

Bulletin

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

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WEEK

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TUESDAY, AUGUST 6, 1974

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UNEMPLOYMENT

As Nixon
Fiddles
With Tape
Recorder

HEADS TO 7%

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A worker in Brooklyn signs the petition to place the Workers Party candidates for Congress, Helen Halyard and Terry Delgado, on the ballot.

BY MELODY FARROW

Unemployment rose sharply last month to 5.3 percent to bring the total of people out of work to 4,855,000, as administration officials predicted it will rise to six percent or more by the end of the year.

3.5 percent of adult men and 5.2 percent of adult women were unemployed while among teenagers it is over 16 percent and among black teenagers over 35 percent. The June increase of an additional 100,000 out of work hit hardest at construction workers.

As Nixon devotes all his time to doctoring the tapes and stalling for time to save his neck, the handling of the economy has been turned over to a handful of ruthless spokesmen for the banks and the big corporations.

Men such as Alan Greenspan, new chief of the Council of Economic Advisers, Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank, and Treasury Secretary Secretary William Simon are using Nixon's paralysis to impose their policy of restricting credit and massive unemployment on masses of people.

Their strategy to solve the deepening economic crisis of the capitalist system is to force the working class to pay for the crisis through unemployment, slashes in real income, and brutal productivity drives in the plants.

(Continued On Page 12)

Magnificent Response To Petition Campaign

Petitioners for the Workers Party candidates Helen Halyard (14th Congressional District) and Terry Delgado (12th Congressional District) received a tremendous response this past weekend in Brooklyn. Some 11,569 signatures were gotten for Terry Delgado and 8,261 for Helen Halyard producing a combined total of 19,830. This is almost triple the

legally required 3500 for each candidate.

An expression of the enthusiastic response of masses of workers to the campaign, was the \$1,016.79 raised in the course of the petition work as contributions towards the campaign. This money was stuffed into small soda cans by workers in dollar bills, quarters, dimes and nickels. One petitioner alone collected \$50 in a single day!

The Workers Party candidates appeared at a special Meet the Candidates Bar-B-Que on Saturday night in the

Bushwick area. Over 350 people attended the Bar-B-Que flowing out into the street in the largest such affair the Workers League and Young Socialists have ever held. Some \$403 was raised at the affair while everyone enjoyed the ribs, chicken, fresh sweet corn and keg beer.

A complete report will appear in the next issue of the Bulletin. We wish to thank especially the comrades from out of New York City who travelled from various Eastern branches to assist in this magnificent drive. Every-

one who participated experienced the beginnings of building the mass revolutionary party.

Building The Bulletin

The July Bulletin drive closed with 4,964 subscriptions. The Bushwick trailblazing team completed their drive with 1505 subs.

The Young Socialist subscription drive was the highest in history with a grand total of 1101.

The August subscription work will center on a national trailblazing weekend on August 9-10.

The Bedford-Stuyvesant Trailblazing team has begun work on its quota of 1500 subs.

In The Weekend
Edition

•Special feature on the Petition Drive, Bar-B-Que and Bushwick Trailblazing which kicked off the Brooklyn congressional campaign of Workers Party candidates Terry Delgado and Helen Halyard.

The Communist Party Opposes Impeachment

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Although the editorial is deliberately ambiguous and seems to advance arguments both for and against impeachment, they are clearly preparing a justification for a possible rejection of impeachment by the Senate.

The beginning of impeachment proceedings has thrown the Stalinists into a severe crisis. The political crisis of the Nixon government and the mass struggles of the working class against it now exposes exactly where the CP stands—on the side of Nixon and the capitalist class.

What We Think

Their editorial opens with the statement, "There are ultra-rightists who are ready to dump Nixon with the idea that this is one way also to dump detente."

"There are liberals who are timorous about Nixon's impeachment because they fear it will mean impeaching detente."

"...US workers need the jobs increased trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries can readily provide, whether Nixon or Ford is president (our emphasis)."

"Detente springs from the needs of the US people and of US capitalism."

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Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union to preserve its collaboration with the head of American capitalism, no matter what the consequences are for the American worker.

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But even these trade deals are only a prelude to the major aim of the US capitalist class—war against the Soviet Union, destruction of the gains of the 1917 revolution, and the return of the USSR to capitalist domination.

The depth of the economic crisis and in particular the uncontrolled inflation that now threatens the collapse

of the entire capitalist system, forces every capitalist country towards world war.

Only one month after his summit talks in Moscow, Nixon and the CIA instigated a coup with the Greek military to gain control of Cyprus, an island strategically situated off the coast of the Middle East oil fields.

The US is establishing an air and naval base on Diego Garcia, an island in the Indian Ocean which would allow the US to attack the Arab nations from the other side and is within striking distance of Africa, India and Southeast Asia.

Underground testing to develop nuclear warheads for missiles is being accelerated, a massive arms buildup is underway and recently the Brookings Institute, a right wing group of economists has recommended that NATO troops be shifted closer to the Soviet Union.

The Stalinists deliberately obscure the dangers of war and military dictatorship that threatens workers in Europe and the United States.

We have warned that the open betrayal of the Communist Party of Portugal which joined a military junta and collaborated with them in breaking strikes, denouncing the workers as "fascist agents," was the same policy the American CP would follow here.

The fight to force Nixon out, the fight for a labor party pledged to socialist policies as the alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, requires a ruthless struggle against Stalinism.

In this fight, the Trotskyist movement is building the revolutionary leadership to lead the struggle for power and for a workers government, that will remove the threat of war by destroying the capitalist system.

The Workers League, which stands on the struggle of Trotsky against Stalin and for the political independence of the working class is leading this fight.

Wilson Bails Out Tory Ship Builders

BY FRANK MARTIN

"You know, if you take cognizance of the falling value of the pound sterling over the years, stock prices today are at the level of prices 40 years ago during the Great Depression."

This remark by a London stockbroker reveals the disastrous situation facing the British economy. The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development has predicted that inflation will spiral to 25 percent in the second half of 1974. The Gross National Product will fall 2 percent.

Recession is gripping every sector of the British economy. Stock prices are down to their lowest level in 15 years. Housing

starts are down 47 percent; real estate prices have plummeted by over 40 percent. Production in cars and related industries are falling off.

The minority labor government of Harold Wilson has no policy to deal with this crisis. The budget, introduced two weeks ago, calls for tax-cuts and eases restrictions on dividends. Its effect will be to accelerate the raging inflation and drive Britain all the more firmly into recession.

The *Economist*, a magazine which speaks for the leading British bankers, stated: "A reflationary budget that gives a few hundred millions in tax reliefs will now no more stop the slump than aspirin will cure a fractured skull."

The announcement by Industry Minister Anthony Wedgewood Benn that the shipbuilding, marine engineering, and ship repairing industries would be nationalized is an empty measure.



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Labor has refused to carry out even its own minimum program of nationalization since returning to power. It now steps into the shipbuilding industry, not to defend the rights of workers, but to extricate a section of British capitalists who are going bankrupt.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, "The layoff trend in industry is just beginning." They predict that unemployment will jump from the present 580,000 to 1.5 million by next year.

The severity of the crisis in Britain is rooted in the international crisis of capitalism. Only a workers government, based on a socialist program to nationalize the basic industries under workers control and without compensation, can stop the development of recession and bankruptcy.

For the last few months, the Tories have dictated policy to the Labor government in Parliament. Now, as Britain moves to an election in September or October, the Tories are conspiring with a right-wing section in the Labor Party to form a coalition government of "National Unity" whose sole purpose would be to impose massive attacks on the working class and prepare the road to dictatorship.

The road to slump and recession puts revolutionary struggles on the agenda in Britain. Only the Workers Revolutionary Party, the British section of the International Committee, has prepared for this period by building a leadership capable of uniting the working class against the Tories.

Caramanlis Keeps Junta Strongman

BY A REPORTER

Greek Premier Constantine Caramanlis, bowing to the demands of the military, has not removed General Phaedon Gizikis from the government.

Gizikis, who led the November 1973 coup against Papadopoulos and brutally suppressed the mass demonstrations against the junta, retains the post of President.

Other butchers from the deposed junta remain in leading positions, making clear that the Caramanlis regime is in no way independent of the military. This is a right-wing regime whose every activity is closely watched by the military.

Evangelos Averoff-Tositas, the new Defense Minister, warned that the government is prepared to take action against mass movements of the working class.

"If there is disorder, we will restore order at any price," he stated. "One cannot gamble with democracy."

Under this so-called "democracy," martial law continues and the regime will rule by decree until a constituent assembly is elected.

Government spokesman Panayotis Lambrias stated that

the regime could not immediately lift martial law while the "external dangers" of war with Turkey continues.

There is an angry popular demand for retribution against the criminals of the junta. The regime lamely explained Gizikis's position as President by claiming that he "has no role whatsoever in government policy dictated by Caramanlis."

In addition to Gizikis, no action has been taken against Brig. Gen. Demetrios Ioannides, the strongman of the old junta.

Maj. Anastassios Spanos, head of the special interrogation unit of the military police and confidante of Ioannides, has been merely transferred to a regiment on the Bulgarian frontier.

Fearing the example of Portugal, the new civilian rules must depend on the military in order to prepare for the confrontation with the working class.

The Stalinists are backing this reactionary regime. The pro-Moscow faction of the Greek Communist Party is calling for a Popular Front government in an appeal to "true democrats and patriotic officers."

If the regime lifts the official ban of the CP, the Stalinists will be prepared to enter a government with Caramanlis and the CIA generals for the express purpose of preventing the working class from taking power.

Military Junta Dooms 5 Prisoners In Chile

BY A CORRESPONDENT

A military tribunal has sentenced five men to death and imposed harsh prison sentences on 56 others as part of a new wave of terror launched by the Chilean junta against all political opposition.

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The latest sentences are the culmination of trials which began in April.

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sentences were imposed on those accused of possession of communist literature.

Torture was used by the fascists to extract confessions, according to Salvador Lozada, an Argentine judge who attended the trials.

"But the most monstrous irregularity," he stated, "is that officers have been condemned for having defended the constitution and the constitutional government."

Roger Duncan, a former US ambassador who went to Chile as a member of a study team, reported that as many as 12,000 people were killed following the coup.

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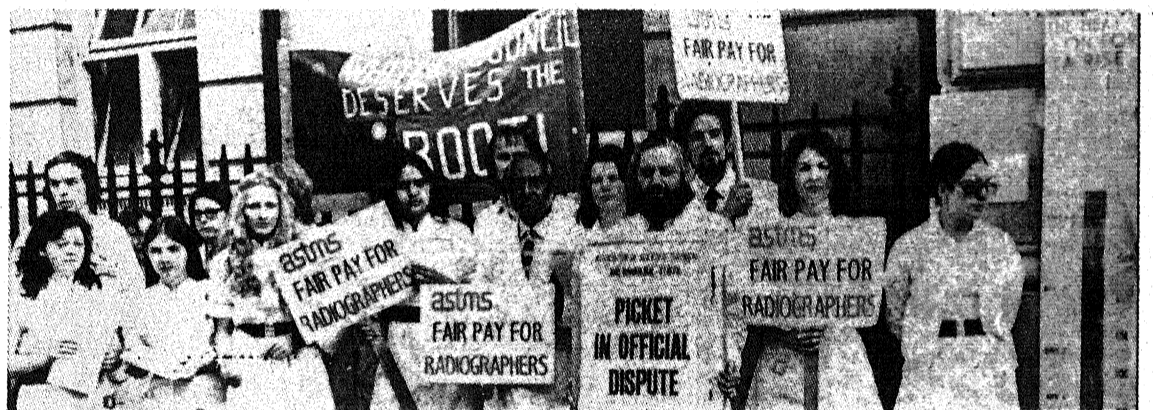
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Recession Is Here

BY DAVID NORTH

The stock market plunged to its lowest level since September 1970 as a sharp downturn in factory orders during the month of June provided yet another indication that the United States is already in the grips of a recession.

For the first time since last December, manufacturers had to report a decline of 0.2 percent to \$85 billion in orders.

Businessmen are more alarmed by the 22.5 percent drop in auto production last month compared to July 1973. Since the year began, auto production has fallen 28 percent.

The crisis which has hit the auto industry will soon be felt by all sections of industry in spite of the fact that many branches of the economy have been reporting huge profits.

However, these profit figures have been fueled by inflation and merely mask the actual downturn that is taking place.

Although 627 companies have reported that after-tax earnings increased 25.6 percent from the 1973 second quarter, this increase is built on the foundations of a 12 percent rise in the Wholesale Price Index.

"It is apparent that current (profit) records are illusory and must be discounted by the impact of inflation," Inland Steel Corporation warned in a recent letter to shareholders.

The company pointed out that if it adjusted for inflation by fig-

uring 1974 earnings in terms of 1968 dollars, its earnings this year would come out to be less than those six years ago.

Oil companies managed to report an 81.9 percent increase in profits during the second quarter. But this was based almost entirely on the sale of inventory crude oil held for a long period to await higher prices.

The mood of industrialists was expressed by an executive of Reichhold Chemicals Inc. who declared that "Our major worry right now is the rate of inflation and the ability of the economy to maintain itself. What we fear is a major collapse of some kind."

The new policies of the Nixon administration will intensify the recession. Federal Reserve Board chairman Arthur Burns and chief economic adviser Alan Greenspan have repeatedly insisted that they will not ease up on their policies of tight money and credit restrictions.

Trotsky wrote in *Whither France* in 1935:

"The first and most important premise of a revolutionary situation is the most intense sharpening of the contradictions between the productive forces and the property relations. The nation stops going forward. The arrest in the economic development and, even more, its regression signify that the capitalist system is definitely worn out and must give way to the socialist system.

"...But capitalism will not disappear from the scene automatically. Only the working class can seize the forces of production from the stranglehold of the exploiters. History places this task squarely before us."

