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BY DAVID NORTH

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Unable at this point to reimpose wage controls, Nixon himself set an example for big business on how the working class is to be confronted by announcing the destruction of the jobs of 40,000 federal employees. He also pledged to slash the 1975 federal budget by at least \$5 billion, eliminating the few social programs left over from the boom.

However, while outlining these new attacks on the working class, Nixon's speech revealed that the government is powerless to control inflation or halt the drift into a major recession.

Nixon sought to reassure his audience of industrialists by pledging that the government "will continue to monitor every sector of the economy" to make sure that the tight money policies and credit restrictions demanded by Greenspan and Federal Reserve Board chairman Arthur Burns will not lead to a slew of bankruptcies.

INFLATION

On the one hand, Nixon pledged not to prime "the pumps of inflation with new deficit spending or with a new easing of credit," and on the other hand Nixon said he would avoid "the shock treatment of a sudden drastic wringing out of inflation..."

He declared that the US would "control inflation" and at the same time "produce more."

But behind these mutually exclusive promises is a new policy of "laissez-faire" capitalism in which the Federal Reserve will allow a recession with a wave of business failures.

The aim of this policy is to weaken the working class through a fantastic growth in unemployment. Nixon is speaking for the most powerful sections of the capitalist class who

are convinced that recession and the destruction of the living standards of masses of workers are required to preserve the profit system.

The seriousness of the economic situation was emphasized by a report issued by the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which warned Nixon that the United States is heading into a recession much more severe than he cares to admit.

The OECD stated that restrictive credit policies could push the US into a slump that would undermine the entire world economy. It pointed out that a slump in the US would curtail the American market which is so vital to European countries trying to recover from massive trade deficits.

Greenspan, Burns and Treasury Secretary William Simon constitute a policy-making triumvirate who are absolutely convinced that further attempts to stave off a recession with more credit expansion will completely demolish the international monetary system and bring the American banking system down in shambles.

LAISSEZ-FAIRE

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(Continued On Page 12)

House To Vote On Impeaching Nixon

BY MELODY FARROW

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Building
The Bulletin

Need 2231 Subs

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The Bushwick trailblazers have sold 737 subscriptions so far, and over 500 Election Manifestos. A full report will be given next week.

Nixon for the obstruction of justice.

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The Article of Impeachment voted by the Committee states:

"In his conduct of the office of president of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of president of the United States and to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States...has prevented, obstructed, and impeded the administration of justice."

The article lists nine specific charges which accuse Nixon of covering up and protecting those responsible for the breakin at the

Democratic National Committee offices on June 17, 1972 and of covering up other unlawful activities.

The nine points include:

- Making false or misleading statements and withholding evidence, interfering with the investigations of the Justice Department, FBI, and congressional committees.

- Approving payment of money to silence or influence witnesses and misuse of the CIA.

- Making false or misleading statements "for the purpose of deceiving the people of the United States" that a full investigation was taking place.

- Offering favorable treatment to defendants or individuals already convicted to remain silent or give false testimony.

This Monday, the Committee begins discussion on the second article of impeachment which accuses Nixon of abuse of authority to eavesdrop on citizens, harass political opponents,

(Continued On Page 12)

In The Weekend
Edition

•On the spot report of the demonstration of 50,000 construction workers in Trenton, New Jersey against unemployment.

Bulletin

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER SIXTY 396

TUESDAY, JULY 30, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

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Cyprus-The Threat Of War And Dictatorship

The defeat of Greece in the Cyprus war has precipitated the downfall of the Greek military dictatorship that has ruled with an iron fist since 1967.

This has opened up the kind of revolutionary upheavals that have taken place in Portugal. Masses of workers will seize the opportunity to launch a struggle against the fascists, to demand restoration of trade union and political rights, and improvements in living standards ravaged by inflation.

What We Think

This will bring workers into immediate conflict with the new civilian government which, like the Spínola regime in Lisbon, has been brought in to preserve the capitalist system.

The Cyprus defeat was such a shattering blow to the Greek junta because the deepening economic crisis, which produced a powerful resistance by the Greek working class, had already brought the junta close to the brink of collapse.

This is not just a Greek crisis, but expresses the weakness and instability of capitalism as an international system.

This crisis lies behind the coup d'état in Cyprus and the outbreak of full-scale war.

The overthrow of Cyprus president Archbishop Makarios was engineered by the Nixon government and the CIA, working through the Greek military.

In attempting to install a staunch pro-American anti-communist dictator, Nicholas Sampson, US imperialism is gearing for war against the oil rich Arab countries and against the Soviet Union.

After the war last October between Egypt, Syria, and Israel, we warned that the cease-fire imposed by the US and the Soviet Union would not bring peace. On the contrary, the Nixon government would step up plans to

militarily dominate the oil producing nations in order to control the oil resources.

The October war exposed that the old bourgeois nationalist leaders like Sadat of Egypt could no longer hold back the tremendous movement forward of the Arab masses. This movement drives the US imperialists to replace these leaders with servile dictatorships in every part of the globe.

But every attempt to stabilize capitalism only deepens its insoluble crisis. The Cyprus war exposes how all the old alliances and pacts have been ripped apart as each nation seeks to bolster its economy at the expense of the others, bringing the major countries to the brink of a third world war.

Cyprus was carved up between Greece, Turkey, and Britain under the Zurich Treaty of 1959 which brought in Makarios, a right-wing ally of British imperialism, who continued the divisions between the Greek and Turkish Cypriotes.

The Cypriote people have been consistently denied the right to determine their own future.

The sharp decline in Britain's power and influence in the Mediterranean since 1959 because of the worsening economic crisis was an important factor in Nixon's decision to intervene in Cyprus.

That the US was willing to challenge one of its oldest allies, Britain, as well as a NATO ally, Turkey, is a measure of the enormity of the crisis facing American capitalism.

No matter what agreement is patched together in Geneva, we have had a glimpse of the sharp tensions between nations that lies behind all the diplomacy and conferences.

This breakdown of the old compromises between nations expresses the end of all compromise between classes.

The Stalinist policy of the Soviet bureaucracy of detente and peaceful coexistence with capitalism, as we warned, opens the working class to the danger of imperialist wars which is the inevitable product of the

collapse and decay of capitalism.

The actions of the Stalinists in Cyprus are a bitter repeat of the betrayals of the working class in Chile. The Cypriot Communist Party, AKEL, continues to support Makarios although he refused to mobilize Cypriote workers, both Greek and Turkish, against the right-wing coup.

Workers ordered by Makarios to lay down arms were slaughtered by the Greek National Guard and 1750 Turkish Cypriotes are imprisoned in a stadium. Meanwhile, Makarios was wheeling and dealing at the UN and expressed his gratitude to Kissinger, who no doubt played the major role in his overthrow.

The new governments in Greece and Cyprus will not solve anything. The capitalist class can no longer stabilize its system by changing one regime for another, but must fight it out directly with the working class posing civil war and sharp class struggles not only in Greece and Cyprus but in the United States.

While the Portuguese and Greek dictatorships have collapsed, the threat of dictatorship is increasing in the European countries and in the United States.

The Cyprus events are a warning to American workers. The collapse of the Greek junta combined with powerful wage struggles here deepens the economic crisis which is centered in the crisis of the American dollar. The American ruling class will now step up the conspiracy to impose military rule in this country whether Nixon is impeached or not.

The working class must fight independently, using the power of the labor movement to force Nixon out now and prevent Congress and the Senate from imposing Ford or a Democrat who will continue the policies of Nixon.

The conspiracy to destroy democratic rights can only be stopped by the immediate construction of a labor party, pledged to socialist policies. In this struggle, the revolutionary party must be built as a mass party to lead the decisive struggle for power.



Pavlos Georgiou, who was a professor at Polytechnic Institute and a political prisoner on Greek island of Gyros.

Greeks Demand Fascist Purge

BY FRANK MARTIN

A tremendous groundswell is building up in the Greek working class following the resignation of the military junta.

After 7 years of dictatorship, the working class is demanding the restoration of its rights and a clean sweep of the junta and its collaborators. This is already colliding with the right-wing civilian cabinet of Premier Constantine Caramanlis.

In his first speech since returning to Greece, Caramanlis indicated he will do nothing to get rid of the fascist generals who retain control of all key government and military positions.

Meanwhile, hundreds of workers greeted the first 45 political prisoners released from the Greek island prisons under a

general amnesty.

There is growing suspicion among the masses about the intention of the new government. Prisoners interviewed upon their release stated that "the government does not represent what the people really want."

Caramanlis claimed that the generals had given him "assurances" that troops would return and remain in their barracks. He pledged that there would be no "reprisals" against the military. "We are not going to tear apart the army at the moment when it turned over power to the politicians," the new defense minister, Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza stated.

This reveals the real intentions of the new Greek regime, which is a coalition of right-wing politicians. Their aim is to provide a democratic facade while the generals retain effective control.

Caramanlis has so far refused to admit any workers' parties into his cabinet. However, the Greek Communist Party, which is still illegal, has already come to his defense.

In a statement issued through TASS, the Soviet News Agency, the political bureau of the Greek CP on July 24, called for: "the unity of the working class, Greek patriots, and the armed forces in the formation of a government of National Unity."

The Stalinists are rushing to support Caramanlis because they fear the movement of the working class. They know that the latest events in Greece open up a period of the most intense class struggle in which the task posed to the working class is to drive out Caramanlis and his fascist, military backers and take the power. The lessons of Portugal, where the Stalinists are following the same criminal policy, are now critical to the construction of a new revolutionary leadership.

Mutiny In Mozambique

A rebellion in the ranks of the Portuguese army in Mozambique forced the resignation of the governor general and his entire cabinet on July 25.

A military junta, handpicked from Lisbon, will take control of the colony. A similar change took place in Angola last week.

Over the past two weeks, both officers and regular soldiers have refused to leave their barracks and travel to the war zone in the northern part of the country. On two occasions, whole units involving several thousand men refused orders to go into battle.

Personnel at the military hospital in the capital city of Lourenço Marques issued a communique stating they would not go north or fight FRELIMO, the national liberation movement,

"whom we regard as the only true representatives of Mozambique."

There are now reports that soldiers are refusing to even patrol the streets of the capital at night. Both Portuguese and African students and soldiers have raised the demand for immediate and unconditional independence for Mozambique.

The rebellion has stopped all Portuguese military operations in the colony. It follows months of stalling by the Spínola regime in Portugal which has attempted to continue the war while holding out the promise of some future referendum on independence.

Meanwhile, FRELIMO has stepped up military activity, blowing up the key railway line from Beira to Cabora Bassa in 74 different spots.

Kissinger Defends Aid For Korean Dictator

Henry Kissinger, testifying before a Senate Appropriations subcommittee argued for a bill to expand military aid to the dictatorship of Park Chung Hee in South Korea.

Asked how he justified this aid at a time of growing repression in South Korea, Kissinger replied that "the national interest is at stake" and that the country's strategic and political importance in Asia was the most important consideration.

Hee has placed the entire country under martial law and is putting all opponents of his regime on trial. So far 100 people have been convicted in secret court martials. One of these is

South Korea's most famous poet, Kim Chi Ha who received a death sentence, later commuted to life imprisonment.

The Nixon government is asking for a 30 percent increase in military aid. It is requesting \$161 million in aid and \$52 million in low interest credit to shore up Hee's military and army of thugs.

Kissinger also vehemently defended a request for three billion dollars to prop up other puppet dictators in Indochina.

Most of the committee members raised no objections to the mammoth aid bill but these same senators start an uproar when workers ask for a small wage increase.

Lordstown Workers Join NFL Pickets

BY A REPORTER

Striking football players from the Cleveland Browns and the Buffalo Bills were joined by auto workers from the Lordstown GM plant, Teamsters and steel workers in a joint picket line outside the Hall of Fame Memorial game in Canton, Ohio July 27.

Over the weekend, the Cleveland Labor Council and the United Auto Workers endorsed the strike. As the strike of the Players Association becomes increasingly bitter, the football players are winning support from workers in every city.

In Canton, a court injunction was issued limiting picketing to only eight at each gate. About 50 people showed their support by burning their tickets.

Prior to the Hall of Fame game players from Cleveland and national leaders of the Association went to Lordstown and joined the striking auto workers on the picket line and then addressed a meeting to ask for their support.

Last week, 21 players, members of the Green Bay Packers and the Bears were arrested in Green Bay, Wisconsin for refusing to obey an injunction barring picketing outside the parking lot of the stadium. They were joined by strikers from a motorcycle factory in Milwaukee.

A Lordstown worker declared: "I'm all for it. The unions are beginning to get back to what they started to be."

STRONG

"The locals still aren't strong enough. We all have to come together because management doesn't care about any of us. I don't think the mini-strike helped at all. I don't understand where they got the idea from. It's in the management's interests."

Bruce Jarvis, a center for the Buffalo Bills, told the Bulletin why the players decided not to wait until the opening of the regular season:

"We're trying to bargain in good faith. It would have been too drastic, but the only hammer

we have is the strike weapon. The real fight is on the freedom clause. The fourteenth amendment was supposed to outlaw slavery."

One of the chief issues in the strike is the option clause which means that in the fourth year of their contract, a player is paid 10 percent less and can be traded to another team.

One player said: "We can't choose who we are playing with. We're drafted, it's all done behind closed doors. You either play with the team they give you or you go to Canada."

"We're upset about the total control of our lives by the owners. They tell us what to wear, what to eat, how to wear our hair. It's total domination. We're just high paid slaves."

On July 21, the National Football League broke off negotiations demanding that the union submit a completely revised package.

The press is publicizing every single player who decides to quit the strike to make it appear that there is a big back to work movement and the strike has no support.

This is a lie as there are barely 180 players out of 1225 who have broken the strike.

What is now needed is full support for the players from the AFL-CIO. The actions in Canton must be the beginning of mobilizing labor support in every city until the players win a decent contract.

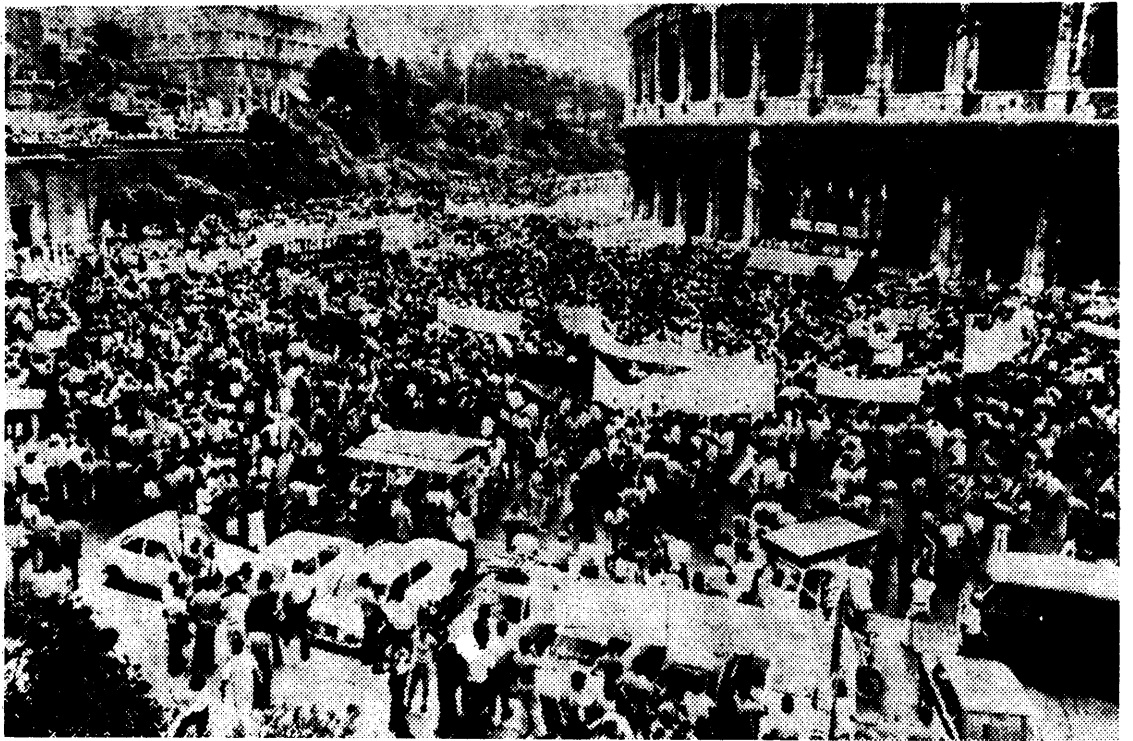
Big Three Cut Car Production By 28.4%

BY A REPORTER

DETROIT, Mich.—Months after the "energy crisis," with the 1974 model year drawing to a close, the slump in the auto industry continues to deepen.

