

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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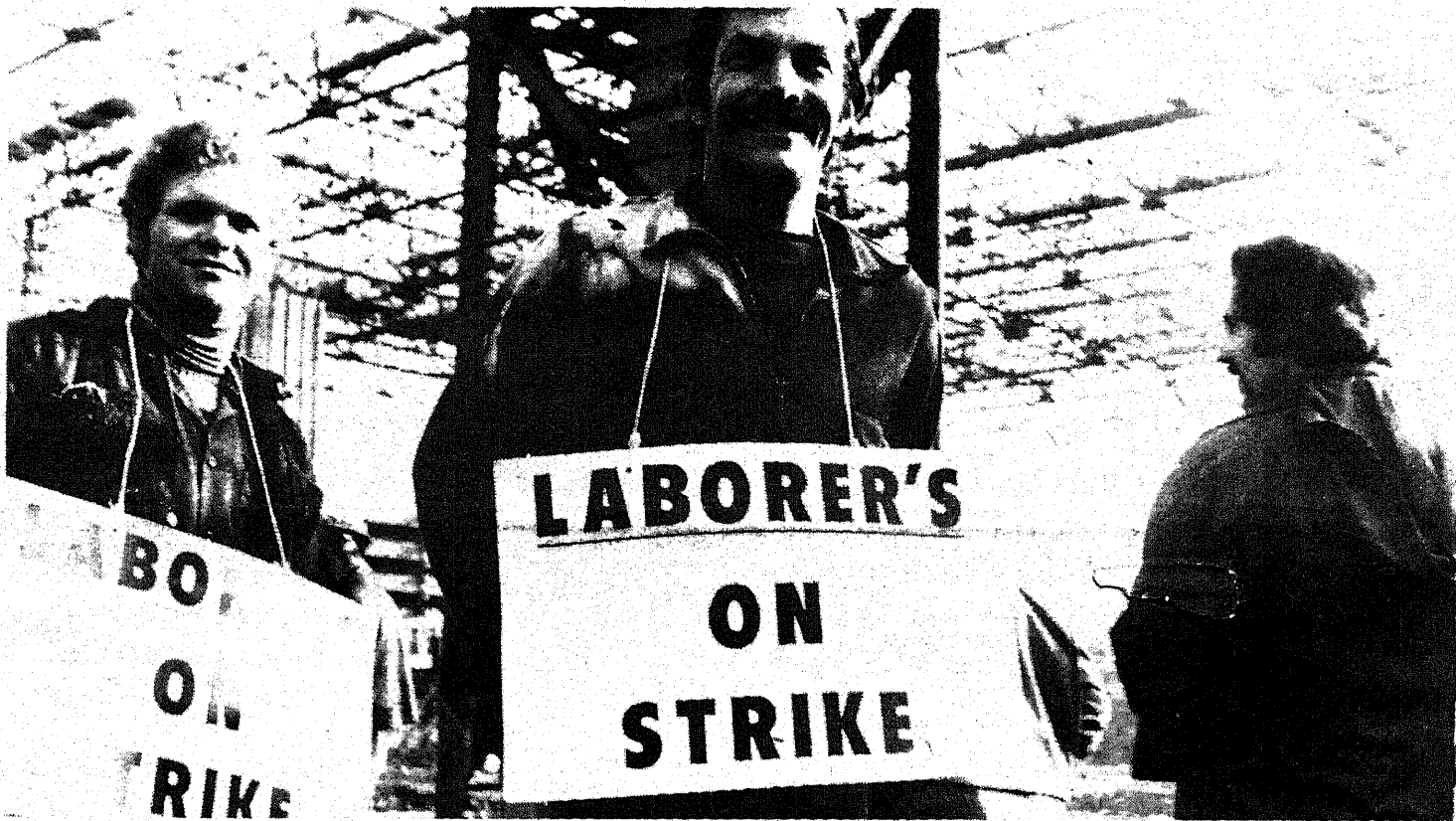
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NATIONAL CONFERENCE DEMANDS LABOR PARTY



Laborers picket outside Hartford Civic Center construction site in strike to defend contract. See page 4.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

CHICAGO—Over 325 trade unionists and youth, attending the National Conference For A Labor Party Now! on October 21-22 agreed unanimously to carry forward a campaign for a labor party as the only way to defend the American working class.

The following motion was passed: "The Conference resolves to take up a battle for the trade unions to form a labor party. This fight will be based on the program in The Case For A Labor Party and will be part of the defense of the working class as a whole."

The conference also elected a Continuations Committee of 23 trade unionists including auto workers from Delco in Dayton,

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Turn St. Louis Strike Into UAW Nationwide Shutdown Of GMAD

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

ST. LOUIS, October 22—The General Motors plant here continues to be the focal point of an explosive confrontation developing between General Motors and the United Auto Workers.

The 8600 members of Local 25 are slated to strike again at midnight, Thursday October 26. In accordance with the so-called "Apache" or "hit and run" strategy of the International leadership of the UAW, the Local 25 leaders are calling this second strike at the St. Louis plant, for a limited four or five days, including the weekend.

The UAW is continuing its "hit and run" policy, allegedly aimed at pressuring GM into backing down from its brutal speed-up and layoff policy, this week by calling quickie strikes at the Fairfax, Kansas, Janesville, Wisconsin, and Arlington, Texas plants. Strikes are also scheduled now at the Leeds, Missouri and Hamilton, Ohio GM stamping plants.

Despite the hopes of Woodcock and the UAW leaders to avoid a confrontation, which would not only mean an all-out battle with Nixon but an embarrassment to their man George McGovern, the union is heading into an irrepressible conflict with GM.

CENTER

The attack on the workers of Local 25 by GM has been at the center of the company's aim of forcing the workers to accept the vicious speed-up and layoffs. The company hoped to use the fear of unemployment, as well as racial divisions, to drive the workers back in preparation for smashing the union entirely in the next contract.

But the desire of the ranks for a battle was reflected in the huge strike vote and the fact that the Local 25 leaders were forced to

call for a nationwide shutdown of GMAD. But the local leaders, in going along with the "Apache" strategy of Woodcock, have now become accomplices in his betrayal.

Before the strike, because they feared the threat of a national shutdown, local management attempted to conciliate the union, by recalling about 400 men. But when auto workers here returned to work after the first hit and run strike, they found nothing changed. GM has made absolutely no concessions since the Woodcock policy of limited strikes was announced.

Since the short strike, some shifts have worked up to 30 minutes overtime while others have been shut down early. Management seems to be pushing the point that they have

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Political Committee Statement

Bulletin Expands To Lead Anti-Nixon Fight

The following statement, which was submitted to the National Conference for a Labor Party Now!, was passed unanimously.

In the August 14 issue of the Bulletin we outlined our plans for the development of the Bulletin and its transformation into a daily newspaper. We are now able to develop this campaign more concretely.

In the period since August 14, the urgent need for the development of the Bulletin has become even clearer. During this election period, Nixon is openly preparing new plans to tie productivity to any wage increases, combining this with an economic policy of growing unemployment. At the same time, he readies legislation to outlaw strikes completely on the docks and in related transportation

fields.

The Watergate scandal reveals only the tip of the iceberg of Nixon's connections with right-wing forces and the degree to which a government of under-construction is already being constructed to be utilized against the democratic rights of the working class and their unions.

In the midst of the election period, a strike wave sweeps the auto industry against the murderous speed-up and layoffs.

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Rumors Mount Of Hanoi Deal To Accept Ceasefire

BY DAVID NORTH

Forces of the National Liberation Front stepped up their offensive throughout Vietnam and Indochina in the face of mounting reports that a ceasefire is imminent.

As we go to press, there is no definite confirmation that any agreement has been reached between the Government of North Vietnam and Nixon. However, last week's statement by Premier Pham Van Dong on the willingness of North Vietnam to accept a ceasefire without a political settlement represented a major retreat from previous positions.

Speaking to Newsweek editor Arnaud de Borchgrave, the North Vietnamese premier said: "Negotiations are in an extremely important phase. We have done everything humanly possible for a successful conclusion."

The plans outlined by Pham Van Dong, which would amount to a complete betrayal of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, call for the establishment

of a "neutralist" government in Saigon until elections could be held. "Our iron will is being applied to bring about a three-sided coalition leading to national reconciliation and independence," he stated.

Reports indicate that Saigon dictator Nguyen Thieu has refused to sanction the current talks between Henry Kissinger and the North Vietnamese. But the Nixon Administration has apparently assured Thieu that his army and police would be heavily armed during the ceasefire period.

In the midst of the intensive negotiations between Kissinger and the North Vietnamese, the Saigon regime is preparing for a ceasefire by strengthening its machinery for terror. A decree, introduced October 23, provides for the death penalty for all NLF members and sympathizers in the ceasefire zone controlled by

the coalition.

It is known that the current talks have taken place under the heavy prodding of Moscow and Peking. The New York Times reported last week that Nixon was crediting the Kremlin Stalinists with persuading Hanoi to accept a ceasefire.

The recent military activities in Indochina have the greatest significance in the light of the present talks. It is in precisely those areas that Hanoi is prepared to hand over to a so-called government of "national concord"—in which being a NLF sympathizer would result in the death penalty—that local guerrilla groups have waged the sharpest struggle.

Hamlets in the neighborhood of Saigon have been captured by local Vietcong and sharp attacks have been mounted against American installations in Pleiku.

If a ceasefire should be announced, it would be set against the background of a social revolution that has mobilized the masses throughout Indochina. At no time have the imperialists stood closer to total defeat than they do today.

Should the North Vietnamese Stalinists make a deal with Nixon now, they would be giving him the time he so desperately needs to prepare for the resumption of the war.

The entire history of the Indochina struggle since 1945 has one central lesson: that the revolution of workers and peasants cannot be defended by deals and negotiations but through the defeat and overthrow of the imperialists and their puppets.

Malagasy Army Takes Over

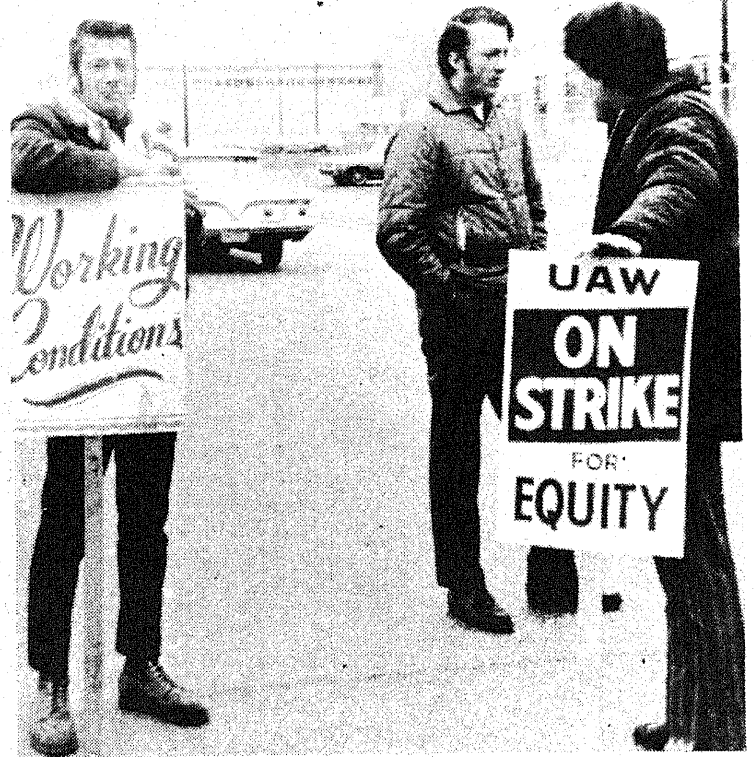
BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

General Gabriel Ramanantsoa, the military man appointed Prime Minister by President Tsiranana last May, has established a dictatorship on the island of Madagascar.

On October 8, Ramanantsoa submitted a referendum to the population asking for a mandate to "carry out five years of structural transformations." According to official statements, the percentage of Yes votes ranged from 84 to 98 percent.

Tsiranana, who campaigned against him, was forced to resign. Tsiranana gave the General full powers last May after a massive student and workers uprising nearly toppled his regime.

Following a clash with police on May 15, in which over 20 demonstrators were killed, 100,000 youth and trade unionists marched on the Presidential



Auto workers picket Janesville, Wisc. GMAD plant last week. Woodcock's "hit and run" strikes may be resumed at the plant.

Trudeau Demands Ban On Strikes In Election Campaign

BY FRANK MARTIN

MONTREAL—The Canadian Federal election will be held on October 30, a week prior to the American election. At the center of this election is the economic crisis.

Trudeau has been unable to stop the movement of the working class, especially in the last two years. Although he has imposed martial law and openly sent the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to raid the trade unions in British Columbia, the working class has responded with a massive strike wave and the throwing out of the Liberals, Tories and Social Credit in three different provincial elections.

This determination by the working class to defend its rights has forced the capitalist parties—the Liberals and the

Tories—to spell out a vicious anti-union program in the election. Stanfield, the Tory leader, has called for a wage freeze. A Tory policy paper has come out for a strike ban in "essential services," the same formula that the British Columbia Social Credit government tried to use to smash the unions in its province.

Trudeau and the Liberals have come out in open support of the strike ban and definitely favor a wage freeze. They have gone one better and called for a system of work permits. There is no other purpose to this measure, which is used today in fascist Spain, than to break the militancy of the trade unions by putting them under direct governmental control.

CAMPAIGN

Both parties have raised a vicious campaign against the unemployed, saying they are "ripping off" the Unemployment Insurance Commission. Trudeau and Stanfield want to divide unemployed from employed workers in order to lay the basis for even more massive unemployment in the next five years.

Their campaign is aimed at the most basic rights of the working class. The capitalists must destroy these rights as a preparation for the trade war which will inevitably affect and threaten them after the American election. The Federal election is a necessary step in their war on the unions.

There is only one answer for workers to these Liberal-Tory plans—the election of a majority of New Democratic Party (NDP) candidates in the next Parliament. This was the response of the British Columbia workers when their rights were threatened. This must become the answer of all Canadian

(Continued On Page 18)

South Korea Dictator Declares Martial Law

BY MELODY FARROW

Tanks and armoured vehicles moved into the streets of Seoul and universities and colleges were shut down as South Korean President Park Chung Hee put the country under martial law last Tuesday.

President Park suspended part of the Constitution, dissolved the National Assembly and imposed strict censorship over the press and radio. He claimed the measures were necessary to "reform the political structure" in order to proceed with the dialogue with North Korea over reunification.

The real reason for the clamp-down is Park's desperate attempt to stay in power in face of growing opposition to his dictatorship by the workers and peasants of the South. He declared that martial law will not be lifted until the constitution is revised and new elections are held.

In 1969, Park's Democratic Republican Party controlled a two-thirds majority in Parliament and was able to push through a change in the Constitution which enabled him to run for a third term. But last year, his party lost their majority.

EMERGENCY

Park has kept South Korea under a state of emergency since last December when he claimed that North Korea was plotting "aggression" against the South.

Park, with the support of the United States, has maintained a ruthless dictatorship over the workers and peasants while pouring out a constant barrage of anti-communist propaganda against North Korea.

This rabid anticommunist now hypocritically claims that, if his referendum on a new Con-

stitution is rejected, it will be an indication that the South Korean people are against the dialogue with the North.

Park's so-called dialogue was nothing but a fraud to start with. At the very same time that he stated he was willing to discuss with the North, Park declared last July that: "We must continue and intensify the anti-communist education of our people so that communist ideology may not infiltrate into our society."

The Red Cross talks held with representatives of the North and South began in September but no agreement was reached. Another meeting was scheduled for October 24.

PROOF

The present martial law is the clearest proof that President Park and the United States have no intention of giving up their designs to take over total control of Korea.

The Stalinist government of the North, as part of the whole turn of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracy towards closer collaboration with imperialism, seeks reconciliation with a regime which is launching a brutal attack on the workers and peasants.

The Stalinists are preparing to recognize the legitimacy of Park's regime and the division of Korea, against the wishes and interests of the Korea masses.

CONFERENCE DEMANDS LABOR PARTY NOW!

(Continued From Page 1)

Local 3 in Detroit, and Local 25 in St. Louis. Also represented on the Continuations Committee were steelworkers, teamsters, members of Communications Workers of America (CWA), the International Association of Machinists, Local 1199 of the Hospital workers, the International Longshoremen Association, Letter Carriers, teachers, taxi drivers, and the Social Service Employees Union Local 371 welfare workers. Greetings were received from Rudi Sulento of Local 216 at Southgate, California and a member of the United National Caucus of the United Auto Workers.

The conference opened with a report by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League. He explained that despite the calm, the routine and the general lack of interest in the elections, it was the most critical election in recent history. "This is because it is dominated by what is to come. The world capitalist system is in deep crisis, compelling the corporations in each country to push back their workers as part of a worldwide trade war. At the same time, the inflated dollar threatens to collapse, bringing down world trade as a whole."

COLLAPSE

The collapse of the Democratic Party, Wohlforth noted, is not an episode nor simply related to McGovern. It started with Humphrey in 1968 and is of historic significance. "We are witnessing an event as important as the break-up of parties on the eve of the American Civil War. This is because we face a new 'irrepressible conflict,' a period when compromise between capital and labor is no longer possible, when there is no economic basis for reform, where therefore the party of reform, the Democrats, is torn apart."

He insisted that Nixon's preparations for new intensive attacks on workers demanded a political answer. This is the labor party. Never before have workers felt so powerless, without any real weapon to defend themselves with against Nixon. This creates the conditions for building a tremendous movement in the trade unions for a labor party.

The central problem facing the working class is the crisis of leadership, Wohlforth stated. Fitzsimmons and Gleason openly endorse labor-hater Nixon, Meany is bankrupt proposing nothing in the election, while Woodcock supports McGovern and at the same time sabotages the movement for a national strike against General Motors.

Wohlforth explained how the labor bureaucracy was aided by radical forces within the rank and file which sought to hold back the working class from coming to a political consciousness. "The Communist Party is the major force seeking to hold back the working class. It not has taken the lead in trying to continue the ties of the trade unions to the capitalist Democratic Party but at the same time it must act to break the movement of the ranks in the plants for union action against speed-up. It does this by backing up the national and secondary UAW

leadership and acting against a national GMAD strike.

"The traitorous role of the CP in the unions flows from Stalinism. They support the labor bureaucrats while they support the bureaucracy in the Soviet countries, which opposes the policies which led to the Russian Revolution. The only way the interests of the workers can be defended today is through workers taking up a fight for Trotskyism against Stalinism, and seeking to learn from the history of the workers movement. This is the fight carried forward only by the Workers League."

Wohlforth explained the role of the Socialist Workers Party in refusing to fight for a labor party, in covering for the Stalinists.

Wohlforth ended his speech with a discussion of consciousness. He explained how trade unionists must understand that the cause of the attacks they face lies in the capitalist system itself and that they must master Marxist theory to understand how these attacks come about and how they can be fought. Marxists in the trade unions must come into conflict with the thinking of their fellow workers who recognize the attacks but do not see these attacks as rooted in capitalism itself and requiring new methods of struggle in order to be combated.

He urged all those present to prepare for this new period by taking up a fight for the Bulletin which will lead not only the fight for a labor party but for revolutionary leadership in the trade unions and among youth.

DISCUSSION

In the discussion period following Wohlforth's presentation, some 40 workers and youth participated.

A member of the IAM from Connecticut stated that his union "was being pushed around like the wind blows" and wanted to know what he could be about it when he returned. A hospital worker from New York said that he started to work in his hospital when he was 16 and he was now 27. He noted the great changes which have taken place during those years with attacks against the workers growing.

A steelworker from the Kaiser plant in Fontana, California explained how vending machines were being taken out of the plant so that workers would take no time off and how the speed-up was increasing in many other ways. He urged everyone to "get behind the Bulletin, that's how I found out about the labor party."

A postal worker explained how the harassment and speed-up was increasing in the post office just as the Bulletin predicted it would. He said his local, which included many racists, voted unanimously to support the farmworkers which shows what can be done.

A longshoreman discussed the forced overtime and the effect of containerization on the men. A packinghouse worker from St. Paul, Minnesota explained how the large packing plants were being phased out. He also brought up the difficulty in reaching many workers who, despite these objective conditions, remained conservative.