YSCamp Plans Films, Dances



The Workers League Second Annual Summer Camp August 24 to September 2 will have a full program of social events as well as sports, swimming and the critically important educational series.

There will be three films shown in the big barn, including *Night of the Living Dead*, the spooky hit of last summer's camp, and *Grapes of Wrath*, the story of a working class family during the Depression.

Salt of the Earth, the third film, records the months-long battle to organize a New Mexico copper mine during the 1950s. Many of the men who appear in the film still work at the Chino mine, and struck again for two weeks in July against Kennecott.

There will also be a showing of *Road to Freedom*, a new film about the Young Socialists movement in Britain.

There will be dancing almost every night, and the big dances will feature a light show that several comrades in New York

are working on.

On Wednesday, half-way through the camp, there will be a free day to swim and sun at the lake or go on special trips. There will be a bus trip into Montreal to visit the huge amusement park at Expo, and horseback riding, boating, and hiking.

Without a doubt, the favorite event at last year's camp was the talent show, and this year's edition promises to be better than ever. Start practicing now, because anyone can enter. Last year's show included a karate demonstration, singing, dancing, musicians and skits.

Many of the workers, families and youth who will be at the camp have come to our successful "Bar-B-Que Nixon" parties during the summer, or the "Bar-B-Que" Trudeau party in Montreal. The very best Bar-B-Que of all will be held at a bonfire on the beach.

Make plans now to attend the Summer Camp. Contact the Young Socialists in your area or call (212) 924-0852.



A Bulletin trailblazing team campaigning in Bushwick, in Brooklyn, New York. In the course of a drive for 1500 subscriptions, the team is building for the summer camp and will launch a new branch of the Workers League and Young Socialists in the area.

Down With The War! Down With The Junta!

This statement appeared in the July 23 issue of the Workers Press, daily newspaper of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

STATEMENT BY THE WORKERS INTERNATIONALIST LEAGUE

Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International
The coup d'etat in Cyprus, engineered by the Greek junta, does not aim at the union of the island with Greece, but at the implementation of the Acheson plan for the partition of Cyprus and a double union.

In one form or another, union today means an extension to Cyprus of the dictatorship's concentration camps, an extension of terror and blood.

The Workers Internationalist League (EDE, Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International) is completely opposed to union under a dictatorial regime in Greece.

It maintains that union is possible and advantageous only on the basis of a socialist regime. Above all, it defends the right of the Cypriot people to self-determination. We strongly condemn the intervention by the Greek junta as:

A CRUDE violation of the right of the Cypriot people to decide alone for their government and their fate.

A PREDATORY operation aiming solely at grabbing and plundering the economic resources of Cyprus to strengthen the American CIA's black dictatorship in Greece.

A DIRTY provocation centering on the differences over the recently discovered oil and all the economic disputes with Turkey—which drags the Greek and Cypriot people to a terrible war adventure.

Responsible for the coup is the junta and its American protectors. But a responsibility of a different character rests also on those political leaders in Cyprus who did not prepare the working people either politically or otherwise to confront effectively the conspiracy, which is not a recent one but was escalated in the course of years.

Had the coup been averted, today's dramatic events would not have taken place. And at the last moment, when the rebels had begun their operations, the political leadership in the island acted in a way which only proves their bankruptcy. It was the police who were called out to confront the Greek-officered National Guard while the masses of the Cypriot people, the only invincible force, remained unarmed and impotent at the mercy of the junta's murderers.

The Trotskyists, members of the EDE, have warned for years that the Makarios government is, above all, a capitalist government and is more afraid of the people than of the conspirators. This government knew that if the people were to be armed and become a force, they would certainly not stop at the smashing of the conspiracy, but they would establish complete political and social justice by smashing the capitalist system itself.

For this reason we were persistently calling on AKEL (the Cypriot Communist Party) to assume its responsibilities, to mobilize the force of the masses, to organize armed bodies of a people's militia, to smash the Grivas gangs, to fight for power. But its Stalinist leaders have betrayed the working class and socialism and were deceiving the people of Cyprus about Makarios being the only and highest guarantee of democracy and independence, about the "great Soviet Union intervening to defend the rights of Cyprus" and other such demagogic rubbish.

The Stalinist leaders all over the world are rotten to the marrow. They are able only to lead the working class from one disaster to another. This is what they did in Greece in 1944, again in 1965-1967; they did the same in Chile in 1973 and they repeated it in Cyprus today.

The vanguard fighters must learn the lessons, and the sooner the better.

Nothing can be won without the building, in Greece and Cyprus, of a new revolutionary party in the place of the old Stalinist one that has been bankrupt for a long time. It is for such a party that EDE is fighting and calls on every true fighter to join its ranks.

Let the war become the grave of capitalism.

After the coup, Turkey's intervention gave a sinister new dimension to the events. This intervention has the same aims of partition and plundering. Ecevit's statements, as if his country were defending the constitutional order and independence of Cyprus, are no less fraudulent and hypocritical than those of the Greek junta that the coup was a purely Cypriot affair.

The roots of the military conflict that has broken out lie in the terrible economic crisis of capitalism in Greece, Turkey and the whole world. The oil of the Aegean sea, Cyprus and any other contestable resource, however significant, causes the biggest political and interstate confrontations in the present period. What is happening in the eastern Mediterranean is only a first small sample of the radical over-

tures and transformations that begin taking place at a frantic pace on the basis of the unprecedented capitalist crisis.

Clearly, the Graeco-Turkish clash concerns interests alien to the working people of both countries. The Greek, Turkish and Cypriot working people have nothing to divide, nothing to gain, nothing to defend.

Not even a drop of blood is worth sacrificing to the Moloch or the voracious monopolies and of the regimes of oppression and crime.

We declare: DOWN WITH THE WAR!

If, in spite of all this, the people of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus are dragged by their dictatorial governments deep into the darkness of the war hell, the Greek Trotskyists stand for the defeat and the complete dissolution of the so-called Greek Army, that has only tears and mourning to offer to that country.

The working class and every true communist must now take advantage of the revolutionary conditions that will certainly be created by the conflict in order to organize the army of the poor, the army of Revolution on the ruins of the imperialist army of the bloody CIA agents.

The working class can and must turn the war into revolution, take the power, put an end to exploitation, robbery and misery, establish socialism.

The Workers Internationalist League warns the working class in Greece and Cyprus that all those who up to now were accusing the junta—the Greek CP and the Cypriot AKEL—are ready to call us to die under its flags in the name of the defense of the motherland.

Workers must demand that these Stalinist traitors stop their treacherous course, take a clear class stand against the war, for its transformation into an offensive against the junta.

Down with the war! Down with the Junta! Scrap the Zurich treaty!

Down with Sampson, the junta's puppet!

All foreign troops, Greek, Turkish, British and United Nations, out of Cyprus! Self-determination for the Cypriot people!

Long live the new revolutionary party! Join the EDE!

Forward to transform the war into a grave for the dictatorship and capitalism in Greece, Turkey and Cyprus.

Workers Internationalist League
July 22, 1974

Police Attack In Bridgeport

**BY A REPORTER
BRIDGEPORT, Conn.**
—Bridgeport police in full riot gear with police attack dogs invaded Marino Village, a project in the south end of Bridgeport.

The police provocation touched off a battle involving hundreds of youth, in which a police car was burned, a number of cops were injured, and the housing authority office was set afire.

It started when two housing authority cops tried to disperse some youth who were playing cards in the project. One youth said that the youth have nothing else to do except play cards and hang around.

The two cops came and started harassing them, telling them to move on. Some of the youth started calling the cops names and telling them to leave them alone.

The two housing authority cops called in for more cops who "came down just like vampires," according to one youth, and just grabbed the youth, even

the 11 and 12 year-olds, and started beating them in the head with their nightsticks.

Police told one white youth, Mark Nappoli, who was just standing there, that they wanted to talk to him. They took him into the police office and brutally beat him up. Everybody outside could hear Mark screaming.

When Mark's father came down to see what they were doing, the police started beating him up too and then arrested them both.

The police were quoted as telling Mark Nappoli's father: "This is what your son gets for hanging out with niggers."

One youth said, "We're trapped down here. This has been going on for a long time. They come and arrest you and take you down to police headquarters and it's like going to Devil's Island."

He said that during the three hours, the cops with shields, riot sticks, and the dogs walked back and forth, calling people names and challenging them to come after them.

"Everybody around here now feels their life is in jeopardy and they're just not going to take this anymore," one youth said.



Residents joined doctors and staff at the Coney Island Hospital in a protest July 30 against budget cutbacks.

Rally Blasts Hospital Cuts

**BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY**—A demonstration of hospital staff and area residents outside Coney Island Hospital on July 30 blasted Mayor Beame's

10 percent cutback in the operating budget of the 19 hospitals run by the Health and Hospital Corporation.

Because of the \$442,000 cut, the Coney Island Hospital may be forced to close its 60-bed "Skilled Nursing Care" unit, a specialized extended care geriatric section. Coney Island is the only large hospital serving all of southern Brooklyn.

Hospital workers report that Coney Island is so understaffed that they are already transferring 40 to 50 patients a month to smaller hospitals or nursing homes, although they are not medically able to get along with less specialized care. With the budget cuts, the entire section will become empty and the staff will be trimmed even further through attrition of transfers.

Figures released by the Corporation show that the workload at Coney Island has increased 25 percent since 1970. 21 percent more people a year are admitted, 50 percent more use the clinics, and there are 55 percent more laboratory tests.

Coney Island has the highest workload increase in the city, and there is just one intern or resident physician for each five patients, the lowest ratio in the city.

In spite of the extra nursing attention needed by its elderly patients, Coney Island ranks lowest in the amount of money spent for each patient.

Hospital workers told the Bulletin that the staff doctors had protested about the inadequate funding last August. When the 1974-75 budget was drawn up, over four million dollars extra was requested.

This additional money was turned down flat, and no money was granted to cover the wage increases being negotiated for the 1800 workers. Then Mayor Beame chopped 1.5 percent from the original amount in June.

The 60 staff doctors and the nursing staff say that they will resign if the cut goes through because it would be "unethical to continue to practice" under these conditions.

"No attempt has been made to solve anything," Community Relations Director Adele Cartey told the Bulletin. "You pass the level of frustration and just become damned angry. These people have been abandoned by the city."

"This country really isn't concerned with you if you're not productive."

"You have to be able to live," a nurse said bitterly. "If you can't live, well, that's the basic thing, isn't it? We'll fight Beame or whoever we have to, because people have to be able to live."

Return To Buffalo Creek

BY FRANK MARTIN
On February 26, 1972, a crude slag dam near the West Virginia town of Buffalo Creek broke under the pressure of heavy rains, sending a torrent of mud and water crashing down on the town, killing 125 people and destroying nearly every home.

TWO YEARS LATER

Now, over two years later, 625 residents of Buffalo Creek have settled their suits against the owner of the dam, Pittston, out of court for \$13.5 million.

The residents agreed to this settlement, even though they originally sued for \$64 million, because they felt that otherwise Pittston would be able to stall payment for several years through appeals and legal maneuvers.

Pittston agreed to the settlement to keep the truth about Buffalo Creek from being made public.

The Buffalo Creek disaster, as it has come to be known, is a case record of the arrogance and brutality with which the coal companies treat the lives of miners and their families.

Pittston's Dam No. 3 was holding back 130 million gallons of water when it broke. Eleven months before, the West Virginia Department of Natural Resources had warned the company that it needed to construct an emergency spillway. It was never installed.

AWARE

Top Pittston executives, including the executive vice president, visited the operation 36 hours before the dam broke, and were aware that rising waters were causing a danger. Yet nothing was done.

Pittston executives stopped National Guard and Sheriff's officials from doing anything even when it was clear that Dam 3 was about to break.

Pittston disregarded both Federal and state laws in constructing the dam in the first place. The company ignored even the warning of their own insurance underwriter who refused to renew the policy on the dam because it was too unsafe.

The disaster that followed was described by one worker who lost his whole family:

"You can't imagine it: houses smashed, trailers destroyed, piles of trash and logs and brush, bodies at almost every bridge abutment."

"National Guardsmen were pulling bodies out of wrecked houses, out of the black mud and piles of driftwood. The dead were strung all along the creek and roadside."

"They were loading bodies into helicopters and trucks. When we got to about a mile below Riley, there was a dead man sitting in the door of a ruined trailer."

Two years after it happened, children in Buffalo Creek still go to bed with their clothes on for fear they might have to flee for high ground.



A scene of the disaster in Buffalo Creek on February 26, 1972, when a slag dam collapsed.

TWU Workers Ratify Pan Am Contract

NEW YORK, NY — Transport Workers Union officials announced August 1 that 20,000 employees of Pan American World Airways had overwhelmingly accepted an eleventh-hour agreement that will provide a 17 percent wage hike, retroactive to last August, and two cost of living adjustments.

At the same time, 1500 National Airlines employees enter their fourth week of strike action, shutting down operations from Florida, New York, and the West Coast. National has locked out some 4000 other workers and is drawing one half million dollars a day from the airline companies' mutual aid fund.

