with a leadership which has thus far shown itself to be quite weak politically. Even now, however, the situation has become somewhat difficult for Washington as the rebels continue to hold most sections of the capitol, and a display of brute force (which the imperialists will hesitate before using) is becoming necessary. A revolutionary leadership could exploit this difficulty of the imperialists, mobilizing the masses against the imperialist intervention as well as calling for international solidarity and direct support to the Dominican Revolution.

The intervention in the Dominican Republic also shows that the imperialists have learned something from the Cuban Revolution, and that they intend to nip such developments in the bud from here on in. This shows once more that a conscious leadership, not an empirical petty bourgeois leadership such as Castro's, is more than ever necessary to take the revolution anywhere near the level reached even in Cuba. It is becoming even more, and not less, imperative to build a Marxist leadership all over the world in the fight against imperialism.

VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION IS IN DANGER

Allies and Enemies Conspire to Strangle Social Revolution

(The following discussion article by Eric Webster first appeared in the May 1, 1965 issue of the Newsletter, published by the Socialist Labour League of Great Britain. We reprint it here because we feel it should be of particular interest to American revolutionaries.)

The Vietnamese revolution is in danger of being strangled. Its enemies and its 'allies' are combining in a sinister conspiracy to deny the heroic workers and peasants of Vietnam their victory, and its leaders, by virtue of their Stalinist training and heritage, seem to be unable to do anything about it.

There is a flurry of diplomatic activity. The chancelleries of the world are filled with men rushing hither and thither with secret briefs, engaging in secret discussions which are mentioned as one-line fillers in the press. Meanwhile, the Vietcong fight on, in the face of ever-mounting U.S. 'aid' to its bloody-handed stooges in Saigon, and U.S. aircraft roam over North Vietnam at will, bombing whatsoever and napalming whomsoever they like.

Without a doubt, the Soviet Union and the imperialists are preparing to do a deal over Vietnam, but are disguising this plot with the figleaf of a conference on Cambodia.

It seems, furthermore, that both Moscow and Hanoi may yet agree to Johnson's April 'peace proposal' plot for the repenetration of capital into North Vietnam. (Their denunciations were not as forceful as Peking's, centering, in the Soviet case, on the issue of U.S. attacks on North Vietnam, and 'The Economist', 17/4/65, says there have been reports of private intimations from Moscow and Hanoi that the Communists governments' public statements might not be their last words'.)

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'The Economist' cynically confirms that the same is true of the Vietcong:

'The Vietcong do not expect much help from the Chinese or from anyone else.' (17/4/65)

So, while at present the Chinese, for the sake of their own military and diplomatic interests (but not, pace the 'Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International', for any other reason) oppose this plot, if some compromise guaranteeing their interests could be arranged they would, on their present showing, be willing to sell out.

If the present conspiracy fails, however --and it is a very difficult business even for treacherous bureaucrats and imperialist diplomats to impose a solution which will be acceptable to all the leaderships involved-- then U.S. imperialism has another string to its bow.

The Vietnamese Stalinists, generalising the experience of the resistance to the Japanese during the last war, which culminated in the August Revolution of 1945, have accepted Mao Tse-tung's theory of 'three stages' in the revolutionary struggle in underdeveloped countries.

They believe that in such countries, the struggle in the countryside, among the peasants, is more important than that in the cities, and that the revolution will follow a certain schema: firstly, isolated guerilla units work together to establish for themselves a territorial base, then, having this base, they spread out and intensify their activities, to gain control over as much of the countryside as possible, and isolate the cities. Then, in the third stage, the guerilla movement transforms itself into a normal army, defeats the government forces in orthodox battles, and marches on the cities.

In addition, in South Vietnam, the Stalinist leadership of the National Liberation Front (Vietcong: there are also religious and nationalist, non-Stalinist, elements) does not aim at carrying out a socialist revolution, but at establishing a democratic, neutralist coalition.

Wilfred Burchett described their policy in an article in 'Labour Monthly':

'In conversations with leaders in South and in North Vietnam, I found no desire to make things tough or unacceptable. It is agreed by leaders of the Liberation Front and by those in Hanoi for instance that de facto, South Vietnam can be a separate, autonomous and neutral state...There is no intention of "exporting socialism south of the 17th parallel" as one of the leaders of North Vietnam expressed it; or "of trying to solve the contradictions between socialism and capitalism in our independence struggle", as one of the Liberation Front leaders put it, adding:

"we think we are doing enough by solving the contradiction in our half of the country between neo-colonialism and national independence"....In Hanoi, as in Liberation Front headquarters, it is accepted that reunification is a long-term project....and that two different social systems will continue to develop on either side of the 17th parallel, for an indefinite period.' ('Labour Monthly', August 1964)

As a consequence of their policy, the theory of which always places emphasis on the allegedly 'revolutionary' role of the peasantry, and the practice of which, in this case, specifically renounces any socialist demands of the working class, the Vietcong are unable, despite their devotion and heroism, to meet the challenge of U. S. air power. (Incidentally, this **Marxist** theory of the 'revolutionary' peasantry is undoubtedly related to Pablo's.)