While most of the Big Three auto plants begin extended vacation and model changeover shutdowns, production figures for the year show a steep 28.4 percent drop over last year. So far, 4,341,648 cars have been produced.

Sales for the same period are down 24.4 percent, from 5,739,444 to 4,344,522. For the first days of July, sales of all makes dropped



Thousands of Italian workers demonstrated outside the Coliseum in Rome on July 24 as part of a nationwide half day general strike against the government's austerity budget. The protest was organized by the major trade union federations.

Printers Vote 11 Year Pact With Publishers

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—

By a vote of 1009 to 41, members of New York Typographical Union No. 6 voted July 28 to accept an 11-year special agreement with The New York Times and The New York Daily News.

Under the agreement, the giant publishing companies have the right to install any combination of the new computerized equipment which speeds, and even eliminates many processes in the composing room such as

typesetting, proofreading, and page makeup.

While winning a guarantee from the company that no regular or substitute printer now working for the papers will be terminated for any reason, the paper retains the right to break the agreement, to submit any dispute to an arbitrator, and to determine all manning requirements and transfer workers to other departments.

Printers will receive 11 percent to cover current and retroactive raises, plus a 4.4 percent cost of living hike. Three percent wage hikes and quarterly escalator adjustments will be made each year of the agreement.

The newspapers have the right to request a lowering of even this measly settlement in 1978 and 1981.

The typographers, on the other hand, will not be negotiating when contracts of the other craft unions come due and are bound to arbitration rather than strike action to force any changes they need.

First, the no-strike agreement and the fact that typographers are split off from the other craft unions means that working conditions can be reduced to intolerable levels.

ATTRITION

The pact also pushes attrition for 1300 ITU members by offering a \$2500 bonus to anyone retiring before January 1975.

Job guarantees are suspended if operations are interrupted by "strike, lockout, temporary suspension of publication, fire, flood, or disaster," and there is no guarantee of any kind covering bonuses, pensions, or benefits if the newspaper shuts down completely.

No. 6 official Tom Cupman, who bitterly opposed the settlement at Sunday's meeting, pointed out that the long-term agreement would tie the hands of No. 6, the strongest local in the ITU, just when other ITU locals and other unions in the printing trade needed their support.

He said that publishers of the Omaha World Herald had tightened their position after hearing of the Times-News agreement, and that an offer made to Local 101 by the Washington Post was actually pulled back and revised after the New York settlement.

While deposits pour in from all over the country, plans are being made to make the Second Annual Young Socialist camp, August 24-September 2, the best camp anyone's ever been to.

With over 27 branches of the Young Socialists in the United States and Canada building delegations for the camp, one of the main highlights will be the National Sports Tournament. The mountain campsite outside Montreal, Canada has a beautiful lake and playing areas for softball, volleyball, handball and basketball.

Tournament games will be played during free periods throughout the nine day camp, and every member of the winning teams will take home a 16-inch trophy specially engraved "YS Summer Camp 1974

National Champions." A boys' trophy and a girls' trophy will be awarded for free style swimming.

There will also be informal games on the playing fields, with time for soccer, punch ball and other games people want to set up. For the smallest children, there is a special playground with swings and slides not far from the sports fields.

Young Socialists across the country are gearing up for the national competition with city-wide and regional sports days that are bringing hundreds of new youth into the branches. Over 200 youth came out to cheer and play during the East Coast Sports Day July 20. Just before the games began at Riis Beach, YS National Secretary Helen Halyard spoke pointing out that YS sports activities have a very special character, because they

YS Camp Sets Sports Programs

are a part of constructing a mass revolutionary youth movement.

The capitalists exploit the talent and interests of the youth and build sports into a big business. "They make super heroes out of the athletes and force them to act like superpatriots. They encourage bitter competition and fighting between teams, to build up the individualist 'every man for himself' attitude that their whole system depends on."

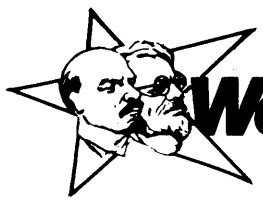
This has been exposed clearly in the NFL football players' strike, where talented athletes have won big support from the working class for refusing to live under conditions of virtual slavery so that our interest in sports can be used to make fat profits for the team owners.

"In the Young Socialists," Helen pointed out, "we play because we want to play, and every game is part of building up, not individual heroes, but a united movement to bring down this system."

Young Socialist teams are made up of working class youth who have come forward to build a movement that can drive out Nixon's rotten government of unemployment, budget cuts and police repression. The camp will also include a series of important classes on Marxism for youth and trade unionists, and discussions on the perspectives for building the revolutionary movement in the next period.

Contact the Young Socialists now to make plans for you and your friends to attend.





Workers Party

Defend The Firemen!

By Terry Delgado
Workers Party Candidate in
the 12th C. D.

NEW YORK, N.Y.—The July 23 sentencing of officials of the Uniformed Firefighters Association exposes a calculated government conspiracy against basic trade union rights.

UFA officials including President Richard Vizzini have now been sentenced twice for leading a five hour strike last November. They were fined \$650,000 for violating the Taylor Law, barring strikes by public employees and now face three years' probation on criminal charges including "reckless endangerment of life and property." This is the first time that union leaders have been charged under criminal statutes for strike action.

Each of the officials is subject to immediate imprisonment if they "advocate, cause, call, support or threaten" a strike during the probation period.

City officials took advantage of these terms, which were announced last month, to ram through a new firefighters contract that provides only 14 percent pay raises over two years along with new attacks on working conditions. Yet Roberts had the nerve to tell the officers that the sentence was not meant to hamper their negotiations.

"You can bargain, you can bang the table," he said cynically. "You can yell your heads

off. But you cannot threaten a strike."

Roberts explicitly warned them that his ruling was meant to break every union's right to strike. "This is an example which should be learned by each and every city union. One bite of the apple—that's all there is going to be," Roberts stated.

The right to strike is a basic right won in years of labor struggles. To remove this right is to place workers in the status of slaves, and threatens the ability to even negotiate a contract.

We demand that all the city unions, who are next in line for such attacks, mobilize their members in defense of the UFA and for all charges to be dropped.

The end of all victimizations and the scrapping of every anti-union law, requires the construction of a labor party to replace the strikebreaking Democrats and Republicans, to throw out the real criminals who trample on the rights of millions to protect the profits of a few.

The time to construct this party is now, in the midst of the strongest strike wave in over 30 years. The Workers Party is campaigning in the congressional elections this year in order to carry forward this fight. We urge you to join the campaign, particularly the critical petitioning drive on August 3-4. Call 924-0852 for more information.

meet the
candidates



Helen Halyard
14th CD



Terry Delgado
12th CD

bar-b-que

sat. aug. 3 8pm

864 bushwick ave. (corner lafayette)

\$2.50 workers league & young socialists

CHAMPUS Funded Torture School

BY A REPORTER

The Defense Department lavishly financed a school where emotionally disturbed students have been subjected to hideous torture.

A Senate subcommittee investigation revealed that the Defense Department sent \$1.2 million over two years to the Green Valley School in Orange City, Florida.

While collecting \$50 a day for the care of each student, superintendent Rev. George von Hilsheimer chained the youth in leg irons and handcuffs and severely beat them.

Another form of discipline was forcing students to dig their own graves and lie in them for as long

as three nights.

Hilsheimer's operation was funded by the \$500 million Civilian Health and Medical Program of the Uniformed Services run by the Defense Department.

The conditions inside Green Valley were exposed by two former nurses, Esther Johnson Snow and Ruth McVay.

They said that students received so-called "psychiatric treatment" such as massive doses of vitamins and injections of their own urine.

The subcommittee displayed items taken from the school: bull whips, rusty leg irons and leather collars equipped with electric shocks.

Von Hilsheimer denied that any torture took place at the



Despite a pouring rain, parents rallied at city hall in New York against cut-backs in day care services.

State Ups Day Care To \$70 A Week

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

NEW YORK, N.Y.— "Really, what the state is saying is that they do not want to be in the business of taking care of children."

That is the way one day care center worker summed up New York's revised eligibility guidelines, which will knock thousands of city children out of the centers on September 1.

Over 2500 city mothers and children demanded assistance from Democratic Mayor Beame in a July 24 demonstration, the largest protest at City Hall since Beame took office.

The State has been attempting to cut its share of day care expenses since 1971 by revising the guidelines and cutting the number of children at the centers. Republican Governor Wilson said the new fee schedule must be put into effect this fall because the day care expenses were omitted from the fiscal 1974 budget due to "some misunderstanding."

Under the new guidelines, family income levels will be determined by net pay alone, without the previous allowance

for above average rent or utility bills, other child care expenses or additional family expenses like medical bills. This means that thousands of families formerly classified as "working poor" and eligible for low cost public day care centers will be forced to pay \$70 a week to keep their children in the centers or find expensive private nursery schools or babysitters.

For a mother with one child, an income of \$6600, just \$124 a week, is the maximum rate; a 10 cent cost-of-living raise would mean she would have to withdraw her child from the center. For a family of four, the maximum income is \$8500, for six or more, \$9900. The sliding scale of family fees will be raised as well.

The federal government, which funds about 75 percent of day care expenses, is scheduled to revise its guidelines on January 1, 1975. Among the demands of the Ad Hoc Committee to Save Our Children, which organized the City Hall protest, is a request to the state to hold off enforcing the new guidelines until the federal rules are released so that they can be matched.

"We have been demonstrating and petitioning and writing letters since 1971," one woman said bitterly. "These cuts will go through unless we find something new to do and find it fast. It should be clear by now that the politicians who run this country are not concerned about us."

A center worker said at a meeting held in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn:

"They say they want to help the working poor to get on their feet." "They want to help us stay poor, you mean," an angry father shouted out, winning loud applause.

The fight for decent child care and the defense of every basic right the working class has won requires the construction now of a labor party that will implement socialist policies to meet the needs of the working class and their families.

Abel Ends Strike At Kennecott

BY FRANK MARTIN

Workers at the ASARCO copper mines are continuing their national walkout following the return of workers at the Kennecott mines.

The Kennecott agreement signed by Steel Workers' President Abel last weekend calls for a 28¢ an hour increase the first year, 16¢ the second year, and 17¢ for the third year. This is far below what the ranks had called for.

The splitting of the ASARCO and Kennecott settlements is a stab in the back to the copper miners. The Kennecott settlement is patterned after the national steel agreement signed earlier this year. Abel has fought any opposition in the locals to this agreement.

The workers of Local 890, in Silver City, New Mexico are enraged by the Kennecott settlement. They have faced an unparalleled campaign of arm-twisting and pressure tactics by the International leadership to block their strike action.

The 1300 men went on strike July 1, the date the national contract expired. They were then informed, not by the International, but through the newspapers and company statements, that there had been a two-week extension on negotiations. The local refused to return to work without a contract.

On July 2, Abel telegraphed the local: "I have been informed members of Local 890 are engaged in an unauthorized work stoppage. Return to work at once."

The company then used Abel's telegram to claim that the strike was illegal and slapped the local with an injunction and \$9000 a day in fines.

Only after a court hearing, was the strike declared legal and the injunction and fines lifted, though the International still refused authorization.

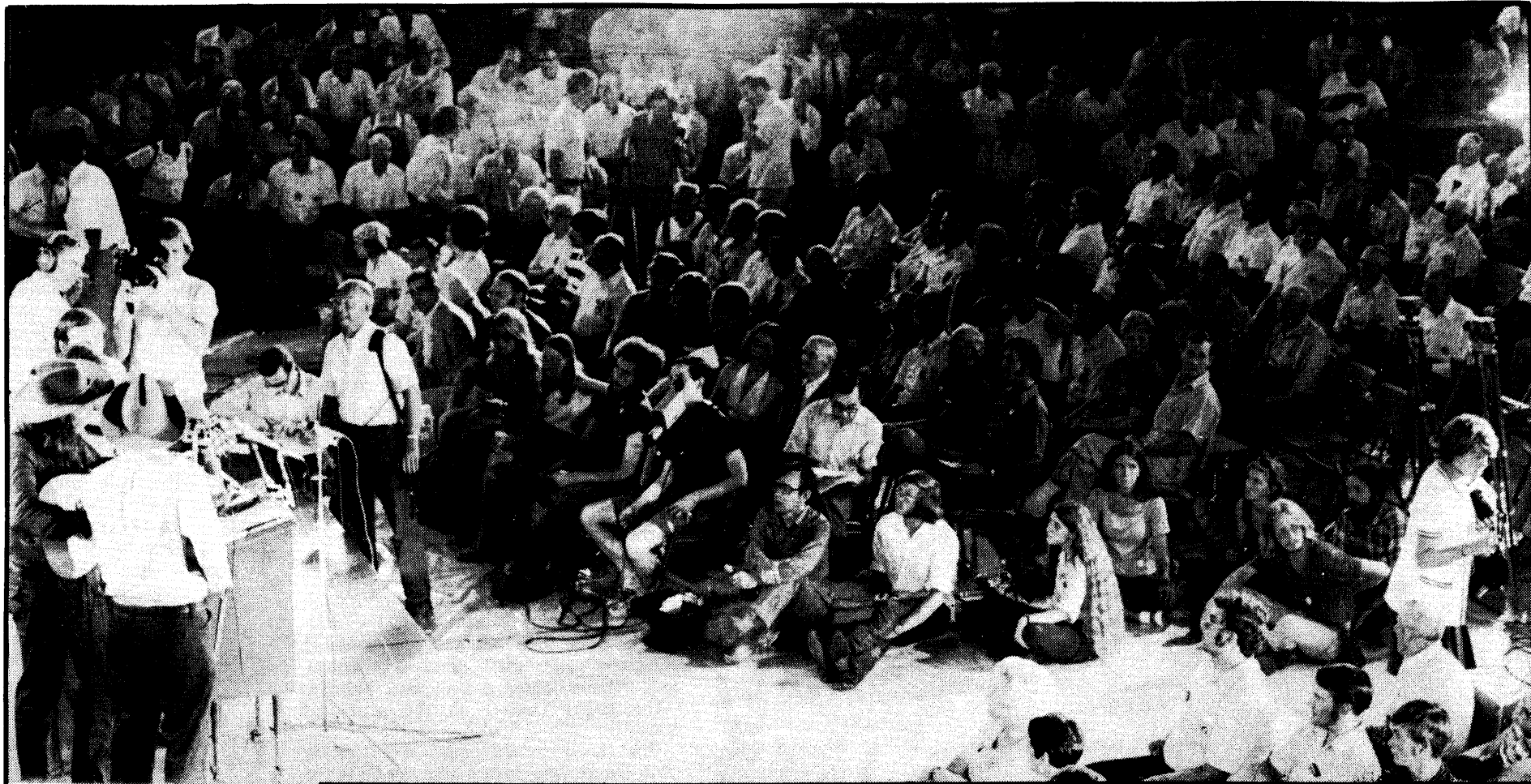
There were 162 local issues which Local 890 had been negotiating for over 60 days. When the national agreement was signed, it included a "wipe out" clause which stipulated that any local issue not resolved by July 21 would be dropped for good. This "wiped out" all of Local 890's demands.