"The negotiations are stonewalled," according to Mike Castellano, a District 145 official of

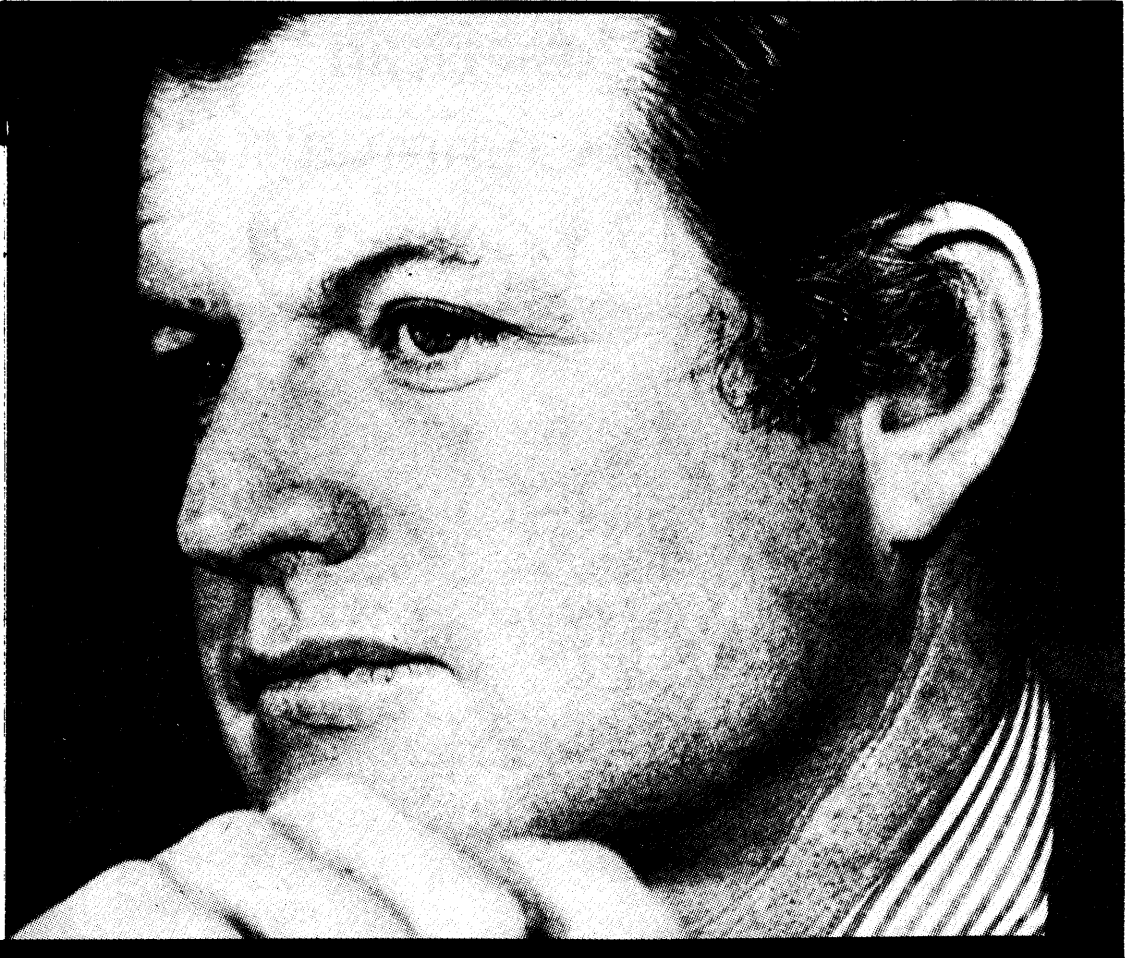
the International Association of Machinists. "The company will not move, and their offer is so ridiculous it's not even worth bringing back to the ranks."

The major issue still unresolved is the Scope Clause, covering work rules and work assignments. The union is fighting to control all maintenance work, which National can presently subcontract. In addition, National is now insisting on the right to bring in part-time help.

Other unresolved points include the union's demand for a cut in the work week to 37 1/2 hours, and increased pensions. National has offered to add 25 cents a month for each year of service to the present pension payments. IAM members at National have worked without a contract since August 31, 1973.

The Two Kennedys Part One

Portrait of a Would-be President



BY DAVID NORTH

On the evening of July 18, 1969, around midnight, Senator Edward Kennedy drove his black Oldsmobile off a bridge on Chappaquiddick Island, Mass.

Sitting beside him in the front was Mary Jo Kopechne who had worked for Robert Kennedy as a campaign assistant. Edward Kennedy, of course, survived the crash. The corpse of Miss Kopechne was pulled out of the submerged wreck the next morning, one hour before Kennedy actually reported the accident to the police.

Almost a week later, following hours of consultation with the family's brain trust—Robert McNamara, Ted Sorenson, Richard Goodwin, and Kenneth O'Donnell—Kennedy went on nationwide television to give a maudlin and factually inconsistent account of the accident.

"The facts of this incident," Kennedy then declared, "are now fully public and eventual judgement and understanding rests where it belongs. For myself, I plan no further statement on this tragic matter."

For five years, Kennedy has said nothing more. Except for losing his drivers license, the death of a 28-year-old girl has not caused Kennedy the slightest legal difficulties.

A working class youth takes a joy ride in a car and winds up beaten in a police station and packed off to the penitentiary on Rikers Island. Kennedy drives a young woman off a bridge and remains the front runner for the 1976 Democratic Presidential nomination.

The fact is that Kennedy, aided by his enormous wealth and the cooperation of the courts, press, and police, organized a cynical cover-up of the incident at Chappaquiddick long before Nixon had even decided to bug the Watergate.

Even the parents of Kopechne have remained silent. Since the death of their daughter, they have moved into a large and expensive home. It is certain that Mr. Kopechne could not have bought that house unless he got money from someplace.

The Kennedy account of what happened on July 18, 1969 is contradictory and riddled with obvious lies.

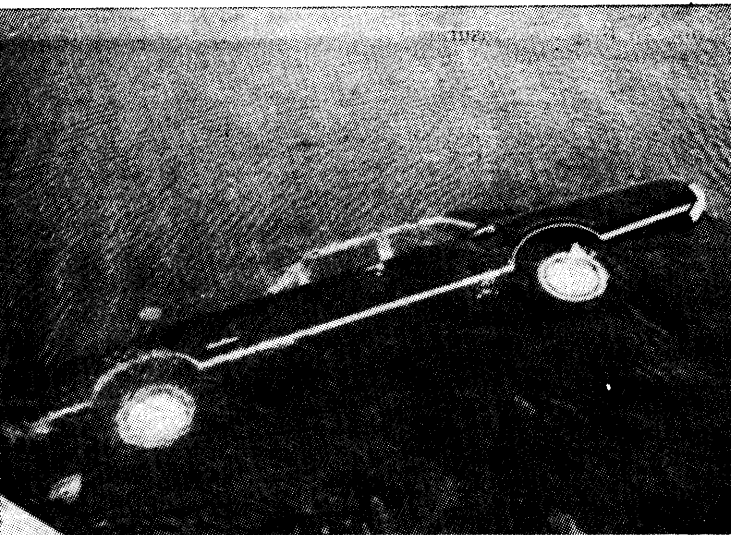
Clearly established is the fact

that six single young women ranging in age from 23 to 28 were invited by Kennedy for a weekend at the island. At about 8:30 pm, the girls arrived at a rented cottage for a cookout.

With Kennedy at the cottage were five other men, all of whom were over 30 and, with the exception of one, married.

It is at this point that Kennedy's story begins to collapse beneath the weight of lies.

He claims that he decided to leave the cottage at 11:15 pm in order to rest up for sail boat races the next day. Miss Kopechne, claims Kennedy,



The Kennedy car.

asked him to drive her back to the ferry which would transport her across the harbor to Edgartown and to her motel. She allegedly told Kennedy that she was not feeling well.

Kennedy claims that he started for the ferry but when he came to an intersection, he accidentally turned right instead of left. Had he made a left turn, he would have continued on the asphalt road to the ferry.

However, having made a right, Kennedy drove down a rough dirt lane called Dike Road for about seven-tenths of a mile and then went off the bridge.

According to the official report, Kennedy miraculously escaped from the overturned car and then made seven or eight dives in order to rescue Miss Kopechne. He collapsed on the road exhausted before walking 1.2 miles back to the cottage to get two close friends, Joseph Gargan and Paul Markham, and return back to the crash site.

All three then dived again and again to rescue Kopechne. The "rescue" attempts failed and they drove Kennedy to the ferry. Suddenly, Kennedy dived into the Channel and swam to Edgartown. He arrived at the Shire-

town Inn about 2 am. Twenty-five minutes later, Kennedy spoke to the innkeeper.

The next morning, Kennedy was met by Gargan and Markham. They learned that Kennedy had not notified the police. By this time, Kopechne's body had been discovered and Kennedy had to turn himself in.

The timing of events was important because Kennedy wanted to prove that he intended to drive Miss Kopechne to the ferry and not to the deserted beach—the direction the car was actually going when it went off the bridge. Since the last

generally questioned, no one could give a precise time for the departure of Kennedy and Kopechne. After Kennedy himself gave 11:15, everyone else at the party suddenly remembered.

However, Deputy Sheriff Christopher Look states that at 12:45 am, he saw a large black car pause at the intersection at Dike Road and Ferry Road. Look went over to the car to ask if the driver needed directions, but the black car turned right before he could speak to the driver. The first two numbers of the license matched the license on Kennedy's black car.

So there is evidence that Kennedy's car was approaching the bridge nearly 90 minutes after he claims he left the cottage. This means that Kennedy and Kopechne left the cottage about 12:40 am.

If Kennedy left the cottage that late, it is impossible that any of the events which he described as occurring after the accident—the repeated rescue attempts, the walk back to the cottage, the new rescue attempts with Markham and Gargan—could have happened because Kennedy was back in Edgartown by 2 am.

The third question is where was Kennedy really driving? The Kennedy's have attempted to portray the road as a dark and deserted by-way which can easily be missed. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The road to the ferry is clearly marked by signs and the road actually tilts to assist a left-turn. Driving to the bridge rather than the ferry means getting off the asphalt onto a dirt road.

But if Kennedy were somewhat drunk and if he were looking for a romantic stretch of beach rather than a ferry, he would not have noticed anything wrong with the dirt road.

Finally, the most important question is how did Kennedy manage to escape the submerged wreckage while Kopechne died.

The odds were actually in Kopechne's favor. She was an expert swimmer and her slim figure would have made it possible for her to slip out of the two open windows on her side without great difficulty.

On the other hand, Kennedy weighed 220 pounds. He was pinned behind the steering wheel and only one window on his side was open. Moreover, his movements are hindered by a back brace he wears.

But Kennedy, not Kopechne, escaped.

One possible explanation is that once the car landed in the water, Kennedy escaped by grabbing Kopechne and brutally pushing her out of the way so that he could get out through the two open windows on her side. The probability that this actually occurred is supported by the fact that a lot of blood was discovered all over Kopechne's body.

There is still another chilling aspect to Kopechne's death. She probably would have survived had Kennedy promptly informed the police of the accident rather than attempting amateurish rescue efforts (presuming contrary to the facts that such efforts were made at all).

There exists the possibility that Kopechne did not die quickly from drowning but remained trapped in the car for several hours, sustained by an air pocket. She may have died only after this oxygen was consumed. This possibility must be considered because the undertaker who prepared Kopechne for burial stated that her lungs were not saturated with water, the main evidence of death by drowning.

If she died of suffocation rather than drowning, Kennedy might have saved her had he acted quickly.

The ensuing hours were spent not worrying about the fate of Miss Kopechne but in frenzied political consultations with associates on how to escape the rap and emerge with his career intact.

Columnist Jack Anderson once reported that Kennedy did not report the crash to police and was in a sunny mood the morning after because he had persuaded Gargan to say that he had driven the car. Only at the last moment did Kennedy abandon this grisly scheme as too risky.

This is the man whom the Democrats consider their best replacement for Nixon and whom trade union bureaucrats support.

The crimes of Watergate and Chappaquiddick are the crimes of the capitalist class. Kennedy, who left the young secretary to drown, is as ruthless a representative of big business as Nixon.

The working class must break with all these corrupt and discredited politicians and construct a labor party as their alternative to Nixon and the policies of big business.

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

by Nancy Fields



The CIO emerged explosively in a mass movement of workers led by revolutionaries and rank and file militants. The sit-down strike in Flint in 1937 ended in the victory of the UAW (Above, street battle in Flint; center, Women's Emergency Brigade of UAW member's wives; below, national guardsmen arrive in Flint). The CP acted to prevent this revolutionary movement from going forward to a break with the Democrats.

Following the three major strikes of 1934, the Toledo Auto-Lite strike, the general strike in San Francisco, and the Minneapolis Teamsters strike, over 700,000 workers in plants across the country walked out.

The American working class would not be held back any longer and the battle for industrial unionism was on and would rage over the next two years.

This battle was led by individual militants, socialists and, following its initial outburst, by members of the Communist Party. Contrary to the assertions of liberal historians and the present day leadership of the AFL-CIO, the CIO was not built by the left wing of the AFL bureaucracy. These men, led by John L. Lewis, simply sensed as Alinsky quotes Lewis as noting:

"The revolutionary handwriting was on the walls of American industry. Lewis knew that the workers were seething and aching to be organized so they could strike back. Everyone wanted to hit out, employer against worker and worker against employer and anyone else whom they felt was not in their class. America was becoming more class conscious than at any time in its history. These were times of hate and anger."

The strikes in Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Toledo had shown workers the need for a broader, all-embracing organization, which cut across craft lines, to lead the fight against the employers. Throughout late 1934 and 1935, workers learned—in a negative way—that their fight could only go forward through industrial unionism. During this period, workers in the great mass production industries of auto, steel, and rubber were completely betrayed by the AFL bureaucracy.

Industrial workers in these industries, when organized at all, were organized under the scheme of "federal locals" within the AFL. A "federal local" was a union grouping based on one plant, not part of the AFL International, and was responsible only to the AFL Executive Council. It had no self-rule. The AFL had devised this plan in order to keep the unions in the mass production industries totally under their domination. Strike after strike, in auto, rubber, and steel was sold out.

How these unions actually operated is described in *The UAW And Walter Reuther* by B.J. Widick and Irving Howe:

"These federal locals would be left to the mercy of AFL Internationals intent on carving them into craft bailiwicks. By then, the workers, never overly enthused about 'stabilized' labor relations, (which was the policy the AFL pushed, NF) would have become disgruntled and would drift away from the federal local.

