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SPECIAL  
 OPENING REMARKS  
 SECOND CLP CONGRESS  
 NOVEMBER 28, 1975

# FBI EXPOSED

The recent exposure that the FBI had, for six years, tried to discredit Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., which was believed to have been done in order to effect his suicide, is another of the underhanded and despicable acts undertaken by one of the many governmental agencies. This exposure comes on the heels of recent findings that the CIA was involved in the assassination of political leaders and the overthrowing of existing governments. These exposures prove just how far our government will go in its drive to terrorize the people, disorganize their movement and establish a fascist police state in this country.

It is also an example of the most putrid and degenerate white chauvinism and the absolute hatred of the Negro people by J. Edgar Hoover and his buddies. From the reports to the Senate Intelligence Panel, it has become painfully clear what position our "distinguished" governmental officials have on the Negro question. Nothing is too low for the FBI — lies, slander, hypocrisy and foul-play is their calling card. They will stop at nothing to "cleanse our society of disruptive elements," particularly when they are Negro and particularly when they are fighting for equality. Further reports also find the FBI using forged letters in an attempt to cause marital problems amongst leaders of the Negro people's movement.

It has been also reported that there were at least 2,300 separate "counter-intelligence program operations" of which only 23% achieved the "desired objective." Words cannot describe the slime and filth with which this government operates. Hitler did no worse than J. Edgar Hoover.

When some of our "liberal" senators accosted Mr. James Adams, Assistant Deputy Director of the FBI, on these types of practices, he tried to defend them. Although admitting that there is no legal authority for such actions, his reply was, "The FBI is damned for doing too much and damned for doing too little."

But the FBI and the CIA do not work "secretly", apart from the official governmental apparatus. It has also been reported that Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Nixon ordered the CIA to assassinate Lumumba, Castro and Allende. It was under the Kennedy administration, with Robert Kennedy as Attorney General, that the activities around Dr. King were initiated and executed. We cannot be fooled into thinking that particularly President Kennedy was not party to these types of atrocities. The Communist Party USA would have us believe that the FBI and CIA work independently of the official apparatus, that the President is innocent and a victim of their activity. The CPUSA's position is a dangerous one because it deceives people into believing that only nameless individuals plot these outrages and not the capitalist class and its state.

We must reject this position by the CPUSA. We say Damn the FBI! Outlaw the FBI and CIA! The FBI is a legal terror organization which deprives honest and decent people of their right to life and liberty. It is a governmental agency whose sole aim is to in-

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# PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE

"The Communist's ideal should not be a trade-union secretary, but a tribune of the people, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression." Lenin



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## LONG LIVE THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE

The struggle for Angola with its huge material and human resources is fast becoming a focal point of world contradictions. Coached by USNA imperialism, the Portuguese pulled out of Angola in such a manner that the question of who and what would control the state apparatus could only be resolved by arms. The subsequent invasion by regular and mercenary troops from Rhodesia, South Africa, Zaire and the United States shows that these forces, despite denials, are the most callous butchers in the naked service of world imperialism.

Angola is splitting the Portuguese revolution, and is the basis of the impending civil war. Angola is splitting Africa. Gone forever is the trash about the all class unity of the African nations. Most importantly, the Angolan situation is laying bare the direction of the historic split within the Communist movement.

During the tragedy of betrayal in the Congo, the counterrevolutionary features of Khrushchev became clear. During that horrible slaughter it was shown that the theoretical deviations from Marxism that we refer to as revisionism become open counterrevolution when put into practice. That horror and tragedy is being repeated. The betrayal today is on a higher level. The Khrushchev gang could do little

more than to create the conditions for the murder of Lumumba and consequently for the invasion of the mercenaries. The gang led by Teng Hsiao Peng, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council, has gone a step further by actually arming and training the butchers whom U.S. imperialism has hurled against the Angolan revolution. Lest anyone misunderstand our intent, we make it clear, it is not the Chinese revolution that is in danger. No one can turn back the

wheels of history. Teng and his gang of nationalists are fully exposed by their treachery in Angola. They and all like them are in danger.

The CLP takes its stand with the overwhelming majority of Communists—revolutionaries who support revolutions—in pledging our all out support for the Angolan people.

In expressing its views, the CLP has sent the following telegram to Dr. A. Neto, head of the People's Republic of Angola:

To:  
 President Agostinho Neto  
 Peoples Republic of Angola  
 Luanda, Angola

The Political Bureau of the Communist Labor Party wishes to extend to you, to the Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola, and to the heroic Angolan people our sincere congratulations on the formation of the state of the Peoples Republic of Angola and its government.

Our Party struggles to win the progressive American people away from the criminal intervention policies of our government. We demand that all interventionists keep hands off Angola. Our Party is confident that the battle-tested Angolan people will overcome the present difficulties.

