

Bulletin

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

Twice-Weekly Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers League

VOLUME TEN NUMBER FIFTY EIGHT 394

TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

Labor Must Act To - DRIVE THIS CRIMINAL OUT NOW!

HOOVER
AUG 5 1974
INSTITUTION



*Impeachment
Resolution
Declares:*

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BY DAVID NORTH

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“In the conduct of the Office of President of the United States,” states the impeachment resolution, “Richard M. Nixon, in violation of his oath of office and of the Bill of Rights, has used the powers of the President to infringe the individual rights of citizens of the United States.”

Citing the political crimes of Nixon, the document charges that he “has violated the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures guaranteed by the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution, by authorizing illegal electronic surveillance of newsmen, government employees, and former government employees for his political benefit...”

Moreover, Nixon “has violated the freedom of speech, press and assembly guaranteed

to citizens by the First Amendment to the Constitution...”

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The proposed impeachment resolution, based on thousands of pages of evidence compiled over a period of more than six months, accuses Nixon of a host of felonies including not only the coverup of the Watergate break-in but also of gross personal corruption.

Special counsel Doar, with the support of Republican counsel Albert E. Jenner, concluded that Nixon “is personally and directly responsible” for the Watergate coverup.

In order to carry out this “criminal conspiracy,” Nixon resorted to “the subornation of perjury, the purchase of silence of those directly participating in the burglary, the obstruction of justice, the destruction of evidence, improper and unlawful in-

terference with the conduct of lawful investigation by the Department of Justice, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Office of the Special Prosecutor, improper and unlawful misuse of other agencies of the executive branch, including the C.I.A., and the release of deliberately false and misleading statements from the White House and by the President.”

The notorious “plumbers unit” was set up by Nixon “for the purpose of undertaking covert activities without regard to the civil rights of citizens of the United States and in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States.”

Nixon's criminal handling of his own finances included claiming tax exemptions which “constituted a Fraud upon the United States,” the use of government funds to finance his estates at San Clemente and Key Biscayne and using funds for the benefit of his family.

Presidential press secretary Ronald Ziegler has lashed out at

(Continued On Page 12)

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BY MELODY FARROW

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The Turkish government's agreement to the cease-fire indicates that Premier Bulent Ecevit's immediate aim was to establish a position of military strength from which to negotiate. Bulent has declared he does not seek to control the island, but only to protect Turkey's rights over the Turkish population.

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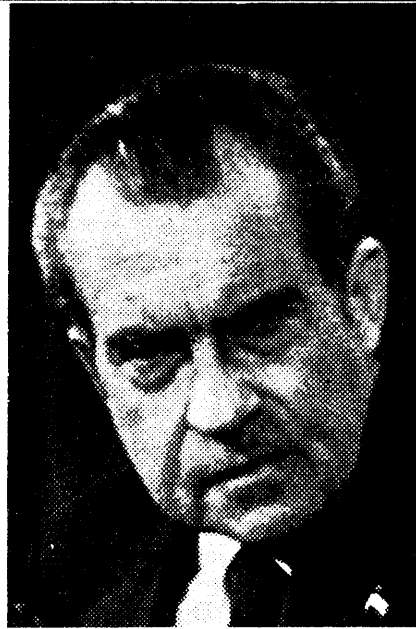
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Portuguese Farmers Strike

Leaflets distributed to 800 villages in the Alentejo region of Portugal where farm laborers are on strike.

The workers of the Alentejo area know that:

1. The poverty in Alentejo existed even before the fascism of Salazar and Caetano.
2. The poverty in Alentejo is not poverty for everybody, but poverty for the workers and the rich for the owners.
3. The real and most direct enemies of the Alentejo workers were not the "Pide" (secret police) but the owners, swollen with wealth.
4. The "Pide" are arrested but the owners remain free; they are still paying starvation wages, they refuse still to give work to those who need it, they still put thousands of escudos into the bank. The exploiters, owners of the land, should be where the "Pides" are.
5. The principle of "the land to those who work it" is not, for the workers, just words, but an urgent task, to be achieved by the workers in unity.
6. "Land reform" is not writing laws in offices, without listening to those who really work on the land.
7. "Land reform" must be directed by the workers organized in committees or soviets of agricultural workers, which will tell the government what is to be the future of the land.
8. It is urgent that the emigrant workers and soldiers are brought back and are able to work the land at present left uncultivated.

Conscious of all this, the rural workers of Alentejo have held meetings in their unions (the old "Houses of the People") to organize themselves against the maneuvers of the owners, who in the last week have sacked several people because they demanded wage increases.

EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO WORK.

For the owners it was very easy to keep the tractor and agricultural machine opera-

tors and sack all other workers. If the machine collected the corn, they would not be so concerned about raising the wages of the machine operators, because they are few, and the work takes less time.

ALL FOR ONE AND ONE FOR ALL!

Faced with these dirty maneuvers by the owners, the workers decided in unity to present to the owners the following demands:

1. Tractor and machine men: 200 escudos. Men employed in gathering the corn 170 escudos. Women employed gathering the corn 120 escudos.
2. Forty-hour week.
3. Immediate re-employment of those sacked and guaranteed employment till the end of the harvest.
4. Unless these demands are accepted in their entirety, all workers will stop work and will occupy the machines and workplaces until their pressing demands are satisfied.

Conscious of following the example of our brother Catarina Enfilia we make this appeal to the other comrades, rural workers of Plas, Vale Vargo, Aldela Nova, Sobral, Salvada, Quintos, Beringel, Pedragao, and all the villages of the Alentejo region to join us in this struggle for our class interests. We direct the same appeal to all workers in the country who know that their brothers, the peasants, are their best allies in the struggle against the capitalists. In every village we are going to form workers' committees. Workers, Forward!

Together we will win!
Bread, peace and land
to those who work it!
Long live Communism!
Comrades! Workers on the
land,

When the work ends,
The struggle will continue,
we can be sure.

The people will win.
Long live Communism!
Read this and discuss it
with your workmates.

Nazi Hunter On Trial In Germany

Reprinted from Workers Press, daily Trotskyist newspaper of the British Workers Revolutionary Party.

The trial of Beate Klarsfeld in Cologne, West Germany, last week showed clearly just how much protection the war criminals of Nazism enjoy under the social-democratic regime.

Beate Klarsfeld is a specialist in tracking down Nazis who have escaped justice for their crimes during the war.

One of her most difficult problems, however, is the attitude of the West German authorities themselves. Hundreds of former Nazis known to have committed horrible crimes are living in West Germany either openly or under thin disguise.

They are protected by the law and thanks to various statutes limitation most of them are immune inside Germany from prosecution. Occasionally one or two small-fry are dragged into the courts and given light sentences, but the big boys go scot-free.

They can even claim—and get—protection from the authori-

ties should anyone try to revenge himself against them for the crimes they committed in the past.

In fact, it appears there are a number of former concentration camp inmates sentenced in 1945 for killing SS guards who are still serving life sentences in West German jails.

But nothing like this has happened to Kurt Lischka, the ex-head of the Gestapo in occupied Paris, who was personally responsible for the deportation of 100,000 French Jews to Nazi death camps during the war.

In 1950 he was sentenced to life imprisonment in his absence by a French court, but the German authorities refused to hand him over. He has lived very comfortably ever since with a government pension.

Two years ago Beate Klarsfeld and some of her friends tried to kidnap Lischka and carry him over the frontier into France to serve his sentence. The kidnap was thwarted and the German authorities brought Mrs. Klarsfeld to trial on kidnap charges.

She surrendered to the West German warrant voluntarily and last week appeared in court to face Judge Viktor de Somoskedy. Anti-fascists from France, some wearing concentration

Portugal CP Joins Civil War Cabinet

BY BARRY GREY

General Antonio de Spinoza swore in his new military-dominated cabinet with a clear mandate to take civil war measures against the working class.

Spinoza, speaking on television, said: "The political life of the country is going to go through a new phase of discipline. Responsibility implies that somebody has the power to rule and to impose respect, and that somebody is the state."

Following the swearing-in ceremonies, Spinoza said, clearly referring to striking workers: "We cannot blame just reactionary forces for the excesses that have been taking place in the streets, the businesses, and even in the civil government."

The setting up of a new government marks a decision by the Portuguese ruling class to abandon the pretense of democracy.

In the new cabinet, all of the key posts have been handed over to the military. The new premier, Vasco dos Santos Goncalves, is a leader of the Armed Forces Movement, the group of officers which led the coup last April.

JOINED

The Stalinists have joined the new government, despite the fact that Spinoza removed a member of the Communist Party from his former position in the Labor Ministry and replaced him with a military man. CP leader Alvaro Cunhal is again a Minister Without Portfolio.

With their entry into a military government pledged to crush the working class, the Stalinists have gone beyond the treachery of popular front governments of the 1930s in which they joined

camp uniform, were in the public gallery and on the street outside.

The judge rejected an appeal from French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing, who had expressed concern to the West German government that Mrs. Klarsfeld might be given a severe prison sentence.

Giscard d'Estaing's letter drew attention to the fact that the 1971 Franco-German extradition treaty has yet to be ratified by the Bonn parliament and it appealed for unrestricted right of testimony for French witnesses at the trial.

Until the treaty is ratified, Lischka and others like him cannot be prosecuted by West German authorities for their crimes in France. Nor can he be extradited to serve his sentence in France.

Mrs. Klarsfeld's kidnap attempt was specifically designed to draw attention to the scandal of this legal situation. Lischka's status as a convicted murderer did not prevent the prosecution calling him to testify against Mrs. Klarsfeld.

The trial provided a vivid demonstration that the old Nazi tradition is not lost in "democratic" West Germany.



Demonstrators expressing their anger at the police in Lisbon.

with a section of the bourgeoisie. Today they are mere puppets for ex-fascists, like Spinoza, and help organize the violence of the capitalist state machine against the working class.

The present cabinet is the result of the deal between the Stalinists and the Armed Forces Movement.

The Armed Forces Movement, which the Stalinists support as "progressive" and "democratic," has not only taken the leadership of the new cabinet, but has established a special commando force. The "Operation Commando of the Continent," is to organize "military force to defend the program of the Armed Forces Movement and prevent a right-wing coup."

This commando formation will be used to defend Portuguese capitalism against the working class.

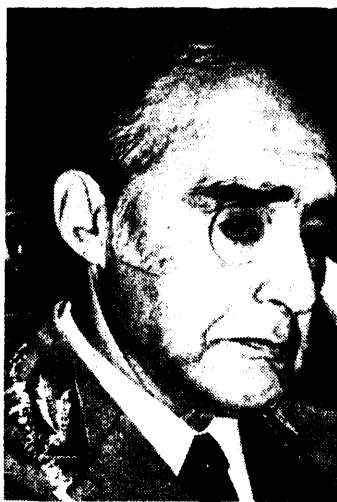
Recently, representatives of the big banks and companies held a meeting in Lisbon on the economic situation. They were unanimous in deploring "...the growing strength of the Communist Party." Spinoza himself has more and more frequently made statements against the "Communist peril."

DISORIENT

The military will use the Stalinists as long as they can to hold back and disorient the working class, while they prepare to impose a dictatorship more brutal than the Caetano regime.

From the day of Caetano's overthrow, the International Committee of the Fourth International warned that no section of the military or the bourgeoisie would carry out the democratic reforms promised by the Armed Forces Movement and Spinoza.

We stated that the international crisis of capitalism would shatter the Stalinists' efforts to save the Portuguese ruling class. For the working class the only alternative is an independent struggle for power and socialism.



General Spinoza.

South Korea Sentences 14 To Death

BY FRANK MARTIN

Ninety-one people have been convicted of subversion and 14 sentenced to death in a series of political show trials in South Korea.

Over 100 more are awaiting trial as the dictatorship of President Chung Hee Park attempts to stamp out all opposition to its rule.

The latest trials resulted in the sentencing to death of 10 students along with a leading Korean poet, Kim Chi Ha, by a military court. Their lawyer, Kang Shin Ok, was arrested outside the courtroom after he denounced the trial.

The latest arrests and trials stem from the emergency decrees announced by President Park on April 3 of this year. These decrees make it punishable by death for anyone: "to advocate, instigate, propagate, broadcast, report, publish, or otherwise communicate to others" any criticism of the government.

A campaign of terror has been unleashed against anyone who might, in any way, be considered a danger to the regime. Yun Po Sun, a former president, two Protestant clergyman, and a professor of American history, are facing a court-martial, accused of aiding dissident students and calling for Park's ouster. They face the death sentence.

OPPOSITION

A leader of the opposition New Democratic Party, Kim Young Sam, was arrested and held for interrogation just before he was scheduled to appear at a news conference to demand an end to the emergency measures.

Kim Dae Jung, an opposition politician, is standing trial for violation of election laws. He was kidnapped from a Tokyo hotel room earlier this year by South Korean Central Intelligence Agents and has been under house arrest ever since.

The trials have been closed off to all foreign correspondents while the heavily censored South Korean press has not said a word about the trials.

Park came to power in the early 1960s. He claimed to be initiating a new era of liberalization and democracy.

In the last few years, he has proclaimed himself president for life and used naked terror against his opponents. He has always been propped up by the American government and the thousands of American troops which still occupy South Korea.

Let's Classify It National Security

BY DAVID NORTH

The latest of seven volumes of evidence released by the House Judiciary Committee shows that Nixon ordered the cover-up of the Watergate break-in because he feared that an investigation would expose the vast network for illegal surveillance developed in the White House.



Nixon

Hush money was paid to E. Howard Hunt, according to the evidence, because Nixon's top agent was threatening to tell "all the seamy things he had done for Ehrlichman."

The Committee has declared that it will vote this week on whether to recommend impeachment of Nixon to the House of Representatives. As the closed door sessions come to a conclusion, the Committee is releasing voluminous material in such a way as to blunt the sharp edge of the evidence against Nixon. Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans want to fuel the burning hatred felt by millions of workers for this criminal government.

Moreover, the congressmen want to leave themselves some room to impeach Nixon on the most limited ground possible, and thus give lawyer James D. St. Clair the most favorable grounds for fighting impeachment on constitutional technicalities.

But the evidence in these volumes reveals how Nixon worked from the moment he entered office in 1969 to develop a conspiracy against the basic democratic rights of the working class. Under the guise of "national security," a cover cynically drawn up by Nixon, Nixon and his aides converted the White House into a secret nerve center of police opera-

tions and intelligence aimed against their political opponents.

Among Nixon's major concerns were newspaper accounts of the secret activities of American imperialism, and the White House plumbers emerged originally to act against reporters writing the stories and even government officials who leaked the information.

CBS correspondent Marvin Kalb was one of four reporters whose phones were illegally tapped. The White House espionage expanded against all political opponents, especially radical and socialist groups.