"As this pattern became increasingly prevalent, the actual center of unionization shifted from the AFL hall to the plants

means of production which were revealed on a small scale in the earlier led IWW strike against General Electric, were shown on a vast scale.

Finally, we examine the situation in auto because the continuous struggle within the American workers' movement over the question of the need for the independent political action of the working class again emerged most sharply here. The American Communist Party, which played a major role in organizing the auto workers, joined together with John L. Lewis, and played the most pernicious role of diverting workers from constructing their own party.

As was noted by Widick and Howe, by 1935 the movement of auto workers was erupting outside of the "federal locals" in wildcat strikes throughout the industry. In April, the Toledo Chevrolet plant was shut down and the strike spread rapidly to the other General Motors plants in Ohio.

Over 30,000 GM workers were out. In each case, the strikes were led by individual militants or young members of the Communist Party, largely ex-college students whom the party had colonized in industry. One of these leaders was George Addes who was later to emerge in the top level of the bureaucracy of the UAW.

The CP was, at this point, caught in a tremendous contradiction. In 1935, it abandoned the last vestiges of its ultraleft third period "red unionism" and switched its policy to one of open support for the AFL. As Coser and Howe note in *The American Communist Party*:

"Communists were told to cease behaving as if they always had to constitute an 'opposition group' within the unions; now, like good AFL patriots, they were to convince the workers that the Communists are responsible trade union leaders."

This policy flowed from the beginning of a turn by Stalin to the policy of popular front alliances with liberal sections of the capitalist class. However, as will be seen as late as May 1936, this policy was not yet completely articulated. Thus, the CP was operating under a great deal of confusion during this time and as late as 1936, they still opposed Roosevelt.

Furthermore, within the trade union movement, the party was operating in two directions at the same time. Formal party policy opposed the creation of an independent industrial union, and as late as 1937, it urged the AFL units it controlled not to affiliate to the CIO. However, because it had sent many of its best members, recruited from the student movement in the early 1930s, into mass production industry, it found itself in a position to have to lead workers in strike action against the betrayals of the AFL. The work of George Addes in Toledo is just one example of rank and file CP activity during this period.

The Toledo strike succeeded in tying up all production at General Motors. The strikers sent delegations to Flint and Detroit to spread the strike to the other auto

The Sit-Down & The Birth

themselves. The actual leaders were not the stolid business agents distributing craft manna from on high, but inexperienced young men in the shops." (my emphasis, NF)

THE SITUATION IN AUTO: 1935

In discussing the breakup of these federal locals and the birth of mass industrial unionism, we will concentrate on the developments which occurred in the giant auto plants during 1935. These developments, more than any others, led first to Lewis's resignation as vice-president of the AFL in October of 1935, to his setting up of the Committee for Industrial Organization, and to the establishment of the United Auto Workers—independent of the AFL—in 1936.

The developments in auto reveal all the elements which led to the construction of the CIO. In auto the most heroic battles ever led by the American working class were conducted during 1936 to 1937. In these battles, the working class pioneered the technique of the sit-down strike, in which workers occupied the plants, refusing to move until their demands were granted. The American worker's close ties to the

companies. However, the leadership of the AFL intervened to prevent further walk-outs. After three weeks, Green sent his representative, Francis Dillon to Toledo to ram a compromise agreement down the throats of the strikers. Although the local leadership opposed the settlement, Dillon, by threatening to remove the AFL charter, succeeded in intimidating the strikers into an acceptance of it.

However, as Widick and Howe note: "A momentary defeat—but it meant the final discrediting of the AFL in auto. The local leaders, many of them influenced by revived radical movements, were gaining experience in dealing with the AFL representatives, and in a series of national caucuses, they worked out a program for immediate action. The points of this program were: industrial unionism in auto; initiation of a large organizing drive; democratization of the union; and preparation for independent labor activity in politics."

By August 1935, a consolidated auto union was established, against the resistance of the AFL. However, even then, its members did not have the power to elect their own officers. Green appointed Dillon president and Homer Martin vice-president. Nevertheless, while the AFL succeeded

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temporarily in controlling the newly-created industrial union, the example set by the auto workers was to lead the drive for industrial unionism forward in the other mass production unions.

In fact, one month after the auto convention, the rubber workers met and, refusing to back down from Green's threats to revoke their charter, set up their own industrial union. Going a step beyond the auto workers, they elected their own officers from the rank and file membership.

THE 1935 AFL CONVENTION

The actions of the industrial workers in auto and steel set the stage for the explosion that erupted at the 1935 convention of the AFL. The convention met at a time when the AFL was almost thoroughly discredited among masses of workers and its membership had greatly diminished. Masses of workers were moving outside the AFL determined to create their own industrial organization.

Recognizing this mass movement, a section of the AFL bureaucracy fought to turn the AFL to the construction of industrial unions. This section did not disagree with Green and Company on fundamental questions of principle concerning the questions of class struggle unionism and the need for the political independence of the working class. They were no less bureaucratic and conservative. However, they noted as Preis states: "the moment must be grasped if the old union leadership was to retain its dominant position over organized labor."

That their action at the convention was clearly motivated by opportunism and reflected a tremendous fear of the growing revolutionary movement of the working class was expressed by Charles Howard, president of the International Typographical Union. In urging the convention to adopt the proposal for industrial unionism, he stated:

"Now, let us say to you that the workers of this country are going to organize, and if they are not permitted to organize under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, they are going to organize under some other leadership. I submit to you that it would be a far more serious problem for our government, for the people of this country, and for the American Federation of Labor itself than if our organization policies should be so molded that we can organize them and bring them under the leadership of this organization."

Many have sought to turn John L. Lewis into some kind of revolutionary hero motivated only by his desire to advance the struggle of labor against capital. But even this most outspoken advocate for industrial unionism at the convention, was motivated by his own self-interest. In fact, all of Lewis's actions at the convention were carefully calculated in order to make it appear that he was the most bitter opponent of the reactionary AFL leadership. He was fighting at this convention to gain recogni-

tion unionism within the AFL.

While Lewis took this action in the face of a massive upsurge in the working class and thus, in his own self-interest, once the action was taken, Lewis devoted his organizational talent to the fight to build industrial unions throughout the country. As Art Preis noted:

"It is doubtful if the CIO would have been formed, or if the industrial union movement would have arrived as quickly as it did, if not for the exceptional qualities of Lewis. It was Lewis who pushed through the CIO's formation."

However, Lewis could not carry out this task on his own. Furthermore, he could not turn to the traditional trade union organizers within the AFL to lead the organizing drives in basic industry. As Widick and Howe wrote:

"Lewis now faced a curious problem. He could use his burly coal-mine organizers for the new CIO, but he sensed that for many purposes, they would be insufficient; they would not be able to express the larger social motivations which were essential if the CIO was to gain the support of workers in mass production industries. The Lewis 'boys' were all right for hurly-burly and plugging, but they were a little weak on ideas and inspirations. Consequently, Lewis had to turn to a group of radical unionists whom he had previously driven out of the UMW because they had opposed his dictatorial regime and unlike him, had always championed industrial unionism."

"At this time, it should be remembered, there was precious little glory and less comfort in organizing for the CIO. As a rule, only men moved by a conviction that unionization of mass-production industries was a step toward a larger social end were willing to take the risks that came with the job. Which is why Lewis had to use radicals on his staff, and why, again, many of the local auto union leaders were either radicals or under their influence. Not many other people cared enough; the time-servers would buzz in later."

While many of Lewis' staff were independent rank and file militants, the bulk of his organizing force, particularly in auto, were members of the Communist Party. In this period, the base was laid for the CP to later emerge in the leadership of the CIO.

The individual radical organizers were not part of a party, and did not represent trained cadre. Thus, while they were to play a more militant role in many of the battles of 1936 to 1937 than the CP, they dropped by the wayside or were simply co-opted into the trade union bureaucracy. On the other hand, the CP organizers were part of a party which was capable of intervening in the struggle as an organized, disciplined force on a national level. For this reason, in spite of their earlier isolation from the mass struggles in 1934 to 1935, the CP would emerge as the dominant force within the CIO by late 1937.

The 1936 auto convention firmly estab-

This drive coincided with the spontaneous outbreak of sit-down strikes in November 1936 in the GM plants. The sit-downs were not actions planned by the CIO. In fact, when they first began, Lewis tried to prevent them from spreading. When it became clear that he could not stop them, the full weight of the CIO was thrown in behind them.

Between November and December, sit-downs hit Chrysler, Bendix, Briggs, and Fisher Body. In each sitdown, substantial gains were won by the union.

However, by January 1937, General Motors launched an all-out offensive against the union, rejecting all their demands and seeking federal action to clear out those plants which were still struck.

The working class moved into action. Over 7000 workers occupied Cleveland Fisher Body, announcing that they would not work until a national contract was signed.

Two days later, Fisher Body in Flint was occupied. Within three weeks, 15 other GM units were closed by strikes. By the end of the strike, 140,000 out of the 150,000 GM production workers were either sitting in or had walked out.

The enormous advantage of the sit-down strike is described by Alinsky in his biography of Lewis:

"By the physical occupation of the industrial plant in the sit-down strike, the workers nullified all accepted strikebreaking procedures. It was impossible for the employers to continue producing by the use of strikebreakers, since their machines and plants were in the possession of the strikers."

"All the rigors and hazards of the picket line were eliminated as the men were secure from the weather, skirmishes with the police, company-hired sluggers, from scabs breaking through the picket lines, and additionally secure in the feeling of numbers; they were prepared to sit it out indefinitely."

"The actual capture of the plant and all of its machinery filled the company with fear regarding the welfare of their property. Hasty and forceful action by management might well result in enormous destruction of their machinery and other property. The strikers' sit-down became a gun at the head of the company."

The heart of the sit-down movement was in Flint. On January 12, the company decided to break the strike at Fisher Body No. 2 by starving out the workers. In what is now known as the "Battle of the Running Bulls," workers succeeded in defeating the police and troops and got the food into the plant. It was the last time GM would try to recapture the plant by force.

Now GM sought to maneuver with the leadership of the UAW. However, all their maneuvers blew up and the strikers refused to be moved. At this point, Lewis called upon Roosevelt to intervene in the strike on the side of the workers. Of course, his plea was met by a cold rebuke from FDR. While all these maneuvers were being conducted, the strikers themselves moved to seize a still more strategic plant, Chevrolet No. 4 where all the motors were assembled.

In order to carry out this seizure, the strikers, knowing that their ranks were filled with company informers, created an ingenious diversion. They announced their intention to occupy plant No. 9. While several thousand workers marched on No. 9 and fought a 40 minute battle with the police, in which the Women's Emergency Brigade, led by Genora Johnson, played the major role, the workers in No. 4 were barricading themselves in.

At this point, the government tried to plead with Lewis to betray the strikers. Lewis knew very well that he could not move the strikers until GM granted their demands. Thus, in the face of the threat of the armed intervention of the state, Lewis threw his support behind the workers and issued his famous statement that if Governor Murphy sent in the troops he would:

"Personally enter General Motors plant Chevrolet No. 4. I shall order the men to disregard your order, to stand fast. I shall then walk up to the largest window in the plant, open it, divest myself of my outer raiment, remove my shirt, and bare my bosom. Then when you order your troops to fire, mine will be the first breast that those bullets will strike."

At this point, GM cracked and the UAW won its right to organize in all GM plants. Inspired by the victory of the auto workers, over 193,000 workers sat in in 247 sitdowns within one month after the end of the GM strike. By the end of 1937, over one-half

million workers followed this path under the leadership of the CIO. Thus, within one short year, American workers had made the leap to the construction of mass industrial unions in basic industry.

The CIO was built by revolutionaries, by rank and file militants, not by the trade union bureaucracy. As Preis noted about the GM strike:

"Its leadership was mainly local young workers with radical social and political views. A short while later, most of them, like those under Stalinists leadership, became more and more adapted to capitalist politics and class collaboration."

"But for that one brief period of the historic GM sit-down, they were still close enough to the militant ranks, still sufficiently imbued with socialist ideas and the traditions of the old IWW and socialist fighters, to rise with the masses. The men they were then would have spit upon the men they were to become."

The CIO quickly became dominated by a conservative trade union bureaucracy and the mass movement of millions of workers was contained within the limits of militant trade unionism. To understand this, one must look at the treacherous role played by the Communist Party during this period. When millions of American workers were moving to form their own political party, the CP joined with the labor bureaucracy to support the creation of Labor's Non-Partisan League which was presented as a step in the direction of the formation of a labor party. As Preis wrote, it was created to do precisely the opposite:

"It was created to be a bridge back from independent political action for hundreds of thousands of unionists who then customarily voted Socialist or Communist or were clamoring at the time for a labor party."

The LNPL was used to channel votes of workers into the Roosevelt stream. The CP joined in this betrayal because by the end of 1936, they were firmly entrenched in their popular front alliance with Roosevelt.

At that time, millions of American workers were looking for a revolutionary strategy and turning to the CP for that strategy, both because of its link to the traditions of the Russian Revolution and because of the role its organizers had played in the fight to build the CIO.

The bureaucracy, recognizing this movement among masses of workers, brought the CP into the leadership of the CIO in order to use it to divert the militancy of the working class into safe channels. channels.

The thoroughly Stalinized CP gladly accepted the role of policing the working class. William Z. Foster was later to brag about this rotten betrayal when he stated:

"John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman, and their coworkers were apparently convinced of the value of Communist cooperation, because from the outset, the organizing work and the leading of innumerable victorious strikes were done by a combination of the Left-Center forces—that is, Lewis, Hillman, the Communists, and other progressives."

"The Communists worked very diligently to build and strengthen the Left-Center bloc. They refrained from grabbing for office in the new unions and they gave unselfishly of themselves in the organizing work."