Nelson Peery  
 General Secretary  
 Communist Labor Party USNA

## OPENING REMARKS

From the General Secretary to the Second Congress of the CLP

Dear Comrades, Comrade Fraternal Delegates, Comrade Observers:

On behalf of the outgoing Central Committee, I want to welcome all of you to this Congress of our Party. We have called the Congress to sum up our experiences, concretize our political line and elect a new Central Committee to lead our Party in the coming period. We have in the past year amassed a considerable amount of experience in the political and theoretical struggle. In our drive to consolidate and expand the Party we have broken new trails in our country's revolution. In the course of this struggle our Party has become consolidated both organizationally and ideologically. The outgoing Central Committee has performed this task well. That Central Committee was elected from the various pre-party formations to carry out that task. It is completed and now it is necessary to elect a leading body that more accurately reflects the class and national composition of the Party. I know I speak for the entire Party in expressing thanks for the job well done and for the selfless hard work accomplished by the outgoing Committee.

Comrades, we are living in a period of very rapid developments. No international alliance is stable today. It is clear that those who tie their political wagons to the stability of international alliances are bound to fail. And why is this so? Simply because almost all the alliances of the past years were made while the USNA imperialists were on the upsurge—while they were enjoying the hog's share of the feast. Today, there has been a fairly sharp turn in world affairs. Instead of riding high on the road of profitability,

USNA imperialism is in one way or another on the defensive in almost every area.

This situation is not the result of a weakening of imperialism as Khrushchev and Foster described 20 and 30 years ago, but is the result of a process of history that has served to make some fundamental changes in the alignment of forces. On the one hand there has been the development of transnational capital and its expression—the neocolony. For us this means the ending of one stage of tactics of the proletarian revolution. The development of the neocolony means the end of the tactic of the two stage revolution. We are entering into a stage of development that takes us full circle.

At the beginning of the circle—the development of imperialism on through its maturity—conditions made it impossible to develop the proletarian revolution in the leading imperialist countries. The element of bribery of the working class in these countries prevented the necessary unity. Lenin noted that the era was characterized not simply by oppressor classes but also by oppressor nations. Today there are no countries without a proletariat; the neocolony has spelt the end of the feudal regimes. We are again approaching a time when the workers of the world stand face to face with the enemy without significant classes in between. In a word, the conditions for revolution—for implementation of the slogan **workers of the world, unite** are maturing.

Alliances that were made to accommodate one period no longer maintain their validity in another. This is the reason for the growing struggle around detente. Politicians are judged today

on whether they are for or against detente. Hardly anyone takes time to ask "why" for detente or against it. Since this is a touchstone for the entire communist movement, we should examine this policy.

Detente is linked to tension between the USSR and the USNA in the pre-Brezhnev period. What were these tensions? They were carefully monitored struggles between the socialist camp and imperialism. These struggles were based on the very real life and death battle of the national liberation movement and imperialism. The brinkmanship practiced by both Khrushchev and Kennedy terrorized the entire world with the threat of nuclear holocaust. These tensions and threats were the conditions for Khrushchev's betrayal and wrecking of the international communist movement. Confrontations and tensions in Congo, in Cuba, in the Middle East and in Asia were all utilized by Khrushchev to consolidate the position of the privileged elite in the USSR. By presenting the Khrushchev policy as the only alternative to nuclear war, the revisionist gang consolidated their social and political positions. Today, as in the past period, Brezhnev seeks to relax these tensions created by Khrushchev in order to maintain and enjoy these privileges.

We believe these confrontations were phoney; nevertheless we are for the relaxation of tension. We are for the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

The historic facts are that detente allowed both sides to consolidate. The sharply changed economic situation, especially in the USNA, has gravely

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endangered detente. Detente is primarily the policy of the Wall Street gang. We shouldn't be surprised that the leading spokesmen of both parties are spokesmen for Wall Street. The policy of Kennedy the Democrat did not differ from that of Nixon the Republican. With Prince Rockefeller at the helm, we see a Republican administration fully carrying out the tasks that used to be the job of the Roosevelt Democrats.

Where, then, is the growing resistance to detente coming from? It stems from the main grouping of big industrial capitalists around the National Association of Manufacturers. There have always been contradictions within ruling classes. At times these contradictions break out into social struggles. The conditions for the development of the policy struggle between Wall Street and the NAM is the current depression and the fact that each grouping cannot get the same cut out of a shrunken pie. The NAM would profit from a resumption of the cold war and the arms race. Such a policy would inevitably threaten the security of Wall Street investments in both the colonies and the other capitalist countries. This is the basis for Ford's cabinet struggle. It is becoming clear that the winner in that struggle was Rockefeller. The situation is such that some observers now are doubting that Ford will run in the next election. At any rate, a recent Harris poll shows that only 14% of the population has confidence in the White House and Senate—an all-time low.