According to Juan Chacon, Local 890 president, "The rank and file were completely sold out by Abel."

Nothing was resolved either nationally or locally on safety conditions. At the Chino Mine in Silver City, there is an intense buildup of heat in the furnaces, which throws flames from one end of the smelter to the other. One worker was recently forced to jump 20 feet from the top of a furnace covered with flames. He is still in the hospital.

Productivity has spiraled in the copper industry. At Chino, production has gone up from 135 tons per shift in 1960 to 315 tons today.

The local has taken the International to court charging it with "misrepresentation" in the two-week negotiating extension. According to Chacon, there is much sentiment in the local for leaving the Steel Workers and joining a new union.



PART TWO

Part of the 4000-strong audience of miners who came from all over the country, hoping to hear UMW President Arnold Miller call a nationwide strike.

BY DAVID NORTH
HARLAN, Ky.—“He didn’t say what the men wanted to hear,” declared Bob King bitterly.

“All Miller had to do is say the word and the miners of Kentucky would have gone out in support of the Brookside strike.”

The “word” was a call for a nationwide coal strike which the thousands of miners who poured into Harlan last Sunday from all over Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, Ohio, and Virginia hoped UMW President Arnold Miller would issue at a mass rally in support of the strike against the Eastover Mining Company.

During the preceding week, Eastover and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association—with the full backing of the state government—launched an all-out attack on the Brookside strike and the entire UMW organizing drive in eastern Kentucky.

Kentucky Governor Wendell Ford, a Democrat, sent the state police into Harlan County to end the shutdown of Eastover’s operations at Highsplint where members of the company-controlled Southern Labor Union were respecting picket lines set up by the Brookside miners.

As the specially-trained state police arrested miners and the fascist-minded president of Eastover, Norman Yarborough, fired 40 Brookside miners and evicted them from their homes, Arnold Miller was bombarded with demands to defend the threatened strike with a nationwide walkout.

UMW organizers in Harlan called on Miller to order a nationwide strike. A telegram urging a complete shutdown was sent by the men at the Lynch mines who belong to the largest UMW local in District 19.

NATIONWIDE

Brookside miners themselves have concluded that a nationwide strike is necessary and that the various protest activities organized by Miller—appeals to Duke Power stockholders, a demonstration in Wall Street, advertisements in the newspapers—will do nothing to win the strike.

Ray Widner, among those who were fired last week, told the

Bulletin before the rally that the organization of eastern Kentucky required action by the entire UMW.

“If all the miners go out, Duke Power will be paralyzed,” he stated. “It would put some strategy into this strike.”

“Now we’re facing the police with long sticks. They’ve got two cops here for each miner. They’re not regular state police. They’re riot control. Those police even have tear gas.”

Nannie Rainey lives across the road from Widner. Her husband was identified by Yarborough on the Highsplint picket line “as a member of the mob that has interrupted our operations” and the entire family now faces an eviction order. “A nationwide strike would help us win the contract. We all know that this strike can’t be lost.”

“We have no place to go. We don’t have money to pay the rent. We have seven children and it would be hard to find a place. I figure that we’ll win the strike if Miller calls everyone out.”

EXCITEMENT

The day of the rally, July 21, was one of tremendous excitement in Harlan. The rally was scheduled for 2 p.m. From early morning on, the women’s association of Brookside, whose members rescued the strike last October when they beat up scabs while their husbands were forced off the picket line by an injunction, was busy preparing a special dinner for Miller.

In the vicinity of the rally at Cawood High School, there were signs welcoming Miller. Workers on strike against the Appalachian Regional Hospital, a struggle as bitter as that of the Brookside miners, raised banners around their picket line greeting Miller.

By 1:30 pm, the gymnasium of the high school was jam packed. There were approximately 4000 miners, their wives, and children inside the auditorium and at least 1000 more in the lobbies and outside the school trying to get in.

The rally began shortly after 2 and it quickly exposed the unbridgeable gap between the miners who are determined to fight and their bureaucratic

leaders who fear a confrontation with the coal operators, particularly in Harlan where the strike is exposing the bankruptcy of the UMW’s alliance with the Democratic Party politicians who are in the pockets of the coal bosses.

When Miller and other UMW leaders entered the auditorium, there was a thunderous ovation. Although miners in Harlan County have never trusted the national leaders—they remember that it was John L. Lewis who allowed the UMW locals in the county to disintegrate during the 1950s—the welcome given to Miller expressed the miners’ fierce devotion to the union and their expectation that it would now take action to secure the victory of the year-long strike.

MILITANT

Once the rally began, the International leaders were at great pains to sound militant while refusing to propose any policies for the strike.

Again and again, the mood of the miners broke through. When UMW Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick stated that the union could not endorse politicians who supported the coal operators and sent in the police, shouts of “Throw ‘em all out” rang through the auditorium.

But Patrick would say nothing about breaking with the Democratic Party in Kentucky, the principal party of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association. Even though this is an election year, the Republicans and Democrats hold a “bipartisan” position on the Brookside strike.

Republican Senator Marlow Cook, who is running against Governor Wendell Ford in the upcoming election, declined an invitation to come to Harlan.

Cook declared that he saw no point in making the Brookside strike a “political” issue. Ford, he said, is doing the best he can with the state police.

When UMW Counsel “Chip” Yablonski spoke, he denounced “Wendell Ford and his Gestapo police.” But Yablonski said absolutely nothing about how the UMW would fight politicians

who call the police out to break strikes.

Finally, it was Miller’s turn to speak. As he approached the microphone, a voice rang out from the bleachers:

“Brother Miller, I am from West Virginia and urge you to call a strike.”

Miller said nothing while enthusiastic applause greeted this proposal. When the ovation died down, Miller ignored the question of a nationwide strike.

Instead, he told the miners: “I came here to give your governor a message and I will meet him tomorrow.”

Miller had absolutely nothing to propose to meet the assault on the basic right of miners to have a union.

His refusal to call a national strike and announce a break with the Democratic Party is utterly criminal in light of the critical importance of this organizing drive as the expiration of the three-year UMW national contract approaches.

With a miners strike looming this November, this government and the coal operators are determined to defeat the organizing drive before the national contract expires. Eastern Kentucky is among the richest coal producing areas in the country, and the government believes that it can sit out a long miners’ strike if the scab mines in this area are kept open.

When Miller finished speaking, there was far less applause than when he began.

“He’s lost a lot of people,” said Joe Gibson. “I know the Lynch miners were ready to stop work today. The men supported Miller, but he’s given us no reason to.”

“Miller’s a poor excuse for a leader,” declared another miner.

The treachery of the Miller bureaucracy was exposed even more sharply at a press conference held after the rally.

He was asked why the UMW did not at least call a memorial shutdown. This “memorial” period, honoring miners injured or killed in accidents, can be used to order a 10-day shutdown.

Miller replied that he alone has the power to call such a strike and whether he does

“would not depend on what happens here.” He said that it was not an “appropriate time” to call a nationwide strike, nor would he define what constitutes an appropriate time.

One union organizer who had pleaded with Miller to support the Brookside miners with strike action said privately that the UMW president said that a coal strike would endanger the national economy.

Furthermore, Miller said he feared a lawsuit from the coal operators against the UMW.

Thus, Miller’s position is that the defense of coal miners is secondary to the needs of the capitalist economy and that it is impossible for a union to risk a confrontation with the courts.

Miller’s position echoes that of Leonard Woodcock who signed the criminal UAW national contract on the grounds that an auto strike would cripple the economy.

RISK

While Brookside miners risk their lives on the picket line, the union bureaucracy is unable to take any measures to lead their struggle. It begins not with the needs of the working class, but with the needs of big business. It remains subservient to the politicians of the Democratic and Republican Parties who defend the interest of big business.

In spite of Miller, the Brookside miners are stepping up their offensive. The day after Miller left, Highsplint miners defied the state police and joined the picket line demanding the right to join the UMW.

The movement of miners must be taken forward in a fight to construct a new leadership in the UMW against the Miller bureaucracy. But such a leadership must be built based on a fight for the building of a labor party and the struggle for socialist policies.

Miller’s bureaucracy becomes more and more like Boyle’s because the reformists will not confront this basic political task. Seeking to tie miners to the Democrats and subordinate them to the needs of big business, the bureaucracy must come into conflict with the needs of the miners themselves.

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



The Trade Union Unity League, the dual union established by the CP during the ultraleft Third Period, played an important role in the 1929 Gastonia textile strike (above). But the policies of ultraleftism prevented a political development among masses of workers as the CP dropped the fight for a labor party.

The stage was being prepared for a left turn by the Communist International at the Sixth World Congress of the CI held in 1928. At that time, the American Communist Party, under the leadership of Lovestone, had made a complete shift to the right. They abandoned work among the unorganized and occupied themselves with only the most minimal activity within the existing trade unions. The United Front Committees of the 1926-1927 period were dissolved and the Trade Union Educational League was almost totally inactive.

This right turn in the work flowed from Lovestone's thesis of "American exceptionalism," which saw that American capitalism had unlimited possibilities for expansion. Because of its ability to avoid crises, the Lovestonites held that the American capitalists would be able to harness the working class into the capitalist state, not by force, but through the new labor-management schemes of profit sharing and the like which were being pushed jointly by big business and the AFL.

In response to this right turn, a section of the party under the leadership of Foster and Cannon issued a document entitled: "The Right Danger in the American Party".

That this document happened to coincide with the growing turn within the CI to the left cannot be cynically attributed to political maneuverings within the Foster-Cannon group. In fact, they were quite unaware of what was going on at that point in the internal life of the CI. The fact that Lovestone, who had always been much more concerned with maneuvering with Moscow, denounced it so vehemently and openly is testimony to that fact.

Rather, the document reflected that Foster and Cannon were much closer to the actual developments occurring within the workers movement and, while they did not have a Marxist understanding of the developments within the economy, they were at least beginning to grapple with the changes that were occurring in 1928 and to see in these changes a reflection of the breakup of the boom.

THE SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE CI

The opposition group presented their document at the Sixth World Congress and it received a sympathetic hearing. However, Stalin was not yet prepared to

fire on Bukharin and to finish off his supporters in the International in the process, but that he wasn't ready to disclose his whole plan at that time."

Nevertheless, it is clear that Lovestone failed to read the signals correctly in Moscow at the time. Furthermore, Stalin met with the Foster group during the Congress and declared openly that "no good could come out of the Lovestone group." Foster, writing later about these meetings stated:

"Our conclusions from these meetings were about the following lines: that Stalin was decidedly against the Lovestone group and in favor of us, that he will have little influence in the present struggle now, but that the main support will come after we show him in the next few months that we are a fighting group and are fighting in the party for our position."

One further point must be noted about this Congress in order to understand how it was that by 1930 Earl Browder, who had played a secondary role in the Foster faction and had spent most of the preceding five years out of the country, emerged as the leader of the American CP.

Browder had spent one year in Moscow as the American party's representative. He then went to China for a year as part of the International Workers Delegation. Following that, he spent two years in the Far East, representing the CI, as secretary of the Pan Pacific Secretariat and editor of its organ, the *Pan Pacific Monthly*. Draper describes the effect this activity had on Browder:

"During his long tour of foreign duty, a significant change came over Browder. He recognized Stalin as the strong man in the Russian party and guided himself accordingly; he obtained an intimate knowledge of the inner workings of the international Communist movement and increasingly saw the world through the eyes of a working Cominternist."

Thus, Browder understood the importance of winning the favor of Stalin to insure his own future in the party. He, more than any of the other Americans, had an insight into the actual developments within the Russian movement. Therefore, at the Congress, he disassociated himself from all former party groupings and while he agreed with the Foster-Cannon document, he refused to sign it. He simple was waiting in the wings to serve Stalin when called upon to do so.

While the Sixth World Congress formally declared that the development of postwar

Ultraleftism & The

make the left turn completely or to bring out an open break with Bukharin at this point. Therefore, while Lovestone openly defended Bukharin at this conference, he was still allowed to remain as the head of the party.

While the entire proceedings of this Sixth World Congress are worthy of a separate study, here we can only sketch briefly what occurred at the Congress and during the following year. It was a year which brought in what was known as the policy of the third period of Communism, which saw the expulsion of Lovestone, the relegating of Foster to a minor position, and the rise of Earl Browder to the leadership.

Nothing amounting to any definitive policy statement for the American movement was issued at the Sixth Congress. All that could be gathered was that the general line of the Foster-Cannon document was to guide the work of the party. As to the internal factional battle and who was in favor and who was not, nothing at that point was really clear. Cannon, speculating on why it was that Lovestone thought he had a clear mandate from Stalin to continue to rule the American party noted:

"It could be that the Lovestone faction had private meetings with Stalin and Bukharin and that Stalin at such a meeting gave them some grounds to think they could count on his support. That could have been part of his devious game of putting Bukharin off guard until he was ready to cut his throat.

"But that, of course is speculation. Nothing was clear to anybody then. All that's clear now is that Stalin at the time of the Sixth Congress, was planning to open

capitalism had entered into a new stage, a third stage since the war, exactly what the characteristics of that new stage were were not spelled out. Neither were the tasks of the CI, flowing from the new stage in the development of capitalism, clearly defined. All that was clear was that the Communist Parties were to prepare for the breakup of the capitalist boom and to make some sort of left turn in expectation of the coming upsurge in the masses. The complete meaning of the third period and its policies was not spelled out until 1929.

The left turn of the CI was not simply a capricious move made because Stalin thought it would be a good idea to radicalize the movement, or a tactic to gain advantage in his factional war against Bukharin, Tomsky and Rykov. Rather, it was based on concrete material developments within Russia.

Furthermore, it was aimed at trying to outflank Trotsky and the Left Opposition who had continuously warned that the course Stalin was following would open the door for capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. All the details of the existing situation in Russia cannot be gone into here. But it is important to note the development because it reveals the complete pragmatism of Stalin.

Having never been a Marxist, Stalin was incapable of actually creating a systematic plan for the building of a socialist state. Therefore all he could do was react, with abruptness and violence to events after they had occurred.