Thus, the most massive upsurge ever to be seen in the American workers movement, an upsurge which brought the question of revolution on the scene, ended with the working class still tied to the parties of capitalism and the mass movement of rank and file militants dissipated by the development of the bureaucratic apparatus of the CIO.

The responsibility for the failure of this movement to be taken forward rests squarely with the American Communist Party which continued the treacherous traditions of American radicalism within the workers movement.

Today, in a new period of labor upsurge, it is the task of the Workers League and Young Socialists to defeat American radicalism—which means to defeat the American CP—once and for all. This can only be done by leading the fight for the labor party as the first, and necessary step, in the fight for the socialist revolution.

CONCLUDED

Birth Of The CIO

part five

tion among masses of workers so that he could take over leadership of the unorganized movement.

Thus, the "punch that was heard round the world," Lewis's punching on the nose Carpenters' President Hutcheson, the arch reactionary craft leader, was a carefully calculated act designed to convince workers of his militancy. Lewis himself admits as much in his description of his behavior at the convention. He said:

"Bill Hutcheson represented symbolically the kind of leadership in the American Federation of Labor that the workers of this country detested. It was Bill Hutcheson's supporters and associates in the AFL who successfully blocked every single move that was made in the direction of industrial unionism. All I will say is that I never walked across an aisle so slowly and grimly as I did that day in the 1935 convention. An act of some kind, an act dramatic to the degree that it should inspire and enthrall the workers of this country was necessary. Did I say necessary? It was essential. With this in mind, I laid my plans."

Lewis's punch marked the beginning of the split from the AFL, although at this time, he only set up the Committee for Industrial Organization to work for indus-

lished the UAW as an industrial union. It rejected the AFL and turned to the CIO. While it elected a former AFL bureaucrat, Homer Martin, as president, it also elected two supporters of the policies of the CP, Wyndham Mortimer and George Addes as vice-president and secretary-treasurer. The convention reaffirmed the need for the political independence of the working class through the formation of a labor party and defeated a proposal, put forward by Lewis's men, to endorse Roosevelt for president.

However, Lewis quickly intervened in this struggle, claiming that unless the convention at least formally endorsed Roosevelt, FDR would withdraw the \$100,000 donation he had promised for the organizing drive. Thus, under this outright blackmail, the delegates overturned their original vote.

The CP at this time had not fully gone over to the policies of the popular front and thus, it joined in the defeat of the proposal to endorse Roosevelt. Less than six months later, it dropped any opposition to FDR and hailed him as a great leader of the "people's front."

Following the convention, the drive to organize every auto plant was on in full-scale.

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



The Sit-Down & The Birth Of The CIO



The CIO emerged explosively in a mass movement of workers led by revolutionaries and rank and file militants. The sit-down strike in Flint in 1937 ended in the victory of the UAW (Above, street battle in Flint; center, Women's Emergency Brigade of UAW member's wives; below, national guardsmen arrive in Flint). The CP acted to prevent this revolutionary movement from going forward to a break with the Democrats.

Following the three major strikes of 1934, the Toledo Auto-Lite strike, the general strike in San Francisco, and the Minneapolis Teamsters strike, over 700,000 workers in plants across the country walked out.

The American working class would not be held back any longer and the battle for industrial unionism was on and would rage over the next two years.

This battle was led by individual militants, socialists and, following its initial outburst, by members of the Communist Party. Contrary to the assertions of liberal historians and the present day leadership of the AFL-CIO, the CIO was not built by the left wing of the AFL bureaucracy. These men, led by John L. Lewis, simply sensed as Alinsky quotes Lewis as noting:

"The revolutionary handwriting was on the walls of American industry. Lewis knew that the workers were seething and aching to be organized so they could strike back. Everyone wanted to hit out, employer against worker and worker against employer and anyone else whom they felt was not in their class. America was becoming more class conscious than at any time in its history. These were times of hate and anger."

The strikes in Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Toledo had shown workers the need for a broader, all-embracing organization, which cut across craft lines, to lead the fight against the employers. Throughout late 1934 and 1935, workers learned—in a negative way—that their fight could only go forward through industrial unionism. During this period, workers in the great mass production industries of auto, steel, and rubber were completely betrayed by the AFL bureaucracy.

Industrial workers in these industries, when organized at all, were organized under the scheme of "federal locals" within the AFL. A "federal local" was a union grouping based on one plant, not part of the AFL International, and was responsible only to the AFL Executive Council. It had no self-rule. The AFL had devised this plan in order to keep the unions in the mass production industries totally under their domination. Strike after strike, in auto, rubber, and steel was sold out.

How these unions actually operated is described in *The UAW And Walter Reuther* by B.J. Widick and Irving Howe:

"These federal locals would be left to the mercy of AFL Internationals intent on carving them into craft bailiwicks. By then, the workers, never overly enthused about 'stabilized' labor relations, (which was the policy the AFL pushed, NF) would have become disgruntled and would drift away from the federal local.

"As this pattern became increasingly prevalent, the actual center of unionization shifted from the AFL hall to the plants

themselves. The actual leaders were not the stolid business agents distributing craft manna from on high, but inexperienced young men in the shops." (my emphasis, NF)

THE SITUATION IN AUTO: 1935

In discussing the breakup of these federal locals and the birth of mass industrial unionism, we will concentrate on the developments which occurred in the giant auto plants during 1935. These developments, more than any others, led first to Lewis's resignation as vice-president of the AFL in October of 1935, to his setting up of the Committee for Industrial Organization, and to the establishment of the United Auto Workers—independent of the AFL—in 1936.

The developments in auto reveal all the elements which led to the construction of the CIO. In auto the most heroic battles ever led by the American working class were conducted during 1936 to 1937. In these battles, the working class pioneered the technique of the sit-down strike, in which workers occupied the plants, refusing to move until their demands were granted. The American worker's close ties to the

means of production which were revealed on a small scale in the earlier led IWW strike against General Electric, were shown on a vast scale.

Finally, we examine the situation in auto because the continuous struggle within the American workers' movement over the question of the need for the independent political action of the working class again emerged most sharply here. The American Communist Party, which played a major role in organizing the auto workers, joined together with John L. Lewis, and played the most pernicious role of diverting workers from constructing their own party.

As was noted by Widick and Howe, by 1935 the movement of auto workers was erupting outside of the "federal locals" in wildcat strikes throughout the industry. In April, the Toledo Chevrolet plant was shut down and the strike spread rapidly to the other General Motors plants in Ohio.

Over 30,000 GM workers were out. In each case, the strikes were led by individual militants or young members of the Communist Party, largely ex-college students whom the party had colonized in industry. One of these leaders was George Addes who was later to emerge in the top level of the bureaucracy of the UAW.

The CP was, at this point, caught in a tremendous contradiction. In 1935, it abandoned the last vestiges of its ultraleft third period "red unionism" and switched its policy to one of open support for the AFL. As Coser and Howe note in the *American Communist Party*:

"Communists were told to cease behaving as if they always had to constitute an 'opposition group' within the unions; now, like good AFL patriots, they were to convince the workers that the Communists are responsible trade union leaders."

This policy flowed from the beginning of a turn by Stalin to the policy of popular front alliances with liberal sections of the capitalist class. However, as will be seen as late as May 1936, this policy was not yet completely articulated. Thus, the CP was operating under a great deal of confusion during this time and as late as 1936, they still opposed Roosevelt.

Furthermore, within the trade union movement, the party was operating in two directions at the same time. Formal party policy opposed the creation of an independent industrial union, and as late as 1937, it urged the AFL units it controlled not to affiliate to the CIO. However, because it had sent many of its best members, recruited from the student movement in the early 1930s, into mass production industry, it found itself in a position to have to lead workers in strike action against the betrayals of the AFL. The work of George Addes in Toledo is just one example of rank and file CP activity during this period.

The Toledo strike succeeded in tying up all production at General Motors. The strikers sent delegations to Flint and Detroit to spread the strike to the other auto

companies. However, the leadership of the AFL intervened to prevent further walk-outs. After three weeks, Green sent his representative, Francis Dillon to Toledo to ram a compromise agreement down the throats of the strikers. Although the local leadership opposed the settlement, Dillon, by threatening to remove the AFL charter, succeeded in intimidating the strikers into an acceptance of it.

However, as Widick and Howe note: "A momentary defeat—but it meant the final discrediting of the AFL in auto. The local leaders, many of them influenced by revived radical movements, were gaining experience in dealing with the AFL representatives, and in a series of national caucuses, they worked out a program for immediate action. The points of this program were: industrial unionism in auto; initiation of a large organizing drive; democratization of the union; and preparation for independent labor activity in politics."

By August 1935, a consolidated auto union was established, against the resistance of the AFL. However, even then, its members did not have the power to elect their own officers. Green appointed Dillon president and Homer Martin vice-president. Nevertheless, while the AFL succeeded

temporarily in controlling the newly-created industrial union, the example set by the auto workers was to lead the drive for industrial unionism forward in the other mass production unions.

In fact, one month after the auto convention, the rubber workers met and, refusing to back down from Green's threats to revoke their charter, set up their own industrial union. Going a step beyond the auto workers, they elected their own officers from the rank and file membership.

THE 1935 AFL CONVENTION

The actions of the industrial workers in auto and steel set the stage for the explosion that erupted at the 1935 convention of the AFL. The convention met at a time when the AFL was almost thoroughly discredited among masses of workers and its membership had greatly diminished. Masses of workers were moving outside the AFL determined to create their own industrial organization.

Recognizing this mass movement, a section of the AFL bureaucracy fought to turn the AFL to the construction of industrial unions. This section did not disagree with Green and Company on fundamental questions of principle concerning the questions of class struggle unionism and the need for the political independence of the working class. They were no less bureaucratic and conservative. However, they noted as Preis states: "the moment must be grasped if the old union leadership was to retain its dominant position over organized labor."

That their action at the convention was clearly motivated by opportunism and reflected a tremendous fear of the growing revolutionary movement of the working class was expressed by Charles Howard, president of the International Typographical Union. In urging the convention to adopt the proposal for industrial unionism, he stated:

"Now, let us say to you that the workers of this country are going to organize, and if they are not permitted to organize under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, they are going to organize under some other leadership. I submit to you that it would be a far more serious problem for our government, for the people of this country, and for the American Federation of Labor itself than if our organization policies should be so molded that we can organize them and bring them under the leadership of this organization."

Many have sought to turn John L. Lewis into some kind of revolutionary hero motivated only by his desire to advance the struggle of labor against capital. But even this most outspoken advocate for industrial unionism at the convention, was motivated by his own self-interest. In fact, all of Lewis's actions at the convention were carefully calculated in order to make it appear that he was the most bitter opponent of the reactionary AFL leadership. He was fighting at this convention to gain recogni-

tion unionism within the AFL.

While Lewis took this action in the face of a massive upsurge in the working class and thus, in his own self-interest, once the action was taken, Lewis devoted his organizational talent to the fight to build industrial unions throughout the country. As Art Preis noted:

"It is doubtful if the CIO would have been formed, or if the industrial union movement would have arrived as quickly as it did, if not for the exceptional qualities of Lewis. It was Lewis who pushed through the CIO's formation."

However, Lewis could not carry out this task on his own. Furthermore, he could not turn to the traditional trade union organizers within the AFL to lead the organizing drives in basic industry. As Widick and Howe wrote:

"Lewis was now faced a curious problem. He could use his hurly coal-mine organizers for the new CIO, but he sensed that for many purposes, they would be insufficient; they would not be able to express the larger social motivations which were essential if the CIO was to gain the support of workers in mass production industries. The Lewis 'boys' were all right for hurly-burly and plugging, but they were a little weak on ideas and inspirations. Consequently, Lewis had to turn to a group of radical unionists whom he had previously driven out of the UMW because they had opposed his dictatorial regime and unlike him, had always championed industrial unionism."

"At this time, it should be remembered, there was precious little glory and less comfort in organizing for the CIO. As a rule, only men moved by a conviction that unionization of mass-production industries was a step toward a larger social end were willing to take the risks that came with the job. Which is why Lewis had to use radicals on his staff, and why, again, many of the local auto union leaders were either radicals or under their influence. Not many other people cared enough: the time-servers would buzz in later."

While many of Lewis' staff were independent rank and file militants, the bulk of his organizing force, particularly in auto, were members of the Communist Party. In this period, the base was laid for the CP to later emerge in the leadership of the CIO.

The individual radical organizers were not part of a party, and did not represent trained cadre. Thus, while they were to play a more militant role in many of the battles of 1936 to 1937 than the CP, they dropped by the wayside or were simply co-opted into the trade union bureaucracy. On the other hand, the CP organizers were part of a party which was capable of intervening in the struggle as an organized, disciplined force on a national level. For this reason, in spite of their earlier isolation from the mass struggles in 1934 to 1935, the CP would emerge as the dominant force within the CIO by late 1937.

The 1936 auto convention firmly estab-

lished the UAW as an industrial union. It rejected the AFL and turned to the CIO. While it elected a former AFL bureaucrat, Homer Martin, as president, it also elected two supporters of the policies of the CP, Wyndham Mortimer and George Addes as vice-president and secretary-treasurer. The convention reaffirmed the need for the political independence of the working class through the formation of a labor party and defeated a proposal, put forward by Lewis's men, to endorse Roosevelt for president.

However, Lewis quickly intervened in this struggle, claiming that unless the convention at least formally endorsed Roosevelt, FDR would withdraw the \$100,000 donation he had promised for the organizing drive. Thus, under this outright blackmail, the delegates overturned their original vote.

The CP at this time had not fully gone over to the policies of the popular front and thus, it joined in the defeat of the proposal to endorse Roosevelt. Less than six months later, it dropped any opposition to FDR and hailed him as a great leader of the "people's front."

Following the convention, the drive to organize every auto plant was on in full-scale.