#### Fascist Offensive

Comrades, such a situation provides a real opportunity for the Party to leap forward. It also provides a great opportunity for the fascists. Lacking faith in the government, the majority of the people are for socialism but there is no party of the working class. It is a perfect formula for the fascist offensive. The only way that we can meet that threat is by rapidly expanding the Party. The objective situation actually is in our favor if we move boldly. However, simply pushing for such rapid expansion is not enough. We have to find out where the resistance is. Such resistance from very good comrades is almost always the result of a philosophical misunderstanding. If we view our Party as the unity of the concepts of the vanguard of the proletariat on the one hand and as the body of theory of the emancipation of the working class on the other, it should be clear that we cannot interpenetrate these aspects like scrambling an egg. At this stage, such interpenetration is in the realm of mutual conditioning. That is why Comrade Mao Tsetung advised the Communist to walk on two legs. Naturally the comrades are responsible for whom they recruit and don't recruit, but we cannot have the same criteria for membership as we did in the pre-Party formations. The other foot is now on the ground and our principal drive is to recruit the fighting section of the proletariat. If we attempt to walk on just one of our legs, or both at once, we are bound to bring trouble. We must continue to intensify the drive to recruit from the millions of vanguard proletarians on the basis of our antifascist program.

We want to reassert our basic approach to the working class of this country—that we must influence our class by working through the most oppressed and exploited. We must uphold the view that the main danger to our country is the rise of fascism; the most logical point of entry into that struggle is the struggle against the fascist gangs. As we all know, these groups have had a frightening growth in the past period. We have to spell out why during the 1950's the KKK and Nazi Party almost disappeared from the

political scene and why they are re-emerging at this time. The answer lies in the fact that in order to industrialize the South the Negro had to be drawn into industry as a proletarian. To do this, certain Jim Crow laws had to be taken off the books. This could only be done with a controlled victory of the Negro people over the reactionary state apparatus.

The laws have changed; an economic realignment has taken place. Now the KKK is being unleashed to guarantee that the Negro people's movement does not get out of hand.

This is one of the aspects of the rise of fascism in our country. However, it would be a crude error to suppose that the resistance of the oppressed people is the only cause of the rise of fascism. Quite to the contrary, the disillusionment of the broad masses with capitalism forces the move toward fascism. A recent poll conducted by the Hart Research Associates showed that some 56% of the voters would support a presidential candidate who favored employee control and ownership of business; 66% of the people would favor working for employee-owned and controlled firms. This same survey showed that 49% of the people feel that big business is at the bottom of our economic troubles. It is clear that no group on the left has an accurate or objective estimate of the situation among the people.

#### Working Class Unity

Our experience over the past year shows us that if we do not rapidly bring a large number of Anglo-American workers into the struggle against fascism, the working class will be outflanked. As with any other problem, the solution lies in understanding the root of the question and the relationship of forces that will allow for its resolution. We could not help but inherit the forms and forces of the revolutionary organizations that preceded us. One of the legacies of the past has been that the Communist Party was not a real communist party at all but an unnatural combination of Anglo-American petty bourgeois and national minority workers. This suicidal combination has a long history. The capitalist class has always maneuvered in such a way as to make it appear that the real enemy of the Negro worker was the Anglo-American worker. In my generation the concept of "the best friend of the black man is a rich white man" was a prevalent one. That was the flip side of the rotten chauvinist current among the "white workers" that a "white skin" bound capitalist and worker together tighter than did the bonds of labor. The present day reflection of this is the composition of almost all the radical and revolutionary groups.

The rulers of this country know very well that the death knell of their class and system will be the moment of unity of the millions of Anglo-American workers with the national minority workers and the liberation movements. This is precisely the task that we must address ourselves to. In the struggle to unite the working class we must proceed from the most oppressed and exploited, and herein lies the key. What section of the Anglo-American workers comprise the unskilled and semi-skilled? What section provides those who live in the slums, adjacent to the slums of the national minority workers? What section is most harassed by the police and most subject to social slander? It is the Appalachian worker who has migrated to the big industrial cities.

Our struggle for the unity of the class must start here. Do not think that this will be an easy task. It is precisely between the Appalachian and minority worker that there is the most competition for unskilled jobs. It is here that white chauvinism assumes its most violent forms. It is here that especially the Negro worker holds the deepest suspicion and distrust. The situation is that objectively the Appalachian is the closest to the Negro, while

subjectively he is the furthest away. We can be sure that when all the doors are open, it is the closed one that holds the treasure. To get that door open we are going to have to deepen and sharpen the ideological struggle within the Party. In order to create a Party that such workers will feel at home in, we are going to have to do exactly as we did in the struggle to recruit the Negro and Mexican minority workers.