Far from being unaware of illegal operations, Nixon in fact inspired them and spent a good part of the working day going over details with White House police-types like Egil Krogh.

In order to stop leaks, Nixon told Krogh that he wanted lie-detector tests ordered on state department personnel to frighten them.

The following exchange took place between Nixon and Krogh on July 24, 1971:

N: Listen, I don't know anything about polygraphs and I don't know how accurate they are but I know they'll scare the hell out of people.

K: They scare people. They're clumsy. They ask a lot of tough questions.

N: Um.

K: Personal questions about a

man's sex life.

N: Um.

K: What his mother was like and things like that.

The transcripts also show that the idea of "national security" to cover illegal political surveillance like the Ellsberg break-in was drawn up by Nixon and Ehrlichman just like they drew up the scenario for the Watergate cover-up nearly two years later.

N: And maybe another approach to it would be set up and remember I already mentioned to set up a new classification.

K: Right.

N: Which we would call what? Let's just call it a new classifica— Don't use top secret for me ever again. I never want to see top secret in this God Damn office. I think we just solved—shall we call it—Uh, John, what would be a good name? "President's Secur—" Or, uh—"Eyes Only" is a silly thing too. It doesn't mean anything anymore. Uh—

K: We used "Presidential Document" before with one of the counsel we were working with, but that didn't—There's some—

E: How about—Uh, Uh, looking forward to the (Ellsberg) court case, I wonder if we could get the words "National Security" in it.

N: Yeah.

E: So that "National," uh, just say "National Security Classified" or National Security—

K: (unintelligible).

E: "Secret or uh—

N: Well, uh, not the word "Secret" should not be used.

E: All right, uh, uh

N: Because you see "Secret" has now been compromised.

E: How about "Privilege"?

N: "Privilege" is, is not strong.

E: Too soft. Too soft.

N: "National Security—" uh, "National Security—" uh—

E: "Restricted."

"Restricted."

N: Right. "National Security—" and, uh—I agree to "National, Na—, National Security—"

E: "Restriction"?

N: "Priority."

E: "Controlled"?

N: Or "National Security"— "Priority"—"Restricted"— "Controlled."

E: Oh, we'll—Let us work on it.

After this round of conspiratorial password, Nixon stated:

"What I am getting at is this: I want a new classification for that purpose and everything that I consider important and only those things I consider important will have that classification."

The case against Nixon is so overwhelming that the claims of both Democrats and Republicans that a prima facie case has not been presented to justify conviction is an utter fraud.

More disgusting than the stalling tactics of the big business politicians is the utter silence of the trade union bureaucracy and its refusal to call for action by the working class independent of the two parties to throw Nixon out.

Nixon must go and the alternative to this gangster government must be prepared through the calling of a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.



Henry Kissinger (left) with Egypt's President Anwar Sadat.

Sadat Opens Egypt To US Investment

BY MELODY FARROW
Treasury Secretary William Simon ended a three-day visit to Egypt after signing an agreement with President Anwar Sadat to make the economy "safe and attractive" for US investments.

adamantly opposed to any concessions on the \$180 million that Egypt owes to the US.

ENTERPRISE

Simon urged Sadat to introduce a "freer enterprise approach" and to end price controls and government subsidies that would provoke a sharp rise in inflation.

Chase Manhattan and First National City Bank have already opened offices in Cairo and have applied for licenses to operate commercial banks in Egypt.

Simon will also visit Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the major oil producing nations to discuss investment of their huge funds in US government and private financial institutions.

This trip is motivated by the desperate need of the US to find cheap and profitable outlets for its capital, under the conditions of slump, skyrocketing inflation, and the threat of banking collapses.

It is now clear that Sadat's key role in the cease-fire deal to end the war with Israel was in exchange for trade and commercial deals with the United States.

Sadat is seeking to bring together the leaders of Syria, Jordan, and the Palestinian movement for a strategy meeting before the Arab summit on September 3.

Sadat's "open door" policy to US capital will create massive opposition among the Egyptian workers and peasants and are a prelude to civil war.

This agreement represents the destruction of the nationalization measures and the state control of the economy instituted by former president Nasser in the 1950s and will deal a tremendous blow against the living standards of the Egyptian people.

The agreement provides for a joint commission to settle claims totaling \$7.5 million by Americans whose property was expropriated in 1952, and also sets up a US training program of technical advice for Egypt's finance and tax departments.

The formal communique, however, mentions only the minor aspects of the agreement.

Egypt has just passed a new investment law that for the first time allows foreign companies to repatriate profits made on exports and establishes duty free zones in Port Said, Cairo, and Alexandria for foreign factories. It also guarantees against nationalization or confiscation.

In exchange, there are unconfirmed reports that Simon will try to pressure the Arab countries to reduce the sizeable debt owed by Egypt. Simon is

Trinidad - Tobago Unions Denounce CIA School

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The Trinidad and Tobago Labor Congress will hold a special executive meeting following press reports of CIA involvement in the Trinidad labor movement.

At least 21 trade unionists are presently on scholarship and dozens more have been trained by the American Institute of Free Labor Development (AIFLD). The AIFLD is a cover organization, run and funded by the CIA.

AIFLD offers training programs for trade unionists, usually two month courses, under the name of "industrial relations." The courses are given at the Front Royal Institute in Virginia.

Labor Congress President Nathaniel Crichlow had received reports that while the trade unionists were at Front Royal, attempts were made to: "indoctrinate them in something or the other."

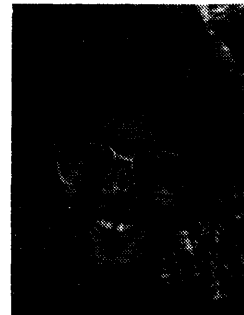
Some of the leading figures in the Trinidad labor movement, including Ursula Gittens of the Public Services Association and Gaston Benjamin, a former secretary-general of the Caribbean Congress of Labor, are AIFLD graduates.

Oil Workers President George Weekes, who has recently stopped accepting AIFLD scholarships for his union members, commented: "We felt that the fact of these officers attending these courses had a lot to do with the confusion that took place in the union, which also involved my arrest and detention."

"The officers failed to take over the union and joined private enterprise instead."

AIFLD is backed by the US AFL-CIO bureaucracy and George Meany. It maintains extensive operations throughout Latin America and the Caribbean.

meet the candidates



Helen Halyard
14th CD



Terry Delgado
12th CD

bar-b-que

sat. july 27

8pm

864 bushwick ave. (corner lafayette)

\$2.50 workers league & young socialists

Diver Dies At Navy Yard

CWA Ballots On National Shutdown

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—
Diver Fred Brening was trapped 50 feet under water July 18.

He was carrying out contracted maintenance work at the Seatrain Shipbuilding dry-dock station in Brooklyn's Navy Yard.

Rescue divers worked from about 3 pm until 11:00 pm and again Friday, searching for Brening, who they hoped had found an air pocket. His air tank would have sustained him for only about 90 minutes after the dive at 2:30.

Bulletin reporters spoke with Seatrain workers as the day shift began July 19, with Brening still not located. "He could be down there sitting tight, or he could have been swept out to sea by now," one worker said.

Workers reported that Brening was supposed to be in the pump room, the second of three levels in the 120-foot chamber. He had been sent down to adjust a valve that was allowing water to seep into the chamber.

The workers, members of the Seafarers International Union, have been told that the valve broke because Brening turned it the wrong way or opened it too far. Many of them said that serious accidents happen at the Yard almost every week.

"What do you want me to do, get excited? This happens every day here," one worker said bitterly.

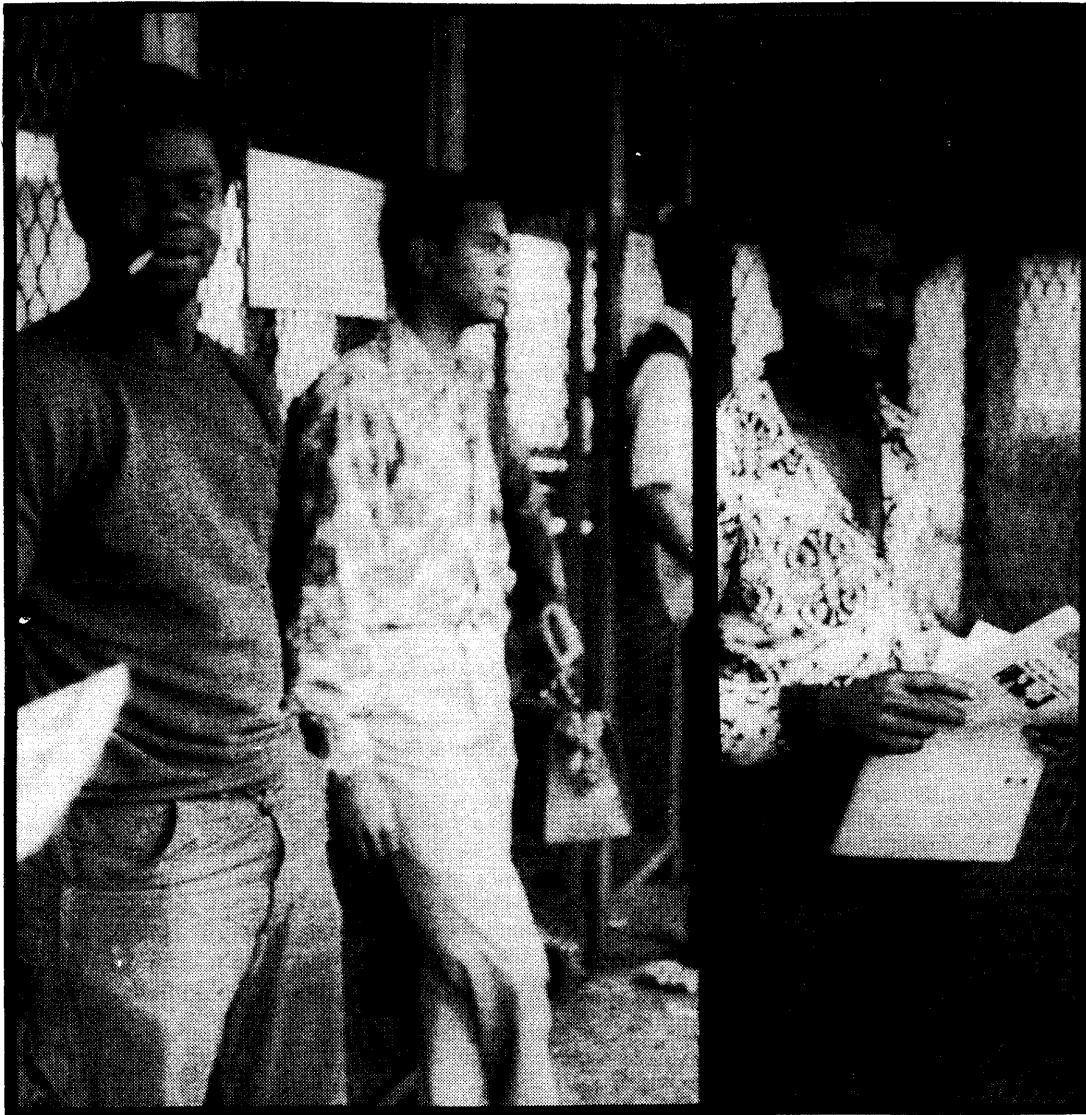
"It makes you think twice about coming to work at all," Gregory, a new Seatrain employee said.

"But then you think about how hard it is to find a job, and you come and clock in and tell yourself you could get killed crossing the street, too."

GRIEVANCES

The union backs up Seatrain and refuses to process many safety grievances filed by the workers. SIU official Ralph Quinones told the Bulletin that the accident rate at the Navy Yard is comparable to any other construction site.

He then supported Seatrain's



Seatrain workers at Brooklyn Navy Yard. Gregory: "It makes you think twice about coming to work."

claim that most accidents are the fault of the workers themselves because most of them "don't understand the industry, don't understand the dangers."

In fact, the growing number of accidents at the Navy Yard is a result of Seatrain's drive for speedup and profit.

Seatrain is in near collapse financially, and is desperately pushing to complete the supertanker "Williamsburg," which has gone considerably past its scheduled completion date.

The ability of workers to control their working conditions and safety is a life and death question that lies behind many of the struggles in the current mass strike wave: for instance, the Lordstown GM strike and the

strike at Kennecott's Chino copper mine.

This must be carried forward now through the fight to build a labor party, so that industry can be nationalized under workers control.



Baltimore Warden Revokes Suspensions After Walkout

BY A REPORTER
BALTIMORE — Only days after the Baltimore citywide strike ended, many issues remain unresolved and conditions are already being created for a new explosion.

Baltimore city jail guards went back to work on Thursday, July 18, after warden Gordon Kamka backed down and revoked the suspension of 16 guards for their activities during the strike.

The 16 were arrested on July 11 along with an organizer of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees for blocking the jail entrance to keep supervisory personnel from going in. The 16 included sergeants who led the strike. They were suspended for not obeying an order to return to work.

AFSCME leaders charged that the suspensions were a violation of the no-reprisal agreement in the new contract. The union will also hold talks with Kamka to resolve another issue: the promotion of several guards who scabbed, while those next in line for the promotions were passed by because they participated in the strike.

Police Commissioner Donald Pomerleau, in retaliation against policemen who joined the strike, has revoked the bargaining rights of AFSCME Local 1195 and has cancelled their dues checkoff. There is no amnesty agreement and Pomerleau has already fired many policemen.

TAXES

In Washington DC, City Council chairman John Neivus has attacked wage increases approved by the House District Committee for teachers, firemen, and policemen and declared it would "virtually force this council to raise taxes."

Teachers are due to receive a 10 percent increase on September 1 and another 3 percent next January. Policemen and firemen are to get a 16 percent increase, retroactive to July 1.

It is increasingly likely that a strike will take place in the fall.

There are reports that school superintendent Barbara Sizemore may cancel the teachers' contract if no agreement is reached soon on the board's demand to make teachers work an extra 1 hour and 15 minutes each day. The contract expired March 31.

The board wants to use the extra time to have the teachers train other teachers in new methods, but the union will only agree if it is granted a pay compensation.

If Sizemore declares the contract null and void, it would mean that other unions could apply to represent the teachers, opening up the danger that the union would be busted up.

Firemen, Sanitation Vote On Contract

BY A REPORTER
NEW YORK, NY—
City firemen and sanitation workers are currently voting on a new two-year contract which will provide a 14 percent pay raise.

The agreement, patterned on the 1974 contract with the transit employees, provides the workers with their first cost of living escalator clause. It also provides for labor-management committees to work out productivity and efficiency programs for the 11,000 workers in each union.

Members of the Uniformed Firefighters Association, whose present base pay is \$15,250 will receive eight percent raises retroactive to July 1, 1974, and another six percent next July.

Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association members will get the same percentage hikes, maintaining the traditional 90 percent of parity relationship between the two groups of workers.

The Patrolmen's Benevolent Association refused to take part in this year's negotiations, and stated that they will break the parity arrangement because they claim they deserve more pay.

These contracts, together with the transit pact, are expected to be the basis of contracts covering some 300,000 more city workers including corrections personnel, public housing, police, social service workers, and others.

The agreement was forced on the firefighters under conditions set up by Beame and the courts last month. The threat of a strike

WASHINGTON, DC—Officials of the Communication Workers of America directed locals, including 500,000 employees of the Bell Telephone System, to begin strike balloting July 18.

The CWA officials rejected an offer of 10 percent annually in a three-year contract negotiated on a nationwide, all-union basis for the first time. One contract will be negotiated by Bell and its subsidiaries to cover CWA members, IBEW members in manufacturing plants, and several smaller independent unions that organize other Bell workers.

The master contract will replace 33 separate contracts that expired at midnight, July 17, and cover a total of 750,000 workers.

According to Glenn E. Watts, CWA president, a major issue yet to be resolved is a union demand that 50,000 employees who do not now pay union dues should be covered by an "agency shop" agreement. The vast automation program of the telephone monopoly has been accompanied by the reclassification of many workers into "supervisory" positions, removing them from union jurisdiction.

Watts said the contract offer that has been rejected also includes a fully paid dental care plan, the first such provision in a major labor contract.

by firefighters would mean the jailing of UFA President Vizzini and other officers under terms of the three-year probation imposed when UFA officials were convicted on criminal charges for leading a walkout last November.

The union has also been fined \$650,000 for the strike, under the terms of the state's Taylor Law, which prohibits public employee strikes.

Because the contract will be used as a pattern, the press has reported the settlement with a flood of charts and graphs designed to show just how much each worker costs the taxpayer. Fantastic pay figures have been invented to prove that firemen will be paid \$20,000 and more by 1976.

In fact, the settlement is entirely inadequate when the cost of living continues to climb week by week in New York City. The government itself now says that a family of four must spend \$60 a week to buy enough food.

In addition, the new productivity provisions will intensify the deterioration of safety conditions. Already, the city has moved to bar long hair and beards on the grounds that it interferes with the gas masks and causes smoke inhalation injuries.

In addition, firefighters are being blamed for a firehouse explosion in Queens that burned Alfred Bold over 75 percent of his body and seriously injured another fireman.

The city says that the men failed to replace the cap on a test valve of the station's fuel tank when it was refilled and the explosion was caused by escaping fumes. Firemen countered by pointing out that the heating unit had been declared illegal years ago under the city building code.

Crisis In The Caribbean Part Three

WORKERS IN STRUGGLE

The following feature is reprinted from Workers Press, daily Trotskyist newspaper of the British Workers Revolutionary Party.

Every aspect of life in the Caribbean has been disrupted by the world economic crisis. They even write reggae and calypso songs about it. But it is in the relationship between the ruling cliques and the working class that the impact has been most dramatic—a special correspondent investigates.

The prolonged struggles of the sugar cane farmers in Trinidad and the widespread opposition to the Gairy regime in Grenada have been the high points of a wave of struggle that has swept through the Caribbean.

The heart of the opposition to Gairy lay in the dock workers' strike, and they stood out longest in a political struggle trying to oppose, in a confused way, the granting of a phoney political independence of Grenada.

Trinidad has demonstrated that a healthy balance of payments is no answer to the problems of the Caribbean. There has been an "almost total breakdown" of labor relations. This year there has been over 70 strikes in defiance of the island's Industrial Relations Act.

The ECA (Employers Consultative Association) has castigated the government for its lack of action on this issue. The ECA president Ralph Restant recently stated: "The deterioration (in labor relations) is affecting the very structure of our society ... The effects are far-reaching and will have the most serious repercussions on the economic, political and social progress of the nation for many years to come."

This remark was occasioned by the call of the Seamen and Waterfront Workers Trade Union to convene a meeting of the general council of the Labour Congress to discuss action by employers in dismissing and locking out workers.

The rapidly spiralling prices have provoked bitter conflict in practically every industry and at every level, which has seen the working masses exerting their strength in a new way.

Last year, despite their subservience to Burnham's government, the Guyanese TUC defeated yet another attempt by the same government to legislate a proposed Trades Dispute Act, which would have banned strikes. The new governmental interests in banking have been met with an enthusiastic unionization of bank employers in the major countries.

However in most cases this new strength has not been reflected in the official political and union leaderships (these are the same thing in most cases) and a number of struggles have ground to a halt because of the lack of an effective political perspective which takes into account the world economic crisis.



Demonstration last January against the Gairy regime in Grenada.

Hence the heroic struggle in Grenada against the newly installed Gairy regime has come to an end with the calling-off of the three-month dock strike.

POLITICAL

Similarly the calling-off of the "don't cut" campaign of the East Indian sugar cane farmers of Trinidad who were demanding better terms from the big companies and the abolition of the legal restrictions on them forming their own independent trade union.

This was led by Raffique Shah and other leaders of the "army mutiny" in the 1970 revolt, who, despite this former experience, waged it primarily as a trade union issue and did not connect it with the chronic political crisis that exists in Trinidad.

The silence of the other Caribbean leaders at Gairy's methods in Grenada is testimony to their real agreement with him and his methods. The Jamaican government follows on close behind in developing new methods of repression.

They have faced a wave of strikes and labor unrest which is a common factor on the islands where there is the rapid drift of labor away from the land to the city—Kingston.

Young people now refuse to work on the sugar and banana plantations, a large proportion of which are still owned by white people. Thus there has been an absolute decline in the total quantities produced whilst unemployment has increased to the

level of approximately 30 percent of the labor force.

A side effect of the world crisis, for the forces of "law and order" in Jamaica, has been the rejection of the US dollar as a means of payment by the Jamaican ganja traders, who now demand guns from their Mafia contacts instead. Guns are a kind of capital investment which can be used for gathering in larger amounts of wealth on different occasions. Hence there has been a rapid rise in gun crimes, including the shooting of a number of leading businessmen and the Manley government has seized on this issue to accelerate the developments towards dictatorships.

Just over a month ago massive police army curfews were imposed on the working class, shanty-town districts of the major towns. This has been followed by the setting up of the "Gun Court" to which anyone is sent if accused of a crime that is connected with guns.

In this court, there are no juries, the trials are conducted in secret, and there is a mandatory indefinite sentence for anyone found guilty.

A "concentration camp" style compound has just been completed next door to the court in which the guilty will be put. So far three people have been acquitted on the charge of possessing a single bullet, and in the case of Winston Fearon the judge himself expressed doubts about the whole procedure saying:

"... I would regret to see the day when policemen would plant a bullet on a person knowing that the accused would be subject to indefinite detention."

Other leading figures have linked together industrial unrest and crime as the two biggest threats to society and it is not a big jump from there to proposing that they should be treated equally. The trend towards nationalization (while still serving imperialism's interests in the world market) will obviously tend to translate this threat into reality.

Manley has failed so far this year to get his projected Industrial Relations Act through parliament, but he is obviously preparing the ground for a fresh attempt.

In all the Caribbean countries the crisis poses the construction of revolutionary parties. This will require a sharp and relentless struggle against all the petty-bourgeois radicalism that has developed over the decades.

POPULAR

The struggles of the 1930s gave rise to "populist" conceptions which can still be seen in the majority of the political parties calling themselves "people's" this or that.

The rise to power of the "popular" leaders lay in their ability to rouse all sections of the city population against imperialism, and now that they have consolidated their grip, they play off the relatively slow-moving agricultural population against the city.

This is particularly true of

Gairy in Grenada. In Guyana it is the other way round because of the racial divisions in the working class which have been deliberately stirred up by Burnham and his CIA friends.

But the impact of the world crisis means there is no section of the Caribbean left untouched. The developing struggle of all the working masses can only mean the end of the road for these glib demagogues. Interspaced with all their appeals to work hard, put the nation first, etc. are attempts to evoke the memories of national heroes (in Jamaica they are working particularly hard resurrecting Marcus Garvey, the reactionary mystic and con man who died in obscurity in London in 1940) and to praise rulers such as Boumediene of Algeria and Nyerere of Tanzania who are supposed to be pioneering some special sort of African road to socialism.

But the posturing and demagoguery of the puppets who rule in the Caribbean on behalf of British, American and Canadian imperialism will be completely exposed.

The crisis is rapidly removing even the basis for the ability of the politicians to employ these shallow diversions.

The working class of the Caribbean will be faced directly with the necessity to build a new revolutionary leadership which will make no compromise with the enemy class in the struggle to expropriate the private property relations.

CONCLUDED

The History Of American Radicalism: The Communist Party & The CIO by Nancy Fields



The early leadership of the American CP reflected the party's contradictory development. While turning to the Third International, they could not help but express the traditions of American radicalism. James P. Cannon (center) had been an IWW organizer. William Z. Foster (below with Mother Jones) had led the great steel strike of 1919. Jay Lovestone (above) represented a strata of intellectuals who joined the party.

To understand why the American working class, the most powerful working class in the world, has to this day failed to break with the two parties of capitalism and build its own party, one must look at the period when, for the first time in their history, American workers moved explosively as a class and created overnight mass industrial unions. This was the period of the birth of the CIO.

The explosive development of the CIO, which brought about the creation of mass industrial unions in a single year, reveals the tremendous power of the American working class and shows the way in which the class as a whole will move, that is, in a leap, in a sharp break from all the gradual development that has occurred in the past.

The development of industrial unions was in preparation for one hundred years, from the birth of the American workers movement with William Sylvis's National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor to the Industrial Workers of the World. Once all the objective conditions were present, industrial unions occurred overnight.

The lessons of the birth of the CIO are critical today for they reveal how American workers, in fighting back against the all-out attacks of a desperate capitalist class, will move with extreme suddenness, in a break from the gradual development of the past.

The accounts of the specific strike struggles which led to the creation of the CIO reveals the American workers' close ties to the technological development of the country and his refusal to be separated from the factories which he himself created.

This is shown most powerfully in the great sit-down strikes of 1935-1936.

However, while the formation of the CIO marked a leap in the development of the American workers movement, it also represented a continuation of the domination of American pragmatic radicalism. What began to lead to a break with the old methods of pure and simple militant trade unionism and towards the formation of a labor party and a turn to politics by American workers, ended up back with the Democratic Party and under the control of the trade union bureaucracy.

Why this explosive class movement on the industrial scene did not go over to a

lowing World War One, with the collapse of the IWW, workers turned to the newly born Communist Party in a search for revolutionary policies.

In this way, the American CP was the inheritor of the traditions of the IWW which had fought for revolutionary policies while fighting to build the trade union movement among the unorganized workers. Furthermore, it carried forward these traditions in both its struggle to organize masses of textile workers throughout the 1920s and later in its fight to organize the unemployed.

In each big movement of the American working class, workers turned to revolutionaries to lead the fight. Thus, as it prepared to make a leap to the creation of mass industrial unions in 1934 to 1935, the working class turned again to revolutionaries, to those who led the fight for the CIO.

However, by that point, the American CP was totally degenerated and had abandoned any perspective of leading the struggle for a socialist revolution in America. Thus, as will be shown, they intervened in this mass upsurge to prevent it from going over to a political struggle and to keep it on a pure and simple militant trade union level.

The role of the American Communist Party must be examined not only from the point of view of the degeneration and final counterrevolutionary turn of the Stalinist Communist International, which was not completely determined until 1933, but also within the framework of the history of American radicalism up to the founding of the CP itself.

Throughout its development, the American workers movement was always gripped by the thinking of its own capitalist class. Thus, even the most militant, revolutionary organizations, such as the Industrial Workers of the World, were dominated by a pragmatic outlook.

Pragmatism, which is hostile to theory, maintains that all that is necessary is to do what works at the moment. What seemed to work in the early workers movement was to reflect the turn by masses of workers to militant trade unionism. These militant organizations were unable to go beyond the spontaneous trade union thinking of workers, and to conflict with that thinking in order to bring about the understanding of the need to create a party capable of bringing the working class to power.

By their insistence on trade unionism

Roots of the Degeneration

political break with capitalism can only be explained by turning to the role of the American Communist Party, which played the single most important part in betraying the movement of the American working class toward the creation of its own party.

To understand how the Communist Party was able to virtually gain control of the CIO and derail the workers movement from a political struggle, one must examine the development of the trade union movement in America, within the framework of the development of American capitalism itself.

Because of the late development of capitalism within America, it emerged as the dominant world imperialist power at a time when the world capitalist system as a whole was collapsing after World War One.

Furthermore, as the dominant capitalist nation, its working class was almost totally unorganized, except for a small percentage of the highly skilled workers in the AFL craft unions.

The creation of a mass working class occurred not at a time when capitalism as a system was being born, but at a time when it was collapsing.

Thus, from its very emergence as a mass working class, it faced revolutionary tasks as the worldwide capitalist system was breaking up. It confronted these tasks when it was unorganized. In this situation, revolutionaries turned to the fight to organize the unskilled, industrial workers.

The growth and strength of the Industrial Workers of the World—which was led by revolutionaries—at the beginning of this period reflected not simply a desire on the part of masses of workers for trade union organization, but rather a turn to an understanding that the attacks of capitalism could only be met by revolutionary solutions. Fol-

alone, no matter how determined they were to carry through the fight for the socialist revolution, these workers movements could never go beyond the limits of capitalism itself, for the only purpose of the trade union is to negotiate the terms of the sale of a workers ability to work to the capitalists.

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The American Communist Party was formed by men who came out of these early workers movements. They were very much dominated by their heritage: a pragmatic, anti-theoretical outlook. On the one hand, it was made up of men such as James P. Cannon, Earl Browder, and William Z. Foster, who had all been active in the trade union battles of the day.

Cannon had been a leading organizer of the IWW, while Foster had worked to "revolutionize the AFL from within," and joined the CP later in 1921, after organizing the mass steel strikes of 1919, and after his organization, the Trade Union Educational League, had been reduced to an empty shell.

There were also those, such as Big Bill Haywood, Fraina, and John Reed, who had been active in the left wing of the Socialist Party and who had played roles in the actual class battles of the times.

On the other hand, the early CP was also composed of men who were distant from the trade union struggles and who had fought earlier for the political action of the working class. The most prominent was Charles Ruthenberg who, when in the Socialist Party, had edited the largest socialist paper, the Socialist Toiler, which at one time had a circulation of 50,000 in the Ohio-West Virginia area. Ruthenberg was

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joined, in what was very quickly to develop into an actual faction inside the CP, by Lovestone, and others who were intellectuals fresh out of City College with no experience in the class struggle.