This drive coincided with the spontaneous outbreak of sit-down strikes in November 1936 in the GM plants. The sit-downs were not actions planned by the CIO. In fact, when they first began, Lewis tried to prevent them from spreading. When it became clear that he could not stop them, the full weight of the CIO was thrown in behind them.

Between November and December, sit-downs hit Chrysler, Bendix, Briggs, and Fisher Body. In each sit-down, substantial gains were won by the union.

However, by January 1937, General Motors launched an all-out offensive against the union, rejecting all their demands and seeking federal action to clear out those plants which were still struck.

The working class moved into action. Over 7000 workers occupied Cleveland Fisher Body, announcing that they would not work until a national contract was signed.

Two days later, Fisher Body in Flint was occupied. Within three weeks, 15 other GM units were closed by strikes. By the end of the strike, 140,000 out of the 150,000 GM production workers were either sitting in or had walked out.

The enormous advantage of the sit-down strike is described by Alinsky in his biography of Lewis:

"By the physical occupation of the industrial plant in the sit-down strike, the workers nullified all accepted strikebreaking procedures. It was impossible for the employers to continue producing by the use of strikebreakers, since their machines and plants were in the possession of the strikers."

"All the rigors and hazards of the picket line were eliminated as the men were secure from the weather, skirmishes with the police, company-hired sluggers, from scabs breaking through the picket lines, and additionally secure in the feeling of numbers; they were prepared to sit it out indefinitely."

"The actual capture of the plant and all of its machinery filled the company with fear regarding the welfare of their property. Hasty and forceful action by management might well result in enormous destruction of their machinery and other property. The strikers' sit-down became a gun at the head of the company."

The heart of the sit-down movement was in Flint. On January 12, the company decided to break the strike at Fisher Body No. 2 by starving out the workers. In what is now known as the "Battle of the Running Bulls," workers succeeded in defeating the police and troops and got the food into the plant. It was the last time GM would try to recapture the plant by force.

Now GM sought to maneuver with the leadership of the UAW. However, all their maneuvers blew up and the strikers refused to be moved. At this point, Lewis called upon Roosevelt to intervene in the strike on the side of the workers. Of course, his plea was met by a cold rebuke from FDR. While all these maneuvers were being conducted, the strikers themselves moved to seize a still more strategic plant, Chevrolet No. 4 where all the motors were assembled.

In order to carry out this seizure, the strikers, knowing that their ranks were filled with company informers, created an ingenious diversion. They announced their intention to occupy plant No. 9. While several thousand workers marched on No. 9 and fought a 40 minute battle with the police, in which the Women's Emergency Brigade, led by Genora Johnson, played the major role, the workers in No. 4 were barricading themselves in.

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LABOR TODAY

The Longshore Contract

International Longshoremen's Association contracts for 1974-1977 have been negotiated in cloak-and-dagger secrecy by President Teddy Gleason because they form a blueprint for destroying the last shreds of job security on the docks.

Three full months before the current contract expires, Gleason had drawn up a master agreement with CON-ASA, the Council of North Atlantic Steamship Associations. In most of the ports, stretching from Boston to Hampton Roads, even the local president was not informed the settlement was near.

Gleason refused to hold the shipping companies to the Guaranteed Annual Income agreement, leaving it to each individual port to negotiate terms of the GAI with its own shipping companies.

In addition, the details that have been released so far indicate that he waged no fight for improved work rules on container and LASH handling or better safety conditions. The wage agreement, offering \$8.00 an hour by 1976, does not even keep up with current inflation rates, and means nothing under conditions where thousands of men will be forced off the docks in the next two years.

By mid-July, Gleason announced a tentative agreement with the New York Shipping Association and pushed for immediate ratification in spite of the fact that critical local issues are still unresolved in Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore and New Orleans. In fact, Gleason arrogantly told the ILA convention (which he staged in Los Angeles, as far from the ILA ranks as possible) that local issues were merely "pet peeves."

The New York contract reveals Gleason's master plan to save the shippers, who face the combined impact of rising costs, tight credit and a slump in international trade, at the expense of the dockers.

In spite of the fact that Gleason's compromises in the terms of the GAI have cut the New York dock force from 225,000 to 14,000 in five years, shippers were determined to break the work force to 9000 or less with this contract.

The shippers demand a skeleton crew that will be forced to work around the clock, seven days a week so that no men will be maintained on the guarantee.

Anyone who does not work 700 hours in a year will be dropped from the GAI under the new contract. Workers over 65 will be offered a cash bonus of \$2500 to retire now, and will be removed from the GAI if they chose to stay on the waterfront.

In addition, the breakdown of work rules and safety conditions will force hundreds more to quit the docks.

The hated PDO, Prior Day Ordering, will be retained, so that men will be sent to any dock from the Bronx to New Jersey, breaking up experienced work gangs and the docker's right to choose his assignment. It is this "flexibility" more than anything that the shipping companies need to slash the work force.

Hold gangs will now be hired first, and anyone refusing this strenuous and dangerous assignment will be debitted, further slashing GAI payments.

Dockers will continue to be forced to work with any equipment set up by the shippers, without any federal, state or union safety testing program. There is no contractual protection for workers who refuse unsafe work assignments.

Mandatory overtime and weekend work will continue, further increasing the risk of injuries. Many men are already being forced to unload ships straight through, working from 8:00 am to 2:00 the next morning, and often six or seven days a week.

Gleason splits the ports to go it alone against these attacks because he agrees with the shippers that they must drive dockers back now to stabilize their industry and prepare for the slump ahead.

The construction of a leadership that will defend dockers requires a break from the Gleason bureaucracy, which begins at every point by subordinating workers to the needs of the shipping bosses.

A fight must be taken up now for a massive rejection of the 1974 contract, with preparations for a nationwide strike to win a national contract with a 20 percent raise, full cost of living, and big increases in pensions.

There must be iron-clad guarantees that the GAI will be extended to all docks and provide a living wage for every longshoreman, as well as union control of work rules, safety conditions and work assignments.

Strike action must confront the task of forcing the resignation of Nixon, who stands behind the assault on the ILA, and at the same time prepare the alternative to Nixon.

Dockers must demand that the ILA call for a Congress of Labor to construct this alternative—a labor party pledged to the nationalization of the docks under the control of longshoremen.

by cynthia blake

BY HOWARD WEST
ST. LOUIS—As unemployment rises to 7.4 percent in St. Louis and inflation is ripping up every worker's living standards, capitalism prepares to use the most reactionary and dictatorial methods of rule. On the side lines today stand such fascist movements as the Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society.

The Nazi Party, now called the American National Socialist White Peoples Party, has been stepping up activities throughout the country.

Over the last 12 months the Nazi Party has been establishing a branch in the St. Louis area, reportedly in preparation for moving their national headquarters here from Arlington, Virginia. Their major activities have been opening up a bookstore headquarters in the Breckenridge Hills community in St. Louis county, demonstrating for white control of the St. Louis City jail and harassing Black workers and their families.

They have received a great deal of publicity from TV, newspapers, and radio in St. Louis for their policies of sending all Blacks to Africa and Jews to Israel. The Nazis claim that the cause of the present economic crisis is the high cost for welfare which amounts to less than five percent of the total budget. The news media has buried any mention of the terrorism carried out by Nazis.

Their local headquarters was set up in opposition to the overwhelming majority of the residents of this mainly working class township of Breckenridge Hills. A petition carrying the signatures of a majority of the residents has been submitted to the village board asking it to deny the Nazis permission to operate their bookshop.

The liberals of the American Civil Liberties Union have come forward to defend the Nazis in this suit. The Nazis are ready to answer with gangster tactics and outright thuggery if the liberals do not serve their purposes.

Relations between the Nazi Party members and residents in the area nearby are at the level of a running battle. Nazis have been accused of petty stealing to which they have responded by threatening their accusers at gunpoint. The windows of the headquarters are smashed in and the youth of the area do not hesitate to express their hatred for these fascists.

It was during one such incident when Thomas Dwyer Sr. went to the aid of his son who was fighting with one of the party members. Another Nazi pulled out a revolver and without warning, pumped three shots into Dwyer Sr. and one into his son before the gun jammed.

Dwyer Sr. was critically wounded with two of the bullets passing through his abdomen. When the police arrived, besides taking some of the Nazis into custody, they also arrested two of Dwyer's sons.

After a week all the Nazis were released supposedly for lack of evidence. Thomas Dwyer however was still in critical condition in the hospital.

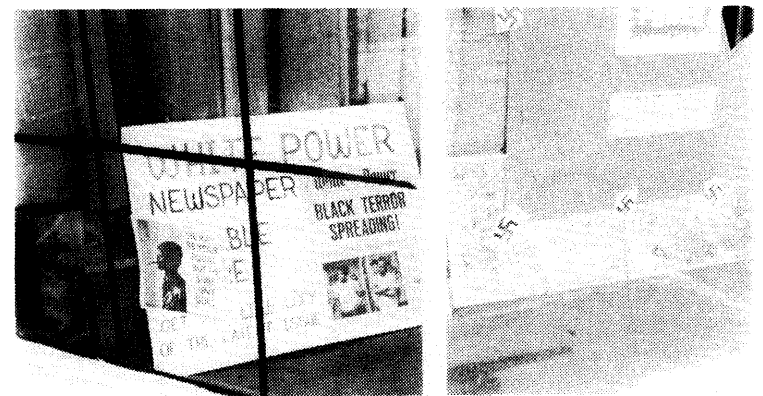
The building used by the Nazis is owned by a man named Vitales. Vitales is an old school friend of the Breckenridge Hills police chief, Sweeney.

After the shooting of Dwyer, the local Nazi leader Dennis Nix congratulated his lieutenants on their work and pledged them the



Dennis Nix, head of St. Louis Nazis.

NAZIS TERRORIZE ST. LOUIS COMMUNITY



Nazi headquarters in Breckenridge Hills in St. Louis County.

full support of the party, in the presence of both the police and the Dwyers.

A day or two after the shooting, one of the white residents had some Black friends visiting at their home. The Nazis responded by kicking in the front door and terrorizing the household at gunpoint. Only when the family produced a gun to defend themselves did a stalemate result and the Nazis were forced to retreat.

Again the local police were called but just as with the shooting incident no arrests were made because of "lack of evidence."

All the people interviewed by the Bulletin wanted their names to be withheld for fear of reprisals by the Nazis. Today the question facing every worker living in Breckenridge Hills is how can they defend their families and homes from the thuggery and terror of the Nazis?

As the economic crisis deep-

ens the ruling class will use precisely this right-wing trash to smash the trade unions.

The Stalinists of the Communist Party, joined by the Socialist Workers Party attempt to answer the Nazis by mobilizing priests and liberals in protests to pressure the capitalist class for action. This was precisely the program of the Stalinists in Germany which led to Hitler's victory in 1933. The recent experiences in Breckenridge Hills show that is the capitalist class, represented by the police chief and the village board, that allow the Nazis to remain and covers up for them.

The trade unions in St. Louis must act against the Nazis and mobilize their membership in a mass demonstration to drive them out of the city. The trade unions must organize the defense of the Breckenridge Hills community and break politically with the Democrats and Republicans who protect these racist scum.

midwest news

Iron Workers Shut 5 Firms For Wage Hike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DULUTH, Mn. — 10,200 iron mine workers on the Minnesota Iron Range here walked off the job at midnight Wednesday, together with 130 workers of the National Iron Co.

The walkout took place after contract negotiations broke down with five firms. The strike was called against Reserve Mining Co., Erie Mining Co., Eveleth Taconite Co., Hanna Mining Co., and Cleveland Cliffs Iron Co. Round the clock picketing has been set up.

So far, neither the union nor the mine owners will issue any details as to what the union demands are. Wages are a big factor, as workers seek to catch up with inflation.

No further negotiations with the United Steel Workers have been set. Peter Benzoni, director of District 33, USW, reports that the companies are refusing to make any reasonable offer.

"They're pinching pennies. They can spend all kinds of money in court and such things.

But when it comes to giving money to the workers, they make you fight for it."

Benzoni was referring to the ongoing trial against Reserve Mining by the state of Minnesota to stop their pollution of Lake Superior with cancer-causing asbestos.

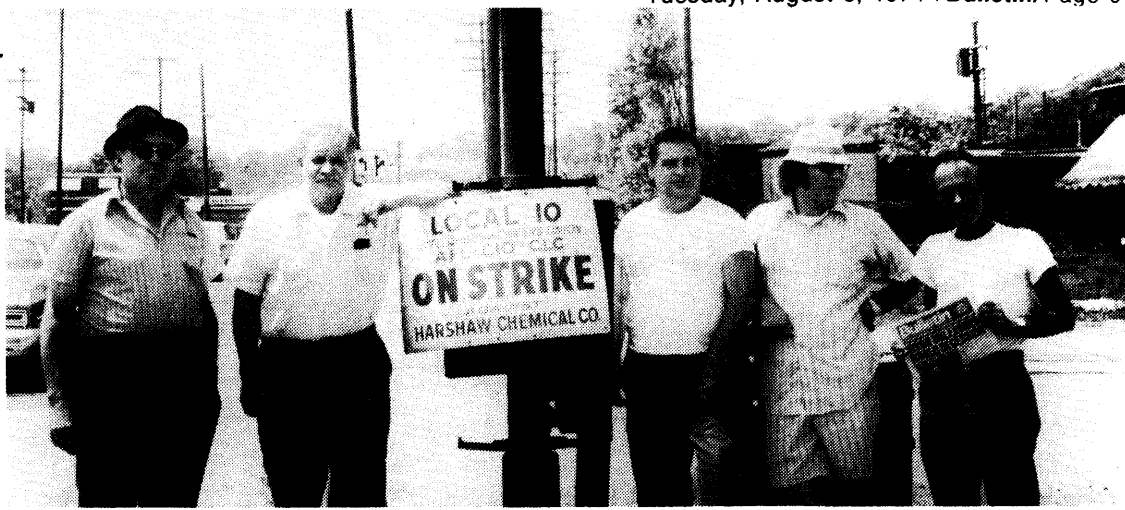
DEMANDS

In addition to salaries, other major demands of the men include increased pensions, better health and safety conditions, a say on work hours, revision of job evaluation manuals that determine pay rates, plus local issues at each plant involved.