We have to launch a struggle against all forms of great nation chauvinism as well as against all forms of nationalism. We are beginning to understand how to carry out the ideological struggle—not by pat formula, not by repeating slogans but by digging up facts, establishing the truth and our ideology—system of ideas—as a reflection of that process; not, as the lefties do, stand it on its head by trying to find the facts that suit their pre-conceptions. We are going to have to dig back into the Appalachian question, come up with the correct slogans and win this fighting militant section of the class over to the position of the unity of the class. The recent strike of the miners in West Virginia broke out over the arrest of a Negro trade union official. This only indicates that the moment the question of unity is placed on a principled basis rather than on the basis of so-called racism, the Appalachian worker will unite. Any reading of our paper will show that our party is in a good position to carry out this struggle for the unity of the class. Small but active sections of the party are dug into every section of the class and only our party is in the position to carry this work forward.

#### International Communist Movement

Comrades, I would like to deal for a moment with some questions concerning the international communist movement and some political questions that have become points of debate within our Party.

Our overwhelming concern within the international movement is around the question of revisionism. And what is the scientific definition of revisionism? Revisionism is an antiMarxist current within Marxism. Lenin wrote, "Pre-Marxian socialism has been smashed. It is continuing the struggle not on its own independent ground but on the general ground of Marxism." A considerable amount of confusion has resulted from the projection that revisionism is outside of theoretical Marxism and occurs only in the practical Marxist movement but not within theory itself. Underlying this confusion is the idea that Marxism is a set of formula or dogma that does not move or grow and develop.

Stalin once wrote, "What is Marxism? Marxism is a science. Can Marxism persist and develop as a science if it is not enriched by the new experience of the class struggle of the proletariat, if it does not digest this experience from the standpoint of Marxism, from the point of view of the Marxist method? Clearly, it cannot."

This is our point of view—Marxism must grow, develop and change—we only demand that these changes and developments be from the Marxist point of view—the view of dialectical materialism. We struggle against and shall continue to struggle against those otherwise very good comrades who constantly refer only to the books for the appropriate quotes without ever extracting from these books the Marxist method of analysis of social phenomena.

To stray away from that Marxist method; to literally add on to Marxism rather than expand it; to revise it, is revisionism. Now when these theories are carried out in practice it is no longer revisionism—it is outright counterrevolution. Marxism in practice is revolutionary activity.

Along this line, some comrades are still making the error of equating revisionism with Social Democracy. Social Democracy is strictly outside the

Communist movement. The Social Democratic movement is a conglomeration of everything from fascists all the way to the Walter Reuthers and legal Marxists such as Allende of Chile. Although there is no real Social Democratic Party in the US, its influence is quite widespread. Its organized base—the Americans for Democratic Action—includes a considerable number of the liberal Trade Union leaders and through them, close ties with the Negro people's movement. So we see, that even here we cannot disregard Social Democracy—but the worst possible approach would be to confuse it with revisionism.

Our struggle against revisionism has taught us several things about the world's Communist parties and the tactics and strategy of Communism.

First, we have had to dig for an answer as to why there was such a general victory of revisionism, especially in the parties that had gained state power. Although there is quite a combination of factors a few stand out clearly.

One of these is the fact that the pre-WWII struggle of the European and Asian parties had a distinct anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and antifascist character. In order to prepare for the inevitable war, in order to defend their homelands, these parties had to gather a large number of alien elements into their midst. As we had pointed out before, the struggle against the invaders, against the hangers-on of feudalism, had allowed and even demanded some identity of interest between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is inevitable that the effects of this period are to be felt for quite some time—at least until there is a general social or severe economic crisis to arouse the workers to a new wave of struggle.

We cannot disregard the impact of the fact that the parties within the socialist camp have had to address themselves to the task of rebuilding their countries. There has been a steady and stable rise in the standard of living of the people. Added to these factors is the memory of the terrible suffering of the people under the heel of the fascist invaders. It is small wonder that for the time the workers accept a policy that promises them peace and the continuation of the rise in their cultural and living standards. This combination of factors at least somewhat accounts for the extreme nationalistic turn of some of the leading parties. We are referring to the tendency to do even the correct things from the standpoint of what is in the national interests of their country. Such a policy and the subsequent softening of the revolutionary spirit of the workers has had devastating effects on the revolutionary movement of the world.