Cannon describes the reasons for this turn to the left:

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was imposed on him by circumstances which had crept up on him and been fostered by his previous policy. By 1928, the kulaks (rich peasants, N.F.) who had prospered under the previous right-wing policy during the war against the Left Opposition, had grown bold enough to start a grain strike which threatened the bread supply of the cities and would have made the execution of the first Five Year Plan impossible. "It became a matter of self-preservation for the Stalinist regime to strike back and break the power of the kulaks.

What the actual policies of the third period would be for the American Communist Party were spelled out at its Sixth Convention held in March 1929. The convention met just six months before the stock market crash of 1929, which marked the beginning of the deepest depression in the history of capitalism. Even at this point, the market was rapidly sinking, production was down, inflation was running wild, and unemployment was mounting steadily each month.

Thus, the convention opened with a sharp fight against Lovestone's theory of "American exceptionalism." Lovestone held to his position that American capitalism was on the uprise and that the working class was quiescent. He used the poor showing of the party in the 1928 elections as proof that workers could not be radicalized. So persistent was Lovestone in his faith in capitalism that even after the stock market crashed, he maintained that the crash was due to the strength, not the weakness, of capitalism.

Clearly, Lovestone was in a minority with this position. The majority of the party, including Foster, accepted the CP's line that the entire international system of capitalism was about to collapse, and thus, revolution was imminent. Flowing from this perspective, the policy of "red trade unions" was put forth. This policy held that the AFL unions were completely finished so the party should have nothing to do with them.

In fact, it went a step further. Stalin's theory was that the social democratic parties of Europe were tools of fascism, "social fascists," and had to be fought just as hard as the growing fascist parties. In keeping with this theory, the American CP denounced the AFL unions as being agents of the fascists, which, therefore, had to be destroyed. The CP transformed the TUEL into the Trade Union Unity League as the national body under which new, "red," unions would be built in every industry.

out his work in the labor movement? In trying to explain Foster's sudden turn, Cannon characterized him:

"Foster was a shrewd and competent man, far more conscious and deliberate in all his actions than he appeared and pretended to be. Everything that Foster did, from first to last, was done deliberately. In fact, he was too shrewd, too deliberate in his decisions, and too free from the restraint of scruple; and by that he wrought his own catastrophe.

"Foster is a Fosterite—a fame fetishist—who adapted himself to the Stalinist power as he had previously adapted himself to Fitzpatrick in the AFL, and even to Gompers, with the calculation that in doing so he could serve his own ends and his own career."

Foster believed that by formally accepting the new line, he would be insured the leadership of the CP. But such was not the case. Immediately following the convention, Lovestone was expelled by Stalin, because of his earlier support to Bukharin, and Browder was placed in the top leadership. Thus, in spite of his avowed change of position, Foster's past record made him suspect in the eyes of Stalin.

Browder, on the other hand, was clearly a Stalin man from top to bottom. He ruled the CP until 1945, when a new shift in policy by Stalin required a shift in leadership within the American movement. Foster was reduced to the position of head of the Trade Union Unity League at its founding convention in late 1929 in Cleveland.

THE DECISION

The strategy of the third period was formulated within a few months of the stock market crash and the beginning of the great depression. Contrary to Lovestone's theories, and as Trotsky had assessed earlier in both his pamphlet *Europe and America* and *The First Five Years of the Communist International*, America was not immune to crises. Trotsky noted that while America was able to develop by putting Europe on rations, thereby creating the conditions for revolution in Europe, it also brought into itself all the weaknesses of European capitalism. Thus, American capitalism could only stabilize itself temporarily, and the downfall of Europe would destroy the viability of American capitalism as well. The stock market crash bore out the correctness of this assessment.

A brief picture of the devastation of the depression is given in *Labor's Untold Story*:

"And so the whole vast economy of the nation, its mills, factories, mines, its stores, transport, and distribution, came to a slow, grinding stop or at best proceeded at about half speed. Some 5761 banks failed. Gross farm income dropped from 12 billions of dollars to a little over five billions.

"Wage cuts came one after the other until they averaged 45 percent for all industry. Industrial production dropped by almost 50 percent. By 1933, there were anywhere from 12,000,000 to 17,000,000 unemployed.

"There was food, millions of tons of it. But people soon were starving as the food was destroyed or left to rot because it could not be sold at a profit. There was clothing, warehouses filled with it, and millions were shivering for lack of it as the depression continued.

"There were warm houses, thousands of them, but empty now, as thousands of evicted suffered cold, rain, wind, and snow in the leaky tarpaper shacks in the Hoovervilles built on garbage dumps that became a common feature of the American scene."

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CP DURING THE THIRD PERIOD

The activities of the CP from 1929 to 1933 must be examined against this objective situation in the US. These activities break down into three areas: work in the unions; work among the unemployed; work on the political scene.

The TUUL was formally set up at the Cleveland Convention at the end of 1929. The three major unions which made up the

TUUL were the National Miners Union, the National Textile Workers Union, and the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union.

The TUUL was only involved in a few major strikes during this period and was unable to develop any mass base among organized workers because of its ultraleft policy of denouncing all organized trade unions. As the CP was calling for the building of revolutionary unions in all the industries and advocating immediate strike struggles by these unions, millions were unemployed and those that had jobs were subject to complete intimidation by the employers as the threat of unemployment hung over their heads. In fact, during 1930 and 1931, only 158,000 workers struck at all, compared with 1934, when over one and one-half million walked out.

In one area, the textile industry, the TUUL gained support because of its fight to bring trade unionism into the Southern textile plants. During 1929, it conducted the heroic Gastonia strike in a vicious battle against an all-out vigilante campaign to drive unionism out before it could get a start.

However, in the 1930 strike by the Auto Workers Union against General Motor's Fisher Body Plant Number One in Flint, the TUUL was soundly defeated and the strikers blacklisted. Furthermore, the TUUL conducted itself in such a completely sectarian way in strike situations that workers became fed up with the leadership. Coser and Howe describe their union policy as follows:

"In 1931, in a single strike called in the Pittsburgh region, we found that the union were told to fight for the six hour day and for a workers and farmers government, while the grievances that led to the strike were either forgotten or put in the back-ground."

While continuously stating that the working class should immediately take over the government, the CP put forward no concrete strategy to accomplish this.

Nevertheless, despite its lack of a concrete policy, millions of workers and unemployed rallied to the party during this period. They saw in the CP the inheritors of the traditions of the Russian Revolution and thus, looked to the CP to carry forward those traditions in the fight for the socialist revolution here.

Furthermore, the ranks of the CP, as Art Preis notes, were "still imbued with class instinct and revolutionary zeal, although already badly disoriented by Stalinism, which gave the first great impulse and leadership to working class mass action in the early years of the Great Depression. The Communist Party provided by far the largest number of zealous and courageous local organizers in the early days."

The ultraleft, militant line of the party during this period seemed to thousands of workers to correspond to their genuine search for revolution. In fact, it was during the ultraleft period that the party recruited their best cadres and it was these cadres who were to play leading roles in the CIO movement.

The greatest success of the CP was to come in its work among the unemployed.

In 1930, it set up Unemployment Councils under the direction of the TUUL. These councils received an enormous response and were immediately flooded with members.

On March 6, 1930, the first nationwide demonstration was called by the TUUL against unemployment. More than 100,000 demonstrated in Detroit; 40,000 in Youngstown; 50,000 in Chicago; 40,000 in Milwaukee. The biggest march was held in New York, where over 110,000 stormed into Union Square.

The employers reacted with tremendous fear at this mass movement of unemployed. A New York World reporter described the scene at Union Square:

"Women struck in the face with black-jacks, boys beaten by gangs of seven and eight policemen, and an old man backed into a doorway and knocked down time after time, only to be dragged to his feet and struck with fist and club.

"Detectives, some wearing reporters' cards in hat bands, wearing no badges, running wildly through the crowd, screaming as they beat those who looked like communists."

While the initial organization of these councils met with success, the CP had no strategy to take forward the fight of the unemployed. When it became clear that the policy of simply organizing continuous street demonstrations was leading to total

demoralization and the number of those participating in these demonstrations had dwindled down to less than 50 in each area, the party switched to an openly reformist policy for the councils.

Browder urged the policy of setting up local collection committees to get "food from the larger capitalists and corporations." He conceded that this might prove to be impossible, so the councils should also go to the small businessmen for help.

Of course, it was difficult to push this ultra-reformist line for too long, and it was soon dropped. At the same time, the unemployed themselves were abandoning the councils, recognizing, as Jeremy Brecher noted, "the limitations of a self-help movement living off the scraps of an already collapsed economy."

By the end of 1932, the CP had virtually abandoned any work among the unemployed. There were two reasons for this move. One lies in the objective difficulties of actually organizing the unemployed. As Coser and Howe noted:

"The life of the employed worker is given form and meaning by the time he spends in the factory, and his relationships with other workers are regulated both by their physical closeness and by their common interests on the job. The unemployed worker, however, tends to become a drifter, a demoralized and helpless solitary."

While it is true that there are difficulties in organizing the unemployed, this was not the main problem of the CP. The problem flowed from an abandonment of any strategy whatsoever for the fight for the socialist revolution here. Thus, they had nothing to propose to the thousands of unemployed workers who joined their councils and of course, eventually these workers became demoralized and quit.

On the actual strategy necessary to bring the working class forward politically as the first step in the fight for the socialist revolution, the policies of the third period proved to be most treacherous. In Europe, the CP's policies of refusing to join the social democratic parties in a united front to fight fascism led to the triumph of Hitler. In America, the policy of social fascism combined with the theory of the imminence of the revolution led to an abandonment of the fight to break the working class from the parties of capitalism through the construction of a labor party.

The party dropped the demand for a labor party from its program in 1929, claiming that there was no need to build a labor party, since it was on the road to becoming a mass revolutionary party. In this way, the old policies of American radicalism, policies which had always resulted in tying workers to the parties of their employers, were once again reasserted. Thus, at the very moment when millions of workers were searching for an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, the CP diverted them back into the capitalist camp.

Together with their abandonment of the fight for a labor party, the CP concentrated all its political attacks, not on the Democrats or Republicans, but on the Socialist Party. As early as 1928, Browder wrote: "The bourgeoisie is definitely building up the Socialist Party because it knows that in the coming great class struggle in America, it is going to need the SP."

Throughout the entire 1932 presidential election campaign, the party's press concentrated its attack on Norman Thomas, the SP candidate, thereby rendering great service to Roosevelt, without directly having to state their support for him.

Thus, the policies of the third period marked a great betrayal of the American working class, led to the triumph of fascism in Germany and Italy, and prepared the groundwork for the crushing defeat of the working class throughout Europe.

While the party initially met with tremendous success during the third period, revealing once again the desire of the American working class for a revolutionary alternative, it failed to take this success forward by posing an actual policy for the struggle for power.

Furthermore, by 1933, it became increasingly isolated from the new battles that were breaking out in the organized trade union movement because it still held to its ultraleft position that the AFL unions were "social fascist." This was to place the CP, for a period, outside the actual struggles of the working class.

TO BE CONTINUED

The American CP

part three

Lovestone had no trouble accepting this theory of dual unionism, in spite of his perspective on the development of American capitalism. Foster, on the other hand, faced a real dilemma.

All his life, Foster had been opposed to the policy of dual unions. He had always held that it was necessary to work within the existing unions and, while he had wavered slightly from that position during the period of the United Front Committees of 1925-1926, he had never broken from it.

Furthermore, Foster could not readily accept the idea that the AFL unions were nothing more than agents of fascism. He recognized that these unions for all their conservatism, just as much as the social democratic parties, depended on the support of the working class for their survival. To get that support, they were forced, even if only in the most minimal way, to fight the corporations to win certain gains for workers. Fascism, on the contrary, which is the face of capitalism fighting desperately for its survival, depended on the destruction of all organizations of the working class.

Nevertheless in 1928, Foster went all-out to show that he accepted the new policy, including the theory that the AFL unions were social fascists. He wrote in the *Daily Worker*:

"The AFL leaders have become the chief strikebreaking agency of the employers. Developing fascism in the United States has a main foundation in the leadership of the AFL."

Why was it that Foster renounced the position for which he had fought through-

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



The Trade Union Unity League, the dual union established by the CP during the ultraleft Third Period, played an important role in the 1929 Gastonia textile strike (above). But the policies of ultraleftism prevented a political development among masses of workers as the CP dropped the fight for a labor party.

The stage was being prepared for a left turn by the Communist International at the Sixth World Congress of the CI held in 1928. At that time, the American Communist Party, under the leadership of Lovestone, had made a complete shift to the right. They abandoned work among the unorganized and occupied themselves with only the most minimal activity within the existing trade unions. The United Front Committees of the 1926-1927 period were dissolved and the Trade Union Educational League was almost totally inactive.

This right turn in the work flowed from Lovestone's thesis of "American exceptionalism," which saw that American capitalism had unlimited possibilities for expansion. Because of its ability to avoid crises, the Lovestonites held that the American capitalists would be able to harness the working class into the capitalist state, not by force, but through the new labor-management schemes of profit sharing and the like which were being pushed jointly by big business and the AFL.

In response to this right turn, a section of the party under the leadership of Foster and Cannon issued a document entitled: "The Right Danger in the American Party."

That this document happened to coincide with the growing turn within the CI to the left cannot be cynically attributed to political maneuverings within the Foster-Cannon group. In fact, they were quite unaware of what was going on at that point in the internal life of the CI. The fact that Lovestone, who had always been much more concerned with maneuvering with Moscow, denounced it so vehemently and openly is testimony to that fact.

Rather, the document reflected that Foster and Cannon were much closer to the actual developments occurring within the workers movement and, while they did not have a Marxist understanding of the developments within the economy, they were at least beginning to grapple with the changes that were occurring in 1928 and to see in these changes a reflection of the breakup of the boom.

THE SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE CI

The opposition group presented their document at the Sixth World Congress and it received a sympathetic hearing. However, Stalin was not yet prepared to

make the left turn completely or to bring out an open break with Bukharin at this point. Therefore, while Lovestone openly defended Bukharin at this conference, he was still allowed to remain as the head of the party.

While the entire proceedings of this Sixth World Congress are worthy of a separate study, here we can only sketch briefly what occurred at the Congress and during the following year. It was a year which brought in what was known as the policy of the third period of Communism, which saw the expulsion of Lovestone, the relegating of Foster to a minor position, and the rise of Earl Browder to the leadership.

Nothing amounting to any definitive policy statement for the American movement was issued at the Sixth Congress. All that could be gathered was that the general line of the Foster-Cannon document was to guide the work of the party. As to the internal factional battle and who was in favor and who was not, nothing at that point was really clear. Cannon, speculating on why it was that Lovestone thought he had a clear mandate from Stalin to continue to rule the American party noted:

"It could be that the Lovestone faction had private meetings with Stalin and Bukharin and that Stalin at such a meeting gave them some grounds to think they could count on his support. That could have been part of his devious game of putting Bukharin off guard until he was ready to cut his throat.

"But that, of course is speculation. Nothing was clear to anybody then. All that's clear now is that Stalin at the time of the Sixth Congress, was planning to open

fire on Bukharin and to finish off his supporters in the International in the process, but that he wasn't ready to disclose his whole plan at that time."

Nevertheless, it is clear that Lovestone failed to read the signals correctly in Moscow at the time. Furthermore, Stalin met with the Foster group during the Congress and declared openly that "no good could come out of the Lovestone group." Foster, writing later about these meetings stated:

"Our conclusions from these meetings were about the following lines: that Stalin was decidedly against the Lovestone group and in favor of us, that he will have little influence in the present struggle now, but that the main support will come after we show him in the next few months that we are a fighting group and are fighting in the party for our position."