A strike deadline against the White Pine Copper Co. on the Michigan part of the range was extended for two days as negotiations continue.

Extended negotiations with the major steel firms are also being conducted between the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association-Associated Maritime Officers (MEBA-AMO). The MEBA-AMO represents 1200 mates, engineers, and stewards aboard 130 US Great Lakes vessels representing the major steel bulk carriers on the lakes.

Beginning now is the biggest strike wave in northern Minnesota since the formation of the CIO in the 1930s.



Workers at Harshaw Chemical in Ohio in the 14th week of their strike, are bitter about the desertion of their leadership. They are asking for a 50 cents an hour raise.

Harshaw Chemical Ranks Accuse Leaders Of Deserting Fight

BY A REPORTER

CLEVELAND, Ohio— "If labor doesn't take over this country, it's all going down the drain. The big man has to go."

These are the words of Clarence Sutton, spoken on the picket line. Sutton has been a process operator for 29 years and a member of Local 10 International Chemical Workers Union which has been on strike against Harshaw Chemical for 14 weeks.

The riot police no longer sit across the road prepared to intervene if the strikers attempt to stop a shipment or a scab, but they are not far away.

Neither is it clear that the court injunction obtained by the company that was used to break the picket lines is still in effect.

"Why is it," asked Sutton,

"that the five of us here have worked 100 years put together, over twice the age of the company, and no one will tell us anything?"

"Last week, the union and management met with federal mediators and no one told us about it. We read it in the paper. The meetings are a farce.

"The company has no intention of negotiating and has proceeded from the beginning in a naked attempt to break the union."

For three months before the April 25 deadline, the company stockpiled. The new people who were hired to help out by working overtime were fired the day of the strike, and all union members had their health insurance terminated well in advance of the strike.

The union leadership showed the company every courtesy in these preparations. It even went so far as to offer a 24-hour extension of the deadline.

But all these preparations were worthless without the police and the courts. "The police used to eat in the company cafeteria," Sutton told the Bulletin.

"At first they said you had some rights. Then later they would stop you no matter what you did."

Another worker said: "You're screwed sitting out here like this. They've got you on the outside, starving you out. If we could put a stop to their shipments and put up a real picket line, then we would get somewhere."

"We need something like the football strike, with the auto workers and the steel workers joining in."

The men are asking for 50 cents an hour increase plus a full cost of living and the establishment of a real grievance procedure.

The company refused to discuss this demand and offered 45 cents an hour over three years, take it or leave it.

"The men are bitter about the union leadership which has turned its back on the strike. I've been on picket duty every time I've been scheduled for 90 days. I've seen the local president only once."

Harry Runyon, a process operator for 32 years, asked: "Don't you think it is a direct insult to offer 15 cents an hour? Beans used to be a poor man's staple. But now they're up to 85 cents."

"The feeling is," Clarence stated, "the men are not going back to work for two cents an hour more than they would have given us."

"It used to be the kind of place where everyone was related to everyone else, like cousins and nephews and you were afraid to speak out because someone else would get hurt, but that's changing."

"There are going to be some big changes in this country and the working man has got to do it. I've been around since Woodrow Wilson and I can tell you there's no difference between the Republicans and Democrats. They've all got to go."

Penalty For Being Injured

CHICAGO — Cornelius Fabre is a carpenter who has worked for the nonunion Chicago Midwest Construction Company for a little over a year.

Last November, Cornelius suffered a fall which eventually cost him four months off his job. To this day, he has been unable to collect one penny in Workmen's Compensation and was finally forced to hire a lawyer.

"I am four months behind in rent. They took my telephone out and they just charged me again for reconnecting my gas.

"In ten days I have to pay the last payment for closing my home. Then I must start paying the house note for \$160 a month."

Recently Cornelius was forced to take a job with a smaller contractor because of the conditions he was forced to work under when he finally returned to Chicago Midwest.

"When I went back, they had

me working as a carpenter for two days. Then they put me on a roof. All I was doing on the roof was using a staple gun and that's not my job. I put up with that for about two weeks, and then I left.

"On the day the accident happened, it was very cold. We were working on a church and I was putting up the company's sign. We had an old ladder. Pretty soon everything fell out underneath.

"It was a good thing I had a helmet on my head so my head didn't hit the concrete. I must have fallen about 20 feet.

"The company then sent me to their doctor who said he couldn't find anything wrong with me. That was in February. In April my doctor made me finally get a cast on the arm.

"In spite of this the company will not accept the fact that I was hurt. Now my lawyer says I will have to go to their doctor but my arm is okay now."

"It was a friend of mine who was hurt at the steel mill who told me to get the lawyer. Now the lawyer is taking so long. They say it's because the longer they take, the more money they get, and they collect 20 percent of whatever the final settlement is.

"They want me to run for alderman in the neighborhood. I am already vice-president of the block club. I may run, but if I do I will be independent. I don't trust either the Democrats or Republicans—neither one."

Drought Ruins Small Farmers

BY MIKE ROTH

MINNEAPOLIS — A savage drought now grips the major corn producing states from the Southwest Plains northeast to the Mississippi Valley.

It has been estimated that well over six billion dollars will be lost and thousands of small farmers will be completely ruined.

Kansas City, located in the center of this area, has had only 1.12 inches of rain for the first 24 days of July. Average rainfall is usually 3.59 inches.

The US Department of Agriculture has officially designated most of New Mexico, parts of Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, and Colorado as drought areas. As arid, hot weather continues, however, the corn crop as far east as Indiana and north to Minnesota now enters the critical stage with losses in

Minnesota expected to be 20 to 30 percent of the crop.

The greatest destruction is wrought on the small and medium size farms, generally owned by a single family who cannot invest in expensive irrigation of their fields. Approximately 140,000 acres of corn in Minnesota has no irrigation and will suffer the most extensive losses.

Many farmers face a desperate situation. In Sheldon, Iowa, a town of 4500, churches are holding special services and meditation periods praying for rain. Cloud seeders stand by in Iowa and Minnesota, but there has been nothing to seed for several weeks.

The Department of Agriculture has had to constantly lower its projections of this season's yield. The lowest estimate was for a harvest of 5.95 billion bushels of corn. Now, it says that 5.52 billion bushels or less will be produced and this figure does not take the full effects of the drought into account. Agrono-

mists at Purdue University in Indiana stated last week that from one-fourth to one-third of the crop is now gone.

Harold Steele of the Illinois Farm Bureau reports that the low yield "guarantees higher prices for meat." Smaller quantities of poor quality corn will be available to livestock producers this fall. This will drive up already skyrocketing prices of grain. Last year, a bushel of corn was \$1, now it is \$3 and rising. At a price of \$2.50 a bushel, it costs 45¢ to put one pound of weight on a steer. Most steer have to gain 400 pounds for market. This means that in order to bring one steer to market, a livestock producer must invest \$180 on feed alone and these are figures based upon a price of \$2.50 a bushel which is most certainly half of what the price will be in autumn.

There have been droughts and low yields in the past, but the dry weather this summer combines with a soaring inflation that will now drive thousands off the land.

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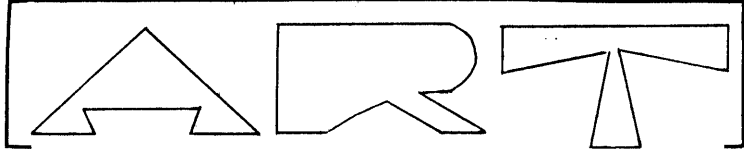
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Artists And The Social Revolution

"Mastery of the art of the past is a necessary pre-condition not only for the creation of new art, but also for the building of a new society."

Part Two

—Trotsky

This social isolation of artists goes hand-in-hand with their economic situation under capitalism. The capitalist system demands that an artist should make valuable objects to be sold on an open market to businessmen, art dealers and collectors, who either buy and sell for profits, or buy for the privilege of exclusive ownership.

A great deal of art, old and modern, is rarely or never seen by any public at all, since it goes straight into private collections where it lies hidden for years, increasing in value all the time. (This fact was brought home to people with the recent "kidnapping" of old, privately-owned paintings which were held at ransom for colossal sums of money.)

Under capitalism, if an artist wants to devote his time to his art, then it has to earn him his bread-money, and therefore he is forced to try to sell himself to the art dealers of capitalism. There are no other channels open unless he wants to starve in the gutter.

Faced with this dilemma, artists living under capitalism show varying degrees of moral strength. The more unscrupulous artists can develop a happy relationship with their patrons and enjoy their own share of the profits.

When an artist's work makes profits for him in this way, it is very likely that the quality of his work will suffer. If he discovers that a certain color and style of painting sells well, he can mechanically turn out variations on that theme for years, and be sure of a good income.

If his artistic strength and integrity is great enough, he will constantly try to develop his work and make new experiments and discoveries, at risk of not being able to sell the results, since he cannot predict beforehand if the dealers will be willing to buy something new and original.

The Dutch artist, Van Gogh, who shot himself in 1890, sold only one painting throughout his life, and lived and died in poverty, but his painting went from strength to strength, and as an artist he remained sincere and honest. His work was so original that most art dealers shied away from it, knowing their clients' tastes.

Now that his genius is recognized throughout the world, the dealers and collectors are clamoring for his paintings.

One possible alternative for an artist under capitalism is to make art without considering selling it (or at least only to friends for reasonable prices), and to earn money in some other way.

Many art students today decide to go into teaching in the hope that they can continue developing their own art in their spare time, but this obviously hinders their potential artistic development since teaching demands a lot of time and energy.

As an alternative, it does not provide a solution to the basic problems of art's role within our society. These problems are rooted in the whole social,

political, economic and ideological structure which has developed since the beginnings of industrial capitalism, and only socialist revolution itself will begin to bring solutions and open up vast new possibilities.

But does this mean that the art which has been, and is still being, produced under capitalism is of no value to mankind? On the contrary: in his collection of writings *On Literature and Art*, Lenin says:

"It is not enough to crush capitalism. We must take the entire culture that capitalism left behind and build socialism with it. We must take all its science, technology and art..."

In an essay on "Culture and Socialism," Trotsky explains how, in the present period and throughout history, society has consisted of classes which are basically in conflict; culture (i.e. "everything that has been conquered, created, built by man's efforts and which serves to enhance man's power") has always served to maintain the class division, oppression and exploitation within society.

CULTURE

But Trotsky asks, is culture only an instrument of oppression?

The answer is "No." Culture is the "fundamental conquest of mankind." The workers as a class need to master all the culture, all the knowledge and skill, including artistic discovery, worked out by humanity in the course of its history, but they then need to use this inheritance to build on new foundations: not the old foundations of class conflicts, but new socialist principles of solidarity.

In the same essay Trotsky writes:

"Art is one of the ways in which man finds his bearings in the world; in this sense the heritage of art is not distinguished from the heritage of science and technique... Unlike science, however, art is a form of cognition of the world, not as a system of laws but as a group of images and at the same time it is a way of inspiring certain feelings and moods. The art of the past centuries has made man more complex and flexible, has raised his mentality to a higher level, has enriched him in all-round way. This enrichment is a precious achievement of culture. Mastery of the art of the past is, therefore, a necessary precondition not only for the creation of new art but also for the building of the new society... If we were groundlessly to repudiate the art of the past, we should at once become poorer spiritually."

With this perspective we can look critically but with great excitement at all the art produced in the past, particularly under capitalism. All its achievements can be recognized and shared and also developed in endless ways in the socialist future.

The next article will consider the role of artists in the period of social revolution in which we live today.

Reprinted from *Keep Left*, weekly newspaper of the *British Young Socialists*.



Police in Portland, Oregon, issuing tickets for minor traffic violations to harass youth.



Paramilitary Units Train In Portland

BY DENNIS FULLER
PORTLAND, Ore.—

Portland city police have launched a civil disorder "gaming" operation against the youth who cruise downtown streets weekend nights.

The Oregonian daily newspaper described the operation in military terms.

"Downtown Portland was 'no man's land' for a while Friday night (July 19) until the traffic troops landed and within minutes had the situation well in hand. Moving checkpoints, manned by motorcycle riders of Portland bureau's traffic division, halted advances on several fronts and have brought a strange quiet to a usually noisy avenue."

The police arrested 85 youth after the midnight curfew and issued 40 citations during the first weekend.

Thousands of Portland area youth gather Friday and Saturday nights on the downtown sidewalks and drive up and down 6th and Broadway streets. The police bureau claims that the youth cruising the main streets, now produce "excessive noise, fumes, and complaints from hotel owners."

The police saturated the downtown area with motor and foot patrols, undercover police, and unmarked cars. When the midnight curfew arrived, they turned to "contain and disperse" riot control tactics.

They cordoned off the side streets, forcing the traffic into checkpoint roadblocks. The driver and all passengers in each car were forced to show identification and the car was inspected. If any youth was unable to prove he was at least 18, he was either pulled from the car, frisked and taken to a police wagon or the car was shunted down a side street where

car and body searches took place.

After the first Friday night exercise, police captain Lawrence Brown said: "It was the first of as many operations as we need. The bureau will halt the nightly mess downtown if it takes seven operations a week."

Saturday night police moved in to close the immediate area and disperse a gathering of youth in front of the Meier Frank department store, where several police units were ticketing parked motorcycles. One youth described the police operation for the *Bulletin*:

"They are stopping people for no reason, checking registration, checking the car all over, there are guys busted for beer every 10 minutes."

"They are busting youth for your tail lights being out, that's a big deal. And some dude up there got a \$27 ticket for his rear license plate out."