The edition of 'The Economist' I have already quoted remarks:

'The Vietcong admit that the Americans control the air and during the past few weeks large-scale bush fires, together with the dry mud fields that provide no cover, have made life so difficult for them in the delta (of the Mekong river - E. W.) that some hundreds of guerrillas were withdrawn from the area.'

Although the monsoon rains will soon improve the cover available and bad weather will hamper air action, the fact remains that the U.S. is prepared, if necessary, to put in thousands more troops, and hundreds more planes.

A correspondent put it **th**is way in 'The Times':

'(The U.S. believes that) so long as American aircraft maintain their total supremacy over the skies of South Vietnam--and there is no reason to think they will not--the Vietcong will find it suicidal to move into the vaunted "phase three" of large-scale attacks.' (21/4/65)

The only way out of this dilemma is to scrap the theory of 'stages' and the rural struggle, together with the policy of neutralism, and to openly proclaim socialist demands (for the workers), and more militant democratic demands (the Vietcong policy in the fields is of reduction of land-rents, not redistribution of the land) for the peasants.

This will bring the struggle into the cities (where the U.S. cannot use aeroplanes) not in the absurd, petty-bourgeois terrorist way in which the urban struggle has been waged so far, but in a way which enables the maximum strength of the extremely militant working class to be brought to bear.

If an urban, socialist struggle were waged, then certainly Vietnamese army troops, and very probably American

It was necessary to show solidarity with the USSR in the 1930s--but that meant the most ruthless exposure of the Stalinist terror, because that terror was a threat to the USSR. The same applies to Vietnam--we must ruthlessly criticise any aspects of the policy of the Vietcong which threaten the revolution.

Revolutionaries, therefore must break decisively with all this humbug and hypocrisy, and wage a socialist campaign, not a petty-bourgeois democratic one, against U.S. aggression and tyranny.

Firstly, and above all, we must campaign against U.S. aggression in Vietnam:

U.S. TROOPS OUT OF SOUTH
VIETNAM!
DEFEND THE VIETNAMESE
REVOLUTION!
BLACK AMERICAN GOODS!

Secondly, such a campaign will be our best contribution to the building of a new Marxist leadership in Vietnam which will oppose with correct policies the Stalinist leadership of the Vietcong.

Thirdly, we must expose the whole gang of traitors and scoundrels who seek to put the Vietnamese workers' and peasants' heads on the U. S. chopping block:

DOWN WITH SECRET DIPLOMACY!

And, fourthly, we must redouble our efforts to build new revolutionary leaderships, sections of a reorganized Fourth International, to complete the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, and to eliminate from the world forever the forces of barbarism, destruction and war!

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

PARADOX NO. 2

The May 10th issue of the Militant, organ of the Socialist Workers Party, prints an article by Tom Kerry on the PL Convention. This article, among other things, attacks PL for banning factions. This, Kerry feels quite rightly, is an example of Stalinist influence in the organization.

Tom Kerry is one of several authors of an officially sponsored document on the organization question to be submitted to the Labor Day Convention of the SWP. This document, for the first time in the history of the Trotskyist movement, bars permanent factions or tendencies. If the barring of factions in PL is a sign of Stalinist degeneration then what, pray tell, can we say about Kerry's own efforts to bar factions in the SWP?

We would like to recommend the following quote of Lenin's to both the SWP and PL leaderships: "Organization without ideas is an absurdity which in practice converts the workers into miserable hangers-on of the bourgeoisie in power. Consequently, without freedom of discussion and criticism, the proletariat does not recognize unity of action." Yes, we read it in Progressive Labor.

troops too, could be won over to the cause of the workers and peasants. But the whole record of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party, and its successor organizations (i.e., the Vietcong, Viet Nam Lao Dong, and others), suggests that such a struggle will not be waged.

Besides the dangers from the diplomatic activities of the imperialists and Stalinists, and from its own inadequate leadership, the Vietnamese revolution is in danger from another source--the whole motley gang of its other 'sympathisers'.

Most of these are engaged in trying to palm off the Soviet-imperialist conspiracy against the revolution as in some way desirable.

Thus, the 17 'neutralist' nations (one of which, India, is listed in the U.S. government publication 'The Cause of Freedom' as giving aid to South Vietnam) which approached President Johnson about Vietnam, hailed his Baltimore speech. (Hanoi said that the presence of nations supposed to be sympathetic to the Vietcong among the 17 was to be 'regretted'. We suggest that Pabloites and others who whitewash bourgeois regimes in underdeveloped countries realise the implications of this co-operation with imperialism's plots.)