The result has been that those Parties that have been pressured from the left have tended to move to the right while those Parties under pressure from the right have tended to move to the left. An example of this is the disgusting spectacle taking place in Europe in a few weeks where the Communist Parties of Spain, Italy, and France are meeting with the Social Democrats under the leadership of Soares of Portugal to plot further moves against the vanguard of the Portuguese proletariat—the Communist Party of Portugal. It should be clear that especially the Communist Party of Spain is reading themselves out of the international Communist Movement. On the other hand we see the CPUSA and to a certain extent the CPSU appearing to take a new grasp on revolutionary activity and pronouncements. Well this is old hat and we have no intention of being fooled by this maneuver.

The facts of the matter are that the economic crisis has begun to arouse the working class and as has happened before, the CP shifts toward the left so as not to lose contact with the

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# NATIONALIZE WELFARE

In a direct attack on the working class, the Ford-Rockefeller administration has proposed to trim \$1.3 billion from the \$6.2 billion food stamp program. At the same time they were demanding a \$7 billion increase in the military budget. The proposed bill would weaken an already inadequate program by removing 5.5 million people from the program entirely and reducing the benefits of an additional 5.5 million people. The introduction of this so-called "reform" bill is a continuation of the tactic of turning worker against worker, and of blaming the economic crisis on the expense of welfare and other social services.

Attacks on welfare recipients are being waged across the country in the form of massive cut-backs in assistance. In Michigan, a 5% reduction in cash payments has been proposed in addition to already curtailed services. In New York, increased subway fares, massive cut-backs in senior citizens' centers and day care centers and lowered cash payments have been implemented. In Massachusetts and New York, local governments have drastically reduced or eliminated general assistance payments to unemployed workers.

The inability of the local governments to continue to finance welfare programs is a direct result of the tightening of credit and loss of tax revenues caused by the crisis of overproduction.

The most immediate and widely publicized attacks have been aimed at the Food Stamp Program. The stage for these cutbacks was set in the guise of reform, through vicious lies and distortions which are widely proclaimed by the Ford gang. Three specific points are continually made in these attacks:

1) that the Food Stamp Program is "a haven for chiselers and ripoff artists;" and that 17% of the recipients are ineligible;

2) that the Food Stamp Program has become a middle class program with families of four that earn over \$16,000 per year receiving benefits;

3) that the growth of the program is out of control, having increased several hundred times since 1962.

Even a casual reading of the studies these "statistics" are based on exposes them as blatant distortions.

The truth is that:  
—the actual ineligible rate is only 2.5 to 4% of the participating households;

—the average income for a 4-person household in the program is \$3,456 per year; 93% earn less than \$6,000 per year and 97% earn less than \$7200 per year;

—the Food Stamp program was not even enacted into law until 1964; in 1962 it was an experimental program, operating in only eight counties. Once it became a nationwide program, in 1971, participation rates remained stable until August, 1974, when official unemployment figures doubled.

—19 million people who are eligible for food stamps do not receive any because the cost is too high or because of bureaucratic procedures designed to limit participation.

—The amount of stamps recipients receive are based on a diet which allows only 1 out of every 10 people to purchase enough food.

—Expansion of the Food Stamp Program creates thousands of new jobs. A 1972 study in Texas showed that the expenditure of \$63.9 million in Food Stamp benefits generated \$232 million in new business and created 5000 new jobs.

To drive a wedge deeper between workers, the bourgeoisie has stepped up their attacks on workers through the introduction of legislation which would purge the Food Stamp Program of employed and recently unemployed workers. Four bills are currently under consideration in the Senate.

Three, (S-1993 Buckley-Michel, S-2369 Chiles, and S-2537 Ford-Rockefeller) directly attack workers, especially national minority workers.

The Ford-Rockefeller Bill now serves as the rallying-point for the right wing and any examination of its provisions shows the nature of the attack:

—Only people who earn under \$5000 will be eligible.

—Employed workers will not be allowed to itemize their payroll deductions; instead they would be limited to a standard deduction of \$100, which is lower than the average for unemployed households in 1973.

—The already prohibitive cost of food stamps would be increased by as much as 45%.

—Illegal aliens and aliens in the country for a temporary purpose (such as harvesting crops) would be ineligible.

—Recipients would have to countersign their stamps.

—People will be required to report their income monthly.

—Eligibility would be based on the previous three months earnings rather than the current income of a family.

The final provision listed above would mean that strikers and almost all recently unemployed workers would have to wait for 60 to 90 days after losing their jobs to even be allowed to apply for food stamps. Currently there are over 3 million unemployed workers who do not qualify for unemployment benefits in their states and, as is usually the case, the hardest hit among those workers are Negro national minority workers. Over 50% of all unemployed Negroes are ineligible for any unemployment benefits. The Ford-Rockefeller bill would also deny them food stamp benefits.