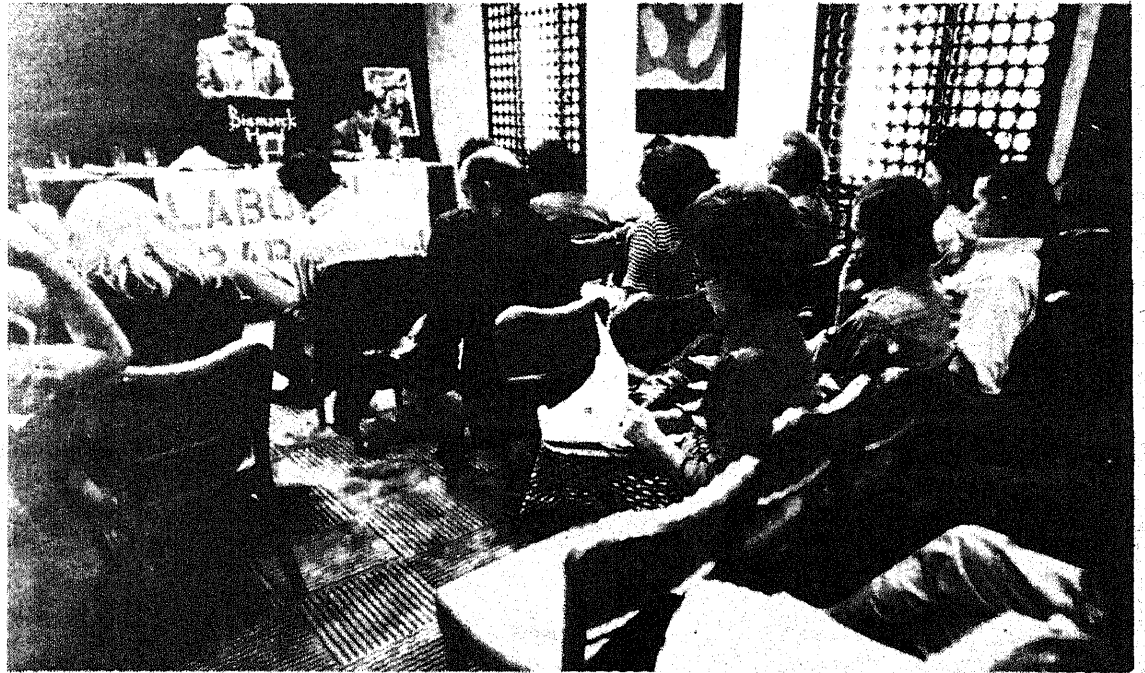
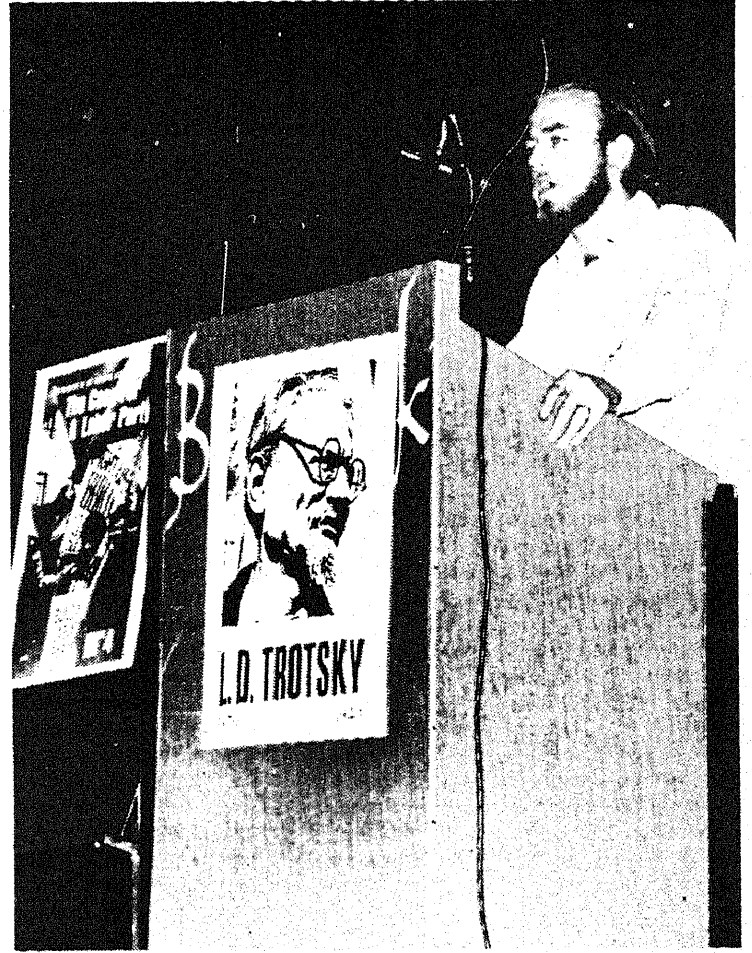
The discussion continued the next day in a series of workshops, while the Young Socialists held

their pre-conference. Some 100 trade unionists participated in these workshops.

The discussion in the workshop on basic industry, including auto, steel and electrical, focused on the problems of uniting workers in the various industries on a program for a struggle within each union based on the labor party perspective.

One worker from the GM-Delco plant in Dayton, Ohio said that one of the problems at his plant was that so far there had been no significant speed-up and it was difficult to reach workers, especially white workers, as a result.

A young worker from Southgate, California General Motors Assembly Division plant pointed out that the changes that had only recently been brought into his plant and the nearby Van Nuys plant meant that workers were making 53 cars per hour as



Above, steelworker addresses Conference. Below, Sunday's workshops.

compared to 46.

A young black worker from the U.S. Steel Southworks in Chicago said: "It is easy to say we should unite the workers, but the problem is how. In my mill a group of Black workers wanted to replace a grievor (committeeman) who they felt was doing a bad job. They didn't even go to the maintenance department because it was predominantly white workers who get more privileges and have a tendency to side with the boss."

A young steelworker from Kaiser's Fontana plant pointed out how the company and the union bureaucrats encouraged divisions between workers, young and old, Black and white. "I work in the coke oven where almost all the men are Black or brown. This is one of the largest coke ovens in the country and there are only three men on pension. Most of them die before they can even get a pension. The only solution they or any of the men now facing speed-up and plant closures is a unified struggle which is political."

The transportation industry workshop centered on the problems facing longshoremen. A Brooklyn docker sharply answered a radical who saw no threat in Nixon. "You have to be blind to say the government is not moving to the right and planning for some sort of dictatorship over the unions. Here Nixon is making plans to outlaw strikes

and destroy not only the ILA but Teamsters as well. That's why the labor party is so important because we can't fight these plans without one."

Workshops were also held on hospitals, on government employees and a general workshop for other industries.

Several members of middle class radical groups sneaked into the conference claiming to be independents. They included both International Socialist and Spartacist members. They played a completely hostile role. On Saturday one of them demanded that the labor party must have a revolutionary leadership. She was answered by explaining it was not up to this gathering of 325 to declare the labor party but what was at stake was a struggle to change the thinking of millions of workers so that the trade unions themselves would set up such a party. In the course of such a struggle the revolutionary leadership could be built. Any other approach was to see no further than the discussion circles of the middle class.

On Sunday morning, these radicals intervened in the various workshops seeking to divert the discussion around such issues as the "special oppression" of women or Blacks, etc. They insisted that there was no serious crisis or threat to the working class and had absolutely nothing to say on the specific attacks trade unionists now

face in various industries. As the Workers League had made it clear that it had called the conference on its program and as these tendencies actually fight the development of the labor party movement, they were excluded from the remainder of the conference with unanimous approval.

Helena Farinas, wife of Juan Farinas, reported on the tremendous trade union support which had rallied to her husband in the past period. She urged a new campaign around the Christmas period demanding Farinas' immediate parole. Juan Farinas, a member of the Workers League, is presently serving a two year sentence at the Danbury Federal Penitentiary simply for distributing a leaflet opposing the Vietnam War at an induction center.

A major feature of the conference was the struggle to develop the Bulletin. Lucy St. John, editor of the Bulletin, gave the main report on this question (see page 1) for the Political Committee of the Workers League. \$1,678.33 was raised for the Bulletin Fund Drive, the largest collection in the history of the Workers League.

The Continuations Committee will now lay plans to deepen work in the trade unions preparing for a new conference to carry forward the decisions of this historic meeting.

Railway Men Go Out Over Pay Board Ruling

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK, October 23—More than 500 Long Island Railroad trainmen, represented by the United Transportation Union, stayed away from work over the weekend in a job action against the reduction by the Pay Board of a wage increase negotiated over two years ago.

According to Harold Pryor of the Long Island local of the UTU, the men were angry over the reduction, which the union says means \$6.00 per day less than it should be under the union's interpretation of the Pay Board ruling.

It is clear that this "difference in interpretation" was the last straw for the trainmen. The Pay Board has slashed their wage increase from 31 percent to 22 percent.

MACHINERY

Behind the Pay Board is the entire machinery of the Nixon Administration and the courts—staffed by both Democrats and Republicans. The job action ended Sunday night after a vote by the men. The railroad had obtained a federal court injunction on Friday directing the union to end the "sick-out."

It is clear that all the power of the government is being mobilized as the Pay Board prepares to slash the wage guidelines to below the 5.5 percent. The impotence of appealing to the courts to reverse the attacks of the Pay Board was shown two weeks ago, when the Pay Board and the Justice Department announced that they would appeal the ruling by a federal judge which would restore the wage increase of 120,000 aerospace workers.

POLICY

The policy of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and United Auto Workers (UAW) leadership, under Leonard Woodcock, was to refuse to strike against these cuts and to appeal to the courts instead.

Other workers in the New York area have been hit or are facing wage cuts by the Pay Board. Eight thousand five hundred workers from Macy's Department store represented by Local 1-S of the Retail Wholesale Department Store Workers Union (RWDSU), had two dollars out of a piddling ten dollar weekly wage increase cut by the Pay Board.

The eight dollar increase, won after a one week strike last spring, would bring these

workers up to only \$101.75 per week, among the lowest scale for unionized workers in New York City. The leadership of the union apparently is prepared to accept the Pay Board cut and is talking about re-entering negotiations with the company to gain some sort of substitute of "equivalent value."

THREATEN

Meanwhile, the Pay Board is holding hearings which threaten the wage increases negotiated for New York printing industry workers employed at 325 commercial shops and the big daily newspapers.

Bertram Powers, president of Typographical Union No. 6, which is one of 10 craft unions threatened by the Pay Board, called the situation a "powder keg." The fact that the Pay Board will most likely not announce its decision until after election day indicates that they are preparing the axe for the printers. The Board has already

slashed a wage increase for newspaper workers in the state of Washington.

But Powers warned that such action would lead to a strike by all the 10 unions. "The history of the members of my union," he stated, "is that they're not hesitant about striking for what they want."

A confrontation between the labor movement and Nixon is shaping up over the attacks of the Pay Board, which is only just beginning. The complete bankruptcy of the trade union bureaucracy, which relies on court action and support to liberal Democrats is more and more exposed.

MOBILIZE

A new policy is required which will mobilize the power of the unions in defense of their jobs and standard of living for general strike action against any Pay Board cuts and for the calling of a national Congress of Labor to launch a labor party.

15,000 Construction Workers Walk Out

BY WILLIAM VAN

NEW HAVEN—Fifteen thousand members of the Connecticut District Council of Laborers struck sites across the state Monday in an action which could pose an explosive confrontation with the Pay Board.

The central issue in the strike has become the refusal of the State Contractors Association to abide by a ruling passed by the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, which calls for a 65 cent hourly increase in wages and a 10 cent hourly dues checkoff system.

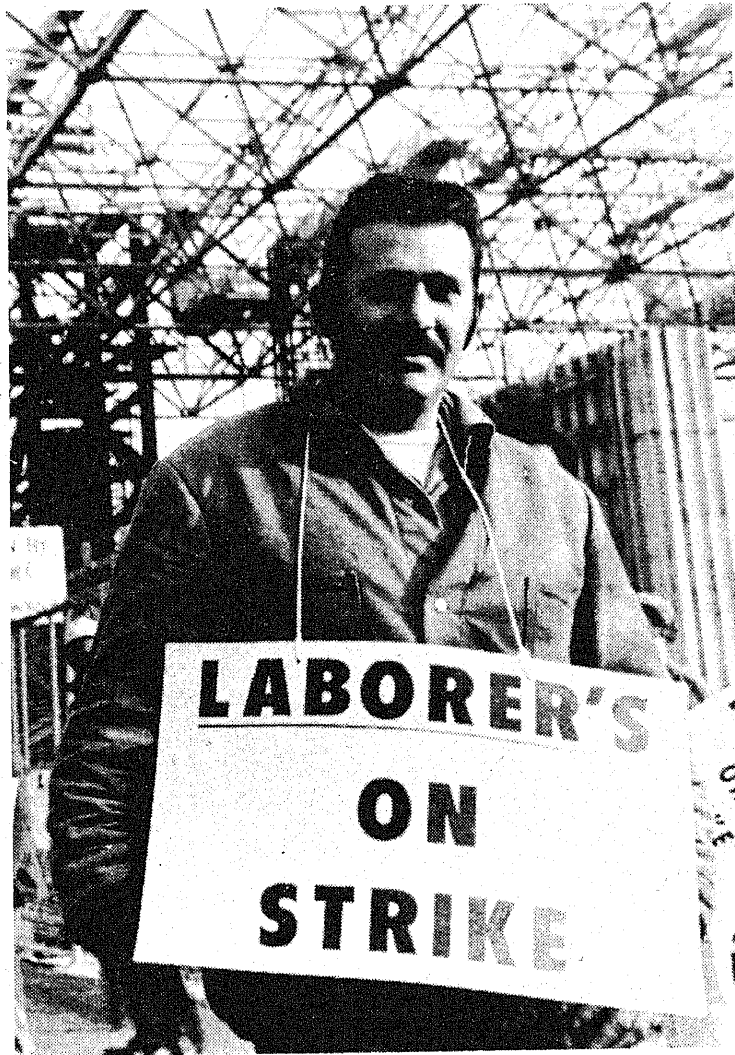
The contractors have claimed that the strike is in violation of the contract, while they themselves have violated the contract for the past four months by refusing to pay wage increases and institute the checkoff system granted by the CISC.

They have attempted to base this refusal on a phony opposition to the checkoff

system. The central question posed by the strike, however, is the nature of the Pay Board itself. The decision last July of the Pay Board to slash the laborers' wage increase from \$1.80 to 75 cents, and now the refusal of the contractors to pay even this paltry sum, has brought to the surface the hostility of the ranks to the original ruling.

One laborer at the New Haven courthouse site expressed the sentiment of many of the men when he said: "They're trying to squirm out of the dues checkoff for 10 cents. Well, I think we should go all out for \$1.80 that we were supposed to get in the first place."

The leadership of the union, however, accepts the Board's



Laborers (above) picket Connecticut construction site. When a member of the electricians union tried to cross a Laborers' picket line at the Hartford Civic Center site, the pickets fought to keep him out. Cops who were protecting the scab tried to arrest a laborer, a fight ensued. Three cops were thrown through a window and eight laborers were arrested.

decision. This leadership is now trying to hold the strike to the question of the 10 cent dues checkoff and has said that the next move is that of the contractors.

This move has already begun. The contractors are presently seeking an injunction in the U.S. District Court to force the laborers back to work. They have also stated that they are prepared to shut down construction for the rest of the season.

But the men are determined to fight. "They could pass 10

or 15 injunctions, but they can't make us work," said a member of Local 230 on a picket line at a construction site. "There will be some of us going to jail before this is over though," he added.

At the New Haven courthouse site, a member of Local 455 stated: "Here we are building a courthouse so some judge can go in there and throw us in jail for striking. I'll tell you, every politician—Democrat or Republican—is out to break the union."

450 Power Men Fired For Anti-Scab Decals

BY DIANE ISAACS

SALEM COUNTY, N.J.—An estimated 2500 workers at a nuclear power plant here were locked out by the management after 450 electricians were fired for simply refusing to remove decals from their safety helmets reading "Nonunion fink."

When Public Service Electric and Gas Company, builders of the plant, announced that it would use nonunion labor to maintain equipment union electricians had installed, four members of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 592 responded by posting signs saying, "Nonunion fink," and were promptly fired.

The next day, all 450 electricians wore decals with those sentiments on their helmets. After firing every electrician, the management of United Engineers and Construction, Incorporated sent home the remaining work force.

LOCKED OFF

Union shop steward Cavini Andro said: "The men were locked off their jobs because they refused to remove the decals. It's

as simple as that."

Management arrogantly stated: "The men were told to remove the decals to indicate their agreement with our proposal to use other electricians for the maintenance of this very sophisticated equipment." Their complete contempt for the workers is a warning to all trade unionists.

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IUE Westinghouse Ranks Wildcat

BY DOROTHY RILEY

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Members of International Union of Electrical workers (IUE) Local 746 shut down the Westinghouse plant here, which employs 5000 workers, in a wildcat strike.

Fifteen employees have been suspended by the company for what they claim were "disturbances at the gate." On the second day of the strike, an injunction was issued by the court limiting picketing to three at a gate.

The wildcat erupted on Monday October 9 over questions of speed-up, job classifications and temporary assignments. The strike vote took place on Thursday.

Police escorted the workers, who had been scabbing during the walkout, into the union hall to

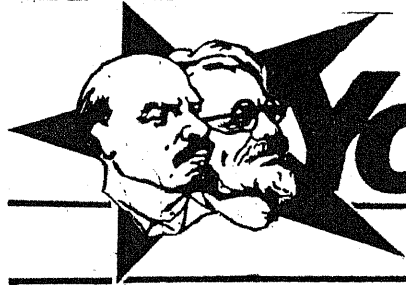
vote. One of the of the scabs who crossed the picket line to vote was carrying a gun.

The strikers returned to work Friday October 13 for the required three day pre-strike notice to the plant, and remain at work while negotiations of International and local representatives are taking place with the company.

According to union spokesmen, the whole package is being negotiated, including the question of the suspension of the 15 employees. In the meantime, the local has asked the International to sanction the strike.

In spite of a public denial by one company spokesman that they have any intention of shutting down the plant, a newsletter was sent to employees warning of a possible shutdown if a strike takes place. And radio reports Monday revealed the company is threatening to close the plant "if there are any more walkouts, sabotage or slowdowns."

The arrogance of the company in their drive for greater speed-up is revealed in their statements that they want a "fair day's work for a fair day's wages," and that the Columbus plant is "not notorious for its profit performance."



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Young Socialists Plan 16 Page Paper For Fall

The decision made at the National Preliminary Conference of the Young Socialists to launch a 16 page monthly youth paper in September 1973 is part of the fight to transform the YS into a mass revolutionary youth movement.

This will be a historic step for the American Trotskyist movement and opens the way for the turn of thousands of the youth towards the revolutionary banner.

The challenge taken up by the youth at the conference comes at a time when a revolutionary paper has become the urgent need of masses of youth experiencing the attacks of capitalism. The attacks levelled at the working class by the owners of big business have delivered the heaviest blows on the youth.

Nixon's demand for a sub-minimum wage for youth, at a time when high prices eat up the measly wages that young people make, is an attack only surpassed by the huge unemployment among the vast majority of youth.

Meanwhile, a systematic attack on the education of working class youth continues to be the policy of the Democrats and Republicans.

The law and order campaign of Nixon, Agnew and Wallace has given the green light to police repressions in the communities and schools.

The capitalist press, owned and controlled by the ruling class, covers the brutal beatings of the youth. Their editorials scream for the return of the electric chair—which it calls the "hot squat"—for youthful offenders which reveals what the American ruling class is determined to do.

The capitalist news media is the primary tool used to whip up racism. The recent headlines with tales of the alleged Mau Mau killings are aimed at stirring the middle class up into a frenzy. Their ultimate aim is the destruction of the trade unions, which the media points to as being responsible for inflation.

It is in this situation that a youth paper, guided by revolutionary theory, which relates to all the problems youth face, must be provided. The paper of the YS will fight for the unity of Black and white youth to counter the racism that is being encouraged.

It will be the only paper that the youth will be able to speak through on the conditions of unemployment and deteriorating education.

At the same time, it will be part of the Young Socialists movement and it will report on the activities of the YS. It will actually become the main organizing tool for the YS.

Unlike most papers, it will not just comment but will intervene and lead the struggles of the youth.

Plans have been discussed for a cultural page and a sports page to deal with every part of life of the youth.

This paper will tell the truth and expose all those so-called revolutionaries who refuse to mobilize the unions in a political fight for a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans. We are talking in particular of the Young Workers Liberation League and the Young Socialists Alliance.

We call on all the youth and members of the YS to help develop the paper by writing articles and expanding the sales of the Bulletin, in preparation for an independent youth paper.

Bd. Of Ed. Supports Racist Canarsie Sit-In

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

BROOKLYN—Only the unity of Black and white students and parents can defeat the racist filth that is being whipped up around the Canarsie Junior High School controversy. The Young Socialists are fighting for a demonstration of Black and white students, parents, and teachers to defeat this racist attack.

The Board of Education and Chancellor Harvey B. Scribner have now decided not to permit the 31 Black students from the Tilden projects in Brownsville at JHS 211.

This is the latest development in a string of incidents which culminated in the issuing of a court order to end a three day sit-in of 50 white parents protesting the enrollment of the Black youth.

As late as last Thursday Chancellor Scribner vowed that the youth would attend JHS 211, but after meeting with parents there has been a total capitulation to the hysteria dominating the Canarsie section of Brooklyn.

Under the new agreement, the 31 children will be transferred from John Wilson JHS 211 to Isaac Bildersee JHS 68.

The controversy was kicked off when parents at Meyer Levin JHS claimed that the new students would tip the 50-50 Black and white percentage at that school.

Parents at John Wilson, which is 70 percent white and 30 percent Black said that it was a matter of overcrowding and not race.

After a tip off last week that the Brownsville youth might be sent to Isaac Bildersee JHS 68, parents of that community held a meeting of over 500 and stated that they would take similar action to what was taken at JHS 211.