In addition to the Lovestone intellectuals, Ruthenberg was also joined by the foreign language federations. The struggle for Marxism had largely been confined among these foreign language groups as far back as the time of the First International in America.

In spite of Marx's and Engels's insistence that the early Marxist movement had to break out and reach the native born working class, it had never been able to do so.

These foreign language federations not only represented the older foreign born workers, but actually received new blood as the country was flooded by immigrants, largely from the peasantry of Europe, following World War One. In the early period of the CP, these federations made up 90 percent of the membership. Yet because of cultural, language, and even class differences, they were not able to play a major role within the CP.

Rather, the early leadership was formed from the native born English speaking groups. Within the top leadership itself, the earlier divisions within the American workers movement, divisions which had continuously held back its development, still existed. These divisions were between those who favored militant trade union activity alone and those who held that the only struggle necessary was on the political field. These divisions, in one form or another, dominated the early life of the CP and played a role in the bitter factional battles which ripped it apart in the period from 1925 to 1928.

Thus, on the one hand, the formation of the American Communist Party can be seen as representing the continuity of the traditions of radicalism within the workers movement. However, to see it simply as that would be entirely false. Rather, it must be viewed within its own contradictory development.

The founding of the American CP marked a tremendous leap for the American workers movement. It occurred at precisely the time that American capitalism emerged as the dominant imperialist power of the world, following the breakup of Europe through the devastation of World War One. In this period, the American capi-

period from which all future revolutionary movements in this country will be the lineal descendants.

"There is no getting away from that. The revolutionist who would deny it is simply renouncing his own ancestry. That's where he came from, and without it, he would not be."

Thus, contrary to all those contemporary academicians, such as Daniel Bell and Theodore Draper, who examine the history of the American CP on grants from the CIA, the degeneration of the CP did not result from its being "something foreign to American soil," or from its being "under the complete domination of Russia." Nor was it the logical outcome of the policies of Leninism as Draper asserts in *American Communism and Soviet Russia*. Rather, the real strength of the early CP came from its turn to internationalism and its fight to absorb the principles of Leninism.

The founding of the CP marked a leap in the American workers movement not only because it turned to internationalism, but also because it recognized the need to build a disciplined party with a centralized leadership in order to meet the new situation within America.

The founders of the CP understood that if they were to take on the organized power of the state, they had to break with the loose, informal methods of the Socialist Party and construct a party of a different sort. They turned to try to absorb the lessons of Lenin's fight to build the Bolshevik Party on the principles of democratic centralism.

Thus, from its very creation, the American CP represented a contradiction between being the continuator of radicalism, while at the same time making a sharp break from that radicalism in its turn to internationalism and to Leninism. How this contradiction would be resolved would only be determined in the actual struggle to build the party within the American working class. Contrary to the bourgeois historians, who serve up anti-communist crap as lackies of the capitalist class, nothing was predetermined from the outset. Furthermore, as Tim Wohlforth noted, in *The Struggle For Marxism In The United States*:

"The problems facing the fledgling Communist Party were immense. A party without any serious Marxist background, it needed to absorb the meaning of the whole history of the Marxist movement since Marx's time.

"The party needed then a serious theoretical schooling, and a historical perspective upon which to base a confident and patient work of preparation for the future. But this was precisely what was lacking."

Not only was it lacking, but no one in the leadership of the party, including Cannon himself, prepared theoretically to make the turn, so necessary, to a serious Marxist training of cadres. Rather, the party became turned around a factional dispute which began over trade union policy.

This occurred when the Communist International itself was breaking from Leninism and undergoing the beginning process of Stalinization. Thus, the role of the CI, in its intervention in the American movement, would no longer be to try to guide it theoretically and help it develop correct perspectives, but rather to intervene solely to put those forces in power who would be most subservient to the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The factional battle was between Ruthenberg-Lovestone on the one side and Foster-Cannon on the other. It was waged over what strategy the party should take in relationship to the trade unions. Prior to this time, the party had gone through three different stages of trade union activity: 1919-1921, it fought to build its own unions outside the AFL; 1921-1923, it blocked with the Progressives within the AFL and it took over the Trade Union Educational League as its own instrument; 1923-1925, it broke with the Progressives in the AFL, and the TUEL declined to almost nothing.

It must be noted that Foster had established the TUEL as a means of grouping all the progressive elements within the AFL around a very broad left-liberal program to act as a pressure group on the bureaucracy.

Foster was absolutely opposed to the policy of dual unionism, as he had been throughout his history, having broken with the IWW in 1911 over this question. He was also opposed to bringing the politics of the CP out into the open in the trade union movement.

Not only was Foster opposed to fighting openly in the unions as a communist, but he was also opposed to bringing any form of political fight into the union movement. Thus, he, together with Cannon, consistently opposed the demand that the trade unions form a labor party as the first step in breaking workers from the parties of big business. Although he was later to agree to keep the demand as part of the party's program, at the insistence of the CI in 1925, he never really broke with his former syndicalism.

When the AFL expelled the TUEL, there was little left in the organization outside of members of the CP. Furthermore, Foster himself made a sharp turn, dropping the liberal cover of the TUEL. Now, he insisted that its program must call for the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, he amalgamated the official journal of the TUEL with that of the party. Thus, the TUEL's independent existence vanished.

It was at this point in 1925 that the party was reduced to having no strategy to actually penetrate the American working class. Foster was committed to a policy of working exclusively within the AFL, and yet his organization had been expelled. Furthermore, the vast majority of American workers were not organized in the AFL and thus, the question before the CP was how to reach these workers. Draper describes the paralysis the party had reached:

"Everyone agreed that the only hope was to organize the unorganized. But how? Foster's panacea of boring from within the AFL had reached a dead end, and he had nothing more to offer than more denunciations of the AFL's 'reactionary bureaucracy' and the Progressives' 'betrayal.'

"Dual unionism was still a dirty word to good communists, but every effort to find a way out of the impasse of boring from within led in its direction. Thus the TUEL was not only organizationally defunct, it also seemed intellectually bankrupt; and Foster's enemies were not slow to take advantage of his plight."

The factional battle not only focused on what strategy to take in relation to the trade unions, but also on the question of the political independence of the working class. Ruthenberg and Lovestone favored the fight to build a labor party while Cannon and Foster, following the 1924 elections, wanted to drop it from the party platform on the grounds that there was no movement in the working class for a labor party at that time and therefore it was sectarian

to raise the demand. However, this issue played a minor role in the battle at the time, since, on the insistence of the CI, both factions agreed to accept the labor party slogan.

Nevertheless, as will later be shown, this disagreement over the labor party question was not one of secondary importance, but involved a fundamental question of perspectives: that is, it involved the question of the actual strategy to unite the working class as a whole and to bring the class forward politically against the capitalist state.

America is the only capitalist nation in the world in which the working class has absolutely no political voice. And as far back as the time of Engels, Marxists had insisted that the building of such a party was the necessary prerequisite to bringing the workers to power. By failing to grasp this, Foster and Cannon were continuing the policies that had dominated the workers movement up to that time: the policies of radicalism.

It was over the trade union question that the real power struggle broke out. The CI recommended that the TUEL be converted "into a great opposition movement of the Left bloc." It also held that in places where no trade unions exist, the CP was to organize them. It went on to state that the communists should organize new unions through the party's shop nuclei as well as through the TUEL.

This recommendation of the CI appeared to the Ruthenberg-Lovestone faction to be a renunciation of Foster's policies and they sought to use it to open a struggle for control of the party itself.

In this situation, the two factions attended the Fifth Congress of the CI in 1925, a congress already dominated by Stalinism. At that congress, the trade union line of Foster was upheld, together with the political line of Ruthenberg.

However, while all appeared to be settled on the surface, the actual factional battle for power was only beginning. Bukharin, who as Stalin's spokesman dominated the congress, continuously intervened in favor of the Ruthenberg faction.

Nevertheless, the congress passed a resolution which declared that: "the new Central Committee (of the American party) is to be elected at the Party Conference so that the Foster group obtains a majority and the Ruthenberg group is represented proportionately by at least one-third."

That this agreement was just so many words was to be revealed in the actual proceedings of the CP's Fourth Convention which was dominated not by a discussion of the political questions facing the movement, but by a struggle for leadership of the party. Because these burning questions of perspectives were buried, this convention marked the beginning of the degeneration of the CP as a revolutionary movement in the US.

The convention was presided over by a representative of the CI, Gusev, and both the elected Central Committee and the Political Committee were dissolved and the convention was run by a parity commission of the two factions.

In spite of the intervention of Gusev on the side of Ruthenberg, the Foster-Cannon faction won a majority of the delegates by a vote of 40 to 21. That the real differences over policy were not brought out into the open is shown by the fact that both the resolution of Foster on the trade union question and that of Ruthenberg on the labor party question were accepted unanimously. As Cannon noted:

"Normally, such unanimity should have called for a moderation of the factional atmosphere, a trend toward the unification of the contending groups in the leadership, and toward the liquidation of the factions. But that's not the way things went. The factional struggle raged more fiercely than ever before in the history of the party—over the issue of party control."

That the convention solved nothing and avoided the real issues of perspectives and of an open political struggle for clarification in front of the entire membership was revealed at its conclusion, when Bukharin issued his famous "Cable from Moscow," declaring the Ruthenberg faction to be more loyal to the CI and therefore prescribing 40 percent of the representatives of the Central Committee to it.

Thus, following the 1925 convention, the party was still without a strategy to penetrate the American working class and because of this, it was to face great difficulties during the next two years.

TO BE CONTINUED

ion of the CP

part one

alist class became the policemen of the world.

To the credit of those who founded the CP, they recognized that in order to fight the American capitalists in this new situation, it was necessary to break from the narrow, national outlook which had dominated the workers movement. They had to turn toward the international workers movement, both to learn from it and to aid it by bringing about an understanding among American workers of the solidarity of their interests with workers in all countries. Each blow struck against capitalism in other countries is a blow against the American capitalists, and in that way, aids the struggle of the American working class.

Furthermore, the founding of the CP as part of an international movement was, as James Cannon noted, a recognition that "internationalism is not an outside influence at all. The whole is not foreign to its parts. America, especially since 1914, has been a part of the 'One World' and a very big part indeed. In reacting to events in other countries, America also reacts upon them. There is no such thing as 'the international situation' outside and apart from this country."

Thus, the American Communist Party was founded on principles, on the struggles of the Marxist movement from its very origins with the writing of the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848, to build an international movement. Without this break from the narrow nationalism of the Socialist Party, the continuity of Marxism would not have been maintained in the American workers movement. Furthermore, as Cannon noted, because it was formed on principles:

"The first six years of American communism 1918 to 1923, represent a heroic

The History Of American Radicalism: The Communist Party & The CIO by Nancy Fields



The early leadership of the American CP reflected the party's contradictory development. While turning to the Third International, they could not help but express the traditions of American radicalism. James P. Cannon (center) had been an IWW organizer. William Z. Foster (below with Mother Jones) had led the great steel strike of 1919. Jay Lovestone (above) represented a strata of intellectuals who joined the party.

To understand why the American working class, the most powerful working class in the world, has to this day failed to break with the two parties of capitalism and build its own party, one must look at the period when, for the first time in their history, American workers moved explosively as a class and created overnight mass industrial unions. This was the period of the birth of the CIO.

The explosive development of the CIO, which brought about the creation of mass industrial unions in a single year, reveals the tremendous power of the American working class and shows the way in which the class as a whole will move, that is, in a leap, in a sharp break from all the gradual development that has occurred in the past.

The development of industrial unions was in preparation for one hundred years, from the birth of the American workers movement with William Sylvius's National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor to the Industrial Workers of the World. Once all the objective conditions were present, industrial unions occurred overnight.

The lessons of the birth of the CIO are critical today for they reveal how American workers, in fighting back against the all-out attacks of a desperate capitalist class, will move with extreme suddenness, in a break from the gradual development of the past.

The accounts of the specific strike struggles which led to the creation of the CIO reveals the American workers' close ties to the technological development of the country and his refusal to be separated from the factories which he himself created.

This is shown most powerfully in the great sit-down strikes of 1935-1936.

However, while the formation of the CIO marked a leap in the development of the American workers movement, it also represented a continuation of the domination of American pragmatic radicalism. What began to lead to a break with the old methods of pure and simple militant trade unionism and towards the formation of a labor party and a turn to politics by American workers, ended up back with the Democratic Party and under the control of the trade union bureaucracy.

Why this explosive class movement on the industrial scene did not go over to a

Roots of the Degeneration of the CP

part one

political break with capitalism can only be explained by turning to the role of the American Communist Party, which played the single most important part in betraying the movement of the American working class toward the creation of its own party.

To understand how the Communist Party was able to virtually gain control of the CIO and derail the workers movement from a political struggle, one must examine the development of the trade union movement in America, within the framework of the development of American capitalism itself.

Because of the late development of capitalism within America, it emerged as the dominant world imperialist power at a time when the world capitalist system as a whole was collapsing after World War One.

Furthermore, as the dominant capitalist nation, its working class was almost totally unorganized, except for a small percentage of the highly skilled workers in the AFL craft unions.

The creation of a mass working class occurred not at a time when capitalism as a system was being born, but at a time when it was collapsing.

Thus, from its very emergence as a mass working class, it faced revolutionary tasks as the worldwide capitalist system was breaking up. It confronted these tasks when it was unorganized. In this situation, revolutionaries turned to the fight to organize the unskilled, industrial workers.

The growth and strength of the Industrial Workers of the World—which was led by revolutionaries—at the beginning of this period reflected not simply a desire on the part of masses of workers for trade union organization, but rather a turn to an understanding that the attacks of capitalism could only be met by revolutionary solutions. Fol-

lowing World War One, with the collapse of the IWW, workers turned to the newly born Communist Party in a search for revolutionary policies.

In this way, the American CP was the inheritor of the traditions of the IWW which had fought for revolutionary policies while fighting to build the trade union movement among the unorganized workers. Furthermore, it carried forward these traditions in both its struggle to organize masses of textile workers throughout the 1920s and later in its fight to organize the unemployed.

In each big movement of the American working class, workers turned to revolutionaries to lead the fight. Thus, as it prepared to make a leap to the creation of mass industrial unions in 1934 to 1935, the working class turned again to revolutionaries, to those who led the fight for the CIO.

However, by that point, the American CP was totally degenerated and had abandoned any perspective of leading the struggle for a socialist revolution in America. Thus, as will be shown, they intervened in this mass upsurge to prevent it from going over to a political struggle and to keep it on a pure and simple militant trade union level.

The role of the American Communist Party must be examined not only from the point of view of the degeneration and final counterrevolutionary turn of the Stalinist Communist International, which was not completely determined until 1933, but also within the framework of the history of American radicalism up to the founding of the CP itself.

