

Bulletin

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER NINETY 426

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1974

TWENTY CENTS

MINERS COUNCIL REJECTS CONTRACT

BY DAVID NORTH

WASHINGTON, DC—The 38-man bargaining council of the United Mine Workers has rejected the tentative contract settlement worked out by Arnold Miller, and has ordered the union president to renegotiate the pact with the coal bosses.

Behind the action of the bargaining council, unprecedented in the history of the UMW, is the offensive of the rank and file miners against the attacks on their living standards and against the collaboration of the Miller bureaucracy with the Ford government and employers.

The contract had been worked out behind the scenes with the government in order to set the stage for wage controls and massive attacks on the trade unions.

The defeat of the settlement must now be the springboard for an all-out offensive by the miners and the entire workers movement against the Ford government and its reactionary "anti-inflation" program which is aimed at foisting the weight of the economic crisis on the backs of the working class.

This fight must be taken forward by:

- Deepening the UMW strike by demanding that Miller immediately instruct Western strip coal miners to walk off their jobs and cut off the rich supply of scab coal into East Coast and Midwest factories and power plants.

UMW members at the surface mines have been working throughout the strike so far under a 60-day extension of their contract granted by Miller.

- Demanding that the UMW unite the working class politically in defense of the miners strike against government intervention and against the mass layoffs hitting workers throughout basic industry by calling for a congress of labor to build a labor party based on the trade unions and pledged to fight for the nationalization of auto, coal, and all essential industry under the control of the working class.

Miller is still defending his rotten sellout. He refused to call a vote on the settlement, knowing that he would be defeated overwhelmingly on the bargaining council. Although he has been instructed to renegotiate the pact, Miller has refused to make known to miners the contents of the proposed contract.

He is seeking to hide from UMW members that his tentative settlement, in addition to tying miners to the old Nixon wage guidelines, opens the UMW to attacks on basic union rights.

The Bulletin obtained a copy of the proposed contract and found that it includes provisions that strengthen the hand of coal operators against the miners.

- There is a "scab" clause in Article II which states that fire bosses, mine examiners, dust samplers, dispatchers, and warehouse and supply clerks—who have until now been UMW members—are not included in the bargaining unit except where at a mine, as a result of prior practice and custom, they are included in the bargaining unit as classified employees.

This means that a whole section of UMW members will lose union rights at the many new mines that are being established.

- The "right to withdraw," which Miller claimed gives miners greater safety, is a fraud. According to the contract, the miner who "withdraws" from the coal face may wind up losing his job.

There is nothing which stops the coal operator from sending another miner to the same coal face without telling him that the first man withdrew.

- Overtime is still mandatory on Saturday and over eight hours.

- Among the most insidious of the provisions in the contract is Article V on job bidding that opens the door for attacks on seniority and for going back to the old job classification seniority system.

Under the new proposed contract, miners would only be able to become continuous-mining machine operators and roof-bolting machine operators if they bid to become helpers. This destroys bidding on the basis of seniority and ability to do the work.

- The Christmas bonus of \$120 per year has been abolished. In its place, the miners will get a flat \$80 once.

- A split vacation schedule has been established, which gives miners one week during the summer and the second week at Christmas, a period of normally high absenteeism.

- The contract includes a provision, Article VII, aimed at breaking down the independence of locals and districts and consolidating the power of the international bureaucracy.

The international assumes responsibility for work in the areas normally assigned to the districts. The powers of the locals and districts are to be dissipated in a rubber-stamp "mine communication com-

LAST MINUTE DEAL AT UPS

NEW YORK, NY—Teamsters Local 804 overwhelmingly accepted a new contract proposal November 20. This ended their 85-day strike against United Parcel Service.

The new proposal was worked out in an overnight bargaining session led by Federal Mediator William Usery. Local 804 President Ron Carey rammed through the proposal. The company threatened to close down the New York City operations if a contract was not approved by midnight.