The treatment which the Black youth have received exposes the contempt that the Board of Education has for all students. No concern has been shown for these youth who have been shifted from one school to the next, at times sitting 8 hours in a bus, while the racist middle class and backward sections of the working class closed the school.

The situation had been brewing for a long time. Curtis Halsight and 14 year old Fabain Deliotte told the Young Socialist that last year they were not permitted to attend Meyer Levin JHS either.

Fabain said: "I wanted to go there last year but it was the

same problem, only they were not fighting as hard. Last year I stayed out of school the first two weeks. When I couldn't get in, I just had to go to a school closer to me which I don't like but I have to go.

"I don't like the subjects that they give you. The minor subjects," he added, "are not what I want to learn. The major subjects are ones you have to learn."

Curtis said that even though his sister attended Meyer Levin he wasn't allowed to go.

"They send me to I.S. 96 which is overcrowded. There are too many people in the classes."

It is these conditions which the government and the Board of Education have created and now contribute their part towards the racism in order to put the blame on innocent Black students.

This incident is not an isolated one. Earlier this year the Forrest Hills project played a similar role. The atmosphere of terror built around the "Mau Mau killings" are all the conscious policy of Nixon and the ruling class.



Parents bring their children into Canarsie JHS, where 31 Black youth were refused entry.

Fuentes Community Board Attacks Teachers Rights

BY ESTHER GALEN

NEW YORK—The Community School Board of District 1 met Wednesday as parents, students, and teachers jammed into the auditorium of Junior High School 71 on East 6th Street.

The dispute which the meeting focused on centered over the power of the School Board to fire interim principals Tulio Rodriguez and Libby Cohen.

DEMAGOGY

Luis Fuentes, Superintendent of District 1, opened the meeting by adding sparks of demagoguery to the already tense atmosphere. After stating that policies are "the School Board's final judgment," he went on to say: "We must return the schools to the people in the communities, where the schools exist. We must make sure that tonight's meeting

is not disrupted by outside groups, by counter-productive agitation."

The statement of "counter-productive agitation" was used by Fuentes to incite hostility between parents and students directed against the teachers, who defended Rodriguez, and saw his dismissal as an attack on all teachers' rights.

As a United Federation of Teachers representative stated: "At any day acting principals can be turned in—I don't see any educational value in that. Any charges against Mr. Rodriguez should have a hearing."

Nine attendance teachers have already been laid off in District 1. As budget cuts continue, class size increases and conditions continue to rapidly deteriorate.

ENCOURAGING

It is no accident that the city and state are encouraging com-

munity control. The merger of the American Federation of Teachers with the National Educational Association created a tremendously powerful force. In order for the government to continue to knife the education, it must begin with a massive reduction in the number of teachers. Community control becomes a diversion from the real struggle and a way of dividing and pitting teachers against the community.

The Socialist Workers Party's 18th Congressional District candidate, Rebecca Finch, aided in this by speaking at the meeting in support of community control and the School Board's proposals.

In one of the sharpest harangues against the teachers, Esther Rand, running for Assembly from the Lower East Side, shouted: "The way parents feel

about education is not implemented by the teachers. Parents should never forget that power is in their hands."

FLEISCHMANN COMMISSION

The Fleischmann Commission on education, appointed by Rockefeller and the State Board of Regents, came out last week with a report supporting more community control. It also proposed that the extra pay awarded to teachers who take additional graduate courses should be cut by 50 percent. There will be greater productivity by members of the school staff and the statewide ratio of students to teachers will be increased. Along with that, more paraprofessionals, volunteers, and students will teach younger students.

The Fleischmann report represents the all-out offensive that the government is preparing to



Pro-Fuentes rally at UFT HQ. drive down and destroy the AFT and education itself. The budget cuts have not only laid off teachers but are cutting into everything, classes as well as facilities.

The SWP plays a treacherous role in reinforcing the divisions being made by the government. Those divisions are aimed at destroying the teachers union.

San Jose Youth Fight Job Corps Prison Conditions

BY ANN LORE

SAN JOSE—Desperately seeking jobs, San Jose youth are forced to endure concentration camp conditions in the Job Corps Program. But since the Residential Manpower Center opened seven months ago, the Program has failed to find a job for even one of the 160 youth that have signed up.

Under the direction of Pedro Yanez, the youth are treated like criminals. They receive a mere five dollars weekly allowance. Security guards force them into bed by 10 p.m. No visitors are allowed in the rooms after dinner. Residential "advisers" delight in harassing the youth.

"The residential advisers come up to us and throw a paper cup on the floor, and then say 'Pick it up with the rest of the trash,'" a youth told the *Young Socialist*. "A girl got slapped in the face for not taking orders from her R.A."

RIOTS

The rottenness of life in the center has led to riots. "Every time something happens and they don't listen to us a riot starts," explains a youth. The administration, in order to split up the youth and keep them fighting each other, is buying off certain students with raises in allowance money.

Yanez speaks of the youth with cynicism and contempt. "The students want to deal with the problems themselves. They have their own student council and can discipline themselves. We're very proud of them." And he adds: "The Job Corps is not for everyone. Some of the kids are not ready for the Corps. They are too immature, not ready to take responsibility. They can't adapt to the program."

These youth are the ones who are forced to fight to change the conditions at the center. They have been raising grievances against the low allowances, lack of furniture, lack of clothing allowances and harassment by security guards and R.A.s.

Mr. Sandler, Project Manager from the U.S. Department of Labor, speaks arrogantly of the demands of the youth: "We give these kids every benefit. The center leans over backwards for them. Some of these kids are just not suitable for Job Corps. We're not giving them a free ride."

PROFIT

But who is riding whom? A student stated: "They're just out for profit. When they get their coins, then they come down on us. They keep records on us, but they don't say anything to you until they get enough on you to terminate you. They get you either way. It's like a choice of being hung, shot or electrocuted. You can't win. If we have to burn this whole place down to get what we want, we'll

do it."

San Jose police have broken into the rooms of militant students in the center and beat them up. One youth had his arm broken by police in these attacks. The security guards got out of the way for police so they could carry out their dirty work.

MERCURY

The San Jose Mercury is doing everything it can to cover for the bankruptcy of the program by printing articles which attack the youth, in preparation for more police attacks. One example is an article called "San Jose Police Support Job Corps Program."

The Chicano nationalist La Raza Unida is playing a criminal role by attempting to distort the struggle of the Job Corps youth into a racial issue. La Raza is doing everything it can to cover for the bankrupt reformist programs that it supports.

While the youth fight for their rights, La Raza has a long record of collaborating with open enemies of the working class. It was only last summer when the police in San Jose enjoyed the support of La Raza.

Only the Young Socialists, in its fight for the independent mobilization of the entire working class and youth in a labor party, can show the way forward in the fight for jobs and decent living conditions.

Nazis Leaflet Chicago Youth

BY A YS REPORTER

CHICAGO—The American Nazi Party, with the help of the capitalist press, has launched a full scale campaign to revive every bit of racist filth that might keep youth from uniting and taking up a fight against the rotten conditions in the Chicago schools.

The Nazis showed up at Kennedy High School last week with racist leaflets, and when students tried to get rid of them, eight youth were arrested.

BOYCOTT

The Nazis have also gone to Gage Park High School where up to 1000 white youth have been boycotting classes and picketing the school with their parents to protest against overcrowded conditions. If they were all in classes, and most of them are drifting back, the school would have an enrollment of about 3100, 800 over capacity.

The boycotters are demanding that the boundary lines be redrawn to transfer 600-700 students to other South Side schools. But the students who would be affected are almost entirely Black, and they would be transferred to all Black schools. The press and reactionaries in



Teachers stand outside Canarsie JHS before classes. Chancellor now refuses to let in Brownsville youth.

LIU Threatens Bankruptcy, Drops Classes And Teachers

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

NEW YORK—The mounting cuts in the education system threatens the very existence of education. The budget allocated to Long Island University, along with many colleges across the country, can lead to the school's complete collapse in the coming year.

The Brooklyn center of this university was allocated 13.5 million dollars under a "70-30" plan. The money given was virtually not increased from the amount given in the last two years.

However, the plan under which the money can be spent shows the tremendous reduction in the amount that has been allocated. The "70-30" plan means that 70 percent of the departments can be spent, while 30 percent must be left as "funds."

The repercussions of this plan have already begun. The Univer-

sity's budget officials said that a five dollar tuition increase was necessary to break even. Each student must pay 60 dollars of credit which can be taken in one semester is 13.

ENROLLMENT

Meanwhile, the enrollment has dropped by 5.5 percent this year alone. Each section of the university has shown a decline in enrollment. The largest decline was in the entering freshmen class.

According to the university's treasurer, Mary Lai, if enrollment was to continue at this rate,

the Brooklyn Center is headed for a half million dollar deficit.

The tremendous slash in the courses has resulted in the elimination of 31 English sections, along with 13 history and 18 foreign languages.

One of the major reasons for the elimination of many courses is because of the increasing layoffs of professors. The tenure program at LIU has laid off many new and young professors, while at the same time those professors with many years of teaching have been forced to accept an increase in the number of classes they teach.

No matter how the administration tried to blur over the severity of the cuts, it kept slipping out. Brookner, the LIU's president stated: "LIU is not the only one institution having this trouble. Most private colleges and universities across the nation are having financial problems, especially in New York State."

ANGER

The government's attempt to destroy education has been met by the anger of the youth. One LIU student said: "The way they are cutting out the professors means they either close down the section or leave another one overcrowded. In my bacteriology class, we have around 30 to 40 students there. We can't learn under those conditions."

Carmine Morrcio, staff writer for the school newspaper *Seawanhaka* told the *Young Socialist*: "If the school is going to survive they can't continue spending as much money, running million dollar deficits. Either they cut down or no school."

It becomes clear that the education of thousands of youth stands on the line today. The cuts mean the rapid deterioration of the entire school system, thus making education a privilege and not a right which all youth should have.

Another boycotting youth said: "I'm sick and tired of being called a racist. I'd like to have a tape recorder here for a day, and then just play the tape out so that people could hear what we're saying. Sure, there are a few kooks on the line, but we can't really do anything about that. We got the Nazis out of here fast. We don't want them around."

CROWDED

Black students the *Young Socialist* talked to said they did not agree with the press coverage either. "There's really not that much going on," one told us. "I don't see any boycott: my classes are as crowded as they were last year."

Both Black and white students urged the *Young Socialists* to come back, and several agreed to help sell the *Bulletin* and build the YS at Gage Park to unite the students and confront the real crisis in the schools.

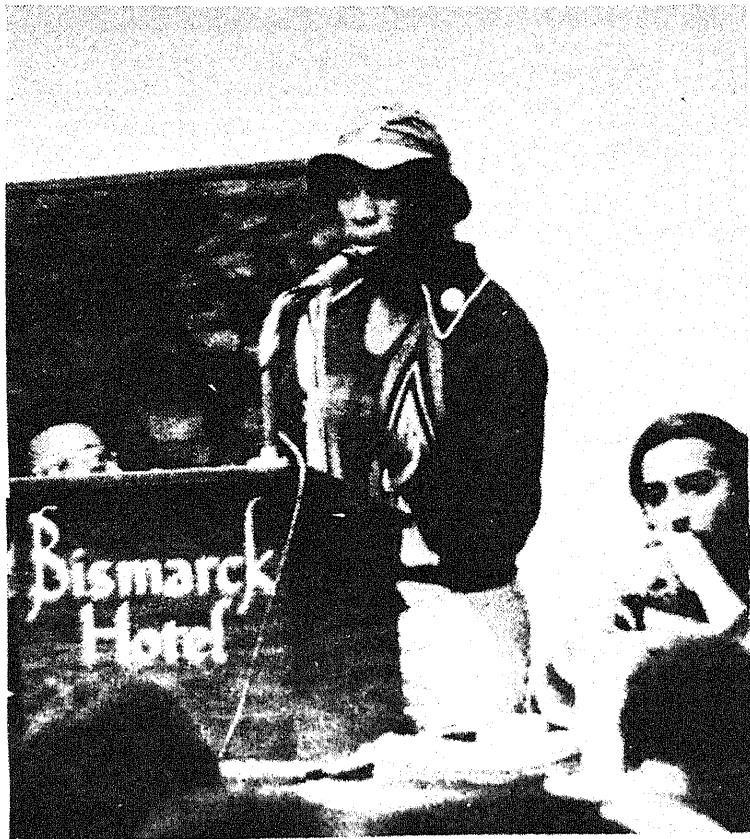
The fight on the program of the YS has to be based on the fight to get Chicago trade unionists, including Gage Park parents, to take up the fight for a labor party committed to socialist policies. Only a labor party can fight for free, adequate higher education for all students.

CONDITIONS

A mother, leading the boycott, told of the conditions in the school. "There are 15 double gym classes, with more than 80 kids in the gym at one time. The kids are three to a locker, and we have 500 lunchroom seats short.

"The halls are so congested that kids get tardy slips, and in some classes they depend on absences to have enough seats. This is a helluva way to run a high school."

Young Socialist



Chicago Meet Votes To Build 1973 National YS Conference



BY A YS REPORTING TEAM

CHICAGO—Over 200 youth from the West Coast, Midwest, and East Coast attended the National Preliminary Conference of the Young Socialists to begin work on the perspective for the national launching of the Young Socialists in the Spring of 1973.

The conference was the most important step taken in the building of the Young Socialists. The youth voted unanimously in favor of launching the YS nationally in the spring on the basis of the report given, which called for an all-out battle against the revisionist Socialist Workers Party and their youth movement, the Young Socialist Alliance.

It marked the real beginning of building a revolutionary Trotskyist movement in the U.S. as part of an international party, the International Committee of the Fourth International, to lead the struggles of the working class throughout the world.

The events, which the conference took place around, such as the attempt by Nixon to implement a sub-minimum wage for youth, the rapid movement by auto workers towards a nationwide strike, and the racist hysteria incited by the capitalist press around the so-called Mau Mau killings in Chicago, posed sharply the urgent necessity for the construction of a Marxist leadership within the working

class.

Gil Gonzalez, National Secretary of the YS, delivered the opening report on perspectives. He said that the attacks by the capitalist class on the youth posed the need for the revolutionary movement to break the working class from the Democratic and Republican Parties through the building of a labor party.

"The greatest opponent of the labor party within the unions is the Stalinist Communist Party and their youth movement, the Young Workers Liberation League. They are trying to keep the working class tied to capitalism by calling for support to McGovern, while in Vietnam they seek to make a deal with Nixon.

YSA

"In refusing to call for a labor party," he added, "the YSA is preparing to go over to the Stalinists' position. They call on the Stalinists and the McGovernites to build the anti-war movement."

"To understand how the revisionists have wound up where they are today, we must study their history and see that the SWP refused to build a youth movement on the basis of Marxist theory in a fight against the thinking which accepts capitalism. For this reason we must build the YS in a fight to develop Marxist theory against the highest form of capitalist thinking within the working class movement, which is the revisionism of the YSA."

of the YSA."

Comrade Gonzalez said that the refusal of the SWP leadership to educate the youth in Marxism during the period of 1937-1940 resulted in the loss of the entire youth movement (Young Peoples Socialist League) during the Shachtman split.

For 17 years after that, the SWP refused to turn to building a youth movement because it would require a turn to theory and a serious study of Marxist philosophy.

The founding of the YSA in 1957 was an empirical turn because of the movement of youth towards Trotskyism. However, at this time the SWP was moving closer to Pabloite revisionism and the liquidation of the party into "progressive" movements, which is their policy today.

Their hostility to theory is what has enabled the SWP to turn the YSA into a movement just like the Shachtmanite hordes of 1940, that is, middle class movement which is hostile to questions of theory, and distant from the working class.

NOVACK

Gonzalez further stated that: "The justification for the political positions of the YSA is being put forth by George Novack (main theoretician of the SWP) in his philosophy. Novack sees development occurring only quantitatively by adding more on top of what you already have. Marxism sees development oc-

curing not only quantitatively but also qualitatively through leaps, sharp breaks in the continuity of things. This does not occur by simply adding things, but only through the conflict of opposites within society.

"The development of the YS will only occur in a conflict with the present thinking of the youth. Marxism can only be developed in a fight against its opposite—revisionism."

During the discussion, the refusal to fight the YSA by some became clear. One youth from North Philadelphia questioned why we had to fight all the other tendencies instead of getting together.

One comrade from Los Angeles answered that: "When we talk about the fight against the revisionists and the Stalinists, we are talking about the very survival of the working class. We must fight all those tendencies who seek to reinforce capitalist thinking among the youth. It is like the champion who has to knock out all contenders. We have to do the same to prepare for the championship bout with the ruling class."

QUESTIONS

At one point, questions were asked concerning what the YS was going to do about unemployment, welfare, day care centers, and the situation with young workers at McDonalds. The answers given exposed an idealist tendency which dismissed questions of unemployment and thereby turned socialism into an empty abstraction.

Comrade Wohlforth, of the Workers League, stated: "This tendency dismisses the immediate situation workers face and tries to go beyond it. It is idealist to think that one can go beyond the fact to pure idea. What is the Young Socialist going to do about

the McDonalds situation and the rest? It will organize these workers against unemployment and low wages, hold demonstrations demanding the right to a job, and call on the unions to take up a political fight against the government for these rights."

The next report was given by Abby Rodriguez, editor of the Young Socialist, on the plans for an independent paper.

"If we are talking about building a revolutionary movement," he said, "then we must put out a newspaper that can reach the youth. The paper is our main weapon in educating the youth against revisionism and Stalinism. The strength of our section of the Bulletin can be seen in that it has forced the YSA into publishing a rag sheet and they have attempted to steal our name."

Plans were discussed for putting out a 16 page monthly in the fall of 1973 will full color pictures, and for the expansion of the Bulletin as part of the fight to have an independent youth paper.

The last report on the spring conference and the finances was given by Kiki Mendez, National Treasurer. Comrade Kiki said that: "For the spring conference, there will be a massive campaign with giant posters, new brochures, speaking tours, and films to build for the conference."

This, she said, will require financial responsibility on the part of the Young Socialist members by increasing dues.

The elections and acceptance of all the proposals proceeded with overwhelming agreement.

Comrade Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, brought greetings to the conference.

A proposal that the conference send a letter to Juan Farinas stating its support for his case was unanimously accepted.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Vote Socialist Workers On November 6

The election of 1972 is the most critical election for the American working people. Behind all the campaign demagoguery of the Democratic and Republican parties lies the plan being mapped out by the capitalist class for a whole new stage of attack against the working class. Whether Nixon or McGovern is elected in November the dictates of the big corporations will be carried out to save their collapsing profit system.

Nixon has already begun with the Pay Board, the growing unemployment, and government backed speed-up, and cutbacks in all vital services such as education and health. Nixon in one of his recent TV-radio addresses said: "The American majority believes in taking whatever action is needed to hold down the cost of living, so that everyone's standard of living can go up." "Whatever action is necessary" means now lowering the guidelines to 2.5 percent, massive unemployment, and anti-strike legislation so that the profits of big business can go up. He combined this with an attempt to whip up racism over the busing question. Preparations for dictatorship are taking place behind the seeming calm of this election campaign which will challenge every right the working class has won.

As Nixon consolidates the capitalist class around him, the Democratic Party is falling apart. In a period when there can no longer be reforms, its ability to hold the coalition of labor with a section of the capitalist class falls apart.

The labor movement has been left without a defense by its leadership. This situation has led thousands of workers, perhaps millions, who hate Nixon and realize that the Democrats are no better to a decision not to vote in this election. The Workers League says there is an alternative on November 6. We call on trade unionists and youth to support the candidacy of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley of the Socialist Workers Party as a step to the formation of a labor party.

The Workers League is completely opposed to the Presidential campaign of the Communist Party. Its candidates Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner have utilized their campaign to boost McGovern. Hall has even bragged about his work in getting McGovern votes. The CP is the most vicious opponent of the labor party. It was the CP, which had a tremendous influence in the CIO, which acted to prevent the formation of a labor party in the 1930s and again in the 1945-47 postwar strike wave period. The campaign the CP has waged for McGovern in this election far outdoes even the work it did for Roosevelt in the 1930s. It has viciously lashed out at the fight for a labor party at the same time it supports Woodcock both in his sellout of the GMAD strike and his support for McGovern.

A labor party cannot be constructed before this election. This will be the central task after this election and the only means to defend the unions. But we can begin this fight now by voting for the candidates of the SWP. The SWP is running candidates as a socialist alternative to the Democrats and Republicans. Its platform includes the demand for a labor party.

Workers and youth can take a big step now in this election towards breaking from the Democrats and Republicans by voting for these candidates. This in turn will lay the basis for the convening of a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party after the elections.



The Godfather

What we think

Accomplice Of Stalinist Betrayal

The Socialist Workers Party, which broke with the International Committee of the Fourth International—the world Trotskyist party—in 1963 in order to carry out an unprincipled reunification with the Pabloite revisionists, has now placed its seal of approval on the betrayal of the Vietnamese Revolution.

In a special feature written by Fred Halstead for the October 27 issue of *The Militant*, the Socialist Workers Party has declared that the Stalinist seven-point peace plan proposed by Madame Binh is above criticism because, according to Halstead, "The Vietnamese have the right to do whatever they want on these matters."

