

Bulletin

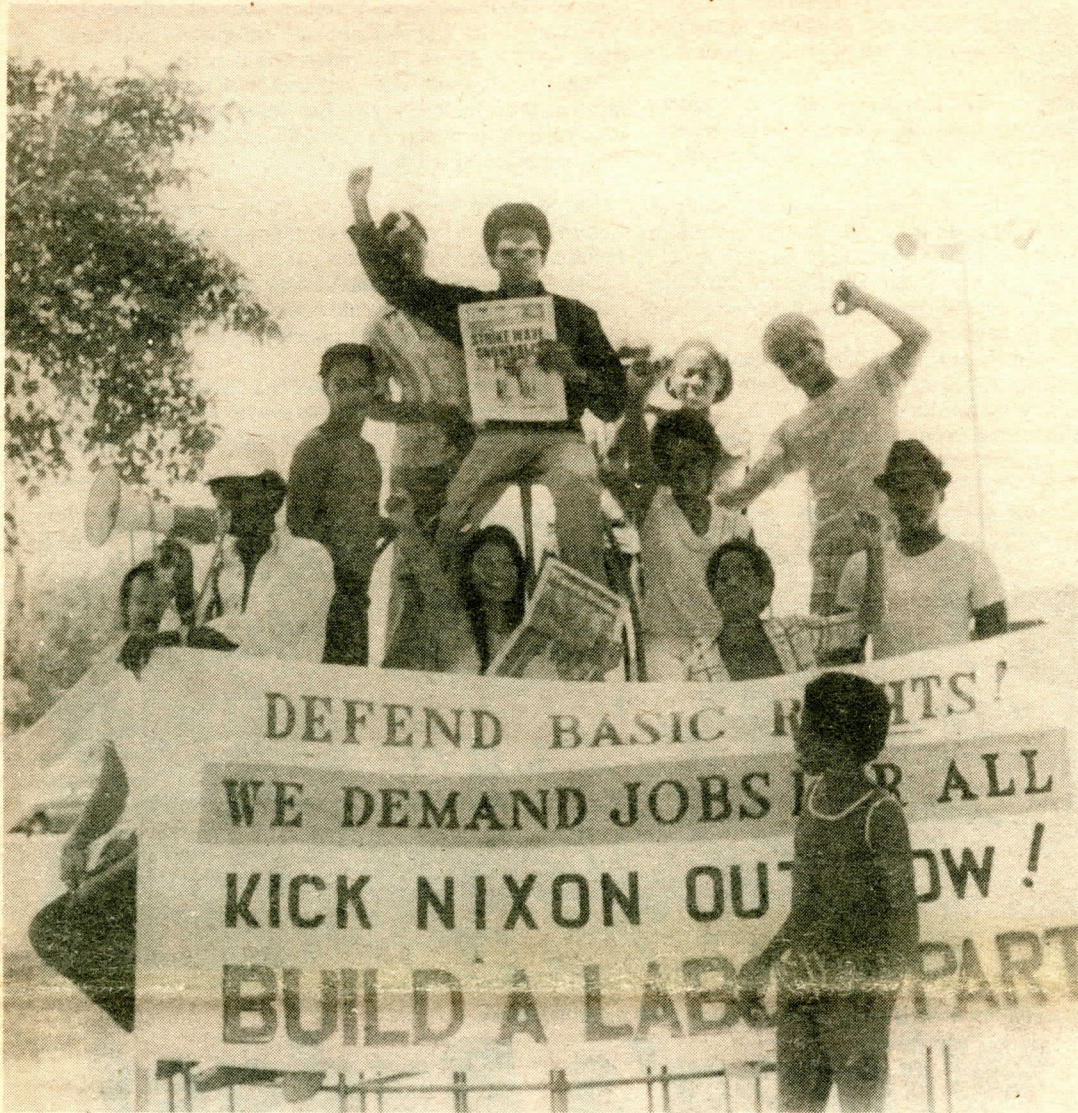
NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER FIFTY NINE 395

FRIDAY, JULY 26, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS



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Nixon On The Hot Seat

BY DAVE NORTH
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The ruling states that: "To read the powers of the president as providing an absolute privilege as against a subpoena essential to enforcement of criminal statutes on no more than a generalized claim of the

public interest in confidentiality of nonmilitary and nondiplomatic discussion would upset the constitutional balance of 'a workable government' and gravely impair the role of the courts."

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(Continued On Page 12)

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BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
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National Guard by the Turkish Army.

The growing class struggle within both Cyprus and Turkey forced the Turkish government to invade Cyprus following the CIA-engineered coup which ousted Archbishop Makarios July 15. The decay of the junta's rule within Greece itself was reflected by its inability to militarily defeat the invasion.

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The junta was also forced to announce the resignation of Nikos Sampson, the 30-year-old gunman for the Greek terrorist EOKA-B, whom they had in-

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FIGHTING

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Bulletin Monthly Fund

Fund Drive In Danger

With only one more week to go the July Fund is in the gravest danger. While we have received \$753.56 since last week, more than the previous two weeks combined, we have only \$1317.41 towards our goal of \$5000.

We believe we can meet this goal if there is an all-out drive throughout this coming week-end. We ask all our readers to please help us at this critical

juncture. Inflation poses political tasks to millions of American workers. Only through a labor party can workers now defend their hard fought for conditions and rights. It is the Bulletin ONLY which campaigns for the labor party. This very same inflation places tremendous economic pressures upon the Bulletin. This is why this July fund is so vitally needed.

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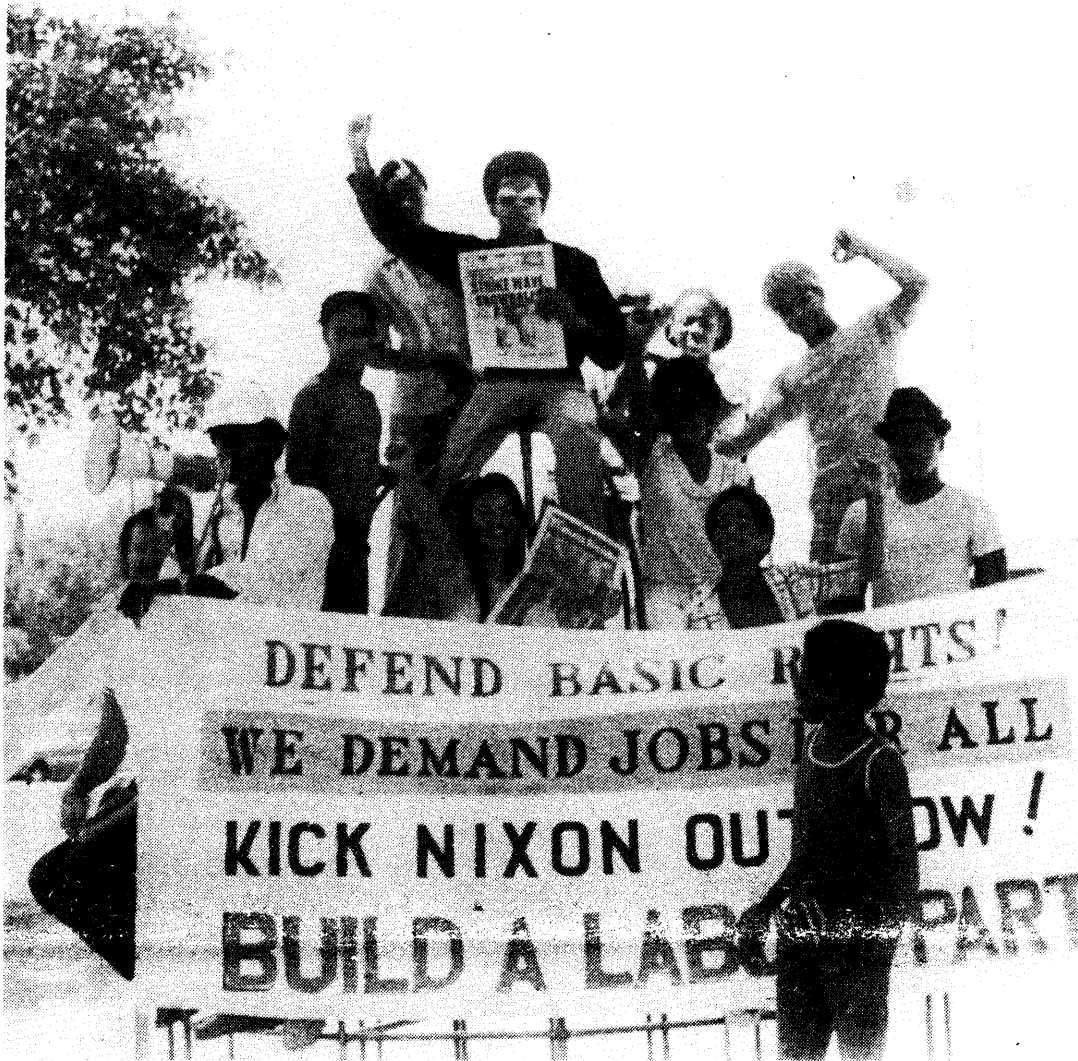
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BUILD A Labor Party-The Only Way Forward

The wave of strikes sweeping the country in response to the skyrocketing inflation shows the enormous power of the American working class.

Workers are absolutely justified in fighting to make up for the decline in living standards after years of having wages held down to five percent.

The explosiveness and strength of this wage offensive has forced the government and employers to grant, in some cases, far greater increases than they would like.

What We Think

As the inflation draws hundreds of thousands into a common fight, workers can begin to see the strength they have as a class. It was precisely this power that enabled workers, after bloody battles,

to build the unions and to make gains.

The fight for wages today takes place under conditions of the deepest economic crisis in history when capitalism stands on the brink of collapse.

Under these new conditions, the methods of struggle used in the past, of militant strike actions, are no longer sufficient to defend living standards.

The present strike offensive shows the potential for workers to use their power politically—to build an independent labor party which is now the only way in which the working class can move forward.

The ruthlessness and brutality of American capitalism has created a strong feeling of class consciousness among masses of workers.

Because of the rapid expansion of capitalism in this country and a growing confidence in their strength, American workers developed a tradition of militancy and a reliance on the power of the strike.

The struggles in the labor movement have always had this contradiction: while many workers came to understand clearly that capitalism was the enemy, the pragmatic reliance on the methods of struggle that got immediate results prevented workers from using their power to organize their own party.

The strike wave in 1970 broke the efforts of the government to patch up the growing crisis with monetary reforms. In 1971, Nixon was forced to remove the gold backing from the dollar which opened the floodgates of uncontrollable inflation.

This inflation is reaching such astronomical proportions and the value of the dollar is so seriously eroded that production is undermined and is leading to not just the bankruptcies of industries, but of entire nations, as in Italy and Britain.

This inflationary crisis has opened up revolutionary struggles in Europe, especially in Portugal and Greece, and means major class battles in the United States at the same time.

To reduce the inflation, Nixon's economic advisor Alan Greenspan's solution is to use unemployment to reduce wages, while billions of social programs are cut from the budget. Leading economists are now declaring that workers must take a "loss in income" and accept a period of austerity.

If the government fails to hold back this wage offensive, the spiralling inflation will precipitate the collapse of the entire economic system.

Thus the ruling class prepares for violent confrontation with the working class to drive wages down by

force and impose slave labor in the plants.

In Harlan County, Kentucky, state police armed to the teeth have been mobilized to terrorize miners fighting for the right to unionize. Strikers have been shot at, arrested, fired, and evicted from their homes.

In Farmington, New Mexico, Indian workers have been murdered and face constant threats by the right-wing city government. In Boron, California, military helicopters were used against strikers and in the Ohio state strike, the National Guard was called in.

This is why the Nixon government has sought to rule as a band of conspirators and to destroy democratic rights. Even now, Nixon desperately seeks to cling to power.

Watergate is not just a series of scandals. It exposes the moves of the entire capitalist class to bring in dictatorial methods of rule. Whether Nixon is replaced by a Democrat or Republican, this conspiracy will continue, until workers take independent action.

There is no doubt that workers will fight these attacks as they did in the past, but the most pressing task is to turn these struggles towards a political fight and the formation of a labor party.

The Socialist Workers Party in its recent National Committee meeting, for all its talk of struggle, did not mention the need for such a party.

The American Communist Party openly opposes the building of a labor party and counterposes pressure on and direct support for the liberals of the Democratic Party.

Only the Workers League and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, our industrial arm, leads this fight in the unions and in the communities. We urge all workers to join our movement.



British Government workers at a recent demonstration at their union headquarters are among many workers fighting for wage increases.

Tories Write Wilson's Budget

BY FRANK MARTIN

The budget presented by the British Labor government on Monday, July 22, is a desperate measure. By stoking up the already raging inflation inside Britain, the Laborites hope to put off a confrontation with the working class over living standards.

However, this budget will solve nothing. Far from stopping unemployment and recession, it will push British inflation to Latin American proportions and hasten the total collapse of the British economy.

According to the Labor leaders, the budget will curb recession and unemployment by easing tax and credit restrictions and stimulating economic activity.

The Tories, in alliance with the Liberals and nationalists in parliament, have already forced the minority government to hand out huge grants to corporations and gambling houses, while throwing out a bill to return \$24 million in taxes to unions who refused to register under the Industrial Relations Act.

The mid-July unemployment figures show a monthly increase of 58,394, bringing the total jobless figure to 601,473, the third monthly increase in a row.

The Tory Sunday Telegraph writes: "To accelerate inflation at this time, for a very short-term temporary benefit, is lunacy."

"There is no other word for it. Economists often talk in terms of tradeoffs. According to the old-fashioned Treasury view, you are trading off less unemployment against slightly higher inflation."

Already, there is talk in the British press of "slumpflation," that is, a slump combined with massive inflation. While Britain and Italy are in the worst positions, the crisis is international.

The Laborites are financing Britain's enormous balance of payments deficit through loans from the Arab oil sheiks. Iran just granted a \$1.2 billion loan.

But this is "hot money," which the British are borrowing at short-term and loaning out at long-term. The reflation policy of the government may well be enough for the Arabs to decide to pull out, causing a rush on sterling and a series of bank failures.

The inflationary crisis has transformed the wages struggle of the British working class. The recent strikes of nurses and civil servants were not only for straight wage increases, but for threshold agreements and cost of living allowances as a permanent protection against inflation.

Yet, at every point, the working class has run into opposition from the trade union leaders and Labor leaders. The Labor government, from the

very moment it took power, has worked under the control of the Tory party. Every anti-working class measure adopted by the previous Heath government has been retained, while virtually every policy the Tories have proposed have been carried out by the right-wing Labor leaders.

Wilson has postponed the calling of a new election until October, a move that will only

benefit the Tories and give them time to regroup their forces.

Meanwhile, the military and the police prepare behind the scenes. On July 15, for the third time this year, army units surrounded Heathrow airport outside London. A Scotland Yard spokesman commented: "It is a continuing exercise. It is going on all the time. Sometimes you see it and other times you

don't."

Only the Workers Revolutionary Party, the British Trotskyist movement, has warned the working class of these dangers. It has fought for an immediate general election and for an emergency conference of the Labor Party to decide on a socialist program to expose and drive out the right-wing labor leaders.

Franco: Sick Head Of Sick Regime

BY MELODY FARROW

The appointment of Prince Juan Carlos to take over as provisional chief of state will be a signal to the Spanish working class to move against the hated dictatorship that has gripped Spain for almost 40 years.

Juan Carlos, grandson of King Alfonso XIII of Spain was personally chosen by Franco in 1969 to succeed him and is strongly committed to preserving the fascist regime.

He is reportedly backed by the military which wants to use him as a figurehead while they actually run the government.

Last week, Franco was in critical condition after being hospitalized with phlebitis, but on Tuesday, doctors suddenly announced that he was fully re-

covered and would be released.

This will have little effect on the political turmoil in the country, as Franco is 81 and is not expected to live much longer.

SMOOTH

Despite Franco's attempt to assure a smooth transfer of power, the change in government has exposed the tremendous weakness and decay that underlines the regime.

A recent study by the Bank of London and South America reveals the crisis facing Spanish capitalism.

It reports that the cost of importing crude oil will be \$3 billion in 1974, three times higher than in 1973. Combined with the high prices Spain must pay for imports of raw materials and an expected decline in exports, the Bank forecasts a balance of payments deficit of \$1 to \$2 billion.

In the year up to March, inflation rose to 15.7 percent, nearly double the inflation for the year ending in March 1973.

The greatest crisis facing the

ruling class is the tremendous increase in strikes and other struggles by the working class, despite the fact that unions and strikes are illegal. The events in Portugal have given Spanish workers new confidence to fight.

Last month, 1700 auto workers ended a four-week strike after winning a salary increase, the right to negotiate a new contract next November, and the reinstatement of three strikers.

The Spanish Communist Party will now emerge as the chief defender of capitalism, as revolutionary struggles break out in Spain. Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Spanish CP, like his Portuguese counterparts, seeks a popular front government in collaboration with the capitalist parties.

At a rally of Spanish immigrant workers held last month in Geneva, Carrillo said: "The capitalists and the middle class in Spain today know that the return of democracy, which is widely hoped for, can take place without violence without trouble, as we have always said."