The fourth bill introduced represents the left-liberal position in Congress and all it does is limit the number of people cut from the program, although it does propose the progressive reform of providing people with free food stamps. Introduced by Senators McGovern and Dole, this bill attempts to unite the misleaders of the trade unions with the farm lobby. Both groups need the food stamp program to continue the lie that they represent the interest of their constituents. Labor needs food stamps and other welfare benefits to finance strikes (over \$30 million was spent in welfare in Michigan during the last GM strike) and the farm lobby needs the program to replace the direct subsidies which have kept agricultural enterprises, which are unprofitable to mechanize on a corporate scale, in operation. This means that the Federal government takes on the cost of feeding the farm workers, enabling the growers to cut wages to the bone. The result is more profits for the growers as well as increased food sales (through the increased purchasing power of people receiving food stamps).

The Communist Labor Party has long recognized the fascist nature of the attacks on welfare recipients. At a time when unemployment is rampant and any cut in welfare will devastate the victims, we must not only dispell the myths about welfare and correct the lies that have been put forward—we must demand that all workers have jobs at the expense of the war machine: **Jobs with Peace!** We must demand that programs be expanded so that recipients receive adequate benefits and that these benefits be uniform in every state throughout the country. We must demand that all welfare programs be taken over completely by the federal government, and that working people are not taxed further by having to pay for food stamps—all eligible people should receive free food stamps.

The nationalization of the welfare system would do away with the unequal matching funds system which allows, for instance, a monthly average payment of \$274 per family in New York as opposed to an average monthly payment of \$53 per family in Mississippi. Nationalization would place the burden of relief on the shoulders of the federal government rather than allowing the various state governments to dictate as they please who will be on welfare; the buck can no longer be passed on. As it stands now the state governments use as their excuses for vicious attacks on welfare "lack of federal funds." Nationalization forces the federal government to feed the unemployed workers. However, we also must insist that nationalization includes the participation of welfare recipients in the formulations and operations of the welfare system. Welfare organizations must be able to elect inspectors, policy makers and administrators to function on all levels.

The CLP urges all progressive people to join in the call for an end to cut backs in welfare and, for the development of the nationalization of welfare which provides workers with an adequate income. The CLP supports and encourages progressive people to support Unemployed Councils and organizations of workers on welfare, such as Welfare Workers for Justice, in their efforts to secure an adequate income.

**NATIONALIZE WELFARE!**

**STOP THE ATTACKS ON WELFARE RECIPIENTS!**

## FBI

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sure the stability of the bourgeois government with whatever means possible. The FBI and the CIA are no different than Hitler's SS troops and play the same role. These agencies, created by the capitalists, for the capitalists, are tools with which the bourgeoisie fights to retain its state power. We must not be fooled into thinking that they protect and defend the average person. They do not! They serve only to protect the capitalists and their state from the angry batterings by the people.

These recent exposures must be acted upon! Workers and progressives everywhere must write to their elected officials and let the government know that they will no longer stand for this type of foul play which is directly against their interests. We must demonstrate, march and protest these types of practices. If they are allowed to continue, the noose around our necks will tighten and we will be closer to the hanging. Fascism comes in many forms, but its content remains the same: unbridled chauvinism, terror and war. The fight against the FBI, CIA and all spying organizations is in essence a fight against fascism. We urge all workers and progressives to show their indignation at these practices and let the government know these activities will not be tolerated.

**For more information about the Communist Labor Party USNA or about the People's Tribune, write:**

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Congress

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masses. We do not and experience shows us we should not approach the CPUSA in the classical cliches of its being simply a tool of imperialism or rely on any of the other ideological formulations we have used too freely in the past. Our experience shows us that the CP must be described as a militantly pro-labor anti-monopoly organization that believes in socialism.

They are not based on Marxism and consequently give only lip service to the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The CPUSA is thoroughly penetrated by the FBI, and bourgeois intellectuals have gone far to thoroughly corrupt the top strata. But we must have a two-sided approach to the CP because they will not go away and we doubt that there will be any more large scale defection of decent people from the CPUSA at this time. We are used to finding them at nearly every point of struggle. They have deeply rooted connections with the middle strata of trade union officials and a section of the leadership of the mass movement. You can be sure that a combination of historical struggle along with the tactics of the FBI have guaranteed that. We have learned that in the mass movement, we must have a very principled approach in our struggle against the revisionists. For example, in dealing with the current war in Angola, the CPUSA has put forth the line that this is a racist war, therefore leaving out the fact that the struggle is over the untold wealth in Angola. This has to be pointed out, and all the name calling in the world will not substitute for the patient explaining of facts to both the rank and file of the CPUSA as well as the advanced section of the mass movement.

Comrades, we are facing a very difficult period. The best of the pre-World War II organizations are not good enough for the tasks that lie ahead. We dare not set our sights on a Bolshevik Party, but on a party of Bolsheviks.