Throughout its development, the American workers movement was always gripped by the thinking of its own capitalist class. Thus, even the most militant, revolutionary organizations, such as the Industrial Workers of the World, were dominated by a pragmatic outlook.

Pragmatism, which is hostile to theory, maintains that all that is necessary is to do what works at the moment. What seemed to work in the early workers movement was to reflect the turn by masses of workers to militant trade unionism. These militant organizations were unable to go beyond the spontaneous trade union thinking of workers, and to conflict with that thinking in order to bring about the understanding of the need to create a party capable of bringing the working class to power.

By their insistence on trade unionism

alone, no matter how determined they were to carry through the fight for the socialist revolution, these workers movements could never go beyond the limits of capitalism itself, for the only purpose of the trade union is to negotiate the terms of the sale of a workers ability to work to the capitalists.

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The American Communist Party was formed by men who came out of these early workers movements. They were very much dominated by their heritage: a pragmatic, antitheoretical outlook. On the one hand, it was made up of men such as James P. Cannon, Earl Browder, and William Z. Foster, who had all been active in the trade union battles of the day.

Cannon had been a leading organizer of the IWW, while Foster had worked to "revolutionize the AFL from within," and joined the CP later in 1921, after organizing the mass steel strikes of 1919, and after his organization, the Trade Union Educational League, had been reduced to an empty shell.

There were also those, such as Big Bill Hayward, Fraina, and John Reed, who had been active in the left wing of the Socialist Party and who had played roles in the actual class battles of the times.

On the other hand, the early CP was also composed of men who were distant from the trade union struggles and who had fought earlier for the political action of the working class. The most prominent was Charles Ruthenberg who, when in the Socialist Party, had edited the largest socialist paper, the Socialist Toiler, which at one time had a circulation of 50,000 in the Ohio-West Virginia area. Ruthenberg was

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joined, in what was very quickly to develop into an actual faction inside the CP, by Lovestone, and others who were intellectuals fresh out of City College with no experience in the class struggle.

In addition to the Lovestone intellectuals, Ruthenberg was also joined by the foreign language federations. The struggle for Marxism had largely been confined among these foreign language groups as far back as the time of the First International in America.

In spite of Marx's and Engels's insistence that the early Marxist movement had to break out and reach the native born working class, it had never been able to do so.

These foreign language federations not only represented the older foreign born workers, but actually received new blood as the country was flooded by immigrants, largely from the peasantry of Europe, following World War One. In the early period of the CP, these federations made up 90 percent of the membership. Yet because of cultural, language, and even class differences, they were not able to play a major role within the CP.

Rather, the early leadership was formed from the native born English speaking groups. Within the top leadership itself, the earlier divisions within the American workers movement, divisions which had continuously held back its development, still existed. These divisions were between those who favored militant trade union activity alone and those who held that the only struggle necessary was on the political field. These divisions, in one form or another, dominated the early life of the CP and played a role in the bitter factional battles which ripped it apart in the period from 1925 to 1928.

Thus, on the one hand, the formation of the American Communist Party can be seen as representing the continuity of the traditions of radicalism within the workers movement. However, to see it simply as that would be entirely false. Rather, it must be viewed within its own contradictory development.

The founding of the American CP marked a tremendous leap for the American workers movement. It occurred at precisely the time that American capitalism emerged as the dominant imperialist power of the world, following the breakup of Europe through the devastation of World War One. In this period, the American capi-

talist class became the policemen of the world.

To the credit of those who founded the CP, they recognized that in order to fight the American capitalists in this new situation, it was necessary to break from the narrow, national outlook which had dominated the workers movement. They had to turn toward the international workers movement, both to learn from it and to aid it by bringing about an understanding among American workers of the solidarity of their interests with workers in all countries. Each blow struck against capitalism in other countries is a blow against the American capitalists, and in that way, aids the struggle of the American working class.

Furthermore, the founding of the CP as part of an international movement was, as James Cannon noted, a recognition that "internationalism is not an outside influence at all. The whole is not foreign to its parts. America, especially since 1914, has been a part of the 'One World' and a very big part indeed. In reacting to events in other countries, America also reacts upon them. There is no such thing as 'the international situation' outside and apart from this country."

Thus, the American Communist Party was founded on principles, on the struggles of the Marxist movement from its very origins with the writing of the Communist Manifesto in 1848, to build an international movement. Without this break from the narrow nationalism of the Socialist Party, the continuity of Marxism would not have been maintained in the American workers movement. Furthermore, as Cannon noted, because it was formed on principles:

"The first six years of American communism 1918 to 1923, represent a heroic period from which all future revolutionary movements in this country will be the lineal descendants.

"There is no getting away from that. The revolutionist who would deny it is simply renouncing his own ancestry. That's where he came from, and without it, he would not be."

Thus, contrary to all those contemporary academicians, such as Daniel Bell and Theodore Draper, who examine the history of the American CP on grants from the CIA, the degeneration of the CP did not result from its being "something foreign to American soil," or from its being "under the complete domination of Russia." Nor was it the logical outcome of the policies of Leninism as Draper asserts in American Communism and Soviet Russia. Rather, the real strength of the early CP came from its turn to internationalism and its fight to absorb the principles of Leninism.

The founders of the CP understood that if they were to take on the organized power of the state, they had to break with the loose, informal methods of the Socialist Party and construct a party of a different sort. They turned to try to absorb the lessons of Lenin's fight to build the Bolshevik Party on the principles of democratic centralism.

Thus, from its very creation, the American CP represented a contradiction between being the continuator of radicalism, while at the same time making a sharp break from that radicalism in its turn to internationalism and to Leninism. How this contradiction would be resolved would only be determined in the actual struggle to build the party within the American working class. Contrary to the bourgeois historians, who serve up anti-communist crap as lackies of the capitalist class, nothing was predetermined from the outset. Furthermore, as Tim Wohlforth noted, in the Struggle For Marxism In The United States:

"The problems facing the fledgling Communist Party were immense. A party without any serious Marxist background, it needed to absorb the meaning of the whole history of the Marxist movement since Marx's time.

"It was not enough to simply adhere to the Bolshevik Revolution and to call for insurrection here. What was needed was the creation in the United States of the kind of party which led the Russian workers to power.

"This was not a matter of mimicking the external forms of the Bolsheviks in the United States. It was rather a matter of developing a party capable of understanding Marxist theory and developing this theory in the course of the concrete struggle of the American workers—as an integral part of that struggle."

THE FACTIONAL STRUGGLE OF 1925

To understand the actual degeneration of the CP, to understand how it was so completely Stalinized in 1929 with so little struggle, to understand how it became the most loyal servant of the Soviet bureaucracy's policy of peaceful coexistence with capitalism, it is necessary to see how the contradiction inherent in the CP from its origins was resolved in the early years of its struggle.

By 1925, the CP was beginning to turn inward, and it became preoccupied with cliques, factionalism, and demoralization. The extent of the demoralization and the lack of any coherent perspectives for the struggle during that period is described by Cannon in the First Ten Years Of American Communism:

"It was difficult to be a working revolutionist in America in those days, to sustain the agitation that brought no response, to repeat the slogans which found no echo. The party leaders were not crudely corrupted by personal benefits of the general prosperity; but they were affected indirectly by the sea of indifference around them.

"The party needed then a serious theoretical schooling, and a historical perspective upon which to base a confident and patient work of preparation for the future. But this was precisely what was lacking."

Not only was it lacking, but no one in the leadership of the party, including Cannon himself, prepared theoretically to make the turn, so necessary, to a serious Marxist training of cadres. Rather, the party became turned around a factional dispute which began over trade union policy.

This occurred when the Communist International itself was breaking from Leninism and undergoing the beginning process of Stalinization. Thus, the role of the CI, in its intervention in the American movement, would no longer be to try to guide it theoretically and help it develop correct perspectives, but rather to intervene solely to put those forces in power who would be most subservient to the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The factional battle was between Ruthenberg-Lovestone on the one side and Foster-Cannon on the other. It was waged over what strategy the party should take in relationship to the trade unions. Prior to this time, the party had gone through three different stages of trade union activity: 1919-1921, it fought to build its own unions outside the AFL; 1921-1923, it blocked with the Progressives within the AFL and it took over the Trade Union Educational League as its own instrument; 1923-1925, it broke with the Progressives in the AFL, and the TUEL declined to almost nothing.

It must be noted that Foster had established the TUEL as a means of grouping all the progressive elements within the AFL around a very broad left-liberal program to act as a pressure group on the bureaucracy.

Foster was absolutely opposed to the policy of dual unionism, as he had been throughout his history, having broken with the IWW in 1911 over this question. He was also opposed to bringing the politics of the CP out into the open in the trade union movement.

Not only was Foster opposed to fighting openly in the unions as a communist, but he was also opposed to bringing any form of political fight into the union movement. Thus, he, together with Cannon, consistently opposed the demand that the trade unions form a labor party as the first step in breaking workers from the parties of big business. Although he was later to agree to keep the demand as part of the party's program, at the insistence of the CI in 1925, he never really broke with his former syndicalism.

When the AFL expelled the TUEL, there was little left in the organization outside of members of the CP. Furthermore, Foster himself made a sharp turn, dropping the liberal cover of the TUEL. Now, he insisted that its program must call for the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, he amalgamated the official journal of the TUEL with that of the party. Thus, the TUEL's independent existence vanished.

It was at this point in 1925 that the party was reduced to having no strategy to actually penetrate the American working class. Foster was committed to a policy of working exclusively within the AFL, and yet his organization had been expelled. Furthermore, the vast majority of American workers were not organized in the AFL and thus, the question before the CP was how to reach these workers. Draper describes the paralysis the party had reached:

"Everyone agreed that the only hope was to organize the unorganized. But how? Foster's panacea of boring from within the AFL had reached a dead end, and he had nothing more to offer than more denunciations of the AFL's 'reactionary bureaucracy' and the Progressives' 'betrayal.'

"Dual unionism was still a dirty word to good communists, but every effort to find a way out of the impasse of boring from within led in its direction. Thus the TUEL was not only organizationally defunct, it also seemed intellectually bankrupt; and Foster's enemies were not slow to take advantage of his plight."

The factional battle not only focused on what strategy to take in relation to the trade unions, but also on the question of the political independence of the working class. Ruthenberg and Lovestone favored the fight to build a labor party while Cannon and Foster, following the 1924 elections, wanted to drop it from the party platform on the grounds that there was no movement in the working class for a labor party at that time and therefore it was sectarian

to raise the demand. However, this issue played a minor role in the battle at the time, since, on the insistence of the CI, both factions agreed to accept the labor party slogan.

Nevertheless, as will later be shown, this disagreement over the labor party question was not one of secondary importance, but involved a fundamental question of perspectives: that is, it involved the question of the actual strategy to unite the working class as a whole and to bring the class forward politically against the capitalist state.

America is the only capitalist nation in the world in which the working class has absolutely no political voice. And as far back as the time of Engels, Marxists had insisted that the building of such a party was the necessary prerequisite to bringing the workers to power. By failing to grasp this, Foster and Cannon were continuing the policies that had dominated the workers movement up to that time: the policies of radicalism.

It was over the trade union question that the real power struggle broke out. The CI recommended that the TUEL be converted "into a great opposition movement of the Left bloc." It also held that in places where no trade unions exist, the CP was to organize them. It went on to state that the communists should organize new unions through the party's shop nuclei as well as through the TUEL.

This recommendation of the CI appeared to the Ruthenberg-Lovestone faction to be a renunciation of Foster's policies and they sought to use it to open a struggle for control of the party itself.

In this situation, the two factions attended the Fifth Congress of the CI in 1925, a congress already dominated by Stalinism. At that congress, the trade union line of Foster was upheld, together with the political line of Ruthenberg.

However, while all appeared to be settled on the surface, the actual factional battle for power was only beginning. Bukharin, who as Stalin's spokesman dominated the congress, continuously intervened in favor of the Ruthenberg faction.

Nevertheless, the congress passed a resolution which declared that: "the new Central Committee (of the American party) is to be elected at the Party Conference so that the Foster group obtains a majority and the Ruthenberg group is represented proportionately by at least one-third."

That this agreement was just so many words was to be revealed in the actual proceedings of the CP's Fourth Convention which was dominated not by a discussion of the political questions facing the movement, but by a struggle for leadership of the party. Because these burning questions of perspectives were buried, this convention marked the beginning of the degeneration of the CP as a revolutionary movement in the US.

The convention was presided over by a representative of the CI, Gusev, and both the elected Central Committee and the Political Committee were dissolved and the convention was run by a party commission of the two factions.

In spite of the intervention of Gusev on the side of Ruthenberg, the Foster-Cannon faction won a majority of the delegates by a vote of 40 to 21. That the real differences over policy were not brought out into the open is shown by the fact that both the resolution of Foster on the trade union question and that of Ruthenberg on the labor party question were accepted unanimously. As Cannon noted:

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TO BE CONTINUED

LABOR TODAY

Industrial Killers Part 2

Chemical companies are trying to persuade their employees that it is safe to work with vinyl chloride, a substance that has reportedly been the cause of at least 17 deaths through a rare liver cancer.

Vinyl chloride monomer (VCM) is an essential raw material for the production of the shiny material PVC. Research, some of it not so recent, has proved that VCM is carcinogenic and that some workers who have been exposed to the chemical have died of a liver cancer called angiosarcoma.

The implications of evidence on the connection between this deadly cancer and the chemical is that workers should not be forced to breathe in an atmosphere contaminated by VCM. The chemical companies are resisting such suggestions, pointing to the possible loss of employment a total ban would bring—in fact considering, first and foremost, the profits they would lose.

Irving Selikoff, director of the environmental sciences laboratory at Mount Sinai Medical School in New York says the evidence of serious disease among VCM-PVC workers has been known, but not appreciated, for 25 years by scientists and factory inspectors.

Experiments in Britain linked the substance with the distorting disease of acro-osteolysis which affects the skin and the bones of the toes and fingers.

In 1961 the Dow chemical company in America found that rats, rabbits, guinea pigs and beagle dogs showed various kinds of liver damage even when exposed to a concentration as "low" as 100 parts of VCM per million.

In 1971 an Italian, P.L. Viola, researched the effects of exposing rats to 30,000 parts per million (ppm) of VCM and found that most developed tumors of the skin and lungs and that some developed bone cancer. This was a surprise because no one had before suspected that the substance was carcinogenic.

These tests were largely dismissed because the dose levels were "grossly high."

The findings were so emotive, however, that the PVC manufacturers sponsored a study by another Italian, Cesare Maltoni, professor of Oncology at Bologna.