Nixon Advisors Push Plan For Mass Layoffs

BY DAVID NORTH

Nixon's deliberate decision to use massive unemployment as a weapon against the working class is reflected in the appointment of Alan Greenspan to head the Council of Economic Advisors.

This appointment now places the management of the economy in the hands of three men who have been the strongest advocates of strengthening credit restrictions, even if these should lead to a major recession.

Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns, Treasury Secretary William Simon, and Greenspan are all firm advocates of high unemployment, budget cuts, and tight money as the only way to deal with the inflationary crisis.

Greenspan's appointment was announced just as the latest figures confirmed that the United States is already in the grips of recession. Economic growth during the second quarter declined 1.2 percent.

Since January, the Gross National Product has declined 4.1 percent.

The full extent of the recessionary downturn is masked by the skyrocketing inflation. Consumer prices rose by one percent in June.

Since June 1973, the Consumer Price Index has risen 11.1 percent, the biggest increase in 27 years.

Although government spokesmen termed this second-quarter downturn a "fluke," the fact is that the recessionary trend is far greater than actually revealed in statistics.

BLOATED

For example, the profits reported by several aluminum companies are bloated by the price inflation. These profits do not reflect a growth in the production of surplus value created by labor, but rather, the expansion of credit and the deterioration of the value of money.

The campaign to build the biggest and best camp in the history of the Young Socialists is now in full gear. Branches throughout the country report an enthusiastic response among youth and workers to the camp which will be in the Laurentian mountains of Canada.

In Cleveland, one girl who had just been told about the camp by a Bulletin salesman decided on the spot to come. She went up into her room, broke into her piggy bank and paid the full \$50 for the camp entirely in quarters.

In Minneapolis, a number of Indian youth have put down their deposits. Trade unionists and housewives are arranging their vacations in order to make the nine-day trip, and many are planning to bring their entire family.

More than 350 workers and youth came to the camp last year. In order to prepare our movement for the revolutionary struggles that we said then

The profit figures also reveal another dangerous side to the inflationary crisis.

Enormous paper profits have been built up by deliberately funneling production into inventories. Companies have been stockpiling, speculating that future liquidation of inventories at high prices will compensate for the decline in production.

However, there are now indications of a decline of several key commodity prices, particularly copper. A serious drop in prices will create panic among companies with large inventories, leading to an extremely rapid liquidation at prices below production costs.

This situation would threaten many corporations with bankruptcy, particularly at a time when the major government policy-makers are determined to restrict credit.

Greenspan called unemployment "the least worst alternative." He is absolutely against any attempt to refuel the economy with inflation, which he fears could precipitate the collapse of the entire banking system.

"We're in a terribly tragic situation where all the trade-offs are unappetizing. We don't have all the choices we had 5 or 10 years ago."

A close friend of the ultrareactionary author Ayn Rand, Greenspan is also advocating massive budget cuts aimed at destroying every social program won by the working class.

Arthur Burns, who controls the policies of the federal banking system, declared that "a prompt reduction of federal expenditures would be the most constructive step. The target I would aim at is \$10 billion."

If Burns and Greenspan are not immediately talking about direct wage controls, it is because they feel it is first necessary to divide and weaken the working class with the specter of unemployment.

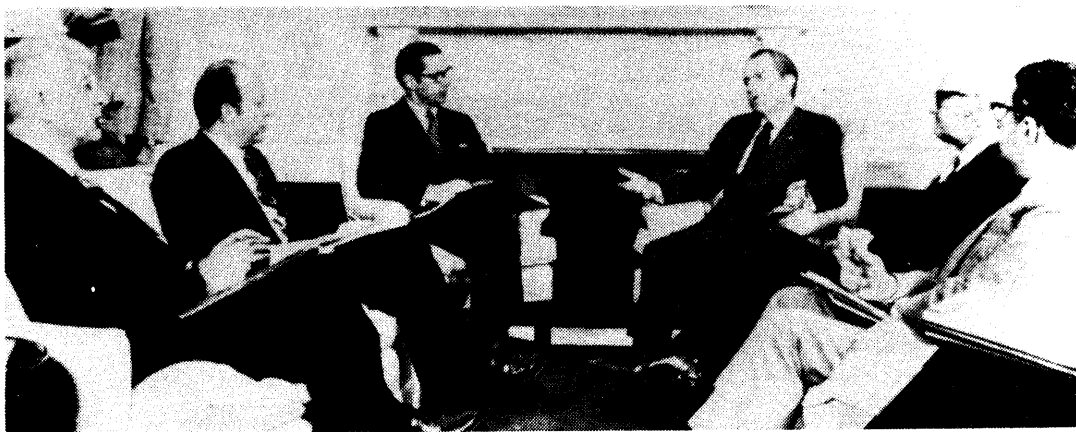
There is no solution to the capitalist crisis in the interests of the working class outside of a political fight based on the construction of a labor party pledged to carry out socialist policies.

would develop out of the economic crisis, there was a constant struggle at the camp to root our thinking and practice in a materialist understanding of the crisis and how the class struggle would develop.

We turned to questions of materialism in order to grasp the changes in preparation because of the crisis. This struggle was at the heart of the camp, not only in the class on Marxist philosophy, but in the daily fight to defend the camp against attempts by the police to disrupt it and in the fight to maintain the discipline of the camp.

Through the struggle for a materialist understanding, the youth could be prepared to lead the working class and begin to see themselves as the conscious leadership of a class, and not as individuals.

We emerged from the camp prepared to make decisive steps



Nixon's economic advisors. From left to right, Arthur Burns, Roy Ash, William Simon, and Kenneth Rush.

Gotbaum Sells Out SSEU Ranks With Dual Pay Pact

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, N.Y.—The leadership of Social Service Employees Union-371 has agreed to a settlement that provides an eight percent wage increase and sets a new dual-pay pattern to split up city workers.

SSEU-371 had been without a contract for seven months. Workers now earning over \$10,000 would get raises based on the transit/firefighter pattern of 14 percent over two years. Lower paid workers are to receive \$1400 across the board.

All workers will get two cost of living adjustments of 40 cents a

week for each four-tenths of a point rise in the cost of living index.

The contract grants the city everything on critical issues such as workloads and job security.

The Committee for New Leadership will campaign throughout the centers to mobilize opposition to the contract and demand strike action at the July 29 membership meeting.

Lee Ericksen, CNL candidate for delegate to DC 37 and the Central Labor Council, told the Bulletin: "Thousands of city workers can be mobilized to support an SSEU fight to break the rotten contract pattern engineered between DC 37 Executive Director Victor Gotbaum and Mayor Abe Beame."

"The CNL has won wide support through the recent elections and will continue to campaign around contract demands that meet the needs of city workers in terms of wages, working conditions, and job security. We urge all SSEU members to attend Monday's meeting and demand an all-out fight until we win:

- 25 percent pay hikes now for all workers plus a 100 percent cost of living escalator figured monthly.

- Retroactive pay and all money cut from the last pay hike by the Cost of Living Council.

- No layoffs for any reason; immediate rehiring of all provisionals. Immediate and continuous civil service testing; hiring from the top of the list until workloads are brought to a manageable level. No forced transfers.

- SSEU must fight within DC 37 for AFSCME to call a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party and plan strike action to force Nixon out now."

Israel Resumes Terror Bombing

BY A REPORTER
Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin has rejected the prospect of direct "contact or negotiation" with Palestinian forces and has resumed the savage bombing of refugee camps in southern Lebanon.

A July 22 air raid did extensive damage to crops near the villages of Khreibe and Rachaya el-Fakhar. Four planes pounded the villages for over 10 minutes, but no injuries or deaths were reported.

In a brutal attack on July 8 seaborne Israeli commandos sunk 32 fishing boats on the Mediterranean seacoast. This is the same area that was pounded for three days straight last month.

Yassir Arafat, right-wing leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), initiated the call for direct negotiations by offering to take part in the upcoming Geneva Conference on the Mideast. He has

fought against the more radical sections of the guerrilla movement to prevent any new raids on Israel despite the renewed bombing.

Speaking against the members of the government who feel that Israel should collaborate with Arafat, Rabin stated: "I see no reason why Israel should negotiate with any organization that is its worst enemy and has as its aim the destruction of the state of Israel."

Jordan's King Hussein also claims to represent the people of Palestine who have fought for decades to win back the land stolen from them when the imperialists set up the state of Israel. Hussein and Egypt's president Anwar el Sadat have recently reaffirmed Hussein's sovereignty over both the East Bank of the Jordan River and the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

Sadat is actively seeking to set up a meeting between Arafat and Hussein, who have not met since the civil war between Hussein's army and the Palestinian guerrillas in 1970. Like the liberals in Israel, the Arab rulers hope that Sadat will be able to keep the lid on the Palestinian masses.

Summer Camp Drive In Full Swing

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Through the struggle for a materialist understanding, the youth could be prepared to lead the working class and begin to see themselves as the conscious leadership of a class, and not as individuals.

We emerged from the camp prepared to make decisive steps

forward in the building of our movement. The decision to launch the twice-weekly Bulletin, build new branches in the industrial heartland of the midwest, and develop the YS as a mass revolutionary youth movement was based on the perspectives developed at the camp.

The working class has already started a powerful wage offensive. However, although this struggle is absolutely necessary, militant trade union struggles cannot resolve the issues posed to workers.

The very resistance of the working class to attacks on its living standards to inflation and unemployment must deepen the capitalist crisis, forcing the ruling class to prepare recession to impose its policies.

The wage struggle reveals the limits of militant trade union struggle and poses all the more sharply the urgent need for a

political solution to the crisis. The working class must build its own political party—a labor party.

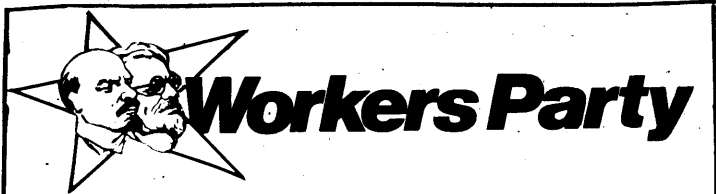
Only with such a party can it fight to control this country and run it in the interest of the masses of people with socialist policies. It must build a labor party as the alternative to Nixon and all the corrupt and labor-hating politicians in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

The summer camp will be critical in preparing the Young Socialists to turn out among broad sections of the working class and lay the basis for the next stage in the development of our movement: the recruiting of workers now coming forward into the Workers League.

The congressional election campaign in Brooklyn is already preparing the construction of our forces in the trade unions.



This will be the best and most enjoyable summer camp anyone has ever gone to. A full educational program is being prepared with lectures and discussions on the history of the Marxist movement from the period of the First International through the fight of the Trotskyist movement today.



Workers Party

Beame's Watergate

BY HELEN HALYARD
Workers Party Candidate
in the 14th CD

BROOKLYN, N.Y.—The center of the Workers Party Congressional campaign in central Brooklyn is the fight to construct a mass political party of the working class.

Democrats and Republicans elected to run the cities, raise our taxes, slash our services, and juggle the books to line their own pockets and those of the city bond holders.

This is the meaning of New York's "Watergate," the massive fraud in the city books which were the responsibility of Abraham Beame when he was city controller before his election as mayor.

Independent auditors have found:

- \$45 million more on deposit in city accounts than book-keeping records show on hand.
- \$309,000 from the pension fund for city employees missing completely, plus indications that billions belonging to city workers have been wiped out in losses on the stock market.
- \$5.4 million in bonds, stocks, and treasury certificates "disappeared" from an open

vault in the controller's office.

Beame has stated that the city is flat broke. He has cut 2500 workers from the city payroll (including 52 accountants). He has raised the rents in public housing by a devastating 8.5 percent. He has added a full cent of new tax to everything workers buy.

We demand that the city labor movement be allowed to examine the books and investigate the criminal maneuvering behind these auditors' reports.

The fraudulent schemes of Democratic and Republican administrations express their support of a system that is based on draining masses of people to maintain a handful of speculators and businessmen.

This is why our campaign puts forward the demand that a labor party be built by the unions, an independent party based on socialist policies.

We urge all Bulletin readers in the area to campaign with us, especially in the next critical period when we must collect thousands of signatures to get on the ballot.

For information on the petition drive beginning August 3 and 4, call 924-0852.



Ethel Chisholm and Clara Jenkins, who lived at the Stella Wright Project throughout the four-year rent strike.

Court Order Settles Newark Rent Strike

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

NEWARK, N.J.—The nation's longest public housing rent strike has ended with a court order demanding that the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) pay over \$1.3 million to renovate the Stella Wright project in Newark.

The 560 families left in the project will pay rent in August for the first time in four years. They have also been ordered to pay one year's back rent within the next 48 months. \$65,000 from the tenants' fund has already been paid out for the accumulated gas, light, and water bills.

The agreement ends, at least for now, Newark's threat to abandon Stella Wright completely. Their threat to close down the buildings by April 7 led to the court-ordered negotiations. Since April, almost 500 families have moved out of the project, and the city now proposes to close off the top three to four floors of each building because of the low occupancy.

"The Newark Housing Authority has never wanted to settle this fight," Jasper Chatman, a member of the tenant's council, told the Bulletin. "When we went right, they'd turn left."

MAINTAINING

"If they'd even made a start at maintaining the buildings, we would have called it off right away. They put us through a lot."

"We couldn't move then, we can't move now. We just have to trust them," Ethel Chisholm said.

"We haven't got any place to move. All the houses are torn down, and kids can't sleep on the highways."

"I moved here in 1967 from Watson Avenue. We got burned out in the big riot. I didn't even look for another apartment when they said they'd close this down. There's always another project, but out of all the conditions that need to be fixed here, Stella Wright is still the best in Newark."

Joe agreed, saying: "I think they never settled until now because they knew whatever we got, the other project families

will want. There will be all kinds of noise now that we won it. Gibson and the others must be shaking in their shoes."

According to the agreement, the tenants' Review Board and Inspection Committee will draw up a list of needed repairs in occupied apartments. They are planning to fight the sealing off of the top floors, proposing that several superlarge apartments be developed instead.

PLANS

Elaborate plans have also been drawn up for recreation areas in the buildings and the yard. But the youth at Stella Wright point out that even that is not enough.

"There aren't even any stores around here," Larry said.

"Just the projects and the va-

cant lots. They should get some movies in on the street, and spend some of that money on a skating rink or something."

"I don't think it'll really get done at all," James said. "Look what happened to our playground. That used to be a real nice baseball field, then they tore it up to make a park."

"They put in artificial grass that got ripped right out, and you can see that just a few trees lived. This is what's left of all their talk—nothing."

"The courts settled it," one woman summed up the feelings of her neighbors. "And the courts are Nixon's. It worries me, but just to the extent that I have to live here for the rest of my life. That's all."

Bindery Workers Out In First Strike Ever

BY A REPORTER

WASHINGTON, DC—In its first strike since 1894, Local 42 B, representing bindery workers, has gone on strike at 16 Washington area printing plants.

Many workers in related crafts have been honoring the picket lines.

The union, originally founded as the "Bindery Women" is affiliated with the Graphic Arts International Union. Of the 290 workers on strike, 230 are women.

Negotiations broke down July 12 after workers rejected an offer by the Printing Industry of Washington for a three-year wage package of 9 percent in each of the first two years and 8 percent the third year.

Bindery workers say this would widen the gap between what they make and the salary of the bookbinders, who have been offered the same wage increase. Presently, bindery helpers make \$4.61 an hour. Bookbinders, who they help with cutting and feeding, make \$7.01.

They are demanding increases to bring their pay up to \$9.98 an hour, as well as a cost of living clause and sick leave benefits.

Mrs. Shirley Gray, a striker at the biggest plant, Merkel Press which prints Time magazine and Sports Illustrated, said:

"Our work is more strenuous. We have to feed those machines and the guys just push buttons."

"It's 95 degrees in this place all year round. They're supposed to have air conditioning, but you can't feel it."

Under these conditions, management is trying to take away the 10-minute break the workers presently have. The women are also demanding more sick leave, which is right now two days a year.

The strikers said management's answer to the demands has been to speed up the machines to the maximum. Negotiations broke off last Monday when union leaders walked out of the meeting.

Ike Bright, one of the men on the picket line said: "We're with them all the way. All binding and mailing services have been disrupted. Merkel Press had to close down Thursday."

"There was an attempt to unload a supply of ink at the plant, but the strikers blocked the truck and informed the drivers, 'You have to run over us first'. The truck was unloaded at the sidewalk."

Another worker said: "We're staying. They can go out of business if they want to, but we're staying."

meet the candidates



Helen Halyard
14th CD



Terry Delgado
12th CD

bar-b-que

sat. aug .3 8pm

864 bushwick ave. (corner lafayette)

\$2.50 workers league & young socialists

Honeywell Fires 600

BY BILL VANN

BOSTON, Mass—Honeywell, one of the largest computer companies, has announced the layoff of 600 employees from production plants in the Boston area.

The layoff of white collar workers and engineers, some with over 20 years service, is an attempt to cut the biggest salary expenditures. As one production worker at the Brighton plant told the Bulletin:

"There's no money now and no work in the plant. Before, when we got a contract, it was really a contract, \$18 million or more. Now, there's no ordering of new computers and I don't think we're getting any. We just got some of the new computers sent back from France for repair. The bugs aren't out yet."