Furthermore, and more fundamentally, the Socialist Workers Party embraces the position in this article that liberalism and Trotskyism are not in conflict, but that the latter is "a point of view based on a deeper understanding" than the former.

Therefore, argues the SWP, since the seven-point peace plan satisfies the objectives of the "anti-war" movement, it should be supported by revolutionary socialists—whose only additional obligation is to "analyze" the plan "more deeply" in order to be aware of its possible pitfalls.

This article marks a watershed in the degeneration of the SWP. Less than a decade ago, it deserted the Fourth International and embraced the perspectives of the Pabloite "Unified Secretariat." Now, the criminal significance of that action comes into the clearest light as the SWP lies helpless before Stalinism, during the very week when the Stalinists are preparing in Vietnam the greatest betrayal in their history.

The basic thrust of the Pabloites is toward the liquidation of the Trotskyist movement into Stalinism. It is such a policy that Michel Pablo proposed between 1951-1953, and it is the inevitable course of those parties that refuse to fight for Marxism against the idealist method that lay beneath Pablo's position.

Because of the very intensity of the class struggle under the conditions of the greatest crisis in the history of capitalism, the SWP is being driven at a furious pace to total surrender to Stalinism.

Last February, *The Militant* wrote: "First, a cease-fire would mean that the revolutionary forces would give up fighting. It would amount to a military victory for the reactionary Indochinese regimes." Ten months later, as Halstead's article makes clear, the SWP will go along with a cease-fire.

How far the SWP has travelled from the struggle to build a revolutionary leadership and toward surrender to Stalinism is exposed in the first paragraph of Halstead's analysis of the seven-point program in

which he asserts that "no one can fault" the concessions made by the Stalinists. He writes:

"It is they, after all, who are under the gun. The Vietnamese have every right to make whatever proposals they feel are best because it is they alone who can judge for themselves the relationship of forces, the nature, source, and severity of the pressures they are under, and whether concessions are necessary."

The seven-point peace plan flows not from the struggle of the Vietnamese but rather from the attempts of the Stalinists to betray that struggle. But Halstead seeks to get around the responsibility to resist the betrayal by noting that the Stalinist are in Vietnam and he isn't.

The argument advanced by Halstead in relation to Vietnam is precisely that of the middle-class liberals and centrists who defended every crime committed by Stalin—from the purges to the betrayal of the Spanish Revolution—on the grounds that Stalin, living in Russia, was a better judge of necessity than Trotsky, living in Mexico.

Had Trotsky accepted this vulgar "common sense" notion, there would be no Fourth International today. But Trotsky was able to struggle for the continuity of the Marxist movement because he understood that the capitalist crisis would result in barbarism unless a revolutionary leadership was built in the working class. He understood that Stalinism was not a matter of necessary concessions but conscious betrayals for the purpose of defending capitalism.

Halstead has the audacity to compare the seven-point peace plan of the Stalinists to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk signed by the Bolsheviks in 1918.

Brest-Litovsk was a concession made by the Bolsheviks under conditions where the continuation of the war with Germany would have resulted in the destruction of the revolutionary government in Petrograd.

But this concession was part of a revolutionary strategy. Lenin, in the very process of accepting Brest-Litovsk, called upon the German working class to overturn the treaty through revolutionary action; and he denounced the German Social Democrats as "swine" for endorsing the treaty rather than preparing for revolution.

The seven-point peace plan is advanced by the Stalinists not to save the Vietnamese revolution from destruction, but imperialism itself. And if the Stalinists are prepared to make even greater concessions to Nixon this week, it is because the Vietnamese workers and peasants have never been closer to all-out victory.

The SWP attempts to examine the seven-point plan abstracted out of the

entire history of Stalinism. Therefore, Halstead examines the document in isolated paragraphs, noting the "good" parts and the "not-so-good" parts. When he comes across a "good" paragraph—such as those sections which call for no re-creations after the war—Halstead writes: "That's fine."

But when he is dealing with those sections that promise the imperialists control of the South through a government of "national concord" while American troops withdraw "gradually," Halstead notes: "That's a tricky one to analyze." However, his conclusion is that the seven-point plan contains concessions that the Stalinists "may feel they have to make."

Halstead points out that the "set the date" formula would leave the imperialists in the South, but adds: "I say this not to criticize the Vietnamese (i.e. the Stalinists) for asking the U.S. to set a withdrawal date, but so that we might be aware of the tricks that the U.S. warmongers will be looking to play with it, if they were to accept it."

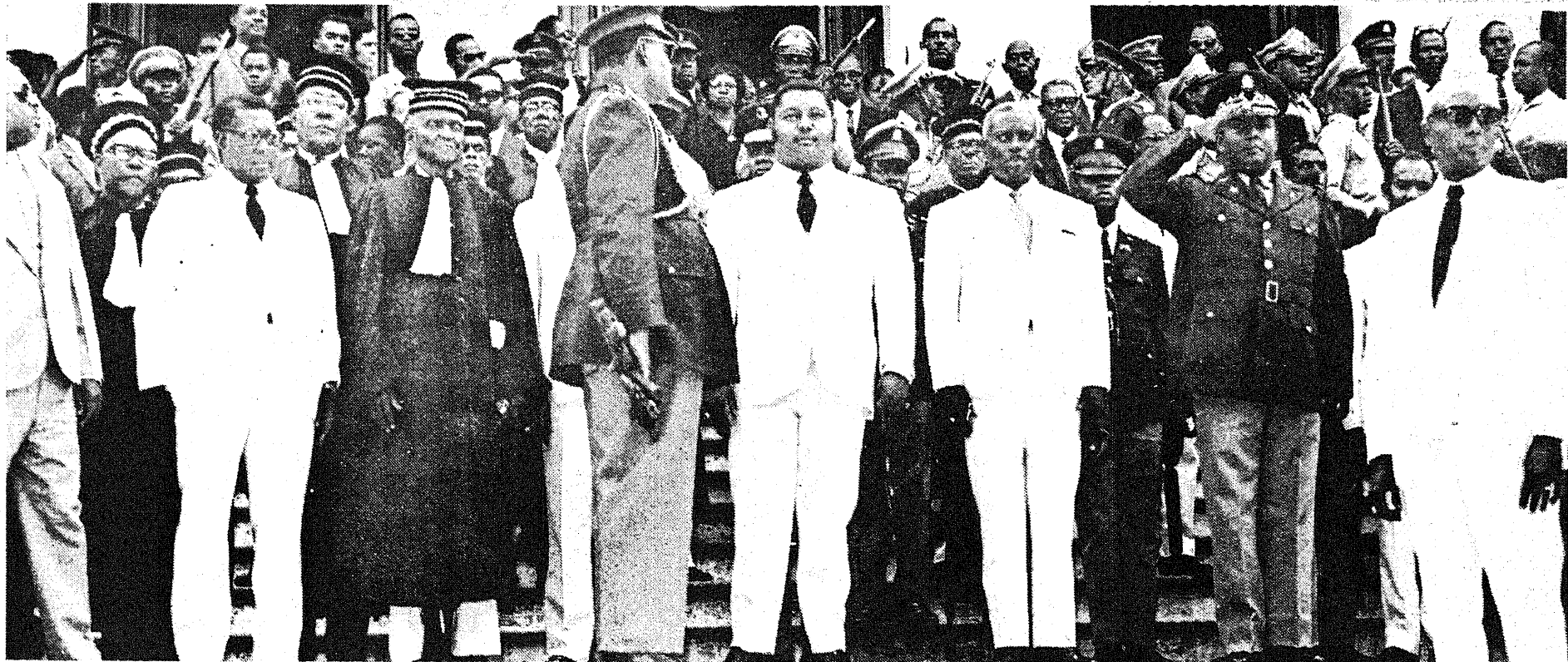
Because he will not confront Stalinism, Halstead poses the danger of imperialism precisely as the Stalinists themselves do: as a threat that can be contained through pressure. Halstead concludes that the anti-war movement must only raise the demand "Out Now" which "puts maximum pressure on the U.S. government to cease its aggression."

Lenin answered this position in 1917: "To turn to this (imperialist) government with a proposal of concluding peace is equivalent to preaching morality to a keeper of a brothel. There must be an exposure instead of this inadmissible 'demand'—which can only sow illusions—that this imperialist government, a capitalist government, should cease to be imperialistic."

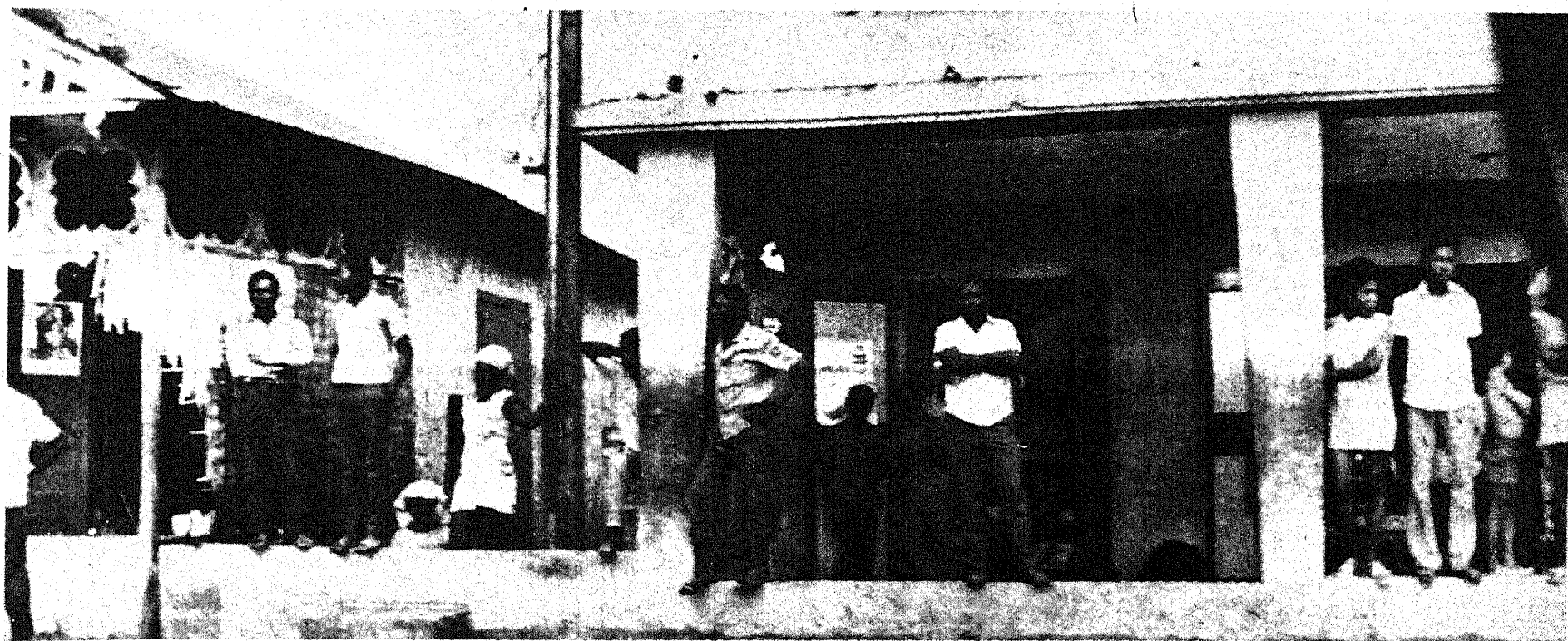
Lenin's program for ending imperialist war was the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the working class to overthrow capitalism. The Socialist Workers Party does not have this perspective.

The bankrupt position of the SWP today, its futile grovelling before Stalinism, is the fruit of the refusal to confront as Marxists the meaning of Pabloism. The attempt to tread a middle road between Stalinism and Trotskyism has made them the accomplices of the former.

It is because the International Committee has fought ruthlessly against the middle road of centrism that it now is able to wage a fight to the death against Stalinism; and to construct in the great movement of millions of workers in the United States, Vietnam, and every other country a revolutionary leadership that will ensure the victory of socialism.



PREPARING THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION **JACQUES GAGNON**



Since the latest conscious and systematic betrayals of the Haitian working class by the traditional Stalinist and trade union leadership, who allied themselves in 1957 with the most right-wing elements of the nation's political swamp, the country lives in its darkest economic, social and political age. It was that section of the acknowledged forerunners and leaders of Haitian communism trained in the Popular Socialist Party and the Communist Party who supported Duvalier's candidacy for president. This was done at a time when the revolutionary upsurge of the masses prevented for many months the normal functioning of the bourgeois government and threatened the very foundation of its state structure.

Basing himself on the traditional populist demagoguery about the destitute masses and embroidered by his mystical trip into the realm of the "mystics of the Haitian man," Duvalier created the strongest police state known to mankind.

His "noirism"—the Haitian form of Black power—revealed itself as soon as he came to power to be nothing more than a mystifying, metaphysical diatribe covering up his opportunist relationship with the old Haitian aristocracy and American imperialism. His rule as chief of state is incomprehensible if it is not probed to its theoretical roots.

It would be a grave mistake on the part of revolutionary socialists not to understand the nature of Duvalierism even after the death of the man. Duvalier died, but his thoughts and his method of thinking are still very much alive.

F. Duvalier was not simply a "medicine man." He was above all a petty bourgeois intellectual and amateur philosopher coming into politics in the late 1930s and early 1940s when the communist tradition was still strong among the masses and the semi-feudal bourgeoisie was on its death bed.

Torn by the crisis of international capitalism during and after World War Two and the class turmoil on the national soil, he joined the right-wing doctrinaire circle of the Black intelligentsia in struggle against Marxism. Sectarian to the bones, soon after he withdrew himself into his ivory tower and pieced together from among the trash of bourgeois philosophy and political science his new doctrine.

For him, both the bourgeoisie and the "non-bourgeois" are rotten, thus the solution to human suffering rests in the hands of the middle class which is the "depository of revolutionary thought. It is the intellectual orator, polemist, publicist and sociologist who sacrificed their existence for the grandeur of collective Ideal," he said.

But he also understood that the rule of



Papa Doc

the intellectuals—the elite as he called it—will not come in and of itself through a mechanical process. It has to be the conquest of the class that "synthesizes the faith in the possibilities of collective liberation." What is going to be the specific character of that class? He describes it in these philosophical terms:

"In so far as the ultimate good is to come from above, by scientific and moral formation, by the rigid selection of true elites, extracted indiscriminately from all sections, free from financial and political

pressure, what repercussions nationally and internationally could this new autonomous elites have?"

This "new ideological foundation of the Haitian state" is utterly utopian and reactionary. It does not even have the virtue of originality that one would expect from a "spiritual father." The "autonomy" of the state organism has been long proclaimed by the bourgeoisie to hide the fact that the state is but the body of its armed men for the oppression of the working class. Next he stated that the new revolutionary class is to be "free from financial and political pressure." This one really came down to the bourgeoisie as a word from heaven.

It is obvious that one cannot find such elements among the working class and the peasantry. But there remains yet an obscure point in the system: what is a class and how is it formed? The doctrinaire then said: "The class notion is determined by four elements: a common psychology, identical morality, demographic density (allowing to evaluate the specific weight of each class in the nation) and at last, the conscious solidarity of each member of the class with other members of the same class on the basis of communal interests."

What becomes clear at every point is that Duvalier, the theoretician, finds it more and more difficult to even abstractly define a class. He discusses psychology, morality, position in the territorial space and interests outside of the actual content of the class. And it seems never to occur to him that classes do exist independently of all talk about class and that they confront one another every day in a bitter battle. And this battle is what

the new doctrine is designed to do away with. Having no real material base for their existence, why is it that the class that is destined to "collective liberation" is to be itself free from material pressures such as: financial and political pressures.

And, if this new class that is now being propounded will be the result of skillful and indiscriminate abstraction of these various rich and enlightened individuals from among all sections of society, it can only mean that wealthy intellectuals are to be found in the peasantry, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as well. And if that is the case, the material bases for the existence of all the classes are the same and the class struggle is reduced to a mere psychological warfare between social groupings.

All this is conceived of as the alternative to Marx and historical materialism, which posits the objective world,—and in this case the present bourgeois class relationships—to be primary to and the determinant of moral and psychological considerations. What Marx objectively saw, and what Duvalier refused to see, is that the capitalist world is divided into the classes of the property owners and that of the property-less. And it is the conflict between these classes on a common ground, in society, for their existence as such, in the social relations of the production of material wealth, that is called the class struggle. It is that struggle that determines the moral, political and ideological super-structure of that society, which expresses the needs of not all the classes but of the dominant class, which in this case is the property owning class. And it is precisely this class struggle, based on private property, which is behind what Duvalier was saying and actually compelled him to take such a stance.

This ideological hodge-podge, termed by Duvalier as "objective and scientific," was created by its author to suit his own purposes. It is the highest expression of subjective idealism, as opposed to the Marxist view that the class struggle is irreconcilable and must lead to the destruction of the one class by the other in the course of the production of material wealth. Duvalier is completely removed from the basic questions concerning philosophy and abstract thinking. In the entire history of philosophy, it has only been Marx who developed the only scientific means of understanding the struggle of man against nature reflected today in bourgeois society in the form of class struggle for man's survival. The analysis that Marx made of the movement from man's material existence, to the dialectical reflection of it in the form of thought and the resulting social attitude, is truly dialectical materialism. Duvalier is simply a complete obscurantist.

Duvalier claims that new classes can be created simply by the arbitrary selection of given individuals, by picking and choosing from among the existing lot. The most interesting thing about his conception of class formation is that it is to be construed on the basis of Duvalier's personal volition. Only he is to decide of their existence, their non-existence and their actual creation.

As soon as he came to power, through his underhanded maneuvers he gathered around him a large periphery of middle class people who were power hungry and downtrodden lumpen elements, forming the grass roots of his new class rule. Heavily tinted with Blacks, the newly hand-picked elite would be duty bound to achieve "national unity" by uniting the oppressed with their oppressor. Not only for Duvalier, but for all the visionaries that the island has known, the class struggle in Haiti has always been, even at the time of colonial domination, assimilated to the struggles of "Blacks" against "Mulattos."

The many manifestations of color prejudice, resulting from heavy colonial heritage, have been used both by sections of the national bourgeoisie and all opportunist adventurers to blunt the conscious development of the masses on the basis of their real class interests.

What Papa Doc was to find out as he came to power was that the movement of social classes operates in accordance to the laws of private property under capitalism, as Marx described, and not to satisfy his mental illusions. As it is for all Bonapartist regimes of his type, even

though representing the interests of the capitalist class, its ways and means are not to that class' liking. Split into many factions and torn asunder by the mass upsurge of 1956-1957, the bourgeoisie was too weak to deal with the working class and to continue to rule in the old way.

The despicable dictatorship was objectively what was needed for the survival of this discredited class. But it did not understand this at first. Duvalier's bloody policy of open barbarism, striking sometimes into the capitalist class' own ranks, threw it into complete disarray. Its pathetic opposition to him at the early stage of the development of the regime, through the closing of shops, was most brutally suppressed. And the Stalinists, who are always an excuse for peaceful coexistence, used the argument of the suppressed national bourgeoisie to ally themselves to a section of it inside the Unified Party of Haitian Communists (PUCH).

For 14 long years F. Duvalier maintained himself and ruled as a ruthless dictator. His "visions" about the historic mission of a Black elite capable of uniting the entire nation, with the willful collaboration of every class and every man, remained a reactionary dream. However, the manifestation of his corrupt and criminal state apparatus was real and still survives after his death. Nonetheless, it would be a grave mistake to think that he either found real support among the masses or that the submission of the people to his dynasty is definitive.

Ever since his coming to power, the working class on one level or another has been waging the most heroic battle against his government. The various shows of popularity put up around the



mystical "22" day of a given month were accomplished at the cost of many lives of poor peasants driven at gun point from their houses and their lands to the capital city to honor the "divine leader." In these struggles the youth were to play the leadership role. Inexperienced and ideologically weak, their revolutionary vigor was far too inadequate to guarantee the success of the revolution.

The betrayals of the trained cadres of the Stalinist leadership members of the Party of Popular Accord (PEP) and the National Party of Popular Liberation (PPLN), and of the "immortal" traitor, Roger Lafontant, who turned over the entire organization to Duvalier in 1961 for the purpose of getting privileges and protective gratitude, guaranteed the defeat of the revolution. The result of such betrayals was the bloody murder of over 109 students and youth members of the party. It was this leadership who once more had channelled the revolutionary enthusiasm of the inexperienced youth of the country, who were sincerely involved in the struggle for socialism, into the well-known adventure of the PUCH in 1968. This led to the mass slaughter of the bulk of the young leadership of the working class. The leadership of the PUCH, as well as the Kremlin bureaucracy, must take responsibility for these failures. Neither time nor the complicity of their silence will erase the page of this historic defeat written with the blood of a revolutionary generation.

But unbroken by these defeats, students, youth and a large number of middle class professionals took the lead in reorganizing the movement underground. With the new slogan of "mass mobilization" and

"anti-dictatorial," they attracted a new layer of youth and reformists of all kinds. As a cover for this political struggle, many cultural clubs were set up.

But the vigilance of the repressive state did not allow the straightforward development of this new coalition. Internal dissension, as well as government infiltration in this popular front coalition led to its inevitable break-up, in spite of certain advances that were made in 1965-1966. No real assessment was made of the past period and a new tactic was adopted in the most pragmatic way.