One further point must be noted about this Congress in order to understand how it was that by 1930 Earl Browder, who had played a secondary role in the Foster faction and had spent most of the preceding five years out of the country, emerged as the leader of the American CP.

Browder had spent one year in Moscow as the American party's representative. He then went to China for a year as part of the International Workers Delegation. Following that, he spent two years in the Far East, representing the CI, as secretary of the Pan Pacific Secretariat and editor of its organ, the Pan Pacific Monthly. Draper describes the effect this activity had on Browder:

"During his long tour of foreign duty, a significant change came over Browder. He recognized Stalin as the strong man in the Russian party and guided himself accordingly: he obtained an intimate knowledge of the inner workings of the international Communist movement and increasingly saw the world through the eyes of a working Cominternist."

Thus, Browder understood the importance of winning the favor of Stalin to insure his own future in the party. He, more than any of the other Americans, had an insight into the actual developments within the Russian movement. Therefore, at the Congress, he disassociated himself from all former party groupings and while he agreed with the Foster-Cannon document, he refused to sign it. He simply was waiting in the wings to serve Stalin when called upon to do so.

While the Sixth World Congress formally declared that the development of postwar

capitalism had entered into a new stage, a third stage since the war, exactly what the characteristics of that new stage were were not spelled out. Neither were the tasks of the CI, flowing from the new stage in the development of capitalism, clearly defined. All that was clear was that the Communist Parties were to prepare for the breakup of the capitalist boom and to make some sort of left turn in expectation of the coming upsurge in the masses. The complete meaning of the third period and its policies was not spelled out until 1929.

The left turn of the CI was not simply a capricious move made because Stalin thought it would be a good idea to radicalize the movement, or a tactic to gain advantage in his factional war against Bukharin, Tomsky and Rykov. Rather, it was based on concrete material developments within Russia.

Furthermore, it was aimed at trying to outflank Trotsky and the Left Opposition who had continuously warned that the course Stalin was following would open the door for capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. All the details of the existing situation in Russia cannot be gone into here. But it is important to note the development because it reveals the complete pragmatism of Stalin.

Having never been a Marxist, Stalin was incapable of actually creating a systematic plan for the building of a socialist state. Therefore all he could do was react, with abruptness and violence to events after they had occurred.

Cannon describes the reasons for this turn to the left:

Bulletin

was imposed on him by circumstances which had crept up on him and been fostered by his previous policy. By 1928, the kulaks (rich peasants, N.F.) who had prospered under the previous right-wing policy during the war against the Left Opposition, had grown bold enough to start a grain strike which threatened the bread supply of the cities and would have made the execution of the first Five Year Plan impossible.

"It became a matter of self-preservation for the Stalinist regime to strike back and break the power of the kulaks.

What the actual policies of the third period would be for the American Communist Party were spelled out at its Sixth Convention held in March 1929. The convention met just six months before the stock market crash of 1929, which marked the beginning of the deepest depression in the history of capitalism. Even at this point, the market was rapidly sinking, production was down, inflation was running wild, and unemployment was mounting steadily each month.

Thus, the convention opened with a sharp fight against Lovestone's theory of "American exceptionalism." Lovestone held to his position that American capitalism was on the uprise and that the working class was quiescent. He used the poor showing of the party in the 1928 elections as proof that workers could not be radicalized. So persistent was Lovestone in his faith in capitalism that even after the stock market crashed, he maintained that the crash was due to the strength, not the weakness, of capitalism.

Clearly, Lovestone was in a minority with this position. The majority of the party, including Foster, accepted the CI's line that the entire international system of capitalism was about to collapse, and thus, revolution was imminent. Flowing from this perspective, the policy of "red trade unions" was put forth. This policy held that the AFL unions were completely finished so the party should have nothing to do with them.

In fact, it went a step further. Stalin's theory was that the social democratic parties of Europe were tools of fascism, "social fascists," and had to be fought just as hard as the growing fascist parties. In keeping with this theory, the American CP denounced the AFL unions as being agents of the fascists, which, therefore, had to be destroyed. The CP transformed the TUUL into the Trade Union Unity League as the national body under which new, "red," unions would be built in every industry.

out his work in the labor movement? In trying to explain Foster's sudden turn, Cannon characterized him:

"Foster was a shrewd and competent man, far more conscious and deliberate in all his actions than he appeared and pretended to be. Everything that Foster did, from first to last, was done deliberately. In fact, he was too shrewd, too deliberate in his decisions, and too free from the restraint of scruple; and by that he wrought his own catastrophe.

"Foster is a Fosterite—a fame fetishist—who adapted himself to the Stalinist power as he had previously adapted himself to Fitzpatrick in the AFL, and even to Gompers, with the calculation that in doing so he could serve his own ends and his own career."

Foster believed that by formally accepting the new line, he would be insured the leadership of the CP. But such was not the case. Immediately following the convention, Lovestone was expelled by Stalin, because of his earlier support to Bukharin, and Browder was placed in the top leadership. Thus, in spite of his avowed change of position, Foster's past record made him suspect in the eyes of Stalin.

Browder, on the other hand, was clearly a Stalin man from top to bottom. He ruled the CP until 1945, when a new shift in policy by Stalin required a shift in leadership within the American movement. Foster was reduced to the position of head of the Trade Union Unity League at its founding convention in late 1929 in Cleveland.

THE DECISION

The strategy of the third period was formulated within a few months of the stock market crash and the beginning of the great depression. Contrary to Lovestone's theories, and as Trotsky had assessed earlier in both his pamphlet *Europe and America* and *The First Five Years of the Communist International*, America was not immune to crises. Trotsky noted that while America was able to develop by putting Europe on rations, thereby creating the conditions for revolution in Europe, it also brought into itself all the weaknesses of European capitalism. Thus, American capitalism could only stabilize itself temporarily, and the downfall of Europe would destroy the viability of American capitalism as well. The stock market crash bore out the correctness of this assessment.

A brief picture of the devastation of the depression is given in *Labor's Untold Story*:

"And so the whole vast economy of the nation, its mills, factories, mines, its stores, transport, and distribution, came to a slow, grinding stop or at best proceeded at about half speed. Some 5761 banks failed. Gross farm income dropped from 12 billions of dollars to a little over five billions.

"Wage cuts came one after the other until they averaged 45 percent for all industry. Industrial production dropped by almost 50 percent. By 1933, there were anywhere from 12,000,000 to 17,000,000 unemployed.

"There was food, millions of tons of it. But people soon were starving as the food was destroyed or left to rot because it could not be sold at a profit. There was clothing, warehouses filled with it, and millions were shivering for lack of it as the depression continued.

"There were warm houses, thousands of them, but empty now, as thousands of evicted suffered cold, rain, wind, and snow in the leaky tarpaper shacks in the Hoovervilles built on garbage dumps that became a common feature of the American scene."

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CP DURING THE THIRD PERIOD

The activities of the CP from 1929 to 1933 must be examined against this objective situation in the US. These activities break down into three areas: work in the unions; work among the unemployed; work on the political scene.

The TUUL was formally set up at the Cleveland Convention at the end of 1929. The three major unions which made up the

TUUL were the National Miners Union, the National Textile Workers Union, and the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union.

The TUUL was only involved in a few major strikes during this period and was unable to develop any mass base among organized workers because of its ultraleft policy of denouncing all organized trade unions. As the CP was calling for the building of revolutionary unions in all the industries and advocating immediate strike struggles by these unions, millions were unemployed and those that had jobs were subject to complete intimidation by the employers as the threat of unemployment hung over their heads. In fact, during 1930 and 1931, only 158,000 workers struck at all, compared with 1934, when over one and one-half million walked out.

In one area, the textile industry, the TUUL gained support because of its fight to bring trade unionism into the Southern textile plants. During 1929, it conducted the heroic Gastonia strike in a vicious battle against an all-out vigilante campaign to drive unionism out before it could get a start.

However, in the 1930 strike by the Auto Workers Union against General Motor's Fisher Body Plant Number One in Flint, the TUUL was soundly defeated and the strikers blacklisted. Furthermore, the TUUL conducted itself in such a completely sectarian way in strike situations that workers became fed up with the leadership. Coser and Howe describe their union policy as follows:

"In 1931, in a single strike called in the Pittsburgh region, we found that the union were told to fight for the six hour day and for a workers and farmers government, while the grievances that led to the strike were either forgotten or put in the background."

While continuously stating that the working class should immediately take over the government, the CP put forward no concrete strategy to accomplish this.

Nevertheless, despite its lack of a concrete policy, millions of workers and unemployed rallied to the party during this period. They saw in the CP the inheritors of the traditions of the Russian Revolution and thus, looked to the CP to carry forward those traditions in the fight for the socialist revolution here.

Furthermore, the ranks of the CP, as Art Preis notes, were "still imbued with class instinct and revolutionary zeal, although already badly disoriented by Stalinism, which gave the first great impulse and leadership to working class mass action in the early years of the Great Depression. The Communist Party provided by far the largest number of zealous and courageous local organizers in the early days."

The ultraleft, militant line of the party during this period seemed to thousands of workers to correspond to their genuine search for revolution. In fact, it was during the ultraleft period that the party recruited their best cadres and it was these cadres who were to play leading roles in the CIO movement.

The greatest success of the CP was to come in its work among the unemployed.

In 1930, it set up Unemployment Councils under the direction of the TUUL. These councils received an enormous response and were immediately flooded with members.

On March 6, 1930, the first nationwide demonstration was called by the TUUL against unemployment. More than 100,000 demonstrated in Detroit; 40,000 in Youngstown; 50,000 in Chicago; 40,000 in Milwaukee. The biggest march was held in New York, where over 110,000 stormed into Union Square.

The employers reacted with tremendous fear at this mass movement of unemployed. A New York World reporter described the scene at Union Square:

"Women struck in the face with black-jacks, boys beaten by gangs of seven and eight policemen, and an old man backed into a doorway and knocked down time after time, only to be dragged to his feet and struck with fist and club.

"Detectives, some wearing reporters' cards in hat bands, wearing no badges, running wildly through the crowd, screaming as they beat those who looked like communists."

While the initial organization of these councils met with success, the CP had no strategy to take forward the fight of the unemployed. When it became clear that the policy of simply organizing continuous street demonstrations was leading to total

demoralization and the number of those participating in these demonstrations had dwindled down to less than 50 in each area, the party switched to an openly reformist policy for the councils.

Browder urged the policy of setting up local collection committees to get "food from the larger capitalists and corporations." He conceded that this might prove to be impossible, so the councils should also go to the small businessmen for help.

Of course, it was difficult to push this ultra-reformist line for too long, and it was soon dropped. At the same time, the unemployed themselves were abandoning the councils, recognizing, as Jeremy Brecher noted, "the limitations of a self-help movement living off the scraps of an already collapsed economy."

By the end of 1932, the CP had virtually abandoned any work among the unemployed. There were two reasons for this move. One lies in the objective difficulties of actually organizing the unemployed. As Coser and Howe noted:

"The life of the employed worker is given form and meaning by the time he spends in the factory, and his relationships with other workers are regulated both by their physical closeness and by their common interests on the job. The unemployed worker, however, tends to become a drifter, a demoralized and helpless solitary."

While it is true that there are difficulties in organizing the unemployed, this was not the main problem of the CP. The problem flowed from an abandonment of any strategy whatsoever for the fight for the socialist revolution here. Thus, they had nothing to propose to the thousands of unemployed workers who joined their councils and of course, eventually these workers became demoralized and quit.

On the actual strategy necessary to bring the working class forward politically as the first step in the fight for the socialist revolution, the policies of the third period proved to be most treacherous. In Europe, the CP's policies of refusing to join the social democratic parties in a united front to fight fascism led to the triumph of Hitler. In America, the policy of social fascism combined with the theory of the imminence of the revolution led to an abandonment of the fight to break the working class from the parties of capitalism through the construction of a labor party.

The party dropped the demand for a labor party from its program in 1929, claiming that there was no need to build a labor party, since it was on the road to becoming a mass revolutionary party. In this way, the old policies of American radicalism, policies which had always resulted in tying workers to the parties of their employers, were once again reasserted. Thus, at the very moment when millions of workers were searching for an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, the CP diverted them back into the capitalist camp.

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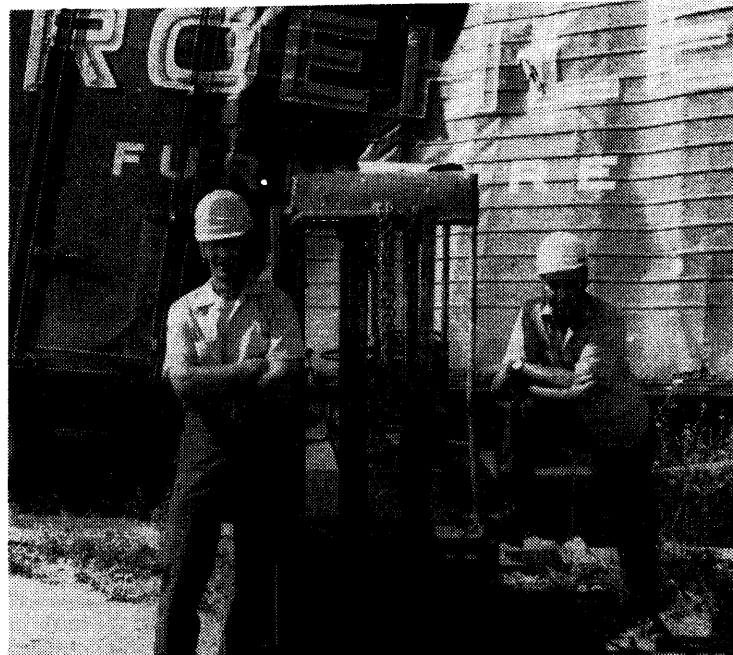
XENIA — THREE MONTHS LATER

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM
XENIA, Ohio—Three months ago, Xenia, Ohio was devastated by one of the most severe tornadoes in US history. Governor Gilligan, Senators, even President Nixon shook their heads at the sight of the torn-up stores, factories, schools, and homes, and promised immediate relief.

Today, the town stands much as it did the day after the storm, except that the rubble has been cleared, and the politicians do not show their faces any more. Government funds are just beginning to trickle in, and many families have been forced to move permanently because of the loss of their homes and jobs.

"People are getting bitter," one resident told the Bulletin. "They were told by the government, they would house them for up to 18 months.

"Now that we are receiving some insurance settlements, which don't begin to compensate for the expenses, Housing and Urban Development officials are beginning to badger them about paying the money back they were given for housing for the three months and paying their own rent for the rest of the time.



Workers at the Kroehler Furniture company where wreckage is finally being cleared.

worth anywhere between \$2000 and \$10,000."

A restaurant worker remarked: "The only ones that got aid were the bigwigs." A retired worker said: "The city won't let the people do anything—14 people are just sitting up there. "Someone called my daughter from the City Building and offered to buy her out. Talk about Watergate. They've got one right here."

The city has now, after three months, been promised about \$150,000 out of the estimated \$150 million it will take to rebuild. One HUD official finally admitted that urban renewal funds for fiscal 1974 had run out, and applications would be considered only for 1975 funds which were

after a disaster and make all kinds of promises they don't mean to fulfill.