A Honeywell mechanic who also works in Brighton said: "Nixon is behind the layoffs. It's

the economy.

"There's no money around, so they are cutting back. Rather than buy new computers, people would rather rent them and rather than rent them, they'll keep the old machines."

"We're putting out new generation computers and I guess they're good, but there's no market for them. Nixon is finished now."

The crisis facing Honeywell is facing the entire computer and electronics industry. IBM, the biggest computer corporation, has had a similar drop in new orders.

These industries, based on the credit boom of the 1950s now face the threat of collapse as the economic crisis deepens.

Stocks for Polaroid, one of the biggest employers in the Boston area, continue to fall, raising the danger that this industry may also begin layoffs.

PART ONE

BY DAVID NORTH

Specially trained state police invaded the hill country of Harlan County last week to break the strike of Brookside miners. It is exactly one year since the miners shut down the Brookside operation of the Eastover Mining Company to win a United Mine Workers contract.

During the first week of this month, UMW organizers in Harlan suspected that Eastover was about to attempt a reopening of the Brookside mines. To counter this threat, they decided to shut down another Eastover non-union mine in Highsplint.

Miners at the Highsplint mine did not cross the new UMW picket line and many enthusiastically agreed to join the organizing drive.

Originally caught by surprise, the Eastover Mining Company and the Harlan County Bituminous Coal Operators Association have responded with a brutal campaign of police terror.

Democratic Governor Wendell Ford, elected in 1970 with UMW support, sent in the state police last week. A Brookside pensioned miner was shot down by an Eastover employee two weeks ago. The state police are protecting the company killers, while serving as out and out strikebreakers.

Brookside miners were ar-

HARLAN COUNTY IS READY TO EXPLODE

rested throughout last week as police forced Highsplint miners to return to work.

"The situation here is like a powder keg," organizer John Cox told the *Bulletin*. "It wouldn't take too much to set off an explosion."

Police have been arresting men at the Highsplint picket line at random. One miner was arrested simply for trying to cross the street and then he was viciously choked until he was gasping for breath by police who pressed a bill club against his adam's apple.

Another miner, Leroy Helton, suffered a badly injured arm when police arrested him.

State police have told miners that they will arrest any worker who carries a pistol on the picket line.

But company thugs drive through picket lines every morning with rifles sticking out of the car windows.

"Eastover picks people who have a bad reputation for killing three or four people," stated Lee Potter, an organizer.

Since the picketing at High-

splint began, Eastover President Norman Yarborough has fired 40 Brookside miners.

"As we've identified our employees at Highsplint, we've fired them," Yarborough said.

"We consider that an illegal picket line, and so it's an action subject to discipline."

Eastover has also ordered the eviction of those miners from the company-owned shacks they live in.

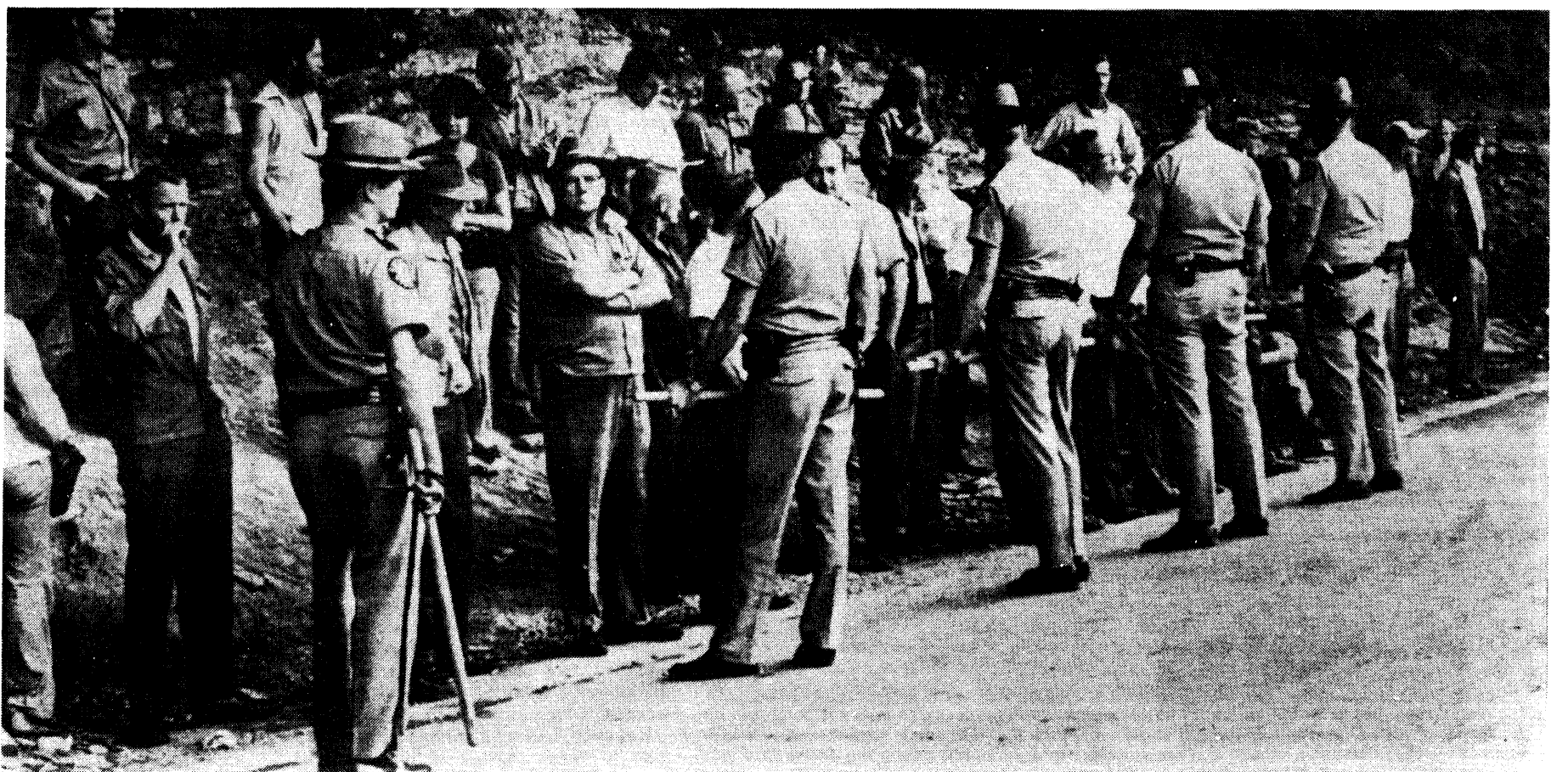
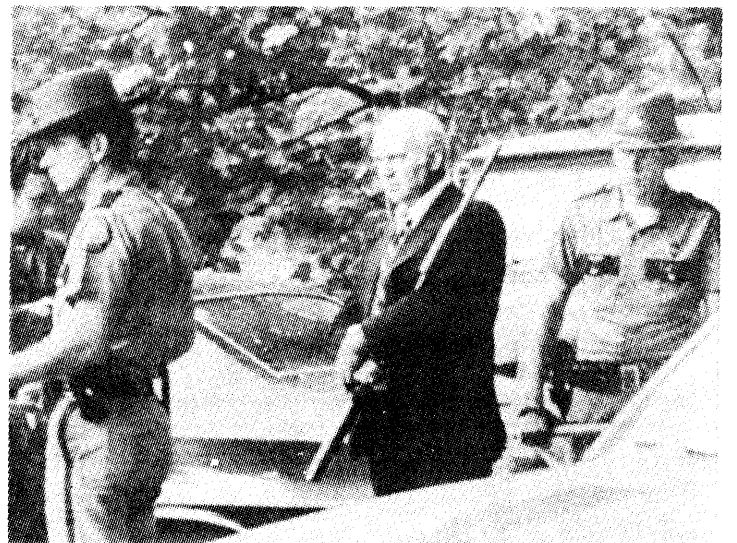
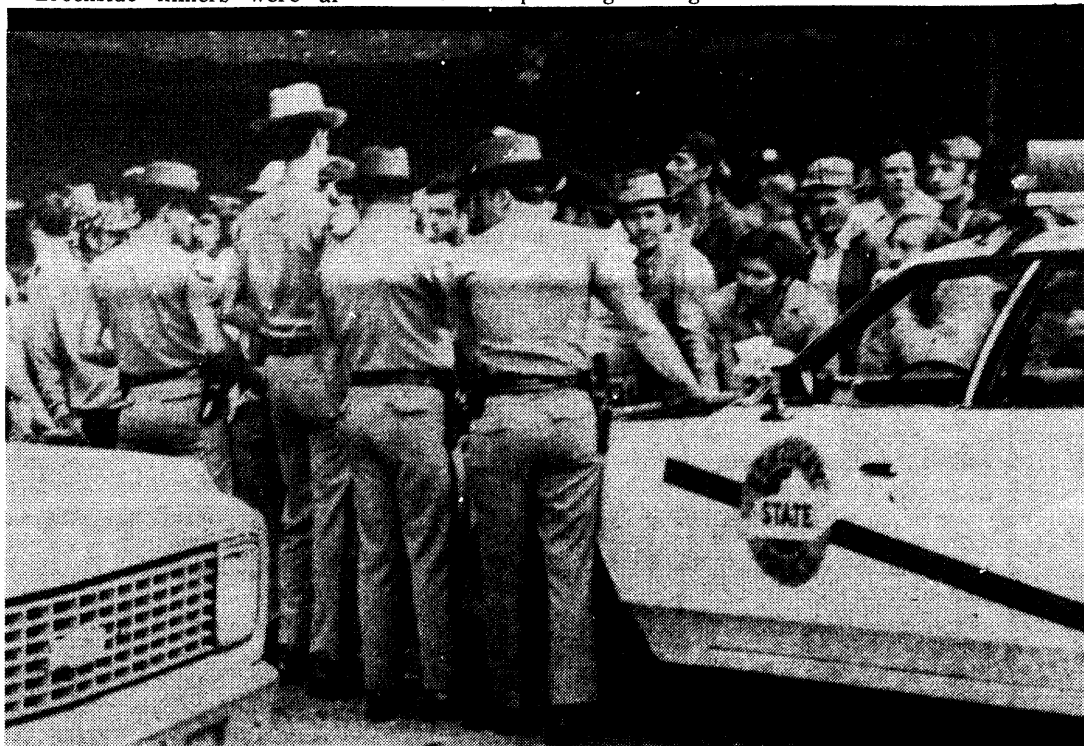
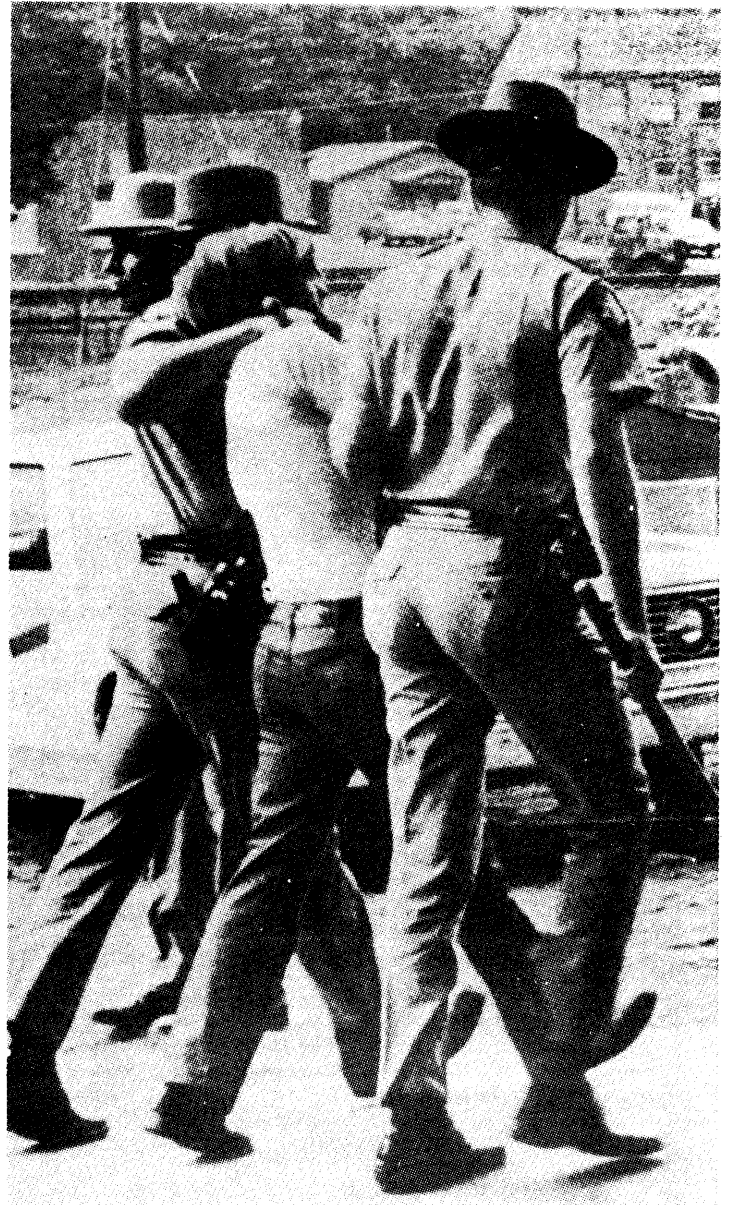
The state police were trained for several days before being sent in to Harlan.

"They're not police, but gестапо," declared miner Roy Lamb.

Although the Highsplint mines were reopened by the police, a growing number of workers are joining the Brookside men and defying the police.

The state police act with the knowledge that their crimes against the miners are sanctioned by the Democratic state government.

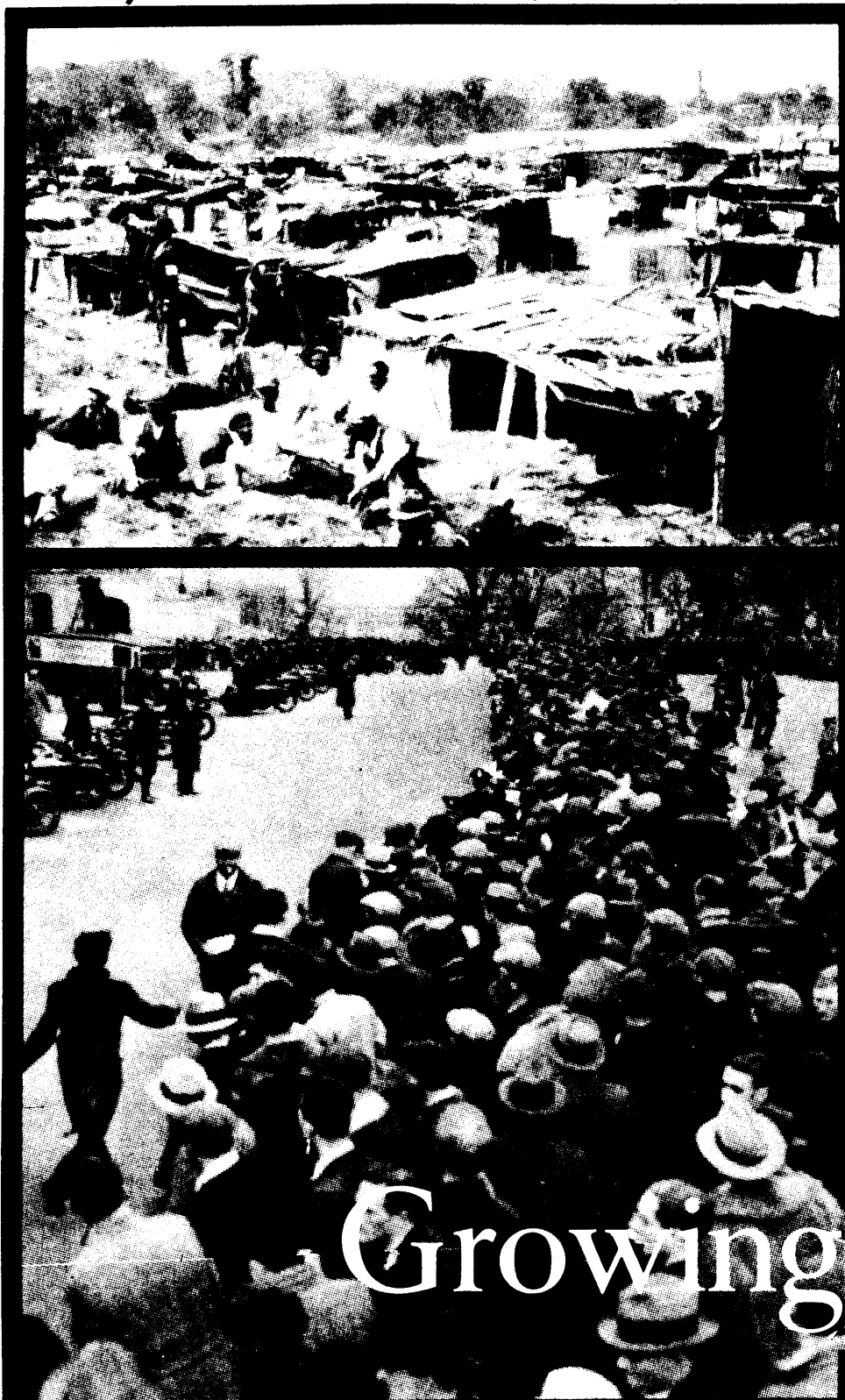
One trooper told a miner as he arrested him: "Take your choice: it's either us or the National Guard."