In other words, we must struggle for the clarity and individual development of every single comrade. We dare not construct simply a correct center. We must have a correct party wherein each individual is cultivated in every sphere of Party struggle and capable of assuming any task within the Party. The concentration of the enemy, the modern methods of control that they possess, the qualitative levels of the struggle, demand a party in this country as far above the parties of the Comintern as the parties of the Comintern were above those of the Second International.

The CLP

In a very real sense this Congress is the beginning of our Party. We have a line, a line wrung out of our participation in the class struggle. We have developed and recruited a core of cadre — cadre who are qualitatively different and above those of preceding movements. We are on the road to the development of a Party of politically equal communists — a party of fighting communist leaders. We are a party able to combine love of country with love of our class; a party capable of combining revolutionary passion with scientific analysis. Such a Party, comrades, the Party that you represent is truly invincible.

This Congress dips its red banners to the proletarian heroes — here and abroad, who have fallen on our far flung fields of combat. Our Party has accepted the historic responsibility for our class. Onward comrades to the resolution of these responsibilities.

**LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY!**



# International Briefs

## Lebanon

Despite the official ceasefire, the fighting in Lebanon continues. The media has made great efforts to portray the fighting as a religious conflict between Moslems and Christians. A closer look at the situation shows that the real causes of the conflict are much deeper and more basic.

Lebanon today is crucial in the Middle East and to the struggle of the Palestinian people for their land. After Black September (1970), the Palestinian movement shifted its center of operations from Jordan to Lebanon. Since the shift 5 years ago, the USNA and Israel have been attempting to destroy the Palestinian forces in Lebanon in order to destroy the Palestinian forces throughout the Middle East. Despite hit and run raids into Lebanon, Israeli troops have not been able to reach Beirut and drive out the Palestinians. Consequently, the Phalange Party, acting in conjunction with Israel is attempting to do this. Also, for the fascists in Lebanon, as was true in Jordan, the Palestinians movement poses an internal threat.

Even in terms of Moslems and Christians, several things should be pointed out. While Christians make up 800,000 of the 2.6 million inhabitants of Lebanon, they hold the majority of the country's wealth and as a result a disproportionately high number of positions in the government plus the highest posts in the Army. Yet what are being portrayed as the Christian side are actually sections of the wealthy ruling class of Lebanon organized into the fascist Phalange Party. On the other side are the toilers, both Christian and Moslem, fighting against years of oppression and exploitation, fighting against fascism and for a socialist country; and the Palestinian people fighting for the land that is rightfully theirs.

## UN Resolution

On November 12, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution condemning Zionism as a "form of racism and racial discrimination" by a vote of 72 to 35, with 32 abstentions. Every socialist country voted for the resolution. Every imperialist country voted against it, with the exception of Japan, which abstained. Every non-aligned, developing country voted for it; every police state, such as Haiti, Ireland and Liberia, voted against it. The voting line up demonstrates that the passage of the resolution signals a polarization within the United Nations between the forces of democracy and of reaction.

In response to the vote, the leading representatives of USNA imperialism have roared with anger and indignation. These imperialists for a long time have regarded the United Nations as a rubber stamp for USNA imperialist aggression. When the entire socialist camp and the majority of the developing countries formed a solid bloc against imperialism, the US Congress immediately condemned the UN, threatened to cut off US funds and stop aid to the nations supporting the resolution. The fascist Senator Allen of Alabama urged the US to drop out of the UN. Similarly, in the 1930's, Japan and Germany both dropped out of the League of Nations (an earlier version of the UN) in order to give themselves a free hand to commit aggression against other countries and prepare for war.

Despite the outraged protests of the leading imperialists, the majority condemnation of Zionism is not to be confused with anti-semitism. A clear distinction must be drawn between the Jewish religion and people, and Zionism and the Zionist movement.

The Zionist movement arose with the need of British imperialism to

expand into the Middle-East at the end of the 19th Century in order to secure a foothold in that oil-rich region. Financed and promoted by the British imperialists, the Rothschilds, and the Rockefellers, Zionism represented a form of open chauvinism, a doctrine claiming that European Jews, backed by the British, had a right to drive the Palestinian people from their homeland and establish their own state. In 1920, Winston Churchill stated the real reason that the British imperialists fostered and backed the Zionist movement:

"If, as may well happen, there should be created in our own lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish state under the protection of the British crown, which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial, and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire." Today the USNA has replaced Britain as the "protector," but the "truest interests" are the same: oil and military bases.