It was this same leadership, falling deeper and deeper into the quagmire of Stalinist revisionism, who organized the Unified Party of Haitian Communists (PUCH) underground in February 1969. This rump organization formed small guerrilla groups and carried out terrorist activity against known tonton macoutes and also bombings in the capital. The PUCH was characterized by petty bourgeois radicalism.

Their new course was taken as a result of their participation at the bourgeois nationalist carnival of the Tricontinental and the OLAS, propped up by the Stalinist bureaucracies. Instead of developing a clear program of action for the masses in a period of deep political and economic crisis, in which the Haitian per capita income fell to \$25 during the year, they kowtowed before the reactionary clergy in search of a short cut to power.

This divorce from Marxism was based on the support of a progressive Catholic group vaguely known as Haiti Progress. By August 1969, this method led to the mass slaughter of the bulk of the young leadership of the working class, as well as to the expulsion of nine Roman Catholic

joined his struggles on the national soil and abroad to build the "new Haiti." This crisis ridden system, at the time of international upsurge of the working class, is the legacy of F. Duvalier to his son.

J.C. DUVALIER

Jean Claude Duvalier, who was promoted president for life after the death of his father, creates more problems for the already shaky ruling class. Above all, it opens up a new era of class struggles. The choice of J.C. Duvalier as president of Haiti reflects two important things. First of all, it shows the former Duvalier's influence over his ministers, the state machine and the constitution. Secondly, it also reflects the inability of the entire ruling class to find a credible re-



priests on charges of conspiring to overthrow the government. The method of Castroism, pursued by the Stalinists, had channeled once more the revolutionary enthusiasm of the inexperienced youth of the country, who were sincerely involved in the struggle for socialism, into the morass of middle class adventurism.

Duvalier's main ideal, which has been the creation of a new Black bourgeoisie by murdering scores of the old elite and brutally expropriating the masses of small peasants (for the purpose of freeing the new class from financial pressure) suffered shipwreck. It could not have been otherwise since his so-called revolution lacked both the required social and economic ground for its development.

Under Duvalier, the national bourgeoisie remains the same old colonial and agrarian exploiters, owing their existence only to the power of the state and the financial and military support of American imperialism. On the political level, if the new government circle itself is split into so many factions, it is not because of the psychological inclinations of those involved but because the economic foundation is inadequate for the maintenance of such an enormous state apparatus and to provide adequately for the needs of the new ruling class.

The bourgeoisie today is no stronger than it was in 1957 before Duvalier. It is still wracked with the same factional disputes and individual maneuvers, only further deepened by the objective crisis of international capitalism in decay. And it was only when Duvalier began to physically destroy all the working class political parties, the trade union and youth organizations, that the national bourgeoisie

presentative in the face of a changing situation. Their aim is to maintain themselves against the new social ferment developing out of previously created conditions.

In fact, the bourgeoisie could not care less who actually occupies this particular post. All that really matters to them is how the new president will represent their interests. They realize that a Duvalier, who still has the support of the army and the militia, is the best they can hope for. But that same bourgeoisie also knows that these measures can only postpone the clash to come but not eliminate it.

It is absolutely clear that J.C. Duvalier has neither the past political experience of his father, nor his strong personal characteristics. Whereas F. Duvalier could terrify and maneuver with the many factions around him, J.C. Duvalier is under the strict control of his immediate cabinet. His serving as the president, far from posing a solution to the problem, in fact deepens it. The support given to him by the national bourgeoisie is, however, conditional. The bourgeoisie must accept Duvalier and be tolerant of him even though sections of that class are trampled on by him. He has thus opportunistically used this new situation to put forward his "liberal economic policy" as the phase two of the "Duvalierist revolution" in an official way.

J.C. Duvalier's supposed economic revolution is the most reactionary program in the history of the country. This "revolution" only means the unrestrained ability of the rich to further enrich themselves and of the great majority of the masses to suffer super-exploitation. In a country as backward as Haiti, it does not

require much money to build capital, considering the low level of technical development of the productive forces and the minimum value of the cost of labor. Thus, inch by inch, the country is being sold to foreign entrepreneurs and adventurers of all kinds in search of a quick buck.

There, the rule of finance capital finds its sharpest expression. American as well as Canadian capitalists, who find it more and more difficult to extract larger profits from their own working class, export their capital where the pasture is a lot greener. Above all, they get the necessary government protection. This fact further enriches Lenin's assessment of imperialism and the ultra-reactionary character of the national bourgeoisie of

stepped up its effort to build an Industrial Park project which is already in the execution stage."

It may be true that the largest portion of Haitian exports goes to the U.S. as against all the countries of Latin America. But what he does not say is that the living standard of Haitian workers is not only the lowest in Latin America and the Caribbean, but in the whole world. And, because of the backwardness inherited from French colonial domination, the country had developed the tendency toward creating a highly centralized city-state which stands out in complete opposition to the development of the country towns. This centralization becomes very explosive in the face of the smallest economic growth. All new projects, as well as

of employment. This exodus into the capital city has its roots in the complete stagnation of agricultural production. What do people turn to in an agricultural country when agricultural production remains at a standstill while the total population grows? The answer is abject poverty, high rate of mortality, mass unemployment, overcrowded housing, inadequate sanitation, the lack of adequate schools and universal malnutrition, which has transformed the nation into a putrid ghetto crowned with the upper crust of a despicable bourgeoisie. This in short is the picture of a country in the midst of an "economic revolution."

J.C. Duvalier may not be very smart and his political and economic inability may be manifest, but what he possesses to the highest degree is the natural viciousness of his class. With the taxation system as it stands now, it will not take him long to compete, with the many millions he is amassing, with the wealthiest capitalist of North America. A 107 percent tax is now levied on cars being brought to the country to enable Jean Claude's monopoly on certain Japanese made cars to compete, let us say on an equal footing, with other dealers.

Whereas taxes are levied only to fill the pocket of the president and those around him, franchise is given to foreign capitalists and big merchants, who were smart enough to have contributed a car or two to enlarge the president's private collection, which is close to 30, not including those parked in the neighbor's garage or being driven around town by close friends. The contradiction in this situation is tremendous. Decent routes are virtually nonexistent; therefore, the president's hot sports cars as well as his limousines are driven through the mud of dusty roads dating to colonial times causing maintenance to rise to abnormal costs. And whereas the president's fleet is constantly being increased in size and variety the transportation system in the country as a whole is of the most primitive.

The peasants and even the big land owners must carry their products to the market place or to the commercial centers on wooden carts led by mules or bulls. The peasants have to travel on horseback from one end of the island to the other with heavy loads of agricultural products, harvested at tremendous labor cost, on which they pay high taxes which always end up in the coffer of the ruling family. Because of the lack of proper means of transportation, the small producers in and around Petite Riviere de L'Artibonite, one of the most fertile lands in the mountainous country, live off a direct barter economy, as the volume of the production stock rots in the fields. The insufficient supply of food materials available for the growing demand is at the bottom of the deep misery of the great masses. The demand, which is far greater than the supply, causes the price of foodstuffs to rise considerably higher in relationship to the per capita income of the average worker.

The commercial deals are then made on the basis of this inadequate production with a disproportional greater need for consumer goods. The price of livestock, as much as industrial and manufactured goods, is in most cases above the standards of the advanced capitalist countries, including the United States. It costs, in Haiti, more than two and a half times the price that must be paid for a gallon of gasoline in New York City, an area where the price of gasoline is one of the highest in North America. Because of the lack of industrial development, raw materials of all kinds are exported at minimum value to the major capitalist countries, which eventually come back to Haiti with much greater market value than those locally produced. The prices of finished products run in accordance, not to its inherent value, but to the arbitrary will of the local merchants.

This chaotic market system—in fact systematic black market—enhances the chronically bad administration, and serves the personal interest of members of the upper crust of the government. The crimes and corruption carried out for the creation of the new "elite" of the national bourgeoisie to "survive in dignity" reveals the complete fraud of Duvalier's demagoguery. The same old Americans, Italians, and Syrian commercial lords still hold the monopoly and truly Haitian com-

merce is to this day at a piddling level.

It would be wrong to look at these various "facts" in a fixed and static way. They are only the appearances of a deeper and more fundamental phenomenon. The class struggle which underlies these developments is becoming increasingly sharp as the masses are being driven into dire poverty. This is what is pushing landowners, merchants, foreign and national industries, in short the national bourgeoisie, to closer collaboration with each other in preparation for the conflict that is to take place in the political arena.

Marx rightly saw and explained that the absolute contradiction in the capitalist system leading to the possibility of socialist revolution lies in the fact that the bourgeoisie cannot develop without at the same time creating the class of its own gravediggers—the working class. Furthermore, he discovered that it is the very law of capitalist production itself which leads to revolutionary upheavals.

The law of value, which is asserting itself in the crisis of the international monetary system laying the ground for international trade war in a shrinking world market, contains within itself the burning question of either socialism or complete barbarism and the destruction of the world proletariat. Since Nixon's decision to sever the dollar from gold and his arrogant step toward rationing world capitalism to maintain the world dominance of American imperialism, the instituted 10 percent surcharge on foreign imports has its direct affect on the Haitian working class, who are made to pay for the crisis of their own oppressors.

The dynamics of these class relationships must be understood by Marxist revolutionaries in preparation for socialist revolution. When the bourgeoisie begins to further deepen its attacks on the working class the old social relationships based on compromise between the classes break up, leading to direct political confrontation. This is the kind of battle the Haitian working class is entering into without any political leadership.

But what is different today is that we are not simply entering a revolutionary period; we are also dealing with a new working class. As a result of the "industrialization," the phenomenon common to all backward countries and Haiti in particular is the existence of a large petty bourgeoisie, mostly intellectuals and small store owners, playing no role whatsoever in production. This itself is the consequence of the still pre-capitalist production relations. This section of society is as much oppressed and torn apart by the crisis as the lower classes. Having no stake in the system and being unable to exploit its own inherent potentials, it is reduced to the level of the "common people." Driven down by the crisis, they are forced to accept jobs which under normal conditions they would not do. It is precisely out of this "declassed" middle class that the most reactionary elements are recruited to the new secret police and the Leopards. But nevertheless, based on the objective material conditions and given the proper leadership, a whole section of the more conscious elements can be brought into the revolutionary struggle.

On the other hand, the masses of the expropriated small peasants, forcefully removed from their lands, come swarming down into the city in search of employment. As this process continues to go on, the centralized city begins to take on a different reality. Now, side by side people of different backgrounds coexist, facing the same problems. The anarchistic social relations and the super-exploitation of all human labor in the most cynical way by the exportation of capital by foreign pirates is the guiding thread behind the changes in the working class.

Declassed petty bourgeois, peasants, (raw in their culture and their ability), and proletarians alike are found working together on the production lines, competing outside for the same job and exploited by the same master. This new working class, not having been trained and disciplined by years of economic struggles through the unions, accounts for the uneasiness of class relations and the conflicts constantly erupting. The continuous capitalist changes brought the beginning of a change in the consciousness of the proletariat which was necessary for the eruption of the coming socialist revolution. The working class, crushed by



The Duvalier family bases its dictatorial rule on the powerful military apparatus.

the colonial and semicolonial countries which exist only as the safety valve for the interests of monopoly capitalism.

For some petty bourgeois observers, as well as the capitalist press, it is an expression of "progressive capitalist development" flowing from the liberalization program. But, in fact, it is the complete opposite. This new capital investment does not bring about the development of the productive forces, or a higher living standard for the working class, but their complete enslavement. If there is anything revolutionary in this new situation, it is the change in the balance of class forces being created.

In one of his innumerable messages to the nation, the new "liberal economic" president trumpeted in the cynical manner inherited from his father that:

"Around twenty new plants have been authorized to function, some already built, others in the process of being built. The economic image of the country is undergoing a transformation while our production is becoming diversified in an impressive way expressed in the modification of the structure of our exports. Formerly based almost exclusively on agricultural products and raw materials, today our exports have a large proportion of industrial products, transforming local materials or completing semi-finished imports.

"At the present time, around 45 percent of our exports towards the U.S., our largest client on the world market, are composed of industrial products, the highest percentage in all the countries of Latin America.

"In order to gain more facilities to attract new industry, the government has

the creation of more industrial facilities, pose new problems for the urban population which becomes denser as new work opportunities are being offered.

The problem of overpopulation had to be dealt with, and Jean Claude dealt with it in the most drastic and criminal manner. Without warning, he burned to the ground the ghetto areas around St. Joseph and Bel Air, killing hundreds and leaving thousands homeless who are now roaming around town, naked, hungry and deathly sick. All this is perpetrated of course to provide to the demi-Gods of foreign capital the industrial park project necessary for their expansion.

Recently, large manufacturing concerns and small assembly factories and industries of one kind or another have been cropping up all around the country. Employing no more than 50 workers at the lowest possible wage under conditions of a tremendous labor market, the dollar a day minimum salary for all workers is a complete fraud. Not only is it not being enforced by the state, but to actually fight for that minimum through strike action is equivalent to high treason in the eyes of the government. Furthermore, because of the objective needs of the masses, they are forced to work below the minimum to avoid starvation. Thus, without leadership and their independent organizations, they become the accomplice of the exploitation system.

The low wages and inhuman working conditions result also from the fact that scores of peasants, driven from their land because of the lack of proper means of agricultural exploitation and mass expropriations for the benefit of foreign capital, are forced into the city in search

years of defeats and overwhelmed by the power of the state, had lost its political confidence. But with the growing development of industrial life, the workers are now able to consolidate their ranks, regenerate their forces and gain the self-confidence enabling them to continue the struggle.

The old procedure which consisted of withholding the pay checks of state employees for periods extending from six to eight months, leaving the workers no other choice than starvation, is in the process of coming to an end. This policy has been used, ever since F. Duvalier, to fatten the wallet of the family and his henchmen. But under Baby Doc all the weaknesses have been exposed through his so-called liberalization program. As the working class begins to understand the instability of the regime, through the many factional disputes on top, they are going on the offensive by putting together whatever forces are available for the tasks ahead. This is the real meaning of the strike struggles unleashed since the early days of Jean Claude's rule.

More significant is the nature of the strikes which were in direct conflict with the state. And particularly important are those workers who went out on strike. The first in the series of strikes involved the transportation workers, mainly the Tap-Tap drivers, who stopped working and brought a halt to the transportation system from Port-Au-Prince to the many areas on its outskirts. This was organized against new governmental rulings on traffic and pick-up aimed at wiping out the "camionettes" business so that the monopoly of busing could be given to government people. In a spontaneous manner, all the drivers went out and demonstrated around the national palace demanding an end to the new working regulations. The "liberal" president answered the peaceful demonstration in the most barbaric way. The police were ordered in with sticks and rifle butts to break up the pickets and several died. However, the strike did not end there. The drivers were ordered back to work and threatened with arrests and summary execution. They did go back to work, but picked up neither passengers nor merchandise for a week. With further threats and warnings, they resumed normal work with the officious guarantee of protection and the removal of the rotten laws. This was the first victory of the working class over the despicable dictatorship of the Duvaliers after 14 years.

This show of force and class solidarity on the drivers' part sent, within weeks, the electrical workers at the Peligre plant out. These workers had not received their pay checks for over a period of six months while continuously working under dangerous conditions and speed-up. Their salary, which was withheld by Duvalier, had to be battled for. Without organized leadership, they went out in mass and demonstrated at the office of the Labor Ministry demanding immediate payment. But once again, through the iron heels of the state, the demonstration was violently broken up and demonstrators jailed.

But, these vicious attacks on the working class by the government could not stop the momentum of the workers struggles. In fact, the attacks gave the working class even more impetus as the ranks of the strikers began to acquire greater consciousness of their actual strength in unity. They received the support of the rest of the people who were amazed by their bold decisiveness. Betrayed by the lack of an organized leadership which could carry out the fight to an end, through the mobilization of the entire working mass as part of a planned strategy against the government, they were forced back to work with the usual promise of satisfaction. They did not make any immediate material gains, but their ranks were further consolidated as a result of the common experience in struggle with the common enemy.

These victories and defeats could not stop the forward movement of the class. The lessons of these past experiences were drawn by other sections of the proletariat. What appeared on the surface, at least, to be a narrow economic struggle is only the reflection of growing class antagonisms in preparation for deeper social and political upheavals resulting from the irreconcilable conflict between class forces in time of deep crisis.

The nurses, who also had not been paid for over four months, walked out of their jobs in defiance of the government. The level of this strike was much higher than that of the preceding ones. The past experiences were incorporated in a new way. The weaknesses of the past had somewhat been negated in the sense that, as a precondition to returning to work, "all the money had to be in," as one of the nurses stated. They maintained that position from the beginning and held it to the end. The explosive situation created by the previous actions of the government, and the show of support to that strike even among the hospital patients, posed the alternative of open rebellion of the entire working class against Duvalier's already unstable regime. A capitulation therefore was his only alternative. All the arrogance and the reactionary viciousness of the state and the bourgeoisie that it represents came to naught before the power of the united class in movement.

The lesson that must be drawn by all revolutionists is that Haiti has already entered a new era of class struggle. The possibilities, as well as the dangers of the

Stalinist policy of class collaboration, as expressed by the PUCH and its main theoretician, Jean Luc. It also reveals the bankruptcy of the Maoists and the petty bourgeois radicals of the MHAP and their call for "action" and "anti-imperialist struggle." They have no concrete program capable of really leading the masses of Haitian workers into a fight against their main enemy in the U.S. or in Haiti. Their common agreement is with Stalinism, at a time when Mao and his Russian counterparts are working with all the reactionary forces of the capitalist world, including Japanese and American imperialism, in an effort to bail capitalism out of its most fundamental crisis in its entire history. Their subservience to the bureaucratic rule of Russian and Chinese-ruling cliques is directed precisely against Trotskyism.

It is precisely the need to falsify their treacherous past, both nationally and internationally, that keeps the Stalinists silent about the catastrophe of the 1968 adventure on the one hand and the struggles of the left opposition led by Trotsky up to the creation of the Fourth International in the days of Stalin himself. Because that

Latin America.

This danger is greatly reinforced by the fact that the material conditions of the colonial working class make it possible for the development of "left-wing" generals and dissident circles within the present regimes, who demagogically channel the revolutionary fervor of the working class into the dead end of reformism. Reformism, in a revolutionary period, will lead to the conscious betrayal of the working class for bourgeois dictatorship, which will mean fascism today. In order to understand this, the lessons of the Bolivian defeat are of tremendous importance to a revolutionary Marxist. The French Organization Communiste Internationale (OCI) and the Bolivian POR, because they abandoned the ideological struggle for Marxism and dialectical materialism, were compelled by the logic of the class struggle to capitulate to the Stalinist forces and to ally themselves to the left wing of the bourgeois military clique around Torres. They were paralyzed in the face of the Bonapartist overthrow of the Popular Assembly and the nationalist government.

Trotskyism and Stalinism stand not as abstract categories in the realm of thought, but as antagonistic class forces—revolution and counterrevolution. This is the fundamental question that all petty bourgeois centrist formations are trying to avoid. But the uncompromisable conflict of alien classes in bourgeois society, and their ideological expressions, does not allow the lengthy existence of middle of the road politics. By its inherent dialectic, as a reflection of the material interests of social classes, these various formations will be broken up and transformed into their own negation.

The question of nationalism and internationalism, bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship, is what is confronting the development of the new leadership on Haitian soil. The basic problem that must be understood by the new generation of revolutionaries is the international nature of capitalism and the role of the Haitian movement in the construction of the revolutionary International. However, the many years of dictatorship and the right-wing control of public press have built a wall between Haiti and the outside world. The complete isolation of the struggle of the local revolutionaries from the international developments and from the ideological battles means that the battle to build the revolutionary party is most sharply posed outside of Haiti, where the differences are clearly and openly fought out.

It is necessary to develop Marxist cadres in the Haitian community in every country, and in the U.S. in particular, because of the tight grip and the direct intervention of American imperialism in the internal affairs of Haiti. It is through the break-up of the artificial barrier imposed on the international working class by the capitalists, through the use of racism and patriotism, that the interests of the Haitian workers can be taken forward.

The only way Haitian revolutionaries can play a role and succeed in the revolutionary overthrow of the Duvalier regime is as part of an international movement. It is as part of the International Committee of the Fourth International, which has conducted a principled fight against the reactionary theory of the two-stage revolution and socialism in one country, that the socialist revolution will be determined. The policy of the permanent revolution takes on real meaning as the Stalinists fall into deep crisis by the movement of the working class. It is precisely in these instances that they will try to use the backward sentiment of the working class to tie it to the capitalist class in quest of their policy for peaceful coexistence. The alternative of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the development of the productive forces in backward countries like Haiti remains the immediate task of Haitian revolutionaries.

The struggle for the labor party in the U.S. to break the American working class from the two capitalist parties is closely bound with the creation of the Haitian section of the International Committee. It is as internationalists, not as radical nationalists, that the new generation of workers and youth will lead the working class toward the accomplishment of its historic mission.