Specially trained Kentucky state police have been mobilized at the Brookside mine, terrorizing and arresting miners for picketing. Above, a miner is led away by police.

The History Of American Radicalism: The Communist Party & The CIO

by Nancy Fields



The right-wing forces in the CP, led by Jay Lovestone, based themselves on a theory of "American exceptionalism" which ruled out crises and could not foresee the 1929 stock market crash. Familiar scenes from the depression: shacks of bonus marchers (above); workers marching during 1934 Minneapolis General Strike (center); and man selling apples (below).

While the beginning of the degeneration of the American Communist Party can be traced to the factional dispute which raged throughout 1925, it is entirely false to see this as a finished process. Rather, the political differences that arose over trade union policy and the question of the political action of the working class revealed that within the party as a whole there was still a genuine search for a road to the masses: a search for correct perspectives.

While the factional battle reflected a growing turn inward by the leadership of the party, the CP none the less had over 14,000 members in 1925 and published a daily paper which was circulated throughout the country. The publication of a daily during this period—contrary to today where it is subsidized almost entirely—was a great accomplishment. The ability to bring out the paper every day was entirely dependent on the fight of the members to sell the paper and raise funds for it in the working class.

The issues involved in the trade union dispute were the very real questions which had dominated the life of the American workers movement almost from its very origins. They involved the fundamental problems that confronted the trade union movement. American trade unionism, from the outset, was dominated by narrow craft methods of organization, involving primarily the highly skilled craftsmen.

The reasons for this method of organization flowed from the actual development of American capitalism itself, and with it, the development of its working class. American capitalism began its development in a largely agricultural country dominated by a mass of small farmers.

The working class was relatively small, weak, and confined to highly individualized methods of production requiring a great development of skill. Thus, it was quite natural that the first unions organized, such as the typographers and the printers, should be organized on a craft basis.

However, with the rapid expansion of industrialization throughout the country, following the Civil War and particularly between 1880 and 1900, the masses of the population—formerly small farmers and artisans—were brought into factories and became part of a vast industrial working class.

The old craft union methods of organiz-

veloping economic crisis, the leadership of the American Communist Party elevated the question of tactics in the unions to a question of principle.

Furthermore, because they failed to struggle to grasp Marxism, the entire leadership was mesmerized by the so-called boom. Under Lovestone in 1927, they were to develop the theory that in America the development of capitalism was exceptional and not subject to crises. Thus, they could not grasp the actual movement of workers to whom the boom meant nothing and who were beginning to fight back against their conditions.

Foster Rhea Dulles, in *Labor in America*, described the actual conditions that existed during the height of the boom in 1925:

"Unemployment was by no means banished from the land and in some areas was unusually high. Technological advance, which was constantly enabling industry to produce more goods with fewer workers, led to declines in factory payrolls in many basic industries. New machinery and labor saving devices in road construction, textiles, the rubber industry, and electrical equipment, to cite a few examples, cut the necessary labor for given output anywhere from 25 to 60 percent."

As described in *Labor's Untold Story*: "Hours of work and speedup soared during the Golden Age. According to the findings of the government's Hoover Committee on Recent Economic Changes, speedup and new machinery had increased productivity per worker by 53.5 percent in the eight years ending in 1927 in manufacturing and by 17 percent on railroads. Only 1,000,000 workers out of 33,000,000 were on the five day week in 1929, while a work week was 54.6 hours in iron and steel, 53.4 hours in textile, and 60 hours in street laboring."

In this situation, it was clear that Foster's complete refusal to turn to organizing among the unorganized and then his abrupt turn to the ultraleft position that no work could be done among workers unless they were organized immediately into the Trade Union Education League and accepted its full program including the dictatorship of the proletariat flowed from a complete inability to grasp the actual developments in the unfolding class struggle.

Failing to understand the need to develop a program of transitional demands, which could bridge the gap between the present trade union consciousness of the working class and the socialist consciousness of the

Stalinization of the

ing became obsolete. Nevertheless, the bureaucracy of these unions, under the domination of Samuel Gompers, head of the AFL, refused to open their doors to this new industrial working class.

Thus, with the majority of workers locked out of the traditional unions, organizations such as the Industrial Workers of the World were established in an attempt to reach the majority of the working class who were at the mercy of the vicious policies of the growing monopolies.

With this understanding, the importance of the trade union dispute with the CP can be understood. The question of whether or not the party should only work within the existing unions of the AFL, and thereby turn their back on the majority of the working class, or whether it should refuse absolutely to have anything to do with the existing unions on the grounds that they are simply tools of the capitalist state is not a question which can be solved by a simple repetition of a formula passed off as some basic principle.

The question could only be solved by a thorough examination of the concrete objective situation of the class struggle itself, placed within the general framework of the developing economic crisis of capitalism, and the specifics of the actual situation. Whether or not to work among workers who are unorganized is not a question of principle, but flows from the actual situation itself and from the party's overall strategy to reach and penetrate the working class.

However, lacking a clear strategy for a turn to reach masses of workers, and having no fundamental grasp on the de-

party, Foster could only turn from the reformist minimal program within the unions to a maximum program designed to leave the party in a sectarian position outside the class struggle itself.

Furthermore, within a few months of his ultraleft turn, Foster again reversed himself and returned to his early position that the party could only work within the AFL.

The leadership of the other faction had no fundamental differences on how to reach the working class. They empirically accepted the formulation of the Communist International to turn the TUEL into broad left bloc organizations, without any real understanding of how these organizations were to operate. Rather than seeing these organizations as a vehicle to reach workers and fight for the policies of the party, a section of this faction, particularly Lovestone, began to use them more and more opportunistically as weapons to liquidate the fight for the party into an acceptance of pure and simple militant trade unionism. The roots of the Communist Party's opportunist role in the unions, which later developed into full-scale bureaucratic manipulation of the CIO, can be traced to this period.

Thus, in 1925, the CP was gripped on the one hand by the AFL-fetishism of Foster and on the other hand by a lack of any clear strategy to replace Foster's position.

Nevertheless, despite the leadership's inability to formulate any clear policy, the party continued to be involved in trade union activity. In May 1925, the CP was elected into control of the Fur Workers Union. Shortly afterwards, they scored an important victory in the International

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Ladies Garment Workers Union.

At the same time, organizers in the field, lacking any central direction from the national leadership, were involved in all-out strike struggles. The most important one occurred in Passaic, New Jersey among textile workers in the winter of 1925 and the spring of 1926.

The unorganized workers in Passaic, who were earning less than \$15 a week, were hit by a 10 percent wage cut in September. They were Polish, Hungarian, and Italian immigrants, who spoke little English and were entirely unorganized. Thus, they turned to the CP's foreign language federations in Passaic for aid.

As a result of the CI's decision, the CP was already organizing in textile centers in Massachusetts under the broad United Front Committees. According to Draper, these United Front Committees:

"Were given the task of bringing together the existing unions in the textile field, of which there were no less than 16, but they also lent themselves as bases for independent Communist organizing activity as dictated by the new trade union line of the dominant Ruthenberg group. Though these committees had not yet gained much ground, they gave the Communists a springboard from which to fling themselves into the Passaic situation."

A United Front Committee was brought into Passaic under the direction of a young party member, Albert Weisbord. While Weisbord proceeded to make preparations for a strike, the Passaic issue was debated at the December 1925 Plenum of the CP.

The debate began on the nature of the United Front Committees themselves. Foster objected to the recruitment of individual members into the party and insisted that these committees should in no way fight to become independent unions. According to Cannon:

"The United Front Committee under which the organizing campaign in Passaic proceeded, instead of under the auspices of a new union, which the situation really called for, was a concession to the party's prevailing AFL-ism. To be sure, the recruitment of individual members to the United Front Committee twisted the conception of the united front, as an alliance of organizations, out of shape. But the real problem at Passaic was to organize the unorganized, unskilled, and low paid workers neglected by the AFL.

"The Fosterite opposition to the recruitment of individual members to this United Front Committee showed up the bankruptcy of the ultra-AFL policy in a clear

Much is revealed about Cannon himself, as well as about the situation in the whole of the American movement, in that description. That Cannon, as well as the entire party, was extremely distant from the internal life and struggles within the international movement is clear. That he saw the international as nothing more than a body which existed abroad, whose purpose it was to hand out some good advice from time to time, and whose good intentions were to be accepted as a matter of blind faith, is clear.

At this time, the Communist International was being transformed by Stalin into a tool to serve the national interests of the growing bureaucracy which was beginning to consolidate itself in the Soviet Union. The Russian Party was undergoing a transformation through the battle which would determine the course of history for years to come—the battle between Trotsky's fight for the extension of socialism internationally as the only guarantee to its complete development in the Soviet Union and Stalin's fight to consolidate his power under the theory of building socialism in one country.

Trotsky's perspective was based on a confidence in the strength of the international working class and an understanding that the economic stability of western capitalism was a temporary phenomenon and would be followed by a crushing depression.

Stalin was an idealist and thus did not root his perspectives on a materialist understanding of the development of history, that is, on the irreconcilable conflict of classes. He based his theory on the temporary setbacks within the workers movements and on the temporary restoration of capitalism in Europe.

The American movement knew nothing of these struggles. They had no understanding that a real international movement must be one where all the sections come together to develop a perspective for the entire working class of the world. All questions of national policy and strategy must be subordinate and flow from the international perspectives.

Viewing the international as simply a place to get advice on American questions, they could play no role in the struggle against Stalin. They could not train their cadres in the rich lessons of its first four congresses and thus, they were completely unprepared to wage any struggle against their complete takeover by Stalin.

The events during the Passaic strike

workers, bringing together hundreds of workers of different nationalities who spoke no common language in a common fight in the spirit of revolutionary, industrial unionism.

It is certainly true, as Cannon notes, that Passaic put the party on the map and in subsequent years, thousands of workers would turn to the CP for leadership in their fight against the employers.

Because of the able, militant leadership that the CP supplied in the late 1920s and early 1930s, from Passaic to Gastonia in the South and to Harlan County, thousands of workers were to turn to them for leadership once again when the mass upsurge for industrial unionism occurred in 1935.

However, the strike was isolated in one locality and as it wore on, the workers were gradually being starved out. When it became clear that the strike was sagging and the employers would not negotiate with the United Front Committee, negotiations were opened up by the AFL textile union. These betrayers agreed to take control of the situation on one condition: the strike leader, Weisbord, would be sacked.

What is shocking is that the entire leadership of the CP agreed to such a condition. There was absolutely no struggle over the issue. As Cannon noted later:

"What stands out in retrospect in the Passaic settlement—and what is painful even now to recall—was the alacrity with which the party leadership agreed to it, the general feeling that it was a clever 'maneuver,' and its falsely grounded motivations.

"The Passaic settlement and the motivations for it carried the AFL fetishism of Foster, with which all the others in the party leadership had gone along more or less unthinkingly, to the point of absurdity."

The party's settlement of the Passaic strike revealed the growing trend toward opportunism. However, it did not have to mean the end of the line for the CP as a revolutionary organization. In the course of a party's struggle to build a movement in the working class, it will make many errors. The development of a Marxist movement does not proceed in a linear way, upward and upward.

Rather, it proceeds through contradiction, through negation. Had the party opened up a serious political struggle and examination of its policies at this point, as part of the fight to develop perspectives, new knowledge could have been gained and the Passaic experience thereby negated.

Of course, it must be remembered that the American party was new, that it did not come out of the rich experiences of the European parties' struggle for Marxism, and that it faced the enormous task of developing into a Marxist movement almost overnight.

Furthermore, the American movement existed in the most anti-theoretical country in the world. Thus, the struggle for Marxism within the movement required the most thorough theoretical training. The Communist International had the responsibility to conduct this training and, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, had begun to do so.

However, beginning in 1925, when the American movement looked to the CI for guidance, it simply received support for one faction or another. When the American movement most needed the international, the Comintern was being turned into a national tool to carry out the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy.

At this time the Soviet Union was being transformed. While Lenin and Trotsky had carried out the victorious Russian Revolution, they understood that the actual building of socialism in Russia could only go forward if capitalism was overthrown in the advanced countries. Thus, they always began from the perspective of building revolutionary parties in each country: parties whose purpose it was to overthrow capitalism. Stalin, however, turned from internationalism, to simply try to build socialism in the Soviet Union while "peacefully coexisting" with the rest of the capitalist world.

In order to carry out his policy of peaceful coexistence, he had to transform the CI from an instrument of revolution into an instrument for reform. It became the task of the CI to devise ways for the national CP's to hold back the working class from revolutionary struggle and to divert the struggles that broke out into reformist paths.

Thus, the sole purpose for the intervention of the CI into the affairs of the American party was to insure that those in power would carry out the dictates of Stalin.

Shortly after the Passaic debacle, Ruthenberg died. While it is true that Ruthenberg had been in the thick of all the factional battles within the CP, battles which at most points seemed to have nothing to do with the actual developments in the class struggle, he nevertheless had been a revolutionist. He had fought against the war, gone to prison for his stand, and of all the leading people in the CP, Ruthenberg "had by far the greatest respect and personal influence." As Draper noted:

"American Communism owed much to Ruthenberg. As its titular leader since 1919, he had done much more than anyone else to rid it of its underground mentality and to hold it together. At crucial periods, however, he had yielded the real leadership to others. Yet a stronger or weaker man in his position might have split the party."

Following his death, the final degeneration took place in the CP. His death coincided with the removal of Zinoviev, who had gone over to the Left Opposition of Trotsky, as head of the CI and his replacement by Bukharin who was Stalin's spokesman. The CI immediately moved to put Lovestone in power. While Ruthenberg had been a working class fighter and a devoted communist, Lovestone was nothing but a petty operator. Cannon states:

"We now saw Lovestone for the first time on his own, with all his demonic energy and capacity for reckless demagoguery let loose, without the restraining influence of Ruthenberg. It was a spectacle to make one wonder whether he was living in a workers organization, aiming at the rational reorganization of society, or had wandered into a madhouse by mistake."

As soon as Lovestone was firmly in control, the party, in keeping with Stalin's peaceful coexistence policy, made a sharp turn to the right. The theory of "American exceptionalism" was advanced. America was pictured as entering its "Victorian Day" and thus, there was no prospect for building a mass party among the working class. This was the perspective put forth at the Fifth Convention which was held within a year of the Great Depression of 1929.

Early in 1928, Stalin, having expelled Trotsky and the Left Opposition, began to appropriate a large part of Trotsky's program and the CI began to make a left turn. Thus, at the time that Lovestone was pushing the most conservative policy within the trade unions, the CI began to advocate the construction of dual unions. This left turn by the CI was to culminate in the fanatic ultra-left turn which began in 1929.

No principled political struggle took place over these differences in policy within the American movement. Since the party was never taken through any struggle and no one was ever educated in the course of a struggle over perspectives, it is not hard to understand how the membership could accept the 360 degree turn made between the policies of 1928, that there would be no revolutionary upsurge in the American working class and thus, there was no reason to build in the unions, to the policies of 1929 which declared the revolution to be imminent and therefore the need was to build mass communist unions.

By 1927, the CP had changed. As Cannon noted: "Its membership was visibly changing into a passive crowd, subservient to authority and subject to manipulation by the crudest demagoguery."

Only a handful, led by Cannon, even fought to achieve some political clarity within the movement. For this reason he attended the Sixth Congress of the CI in 1928. While he went mainly to get clarification on the American question, at the Congress, he received a copy of Trotsky's Criticism of the Draft Program. Following the Congress, Cannon declared himself to stand with Trotsky and the Left Opposition and he, together with a few others, were immediately expelled.

The process of the Stalinization and degeneration of the American Communist Party was now complete. From now on it would have absolutely no independent political life, but would simply be mobilized to serve the interests of Stalin's every twist and turn.

Nevertheless, the party would still play a major role within the American workers movement, particularly as millions faced the conditions of the depression and sought a revolutionary solution to these conditions.

TO BE CONTINUED

of the American CP

part two

light for the first time. It could have had no other effect than to paralyze the organization of the textile workers in Passaic for fear of committing the sin of 'dual unionism' for which the Fosterites had a real phobia."