Six of Xenia's 11 schools were wiped out, and students were bused to towns about 10 miles away. The superintendent of schools reports that Nixon told him personally: "You get your kids back in Xenia, and we'll cut the red tape."

Ever since then, he has been trying to get funds from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. First, they wanted plans for temporary structures, then general plans for rebuilding.

Then they decided that the city would have to accept the lowest bid, for converted house trailers that didn't even have bath-



Wrecked homes still have not been rebuilt, despite Federal promises of funds.

"All the paper work that people have had to do for loans has come to nothing. Nobody who has made applications to the Small Business Administration has heard from them.

"As soon as the streets were cleared, they were supposed to start rebuilding. Now, they haven't even issued building permits for some of the areas like North Detroit Street near the center of town, where the houses were narrow and two-storied.

"These were older houses. To replace that type would cost at least \$60,000 a home.

"At the same time, the ranch style houses require 108-foot wide lots to conform to the new building codes, so the home owners who had these lots that are about 60 or 80 feet can't even rebuild.

"Some of the people, particularly the elderly who were disoriented because of the tornado, were taken advantage of by speculators who would come in and offer to buy their lots for \$200 to \$300, that were really

not available until July 1.

Driving through the outskirts of Xenia on a road going toward Central State University, you still see many lots with the standing shells of former houses. In the Arrowhead Project, where most of the housing was destroyed, many of the \$20,000 homes have been rebuilt.

They have been hastily constructed with the same flimsy techniques, although the fronts are fancier. They have no basements for protection against another summer storm. Many have "For Sale" signs on them.

Central State is one of the oldest primarily Black colleges in the country. The damaged buildings stand just as they were after the tornado, with broken windows, caved in roofs, soaked and shattered interiors.

In spite of the painted slogan "Central State Lives," students told the Bulletin: "We are without a fire station, an art building, a book store, or a telecommunications center.

"The politicians come down

rooms. Now they have learned that \$1.8 million has been approved to build the temporary structures that were first requested.

The loss of jobs in the area has been tremendous, as the tornado destroyed many stores in the center of town, and three manufacturing firms that provided about 600 jobs.

One of these, Kurz-Kasch, will move out and rebuild elsewhere. Another, Tremac Company, which makes industrial springs, is in the process of rebuilding.

The plant which employed the most workers, Kroehler Furniture Co. is just now being cleared of wreckage. Supervisory workers at the site said Kroehler will "probably" rebuild in the area, but the timetable is "very vague."

A foreman at Kroehler told the Bulletin that the bosses were lucky. "When the tornado hit, after working hours, they crawled into the steel vault where all the valuables were and found safety."

Supreme Court Releases Racist Anti-Busing Order

BY A REPORTER
 DETROIT, Mich.—
 Less than 24 hours after declaring Nixon's whole term in office to be based on massive violation of the constitution, the Supreme Court upheld his most reactionary public policy by ruling that busing cannot be ordered between school districts even if this is the only way integrated schools can be achieved.

DECISION

The 5-4 decision by the court overthrew an appeals court ruling that authorized the city of Detroit to treat its school district and 53 districts in surrounding suburbs as a single metropolitan unit and begin cross-busing of students. In Detroit, where decades of rotten real estate practices have led to almost totally segregated housing, this would be the only way of complying with federal integration guidelines.

BLACK

Detroit's schools, serving about 290,000 youth, are over two-thirds Black. Metropolitan area schools have over 780,000 students altogether.

In writing the majority ruling, Chief Justice Warren Burger said that the constitutional right of Black youth in Detroit is to "attend a unitary school system in that district," and that the school board is "under no constitutional duty to make provisions for Negro students" to attend suburban schools unless it was arranging for white students to do so.

The court said inter-district busing could be used if dis-

crimination in one district produced the segregation in another or if the district lines were specifically drawn to separate the races.

In a strongly-worded dissenting statement, Justice Thurgood Marshall called the decision "a reflection of a perceived public mood," not a decision based on interpretation of the law.

"MOOD"

It is not the "mood" of the working class that the court responded to, but the determination of the ruling class to force through every one of Nixon's hated policies even if they are forced to dump Nixon himself.

Even as the court ruled, the Senate joined the House of Representatives in adding anti-busing restrictions to the new education act, and Vice President Gerald Ford hailed the high court ruling as "A great step forward to finding another answer to quality education."

PRETEND

Politicians and the Courts pretend that their concern is to maintain the tradition of "local districts" and "neighborhood schools." But rural youth have been bused for miles over the last decades to attend consolidated schools; the bus trip itself has never been the issue.

Nixon, the courts and the politicians of both parties try to whip up racism over the busing issue to hide their attacks on the basic right to free education itself.

In Detroit, the schools have been allowed to fall into decay and dozens of teachers have been laid off. Parents are practically invited to send their children to private schools.

During the teachers' strike last year, the Superintendent of Schools openly stated that he didn't care if the schools ever opened up again.

NCR Strike Expected

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON—United Auto Workers Local 1616 leaders are being forced into a fight for a major wage increase when the National Cash Register contract expires next April.

UAW Local 1616 financial secretary-treasurer Robert Travis stated that the workers have aided NCR's so-called "financial recovery." He said:

"I think our people deserve a lot of credit, they've had their part in this success story. The company has been able to switch over to new products with little trouble. Our members are really getting in there and putting out a day's work."

Referring to the upcoming wage negotiations, Travis said: "Conditions are now a lot better than the last time we went to the bargaining table (January, 1972). It's always good to bargain with a company making money."

In 1972, NCR said that they had a loss of \$60 million dollars.

NCR workers told the **Bulletin** that this was "an outright lie,

the confidential profit charts were actually going up" and that the 60 million dollars was not a loss at all. It was actually the figure referred to in an earlier secret projection and merely meant that NCR made less than projected at the time.

The UAW local bureaucrats and Woodcock swallowed NCR's line and fell over themselves in selling out the working conditions and jobs of thousands of NCR workers. Speedup and unreachable piecework rates have existed ever since.

Recently the president of NCR, Anderson, made national corporate headlines when he got a salary hike of a quarter of a million dollars.

Leonard Woodcock came to Dayton and gave his official blessing to the sell-out of the NCR workers and "thanked" NCR for staying in Dayton.

The employment picture is bleak. In 1969, there were 20,000 workers at NCR in Dayton, today there are 9500 workers. The work force is expected to decline to 8000 through so-called normal attrition.



Truck drivers from Teamsters Local 688 have been on strike in St. Louis since March against an association of three furniture stores. The drivers went out in March when the stores terminated contracts with the Compton Leasing Service and hired non-union workers.

Telephone Workers Demand Official Strike

BY JANE JACKSON
 DETROIT, Mich.—

Four CWA locals here and in surrounding suburbs staged walk-outs the past week in defiance of CWA officials' orders to stay on the job with a day to day contract extension.

"We walked out because we are completely fed up," an operator on the picket line outside the main office declared angrily.

"These people think we're living in the 1920s. This is 1974 and changes have to be made."

Local 4000 representing clerical workers and operators held a turbulent meeting and strike

vote on Monday. Union officials, unable to maintain any order urged the members, the majority of whom are women, to return to work because the wild-cat was threatening negotiations. A large number left the meeting in disgust.

At the same meeting, five members of Local 4090, CWA who tried to gain entrance to speak were turned away.

UNITY

They told the **Bulletin** why they were at the meeting: "We've been installing automated equipment that will eliminate these people's jobs."

"The most important thing for us now is unity."

"Out of seven guys in my area, four observed the picket line, but three worked anyway. They said they needed the money."

Charles Thomas, a repairman and member of Local 4001 expressed the feelings of many of the workers: "This is the first time we've had a national contract and the whole thing is rotten as far as the company and the union officials are concerned."

"They tell you about percentages and fractions of percentages, but what it all boils down to is they want to take away our cost of living, which is paid hourly, and replace it with some medical benefits in 1975 or 76. Most of the guys don't understand the wording and the union officials don't help."

INCREASE

"Michigan Bell's rate increase was turned down, so that's part of it too. It's political."

"I guess no one is really representing the working class today."

Strike votes are being taken by all the locals, but no word as to when a deadline will be set has been given by union leaders.

At issue, in addition to wages and a cost of living clause is the company's policies of disciplinary actions and suspensions.

Bob, an installer, described how these policies have changed.

"I worked for Ma Bell for six months and then went into the service. When I got out and went back to work, you wouldn't know it was the same place."

"We definitely should strike. We'll probably be out by the end of the week."

FMC Ranks Stay Out

BY J. NELSON

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—
 Workers at FMC's naval ordnance plant here, voted Tuesday to reject the company's contract proposal and to extend their three-month-old strike.

FMC offered a 10 percent pay hike the first year to be followed by 4 percent hikes each of the next two years of the contract.

The cost of living proposed by FMC is the familiar one cent for every .4 percent rise in the cost of living.

The strike vote was 800 to 500 in favor of staying out. This vote was in defiance of the local

leadership, which many workers reported favored settlement.

Local officials have remained silent about the original demands of the union which included a 30 percent pay increase for the contract period.

One young worker said: "It hurts to stay out 12 weeks, but it's better than going to work with a contract that you know won't support you."

As the strike enters its thirteenth week, limited production and repairs continue by office and supervisory personnel with the navy footing the bill.

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books

Alan White

Year One Of The Russian Revolution

PART TWO

In the first part of this review, we described how the workers and soldiers of Petrograd were able to seize the Winter Palace with hardly any bloodshed.

The Moscow insurrection was quite different, it was poorly organized. The battle in the streets lasted six days with much blood spilt. The Military Revolutionary Committee of the Moscow Soviet was not formed until October 25.

The bourgeoisie had ordered the MRC to disband. The MRC's problem was to hold out long enough until the Red Guard could encircle Moscow and destroy the Whites, the capitalist army, from the rear.

The Reds had the advantage in numbers, but had poor leadership. Indeed, the Mensheviks, even though opposed to the formation of the MRC, were allowed to enter it even though their only intention in doing so was to sabotage the insurrection!

Serge graphically describes some of the events of the Moscow insurrection:

"Cut off from the MRC, Berzen (a leader of the Reds), the commander of the Kremlin, surrenders it after being told that 'order has been restored' and given a solemn promise that the lives of his men will be spared.

"He goes personally to open the doors, and is once struck down, stabbed, and savaged by the Junkers (Whites). One of their colonel says, 'What, you're still alive, are you? You have to be killed'.

"The workers in the Kremlin Arsenal do not hear of the surrender until the Cadets come to arrest their Workers Committee. In the morning, they are ordered to line up in one of the vast courtyards of the Kremlin wearing their identity discs, not far from Tsar Fyodar Ivanovich's massive cannon.

"There, the covers are suddenly taken off three machine guns in front of them. I quote the account of one of them who manages to get away.

"The men still cannot believe that they are going to be shot like this, without trial, without sense—they have taken no part in the fighting.

"A command bellows out: 'In line now! Eyes front!' The men stand rigid, fingers along the seams of their trousers. At a signal, the din of the three machine guns blends with cries of terror, sobs, and death rattles.

"The MRC now understood that it was victory or death. Its headquarters were almost surrounded, but, from every working class quarter, Red Guards and revolutionary regiments sprang up in the masses to their help, so that the besiegers were themselves encircled in a ring of steel." The Whites surrendered at 4 PM on 2 November."

This review would be incomplete without examining the cultural life of the first year of the Russian Revolution.

A struggle to transform the educational system was undertaken by Lunacharsky, the Commissariat of Public Education.

The old school which trained subjects for the Czar and the Orthodox Church was replaced by an educational scheme which was antireligious, socialist, and



Victor Serge

inseparably connected with the tasks confronting the young workers state.

Not mentioned in Serge's book, because it took place in the third year after the revolution, was a speech given by Lenin to the Third All-Russian Congress of the Russian Young Communist League on October 2, 1920.

"If the study of communism consisted solely in assimilating what is contained in communist books and pamphlets, we might all too easily obtain communist text-jugglers or braggarts, and this would very often do us harm, because such people, after learning by rote what is set forth in communist books and pamphlets would prove incapable of combining the various branches of knowledge, and would be unable to act in the way communism really demands.

"No longer do our speeches and articles merely reiterate what used to be said about communism, because our speeches and articles are connected with our daily work in all fields. Without work and without struggle, book knowledge of communism is absolutely worthless, for it would continue the old rift of theory and practice, the old rift which was the most pernicious feature of the old, bourgeois society.

"...it would mean falling into a grave error for you to draw the conclusion that one can become a communist without assimilating the wealth of knowledge amassed by mankind. It would be mistaken to think it sufficient to learn communism and the conclusion of communist science, without acquiring that sum of knowledge of which communism itself is a result."

Victor Serge came to the Soviet Union in January 1919 at the height of the civil war. He threw himself completely into defending and building the Soviet Union. He served as a machine gunner in a special defense battalion and worked closely with Zinoviev; became a commissar in charge of the czarist secret police archives and a member of the Russian Communist Party.

He was a loyal member of the Left Opposition and had seen a good number of years of material deprivation and prison life at the hands of the Stalinists.

This work is the product of no philistine. Serge comprehended the role of the Bolshevik Party, of Lenin and Trotsky, as a dedicated participant in the life and death struggle for revolution. This is the strength of the book, a book which is both passionate and intelligent, both honest and truthful.

BY MARTY MORAN
On Thursday, July 18, the Bank of America filed notice of default and intent to foreclose on the brand new \$20 million Westbury Hotel.

The Westbury was opened here near Union Square by the Knott Hotel Corporation only 18 months ago. It is the latest in a chain of hotels called Westbury built in New York, London, Brussels, Toronto, Chicago, and San Francisco.

Contradictory reports circulated about the future of the building and the 330 employees. General Manager Joseph Stanway said the bank would be allowed to take over, but company officials in New York said the chain would come up with the money to stave off foreclosure, and then sell off the hotel.

The management of the Westbury claimed that the occupancy rate for the luxury hotel in the heart of the city was only 47 percent, well below the traditional break-even figure of 60.

The hotel's employees are left to wait for the axe to fall, while they are kept in the dark about the preparations for layoffs.

One houseman told the Bulletin: "They don't tell us anything. It seems like they just don't care about their workers.

"We ask about the hotel, but the management says only two things, 'Yes, we are interested in selling. No, we haven't sold it yet.'

"It will be very difficult to find another job. You have to know someone."

The development of a deep recession means the collapse of the once-booming travel and tourist trade. San Francisco has long since lost its importance as a port to Oakland and Long Beach.

The leading "industry" in the city, aside from banking and insurance, is tourism.

A survey several years ago revealed that one household in every six earned its living from conventions and tourist traffic, and the proportion has grown steadily since then.

Last year the number of visitors reached 1.8 million. These visitors spent nearly \$370 million.

The competition for the tourist dollar sparked a boom in hotel construction which now threatens to turn into a series of failures, of which the Westbury is only the first.

From 1969 to 1972, over \$100 million was poured into new construction of luxury hotels. In 1973 alone, over \$93 million was spent. The number of Class A hotel rooms (generally in the \$30 a day and up range) skyrocketed from 4000 in 1968 to

Hotel Industry Heads For Crash

over 9000 by 1972, and an anticipated 12,000 in 1975.