Madame and Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier carry on Papa Doc's oppressive regime to defend capitalism against workers and peasants of Haiti.

complete destruction of the new generation of workers, are sharpened both by the depth of international crisis of the capitalist system and the upsurge of the world working class. The decision of Nixon and American imperialism to launch an international trade war against the major European capitalists, and to step up its super-exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, poses the question of the working class taking political power. In their drive toward putting value back in their respective currencies after the collapse of the Bretton Woods agreement and by the dictates of American imperialism, the international capitalist class will stop at nothing.

In this period, a revolutionary leadership, rooted in the history of the Bolshevik tradition and armed with the method of Marxism, must be built. That leadership must conduct a conscious struggle against the betrayals of the Stalinists and the revisionists for the development of dialectical materialism which is indispensable for the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and its methods of thought.

The spontaneous rise of the Haitian working class in a bitter struggle for their very survival after 14 years of iron dictatorship, and the destruction of its parties and its traditional union organizations, shows the bankruptcy of the

history is closely bound with the crimes and betrayals of Stalinism from the birth of Haitian communism, every effort is made to vilify the revolutionary traditions of the Haitian working class. At a time when the working class is beginning their offensive, in spite of the lack of organized leadership, the existence and treachery of Stalinism and its parties becomes the greatest source of danger within the ranks of the proletariat itself.

What is being proposed among the Maoist and Stalinist radical circles is the bankrupt guerrilla tactics of middle class adventurism in order to avoid the painstaking work of building a revolutionary party in a struggle against the very spontaneity in the consciousness of the working class.

A struggle for Trotskyism against Stalinism is essential in Haiti. For the Stalinists, despite their noisy accusations of the right-wing nationalist and liberal movement abroad, remain powerless in terms of a real revolutionary alternative. By not exposing the class nature of these various groups, and showing the historical role that nationalism and radicalism play, can only mean that the ground is being laid for coalition government with all the reactionary bourgeois forces in the event of the outbreak of the socialist revolution. That has been the past policy of Stalinism everywhere in the world, in Viet Nam, the Middle East and

The Assassination of Trotsky, directed by Joseph Losey, opened last week at the Coronet Theatre in New York. It is a vile and deceitful film, a full-blown apologia for Stalin's greatest crime. As we wrote in our review of the film last month, it should be titled Trotsky's "Second Assassination."

Predictably, the movie critics of New York have given Losey's distortion of history high ratings. Not one critic has questioned the factual inaccuracies, misrepresentations, and slanders. They are quite satisfied to see the Fourth International dismissed as the idle creation of a tired old man.

Losey's attempt to dismiss Trotsky's final years—actually the most important in his life—as futile, and at the same time give the impression that the murder was the act of a psychopath rather than a dedicated Stalinist actually feeds ideas to the reviewers.

Picking up the threads left by Losey, Archer Winsten of the *New York Post* states that the murder was "quite simple, disarmingly so." Winsten can get away with this because Losey deliberately covers up for the intensive preparations made by the Soviet GPU for this murder (an entire section was set up under Beria to organize the crime), the Mexican CP, and the American CP.

Winsten then adds: "Anyway, it's all history now and...Admirable as Trotsky may have been in his total dedication to World Revolution and Down With Stalin, he is not an American hero except to Trotskyites."

This is precisely the conclusion that Losey wants workers and youth coming into the socialist movement to draw.

In England, where Losey's film opened up several months ago, the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League has led a campaign to expose *The Assassination of Trotsky*. On the day of its premier, Losey fled the theatre rather than face the questions posed by the SLL and British Young Socialists. However, he finally agreed to discuss the film with director Roy Battersby, who wrote the *Bulletin* review, on British television.

ESCAPE

Monday's discussion between Losey and Battersby on "Film '72" showed Losey as determined as possible to escape all the political implications of his material.

Losey pleaded that the exigencies of film finance and distribution compelled him to concentrate on Trotsky's death as the central fact of his life; and that the requirements of this limited perspective obliged him to concentrate on "the facts that were known at the time."

The "uncertainty" of these facts, according to Losey, forced him to deal with the victim and the assassination as two complementary halves of a fatal dualism in human nature.

Finally, Losey claimed that the justification for the film was that it filled the gap in the almost "universal ignorance" about Trotsky and that if it hadn't been made "we wouldn't be here talking about it."

The function of film-making is not, of course, to provide a subject for criticism.

But the function of criticism in this instance is to ruthlessly expose Losey's half-baked apologias of necessity, the falsity of his selections of the facts and the use of these "facts" as a skeleton for a crude essay in psychologism.

To ignore the political lessons of Trotsky's life, his fight for the building of the Fourth International is, willingly or unwillingly, to contribute to the catalogue of lies which Trotsky spent his life exposing.

That, of course, is a continuing struggle.

Losey's film tries to bring down the curtain on Trotsky but—despite the "universal ignorance" which Losey treats as simple ignorance—hundreds of thousands of workers and youth are now setting out to lift that curtain and neither this nor any other assassination can prevent it.

James Elton Film



Top: Trotsky dies from Stalinist assassin's blow. Above, film director Roy Battersby (foreground) criticizes Joseph Losey's direction on British TV program. Right, Trotsky's tomb in Mexico.

Bob Michaelson Film

THE EMIGRANTS. Starring Max von Sydow and Liv Ullmann. Swedish language with English subtitles.

The *Emigrants* had been billed in various newspaper advertisements as an "epic." Regardless of how much the capitalist press themselves enjoyed it, *The Emigrants* is a fine film.

It concentrates on an aspect of the immigration of people into the United States which is often mentioned, but not really gone into—that is, the conditions in Europe which caused the mass immigrations in the first place.

The film centers on Swedish peasants, but the conditions can be generalized for other European countries as well.

The opening scene follows the back-breaking activity of an old Swedish peasant as he works clearing his land. His fields are poor, strewn with rocks and boulders. The first impression one gets is of the tremendous human effort involved in simply eking out an existence as a small farmer in Sweden. This impression acquires more force when, later, the primitive farming techniques they use are

shown—plowing the fields with an ox, sowing with sticks, and separating the grain from the chaff by throwing the wheat up and down in a blanket.

Karl-Oskar, the farmer's elder son, takes over the farm. But, as the film progresses, drought and poor harvests drive the family to the point of destitution. The younger brother, Robert, is sent off to contract himself out to a larger landowner.

Through Robert's experiences, we see the oppressive conditions of a semi-feudal Sweden. The foreman introduced himself to Robert by cuffing the youth across the ears. Robert and another contracted farmhand, Arvid, live in a small room and are given meager meals. The work is hard and long with little pay.

When Robert runs away—back to his farm—the sheriff chases after him because he has not yet given his contracted year of labor. The same sheriff heads a deputation to break up a religious service being ministered by an "unauthorized" rebel priest.

The extent of the desperation of these peasants is most sharply brought out when Robert, before fleeing from the landowner, tells Arvid of his plans to emigrate to America. He has a brochure which he reads aloud. At one point, the brochure excuses slavery in the U.S. by stating that slaves do not have it so bad—three square meals a day and security.

Arvid immediately says: "I'm going to

Fleeing From Oppression

become a slave in America." Robert thinks for a minute and says that you have to have black skin to be a slave. Arvid is disheartened.

Karl-Oskar, his family, Robert, Arvid, and the rebel priest and his small flock emigrate to America. When they arrive and wind their way to Minnesota, they lose many of their illusions about America. But they get their land—virgin land in Minnesota. It is the dream of every small peasant.

This is where *The Emigrants'* strength becomes its weakness.

The film concentrates on the lives of a few Swedish emigrants. The hardship that was their life in Sweden was common to peasants and workers alike in Europe in the 1840s.

But only a small handful of the millions of people who fled to America ever got their small farm. Karl-Oskar was one of these lucky few. The ending of the film leaves the viewer with the illusion that this was the rule rather than the exception.

The kind of brochures that Robert read were sent by the millions into Europe by American capitalists who needed cheap labor for their factories.

The vast majority of emigrants to America ended up not on a Midwest farm but in an East Coast sweatshop, in the hovels and slums that grew up in all Eastern cities as the U.S. developed into an industrial power.

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According to Chou, Lin was ill-at-ease about his place as Chairman Mao's successor and became involved in a plot to assassinate Mao and thus assure his succession. When Lin mistakenly came to the conclusion that his plot had been discovered, he fled to Russia on a commandeered plane, which crashed in an emergency landing in Mongolia, killing Lin and his companions.

There are a number of indications of the untenability of this tale, which places the liquidation of Lin in the realm of personality conflicts and the lust for power of individuals. Rather, the fate of Lin Piao must be seen as completely bound up with the extreme right-wing turn of the policies of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy after the end of the Cultural Revolution of the mid-sixties, and particularly since the welcome given to President Nixon on his Peking visit at the beginning of this year.

COUNTERREVOLUTION

It was this open support to counter-revolution which dominated Chou's talk with this reactionary bunch of imperialist propagandists. The Chinese Premier made it clear that, as far as the Chinese Stalinists are concerned, the main danger to be faced is not American imperialism, which is currently attempting to crush China's Vietnamese neighbors by genocidal bombing, but rather the Maoists' fellow-Stalinist bureaucrats in the Soviet Union.

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For years the nerve center of the Chinese leadership was the five-member Standing Committee of the Communist Party Politburo. Only Chou and Mao Tse-tung remain of the five members. Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta and Kang Sheng—the latter two accused of a plot to get rid of Chou and keep Mao as a figurehead—have been purged. It is known that Lin, Chen, and Kang opposed the new orientation towards the United States begun last year.

In addition, 11 members—a majority—of the 21 member CP Political Committee have disappeared. The Central Committee and ministerial positions have been decimated. There has been a continuing campaign against the so-called "516 Group"—referring to leftists still basing themselves on the struggles of the Cultural Revolution period. The "516" refers to May 16, 1966, when Mao officially launched the Cultural Revolution.

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broken up in 1927 by the great massacres of the Communists and workers by the Nationalists, Lin led a military column that attempted to counterattack against the Nationalist forces.

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Chen Po-ta's proposal was the end of the road for the old Maoism. If it had actually been put into effect, the Cultural Revolution would have rapidly moved to a political revolution that would have brought the downfall of all sections of the bureaucracy.

Several years later, the old conditions no longer applied. Having defeated the outright restorationist tendencies, the CCP likewise focused attention on curbing the "excesses" of the extreme left. Chen Po-ta disappeared in early 1971. Once again the slogan of "stability," of rapprochement with imperialism, comes on the order of the day. Once more Chou En-lai comes forth as he did in the past, as the spokesman of "reason" against "excess." China once more becomes "civilized" and sits down to sup with the imperialists.

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It is clear that after Sept. 14-15 of last year, Lin Piao had been deposed. It is quite likely that the bureaucracy's story of death met on an attempted flight to Moscow is merely a cover for Lin's liquidation.

Chou's story has many holes in it. Several reports on the Mongolian air crash that supposedly killed Lin stated that the bodies were charred beyond recognition and in any case were too young to be Lin and his wife as reported. Chinese officials, who went to Mongolia to investigate the crash, made no attempt to return the bodies to China, as would seem likely if they were Lin's and his wife's.

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In this sense, the suppression of the Cultural Revolution and the decimation of the left marks this as the Chinese bureaucracy's own version of the purges and Moscow Trials of the 1930s that prepared the Russian Stalinists for intimate collaboration with both Anglo-American and Nazi imperialism and opened the way for World War Two.

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New light on the purge of Lin Piao



Lin Piao (left) fully supported Mao Tse-tung (right) before his disagreement with Mao's right-wing turn toward U.S. imperialism led to Lin's untimely death.

Chiang Kai-shek, despite the dictates of Stalin, who attempted to maintain the Chiang regime.

But despite everything Stalin could do, the CCP was faced with the choice of settling accounts with Chiang or extinction at the hands of Chiang and imperialism. At this point of an empirical break with Stalin's policies, Lin gave the order for the "country-wide advance" on April 21, 1949, that in a matter of months swept away Chiang's demoralized armies and led the CCP to victory.

Immediately afterward, Lin was made responsible for the military district immediately bordering Korea. During the Korean War, Lin was credited with organizing the resistance to the invasion of the U.S. and its United Nations puppets that enabled the imperialists to be thrown back.

During all this time, Lin maintained his reputation as a man who generally kept himself out of political controversy except to maintain himself as a close follower of Mao Tse-tung. This situation changed after the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

When Mao Tse-tung launched the struggle against the "capitalist road" right-wing section of the bureaucracy represented by Liu Shao-chi, masses of youth were mobilized in the Red Guard movement that began to grow into a fight against the bureaucracy itself. The Red Guards were urged by the Mao faction to "seize power" and the People's Liberation Army, which Lin commanded, was

Tse-tung thought" was upheld. Speaking on international matters, Lin stated:

"The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations of the world always support each other," pledging support for armed struggles in the colonial countries against imperialism. Referring to the "heartlands" of imperialism, the U.S., Japan and Western Europe, Lin stated "an unprecedentedly gigantic revolutionary mass movement has broken out."

COLLABORATION

When the Chinese leadership began the bureaucracy's turn to close collaboration with U.S. imperialism, supplemented with entry into the United Nations, support for Pakistan's genocidal war against Bangladesh and aid to the brutal crushing of the rising of Maoist youth by the government of Ceylon, it had necessarily to create a crisis within the bureaucracy.

Men like Lin had been loyal servitors of Maoism and its line, the line of Stalinism, since its beginnings. But at the same time, his whole history, a history of struggle against imperialism, made him an obstacle in the way of the new reactionary turn. The man who spoke of "unprecedentedly gigantic revolutionary mass movements" breaking out in the United States was obviously not a suitable teardrinking partner for Richard Nixon!

In 1967, Chen Po-ta, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the CCP, who rested on the extreme left of the Red Guards and the Cultural Revolution, put forward the demand for a return

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Lin Piao (left) fully supported Mao Tse-tung (right) before his disagreement with Mao's right-wing turn toward U.S. imperialism led to Lin's untimely death.

Chiang Kai-shek, despite the dictates of Stalin, who attempted to maintain the Chiang regime.

But despite everything Stalin could do, the CCP was faced with the choice of settling accounts with Chiang or extinction at the hands of Chiang and imperialism. At this point of an empirical break with Stalin's policies, Lin gave the order for the "country-wide advance" on April 21, 1949, that in a matter of months swept away Chiang's demoralized armies and led the CCP to victory.

Immediately afterward, Lin was made responsible for the military district immediately bordering Korea. During the Korean War, Lin was credited with organizing the resistance to the invasion of the U.S. and its United Nations puppets that enabled the imperialists to be thrown back.

During all this time, Lin maintained his reputation as a man who generally kept himself out of political controversy except to maintain himself as a close follower of Mao Tse-tung. This situation changed after the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

When Mao Tse-tung launched the struggle against the "capitalist road" right-wing section of the bureaucracy represented by Liu Shao-chi, masses of youth were mobilized in the Red Guard movement that began to grow into a fight against the bureaucracy itself. The Red Guards were urged by the Mao faction to "seize power" and the People's Liberation Army, which Lin commanded, was

Tse-tung thought" was upheld. Speaking on international matters, Lin stated:

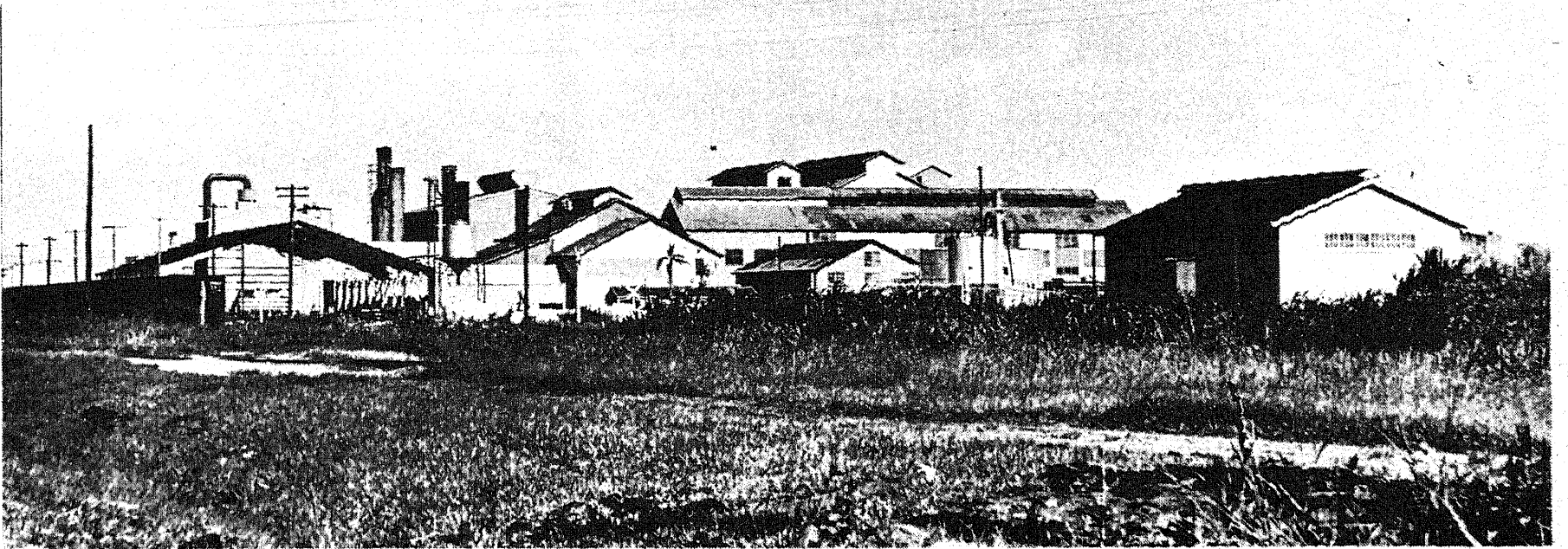
"The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations of the world always support each other," pledging support for armed struggles in the colonial countries against imperialism. Referring to the "heartlands" of imperialism, the U.S., Japan and Western Europe, Lin stated "an unprecedentedly gigantic revolutionary mass movement has broken out."

COLLABORATION

When the Chinese leadership began the bureaucracy's turn to close collaboration with U.S. imperialism, supplemented with entry into the United Nations, support for Pakistan's genocidal war against Bangladesh and aid to the brutal crushing of the rising of Maoist youth by the government of Ceylon, it had necessarily to create a crisis within the bureaucracy.

Men like Lin had been loyal servitors of Maoism and its line, the line of Stalinism, since its beginnings. But at the same time, his whole history, a history of struggle against imperialism, made him an obstacle in the way of the new reactionary turn. The man who spoke of "unprecedentedly gigantic revolutionary mass movements" breaking out in the United States was obviously not a suitable teardrinking partner for Richard Nixon!

In 1967, Chen Po-ta, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the CCP, who rested on the extreme left of the Red Guards and the Cultural Revolution, put forward the demand for a return



BY BRUCE McKAY

CLEWISTON, Fla.—The Florida sugar industry, which is now preparing an all-out effort to crush the United Farm Workers, developed in the closest possible harmony with the employers' state.

Before 1961, United States Sugar Corporation was the only sugar company in the Glades area around Lake Okeechobee. Most of the giant sugar mills here were built in the three year period following Castro's nationalization of U.S. business interests in Cuba.

While in 1956, only 30,000 acres of Florida soil were planted for cane, today that figure has grown to more than 180,000 acres, and over 800,000 tons of raw sugar are produced yearly from the six million tons of cane harvested.

The eight Florida mills are among the largest and most modern in the world. Glades Sugar House—world's largest tandem mill—set a phenomenal record last season by grinding 11,740 tons of cane in a single 24 hour period.

The enormous expansion of the Florida cane industry between 1961 and 1964 illustrates both the close working relationship between growers and the capitalist state and the government's role in enforcing the cartel arrangement worked out in Congress by the agents of the competing sugar producers and users.

The Kennedy Administration, for example, lifted acreage and production quotas for mainland sugarcane as a favor to the Eastern refining and confectionary lobby, allowing them to re-establish the convenient source of raw sugar wiped out by Castro's nationalizations.

And when Lyndon Johnson in 1964 reimposed quotas on Florida sugar producers, he was reacting to pressure from beet sugar and Hawaiian cane producers anxious to protect their share of the

market and keep raw sugar prices as high as possible.

Major sugar producers are not at all interested in expanding overall sugar production. Rather, every effort is made to restrict and control it, but there is a continuous struggle to redivide the market and the quotas which have been established.

In an effort to prevent or at least minimize the continual crisis of overproduction characteristic of the sugar industry under capitalism, the International Sugar Agreement was hammered out among 34 sugar-producing nations in 1958 under the auspices of the United Nations Sugar Conference.

In 1962-1963, the International Sugar Council set up to regulate the agreement was persuaded by the Kennedy Administration to strip Cuba of its international quota, reallocating it in part to Florida producers.

The effect of the ISA has been to assure a steady rise in the world price of raw sugar. Raw sugar imported into the U.S. reached seven cents per pound in 1970, while as late as 1965 it was only two cents.

TRADE WAR

The ISA, however, like the International Coffee Agreement, will disintegrate into a vicious trade war in the face of the international monetary crisis and deepening recession. Like Nixon and all sectors of American big business, sugar growers are demanding that British sugar interests in the West Indies and the backward capitalist sugar-producing nations bear the full weight of the crisis.