It must be noted that the December Plenum was torn apart by three factions, not two. Cannon had split with Foster at the party convention, following the cable from Moscow giving support to Ruthenberg. Cannon proposed that the Foster faction should accept a compromise and share the Central Committee 50-50 with Ruthenberg. Foster objected and declared that he, together with his faction, would resign completely. At that point, the Foster-Cannon faction split down the middle. Cannon, in *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, describes the reason for his split with Foster:

"As I have remarked previously, I was then a convinced 'Cominternist.' I had faith in the wisdom and also in the fairness of the Russian leaders. I thought they had made a mistake through false information and that the mistake could later be rectified. I did not even suspect that this monstrous violation of the democratic rights of our party was one of the moves in the Moscow chess game, in which our party, like all the other parties in the Comintern, was to be a mere pawn. (Emphasis mine, NF)

"I thought Foster's attitude was disloyal; that his ostensible willingness to hand over the majority to the Ruthenbergites, and to withdraw from the Central Committee himself, was in reality designed to provoke a revolt against the Comintern."

reveal that this lack of concern for political clarity and theoretical struggle within the international movement was at the heart of the problems within the party. As has been noted, Foster opposed the United Front Committees' fight to develop communists among their members. His opposition was not based on the fact that he was opposed to dual unionism, as he later claimed, but rather that he hoped to use these committees as a way of maneuvering with the AFL. Obviously, if the committees were openly recruiting to the CP, any chance at making deals with the right-wing bureaucracy of the AFL would be cut off.

In spite of Foster's opposition, Weisbord continued to organize in Passaic and in January the workers walked out. The party, without Foster who was in Moscow trying to get support for his policies, threw itself into the strike and conducted a well-organized and expertly-led fight. As Cannon noted:

"The Passaic strike really put the party on the labor map. In my opinion, it deserves a chapter in party history all by itself. It revealed the Communists as the dynamic force in the radical labor movement and the organizing center of the unorganized workers disregarded by the AFL unions—displacing the IWW in this field."

On the basis of class struggle, not class compromise, principles, the Passaic strike was an outstanding example of the role of revolutionaries, of communists, within the American workers movement. In Passaic, the CP continued the tradition begun by the IWW in the Paterson, New Jersey textile strike of 1913. They organized unorganized

The History Of American Radicalism: The Communist Party & The CIO

by Nancy Fields



The right-wing forces in the CP, led by Jay Lovestone, based themselves on a theory of "American exceptionalism" which ruled out crises and could not foresee the 1929 stock market crash. Familiar scenes from the depression: shacks of bonus marchers (above); workers marching during 1934 Minneapolis General Strike (center); and man selling apples (below).

While the beginning of the degeneration of the American Communist Party can be traced to the factional dispute which raged throughout 1925, it is entirely false to see this as a finished process. Rather, the political differences that arose over trade union policy and the question of the political action of the working class revealed that within the party as a whole there was still a genuine search for a road to the masses: a search for correct perspectives.

While the factional battle reflected a growing turn inward by the leadership of the party, the CP none the less had over 14,000 members in 1925 and published a daily paper which was circulated throughout the country. The publication of a daily during this period—contrary to today where it is subsidized almost entirely—was a great accomplishment. The ability to bring out the paper every day was entirely dependent on the fight of the members to sell the paper and raise funds for it in the working class.

The issues involved in the trade union dispute were the very real questions which had dominated the life of the American workers movement almost from its very origins. They involved the fundamental problems that confronted the trade union movement. American trade unionism, from the outset, was dominated by narrow craft methods of organization, involving primarily the highly skilled craftsmen.

The reasons for this method of organization flowed from the actual development of American capitalism itself, and with it, the development of its working class. American capitalism began its development in a largely agricultural country dominated by a mass of small farmers.

The working class was relatively small, weak, and confined to highly individualized methods of production requiring a great development of skill. Thus, it was quite natural that the first unions organized, such as the typographers and the printers, should be organized on a craft basis.

However, with the rapid expansion of industrialization throughout the country, following the Civil War and particularly between 1880 and 1900, the masses of the population—formerly small farmers and artisans—were brought into factories and became part of a vast industrial working class.

The old craft union methods of organiza-

tion became obsolete. Nevertheless, the bureaucracy of these unions, under the domination of Samuel Gompers, head of the AFL, refused to open their doors to this new industrial working class.

Thus, with the majority of workers locked out of the traditional unions, organizations such as the Industrial Workers of the World were established in an attempt to reach the majority of the working class who were at the mercy of the vicious policies of the growing monopolies.

With this understanding, the importance of the trade union dispute with the CP can be understood. The question of whether or not the party should only work within the existing unions of the AFL, and thereby turn their back on the majority of the working class, or whether it should refuse absolutely to have anything to do with the existing unions on the grounds that they are simply tools of the capitalist state is not a question which can be solved by a simple repetition of a formula passed off as some basic principle.

The question could only be solved by a thorough examination of the concrete objective situation of the class struggle itself, placed within the general framework of the developing economic crisis of capitalism, and the specifics of the actual situation. Whether or not to work among workers who are unorganized is not a question of principle, but flows from the actual situation itself and from the party's overall strategy to reach and penetrate the working class.

However, lacking a clear strategy for a turn to reach masses of workers, and having no fundamental grasp on the de-

veloping economic crisis, the leadership of the American Communist Party elevated the question of tactics in the unions to a question of principle.

Furthermore, because they failed to struggle to grasp Marxism, the entire leadership was mesmerized by the so-called boom. Under Lovestone in 1927, they were to develop the theory that in America the development of capitalism was exceptional and not subject to crises. Thus, they could not grasp the actual movement of workers to whom the boom meant nothing and who were beginning to fight back against their conditions.

Foster Rhea Dulles, in *Labor in America*, described the actual conditions that existed during the height of the boom in 1925:

"Unemployment was by no means banished from the land and in some areas was unusually high. Technological advance, which was constantly enabling industry to produce more goods with fewer workers, led to declines in factory payrolls in many basic industries. New machinery and labor saving devices in road construction, textiles, the rubber industry, and electrical equipment, to cite a few examples, cut the necessary labor for given output anywhere from 25 to 60 percent." As described in *Labor's Untold Story*:

"Hours of work and speedup soared during the Golden Age. According to the findings of the government's Hoover Committee on Recent Economic Changes, speedup and new machinery had increased productivity per worker by 53.5 percent in the eight years ending in 1927 in manufacturing and by 17 percent on railroads. Only 1,000,000 workers out of 33,000,000 were on the five day week in 1929, while a work week was 54.6 hours in iron and steel, 53.4 hours in textile, and 60 hours in street laboring."

In this situation, it was clear that Foster's complete refusal to turn to organizing among the unorganized and then his abrupt turn to the ultraleft position that no work could be done among workers unless they were organized immediately into the Trade Union Education League and accepted its full program including the dictatorship of the proletariat flowed from a complete inability to grasp the actual developments in the unfolding class struggle.

Failing to understand the need to develop a program of transitional demands, which could bridge the gap between the present trade union consciousness of the working class and the socialist consciousness of the

party, Foster could only turn from the reformist minimal program within the unions to a maximum program designed to leave the party in a sectarian position outside the class struggle itself.

Furthermore, within a few months of his ultraleft turn, Foster again reversed himself and returned to his early position that the party could only work within the AFL.

The leadership of the other faction had no fundamental differences on how to reach the working class. They empirically accepted the formulation of the Communist International to turn the TUEL into broad left bloc organizations, without any real understanding of how these organizations were to operate. Rather than seeing these organizations as a vehicle to reach workers and fight for the policies of the party, a section of this faction, particularly Lovestone, began to use them more and more opportunistically as weapons to liquidate the fight for the party into an acceptance of pure and simple militant trade unionism. The roots of the Communist Party's opportunist role in the unions, which later developed into full-scale bureaucratic manipulation of the CIO, can be traced to this period.

Thus, in 1925, the CP was gripped on the one hand by the AFL-fetishism of Foster and on the other hand by a lack of any clear strategy to replace Foster's position.

Nevertheless, despite the leadership's inability to formulate any clear policy, the party continued to be involved in trade union activity. In May 1925, the CP was elected into control of the Fur Workers Union. Shortly afterwards, they scored an important victory in the International

Ladies Garment Workers Union.

At the same time, organizers in the field, lacking any central direction from the national leadership, were involved in all-out strike struggles. The most important one occurred in Passaic, New Jersey among textile workers in the winter of 1925 and the spring of 1926.

The unorganized workers in Passaic, who were earning less than \$15 a week, were hit by a 10 percent wage cut in September. They were Polish, Hungarian, and Italian immigrants, who spoke little English and were entirely unorganized. Thus, they turned to the CP's foreign language federations in Passaic for aid.

As a result of the CP's decision, the CP was already organizing in textile centers in Massachusetts under the broad United Front Committees. According to Draper, these United Front Committees:

"Were given the task of bringing together the existing unions in the textile field, of which there were no less than 16, but they also lent themselves as bases for independent Communist organizing activity as dictated by the new trade union line of the dominant Ruthenberg group. Though these committees had not yet gained much ground, they gave the Communists a springboard from which to fling themselves into the Passaic situation."

A United Front Committee was brought into Passaic under the direction of a young party member, Albert Weisbord. While Weisbord proceeded to make preparations for a strike, the Passaic issue was debated at the December 1925 Plenum of the CP.

The debate began on the nature of the United Front Committees themselves. Foster objected to the recruitment of individual members into the party and insisted that these committees should in no way fight to become independent unions. According to Cannon:

"The United Front Committee under which the organizing campaign in Passaic proceeded, instead of under the auspices of a new union, which the situation really called for, was a concession to the party's prevailing AFL-ism. To be sure, the recruitment of individual members to the United Front Committee twisted the conception of the united front, as an alliance of organizations, out of shape. But the real problem at Passaic was to organize the unorganized, unskilled, and low paid workers neglected by the AFL."

"The Fosterite opposition to the recruitment of individual members to this United Front Committee showed up the bankruptcy of the ultra-AFL policy in a clear

light for the first time. It could have had no other effect than to paralyze the organization of the textile workers in Passaic for fear of committing the sin of 'dual unionism' for which the Fosterites had a real phobia."

It must be noted that the December Plenum was torn apart by three factions, not two. Cannon had split with Foster at the party convention, following the cable from Moscow giving support to Ruthenberg. Cannon proposed that the Foster faction should accept a compromise and share the Central Committee 50-50 with Ruthenberg. Foster objected and declared that he, together with his faction, would resign completely. At that point, the Foster-Cannon faction split down the middle. Cannon, in *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, describes the reason for his split with Foster:

"As I have remarked previously, I was then a convinced 'Cominternist.' I had faith in the wisdom and also in the fairness of the Russian leaders. I thought they had made a mistake through false information and that the mistake could later be rectified. I did not even suspect that this monstrous violation of the democratic rights of our party was one of the moves in the Moscow chess game, in which our party, like all the other parties in the Comintern, was to be a mere pawn. (Emphasis mine, NF)

"I thought Foster's attitude was disloyal; that his ostensible willingness to hand over the majority to the Ruthenbergs, and to withdraw from the Central Committee himself, was in reality designed to provoke a revolt against the Comintern."

Much is revealed about Cannon himself, as well as about the situation in the whole of the American movement, in that description. That Cannon, as well as the entire party, was extremely distant from the internal life and struggles within the international movement is clear. That he saw the international as nothing more than a body which existed abroad, whose purpose it was to hand out some good advice from time to time, and whose good intentions were to be accepted as a matter of blind faith, is clear.

At this time, the Communist International was being transformed by Stalin into a tool to serve the national interests of the growing bureaucracy which was beginning to consolidate itself in the Soviet Union. The Russian Party was undergoing a transformation through the battle which would determine the course of history for years to come—the battle between Trotsky's fight for the extension of socialism internationally as the only guarantee to its complete development in the Soviet Union and Stalin's fight to consolidate his power under the theory of building socialism in one country.

Trotsky's perspective was based on a confidence in the strength of the international working class and an understanding that the economic stability of western capitalism was a temporary phenomenon and would be followed by a crushing depression.

Stalin was an idealist and thus did not root his perspectives on a materialist understanding of the development of history, that is, on the irreconcilable conflict of classes. He based his theory on the temporary setbacks within the workers movements and on the temporary restoration of capitalism in Europe.

The American movement knew nothing of these struggles. They had no understanding that a real international movement must be one where all the sections come together to develop a perspective for the entire working class of the world. All questions of national policy and strategy must be subordinate and flow from the international perspectives.

Viewing the international as simply a place to get advice on American questions, they could play no role in the struggle against Stalin. They could not train their cadres in the rich lessons of its first four congresses and thus, they were completely unprepared to wage any struggle against their complete takeover by Stalin.

The events during the Passaic strike

reveal that this lack of concern for political clarity and theoretical struggle within the international movement was at the heart of the problems within the party. As has been noted, Foster opposed the United Front Committees' fight to develop communists among their members. His opposition was not based on the fact that he was opposed to dual unionism, as he later claimed, but rather that he hoped to use these committees as a way of maneuvering with the AFL. Obviously, if the committees were openly recruiting to the CP, any chance at making deals with the right-wing bureaucracy of the AFL would be cut off.

In spite of Foster's opposition, Weisbord continued to organize in Passaic and in January the workers walked out. The party, without Foster who was in Moscow trying to get support for his policies, threw itself into the strike and conducted a well-organized and expertly-led fight. As Cannon noted:

"The Passaic strike really put the party on the labor map. In my opinion, it deserves a chapter in party history all by itself. It revealed the Communists as the dynamic force in the radical labor movement and the organizing center of the unorganized workers disregarded by the AFL unions—displacing the IWW in this field."

On the basis of class struggle, not class compromise, principles, the Passaic strike was an outstanding example of the role of revolutionaries, of communists, within the American workers movement. In Passaic, the CP continued the tradition begun by the IWW in the Paterson, New Jersey textile strike of 1913. They organized unorganized

workers, bringing together hundreds of workers of different nationalities who spoke no common language in a common fight in the spirit of revolutionary, industrial unionism.

It is certainly true, as Cannon notes, that Passaic put the party on the map and in subsequent years, thousands of workers would turn to the CP for leadership in their fight against the employers.

Because of the able, militant leadership that the CP supplied in the late 1920s and early 1930s, from Passaic to Gastonia in the South and to Harlan County, thousands of workers were to turn to them for leadership once again when the mass upsurge for industrial unionism occurred in 1935.

However, the strike was isolated in one locality and as it wore on, the workers were gradually being starved out. When it became clear that the strike was sagging and the employers would not negotiate with the United Front Committee, negotiations were opened up by the AFL textile union. These betrayers agreed to take control of the situation on one condition: the strike leader, Weisbord, would be sacked.

What is shocking is that the entire leadership of the CP agreed to such a condition. There was absolutely no struggle over the issue. As Cannon noted later:

"What stands out in retrospect in the Passaic settlement—and what is painful even now to recall—was the alacrity with which the party leadership agreed to it, the general feeling that it was a clever 'maneuver,' and its falsely grounded motivations."

"The Passaic settlement and the motivations for it carried the AFL fetishism of Foster, with which all the others in the party leadership had gone along more or less unthinkingly, to the point of absurdity."

The party's settlement of the Passaic strike revealed the growing trend toward opportunism. However, it did not have to mean the end of the line for the CP as a revolutionary organization. In the course of a party's struggle to build a movement in the working class, it will make many errors. The development of a Marxist movement does not proceed in a linear way, upward and upward.

Rather, it proceeds through contradiction, through negation. Had the party opened up a serious political struggle and examination of its policies at this point, as part of the fight to develop perspectives, new knowledge could have been gained and the Passaic experience thereby negated.

Of course, it must be remembered that the American party was new, that it did not come out of the rich experiences of the European parties' struggle for Marxism, and that it faced the enormous task of developing into a Marxist movement almost overnight.

Furthermore, the American movement existed in the most antitheoretical country in the world. Thus, the struggle for Marxism within the movement required the most thorough theoretical training. The Communist International had the responsibility to conduct this training and, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, had begun to do so.

However, beginning in 1925, when the American movement looked to the CI for guidance, it simply received support for one faction or another. When the American movement most needed the international, the Comintern was being turned into a national tool to carry out the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy.

At this time the Soviet Union was being transformed. While Lenin and Trotsky had carried out the victorious Russian Revolution, they understood that the actual building of socialism in Russia could only go forward if capitalism was overthrown in the advanced countries. Thus, they always began from the perspective of building revolutionary parties in each country: parties whose purpose it was to overthrow capitalism. Stalin, however, turned from internationalism, to simply try to build socialism in the Soviet Union while "peacefully coexisting" with the rest of the capitalist world.

In order to carry out his policy of peaceful coexistence, he had to transform the CI from an instrument of revolution into an instrument for reform. It became the task of the CI to devise ways for the national CP's to hold back the working class from revolutionary struggle and to divert the struggles that broke out into reformist paths.

Thus, the sole purpose for the intervention of the CI into the affairs of the American party was to insure that those in power would carry out the dictates of Stalin.

Shortly after the Passaic debacle, Ruthenberg died. While it is true that Ruthenberg had been in the thick of all the factional battles within the CP, battles which at most points seemed to have nothing to do with the actual developments in the class struggle, he nevertheless had been a revolutionist. He had fought against the war, gone to prison for his stand, and of all the leading people in the CP, Ruthenberg "had by far the greatest respect and personal influence." As Draper noted:

"American Communism owed much to Ruthenberg. As its titular leader since 1919, he had done much more than anyone else to rid it of its underground mentality and to hold it together. At crucial periods, however, he had yielded the real leadership to others. Yet a stronger or weaker man in his position might have split the party."