Zionism has never been more than imperialism with a religious cloak. While we support the UN resolution as progressive, we must also recognize the weakness in characterizing Zionism as "racism" as opposed to imperialism and chauvinism. "Racism" is an unscientific and subjective term. The oppression of the Palestinian people is not "racial discrimination;" it is national oppression, supported by chauvinist ideology. "Chauvinism" is the imperialist ideology which says that one nation is superior to, and therefore can oppress another, take its land, and enslave its people. Zionism is not based on "racial" or "color" discrimination, but on imperialism and national oppression, on the theft of the Palestinian peoples' land by the Zionist agents of imperialism. Zionism is the most reactionary, naked and vicious imperialist aggression against the Palestinian people.

We, and all progressives, must support the spirit of the UN resolution—as representative of the just demand of the Palestinian people for the return of their land, and as a condemnation of Zionism as a form of imperialism which must be uprooted. Only by dismantling the Israeli Zionist state can a free, democratic, secular state be created in which Jew, Arab and Christian can live as equals, free from imperialism.



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# AGENTS IN THE MINES

Coal miners of West Virginia in the months of August and September of this year went on strike for two issues. The main issue was the way the coal operators and the federal courts had combined to try and crush the miners' strike movement in southern West Virginia by issuing Temporary Restraining Orders (TRO) to prevent miners from striking after the operators had obstructed the grievance procedure. The operators would violate the contract and then scurry off to court and get a TRO. After being hit three or four hundred times, the miners finally struck. The strike started in Logan County, West Virginia, which has a long and militant history of struggle with the coal operators.

The other issue was the so-called "Right to Strike Movement." This issue originated with the "Miners' Committee for the Right to Strike," a group organized by the Revolutionary Union (RU), whose leaders were RU members. This group dived into the fray while the strike was already in progress; their actions were opportunistic, divisive and reactionary.

The coal operators have always used agents in their attempts to split and sabotage the unity of the mine workers. The RU played the same role in this strike, antagonizing the Logan County miners by moving in and inserting their own material into a supposedly "joint" leaflet. The Logan County group objected to the use of "Right to Strike" slogans on the leaflet, but the RU agents printed up the leaflets with the slogans anyway.

The division grew between the two groups; the Right to Strike people held their own rallies and threatened bodily harm to Logan miners who came out and opposed the "Right to Strike" as the main issue of the strike.

It should be pointed out that the reason the majority of the miners were against the right to strike

issue was because it meant reopening the contract and renegotiating a clause allowing local unions to strike over local issues. There is no way the contract could be legally opened and it would have meant a six month or year long strike to achieve the aim. Every coal miner supports the right to strike, but by the same token, the great majority of coal miners in August of this year were simply not prepared to endure a long strike with its hardships.

After the majority of the locals had voted to return to work and end the strike, the right to strike people continued the strike. The result of these actions was that the operators turned them to their own advantage. The Kanawha Coal Operators Association obtained a \$700,000 contempt judgment against the International Union. U.S. Steel, the most reactionary, fascist coal operator put all its locals under injunction and obtained a lien on their dues money, putting them out of business. Had the strike ended when most miners wanted, these losses could have been avoided.

The Right to Strike people also united with the KKK, the John Birch Society and the Kanawha County textbook protestors during the strike. This was clearly an example of their open treachery. The RU members gladly shared speaking platforms with Fred Harris, a known member of the KKK, marched with them in the streets of Charleston, and accepted food and money from the fascist elements. The Logan County miners and most of the other District 17 miners rejected such "support."

The main leader of the Right to Strike Committee was Lewis "Skip" Delano. Delano clearly is an agent of the capitalist class. An investigation of his background by lawyers has disclosed that he was court-martialed in 1969 in Fort McClellin, Alabama for anti-war activity, but that the court-martial was dismissed in 1970 by motion of the Secretary of Army. Later, he was in the Venceremos Brigade in Cuba. He came to the coal fields about a year ago after having spent several years in the Boston and New York areas. It is reported that Delano was exposed as an agent in the anti-war movement in New York, in 1973. Only an agent would have so aggressively pushed the provocative and divisive line of the Right to Strike Committee during the coal strike.

The agent activity of Skip Delano and the RU also included trying to turn the miners against communism and communists. Towards the end of the strike they boldly asserted that they were communists and members of the RU. They did this in hopes to turn the honest rank and file against communism and communists.

The fact is that neither the RU or Skip Delano are communists or revolutionaries. Delano is a government agent in the service of the coal operators. As agents, one of their jobs is to discredit communists and make them look bad in the eyes of the workers.

We would like to make our position clear. The Communist Labor Party supports the just and vanguard struggles of the West Virginia coal miners against TRO's and injunctions. We will continue to do all we can to unite communism with the continuing struggle in the coal fields, and continue to point out to the workers who the spies and agents of the capitalists are.

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