This research was brought to a head by horrific findings published this January by Dr. John L. Creech, a works doctor for the B.F. Goodrich company. He discovered that four former employees of Goodrich who had been involved in making PVC from vinyl chloride monomer had died from angiosarcoma, a fatal liver cancer so rare that it normally kills only 30 people a year.

After these findings the US Occupational Safety and Health Administration called on Maltoni to give evidence. He had found that rats exposed to as little as 250 ppm of VCM got liver cancer and later in April this year the US Manufacturing Chemists Association showed liver cancer at 50 ppm.

But Maltoni observed the first cancer in rats in August 1972. ICI (a British PVC manufacturer) admits they were aware of these findings in January 1973. In that month the US Manufacturing Chemists Association sent a delegation to Maltoni to receive reports of his research. **Thus it is undenied that the entire chemical industry knew that VCM caused cancer in rats at the beginning of last year.**

The question was asked by the **Chemical & Engineering News** of May 20, why had individual chemical companies "held in confidence for at least a year preliminary, albeit significant, scientific findings?"

After this appalling record, workers are being told that VCM involves no risk so long as it is limited to 25 parts per million.

But the **New Scientist** of June 13 effectively demolished the new complacency.

Their reporter Lawrence McGinty wrote: "There is no 'safe' limit of exposure to VCM. A limit can only be defined on the criterion of an 'acceptable risk.'

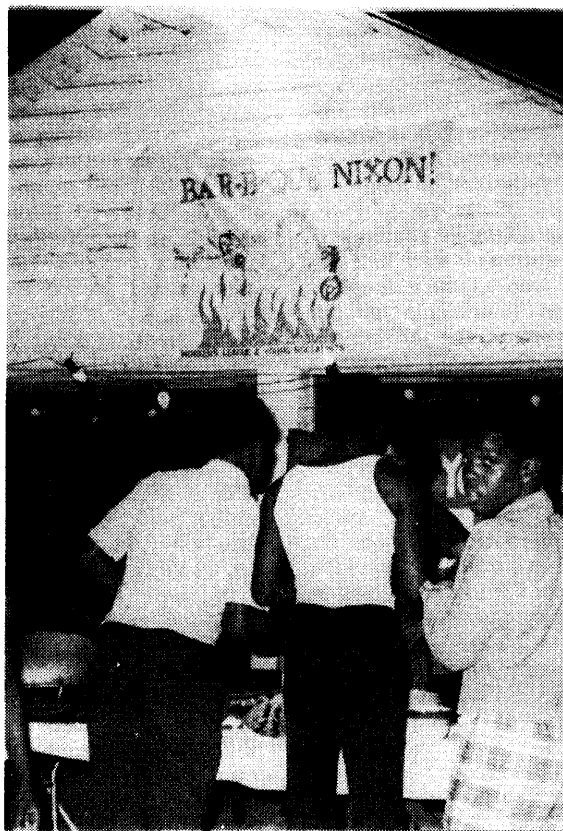
"Given the fact that the latency period for the disease may be as long as 25 years, it seems more certain that more deaths from angiosarcoma will be discovered in the population of workers exposed to VCM.

"Perhaps even more disturbing are unconfirmed reports in the **New York Times** that angiosarcomas have been found in four people not working in plants making polyvinyl chloride PVC—implying a mammoth increase in the pollution in the population at risk."

There is enough evidence, both of the deadly effects of the substance and the cavalier attitude of the chemical giants, to make it urgent for the trade union movement in this country to call for an immediate ban on VCM.

The threat of unemployment is unacceptable. The chemical giants should be nationalized without compensation under workers' control. Then jobs can be guaranteed while a full investigation into the harmful effects of chemical production is held by the labor movement.

Reprinted from Workers Press, daily Trotskyist newspaper of the British Workers Revolutionary Party.



100 Bar-B-Que Nixon At Youngstown Party

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

More than 100 workers and youth turned out to make the "Bar-B-Que Nixon" party, held here last Saturday in Youngstown the biggest gathering ever organized by any branch in the mid-west.

Workers from every important mill in the city—Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Brier Hill, Republic Steel, and US Steel—and auto workers from the Lordstown assembly plant came to the Bar-B-Que, which was held in the backyard of a steel worker's home.

The turnout was a response to a big campaign launched by members of the Workers League and Young Socialists to build the Second Annual Summer Camp which begins on August 24.

Workers and youth signed up for the Bar-B-Que as Young Socialists carried a banner down blocks in their communities with a picture of Nixon roasting on a spit.

With the Lordstown assembly plant shut down by a strike and Youngstown steel workers fighting against the Abel contract, workers were extremely enthusiastic about coming to the Bar-B-Que which they saw as a political rally against Nixon.

Many workers who had bought tickets in advance brought their friends. Housewives in the communities prepared delicious cakes and salads.

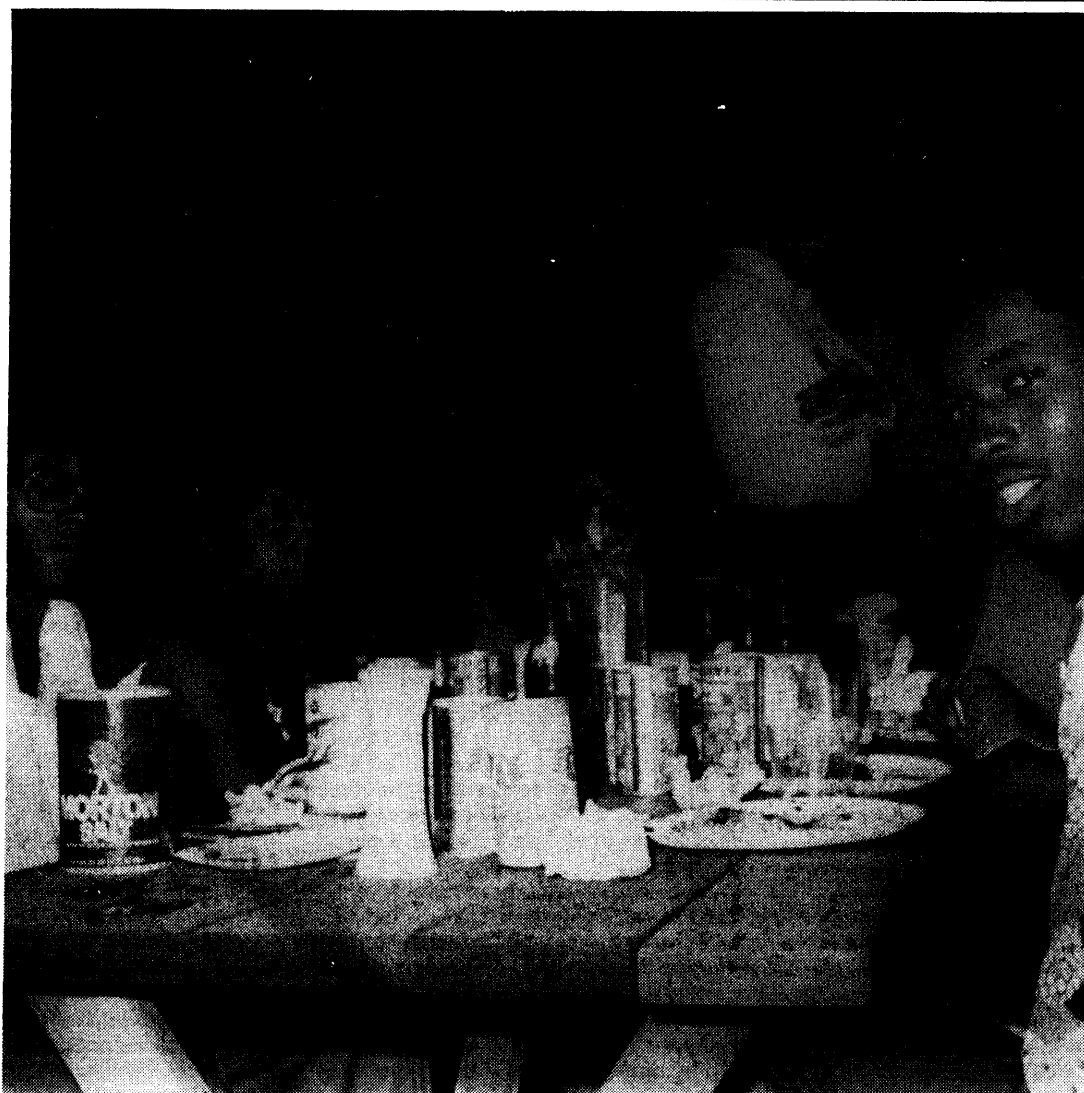
YS members played a critical role in building the Bar-B-Que and many youth who came signed up to join the YS.

On the same evening, another "Bar-B-Que Nixon" rally was held in Detroit and was attended by 50 trade unionists, housewives, and youth.

John Austin, from the Delco-Moraine plant in Dayton, gave a report on the situation in auto and the policies of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

He declared that the conditions which auto workers in Lordstown are facing—brutal speedup, discipline, and the threat of layoffs—confront every UAW member.

He said that this situation required a national auto strike and the launching of a political fight to throw Nixon out through the building of a labor party.



CWA Strikes Michigan Bell In Detroit

BY A REPORTER
DETROIT—Communications Workers of America Local 4050 walked off their jobs and set up picket lines outside the downtown office of Michigan Bell at 7:30 am on July 18.

Despite CWA officials' orders to hold strike votes within the locals and give 48 hours notice, the local polled members and agreed to walk out after the national contract expired at midnight.

Russell Overton Jr., communications specialist, said: "They offered eight percent, three percent and three percent, which is ridiculous enough with prices

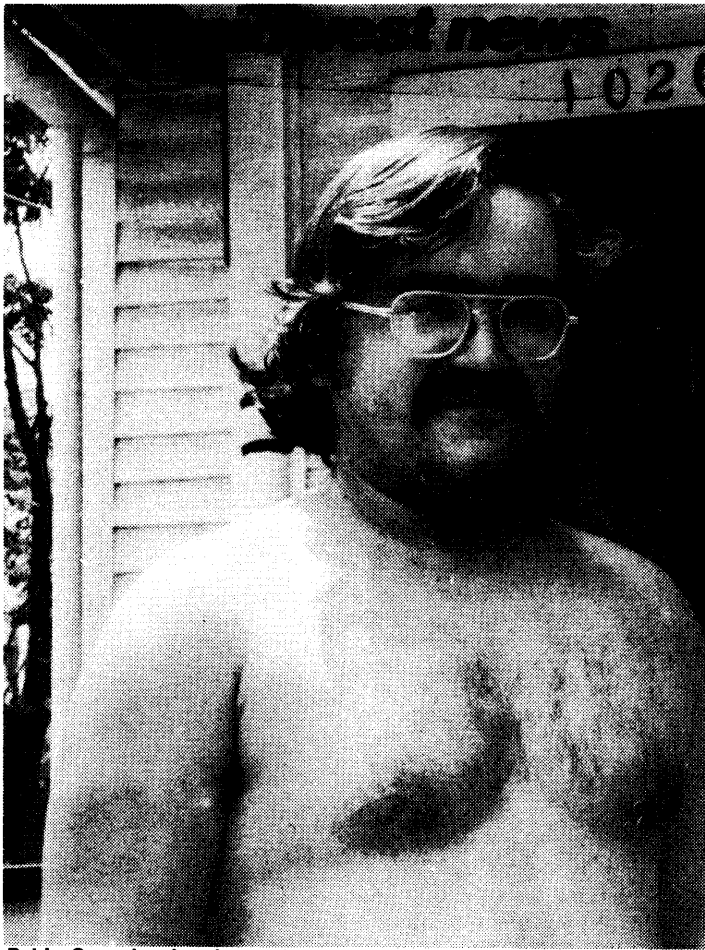
going up. But they want to take away the cost of living and we're going to fight until we win."

A spokesman for Local 4001, Michigan Bell stated: "We've had scattered picketing all over the city, but we have heard nothing."

"I didn't even know we could hold a local strike vote. We're completely in the dark here."

Conflicting reports are repeated on local radio and television stations about picketing and whether the action by Local 4050 is a strike or a protest.

Joe Ramos, a CWA member said: "Nixon's responsible for this news blackout. Nobody knew anything this morning. It's all political."



Pablo Gonzales Jr. who works at the Brier Hill steel works.

Ohio State Workers Get Paltry Pay Hike

BY A REPORTER
DAYTON, Ohio—The leadership of the Ohio American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees has pulled all picket lines and ordered its striking members to return to work, following a wage agreement with the state government.

"All they did is to try and pacify us and that won't last for long," said a liquor store worker who walked out last Thursday, along with jail guards, mental hospital employees, and state university staff. The state legislature had rejected any wage increase for the 7000 workers.

WAGE OFFER

The wage offer tentatively agreed to by the State House and Senate provides for 30¢ an hour for workers making \$8000 or less; 20¢ for those who make from \$8000 to \$12,000; and 10¢ for those making over \$12,000. The strikers had demanded an across the board increase of 40¢.

One liquor store worker, a member of AFSCME Local 2376, said that his union leadership did not even bother to put the wage offer to a membership vote and has not scheduled any meetings.

"I didn't like it, but it's an improvement, it's a start. We said we would hold out for 40¢," he said.

OPPOSITION

John Wilkins, president of AFSCME Local 21 representing workers at Wright State University, said that there was big opposition among the local presidents to the settlement. The vote was 46 to 20 to accept.

While workers were told that the settlement could be renegotiated in January 1975, Wilkins said that this was doubtful.

Ohio state workers have had no increase since August 1, 1973 and the 30¢ they have just been granted will not go into effect until August 30, 1974. There is no cost of living escalator clause.

Pay scales are so low that one liquor store worker with one year seniority makes \$2.98, while another with eight years has advanced to only \$3.40.

Youngstown Votes To Strike Republic

BY NANCY RUSSELL
YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio
 —By a vote of 83 percent, production and office workers demanded a strike against Republic Steel.

This authorizes a strike after August 1 if no progress in negotiations is made.

On July 11, a strike vote was very narrowly defeated, 451 to 545, at the Brier Hill works of the mammoth Sheet and Tube plant. This defeat was a stinging indictment of the policies of the Rank and File Team steel caucus who dominate the leadership of Brier Hill's Local 1463, and were urging a local strike. RAFT has been campaigning to declare Abel's no-strike pledge

illegal on the basis that no vote was taken to approve it.

Now that the courts have rejected their suit, RAFT has no perspective to fight Abel's contract.

The local leadership put out two local newsletters calling for a strike vote, but listed as the demands only the local issues and refused to say anything on wages or even about the campaign against the no-strike pledge.

BRIER HILL

Pablo Gonzales Jr. from Brier Hill, told the Bulletin:

"The reason it was defeated was that the things they were fighting for were not that important, like a better parking lot."