Following his death, the final degeneration took place in the CP. His death coincided with the removal of Zinoviev, who had gone over to the Left Opposition of Trotsky, as head of the CI and his replacement by Bukharin who was Stalin's spokesman. The CI immediately moved to put Lovestone in power. While Ruthenberg had been a working class fighter and a devoted communist, Lovestone was nothing but a petty operator. Cannon states:

"We now saw Lovestone for the first time on his own, with all his demonic energy and capacity for reckless demagoguery let loose, without the restraining influence of Ruthenberg. It was a spectacle to make one wonder whether he was living in a workers organization, aiming at the rational reorganization of society, or had wandered into a madhouse by mistake."

As soon as Lovestone was firmly in control, the party, in keeping with Stalin's peaceful coexistence policy, made a sharp turn to the right. The theory of "American exceptionalism" was advanced. America was pictured as entering its "Victorian Day" and thus, there was no prospect for building a mass party among the working class. This was the perspective put forth at the Fifth Convention which was held within a year of the Great Depression of 1929.

Early in 1928, Stalin, having expelled Trotsky and the Left Opposition, began to appropriate a large part of Trotsky's program and the CI began to make a left turn. Thus, at the time that Lovestone was pushing the most conservative policy within the trade unions, the CI began to advocate the construction of dual unions. This left turn by the CI was to culminate in the fanatic ultraleft turn which began in 1929.

No principled political struggle took place over these differences in policy within the American movement. Since the party was never taken through any struggle and no one was ever educated in the course of a struggle over perspectives, it is not hard to understand how the membership could accept the 360 degree turn made between the policies of 1928, that there would be no revolutionary upsurge in the American working class and thus, there was no reason to build in the unions, to the policies of 1929 which declared the revolution to be imminent and therefore the need was to build mass communist unions.

By 1927, the CP had changed. As Cannon noted: "Its membership was visibly changing into a passive crowd, subservient to authority and subject to manipulation by the crudest demagoguery."

Only a handful, led by Cannon, even fought to achieve some political clarity within the movement. For this reason he attended the Sixth Congress of the CI in 1928. While he went mainly to get clarification on the American question, at the Congress, he received a copy of Trotsky's *Criticism of the Draft Program*. Following the Congress, Cannon declared himself to stand with Trotsky and the Left Opposition and he, together with a few others, were immediately expelled.

The process of the Stalinization and degeneration of the American Communist Party was now complete. From now on it would have absolutely no independent political life, but would simply be mobilized to serve the interests of Stalin's every twist and turn.

Nevertheless, the party would still play a major role within the American workers movement, particularly as millions faced the conditions of the depression and sought a revolutionary solution to these conditions.

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Bank Loans and Cash Crisis

The staggering increase in the demand by big industries and corporations for bank loans expresses the desperate attempts of the capitalists to resolve their profit crisis by huge injections of credit.

In the week that ended July 10, business loans at the major New York banks was up \$92 million, the fifth weekly increase in a row.

In the 12-month period ending July 4, business borrowing went up to \$6.1 billion, as opposed to \$4.4 billion for a similar period in 1973. This has been accompanied by skyhigh interest rates of 12 percent and over which makes the cost of these loans enormous.

These figures expose that despite all the reports that big business is making record profits, there is in reality a decline in business and a decline in their rate of profit that has created a serious cash shortage. The industries desperately need this cash to invest or, in the worst cases, to pay off other debts and stave off bankruptcy.

In the first half of 1974, Commerce Department reports show that business activity, after inflation, actually declined four percent. The so-called profits are solely based on inflated prices—not on an increase in real value—and are thus totally fictitious.

The main topic of the recent meeting between the nations' top businessmen and the White House was the urgent need to expand the availability of cash needed for investment. One of the measures requested was a cut in corporate taxes, but this in itself would solve nothing.

Businesses can no longer have sufficient profits to use for investment because the rate of profit is declining. This is aggravated tremendously by the inflation which increases the costs of the capitalists.

Nor can they raise cash on the stock market because of the fall in share prices.

But in turning to the banks for credit, they are not resolving this fundamental problem, but on the contrary, intensifying it. Loans, in the form of paper money and credit do not represent real value which can only be created by the labor of the working class.

Westinghouse expresses this crisis sharply. On June 27, Westinghouse suspended trading on the stock exchange amid rumors that it was on the brink of bankruptcy.

In the second quarter, the earnings of Westinghouse declined 38 percent. It lost huge sums on construction of turbine generators and housing because of soaring costs and lower sales. Its short term debt, including its present long term debt, rose from \$208 million in December 1972 to \$514 million in March 1974. Westinghouse only stayed afloat by getting more bank credit.

The banks cannot continue to support this insatiable demand for credit. They themselves are in need of funds and are turning to speculation on the foreign exchange markets to raise cash. Citicorps, the parent of First National, is seeking to raise \$850 million by selling floating rate notes to small investors at interest rates that will drain funds from the small savings and loans institutions and hasten their collapse. Stock market shares in savings and loans institutions declined 43 percent between June 5 to July 10—only one month.

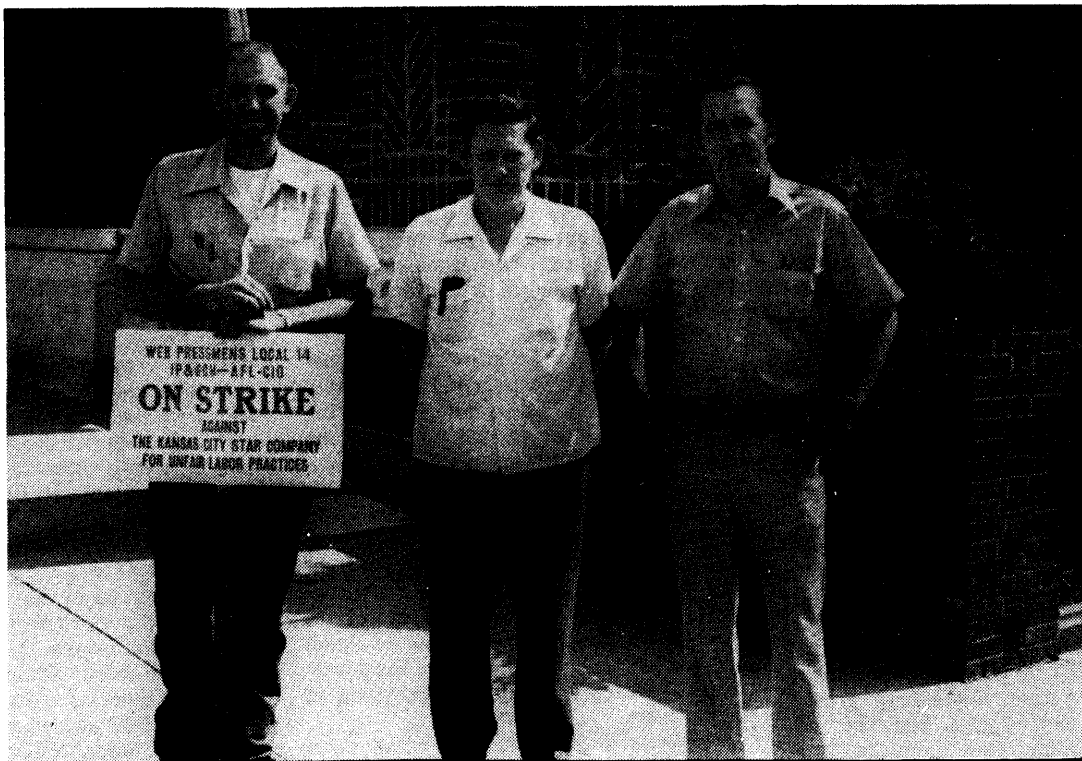
The credit only increases inflation, further undermining investment and profits.

The only solution of the capitalists and bankers is to liquidate whole sections of this fictitious capital by withdrawing credit and allowing industries to collapse. The scope of the credit boom will make this crash far more violent than the depression of the 1930s and will result in millions of unemployed.

The capitalists recognize that they must restore profits by directly forcing the working class to produce more and consume less. Arthur Ojun, an economist for the Brookings Institute announced several weeks ago that "a real income loss has to be taken" and warned workers that "excessive" wage increases would lead to an unemployment rate of 9 to 10 percent.

This is why the fight for higher wages, because it increases the determination of the ruling class to destroy the working class, is a political fight, not only against the Nixon government, but against the economic system of private profit—capitalism.

It means that workers must fight today to build their own political party, based not on capitalism but on a socialist program of placing industry under the control of the working class.



Printing Unions Isolate Kansas City Pressmen

BY J. NELSON
KANSAS CITY, Mo.—After two months, members of Web Pressmen's Local 14 maintain their vigil outside the Kansas City Star in defense of the newspaper's attempt to lock them out and bust their union.

The strike of the Kansas City Pressmen is part of a nationwide battle in the printing industries, as the major newspapers launch a concerted campaign to drive out the craft unions and bring in new printing processes that will eliminate 75 percent of the jobs in the printing trades.

The Kansas City Star, following the lead of the New York and big Eastern newspapers, is introducing "cold type production." This new printing process, through computerization, condenses the amount of human labor necessary to put out a newspaper.

Cold type production will enable the Star to do away with over 250 of its 320 printers.

The changeover to the cold type process has already begun at the Star. The comic pages and special Sunday supplement are printed in this way now.

Although the changeover will most directly affect the printers, the pressmen have been the first target of the Star.

"We were hit first because the Pressmen's Union is the strongest and most militant union at the Star," says Bob Gloyd, member of the Local 14 strike committee.

"They call us agitators. They figured if they could crack us, they could go on in there after the rest of them."

In the past 18 months, 20 pressmen out of a total of 105 have been fired. These men had an average of from 10 to 15 years on the presses.

One man with 26 years in the shop was fired for lighting a cigarette too close to his machine.

Another man was fired for refusing to move his long hair to allow a foreman to see if there was cotton in his ears.

The Star also maintained a special punishment list. If a man, even with 20 years in the

shop, made the slightest mistake, he could be punished: usually a two or three week layoff without pay.

The campaign of harassment doubled with the beginning of the paper shortage. Men could be laid off for wasting too much paper on a job, after the foremen checked the wastebaskets.

These are the conditions which led to the May 3 discharge of David Bowlen and the subsequent press seizure and lockout. David Bowlen described his dismissal.

"It has been going on for a long time. The company wants to go toward an open shop and has been harassing us and trying to run us out of there. That night they singled me out.

"I was the twentieth guy fired for nothing at all. I was running a complicated lead. An operator generally misses a couple of pasters on a complicated lead.

"If he is lucky, he doesn't miss any. But usually, you will miss one or two. So after second break, I had missed a couple and this foreman kicks off my safety light which locks the machine. He did that to me three times that night.

"The third time, he switched me with a man who operates a different machine which is in direct violation of the contract. I worked that press for 14 years and my work had never been criticized before."

"So the chapel chairman, Harry McCoy, came over, and we started to draw up a grievance about this job transfer. This foreman comes up and says, 'If you protest this, you know Bolen will get fired don't you. You better forget it.' A one-half hour later, I was called to the foreman's office and was fired."

Bowlen was fired 10 minutes before the next shift. Nick Lambros, who was just arriving for work, described what happened.

"When I came to work, I saw the men standing around discussing the issues on David Bowlen. At nine o'clock, everyone went to their work stations on the presses. No one started their machines.

"The company was expecting it. A foreman came by and asked why we weren't working. He said, 'Start up those presses now or you're all fired.' Another foreman ran to get Frank McKinney, general manager and

first vice-president of the Star. "McKinney came down and said that he'd had enough of us, told us we were fired and that the police would be here to escort us from the building.

"I told them I wanted to be arrested. I said that I had worked at the Star since high school. I started when I was 15 and worked three years part-time and 14 years full-time on the presses.

"Actually, we had never been treated like this since I'd been there. They don't even treat you like a man anymore. There's no job dignity or anything."

Immediately after being thrown out of the building, the Pressmen set up pickets against the lockout. On the morning of May 4, the 100 Pressmen were joined by 500 other Star workers: printers, stereotypers, mailers, electricians, and machinists. Members of every craft walked the lines that day.

At once, the International and local leaders of the Printers moved in to break the strike. The Pressmen's International itself disowned the strikers until May 5, when it was forced to sanction the strike because of the Star's announcement that it considered the contract void.

Wayne Wilson, president of Printers Local 16 turned up at the mass picketing to try to lead the printers across the picket line. His first attempt failed miserably.

Since the May 3 lockout, the pressmen have faced an injunction limiting picketing to 12 men passed, a ruling by Kansas City unemployment denying them unemployment compensation, a decision of the NLRB rejecting their charges against the Star for the mass firing, and the nullification of the contract.

On June 15, pressman Harry Votchtzer narrowly missed death when a scab fired a pistol at him while he was on the picket line.

The right to a union is at stake. Missouri labor must mobilize workers in Kansas City in defense of the pressmen.

The leaders of the craft unions must be forced to call all their members out until the Pressmen are back on the job with full rights and union recognition.

Full job security must be won and the International must immediately unite for a concerted offensive to defend the printing trades.

Five Week Strike Wins Escalator Clause At Carter

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Twenty-two hundred members of United Auto Workers, Local 819 accepted a 5.5 percent pay increase and an unlimited cost of living negotiated with Carter Carburetor Corporation.

After striking for five and one-half weeks, a tentative settlement was reached on July 19. The company's original proposal of a 15 cent raise the first year and a 16 cent cap on the cost of living was roundly rejected by the membership. The new contract calls for a 25 cent across the board increase.

The contract was not ratified without strong opposition to the wage deal. Skilled workers were especially disgusted with their 85 cent wage increase.

"The 85 cents is just not enough. For the last three years, we have been behind and now we will stay there with this contract," said a skilled worker.

A production worker said: "The union leadership doesn't practice what it preaches. They said at the educational meetings to go into politics, but they don't do it. We should fight for a labor party."

Many production workers condemned the 5.5 percent wage increase. "I would have voted against the contract 12 times if I could have," said one man.

The union leadership advocated accepting the contract and closing discussion. Then it was announced that 114 people on the assembly lines would be laid off until after changeover to 1975 model carburetors, unless workers took their vacations during the coming month.

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The strike of 5700 workers at the GMAD plant here goes into its second month with negotiations moving slowly. It has been reported that the company is refusing to discuss any settlement that will cost them money.

Woodworkers Strike For Wages, Benefits

BY B. WILLS

THIEF RIVER FALLS, Minn.—The International Woodworkers of America has been on strike at Artic Enterprises, the nation's largest snowmobile manufacturer, since July 8.

The company claimed losses up to \$3,225,000 in fiscal 1974 and got the union leaders to pressure the nearly 800 full and part-time employees to forego a wage increase for this year.

The corporation, encouraged by the refusal of the union leadership to put up any fight, proceeded to attack every single contract provision won in the past.

Plantwide seniority, Artic said, had to be abolished because "it is inefficient and expensive to train a man for more than one job."

Sick leave provisions for workers to receive full wages after the first day of illness, now will be replaced by a clause giving full benefits only after five days of illness.

The company even undermined the overtime rights which

the production workers had in the previous contract.

Business agent of Local 4-348, Wayne Bjornrud, reported to the Bulletin Wednesday that these attacks and the arrogance of the company infuriated the employees. They are now demanding their wage increase as well as firmly defending all of their previous contract benefits.

A further source of resentment by the workers has been the company's insistence that its office employees scab, even on their own relatives who are manning the picket lines.

The Stenseths, a husband and wife, face that situation. Rick is in production as a welder and pickets daily. His wife Debbie is forced by the boss to break the picket line each day or be fired.

"Management had meetings with us telling us that they expected us to be at work in spite of the strike," she reports.

So far, only six or seven scabs have gone into the plant to do actual production.

Rick said: "We've got to keep out the scabs so they don't hire people off the streets. After this thing is over, the scabs are going to be in sad shape. They'll have awful hard working conditions."

"It's hard enough fighting one side. They'll have to fight both."



Tim Wohlforth, Workers League National Secretary, addresses Young Socialist outing at Lake Independence, Minnesota. Wohlforth spoke on Watergate and the recent proposed indictment of Nixon by the Judiciary Committee. He dealt with the tasks confronting the labor movement in the situation and the fight to build a labor party to drive Nixon out. Everyone had a great time at the outing, playing softball and going swimming in the 93 degree weather.

Chicago Cops Frame Youth In Murder

BY LARRY SOMMERS
 CHICAGO, Ill.—

"He's framed and we know it.

"The brother of the guy who was shot was right there. He should know. But it's a set up. If you need the police, then he doesn't come."

Mrs. Jordan, of the Harold Dancy Defense Committee, had these bitter words for the police frame-up of her 14-year-old nephew, Harold Dancy Jr. has been charged with the shooting death of a 21-year-old man in a tavern in Chicago's far South Side on May 26.

Since his arrest, the family has received threatening phone calls saying: "Harold Dancy is going to die." Windows of their home have been broken.

West Pullman is one of the areas in Chicago's South Side where Black families have moved to escape the West Side, Cabrini-Green, and housing projects on the South Side.

Harold Dancy Sr. lived with his family for 13 years on the West Side. They moved to tree-lined Emerald Street, with wood frame single family homes.