Already, Florida and Louisiana producers are lobbying for the government to lift quotas for mainland production, and the Department of Agriculture was forced to hold hearings on the question in New Orleans April 14.

No sugar is exported from the U.S., and sugar imports account for a sizeable portion of the current balance of trade deficit. In 1970, imports of raw sugar amounted to \$729 million.

As the world capitalist system plunges into trade war and depression, the capitalist government will readily accede to the growers' demands for a protectionist policy which will allow them to rapidly expand domestic production at the expense of foreign producers.

This will mean not only more massive unemployment in sugar producing countries like Jamaica but here as well, for expansion would be accompanied by ruthless rationalization and the complete mechanization of cane harvesting.

A tremendous crisis of overproduction would soon rear its head among domestic producers despite the best efforts of the capitalist state to control the situation, and the domestic sugar industry will be swept into the same cauldron of recession as all other capitalist producers.

PRAGMATIC

Using the pragmatic method of thinking of the growers, the United Farm Workers leadership is calling for a protectionist policy which would give the cane cutting jobs currently held by Jamaicans to unemployed domestic workers, trading unemployment here for more unemployment in Jamaica.

This is not a policy which will be able to fight the massive unemployment planned by the growers for both Jamaicans and Americans. It is a policy which criminally diverts attention from the real proponents of unemployment—the growers and their government—to place the blame on the shoulders of the Jamaicans who face massive unemployment at home.

The pragmatism of the UFW leadership threatens to lead farmworkers to the disaster which awaits workers under the capitalist system. Farmworkers must show the way forward by taking up the fight for a labor party committed to the socialist policies which can combat the growing threat of massive unemployment.

TO BE CONTINUED

THE BATTLE TO ORGANIZE FLORIDA'S SUGAR PART ONE



Top, U.S. Sugar mill dominates skyline in Clewiston, Florida. Above sugar cane.

BY M. GREGORY

BALTIMORE—Corporation after corporation is taking advantage of the reactionary anti-union measures guaranteed under Nixon's Pay Board to up profits and silence any opposition.

The Baltimore plant of American Smelting and Refining Corporation (ASARCO) realized net profits of \$86 million in 1971 through speed-up, racism, and threatening to leave the area if the union took any action.

ASARCO's 100 year old plant, employing 1400 men, has a long history of violent struggle for the right to unionize and to build a working class political party. This was one of the plants Joseph McCarthy singled out in the 1950s for its "subversive" activities.

Many of the 1000 members of United Steel Workers Local 625 remember the postwar struggle to build a labor party, which was taken over, and sold out by the Communist Party, who derailed the struggle into the Progressive Party. Five thousand Baltimore workers were thrown in jail or thrown out of work because of the CP's betrayals.

MILITANT

Today, the same questions of the right to a job, to unionize and to survive are posed even more sharply than they were at the end of World War II. It is no accident that the struggle in ASARCO breaks out again in the most militant manner.

ASARCO, known primarily as a copper producer, is also a prin-

ciple producer of selenium, gold and silver. It owns mines in Brazil, Peru, and throughout Latin America. It has been a prime recipient of government grants.

Every penny of the \$86 million profit has been squeezed out of the working class—in Peru, Brazil, where the mines are run under virtual slave conditions; in El Paso, where Mexican-Americans receive a wage scale far below that of their northern brothers, and in Baltimore, where working conditions are so bad that the union is more than a year behind in settling grievances.

It is precisely at this time, when the working class internationally holds the key to breaking this empire, that the bosses who run ASARCO are forced to come out openly to try to smash the union and to divide the men. It is against these attacks, which mean a return to the 1930s and worse, that the struggle at ASARCO is aimed.

The most vicious means the employers have used, and con-

tinued to be used in ASARCO, is racism. Certain shops, such as the Tank House (where the copper is electrolyzed) and the Nickel building are 99 percent Black, and the most dangerous areas to work in the plant. Other departments are manned by white workers. The white worker has been told that if he does not cooperate with speed-up, he will be put into the Tank House, or into the yard, and a Black worker will take his place.

The situation seemed to be working, until December of 1970, when speed-up became the rule of the plant, and a Black worker was fired for complaining. The wildcat that followed was completely solid—Black and white.

The bosses have also introduced the threat of moving the plant out of town. The reason that is given, of course, is that the wages are too high. Their main tactic is to keep the union weak, dependent on the management for keeping the Baltimore plant in existence. One ASARCO worker described the employers' method:

"One of their favorite tools is racism. Take for instance, the Tank House. Of 200 men, 199 are Black. The work conditions are intolerable. There is no ventilation. Skilled men ("flappers") are being made to test 150-200 degree copper with their bare hands. They are made to sweep the floors. In 1970, when one man spoke out he was fired. Everyone sat down. The union convinced us to return to work, and wait for the decision of the arbitrator.

"Well after one year, the man was officially fired. The result has been that speed-up and conditions have gotten worse. I have to add one thing, though. It's not a question of racism of white workers against Black workers. The white workers have always sat down with the Black workers. The company uses racism in reverse.

"It threatens the white worker with, 'If you don't do what we have cut out for you to do, we've got a Black man who'll do it (9 times out of 10, the Black man has already refused), and you'll be bumped.'

"The situation was so bad during the last strike, men actually carried pistols to the union hall... They had to threaten to kill someone to get strike relief for their families. Abel told the press that the union had \$32 million set aside in a strike fund.

"The union claimed \$93,000 was spent during the four month strike, but only \$20,000 was appropriated for the membership. The big mystery is where did the money go?"

Most of the men interviewed by the Bulletin felt that the company's threat to pull out is hollow. One man stated: "They've got it pretty good right now. They've got Federal contracts, and are making a mint! They've also got a nice arrangement worked out with the union leadership, who are waiting to retire and don't want to rock the boat."

PROFIT

Another man agreed with this position, pointing over to a Brink's armored truck. "You see that truck over there? It's probably carrying a shipment of silver, taking it down to the docks. One of those shipments is worth about \$600,000. They make copper here, sure, but it's scrap, a by-product of silver, gold, and selenium—pure profit."

Another worker, however, felt that if the men could succeed in ousting the present union leadership, and fight for decent working conditions, the plant might pull out—as they did in California.

The situation at ASARCO points out that the most basic questions of the right to protect the gains won in the past can only be answered by a fight against the present methods of the union leadership. This means not accepting Nixon's or the company's schemes to break the union through the Pay Board, or any other economic device passed by both Republican and Democratic politicians.

Today, this means a break with all these politicians and the building of a labor party, based on socialist policies: the right to a job, a shorter work week, an absolute end to racism and any form of discrimination. One ASARCO worker, who has been laid off for five months stated:

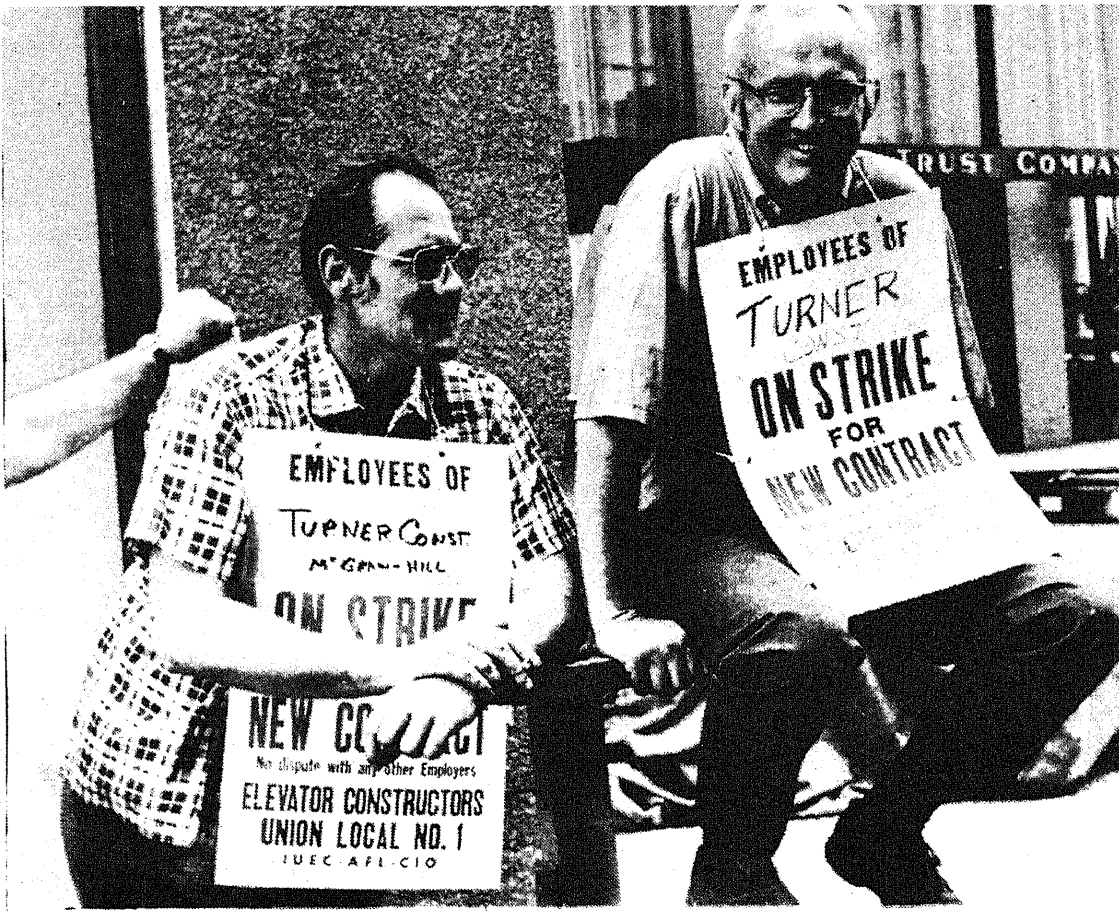
"The labor party is a necessity. It won't be build over night, but if we don't start now, things will only get worse. I think everyone here should be going to the October 21st conference called by the Workers League, and we should decide now how we're going to win this fight."

American Smelting Uses Racism To Push Speed-up



Behind N.Y. Construction Strike

Elevator Constructors Solid After 18 Weeks



Members of Elevator Constructors Local 1 picket at beginning of their strike which is now in its 18th week.

BY LOU BELKIN

NEW YORK—An 18 week old strike has shut construction sites in the New York area. Last week the Teamsters joined other locals which have settled. But the elevator operators are still solid and remain out on strike. The *Bulletin* interviewed C. Klages, a member of Local 1 of the Elevator Constructors about the strike.

"We work for NEMI which is an elevator manufacturer's association, making up Otis, Westinghouse, Haughton and Armor. When the contract came up in July, they locked us out. Since the Building Trades Council consists of a lot of different locals, all of which are independent, it was not a question of the others going out in solidarity. The other locals went out because their contracts expired. We don't have that kind of solidarity in construction you might see in other industries.

"The employers have tried to isolate us as much as possible. Nixon appointed a federal mediator, Dunlop, who's supposed to be meeting with the union now. But this man is real determined. The employers have never been so militant. Watson told us today that 1972 was the hardest year ever contract-wise. You know we're solid in New York City, Long Island, Southern Westchester and Rockland County and Northern New Jersey. I understand we've tied up \$16 billion worth of business. We've shaken NEMI all right, but they're not budging."

ISSUE

Klages told the *Bulletin* that the central issue in the strike is first and foremost job security. "The elevator constructors' national association agreed to allow pre-fabricated units to be built in factories, like for in-

stance Otis which has a factory in West Germany. What this means is that they take the work we do and pre-assemble it at much lower wages. However, certain things like rails and brackets can't be pre-assembled, they must be put in naturally, on the sites. You can't pre-fab 100 floors of rails. But the heart of our job is the elevators themselves. If NEMI has its way in New York, 50 percent of the jobs could go. Already we only work an average of 10 months a year. We lose at least a month per year with strikes, another month with accidents and deaths.

OVERTIME

"Another big question is equal sharing of overtime and seniority. One man can be discriminated against no matter how long he has worked. It depends on the boss or the superintendent. Anyone can be laid off at any time, no matter what his age or experience. We had a man laid off recently who fell three stories. They don't ever want him back. They can give the top jobs (mechanics) to men with a few years over men with many years on the job. And men can do any job asked of them; they have to or they're laid off.

DANGEROUS

"The job is very dangerous. We have a saying that if a man starts work at 20 chances are 65 to 35 he won't live to be 65. There are about 20 deaths from falls every year and hundreds of serious injuries. Everybody has fallen at least once. I've been seriously in-

jured twice."

Klages attacked the role of the leadership of the Building Trades Council which he said would "never call a solidarity strike." In relation to the local leadership, he said:

SOLID

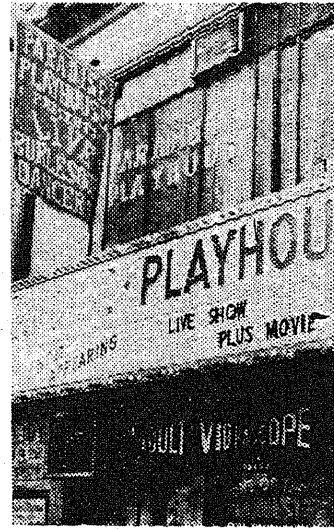
"We're very solid at this point. We've got a lot of militant guys. You know they are afraid of the word communism but they're screaming revolution. In the past two or three years, there's been a change in the way these men are seeing through things. Some of the guys are yelling revolution. If Watson sells out hammers will be flying. We'll have to get another leadership in there. That's why at this point the local leadership sounds so militant.

"Some of the men read the *Bulletin* and socialist literature. You know a couple of years ago the militants, including myself, would have had nothing to do with it. But now it's different. That's why I think something's got to be done. I feel the *Bulletin* is important and I like the articles about what's going on in other industries. When you talk about the crisis it's something I've got to read about and study more.

"But the labor party is something we need. I believe hard hats and blue collar workers would support it. It's not true that they are for Nixon. They don't like Nixon and they don't trust the Democrats. A lot of the men are neutral, but their thinking is changing. I think the crisis is the reason."

Editor's Notebook

Moral Vision



Nixon is winding up his campaign with elaborate statements about his "vision of moral values." But it appears that Nixon's vision does not even go as far as his own backyard.

His in-laws are into some pretty heavy stuff not to mention his own relation to the whole Watergate affair. The *New York Post* has now dug into some background on the fortune of Edward Finch Cox, who is married to Nixon's daughter Tricia.

This marriage was a real step up the social ladder for the Nixons. Edward's family is considered "old money" and high on the *Social Register*. Some of this "old money" we now find is being churned out of the notorious sex mills on Times Square in New York.

Edward's grandfather died in 1965 leaving a two million dollar estate, which included

three buildings on 42nd street. Edward is in line to inherit them and they are part of the family-held Finch Corporation.

One of these buildings, just a hop, skip and a jump from the office of Edward's uncle who manages the Corporation, houses the Paradise Playhouse. The Paradise offers a 25 cent pornographic "peep show" plus extras which include nudie magazines for five dollars and other unmentionables. Not surprisingly it is business men, who on their lunch hours pay three dollars to see the "live sex show" and movie at the Paradise.

Edward's uncle told the *Post* reporter that he had "been working years to clean up the Times Square area." Although his office is only three blocks away, he claimed he had "no idea" what was going on there—even though the peep shows on 42nd street are not what you would describe as inconspicuous.

One of the buildings, which houses a live sex show, is owned by the Emma J. Adams Memorial Fund, another of the family's corporations. It is listed in Albany as a charity, non-profit corporation. Its purpose is described as "to promote thrift..."

The State Investigation Commission has revealed that the peep shows on 42nd street are run by the Mafia and often pay double the normal rent—a very lucrative business.

The morality of Nixon and his in-laws as well as the entire capitalist class is for making a profit. Within this vision, anything goes.

Private Property

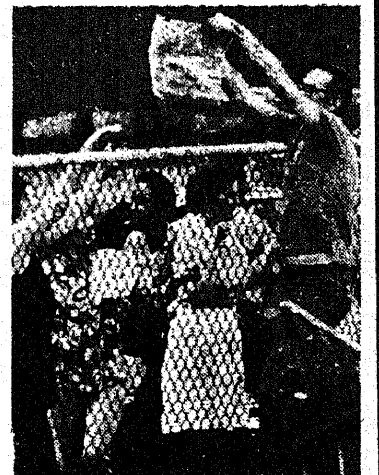
Arthur Kroc, head of the McDonald Hamburger chain, has given close to a quarter of a million dollars to Nixon's campaign for his support to a sub-minimum wage for youth. The other day, however, some of the residents of Dayton scored one against the McDonald's.

At 5 a.m., a truck from M&M Restaurant Corporations went out of control spilling \$8000 worth of hamburgers, french fries and ketchup into the street. By 8 almost all of it was gone. In Mr. Kroc's vein the local newspapers denounced the residents as looters, reporting that a spokesman for M&M had said "no one was given permission to haul away the items."

Brezhnev's Reward

The waiting time and cost of a car for Soviet workers is rising more and more. But not so for the Soviet bureaucracy which has taken power from the working class and seeks to get privileges for itself through its deals with imperialism.

Leonid Breshnev, Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has a garage filled with cars which include a Rolls Royce, a Cadillac and a Maserati as well as Soviet made limousines. Some of these are "presents" from such men as Nixon and Pompidou who are thankful for Breshnev's services to world imperialism. It is this bureaucracy that the American Communist Party so slavishly defends.



Royal Treatment

The Queen of England, who for the past two years has been complaining that she needs her million dollar budget boosted, finally got her due. Students at Stirling University in Scotland, who are bitter about budget cuts, organized a demonstration against her recent visit there.

Shouting "Queen out" this demonstration was a first for royalty. The Queen tried to keep that smile pasted on her face. The students were particularly angered over the fact that no less than \$3000 had been spent to spruce up the school for her visit.

Meanwhile, in Yugoslavia, the Queen was given a different kind of reception by the Stalinist bureaucracy. In a disgusting affair, Tito embraced her and rolled out the red carpet. So anxious was Tito to court the good favor of British imperialism that he spruced up the Byzantine-style palace on Dedinje Hill in Belgrade.

ST. LOUIS GMAD . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
absolute control over all production.

Negotiations between the shop committee and management have been proceeding up to 20 hours a day for over a month. The local press has been alerted to the possibility of an early settlement, but committeemen have reported to the Bulletin that no progress toward the settlement has been reached regarding the 12,000 Paragraph 78 work overload grievances or 1000 layoffs.

MANAGEMENT

The GM management is sitting back and waiting for this strategy of isolated short strikes to demoralize and disillusion the workers to force an acceptance of the conditions at GMAD. No strike pay is paid to the men until the second week of the strike. Under the terms of the present contract, however, GM is able to make up the production through overtime.

Throughout the UAW, the rank and file are demanding unified strike action to shut down the whole GMAD operation. At the Janesville, Wisconsin plant, 5000 workers walked out on Friday only to return to work on Tuesday and then voted by an overwhelming majority to strike again next week.

But it is clear that the men want to turn these strikes into longer strikes, in order to force the leadership to call a national strike. The dissatisfaction with Woodcock's policy of retreat was expressed by one Janesville

worker who told the Bulletin: "We're not hurting GM, and it's not costing the UAW anything either. We still pay out union dues, and this way they're not paying out any strike benefits. This is out of our pocket."

The local leadership did not even prepare the members for the two day walkout, under the guise of keeping the strike strategy a secret from General Motors. But as one UAW member remarked in disgust: "GM was probably told before the UAW knew. Woodcock probably conferred with GM to find out when the best time for them would be."

METHOD

Woodcock's method leaves the men to face the same brutal working conditions, which GMAD has created all across the country. "They're putting more work on an individual than he can possibly handle," an older worker told the Bulletin. "And if the man doesn't do it," he continued, "they send him home. Even a man who has been here 20, 30 years.

"Now you get a man who's close to 50 years old and you load him up with more things than he can carry, or more work than he can possibly do. And then you turn around and tell him, 'Well, if you don't do it, we got some men outside that are waiting for a job that can.' That's unfair."

A younger worker with 14 years at the plant explained: "My father worked here over 30 years before it was union. He

worked for 25 cents an hour. He told me that if he didn't do the job then, there were guys that were just let go, and there were other men waiting for their jobs. 'Divide and conquer,' that's what GMAD is trying to do."

At the Baltimore GMAD plant, the largest auto assembly plant on the East Coast, workers voted by a four to one margin to strike next week against the brutal speed-up and forced overtime. One UAW member who works on the line told a Bulletin reporter:

"The situation is just getting out of hand. We've got a line speed of 60 cars, which is the fastest moving line in GMAD outside of Lordstown. Overtime is required. If you refuse it, they (GM) can say 'Okay, out you go.'"

"It seems to me that the Bulletin is right about Woodcock. When Leonard first came in, I thought he would be better than Reuther. He (Reuther) always seemed to be off on some crusade whenever we needed him. I thought Leonard would be more down to earth. But this 'Apache' strategy isn't from this world.

"GMAD isn't using any 'Apache' strategy. They're moving all-out. My opinion is that we have to shut down every GMAD plant in the country. And if the union heads don't like it, we ought to dump them."