And in Britain the same old hypocritical crew continue their betrayals.

Harold Wilson and the Government (including Messrs. Cousins, Castle and Greenwood) remain faithful to their deal with the U.S. over Vietnam and Malaysia.

Frank Allaun and the other 'lefts' make speeches opposing the war (but saying Britain should be neutral, not supporting the revolution), but they don't vote against the war.

The 'Daily Worker', while studiously avoiding any campaign on Ho Chi-minh's call to black American goods, calls for a conference on Vietnam and fails to criticize the betrayal of the Labour 'left' (according to the 'Daily Worker' opposition to the war among 'left' MPs has been 'mounting' for so long it must by now render moonrockets unnecessary).

And, last in a long, long line, the Pabloites attempt to confuse people who are breaking from the 'orthodox' leaders of the left by suggesting that the Chinese and Soviets might get together to defend the Vietnamese revolution in a 'genuinely Leninist' way.

At the same time, they refrain from criticising the Vietcong in any way, presumably on the argument that 'we must show solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution'. This is bunk.

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ON ORGANIZING THE AUTOMAT WORKERS

by a restaurant worker

Along with the current efforts of District 65 of the RWDSU and the Taxicab Drivers Organizing Committee to organize unorganized workers in New York City, there has been a much less widely publicized effort by the New York restaurant workers locals to organize unorganized "houses" which include the giant Horn and Hardart ('automat') chain, the Lickford chain as well as "quality" chains such as Schrafft's and Stouffer's. The organizing campaign at these chains (with the exception of Horn and Hardart which we will go into later) and at some 70 other independent New York restaurants has definitely not proceeded past the simple listing as open shop targets by Local 89 (Cooks, Dishwashers, etc.) of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers (HREBIU). Of the "independent" restaurants on the target list of 80, Local 89 has selected 11 for immediate organization.

There is no doubt that the leadership of the New York restaurant workers, particularly of Local 89, which does not have jurisdiction over the hotel kitchen workers, is worried about long-term trends in the food service industry which are beginning to cut into the union's membership and weaken its bargaining position. Local 89 Business Agent Vincent Wagner notes in the May issue of Kitchen Range that many restaurant closures are due to the "changing character of the city. Huge new buildings are dislocating many restaurants that have been part of Local 89 from its beginning...Restaurants have also closed their doors because former clients are now patronizing in-plant feeding operations which are becoming more and more numerous." The solution offered by the union leadership -- organize the unorganized workers, particularly in the above mentioned chains which are able to compete unfairly with organized restaurants at the expense of their employees.

Plan Major Organizing Drive

Brother Wagner expresses the view of the union leadership that the current Horn and Hardart organizing campaign (over 3,000 employees at some 40 restaurants and cafeterias), if successful, "will spark off a major organizational campaign to bring all the other nonunion operations under union agreement." The current H and H drive, originated more than a year ago under the nominal auspices of the New York Joint Board of the International union, but organized by Local 89 organizer Tony Kolgate, comes to a climax on May 18 when the H and H employees at 41 locations vote in an NLRB union recognition election.

The union claims that it waited until it had signed up 65% of the H & H workers before filing its petition to the NLRB. The leadership says that it is confident of victory after two previous attempts to organize H & H, the

last one in 1954. The May issue of Kitchen Range reports that the Union's (Local 89) shop chairmen met on April 6 and voted to devote their days off and May 18 to talk to Horn and Hardart workers, and urged that all Local 89 members do likewise. All the Local 89 Business Agents have been "mobilized" and assigned to different H & H locations as organizers.

A "yes" vote for the union on May 18 would of course be a tremendous booster for the organization of the rest of the unorganized in the New York culinary field and would go a long way toward eliminating the pretexts that the leadership has used in the past for "compromise" in contract negotiations. The leadership will not so easily be able to get away with saying that "we may have to agree to combination on jobs" (i.e., one man doing what is normally the work of two men on two separate jobs) and that it is somehow the responsibility of the union to see that the union shops do not go broke.

A victory for the union on May 18 will also bring over 3,000 underpaid, overworked workers who are 90% Negro or Spanish speaking into the organized labor movement. These workers and their brothers in the other as yet unorganized restaurants could provide the base for a revitalization of the culinary trade unions in New York. It must be noted that the Hotel and Restaurant industry is one of the biggest employers in New York and that the overwhelming majority of these workers, at least in the restaurants, are members of minority groups. These workers who occupy the lowest paying jobs, as do their brothers in the other sweatshops which are being or, will be organized in the not-too-distant future, will not only be militant trade unionists, but can take the lead in breaking with the present rotten political policy of supporting the anti-labor Democratic Party, which is the game of the militantly "liberal" Local 89 leadership.

PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY MOBILIZES AGAINST POLICE

Needed: A Political Struggle Against Wagner

It is now abundantly clear that the contempt of the New York Police Department and Mayor Wagner for the Puerto Rican community knows no bounds.

The complete exoneration by the Police Department of Detective John C. Devlin, his reinstatement with full back pay and his reassignment to the very same district where he perpetrated his crime against Gregorio Cruz is a dastardly affront to the whole Spanish-speaking community. It comes as a climax to the long series of protests by leading Puerto Rican organizations and civic groups and hundreds of spirited

Puerto Rican citizens who were stirred to action by the case which is only one of a long and endless series. Gregorio Cruz is still being hospitalized and is suffering permanent injuries as a result of the shooting by Devlin.

News of the Devlin exoneration brought hundreds of pickets to City Hall under the auspices of at least 15 organizations which was a tremendous demonstration of solidarity between the Puerto Rican and the black and white community. Among the groups represented were the East Harlem Tenants Council, Lower East Side Action Project, CORE and the National Association for Puerto Rican Affairs as well as the MPI.

Included in the demands along with the protests against Devlin's exoneration were those for the setting up of a review board of inquiry over cases of police brutality. This demand has been pushed increasingly with the shocking report that at least 4 Puerto Ricans had been found to have mysteriously "hung themselves" in the past months while in police custody. In the midst of these protests a fifth Puerto Rican, Juan Santiago, was found hanged in his cell while awaiting trial for murder. Santiago, according to police, had hanged himself by his belt and left a note the contents of which were not disclosed.

The 24th of April saw another killing of a Puerto Rican in the Barrio, 110th Street on the East Side, when off-duty Officer Frederick Gilson shot to death Wilfredo Martinez with a bullet in the head because the twenty-five year old youth refused to stop after a warning shot was fired in the air to frighten him. Gilson declared that Martinez "assaulted him refused to stop and represented a threat."

NYC Cops Cheer Racists

It is clear that these unbelievable events portend a hard road ahead for the Latin community in this city. Coming as they do in the atmosphere of the New York cops recent Communion Breakfast cheers for the fellow Alabama-cops and with the apparent approval of the Police Commissioner and the Mayor, they portray with fearful accuracy the brutal attitude of this city administration towards its minorities. When we note that this is an election year for the Mayoralty then the arrogance of the Mayor as well as his contempt becomes even clearer.

If the Mayor feels that he has the Puerto Rican community sewed up as far as the election goes, it shows that he follows the El Diario and listens eagerly to the plaudits of the Puerto Rican business community. Despite his refusal to intervene in the Devlin case or to even consider the setting up of a police review board he is hailed continually in the El Diario as the great friend of the Hispanos and will give glowing testimony of this in the

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reviewing stand at the June Puerto Rican parade. The April 10th El Diario even carried a personal interview with photographs with a Puerto Rican who had been unjustly jailed on suspicion and who told the reporter that the police treated him very gently, but that he not only thought of suicide but actually made some kind of an attempt at it.

Need to Mobilize Spanish Speaking Proletariat

But the El Diario does not speak for the Puerto Rican community any more than do the Democratic party politicians with Latin names. The community is represented by the vanguard action groups that have taken to the streets in defense of the youth of the community against police brutality and those groups that are demanding the abolition of literacy tests for voting in English alone. These include such groups as the National Association for Puerto Rican Affairs, the National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights, the MPI and the various emergency and spontaneous committees and groups that are set up to come to the aid of the community such as PTA groups, tenants councils, etc.

It is these groups rather than the El Diario that hold the greatest potential for reaching out to the proletarian Puerto Rican community. Thus it is to these groups that progressives and radicals must appeal in the building of a united front to unseat the racist establishment in New York City. It is the combined voting potential of the Puerto Rican and Negro community with its white working class allies that holds the final solution to the smiling hypocritical Wagner and his uniformed racist brutes.

* * *

As we go to press, the National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights has called for the elimination of the City Commission on Human Rights (CCHR), as being of no help to Puerto Ricans. Despite repeated pleas to Stanley Lowell (the chairman of the CCHR, who has just resigned), the City Commission has not lifted a finger in the many cases of police brutality or job discrimination against Puerto Ricans.

The conflict between the Puerto Rican community and the city government has become so deep that the liberal Puerto Rican leadership has felt the need to speak out in firm language against the run-around to which the Puerto Ricans are subjected.

It is necessary, however, to go further and make clear the relationship between the complaints of the Puerto Ricans and the Wagner Administration itself. It is the entire capitalist structure of the city government itself which must be opposed, and not simply one section of it. The Puerto Ricans should join with others in a united workingclass campaign against Wagner. The next issue of the Bulletin will be heavily devoted to this issue.

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