After working a full day at Stewart-Warner, where he is a member of the IBEW, Mr. Dancy goes to a second job to make ends meet while paying off the house. His workday begins at 6 am and ends after 11 pm every day of the week.

INNOCENT

Harold Dancy Jr. is innocent. The family is resting the defense on this and on the support

they have received from friends and neighbors.

The shooting allegedly took place after a quarrel between a Black and a white man. The assailant fled in a car with Michigan license plates which was found abandoned a block away. Almost immediately, the police, moved into the neighborhood with an army of squad cars and combed the area for every Black youth around.

Kenny, Harold's younger brother, had been playing ball some distance away from the bar. Harold Dancy Sr. said: "The police stopped and questioned him. He had convinced them and they were about to let him go when three youths came up and said he did it."

"They handcuffed him and threw him into the car."

According to Kenny: "They didn't just come up and question me, they started cursing and they all pulled their guns."

"They didn't need to grab every Black youth they saw. Then they took Harold right back to the tavern and asked people around if he was the one. Six were in the lineup and they picked out Harold."

It has not been revealed why the brother of the slain man has been reluctant to press an investigation. The police want no investigation, but they are bent on a conviction.

Mrs. Dancy said: "Now if my brother was shot, I would want to get the right guy. Unless, they had something to hide."

Mr. Dancy went on: "The way I see it, it's like this. They know who did it and probably knew the guy involved in the earlier quarrel. They just want to cover it up so there's no investigation of them."

"They grabbed Harold because they know we're poor, they've seen him around, and they knew we couldn't fight too far."

Mrs. Jordan previously had explained that the abandoned car was stolen, but the police didn't report it until three days later, and mysteriously, they can't find fingerprints.

Mrs. Dancy said: "They're not really investigating. We went to seven hearings and nobody showed."

"No one showed at the trial on July 8. Not the guy's brother who was five feet away or the arresting officer."

"They kept him eight days in

the Audy Home after the guy died and charged him with murder. They wanted to try him as an adult, but now they dropped that."

With the case in juvenile court, there is no jury. This severely limits the amount of evidence the prosecution must produce since he does not have to convince a jury. The family is hoping the complete lack of evidence will provide time.

JUVENILE

Mrs. Jordan explained: "Trying him after 30 days as a juvenile, they lose the right to try him. Now the 30 days is up. We got a lot of support and letters and the school helped."

"The lawyer can bring this up and the case may be thrown out. There are whites working with us and there's some togetherness."

The danger is not over for Harold. The Dancy's were the first Black family on the block. Right-wingers in the community want them out, and they are encouraged by the police.

Real estate agents have manipulated huge sections of South and Southwest Chicago to create changing neighborhoods. In Englewood, a Southwest neighborhood, Spanish youth who meet in a social club have been harassed by constantly patrolling squad cars.

One young worker on Wood Street is constantly being accused of trying to rob his own home often by the same cops.

One block on Wolcott is threatening to form a Block Club to arm themselves against constant burglaries because the police refuse to investigate. Instead, on any given evening, you can witness a squad car pulling over to jump out and search youth who are merely walking down the street, perhaps carrying a radio or tape player the police decide is stolen.

The attack on Harold Dancy is a political attack by the government on all youth and workers.

Mrs. Dancy said: "When they arrested Kenny, the officer asked him if he thought something was wrong with the government and he said, 'Yes, if it wasn't I wouldn't be here now.'"

"I think there's a whole lot wrong with the government. Nixon's the rottenest president we ever had."

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books

Alan White

Year One Of The Russian Revolution

Part One

Year One of the Russian Revolution by Victor Serge. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972.

Year One of the Russian Revolution is concerned with the question of Soviet history the first year after the Russian Revolution in October 1917.

It was written by Victor Serge after he was confined in a Leningrad hospital in 1928. Serge wrote this book "in detached fragments which could be separately completed and sent abroad post-haste and...could, if absolutely necessary, be published as they were, incomplete," obviously in order to avoid Stalinist censorship.

However, due to his role as a loyal member of the left opposition, Year Two of the Russian Revolution as well as his other manuscripts were seized by the Stalinist police (GPU) in 1936.

That year, Serge was allowed to leave the Soviet Union.

As a young man, Serge was an ardent anarchist, but was won over to Bolshevism roughly 10 months before the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky led the working class to power. Serge's major contribution to Marxist education in this book is his understanding of the role of the revolutionary party. He writes:

"The rebel masses of Russia in 1917 rose to a clear consciousness of their necessary tasks, of their means and objectives, through the organ of the Bolshevik Party. This is not a theory, it is a statement of facts...."

"It is what they actually want, however confusedly, the sailors in Kronstadt, the soldiers in Kazan, the workers of Petrograd, Ivano-Voznesenk, Moscow, and everywhere, the peasants ransacking the landlords mansions; it is what they really want without having the power to express their hopes firmly, to match them against the economic and the political realities, to formulate the most practical means of attaining them, to select the most favorable moment for action, to extend the action from one end of the country to the other, to provide the exchanges of information and the necessary discipline, to coordinate the innumerable separate efforts that are going on.

"It is what they really want, without being able to constitute themselves into (in a word) a force of the requisite intelligence, training, will, and myriad energy.

"What they want, then, the party expresses at a conscious level, and then carries out. The party reveals to them what they have been thinking. It is the hand which unites them from one end of the country to the other. The party is their consciousness, their organization."

VALUE

Serge's book is of tremendous value for the way in which the author brings to life, in detail and concretely, the actual events of the revolution, the problems that followed, and how the difficulties were fought out within the Bolshevik party.

The question of revolutionary organization is very clearly



Victor Serge

revealed in the differences between the Petrograd and Moscow insurrection in October. The Petrograd insurrection was very well organized.

The assault on the Winter Palace was planned for October 25, 9 p.m. It took place precisely at this time and the success took place nearly without bloodshed. Serge describes the day in the following manner:

"—On 25 October, from the morning onwards, the Bolshevik regiments and the Red Guards began to encircle the Winter Palace where Kerensky's government had its offices. The assault was planned for 9 p.m., although Lenin was impatient and wanted it over before then—

"In a small room...Lenin was pacing up and down nervously...Of every new arrival, he asked, 'The Palace—has it not been taken yet?' His fury mounted against the ditherers, the procrastinators, the indecisive ones.

"He threatened Padvoisky (one of the organizers of the insurrection)—'We shall have to shoot him, yes shoot him!' The soldiers, huddled around fires in the streets near the Palace showed the same impatience..."

After two summonses was conveyed to the defenders of the Palace to surrender, "a crack battalion crossed over to the revolutionaries. They were welcomed by loud hurrahs over the square which was now the field of battle.

"A few minutes later, the Women's Battalion surrendered. The terrified ministers, guarded in a vast room without lighting by a few young officer-cadets, still hesitated to give in.

"Kerensky had run off, promising them that he would return shortly at the head of a troop of loyal soldiers. They expected to be torn to pieces by a howling mob.

"The guns of the Aurora—firing only blank cartridges—finally demoralized the defending side. The Reds attack met only slight resistance...

"...Behind the door is the Provisional Government, thirteen gentlemen, thirteen crestfallen farces hidden by shadow. As they are escorted out of the Palace by Red Guards, a cry for their blood goes up. Some soldiers and sailors have a fancy for a massacre. The worker-guards restrain them! Don't spoil the proletarian victory by excesses!"

TO BE CONTINUED

San Jose Cops Out For 'Their Quota Of Blood'

BY A REPORTING TEAM

SAN JOSE—Over the last several months, a wave of police terror has been carried out against workers and youth in San Jose.

On July 15, 22-year-old Eddie Swoope was shot and killed by two San Jose policemen after he refused to drop an unloaded pellet gun.

During the same killing, a woman was shot in the leg by police bullets and an 11-year-old girl was run over by a motorcycle driven by a policeman racing to the scene of the shooting. After the shooting, policemen wearing military fatigues occupied the area.

Immediately after the Swoope killing, a San Jose city councilman claimed he had knowledge of a "paramilitary clique within the San Jose police department that feels it must go out and get its quota of blood."

He also stated that the weapons firing policy in the police department was "shoot to kill." The councilman, Al Garza, refused to name the policemen involved in this "paramilitary clique" or state whether or not they were part of any organized political movement.

In replying to Garza's charges at a recent city council meeting, a San Jose police chief, Robert Murphy, called Garza's statements "shallow and irresponsible" and said that Garza did "not know what he was talking about."

SHOOT

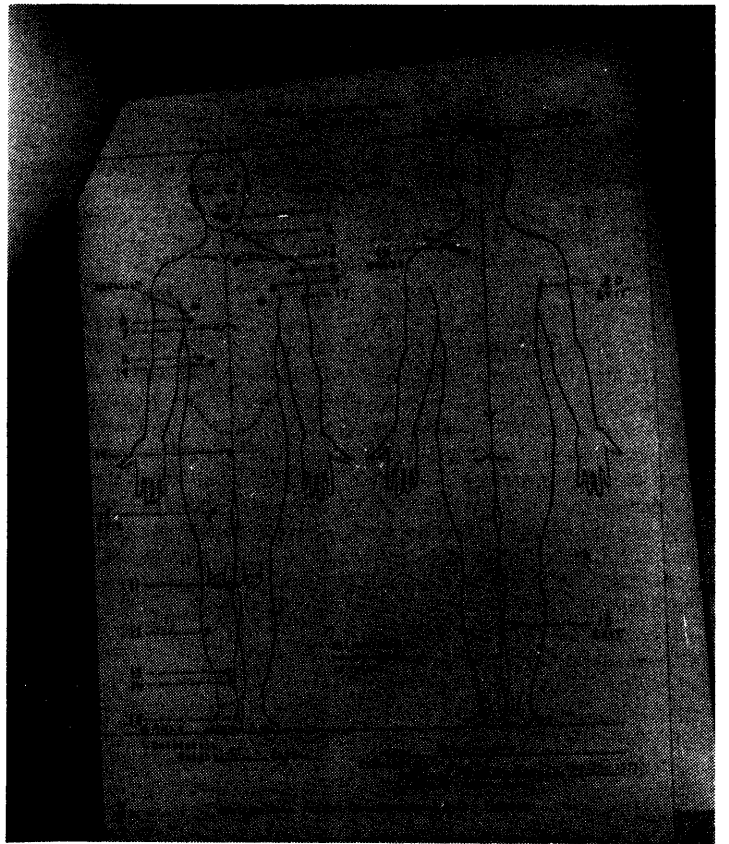
In defending the recent killings, Murphy stated: "Our policy is to make absolutely sure an officer has the legal right to shoot, before he draws his weapon."

It has also recently been exposed that a dance held by Chicano youth on February 9, in which San Jose riot police brutally maced and beat hundreds of youth, has been used as a training "tool" for the police to deal with similar incidents.

In an interview, Joe, a young trade unionist who lives in the east side of San Jose told the Bulletin: "I've got battle scars from the cops.

"I was pulled over just because I looked like somebody else. They said, 'You look like that Black bastard we're looking for'.

"They made me take off my clothes and they chained me to a tree and beat me just because I wouldn't shut my mouth."



Medical diagram shows bullet holes in Henry Dillard's body.

Another youth, Michael Zito, stated: "We were at this furniture store on First Street. My friend's father owns the store.

"We went on the roof one day and some guy called the cops. He probably heard someone popping fire crackers which we weren't doing.

"He gave the police the impression we were snipers. For three hours, they went through the trouble of blocking off the whole area.

"They put fire engines on either side of the building.

"Then we finally got the idea they were after us, so they climbed up on the roof and went downstairs where we were. They grabbed my friend's father and said, 'If you move, we'll blow your head off'.

"They pushed me against the wall and put a gun to my back. They would have killed my godfather. They had a gun aimed right at the back of his head.

ACCUSE

"After they found out we owned the place, they tried to accuse us of stealing the money that we were counting on the table."

Jesse Dillard, whose son Henry was murdered by police last year in San Jose, told how his son was killed. "They had this thing set up. That's why they called it the Henry Dillard act.

"They made sure people wouldn't see it. They blocked off both ends of the street. Two police cars on each end. They

had half of the San Jose police force down there after one man that didn't kill anybody.

"I think they wanted to kill Henry for a long time. They just hadn't got a good enough chance.

"When they get ready to do some killing, they get special guys to do it, like Dave Jensen who shot my son. He beats up on Blacks, Chicanos, and teenagers.

"The clippings in the newspapers said they saw Henry run to the door with a gun in his hand and that was a lie because you couldn't see in the house. They said he fired three shots and they returned fire, but all the bullets were fired from the outside to the inside. There weren't any going in the other way around.

"After they finally got him outside, they told Henry to put his hands up, so he put his hands up and dropped his gun and started to run away. That's when Jensen brought him down. Shot him in the back.

"They tried to say that the spot on Henry's back was powder burn, but you can't get a powder burn from 50 feet away. After Dave Jensen shot Henry down, they refused to take him off the streets. They pushed him off somewhere in Los Gatos until everything blowed over but they never did take him off the payroll.

"It's President Nixon right down to the city council responsible for my son's death. You can see it coming. They're out for a dictatorship."



Youth interviewed by the Bulletin on the police terror in San Jose.

LA Water Workers Win 9% Wage Hike

BY SHEILA BREHM
LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Over 8000 workers ended their week-long strike against the Department of Water and Power after winning a 9 percent wage increase plus 2 percent fringe benefit hike.

Three unions, as well as nonunion DWP workers, ignored a court injunction which was issued the first day to halt their strike. It was the first strike in 30 years.

The unions originally went out for a 15 percent wage increase, but union leaders gave in to less after a big antiunion campaign by the DWP.

The leadership of the largest union, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, did everything to avoid the strike and a fight for wages.

Before the strike, union leaders brought the DWP's offer of an 8 percent wage increase to the membership, which rejected it. Then union officials agreed to bring in a state mediator.

HOSTAGES

In a meeting with Mayor Tom Bradley, a woman from Woodland Hills declared that the strikers are "holding us as hostages...if they don't get their salary hikes, we don't get electricity. They are using us as hostages the same way criminals do in jail." The press played up statements like this throughout the strike.

However, one trade unionist expressed the feelings of thousands: "I'm behind the DWP strike 100 percent. Every worker feels the inflation. Now that Nixon let up on the wage controls, we have this big strike movement."

A DWP worker said: "These people complain about the strike, but unless we get a decent wage increase, we can't even pay our power bill."

DWP General Manager Robert Phillips has now revealed that he considered bringing in the National Guard.

west coast news



Members of Local 3161 on strike at Gillespie Furniture Company for five weeks.

Local 3161 Ranks 'Will Keep Walking'

BY SHANNON JONES
LOS ANGELES—"If the people don't like what they get, they'll keep walking until they get it," said one shop steward from AFL-CIO Furniture Workers Local 3161.

The Gillespie Furniture Company is one of 10 furniture companies being struck by Local 3161 in this area. The strike is nearly in its fifth week. Thirteen hundred workers are fighting for higher wages. The companies are represented by two manufacturers associations.

The union leadership is pushing for acceptance of a 10 percent wage increase offered by the manufacturers, after having rejected an original 4 percent offer.

Most union members spoken with knew nothing about the companies' latest offer and were anxious to continue striking for the original 20 percent immediate wage increase and full cost of living that the union demanded.

Workers at the struck plants

earn wages as low as \$2 an hour. Even skilled labor only earns slightly more than \$4 an hour. Workers have been denied unemployment insurance. Strike benefits only amount to \$1.65 an hour for walking picket duty three hours a day.

At the Gillespie plant 270 workers are employed. A majority are Spanish speaking Mexicans. Many of the workers felt that the company hires many out of state people and Mexicans, illegally, to keep the wages low and divide workers.

SF Drivers Vote Strike

BY MARTY MORAN
SAN FRANCISCO—On Thursday, Municipal Railway bus drivers voted at a mass meeting to strike immediately if the city board of supervisors puts a city charter amendment to a referendum vote.

The amendment would slash wage increases due the drivers and several thousand craftsmen.

William, a young Muni driver who was at the meeting told the Bulletin later: "We are not waiting until the election. If they put it on the ballot, we will walk out."

Along with the AC Transit strike of Oakland and trans-bay buses, a Muni strike would paralyze the entire area.

The city government is deliberately provoking a showdown with all city workers by refusing to pay wage increases to which they are legally entitled.

The board temporarily postponed action on the referendum

Monday in the face of the strike threat. But they left no doubt about their intentions by cancelling, on Tuesday, \$2.7 million in pay raises scheduled for 1188 skilled tradesmen, including street sweepers, electricians, operating engineers, and electric motor shopmen.

These workers are covered by the "crafts pay" provision in the city charter that says they must be paid wages equal to the prevailing rates in local private industry for the same category of work.

The board made use of a legal technicality which the chief of civil service admitted was a flimsy excuse. So far, the union leadership of the building trades has done nothing but say they will sue in court for the money.

The city controller is still refusing to give the wage increases due 10,000 clerical and hospital workers from the settlement of their general strike in March.

The city unions must immediately call a general strike of all city workers demanding full payment of all wage increases due, and fight for full support by the San Francisco labor movement.