Not only were seven brand new major hotels erected in four years, but each of the existing ones built huge new tower additions—the St. Francis tower alone cost \$28 million and added 590 rooms, as much as a new hotel by itself.

The frenzy reached the point that the Hyatt Corporation, the fastest growing national chain, opened two new hotels costing \$40 million each within 10 blocks of each other in downtown San Francisco.

A competitor said at the time about Hyatt: "These men are maniacs. Two hotels like that in the same city in one year is madness. It's like laying billions on two different horses to win in the same race."

The immediate consequence of this overbuilding spree was that the occupancy rate dropped steadily from 88 percent in 1968 to 70 percent in 1972.

Nationally, the picture has been even bleaker. In 1972, the nationwide average occupancy rate dropped to 59.7 percent, for the first time in history the average hotel was below the accepted break even point.

Every 24 hours a major downtown hotel is closed down somewhere in the United States. The industry has slumped 17 percent. Only the continued growth of the handful of leading chains such as Holiday Inn, Hilton, and Hyatt, disguise the collapse.

What is new about the Westbury financial crisis is that for the first time one of the chains, although a smaller one, is beginning to go under. The Westbury's fate was sealed three months after it opened, when the more prestigious Union Square Hyatt House opened literally

across the street.

Calvin, a houseman at the Westbury, described what happened. "It started out like a Hyatt. They used to have choice about who stayed here.

"Now if you walk in here, it seems they chain you in. If you have the money you can stay."

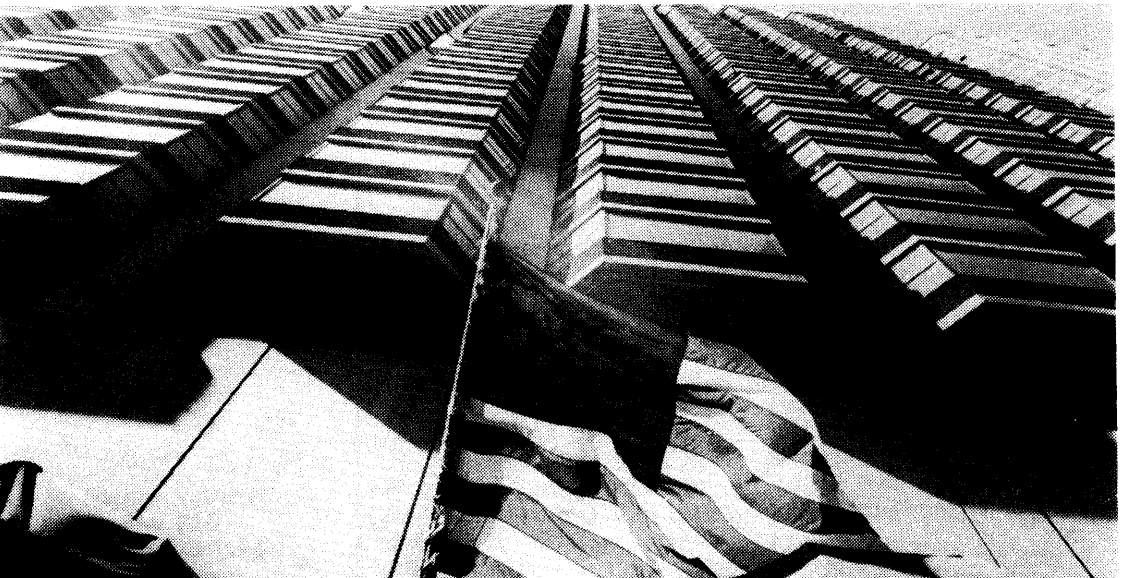
Industry spokesmen said that once the big hotels had carved up the lucrative business expense account trade, they began going after tour groups and ordinary tourists, who are not so free spending and much less profitable.

A waiter at the Westbury said about the threat of layoffs: "Nothing will happen until the new owners come in. The new management will have to take us because this is a union town."

Culinary and hotel workers joint board chief Joe Belardi blamed the Westbury debacle entirely on red tape delays in the construction of a new convention center for the city, which has hurt convention traffic. "As far as good hotels and good restaurants go, there are no economic problems in San Francisco," he said. "As for the Westbury, they just didn't advertise enough."

He claimed the hotel would be taken over by the American Airlines' chain, American Hotels, and that no layoffs were expected.

However, rumors have already been published that other hotels are in the same boat as Westbury. The complacent labor bureaucrats are not making preparations to defend a single job while the entire industry is about to crash around their heads.



Above: Calvin Cingey, a janitor at work in the Westbury Hotel. Below: The Westbury Hotel.

editorial

Cesar Chavez Joins Witch-hunt Against Aliens

Cesar Chavez, head of the United Farm Workers Union, has moved sharply to the right in his call for the Border Patrol to crack down on illegal alien workers from Mexico. Chavez's charge that illegal aliens are playing an instrumental role in breaking strikes called by the UFW is a crude cover for his own refusal to launch a strike campaign in the California fields this summer.

To blame the illegal aliens for the decline in the UFW membership and the loss of major contracts to the Teamsters, completely covers over the facts. In spite of a virtual war by the growers and the police against the farmworkers, Chavez still persists in the bankrupt policies of the boycott, pacifism, and loyal support to the Democratic Party.

It is not the illegal aliens who are breaking the strikes, but the reality is that Chavez has no strategy to defend the farmworkers.

Two major strikes this summer—in the strawberry fields of Oxnard and tomato fields of Stockton—were actually launched by nonunion farmworkers, who were later supported by the UFW. Even though Chavez has abandoned the strike as a strategy, it is clear that thousands of farmworkers are willing to fight.

Workers cross the border in order to seek employment and escape the poverty that exists in Mexico. Employers readily take advantage of their illegal status to pay the lowest wages in sweatshop conditions in the factories and fields.

Chavez's attacks on these workers now unites him with Nixon and the rest of the labor bureaucracy who have also campaigned against foreign workers.

Low wages and declining employment in the fields is the product of the growers drive for profit, which is now aggravated by the economic crisis of capitalism.

Chavez's denunciation of the illegal aliens is an attempt to split the working class, in order to prevent a united fight of all farm laborers to nationalize agriculture through the building of a labor party.

Chavez's call for stepped up action by the Border Patrol, which has already arrested 6200 illegal aliens this year, up 20 percent from last year, is an open appeal for more arrests and deportations against all workers of Mexican descent.

Chavez, speaking in Fresno said: "The lack of action to solve this problem (influx of aliens) makes us believe there is a conspiracy through the Justice Department's Immigration and Naturalization Service and agribusiness to make sure this flood of desperately poor workers continues unchecked."

We warn that if Chavez will not defend the alien workers, he will not defend the rights of any farmworker. The only protection against the low wages and brutal conditions in the fields is the granting legal status to all workers, and to break from the Democrats and Republicans by building a labor party pledged to socialist policies.



San Francisco police deliberately forced striking Chinese women around a delivery truck at the Greater Chinese-American Sewing Company to make it look like they were trying to stop it. Pictures were taken that will be used to charge the women with obstruction.

SF Police Attack Chinese Workers

BY TED BAKER

SAN FRANCISCO—For the second time in less than a week, police have used mass arrests to try to break a militant strike by Chinese women workers against the Greater Chinese - American - Sewing Company.

On Wednesday, the women stopped a delivery truck at the Esprit de Corps Corporation, the company which controls Greater Chinese-American-Sewing. Police were immediately called in, and more than eight squad cars arrived within minutes.

After a lengthy conference between the police and the management, the police arrested the picketers.

ILGWU organizer Willy March described what happened, "They had the people in a circle so the women couldn't get out and I couldn't get in. They took pictures of each individual. They were trying to intimidate them. Now they bring the paddy wagon every so often. That's nothing but intimidation."

Because the police had no evidence of obstruction, they herded the women around the stopped delivery truck and forced them to have their pictures taken with the truck in the

background to make it appear they were caught in the act.

A picket captain told the Bulletin, "The policemen made the women pose for pictures like they were stopping the truck all over again. Now the police will use this in court against the women. They came about 3:30, and we didn't find out about the injunction until 5:30."

Last week over 30 pickets were arrested for obstructing traffic and resisting arrest.

The strike began a week and a half ago after the company fired a young worker who had been speaking up for the other workers in the shop. One woman said, "They were firing everyone who could speak enough English to talk back."

After the firing, the women went to the ILGWU to join the union, and then went on strike. ILGWU organizer March said, "We didn't go to them, they came to us. They just showed up one day. They couldn't take the conditions anymore so they came to us so they could get some bargaining power."

Another woman on the picket line told the Bulletin, "It was building up a long time. After they hired the new manager everything got worse. What I do is sew on buttons. They pay piece rate, not per hour, and they used

to pay two cents for every four buttons, but they got it down and down, so that when we walk out it was only one and one half cents for four buttons."

Esprit de Corps has announced that Greater Chinese-American-Sewing Company will permanently close due to financial problems unrelated to the strike. The ILGWU denounced this as a lie, and said the closing amounts to a lock out. This is confirmed by the fact that in its most recent report, the company made \$1.5 million in the last five months.

Esprit de Corps is continuing operations by subcontracting work out to over 20 nonunion sweatshops in Chinatown. These shops are not being picketed. Instead, the ILGWU has called a protest rally at the site of the arrests.

Cops Stake Out SLA In Military Exercise

BY SHEILA BREHM

NORTH HOLLYWOOD—Over 200 police, including Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) members, surrounded a 46 unit apartment house in North Hollywood to stakeout SLA suspects. The police operation began at 6 pm and was ended four hours later, after reports that SLA members were in the apart-

ment house proved to be false.

Unlike the shootout May 17 in Watts where six SLA members were killed, all the occupants in this middle class area were evacuated.

Television and radio broadcasts were interrupted to give a detailed account of the police mobilization. Anticipating a repeat of the May 17 shootout, the apartment house was surrounded with fire fighting rigs, searchlights, sound equipment and flak-jacketed SWAT officers.

Four hours later, when it was discovered that the "suspects" had no connection with the SLA, spokesman for the Los Angeles Police Department Lt. Dan Cooke said, "Well, it was an excellent exercise."

Cooke then went on to place the blame for the police operation on the media explaining that, "An advisory was sent to the news media that police were going to enter the area. We asked the news media to hold the story. However someone in the electronic media broke this embargo and identified the area to be searched."

Then, completely whitewashing this incredible mobilization of force Cooke said, "We got a good taste of what can happen when a few people in the news media go berserk."

Appeal Denied

The State Supreme Court today denied without comment Ruchel MaGee's motion to set aside his guilty plea. The plea of guilty to aggravated kidnapping in the Marin County courthouse escape was extorted from MaGee by an illegal conspiracy among the judge, the prosecutor, and Magee's public defender Sheldon Portman.

Sentencing is now scheduled for Thursday, August 1, and MaGee could be sentenced to life imprisonment without possibility of parole by Judge William Ingram.

MaGee may still appeal the state decision to the US Supreme Court before sentencing.

Steamfitters On Strike

BY TIM NELSON

OAKLAND—On July 22, steamfitters launched a selective strike against the Employers Council of Plumbing and Heating Contractors in the East Bay. Out of Local 342's 1200 members, 500 are still working for contractors who have agreed to pay whatever the council finally settles for.

The steamfitters contract, which provided for \$8.86 in wages and \$3.32 in fringe benefits, expired June 30. Last Wednesday the union turned down an offer of \$2.07 increase in wages and fringe benefits combined and pressed their demand for an additional 40 cents.

Last year an 18.5 percent increase was slashed to 5 percent by Nixon's pay board.

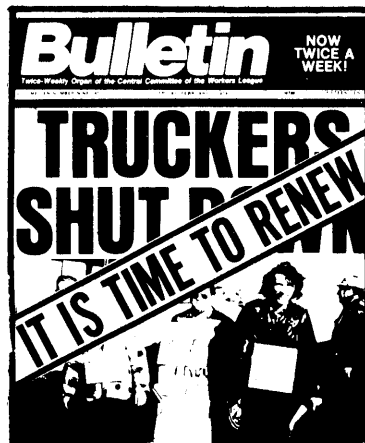
Pickets at the multimillion

dollar addition to the General Motors plant in Fremont said, "We're just trying to keep up with the price of potatoes. Nixon's the one to be frozen this year."

Four of the six piping contractors at the GM site have already been forced to sign interim agreements. "All these big companies, like GM and Standard Oil, are pressuring the contractors to settle," one picket said, "They've got to meet schedules."

The Employees Council anticipates one in four contractors will go out of business this year.

Behind this economic squeeze are preparations to go nonunion. The open shop campaign is being spearheaded by the large corporations. Dow Chemical has two subcontractors employing nonunion tradesmen at its plant at Pittsburg in the East Bay.



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lucha obrera

lucía rivera

Crisis Capitalista Se Mueve Hacia La Recesion Mundial

La construcción de un partido obrero cobra más urgencia hoy día cuando el sistema capitalista ha llegado a un punto en que no puede proveer las necesidades básicas de los trabajadores. La lucha por la independencia de la clase obrera fuera de los demócratas y republicanos es un paso esencial en la preparación y defensa de los derechos básicos en contra de los ataques que los capitalistas tienen que llevar.

Tanto el desempleo, el alto costo de la vida y los ataques a las condiciones de vida son productos de la crisis económica a la que se enfrenta este sistema. El sistema capitalista está basado en las ganancias. Es solo a través de el trabajo de obrero que el valor puede ser obtenido. Una máquina por sí sola no puede producir sino hay un trabajador que la maneje.

El dueño de la fábrica, el capitalista, tiene que renovar constantemente su maquinaria para poder competir con los otros grandes manufactureros. Con esta constante innovación él busca al mismo tiempo reducir el tiempo invertido por el obrero en la producción de la mercancía. Esto lo lleva en primer lugar a acelerar la línea de producción (producir más mercancías en menos tiempo) y a despedir trabajadores (ya que no necesita la misma cantidad de obreros para producir sus mercancías).

Es esta la contradicción principal en la producción capitalista. Ellos tienen que crear plusvalía (capital extra que va a engrosar el tesoro del capitalista) y es solo del obrero que la obtienen pero para mantenerse en el mercado tienen que invertir millones de dólares para obtener los últimos adelantos tecnológicos, llevando esto a que despidan obreros, destruyendo así la fuente de donde obtienen las ganancias.

Esta situación que enfrenta el sistema capitalista se ha agravado con las decisiones de Nixon, en agosto 15 del 1971, cuando quita la convertibilidad del dólar en oro. Luego de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, la clase capitalista llevó a cabo una conferencia en Bretton Woods, 1944, con el propósito de crear una época de inflación controlada, inflando el dólar el cual era el papel moneda más fuerte en el mundo capitalista.

El propósito era crear capital ficticio (o sea imprimir millones de pedazos de papel que supuestamente eran dólares con valor en oro) esto para prevenir las condiciones de los años 30 de depresión que podían dar bases a luchas revolucionarias por parte de la clase obrera. Este acuerdo presentó la debilidad y decadencia del sistema capitalista y la fortaleza y poder de la clase obrera.

Estos acuerdos fueron hechos trizas cuando en el 1971 el gobierno norteamericano se vio forzado a congelar los precios, y romper abiertamente la relación que existía entre el dólar y el oro. La poderosa ofensiva salarial de los trabajadores norteamericanos como en la industria del acero hicieron que los capitalistas tomaran estas decisiones. Esto creó las bases para una inflación incontrolable.