A nationwide shutdown is the only way the fight can be taken forward against GM. This must be fought for in every local. This means a fight at St. Louis and other locals that go out, to turn the hit and run strikes into real

strikes—to stay out until all the Paragraph 78 grievances are settled, and all laid off workers recalled.

There must now be an all-out fight in St. Louis to keep the strike going and to demand that the leadership mobilize all its resources and call on all other GMAD locals to fight for a nationwide shutdown.

Rank and file caucuses must be organized in all GMAD locals around this central demand and

for preparations to mobilize the entire labor movement against any government intervention on behalf of GM.

The movement for a nationwide GM strike can only be taken forward against Woodcock with an understanding that this is a fight against Nixon and Congress, a fight requiring the organization of a labor party and a complete break with McGovern and the Democrats.

CANADA . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

workers in the Federal election.

The election of an NDP government in Canada is not simply a national question. By this action, Canadian workers would give a decisive lead to their American brothers who now, faced with the complete political bankruptcy of McGovern and the Democrats, must confront 'the task of building their own labor party.

But the main obstacle in the defeat of the Liberals and the Tories is the NDP leadership itself. David Lewis, NDP leader, has made the center of his campaign the tax swindling of the big corporations. He talks about "corporate welfare bums," and has revealed the massive amounts of money that the government has given the giant corporations in direct handouts and tax concessions.

These figures are important—but not the way Lewis sees

them. They expose the total collusion of the government and the corporations and the massive corruption that saturates the government. At the same time, they also reveal the extent of the crisis of Canadian capitalism which cannot survive any longer without such massive government "aid."

But for Lewis this is simply an example of the "unfair and inefficient" tax system. He does not even blame the corporations. All he wants is a few tax loopholes plugged.

At a time when the Tories and the Liberals are proposing a wage freeze and a strike ban, Lewis' campaign is a diversion from the real issues facing the working class. Faced with a deep hatred workers feel for this government, Lewis is trying to channel it in a totally reformist direction, without at all challenging the Liberals and the Tories. His call to the unions to make "socially acceptable demands" is really a call for a voluntary wage freeze.

Lewis voted with Trudeau and Stanfield in Parliament to break the Quebec and British Columbia dock strike. He called the dock strike "indefensible." This shows that Lewis really agrees with Stanfield on a strike ban in "essential services."

At the same time, in a period of mass layoffs and the threat to close down whole industries, Lewis has come out in open opposition to any but the most meager form of nationalization. Based on such a program, he completely disarms workers in the struggle to defeat the Liberals and the Tories. He has even openly said that the NDP "has no realistic chance of forming the next government."

Not only is this an acceptance of defeat even before the battle has been fought, but it lends credence to the Tory claim that they are the only alternative to Trudeau and that a vote for the NDP is only a "protest vote."

Lewis disarms workers from the main struggle in this election—which is the defeat of the Liberals and the Tories. An NDP government must be brought to power, but one that will be pledged to socialist policies to protect workers' rights.

This must mean today a policy of full employment through a 30 hour workweek at 40 hours pay to stop the capitalist drive to massive unemployment. This means nationalization of all basic industry under workers' control without compensation to the former owners.

An NDP government must be pledged to guaranteeing no wage freeze and no strike ban. The struggle for such a program and for the victory of the NDP against the Liberals and the Tories is inseparable from the struggle to drive Lewis and company out of the labor movement and the construction of an alternative leadership for the Canadian working class.

P.C. STATEMENT . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Leonard Woodcock, McGovern's most enthusiastic backer, does his best to break up and isolate this movement.

It is now more clear than ever before that America's rulers are determined to beat back the American working class as part of a trade war against other capitalist nations and because of the impossibly inflated position it has put the dollar in.

As the movement among auto workers indicates, these attacks will be fought against. But what becomes most critical is the construction of a leadership of the American working class conscious of these attacks and their origins in the crisis of capitalism itself, and therefore capable of beating back the attacks and taking up the fight for a labor party, for socialism.

This is the critical role that only the Bulletin plays. This is why the Bulletin must plan now to expand its size and cir-

culatation, to improve its coverage, while at the same time preparing for a daily paper in the future.

We have already come to an agreement on a new press which will be installed in late February. This press is particularly well suited for color work making it possible for us to introduce four color process photos in our publications in the future and in other ways making them technically the most advanced and effective in the workers movement. This is important as we see our press as the alternative to that of the capitalist class, the New York Daily News, etc.

We have also taken steps to procure new facilities for the press which will allow us to combine under one roof the editorial, production and printing facilities. This will cut down the time between the writing up of a story and its appearing in print. This will be critical with a daily

paper.

We are in negotiations with the trade unions so that our press will be a union, shop unlike some other papers claiming to be written in the interests of the working people. This is very important as printing trade workers today are among those hit hardest with unemployment and threats from scab operations.

We can now announce the following next steps in the development of the Bulletin:

- We will begin publication of the Bulletin as a 24 page paper April 1. We will add one more page of foreign news to cover the critical struggles in Europe, Asia and Latin America as the worldwide capitalist crisis deepens. We will add two more pages of Midwest news as part of the development of the Bulletin in industrial cities like Detroit, Dayton, Youngstown, Chicago, Gary, Milwaukee and Minneapolis. We will add one more

Bulletin
Weekly organ of the workers league
JULY 23, 1972
VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER FORTY-ONE

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West Coast News

Chavez Halts Picketing As Farmworkers Face Jail

BY BARRY GREY

POPLAR—With the completion of the grape harvest, the United Farm Workers' picketing against White River Farms has been suspended until the pruning season begins in mid-December.

In the most bitter strike since the founding of the union, some 400 farmworkers have been arrested.

Last week, the courts banned further protest picketing outside Buttes' Oakland headquarters by farmworkers and union leaders, including Alameda Central Labor Council head Richard Groulx, who had been demanding that Buttes negotiate with the UFW.

Court proceedings have begun for 70 UFW members, including the entire leadership of the strike, charged with violating the injunctions. They face six month sentences and \$500 fines.

Buttes' attempt to break the White River strike, which has cost them an estimated three million dollars in lost crop and private police, coincides with a massive drive to pass Proposition 22 in the November elections.

If passed, the provisions of this bill will outlaw the union by prohibiting strikes during the harvest, outlawing boycotts, and disenfranchising migrant farmworkers, that is, over 90 percent of the membership.

Meanwhile, the requirements of the deepening trade war against Europe and Japan are forcing the agribusiness interests to prepare even more vicious drives to smash the UFW.

Last week, California Agriculture Director C.B. Christianson testified before the State Senate Committee on Agriculture and Water Resources. He stated that California growers must reverse the deficit of farm exports to Europe and Japan. What this means is a massive introduction of machinery to cut production costs by eliminating thousands of farmworkers.

One of the key issues of the White River strike is the demand by Buttes to introduce harvesting machines onto union-organized fields. Each machine

does the work of 85 men. Already thousands of unorganized farmworkers have been replaced by such machines. Manual labor has been virtually driven off of the cotton fields in the San Joaquin Valley.

One striking farmworker from Poplar told the Bulletin: "When I was working here in 1961, there were 80 families working. This year, in four days, they did it with machines. There used to be workers picking prunes over here. Now it's all machines."

Chavez' recent threat to call off the strike and expel "violent" strikers has angered many of the ranks. They are preparing to break from Chavez' bankrupt liberalism in order to defend themselves.

This is precisely why the Communist Party is desperately seeking to muddle the life and death class issues which underlie the attacks on the UFW. In the latest *People's World*, the CP ran an editorial full of tears and pity for the farmworkers, but not a word about Chavez' vicious turn against his own ranks.

What Chavez and the CP have in common is a desperate fear of the movement for political independence of the working class through a break with the Democrats and Republicans and the construction of a labor party.



Cesar Chavez speaks at UCLA against Proposition 22. As election nears growers are pressing for "yes" vote favoring anti-UFW bill.

UAW Head Ducks GMAD Issue At McGovern Rally

BY BARRY GREY

PALO ALTO—UAW President Leonard Woodcock spoke in the Bay Area last week to drum up support for the flagging campaign of George McGovern.

On Sunday afternoon at the union hall of UAW Local 1364 across from the GM plant in Fremont, Woodcock spoke at a "candidates fair," at which local Democratic Party candidates were touted by local UAW bureaucrats. Each candidate thanked the bureaucrats for their support, without which they would not have a prayer of getting elected.

Not one spoke of how he was going to solve the life and death questions of the Pay Board, inflation, unemployment, and speed-up hitting auto workers and the rest of the labor movement.

Woodcock was introduced by Jerry Whipple, the Western Regional Director of the UAW, who was swept into office at the last UAW convention on a mandate to take up the fight which Paul Schrade refused to carry out, against the Pay Board's cut in the aerospace contract and the massive layoffs. Whipple spoke in glowing terms of Walter Reuther and his successor, Woodcock.

Woodcock spoke at great length against Nixon's policies. He had very little to say in favor of McGovern except that McGovern's "supposed anti-labor record is nonsense." He openly defended McGovern's vote against the abolition of the right to work laws.

He stated: "We had an understanding with the Senator on that. If his vote would make any difference, he was to vote to end the filibuster. If not, he could vote the way a Senator from South Dakota would be expected to vote."

Woodcock is sitting on top of a dynamite keg and the local bureaucracy knows it. The vicious drive in the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) to cut production costs through massive automation, layoffs, and speed-up which has produced a wave of simul-

taneous strikes across the country, is hitting the Fremont plant as well.

It is no accident, therefore, that Woodcock's appearance was virtually kept secret from the ranks of Local 1364. Of the approximately 200 people present, only a handful were auto workers. The rest were union officials and Democratic Party officials.

In the course of his talk Woodcock did not even mention the strike wave in auto and the demand coming out of locals for a national strike which he is desperately trying to stop.

At the Stanford meeting the same evening, sponsored by the campus McGovernites, Woodcock was forced to expose his real position. Supporters of the Workers League and the Young Socialists demanded to know why he refused to call a national strike and break from the capitalist parties and form a labor party.

Woodcock stated categorically that he was against a national strike because: "Workers join unions to protect themselves, not to start a revolution." He added, a national strike would be "an invitation to disaster."

Woodcock Cancels Van Nuys Vote

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

VAN NUYS—The widespread sentiment here for national strike action was expressed by one worker employed in the body shop of GMAD who stated: "We're sick and tired of negotiations, hit and run didn't get us anything in 1968 and it won't get us anything now. Isolated strike action isn't any good, we need a national strike."

It was in fear of this militancy that the negotiating committee

BAKERY . . .

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tices, combined with rising prices, threaten more shutdowns across the nation in the baking industry. According to the October 6 *Wall Street Journal*, some 300 medium sized and small bakeries "could be wiped out" in the immediate future. American bakeries nationally closed five plants last year and are preparing to close another, six or more.

Davidson-Sunbeam "requested" that the Portland employees accept a 15 percent pay cut over, at least, three months in the "hope" that the company could continue in business.

Akervik asserted that the employees "in the main" were willing to accept the wage cut, but the unions "rejected it

despite the contrary wishes of their workers." He concludes that the unions "finally spelled the end of the bakeries."

Davidson employees, represented by the Teamsters and the Bakers and Confectioners unions, exposed this sham in interviews with the Bulletin. As one Teamster said:

"I support the union. If you don't, you're busting down your whole industry. At the Tuesday meeting, there were a few suggestions to donate the 15 percent. A couple of guys had over 20 years and they are retiring. They figured if they could push this through, even for a short while, they could retire under the new contract coming up in a month and would come out better. It's not worth it."

The following telegram was received by the National Conference for a Labor Party Now! in Chicago Oct. 21.

You are meeting at a most critical time in the history of the American trade union movement. Nixon is preparing plans to destroy the union movement of this nation. We cannot depend on the union bureaucrats to defend the interests of the workers, the historical task of building a labor party can no longer be postponed. You delegates have taken an important step towards that goal. Your decision at this conference can change the course of history. Much success. You can count on my help in building an American labor party.

R.P. Sulenta
UAW Local 216
Southgate, California

BRIDGE . . .

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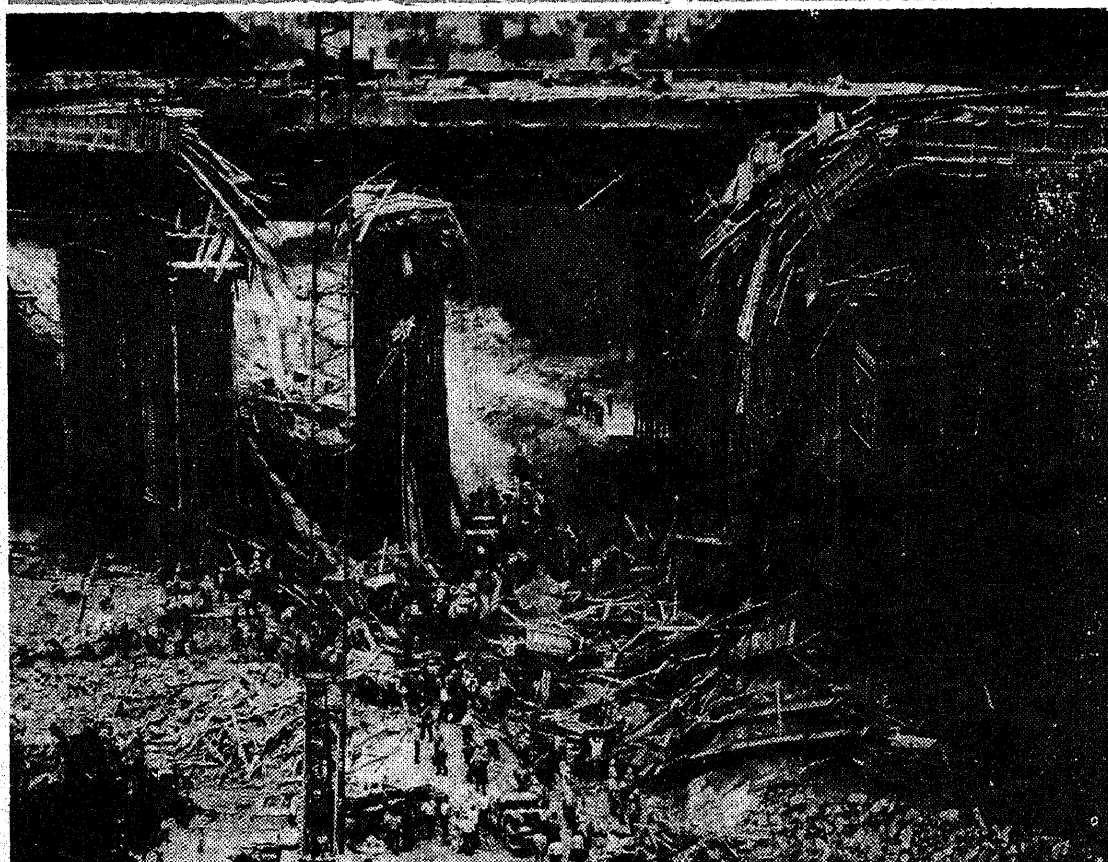
"All this crap about inconclusive investigation is just that, crap. Those men were murdered and everybody here knows that."

The position of the state, however, stands in marked contrast to the above worker's statement. Keith McKean, Assistant District Engineer, in charge of construction for the State Division of Highways, stated that: "It is somewhat doubtful whether we ever will find out the cause, and even if we do, it won't be released to the public because of likely litigation."

The lesson must be clear, as the crisis develops, that Polich-Benedict represents the road along which all contractors will seek to travel in their drive to erode every safety and working condition ever won by building tradesmen. Only the fight for an independent labor party can defend these rights.

Although GM has rehired all men laid off before the model change plus 100, the exhausting line rate remains the same. Already new plans are being laid for the installation of several million dollars of new equipment designed to increase the line capacity to 60 cars per hour, meaning more layoffs and speed-up. It is precisely this which the negotiating committee refused to confront.

St. Louis' renewed call for strike action shows the way. A fight under the policy of defeating speed-up and layoffs with a national GMAD strike must now be taken forward.



Six construction workers were killed when forms made of overused material collapsed during concrete pouring at bridge site in Pasadena. Workers on the site called it murder by profit-hungry company.

Speed - Up Kills Six Men When Bridge Collapses

BY SHEILA BREHM

PASADENA—At 1:40 p.m. Tuesday afternoon on October 17, six construction men working on the new Foothill Freeway Bridge here, a suburb of Los Angeles, plunged 90 feet to the riverbed below and were crushed beneath tons of concrete, steel and wooden beams as the center section gave way during the pour.

An additional 21 were sped to the hospital in the ensuing rescue effort suffering a variety of disabling injuries.

Among the dead, most of whom were family men, was carpenter John R. Calleros, 26, of Santa Ana whose wife Linda had given birth to their second son, Andrew, only a month ago.

Directly implicated in the disaster was leading bridge builder and prime contractor on the Foothill Freeway job, Polich-Benedict. Polich-Benedict has a history of similar accidents, most notable among these being a 1970 bridge collapse which claimed the life of one worker.

The reasons underlying this catastrophe were simply expressed by the President of the

local cement finishers union, who has called for an investigation. He said that: "Push, push, push, the men working on that job were driven so hard they were unable to take the steps necessary for safe and proper construction."

To get a closer picture of the conditions that prevailed on the job site, the Bulletin interviewed several workmen employed there. The universal response was that: "Polich-Benedict is a slave driver."

An apprentice carpenter stated that: "The only reason I took the job was because work was slow at the time. I'd rather drive 100 miles a day than work for them again." Fights are continually on the verge of breaking out as foremen refer to their men as "mules" and work them to the

point of exhaustion under extremely hazardous conditions.

One worker stated that unsanitary conditions exist because men have been threatened with the loss of their jobs for taking time to use the privies. All commonly agreed that "not enough time was allowed to properly shore the deck," and that many of the steel and wooden beams employed in falsework had been re-used to the point that they were twisted and rotten.

One of the 300 building tradesmen who clawed through the wreckage desperately searching for the three men whose bodies had become entombed in the hardened concrete stated with grief and anger that:

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Bakery Closure Ends Jobs For 350 Workers

BY DENNIS FULTON

PORTLAND, Oregon, October 14—The largest bakery in Portland, the Davidson Sunbeam Baking Company, closed down this weekend forcing almost 350 employees into unemployment.

Merle Akervik, the vice president of the 60 year old company, claimed that "illegal marketing practices of competitors, persisted in with predatory intent have constituted the major cause" of the shutdown. But the final straw, according to Akervik, was the rise in the cost of

flour following the recent sale of wheat to the Soviet Union.

He suggested that some big baking companies, like Continental, a subsidiary of ITT, were forewarned about the wheat sale in time to "book ahead." The flour price rose 23 percent within three months.

These cutthroat pricing practices

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Editorial

The Hall-Tyner Campaign And Stalinist History

In an election brochure distributed for the Hall-Tyner campaign, the People's World is forced to expose a bit of Stalinist history in order to justify its present campaign.

Unable to confront their real history the Stalinists bring up the past only to falsify and distort the real lessons.

They vigorously deny that Hall and Tyner will in any way take away votes from McGovern. "This reminds us of the 1948 campaign when Truman came from behind in all the polls and defeated Dewey."

They claim that: "The great Progressive Party campaign headed by Henry Wallace moved the political spectrum to the left, helped mobilize the workers and the masses on issues with the result that Dewey was defeated, just as Nixon can be defeated in this campaign."

The Wallace campaign, although supplied with an army of campaign workers mobilized by the Stalinists, was simply a "progressive" capitalist campaign with a program claiming to be the best defense of the capitalist system.

For the Stalinists it was a last ditch attempt to counter the growing cold war with the policies of "peaceful co-existence" by appealing to a section of the ruling class.

For the working class, disgusted with Truman's Taft-Hartley strikebreaking and his threats to draft strikers, it was a stab in the back. But in 1948 the Stalinists would never have dared to present the lie about the "victory" over Dewey that the PW puts forward today.

After the election the Daily Worker confessed that: "Truman won the election by a hypocritical copying of the speeches of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and by imitating as much as he dared the charges of the Progressive Party and Henry Wallace." William Z. Foster admitted in 1951, as the victor over Dewey was pushing through Smith Act convictions of Stalinist leaders, that: "Organized labor threw away its huge vote on two reactionary presidential candidates, Truman and Dewey."

At the height of the purges and expulsions of the Stalinists, Foster was forced to state: "Capitalism can never be made 'progressive;' it is hopelessly reactionary. Mr. Henry Wallace is fooling the people, if not himself, when he sets a goal of 'progressive' capitalism."

It was precisely this policy of "fooling the people" that the Stalinists carried out in their support to Wallace's bankrupt campaign. This was their contribution to insuring that the Truman administration would be able to carry out its strikebreaking attacks, purge entire unions from the CIO, jail communists and prepare the way for the Korean War and McCarthyism.

Today, with attacks being prepared against the working class on a scale far greater than even Truman could have conceived, Stalinism is so desperate to confine labor to the Democratic Party that it must hark back to Truman as the representative of labor's victory over Dewey.

This is the real logic of the Hall-Tyner campaign that drives the Stalinists to line up with every reactionary bureaucrat who supports McGovern.

The construction of a labor party today requires exposing the entire rotten history of Stalinism.

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