\$1.25 Boost Infuriates Contractors

BY TIM NELSON
OAKLAND — Carpenters returned to work throughout northern California after the union leadership accepted a contract with the Associated General Contractors.

The AGC was forced to pay a \$1.25 an hour wage increase the first year, with wage reopens in 1975 and 1976, and 50¢ in fringe benefits over three years.

This matches the settlement signed by the California Homebuilders Association on June 16, the day before the five-week strike against the AGC began.

DENOUNCED

The AGC had previously denounced the homebuilders' settlement as "grossly irresponsible." After the signing, AGC spokesman Richard Munn said: "We were forced by the raw economic strength of the union to sign an agreement for which there is no justification."

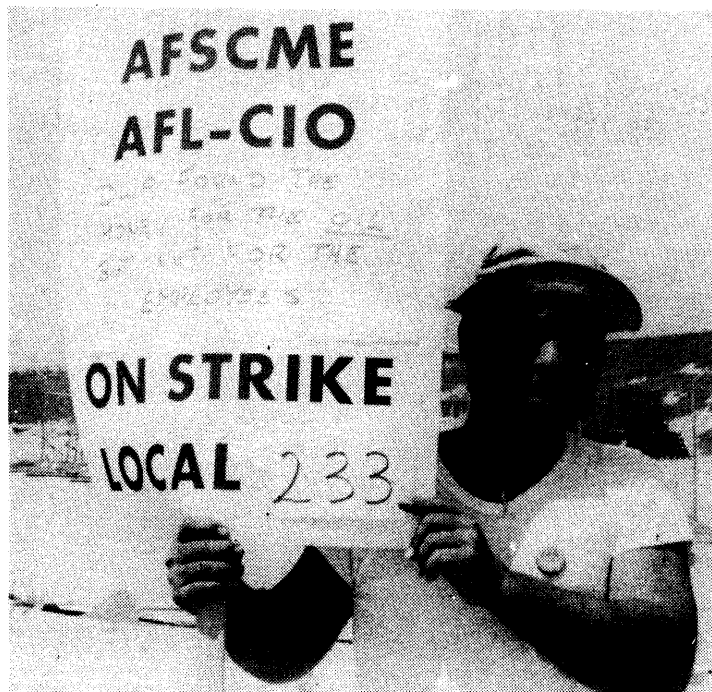
"We have never made a settlement that met with such violent opposition from our members."

Munn told the Bulletin the settlement would mean a substantial increase in failures and bankruptcies of construction firms, and threatened: "We will see a substantial increase in non-union contracting coming from the grass roots or from out of state."

OPEN SHOP

Munn revealed nearly all residential construction in Modesto and Fresno is now open shop, but said there were no statistics because this work is done "very quietly."

The private contractors, unable to defeat the workers by starving them out, are declaring through their spokesman Munn that it is all out war against the construction unions. They intend to make full use of the police to smash picket lines and protect strikebreakers, as they have done already in Michigan and Pennsylvania.



Striking Department of Water and Power worker last week in Los Angeles.

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La labor de esta columna es la construcción de un nuevo liderato en la clase obrera. Es por ello que necesitamos el apoyo de todos los obreros hispanos en desarrollar esta columna. Favor de dirigir su correspondencia a: Lucia Rivera, c/o Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

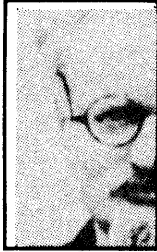
lucha obrera

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¡Construyamos La Cuarta Internacional En America Latina!

Cuarta Internacional

UNA PUBLICACION DE MARXISMO INTERNACIONAL DEL COMITE INTERNACIONAL DE LA CUARTA INTERNACIONAL
VOLUMEN 1 N° 1 PRECIO \$.75 Agosto 1974



Primera Edición:
Editorial:
¡Construyamos
La Cuarta
Internacional
En America
Latina!

Romper Con El Centismo
Documentos Acerca De La Ruptura De La OCI
Con El Trotskismo—

Inglaterra: Transformacion De La
Socialist Labor League En
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La Liga Obrera acaba de publicar por primera vez en la historia del movimiento trotskista la revista marxista la Cuarta Internacional en español. En La Quinta Conferencia del Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional, recayo en la Liga Obrera, la organización en solidaridad política con el Comité Internacional, de publicar la revista para su distribución en América Latina y Europa.

Esta tarea que hoy es solo asumida por el Comité Internacional, le fue presentada en 1938 al Socialist Workers Party (SWP) en la Conferencia de fundación de la Cuarta Internacional. "La sección norteamericana, al utilizar la literatura en español de la Cuarta Internacional, debe de organizar, aunque sea a escala modesta para empezar, las fuerzas militantes revolucionarias entre los doblemente explotados millones de trabajadores filipinos, mejicanos, caribeños y centro y sudamericanos que residen en los Estados Unidos, no solo con el propósito de unirlos al movimiento obrero de los Estados Unidos, sino asimismo con el propósito de fortalecer los lazos con los movimientos obreros y revolucionarios de sus países de origen."

El SWP sin embargo abandonó todo intento de desarrollar el movimiento trotskista en América Latina por largas décadas. No fue sino hasta luego de la revolución cubana que el SWP prestó atención a los pueblos de Latinoamérica. Concentró su prensa y sus actividades en los desarrollos cubanos, no con el propósito de desarrollar un movimiento internacional sino que lo utilizó oportunistamente para los propósitos del liderato.

Ya para la década del 1960 el SWP había roto con el marxismo y cualquier perspectiva internacional. La política nacionalista de Castro, le prestó al SWP, la teoría de que no era necesario la construcción de un partido revolucionario marxista para llevar a la clase obrera al poder. Fue pues la atención del SWP un elemento dañino y criminal al movimiento del proletariado latinoamericano.

Donde existían movimientos trotskistas en latinoamérica, la posición del SWP era que se subordinaran al movimiento guerrillero y que se integrasen a la Organización Latinoamericana de Solidaridad (OLAS) organización internacional de Castro, la cual negaba el papel revolucionario de la clase obrera.

Fue ese un período de actividades guerrilleras en América Latina, perspectivas de clase media, la responsable de la muerte de miles de jóvenes desorientados por Castro y el SWP.

Hoy hemos entrado a un nuevo período donde la crisis capitalista une a la clase obrera de los países coloniales con aquellos de la metrópolis presentando una época revolucionaria. Nuestra acérrima lucha contra el liquidacionismo y revisionismo del SWP presenta al Comité Internacional como la única alternativa a la clase obrera y al campesinado latinoamericano. Es hoy que el SWP y todos aquellos quienes desorientaron por una década a miles de jóvenes y trabajadores los que no pueden construir absolutamente nada en América Latina.

Con la publicación de esta revista, la Liga Obrera ha de desarrollar el trabajo dentro de la comunidad hispana en los Estados Unidos y será un paso esencial y crítico en la construcción de la IV Internacional en Latinoamérica. Hoy es solo el Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional el que puede llevar a la clase obrera y al campesino al poder.

Este domingo a las 6 de la tarde en el 135 w. de la calle 14, séptimo piso se tendrá una clase sobre el revisionismo del SWP y sus expresiones en América Latina. Se procederá luego con los planes para la distribución de la revista, en el país y en latinoamérica. Asista a la reunión y ayúdenos a construir el liderato revolucionario en el país y en toda Latinoamérica.



CWA workers in Detroit have voted to continue their strike following a wildcat walkout.

NIXON . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

The stalling tactics mean that Nixon is determined to continue the Watergate coverup and remain in office, hoping for a turn of events that would allow him to go on the offensive. Nixon knows full well that there is enough evidence to incriminate him in a host of felonies. He wants one month to tamper with the tapes and remove as much damaging evidence as possible.

It would be criminal for Nixon to be allowed to remain in office. The trade union movement must act to force him out. We cannot wait for the Democrats and Republicans to act on impeachment.

Already, members of the House Judiciary Committee are using the Supreme Court decision as grounds for delaying the impeachment vote for one or two months until the new evidence is available. Such a delay would make a Senate trial impossible to hold until 1975.

ATTACKS

The trade unions cannot permit the politicians to give Nixon additional time to carry out his brutal attacks on the living standards and basic rights of the people. He has just appointed Alan Greenspan, who outspokenly advocates a deliberate increase in unemployment, to head the Council of Economic Advisers. Nixon is planning a series of meetings with bankers and businessmen in order to plot new wage controls and rally them around the White House for an offensive against the labor movement.

The working class itself must remove Nixon. At the same time, it would be criminal not to prepare the alternative to Nixon. This is why a Congress of Labor must be convened to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies. We must have our party to fight for a government in the interests of the working people.

In spite of the verdict of the Supreme Court, the conspiracy in the White House continues. The fact that Nixon has been able to wield powers which are unconstitutional over the past five years reveals the extent to which democratic traditions and procedures have already deteriorated in this country.

We must answer these attacks

through a turn to politics and the construction of our own party.

Through their criminal silence, the trade union bureaucracy has shown that it has no intention of doing anything to throw Nixon out. Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons actually went to visit Nixon this week to discuss plans to limit wage demands.

A new leadership must be constructed in the trade unions against these bureaucratic traitors. We call on workers and youth to join the Workers League and support the Congressional campaigns of Helen Halyard and Terry Delgado in Brooklyn which is leading the fight to force Nixon out and construct the labor party.

CYPRUS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

mately at the Soviet Union and China.

The Greek working class now joins the massive revolutionary upheaval sweeping Portugal, Spain, and Italy.

The new conditions of worldwide recession have brought to the surface an explosion from the working class, unable and unwilling to continue living under impossible conditions of poverty and dictatorship, while being forced to serve as cannon fodder for imperialism.

The scene in Athens after the resignation of the junta was reminiscent of the massive outpouring of the working class in Portugal after the April 25 coup. Greek workers flooded the streets and squares, chanting: "Tonight fascism dies."

Workers began to shout: "Out with the Americans," even as

they greeted Caramanlis who is a steadfast backer of American imperialism and the reactionary NATO alliance.

Caramanlis has restored freedom of the press and speech in Greece, and freed many political prisoners. Citizenship has been restored to political exiles, who are flooding home from Europe and America.

But behind the Caramanlis cabinet stands the junta, ready to seize control once more. Gains in this new period can only be held through revolutionary struggle.

The most critical need is for the immediate and massive growth of the Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, leading the construction of sections in every country throughout the area.

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lucha obrera

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Editorial:
¡Construyamos
La Cuarta
Internacional
En America
Latina!

Romper Con El Centrismo
Documentos Acerca De La Ruptura De La OCI
Con El Trotskismo—

Inglaterra: Transformacion De La
Socialist Labor League En
El Workers Revolutionary Party—

Declaraciones Del Comité Internacional
De La Cuarta Internacional:

BOLIVIA CHILE IRLANDA PORTUGAL—

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EDICION EN
ESPAÑOL —
75¢

La Liga Obrera acaba de publicar por primera vez en la historia del movimiento trotskista la revista marxista la Cuarta Internacional en español. En La Quinta Conferencia del Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional, recayo en la Liga Obrera, la organización en solidaridad política con el Comité Internacional, de publicar la revista para su distribución en América Latina y Europa.

Esta tarea que hoy es solo asumida por el Comité Internacional, le fue presentada en 1938 al Socialist Workers Party (SWP) en la Conferencia de fundación de la Cuarta Internacional. "La sección norteamericana, al utilizar la literatura en español de la Cuarta Internacional, debe de organizar, aunque sea a escala modesta para empezar, las fuerzas militantes revolucionarias entre los doblemente explotados millones de trabajadores filipinos, mejicanos, caribeños y centro y sudamericanos que residen en los Estados Unidos, no solo con el propósito de unirlos al movimiento obrero de los Estados Unidos, sino asimismo con el propósito de fortalecer los lazos con los movimientos obreros y revolucionarios de sus países de origen."

El SWP sin embargo abandonó todo intento de desarrollar el movimiento trotskista en América Latina por largas décadas. No fue sino hasta luego de la revolución cubana que el SWP prestó atención a los pueblos de Latinoamérica. Concentró su prensa y sus actividades en los desarrollos cubanos, no con el propósito de desarrollar un movimiento internacional sino que lo utilizó oportunistamente para los propósitos del liderato.

Ya para la década del 1960 el SWP había roto con el marxismo y cualquier perspectiva internacional. La política nacionalista de Castro, le prestó al SWP, la teoría de que no era necesario la construcción de un partido revolucionario marxista para llevar a la clase obrera al poder. Fue pues la atención del SWP un elemento dañino y criminal al movimiento del proletariado latinoamericano.

Donde existían movimientos trotskistas en latinoamérica, la posición del SWP era que se subordinaran al movimiento guerrillero y que se integrasen a la Organización Latinoamericana de Solidaridad (OLAS) organización internacional de Castro, la cual negaba el papel revolucionario de la clase obrera.

Fue ese un período de actividades guerrilleras en América Latina, perspectivas de clase media, la responsable de la muerte de miles de jóvenes desorientados por Castro y el SWP.

Hoy hemos entrado a un nuevo período donde la crisis capitalista une a la clase obrera de los países coloniales con aquellos de la metropolis presentando una época revolucionaria. Nuestra acérrima lucha contra el liquidacionismo y revisionismo del SWP presenta al Comité Internacional como la única alternativa a la clase obrera y al campesinado latinoamericano. Es hoy que el SWP y todos aquellos quienes desorientaron por una década a miles de jóvenes y trabajadores los que no pueden construir absolutamente nada en América Latina.

Con la publicación de esta revista, la Liga Obrera ha de desarrollar el trabajo dentro de la comunidad hispana en los Estados Unidos y será un paso esencial y crítico en la construcción de la IV Internacional en Latinoamérica. Hoy es solo el Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional el que puede llevar a la clase obrera y al campesino al poder.

Este domingo a las 6 de la tarde en el 135 w. de la calle 14, septimo piso se tendrá una clase sobre el revisionismo del SWP y sus expresiones en América Latina. Se procederá luego con los planes para la distribución de la revista, en el país y en latinoamérica. Asista a la reunión y ayúdenos a construir el liderato revolucionario en el país y en toda Latinoamérica.



CWA workers in Detroit have voted to continue their strike following a wildcat walkout.

NIXON . . .

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The stalling tactics mean that Nixon is determined to continue the Watergate coverup and remain in office, hoping for a turn of events that would allow him to go on the offensive. Nixon knows full well that there is enough evidence to incriminate him in a host of felonies. He wants one month to tamper with the tapes and remove as much damaging evidence as possible.

It would be criminal for Nixon to be allowed to remain in office. The trade union movement must act to force him out. We cannot wait for the Democrats and Republicans to act on impeachment.

Already, members of the House Judiciary Committee are using the Supreme Court decision as grounds for delaying the impeachment vote for one or two months until the new evidence is available. Such a delay would make a Senate trial impossible to hold until 1975.

ATTACKS

The trade unions cannot permit the politicians to give Nixon additional time to carry out his brutal attacks on the living standards and basic rights of the people. He has just appointed Alan Greenspan, who outspokenly advocates a deliberate increase in unemployment, to head the Council of Economic Advisers. Nixon is planning a series of meetings with bankers and businessmen in order to plot new wage controls and rally them around the White House for an offensive against the labor movement.

The working class itself must remove Nixon. At the same time, it would be criminal not to prepare the alternative to Nixon. This is why a Congress of Labor must be convened to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies. We must have our party to fight for a government in the interests of the working people.

In spite of the verdict of the Supreme Court, the conspiracy in the White House continues. The fact that Nixon has been able to wield powers which are unconstitutional over the past five years reveals the extent to which democratic traditions and procedures have already deteriorated in this country.

We must answer these attacks

through a turn to politics and the construction of our own party.

Through their criminal silence, the trade union bureaucracy has shown that it has no intention of doing anything to throw Nixon out. Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons actually went to visit Nixon this week to discuss plans to limit wage demands.

A new leadership must be constructed in the trade unions against these bureaucratic traitors. We call on workers and youth to join the Workers League and support the Congressional campaigns of Helen Halyard and Terry Delgado in Brooklyn which is leading the fight to force Nixon out and construct the labor party.

CYPRUS . . .

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mately at the Soviet Union and China.

The Greek working class now joins the massive revolutionary upheaval sweeping Portugal, Spain, and Italy.

The new conditions of worldwide recession have brought to the surface an explosion from the working class, unable and unwilling to continue living under impossible conditions of poverty and dictatorship, while being forced to serve as cannon fodder for imperialism.

The scene in Athens after the resignation of the junta was reminiscent of the massive outpouring of the working class in Portugal after the April 25 coup. Greek workers flooded the streets and squares, chanting: "Tonight fascism dies."

Workers began to shout: "Out with the Americans," even as

they greeted Caramanlis who is a steadfast backer of American imperialism and the reactionary NATO alliance.

Caramanlis has restored freedom of the press and speech in Greece, and freed many political prisoners. Citizenship has been restored to political exiles, who are flooding home from Europe and America.

But behind the Caramanlis cabinet stands the junta, ready to seize control once more. Gains in this new period can only be held through revolutionary struggle.

The most critical need is for the immediate and massive growth of the Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, leading the construction of sections in every country throughout the area.

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