La decisión de más fundamental transcendencia tomada en aquel entonces fue la de romper la convertibilidad del dólar en oro. El oro es el equivalente que expresa el valor del trabajo humano. El dólar es usado como símbolo del oro. El destruir esta relación entre símbolo y equivalente, significó que para obtener ganancias, los capitalistas tenían que que exprimir más valor de los trabajadores. El dólar sin relación con el oro pierde todo su valor.

La ofensiva salarial que se ha esparcido a través del país como en Fresno, Baltimore, y Ohio, en la cual los trabajadores están luchando por defender sus niveles de vida, le presenta a la clase capitalista utilizar otros medios. Esto lo podemos ver claro a través de Watergate y las conspiraciones de Nixon con los militares de establecer una dictadura en contra de la clase obrera.

Esta crisis capitalista abre una época revolucionaria internacionalmente. Tanto en Latinoamérica como en el Caribe se expresa esta crisis más agudamente. Los trabajadores hispanos en los Estados Unidos deben de luchar como parte de la clase obrera por la construcción de su propio partido que como parte de su programa presenta la nacionalización de las industrias bajo control obrero.

RECESSION . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

the money markets and threatened with massive withdrawals.

"Such a crisis," declared Greenspan, "might well put us beyond the scope of any conventional solutions to our inflationary problems within this decade."

Greenspan has stated flatly that unemployment must be increased. The Journal of Commerce is well-acquainted with his views and summed them up as follows:

"Any adverse popular reaction to a rise in unemployment must be accepted, as a price that must be paid for recapturing reasonable price stability. Belt tightening and austerity are the new order of the day, to prevent the erosion in the value of the dollar and continued dangerous rates of inflation."

These are the views behind Nixon's declaration that the masses of people in this country have to accept a slash in their living standards.

"We have a worldwide inflation because people's demands too often is translated into a

NIXON . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

and improperly use government agencies in these plans.

The House Committee's special counsel, John Doar, also drafted a document listing 50 specific points of evidence to back up the impeachment recommendation. Most of the points quote sections of conversations from the White House tapes which contradict Nixon's public statements and the facts.

This vote comes after two full years of stalling and endless hearings and even still, both Democrats and Republicans only voted with the greatest reluctance.

Representative Barbara Jordan told reporters: "There were tears behind doors and off camera after the vote, from both men and women."

Nothing could expose more clearly the class solidarity of these Congressmen with Nixon. What court or politicians ever shed any tears for the countless workers on strike or youth who are hauled to jail for the "crime" of fighting for their rights.

Before the vote, the committee wrangled over the wording of the resolution. Tom Railsback, a Republican from Illinois who voted for impeachment, pushed through a change in the wording of the preamble that Nixon did not "make it his policy" to obstruct justice, but "engaged... in a course of

supply of votes, not a supply of work, saving, initiative and innovation."

Nixon then had the nerve to say that "most families could reduce or defer some expenditures...without hardship."

The working class will not accept a slash in its living standards. The wage offensive now sweeping the labor movement must be extended to a struggle by auto workers and steel workers to reopen their contracts and demand 20 percent wage increases with full cost of living escalator clauses.

However, this critical struggle for wages is not in itself sufficient to meet the deepening economic crisis and the governments plans for mass unemployment.

The working class can defend its living standards only through a political fight to put forward its own solution to the crisis. The trade unions must convene a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party that will mobilize the entire working class to throw Nixon out and at the same time become the alternative to Nixon.

conduct or a plan..."

The full House can also amend the recommendation, strike or add charges, adopt part or the whole.

The third article to be voted on deals with contempt of Congress for refusing to turn over 47 tapes and documents.

No confidence can be placed in the House and the Senate to carry out Nixon's removal.

The last and only president which the Congress voted to impeach was Andrew Johnson in 1868 and he was acquitted by the Senate.

If Nixon is impeached, he will be replaced by Nixon supporter Gerald Ford. However, even if the Democrats took Nixon's place, they would carry out the same attacks on workers living standards and have voted for Nixon's measures to slash spending, to lift price controls, and increase taxes.

The working class cannot afford to wait until a new election nearly two years from now.

This time would be used to the advantage of the government and the employers in order to destroy wages through inflation and to create unemployment.

Workers in every industry must demand that the labor leaders break their silence, launch an independent struggle to throw Nixon out and demand an immediate election to replace the Democrats and Republicans with a labor party.

Illinois Teamsters End Strike

BY WILL ROEMER
CHICAGO—The strike of 700 concrete truck drivers in North Illinois ended last week as Teamster members voted to accept a contract providing a \$1.95 an hour increase over three years.

When the strike began on May 16, the contractors were offering a \$1.75 over three years. The seven Teamster unions were out on strike for the original demand of \$3.75 an hour over three years.

The settlement represents a tremendous retreat on the part of the union leadership from any real fight for the needs of construction workers. The very fact that the leadership presented the proposal to the drivers after a 65-day strike angered many strikers.

MORE

One construction worker told the Bulletin: "For the amount of time we've been out, we sure should have gotten a lot more than we did."

The strike was the longest construction strike in Chicago in more than 50 years, and was the most costly to the construction industry.

Despite tremendous hardships brought on by the strike's long duration, strikers expressed their determination to stay out and win. Many workers in construction and related trades expressed support for this battle.

JOIN

Reports were given to the Bulletin of attempts by Teamster Local 705 members to join the strike. Also, there was a move by drivers in Indiana to join in the strike.

For workers in the building trades, wages are extremely important since work on construction sites is completely halted during winter months. Now, with the restriction on money-lending by the banks, less buildings are going up and many workers face year-round unemployment.

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La labor de esta columna es la construcción de un nuevo liderazgo 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

Crisis Capitalista Se Mueve Hacia La Recesion Mundial

La construcción de un partido obrero cobra más urgencia hoy día cuando el sistema capitalista ha llegado a un punto en que no puede proveer las necesidades básicas de los trabajadores. La lucha por la independencia de la clase obrera fuera de los demócratas y republicanos es un paso esencial en la preparación y defensa de los derechos básicos en contra de los ataques que los capitalistas tienen que llevar.

Tanto el desempleo, el alto costo de la vida y los ataques a las condiciones de vida son productos de la crisis económica a la que se enfrenta este sistema. El sistema capitalista está basado en las ganancias. Es solo a través de el trabajo de obrero que el valor puede ser obtenido. Una máquina por sí sola no puede producir sino hay un trabajador que la maneje.

El dueño de la fábrica, el capitalista, tiene que renovar constantemente su maquinaria para poder competir con los otros grandes manufactureros. Con esta constante innovación él busca al mismo tiempo reducir el tiempo invertido por el obrero en la producción de la mercancía. Esto lo lleva en primer lugar a acelerar la línea de producción (producir más mercancías en menos tiempo) y a despedir trabajadores (ya que no necesita la misma cantidad de obreros para producir sus mercancías).

Es esta la contradicción principal en la producción capitalista. Ellos tienen que crear plusvalía (capital extra que va a engrosar el tesoro del capitalista) y es solo del obrero que la obtienen pero para mantenerse en el mercado tienen que invertir millones de dólares para obtener los últimos adelantos tecnológicos, llevando esto a que despidan obreros, destruyendo así la fuente de donde obtienen las ganancias.

Esta situación que enfrenta el sistema capitalista se ha agravado con las decisiones de Nixon, en agosto 15 del 1971, cuando quita la convertibilidad del dólar en oro. Luego de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, la clase capitalista llevó a cabo una conferencia en Bretton Woods, 1944, con el propósito de crear una época de inflación controlada, inflando el dólar el cual era el papel moneda más fuerte en el mundo capitalista.

El propósito era crear capital ficticio (o sea imprimir millones de pedazos de papel que supuestamente eran dólares con valor en oro) esto para prevenir las condiciones de los años 30 de depresión que podían dar bases a luchas revolucionarias por parte de la clase obrera. Este acuerdo presentó la debilidad y decadencia del sistema capitalista y la fortaleza y poder de la clase obrera.

Estos acuerdos fueron hechos trizas cuando en el 1971 el gobierno norteamericano se vio forzado a congelar los precios, y romper abiertamente la relación que existía entre el dólar y el oro. La poderosa ofensiva salarial de los trabajadores norteamericanos como en la industria del acero hicieron que los capitalistas tomaran estas decisiones. Esto creó las bases para una inflación incontrolable.

La decisión de más fundamental transcendencia tomada en aquel entonces fue la de romper la convertibilidad del dólar en oro. El oro es el equivalente que expresa el valor del trabajo humano. El dólar es usado como símbolo del oro. El destruir esta relación entre símbolo y equivalente, significó que para obtener ganancias, los capitalistas tenían que que exprimir más valor de los trabajadores. El dólar sin relación con el oro pierde todo su valor.

La ofensiva salarial que se ha esparcido a través del país como en Fresno, Baltimore, y Ohio, en la cual los trabajadores están luchando por defender sus niveles de vida, le presenta a la clase capitalista utilizar otros medios. Esto lo podemos ver claro a través de Watergate y las conspiraciones de Nixon con los militares de establecer una dictadura en contra de la clase obrera.

Esta crisis capitalista abre una época revolucionaria internacionalmente. Tanto en Latinoamérica como en el Caribe se expresa esta crisis más agudamente. Los trabajadores hispanos en los Estados Unidos deben de luchar como parte de la clase obrera por la construcción de su propio partido que como parte de su programa presenta la nacionalización de las industrias bajo control obrero.

RECESSION . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

the money markets and threatened with massive withdrawals.

"Such a crisis," declared Greenspan, "might well put us beyond the scope of any conventional solutions to our inflationary problems within this decade."

Greenspan has stated flatly that unemployment must be increased. The Journal of Commerce is well-acquainted with his views and summed them up as follows:

"Any adverse popular reaction to a rise in unemployment must be accepted, as a price that must be paid for recapturing reasonable price stability. Belt tightening and austerity are the new order of the day, to prevent the erosion in the value of the dollar and continued dangerous rates of inflation."

These are the views behind Nixon's declaration that the masses of people in this country have to accept a slash in their living standards.

"We have a worldwide inflation because people's demands too often is translated into a

NIXON . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

and improperly use government agencies in these plans.

The House Committee's special counsel, John Doar, also drafted a document listing 50 specific points of evidence to back up the impeachment recommendation. Most of the points quote sections of conversations from the White House tapes which contradict Nixon's public statements and the facts.

This vote comes after two full years of stalling and endless hearings and even still, both Democrats and Republicans only voted with the greatest reluctance.

Representative Barbara Jordan told reporters: "There were tears behind doors and off camera after the vote, from both men and women."

Nothing could expose more clearly the class solidarity of these Congressmen with Nixon. What court or politicians ever shed any tears for the countless workers on strike or youth who are hauled to jail for the "crime" of fighting for their rights.

Before the vote, the committee wrangled over the wording of the resolution. Tom Railsback, a Republican from Illinois who voted for impeachment, pushed through a change in the wording of the preamble that Nixon did not "make it his policy" to obstruct justice, but "engaged... in a course of

supply of votes, not a supply of work, saving, initiative and innovation."

Nixon then had the nerve to say that "most families could reduce or defer some expenditures...without hardship."

The working class will not accept a slash in its living standards. The wage offensive now sweeping the labor movement must be extended to a struggle by auto workers and steel workers to reopen their contracts and demand 20 percent wage increases with full cost of living escalator clauses.

However, this critical struggle for wages is not in itself sufficient to meet the deepening economic crisis and the governments plans for mass unemployment.

The working class can defend its living standards only through a political fight to put forward its own solution to the crisis. The trade unions must convene a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party that will mobilize the entire working class to throw Nixon out and at the same time become the alternative to Nixon.

conduct or a plan..."

The full House can also amend the recommendation, strike or add charges, adopt part or the whole.

The third article to be voted on deals with contempt of Congress for refusing to turn over 47 tapes and documents.

No confidence can be placed in the House and the Senate to carry out Nixon's removal.

The last and only president which the Congress voted to impeach was Andrew Johnson in 1868 and he was acquitted by the Senate.

If Nixon is impeached, he will be replaced by Nixon supporter Gerald Ford. However, even if the Democrats took Nixon's place, they would carry out the same attacks on workers living standards and have voted for Nixon's measures to slash spending, to lift price controls, and increase taxes.

The working class cannot afford to wait until a new election nearly two years from now.

This time would be used to the advantage of the government and the employers in order to destroy wages through inflation and to create unemployment.

Workers in every industry must demand that the labor leaders break their silence, launch an independent struggle to throw Nixon out and demand an immediate election to replace the Democrats and Republicans with a labor party.

Illinois Teamsters End Strike

BY WILL ROEMER
CHICAGO—The strike of 700 concrete truck drivers in North Illinois ended last week as Teamster members voted to accept a contract providing a \$1.95 an hour increase over three years.

When the strike began on May 16, the contractors were offering a \$1.75 over three years. The seven Teamster unions were out on strike for the original demand of \$3.75 an hour over three years.

The settlement represents a tremendous retreat on the part of the union leadership from any real fight for the needs of construction workers. The very fact that the leadership presented the proposal to the drivers after a 65-day strike angered many strikers.

MORE

One construction worker told the Bulletin: "For the amount of time we've been out, we sure should have gotten a lot more than we did."

The strike was the longest construction strike in Chicago in more than 50 years, and was the most costly to the construction industry.

Despite tremendous hardships brought on by the strike's long duration, strikers expressed their determination to stay out and win. Many workers in construction and related trades expressed support for this battle.

JOIN

Reports were given to the Bulletin of attempts by Teamster Local 705 members to join the strike. Also, there was a move by drivers in Indiana to join in the strike.

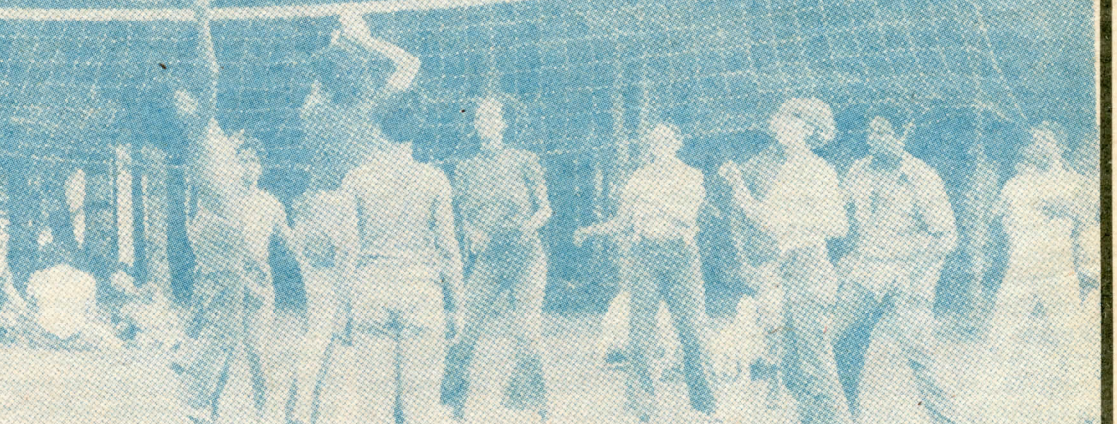
For workers in the building trades, wages are extremely important since work on construction sites is completely halted during winter months. Now, with the restriction on money-lending by the banks, less buildings are going up and many workers face year-round unemployment.

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