"Guys didn't want to strike and not get anything out of it. Conditions are not that great.

Abel is sort of with the company, especially with the no-strike agreement.

"He is bought off. People are willing to fight. We need a national strike. You certainly cannot quit, but the issues they raised were not that important."

LITCH

William Litch, national chairman of RAFT, after claiming it was impossible to fight against the three percent contract, told the press after the strike defeat: "Well, we put it to the members. This is democracy in action."

"The workers were evidently satisfied with the Abel wage package."

Former president of Local 1462, Hugie Naples, told the Bulletin: "Most people working don't care."

"As far as I am concerned, people, especially younger people, don't care. But it's always good to go out and let the people decide."

RAFT now covers for Abel by claiming, as he does that workers must be satisfied with a three percent wage increase and that the only things that can be changed are minor things like the parking facilities.

COURTS

Litch starts by relying on Nixon's courts and ends up refusing to lead workers in a powerful strike that could defeat that contract.

The fight for a national strike to throw out the ENA deal is being led by the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, which fights to mobilize workers politically against Nixon and for the building of a labor party.

Tool & Die Men Strike Celestial

BY JOHN WERNER
DAYTON, Ohio, July 10—Workers at Celestial Tool Co., members of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 671, have been out on strike for two weeks.

Celestial Tool Co. is a key plant in the Continental Can chain of plants. A high proportion of the workers are highly skilled toolmakers who work to the 10 millionth of an inch.

The workers have had a contract with a cost of living capped and have not received any adjustments in their pay since November.

DIVIDE

Moreover, the company seeks to divide the workers with a 50¢ wage increase the first year to the group 7 workers, the highest skilled and largest group, and further widen the differential for the other six lower groups, downgrading the pay increase to 15¢ for the lowest group.

Many of the more skilled workers have blocked with other workers and voted "no" to this four times. Bart Enright, IUE District 7 International Repre-



Members of IUE Local 671 on strike for two weeks against Celestial Tool Co.

sentative has been trying to sell this to the workers. Workers on the picket line state that he told them at a membership meeting: "I don't give a damn. Take it or leave it. I don't work there." Pickets characterize the proposed contract as a "sweet-

heart" contract arranged by the International.

Monday night, the IUE called a meeting with the company and proposed to give up the \$50 Christmas bonus, for an 8¢ an hour increase for the group 6

workers (the second highest group).

One worker stated: "We didn't go out on strike to have this same offer divided up—the same pie recut and changed around. The strength of the union determines what you get."

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World Hunger Crisis part two

The following feature is reprinted from Workers Press, daily Trotskyist newspaper of the British Workers Revolutionary Party.

The following paragraph is from a study done by US scientist Dr. George A. Borgstrom, professor at Michigan State University.

"Nevertheless, it is not the biological death caused by hunger that we shall refer to now, but the terrible, slow death in life occasioned by hidden hunger, that scourge which is not as evident as the death of a child, but which perhaps causes even more harm: malnutrition."

Professor Borgstrom's essay is called "The double challenge of health and hunger: a world crisis" and its aim is to convince public opinion that hunger is caused by "excess population" and has nothing to do with the capitalist system as such.

Of course, Borgstrom is a militant of the neo-Malthusian school, very common among population "experts" and bourgeois scientists.

In his zeal to demonstrate his theories, Borgstrom has made a scientific investigation of the physiological and psychological consequences of malnutrition in the capitalist world. Therefore, his essay, although completely bourgeois, is a valuable testimony which paradoxically contradicts the much-touted boons of capitalism that he tries to defend.

Dr. Marcel Autret of France, a FAO functionary, has given us a very graphic explanation of what proteins are and how they differ from calories.

MEDICAL ATTENTION

"Like gasoline which makes cars move, calories are the fuel which make the human being move. Even when we are resting, our cells liberate calories and consume them. Proteins, on the other hand, are the parts with which the human machine is first built and then maintained. They are the raw materials with which tissue is built. If an adult lacks protein his or her body will deteriorate, but in the case of children, their growth will be retarded, sometimes irretrievably. A protein is a long chain of amino acids which the body breaks down into component parts. Some of these components cannot be manufactured by the body and that is why it must receive them already made, just as a factory receives semi-manufactured parts."

In his analysis on malnutrition, Borgstrom says that the human being's main nutritional deficiency is protein: "Of course, 10 to 15 percent of the world's population lacks calories or is undernourished. But an immensely larger number of people, perhaps 1500 million, suffer from the lack of protein. Also common are other deficiencies related to a lack of fats, minerals (calcium, iodine,

etc.) and vitamins (B1, B6, A folic acid, etc.).

"As the problem of hunger becomes more widespread these and other nutritional deficiencies become more common. For every case of malnutrition treated in a hospital, there are many others which never receive medical attention. It is evident that the nutritional crisis is much more gigantic than we realize."

As we know, a long time ago doctors and scientists discovered that a lack of protein causes brain damage in children who become mentally retarded. We also know that the lack of Vitamin A, for instance, frequently causes blindness.

UNABLE TO RESIST

Borgstrom points out: "For many years we have assumed that with equal educational opportunities and environmental compensation, even children born in poverty could become outstanding and productive students. Today we know that malnourished children may be permanently retarded. The magnitude of this statement is illustrated by the fact that two-thirds of the children in most developing countries are now suffering from malnutrition."

"Most child deaths are commonly attributed to transmissible diseases. But we know that infection is not the only cause of death, rather it is infection combined with malnutrition. In other words, malnutrition weakens the body to such an extent that it becomes unable to resist what would normally be a slight and temporary infection."

In one of his conclusions, Professor Borgstrom affirms:

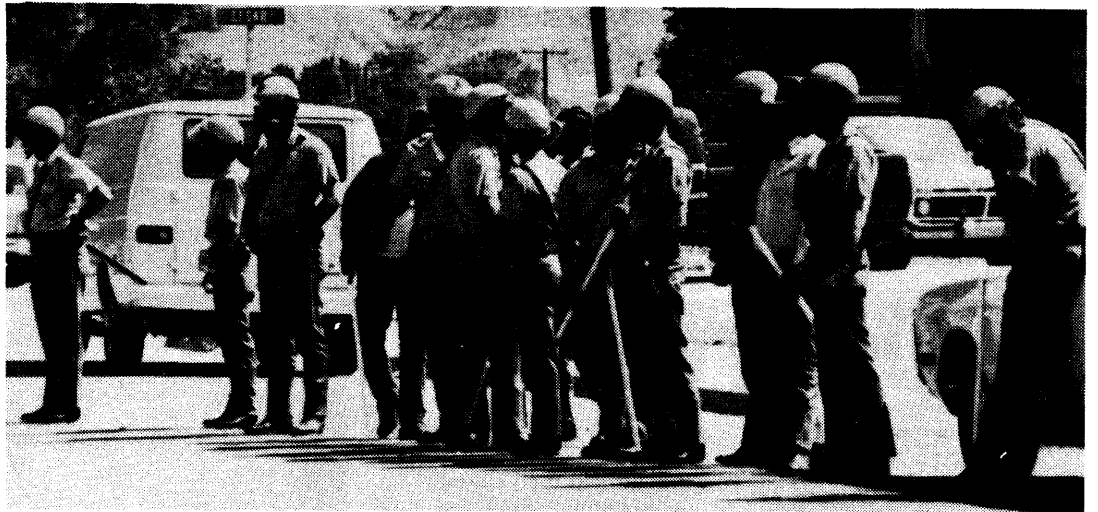
"Deficiency diseases are extremely insidious, because they rob vitality without causing other easily-identifiable symptoms; therefore, they frequently belong to the category of hidden hunger. Hundreds of millions of people today suffer from lack of proteins, minerals and vitamins, not to the extent of producing precise symptoms, but sufficiently to cause a reduction in efficiency, vivacity, resistance and creativity."

CONCLUSION

"Nutritional experts can indicate what is wrong, but as long as they remain bounded by capitalist ideology they can give no guide as to how the food crisis should be remedied. The best they can offer, as a rule, is the control of population growth—which in itself is no remedy at all and diverts attention from the real cause: imperialist plunder and exploitation."

In fact, what they have found out about man's nutritional needs and the failure of the present system to satisfy them is a powerful argument for the mobilization of the masses themselves to carry out revolutionary change, overthrow capitalism and establish a world socialist economy.

CONCLUDED



Navajo Indians Protest Murders In New Mexico

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN FARMINGTON, New Mexico—In the past months, this small town in northwest New Mexico has been the scene of a struggle between the Navajo Indians who live on the nearby reservation and the right-wing local government and police.

Ever since the murder of three Indians in April, several hundred Navajos have marched to Farmington every weekend to protest a mounting wave of attacks against Indians.

John Harvey, 39; Erman Benally, 33; and David Ignacio were found with their skulls crushed and their bodies covered with

knife marks and burns. Three white teenagers admitted the killings and were given two years in the reformatory.

The Coalition for Navajo Liberation, led by Wilbert Tsosie, was formed to fight for justice for those who have been killed as well as to improve the miserable conditions that Farmington Navajos are forced to live under.

RETALIATION

The marches sparked off a brutal retaliation by the police. One day, a sheriff's posse from El Paso marched through town dressed in the US Cavalry uniforms. Indians who protested this open provocation were attacked with tear gas and clubs. Thirty-one were arrested and coalition leader Levaldo Lorenzo was stabbed.

The Coalition says that thousands of Navajo Indians have been beaten and many killed in allegedly "accidental" hit and

run incidents. Many have simply disappeared. Since the spring, 20 bodies have been found.

The Navajos live in tarpaper shacks on the reservations with no electricity, plumbing, or even toilet facilities, in the most barren parts of New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah.

The few who are lucky to get factory jobs make about \$2 an hour; 50 percent are unemployed.

Through a conspiracy between the town council, dominated by John Birch Society supporters, and the Indian tribal council, the Navajos are being pushed further and further into the desert by an irrigation project and strip mining. The tribal council is taking all the good farmland for itself.

The formation of the Coalition and the militancy of the Indian youth in Farmington show that the Indian people are determined not to be pushed back



Water, Power Strikers Defy Court Order

BY SHEILA BREHM
LOS ANGELES—Over 8000 workers have defied a court order to end their strike against the Department of Water and Power.

Striker Neil O'Brien, from the Playa Del Rey facility, said: "We're not going back to work until we get a 15 percent pay increase.

"DWP is asking us to subsidize the city of Los Angeles, and we're not going to do it. We have to eat, too."

Several hundred strikers, surrounded by large numbers of police, picketed the downtown offices of the DWP, while large picket lines surrounded power plant facilities throughout the city.

Only 5000 DWP workers are unionized, but most of the 6500 nonunion workers are behind the strike. A nonunion operator supporting the strike said: "When I left the plant on Monday, two days before the strike, five of my friends were not in the union.

"But when I returned on Tuesday, they had all joined up. Support for the union has snowballed in the last week."

The walkout, which began on Wednesday, was called by the 3000-member International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 18, and the 2000-member Engineers and Architects Association, along with the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees which has 300 members. The strike is the first since 1943.

One worker, Butler Wellington, explained why the injunction was being ignored: "We know our rights, and we are going to stick by them. Just look at the inflation. The working man can't make it."

Jim Odiorne stated: "On the working class, they hold the wages down and on the upper class, they let it go up.

"When they give us a pay

raise, it's really a pay cut, because year after year it's gobbled up. Ninety-five percent of the workers rejected the DWP's offer. When you get 95 percent, we know we're right."

On the first day of the strike, a power outage occurred in the Sylmar area, stemming from what DWP officials called "sabotage."

Union officials have denied any knowledge of the incident. A picket said: "They're trying to blame it on the union, maybe to have an excuse for troops.

"I'd live to see the National Guard try to run the plant. We'd all be using candles."

DWP General Manager Robert V. Phillips has charged the union with vandalism and sabotage and said that the number of LA police will be increased, in addition to the hiring of Pinkerton guards.

DWP workers have rejected an eight percent wage increase and are holding out for parity with private utility firms.

Copper Strike Hits Arizona Refineries

BY TED BAKER
SAN FRANCISCO—Over 30,000 copper miners and refinery workers are on strike throughout the country.

A tentative agreement has been reached with Kennecott copper, the largest copper company in the country, but the 10,000 Kennecott workers will man the picket lines until the ratification meetings this Sunday.

Magma Copper, ASARCO, and several small copper companies are still negotiating with the 26 union coalition representing the workers.

Negotiations at Phelps Dodge have completely broken off. Before the strike began, the unions signed a contract with Anaconda Copper, the second



AFSCME members picket outside Water Department steam plant.

San Jose Cops Murder Youth

BY ALLEN SALTER
SAN JOSE—Following the killing of 22-year-old Eddie Swoope and the injuring of two other people by San Jose policemen on July 15, San Jose City Councilman, Al Garza, stated that a "paramilitary clique is operating within the San Jose police department."

The clique feels, he continued, "that it must go out and get its quota of blood."

The murder of Eddie Swoope came less than two months after San Jose police shot and killed Robert Trujillo, in a similar incident with police. Eddie Swoope, an unemployed white youth from the Los Angeles area, was shot by San Jose police officers Harpe and Bogges, while walking down the street with an unloaded pellet gun.

According to Eddie's friends, he had been feeling upset all day, when he picked up the unloaded pellet gun and walked out into the street. They also stated that reports by police and newspapers that Eddie had threatened a little girl and other people with a pellet gun were untrue.

police first fired several shots at Swoope and then demanded that he drop his unloaded weapon. The police then fired several more shots, killing him.

Both policemen shot three bullets from their guns, with at least one of the shots hitting Eddie Swoope in the head.

One of the bullets fired by police also smashed through the home of Bernice Want across the street, hitting her in the leg as she sat in her house.

Gloria Mirelez, an 11-year-old girl had her leg broken after being run over by a motorcycle being driven by policeman Donald Samsels, who was speeding to the shooting scene.

After the shooting took place, San Jose police wearing military fatigues cordoned off the street and refused to allow the people to enter the area.

Councilman Garza's exposure of a paramilitary clique within the San Jose police department out to kill people comes at the same time as the San Francisco police department and the government are openly defending employing a member of the Nazi Party within the San Francisco police department.

EYEWITNESS Dump 52,000 Gallons Of Milk

BY SHEILA BREHM
LOS ANGELES—Bringing back memories of the Great Depression, 52,000 gallons of fresh skim milk were poured down the drain at a Los Angeles County sanitation district water pollution plant.

The milk was dumped from large tanker trucks by a dairyman's cooperative. The California Milk Producers say they dumped the milk because no market could be found for it in this period of "bumper milk production."

Thousands of working class families have actually been forced to cut back on milk consumption due to the unprecedented high cost of milk.