Several youth were carrying hand-made signs protesting the police harassment. The signs read: "Who owns this town? Captain Brown or the people?", "I buy the gas, my tax money pays for Broadway," and "Cruising: born 1944, died NEVER."

One youth who came up said the cops had just grabbed his sign and broke it: "They said mine was a weapon."

Several cops waving batons approached, and one shouted: "This area is closed. Let's break it up and keep it moving. Those who don't want to move will be arrested."

Several auto clubs decided to meet in a shopping center parking lot near the city's county line when the midnight curfew arrived and the roadblocks were thrown up.

"I'm not for moving out to 82nd," said Gordon Cowles, a young railroad worker. "It's the people's right to congregate wherever they please as long as it's peaceful."

The real purpose behind the police decision is revealed in a textbook used by Portland area police training school. The text, *Riot Control—Material and Techniques*, was written by Colonel Rex Applegate, with the assistance of the Multnomah County (Portland metropolitan area) Department of Public Safety, International Association of Chiefs of Police, the Department of Defense, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Applegate argues that the US has entered a "decade of mob and guerrilla warfare in our urban areas resulting in some mass instability and discontent." He advocates the immediate "organization of permanent, highly trained, appropriately armed paramilitary-type standby police units for all phases of crowd and mob control."

He recommends "disciplined, aggressive police counteraction" up to and including a surprise, daybreak operation occupation of the city by the military and police against "mass demonstrations, strikes, slow-downs, and other public protest manifestations." He insists upon the reorganization of urban police departments along military lines.

"Regardless of political or self-imposed restraints, desires of elected officials, or past conceptions of the police role in democratic society."

Applegate advocates "practical experience" and "realistic training" in the form of mobilization exercises and "civil disorder, gaming, conducted by departments of all sizes, using local resources and hypothetical civil disorder situations."

"It's starting to be a police state, really," a young worker told the *Bulletin*. "It looks like the police state coming from Nazi Germany."

"The motorcycle cops, they're the ones who get all the riot control training. The elite forces, the gestapo of Portland."

Unemployment In TV, Movie Industry Hits Animators

BY SHEILA BREHM
HOLLYWOOD, Calif.—The huge slump hitting the entertainment industry is driving hundreds of artists out of the field.

slashed from eight to nine months to the current four months of employment, barely making it possible to eke out a living.

CHEAPER

The prime reason for the cutback in cartoon programs is the cheaper cost in producing live television shows. Unlike other live shows, children's shows require less time to prepare and use 16 millimeter film.

The networks claim, however, that cheaper production is not the cause of the cutback. They are claiming concern for "quality children programs." The networks have said that the cartoons are "of low quality and too violent." The networks have been backed up by various pressure groups, such as ACT.

Answering the networks charges of low quality, Appet said: "We can't have quality unless we're given enough time. We can't do it when we have a frenzied period of production during the few months when there is work."

On top of the unemployment, the animators do not collect residual pay for reruns, which like in other programming, has increased phenomenally.

According to Appet: "A lot of artists are casting around for employment in other fields, a lot of talented people. So it's a big blow to the industry."

Employment has drastically declined this year for Los Angeles area cartoonists who draw animated cartoons for Saturday morning children's programs.

"This year 350 people—or 30 percent—have no jobs," said Lou Appet, head of Local 839.

This time last year, 100 percent of the membership of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees Motion Picture Screen Cartoonists were working.

Usually, these months provide the most work for the animators, who work overtime to meet the production deadlines for the fall programming. In an interview with the Bulletin, Appet said: "Now there's not much work in the industry. The networks didn't order the number of series they did last year."

"In fact, last year we had a hard time supplying enough labor to meet the demands of production."

Work for animators has always been seasonal, but the periods of employment have been

San Diego Carpenters Vote Return To Work

BY A REPORTER
SAN DIEGO—After a six and one-half week strike, San Diego carpenters voted to return to work.

One carpenter said: "If they break us, that will be it for the rest of the building trades in southern California."

The new contract, affecting over 7000 carpenters, calls for a wage and fringe benefit boost of \$3.75 an hour over the next three years.

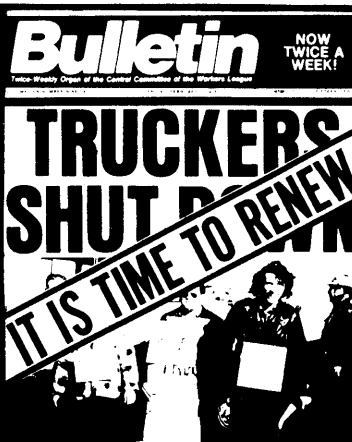
The settlement is 30 cents an hour less than the demands of the 11 southern California county carpenters, which includes those in Los Angeles, on strike since July 1.

Because the union officials sanctioned interim agreements with contractors who are not members of the three major contractor associations, over 60 percent of the San Diego carpenters worked during the strike.

According to Dan Swinton, spokesman for the District Council of Carpenters in Los Angeles: "I'd say about 65 percent of the carpenters are working in Orange County under these interim agreements, and about 60 percent in LA."

The Bulletin has learned that the negotiating committee is taking a neutral position on the contract offer that will be proposed at a ratification meeting this week, since the committee was split.

For the first time, the major contractors are threatening to hire nonunion carpenters if they win their demands.



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Drivers for Amalgamated Transit in Oakland leave meeting where they voted to stay on strike.

Transit Workers Vote To Stay Out

BY JOHN BURTON
OAKLAND—A mass meeting of Amalgamated Transit Workers, division 192 voted 554 to 349 to continue their strike.

for 31 days. As union president Ed Cordeiro tried to force acceptance, shouts of "turn it down" and "just keep the cash coming" brought cheers from all parts of the hall.

Most workers expected to hear that their demands for a one year contract with a 46 cent increase and retention of the cost of living clause had been granted.

Instead, the leadership had agreed to seriously weaken the cost of living clause and conceded everything on wages.

A driver named Joe told the Bulletin before the votes were counted, "It's not a question of if they're going to pay—they're going to pay it or we're not going

to work. That's all there is to it." Another worker said, "This country is never going to straighten itself out. We need a labor party real bad."

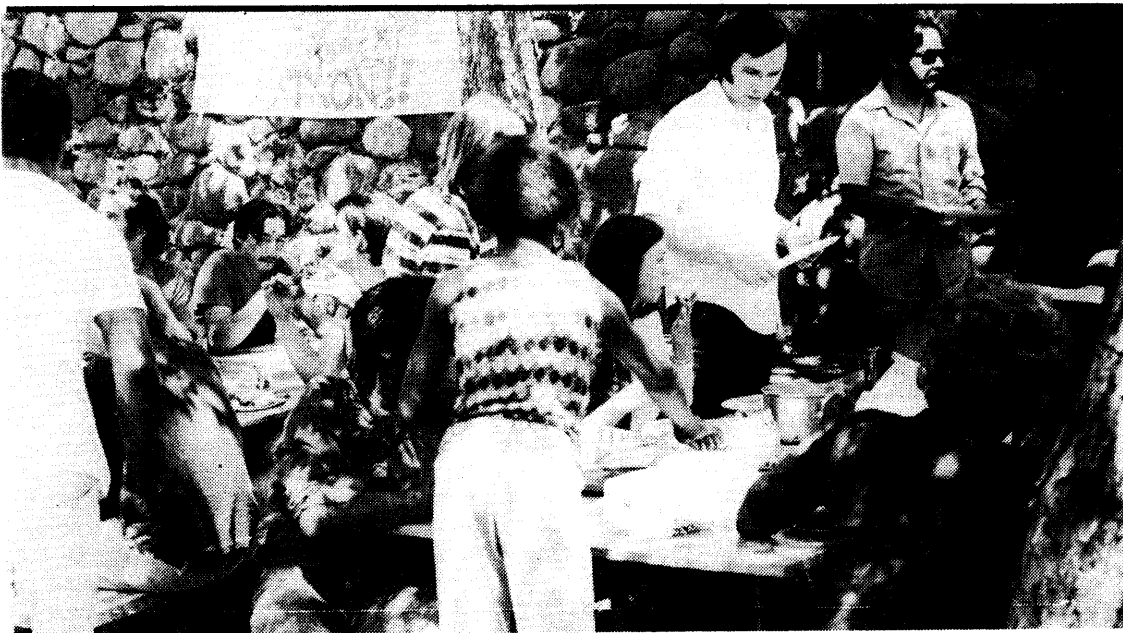
Negotiations have broken off and the employers have given no indication that they want to resume talks.

WITCH-HUNT

The newspapers have begun an all-out witch-hunt against transport workers, linking together the AC bus drivers, San Francisco Yellow Cab taxi drivers, and Airporter bus drivers, who have struck San Francisco International Airport for two weeks. They are trying to prepare the way for government intervention to break these strikes.

The three year contract proposed by the AC Transit system and recommended by the union leadership offered only 13 cents for the first year and 20 cents for each of the following two years.

The stormy meeting was attended by over 1000 of the 1600 drivers, who have been on strike



The Bay Area branches of the Workers League and Young Socialist held a barbecue Nixon outing on July 28 in preparation for the national summer camp. Tim Wohlforth spoke on Watergate, The Ugly Face of Capitalism.

The American Working Class
 A Materialist Assessment
 By Nancy Fields and Tim Wohlforth

The American Working Class
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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

— lucía rivera —

¡ Por La Revolucion Iberica!

Con la caída del régimen fascista de Marcello Caetano en Portugal el 25 de abril una época revolucionaria se abre en la península Ibérica. Por largas décadas los trabajadores portugueses y españoles se hallaban bajo la bota fascista. La intensidad de la crisis capitalista y la ofensiva de la clase obrera hizo posible la caída de Caetano.

Es en esta época donde el papel contra-revolucionario del stalinismo se presenta como el freno principal en la lucha de la clase obrera por tomar el poder. En Portugal, los stalinistas del Partido Comunista han entrado de lleno al gobierno formado por el militar Spínola, que en su gran mayoría está controlado por militares que en el pasado eran los más cercanos colaboradores del gobierno fascista.

La lucha de los trabajadores y jóvenes portugueses por un gobierno socialista se ha enfrentado con la conciente oposición de los stalinistas quienes han denunciado cuanta huelga, demostraciones y ocupaciones llevadas a cabo por los trabajadores. Y esto con el fin de mantener el capitalismo y prevenir la toma del poder por la clase obrera.

Estos desarrollos revolucionarios en Portugal han dado gran impulso al movimiento de los trabajadores españoles, quienes por cerca de 35 años han visto sus derechos destruidos y se han enfrentado a los más brutales ataques por parte del gobierno de Franco. Las recientes huelgas ilegales en Barcelona y otros centros industriales (tanto las huelgas como las uniones son ilegales en España) y las masivas demostraciones en oposición al gobierno son clara expresión de esta ofensiva.

Los stalinistas del partido Comunista español (PCE) ven en estos desarrollos la amenaza que esto representa para el capitalismo y la burocracia stalinista soviética. Es por esto que en la conferencia de prensa del 23 de junio realizada en Suiza, Santiago Carrillo, secretario nacional del PCE, se ha presentado como el defensor principal de la propiedad privada y del capitalismo a través del Frente Popular.

Según Carrillo, la posición económica de la gente se mantendrá como en el pasado y las compañías extranjeras no serán afectadas en lo más mínimo. De hecho, su programa económico es el de atraer más capital extranjero en la "España democrática". Ese gobierno, según Carrillo, será la labor de la gente incluyendo "las fuerzas de la burguesía, digamos los dinámicos neo-capitalistas".

Esta traicionera posición de los stalinistas expresada por Carrillo es que esta no es una época para llevar a cabo una revolución en España sino para establecer una democracia. Fue esta la misma posición mantenida por los stalinistas en Chile y llevada a la práctica por el gobierno de Unidad Popular de Allende.

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UNEMPLOYMENT...

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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: Lucía Rivera, c/o Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

lucha obrera

— lucía rivera —

¡ Por La Revolucion Iberica!

Con la caída del régimen fascista de Marcello Caetano en Portugal el 25 de abril una época revolucionaria se abre en la península Ibérica. Por largas décadas los trabajadores portugueses y españoles se hallaban bajo la bota fascista. La intensidad de la crisis capitalista y la ofensiva de la clase obrera hizo posible la caída de Caetano.

Es en esta época donde el papel contra-revolucionario del stalinismo se presenta como el freno principal en la lucha de la clase obrera por tomar el poder. En Portugal, los stalinistas del Partido Comunista han entrado de lleno al gobierno formado por el militar Spínola, que en su gran mayoría está controlado por militares que en el pasado eran los más cercanos colaboradores del gobierno fascista.

La lucha de los trabajadores y jóvenes portugueses por un gobierno socialista se ha enfrentado con la conciente oposición de los stalinistas quienes han denunciado cuanta huelga, demostraciones y ocupaciones llevadas a cabo por los trabajadores. Y esto con el fin de mantener el capitalismo y prevenir la toma del poder por la clase obrera.

Estos desarrollos revolucionarios en Portugal han dado gran impulso al movimiento de los trabajadores españoles, quienes por cerca de 35 años han visto sus derechos destruidos y se han enfrentado a los más brutales ataques por parte del gobierno de Franco. Las recientes huelgas ilegales en Barcelona y otros centros industriales (tanto las huelgas como las uniones son ilegales en España) y las masivas demostraciones en oposición al gobierno son clara expresión de esta ofensiva.

Los stalinistas del partido Comunista español (PCE) ven en estos desarrollos la amenaza que esto representa para el capitalismo y la burocracia stalinista soviética. Es por esto que en la conferencia de prensa del 23 de junio realizada en Suiza, Santiago Carrillo, secretario nacional del PCE, se ha presentado como el defensor principal de la propiedad privada y del capitalismo a través del Frente Popular.

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