When the cooperative was asked why they did not give the milk away to a charitable organization, a spokesman for the dairymen revealed that profits, not needs, are the number one priority.

"There is insufficient plant capacity in the state of California at this time to handle this skim milk. It would be impossible for producers to absorb the additional cost of pasteurizing, packaging, and distributing this milk to the charitable organizations in light of the already absorbed product loss."

Not daring to cut into the huge profits of the dairy industry, the state Assembly Agriculture Committee killed legislation designed to lower California milk prices. In fact, in Northern California, the price of milk was just boosted another two cents a gallon.

largest copper producer.

This contract is modelled after the contract in basic steel. It provides an 86.5¢ per hour raise spread over a three-year contract: a 5.5 percent raise.

The nationwide walkout occurred after union leaders, led by I.W. Abel, president of the United Steel Workers, held off the strike for two weeks until after the expiration of the contract.

Despite the two-week extension, Kennecott miners in the Chino mines in New Mexico, and ASARCO refinery workers in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and Hayden, Arizona, walked off the job July 1. The Chino miners, led by USWA Local 890, voted to go out despite the contract extension. The Chino mines have been out since July 1. All court injunctions have been dropped in the Chino strike, according to Cas Alvin, USWA public relations man.

Leaders of the USWA and the other unions involved in the strike have done everything to appease the copper giants in their drive for profit. When the walkouts occurred they were denounced as irresponsible by the USWA. These actions have gained the union leadership praise from the copper companies.

This strike is vital to the interests of the 30,000 workers involved in it as well as over 100,000 more workers in the copper industry whose contracts expire in the next four months.

In the last month, copper prices on the international markets have fallen from a high of \$1.19 a pound to 89.5¢ a pound. The copper companies fear that the bottom is dropping out of the speculative craze which pushed copper prices to their all-time highs.

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lucha obrera

lucia rivera



Fidel Castro



Peron: Argentina

Gral. Velasco: Peru

Castro Apoya Fascismo En America Latina

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Las guerrillas fracasan en América Latina ya que nunca fueron un movimiento de la clase obrera.

Además, Castro expresó su posición anti-trotskista en la conferencia tri-continental en 1966 donde apoyara a los stalinistas en la forma más represiva contra el proletariado en la invasión de Checoslovaquia.

El desarrollo de la crisis internacional hace que el régimen castrista oportunamente, después de haber promovido los focos guerrilleros, recurra en primera instancia a movimientos latinoamericanos de la misma naturaleza que el suyo. Entre otros, buscó apoyo en el nacionalismo bonapartista de los gobiernos militares de Velasco en Perú y Torres en Bolivia. En un discurso el 14 de julio de 1969, Castro dijo:

"Si una revolución genuina se desarrolla en el Perú, independientemente del hecho de que sus líderes fuesen militares, Cuba defenderá esa revolución."

Y sobre la posibilidad de que esto ocurra dijo:

"Lo que puede desarrollarse de este proceso (el peruano) es que puede seguir avanzando hasta triunfar totalmente."

Sin embargo, cuando el gobierno de Torres fuera derrocado por Banzer e implantara una dictadura fascista, cuando Pinochet asesinara a Salvador Allende y reprimiera al proletariado chileno, Castro no mueve ni un solo dedo.

Este es el significado real del "apoyo demagógico castrista a los movimientos "progresistas" de América Latina. Es un ataque a la clase obrera, ya que con esto el liderazgo cubano está encubriendo "izquierdistamente" a gobiernos plegados a la burguesía dominante. La política anti-obrera de Castro y su complicidad con los stalinistas, con De Gaulle en mayo y junio de 1968, contra las revolucionarias huelgas y apropiaciones obreras demuestran su solidaridad con los capitalistas frente a la cara del proletariado.

Esta es la traición de Castro contra la revolución proletaria. El liderazgo cubano fue en realidad una continuación del régimen de Batista. Y bajo las condiciones de crisis internacional su posición se expresa claramente en este período en que el proletariado mundial se mueve en ofensiva contra el enemigo común capitalista. Castro por un lado apoya el fascismo en Argentina y por otro, busca acuerdos con los agentes americanos del imperialismo.

NIXON . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
the resolution, calling it the work of "radicals and partisans." This is absolute nonsense. It would be hard to conjure up a more establishment figure than John Doar, who has directed the Committee's impeachment proceedings at a snail's pace and who had until Friday scrupulously avoided drawing any inferences from the overwhelming evidence.

The fact that the majority of the utterly conservative Democratic and Republican politicians will endorse the proposed resolution reveals all the more sharply how far-advanced Nixon's preparations for dictatorship have gone.

The central question which is now raised before the working class must be how was it possible for Nixon to assemble the apparatus of the police state within the White House in defiance of the Constitution and right under the nose of the Congress and the Supreme Court?

How is it possible that he has remained in office this long, still continuing the coverup and the crimes of which he is accused in the impeachment resolution?

The fact is that this devastating portrait of a president drawn in the resolution is a portrait of the entire capitalist class and the extent to which the tendencies toward dictatorship have been developed beneath the cover of democratic forms.

Nixon's White House represents the clearest expression of these dictatorial tendencies which were nourished in a less mature form under Kennedy and Johnson. Whatever the personal fate of Nixon, these preparations will continue at a stepped up tempo under a Gerald Ford or Edward Kennedy, who was responsible for the death of Mary Jo Kopechne and then brutally covered up the Chappaquiddick events with lies.

This is because the ruling class as a whole must break with democratic procedures and resort to repression in order to pre-



38 striking garment workers at the Great-Chinese-American Sewing Company in San Francisco have just been arrested. The Chinese workers went on strike last week when a young worker was fired for trying to organize a union.

serve its profits under conditions of deepening economic crisis and the movement of workers against inflation and unemployment.

This can be seen now as the working class launches its wage offensive and defends basic union rights. In one strike after another, police and national guardsmen are being thrown against workers.

These politicians must resort to outright brutality on the one hand and conspiracy on the other because they seek to impose policies that represent the interests of a few and that are unacceptable to the vast majority of people in this country—the working class.

This is why the working class must build its own party to throw Nixon out and defend the basic rights of the working class. The crimes of Nixon are the crimes of a class which can be defeated only by the working class. The task of removing Nixon cannot

be left to the Democrats and Republicans who move as slowly as possible against him because they represent the same class and agree with his policies of war against the working people.

The working class must build the movement to throw Nixon out by constructing a labor party because these conspiracies can be ended only when workers run this country on the basis of socialist policies which meet the needs of millions.

The AFL-CIO, UAW and all trade union organizations must immediately convene a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party. Workers in every local along with housewives and youth must fight for the building of this party to rally millions to force Nixon out and replace him with our alternative to the conspirators of big business.

We call on all workers and youth to join this fight by joining the Workers League and the Young Socialists.

CYPRUS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
percent of the population is Turkish.

Neither the Greek nor the Turkish Cypriotes support Sampson who is seen as the agent of the hated Greek dictatorship in Athens.

Makarios is a right-wing nationalist who collaborated with British imperialism's policy of divide and rule and agreed to carve up the Greek and Turkish Cypriotes in separate areas after independence was granted.

Tourists who were flown out of Cyprus reported that Makarios had ordered his supporters to lay down their arms, which allowed the Greek National Guard to mow down many defenseless workers.

Makarios prevented the mobilization of the Cypriote working class, which could have

been united in a common fight against the Athens dictatorship. He went to the United Nations to plead with the US, the very country behind his overthrow, to intervene.

Sampson's coup creates a real danger of massacres of the Turkish minority and would lead to the splitting up of the Cypriote working class if Sampson succeeded in forcing the Greek Cypriotes into unity with the Athens junta.

This coup reveals that the United States seeks total domination of the Mediterranean as a staging ground for military attacks against the Arab countries, the Soviet Union, and China, even if this means a conflict with Britain, which has bases on the island. Britain, however, is too weak to defend its position militarily.

Despite this blatant provocation by the US government, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, in a speech in Poland Sunday, evaded blaming the US for plotting the coup.

Brezhnev only denounced the Greek regime and NATO and followed this by reaffirming his support to Nixon and the recent summit talks in Moscow.

The policy of the Soviet Stalinists is to maintain the status quo on Cyprus, that is, to prop up Makarios and to label the activities of the Greek military within Cyprus "an internal matter."

This policy is followed by the Stalinist Progressive Party of Working People of Cyprus which uncritically backs Makarios and refused to mobilize the workers against the threat of the coup, in the same way the Chilean Communist Party allowed the army to take over last year.

Yet Brezhnev revealed that during the summit talks, his proposal for a joint US-Soviet withdrawal of nuclear armed submarines and ships from the Mediterranean was rejected.

This exposes the inability of the Soviet bureaucracy to prepare for the threat of imperialist attack despite open aggression by the US, and the bankruptcy of its policy of peaceful coexistence.

The attempt of the US to seize Cyprus flows from the deepening economic crisis in American capitalism and leaves no doubt that the US ruling class and the Pentagon will not hesitate to plunge workers into another world war to defend its rotten and corrupt system.

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Este es el significado real del "apoyo demagógico castrista a los movimientos "progresistas" de América Latina. Es un ataque a la clase obrera, ya que con esto el liderazgo cubano está encubriendo "izquierdistamente" a gobiernos plegados a la burguesía dominante. La política anti-obrera de Castro y su complicidad con los stalinistas, con De Gaulle en mayo y junio de 1968, contra las revolucionarias huelgas y apropiaciones obreras demuestran su solidaridad con los capitalistas frente a la cara del proletariado.

Esta es la traición de Castro contra la revolución proletaria. El liderazgo cubano fue en realidad una continuación del regimen de Batista. Y bajo las condiciones de crisis internacional su posición se expresa claramente en este período en que el proletariado mundial se mueve en ofensiva contra el enemigo común capitalista. Castro por un lado apoya el fascismo en Argentina y por otro, busca acuerdos con los agentes americanos del imperialismo.

NIXON . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
the resolution, calling it the work of "radicals and partisans." This is absolute nonsense. It would be hard to conjure up a more establishment figure than John Doar, who has directed the Committee's impeachment proceedings at a snail's pace and who had until Friday scrupulously avoided drawing any inferences from the overwhelming evidence.

The fact that the majority of the utterly conservative Democratic and Republican politicians will endorse the proposed resolution reveals all the more sharply how far-advanced Nixon's preparations for dictatorship have gone.

The central question which is now raised before the working class must be how was it possible for Nixon to assemble the apparatus of the police state within the White House in defiance of the Constitution and right under the nose of the Congress and the Supreme Court?

How is it possible that he has remained in office this long, still continuing the coverup and the crimes of which he is accused in the impeachment resolution?

The fact is that this devastating portrait of a president drawn in the resolution is a portrait of the entire capitalist class and the extent to which the tendencies toward dictatorship have been developed beneath the cover of democratic forms.

Nixon's White House represents the clearest expression of these dictatorial tendencies which were nourished in a less mature form under Kennedy and Johnson. Whatever the personal fate of Nixon, these preparations will continue at a stepped up tempo under a Gerald Ford or Edward Kennedy, who was responsible for the death of Mary Jo Kopechne and then brutally covered up the Chappaquiddick events with lies.

This is because the ruling class as a whole must break with democratic procedures and resort to repression in order to pre-



38 striking garment workers at the Great-Chinese-American Sewing Company in San Francisco have just been arrested. The Chinese workers went on strike last week when a young worker was fired for trying to organize a union.

serve its profits under conditions of deepening economic crisis and the movement of workers against inflation and unemployment.

This can be seen now as the working class launches its wage offensive and defends basic union rights. In one strike after another, police and national guardsmen are being thrown against workers.

These politicians must resort to outright brutality on the one hand and conspiracy on the other because they seek to impose policies that represent the interests of a few and that are unacceptable to the vast majority of people in this country—the working class.

This is why the working class must build its own party to throw Nixon out and defend the basic rights of the working class. The crimes of Nixon are the crimes of a class which can be defeated only by the working class. The task of removing Nixon cannot

be left to the Democrats and Republicans who move as slowly as possible against him because they represent the same class and agree with his policies of war against the working people.

The working class must build the movement to throw Nixon out by constructing a labor party because these conspiracies can be ended only when workers run this country on the basis of socialist policies which meet the needs of millions.

The AFL-CIO, UAW and all trade union organizations must immediately convene a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party. Workers in every local along with housewives and youth must fight for the building of this party to rally millions to force Nixon out and replace him with our alternative to the conspirators of big business.

We call on all workers and youth to join this fight by joining the Workers League and the Young Socialists.

CYPRUS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
percent of the population is Turkish.

Neither the Greek nor the Turkish Cypriotes support Sampson who is seen as the agent of the hated Greek dictatorship in Athens.

Makarios is a right-wing nationalist who collaborated with British imperialism's policy of divide and rule and agreed to carve up the Greek and Turkish Cypriotes in separate areas after independence was granted.

Tourists who were flown out of Cyprus reported that Makarios had ordered his supporters to lay down their arms, which allowed the Greek National Guard to mow down many defenseless workers.

Makarios prevented the mobilization of the Cypriote working class, which could have

been united in a common fight against the Athens dictatorship. He went to the United Nations to plead with the US, the very country behind his overthrow, to intervene.

Sampson's coup creates a real danger of massacres of the Turkish minority and would lead to the splitting up of the Cypriote working class if Sampson succeeded in forcing the Greek Cypriotes into unity with the Athens junta.

This coup reveals that the United States seeks total domination of the Mediterranean as a staging ground for military attacks against the Arab countries, the Soviet Union, and China, even if this means a conflict with Britain, which has bases on the island. Britain, however, is too weak to defend its position militarily.

Despite this blatant provocation by the US government, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, in a speech in Poland Sunday, evaded blaming the US for plotting the coup.

Brezhnev only denounced the Greek regime and NATO and followed this by reaffirming his support to Nixon and the recent summit talks in Moscow.

The policy of the Soviet Stalinists is to maintain the status quo on Cyprus, that is, to prop up Makarios and to label the activities of the Greek military within Cyprus "an internal matter."

This policy is followed by the Stalinist Progressive Party of Working People of Cyprus which uncritically backs Makarios and refused to mobilize the workers against the threat of the coup, in the same way the Chilean Communist Party allowed the army to take over last year.

Yet Brezhnev revealed that during the summit talks, his proposal for a joint US-Soviet withdrawal of nuclear armed submarines and ships from the Mediterranean was rejected.

This exposes the inability of the Soviet bureaucracy to prepare for the threat of imperialist attack despite open aggression by the US, and the bankruptcy of its policy of peaceful coexistence.

The attempt of the US to seize Cyprus flows from the deepening economic crisis in American capitalism and leaves no doubt that the US ruling class and the Pentagon will not hesitate to plunge workers into another world war to defend its rotten and corrupt system.

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