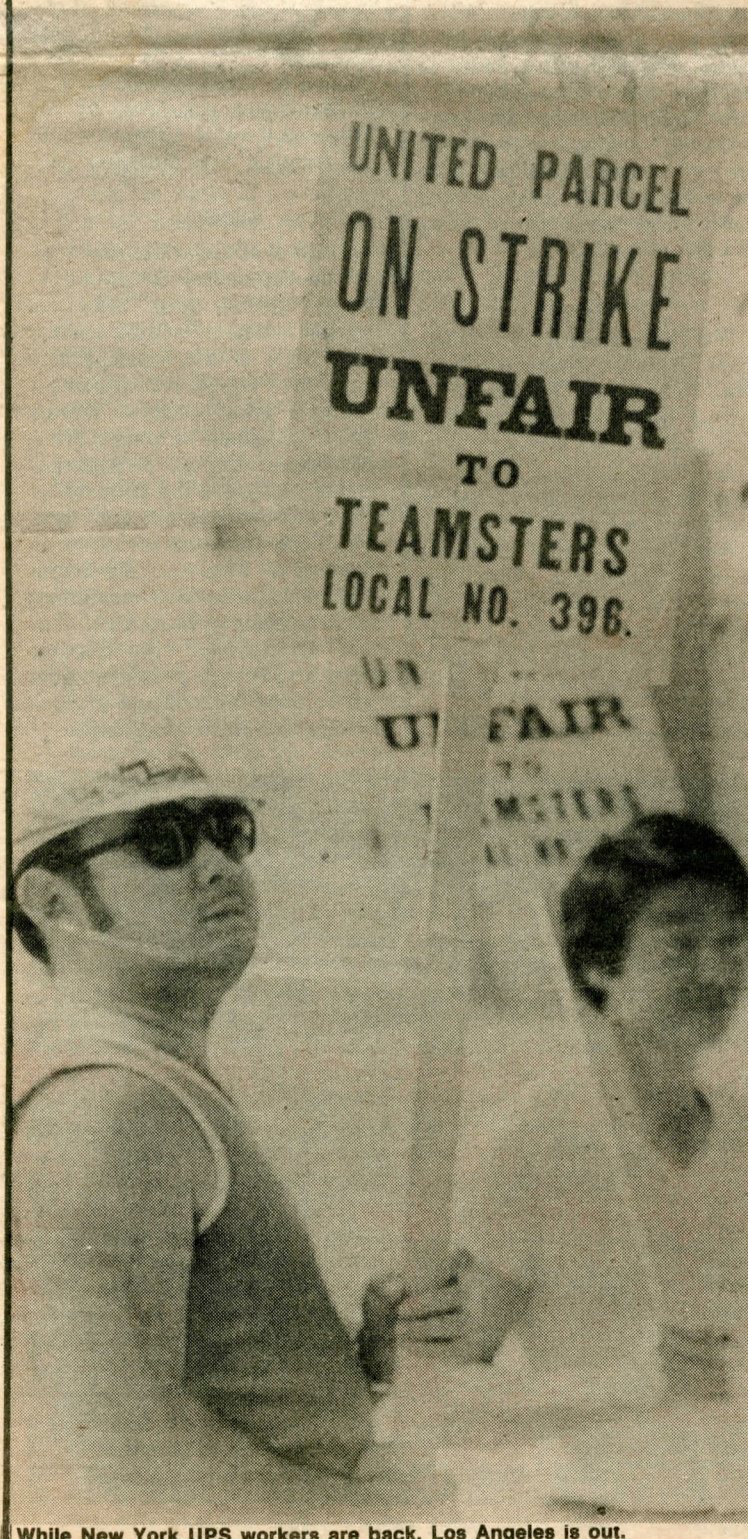
The contract provides a pay raise of \$58 per week for full-time workers, plus two cost of living raises of 8¢ to 11¢ an hour. Part-time workers will go from a maximum of \$3.60 an hour to \$4.70.

The company won the right to replace full-time workers with part-timers, the central issue in the strike. The limit for this is 180 jobs a year, which would bring the full-time inside work force down to 909 by 1977.

The contract also establishes a Labor-Management Committee to decide unresolved questions of overtime and working conditions and "assist the parties in improving their collective bargaining relationship."

Since the replacement of full-time workers is limited to positions opened up by "normal attrition," Local 804 members now must prepare to beat back a campaign of brutal harassment and speedup. Already, over 50 men have retired after UPS sent out letters last week to every worker approaching retirement age.

See page 4, "Lessons of UPS."



While New York UPS workers are back, Los Angeles is out.

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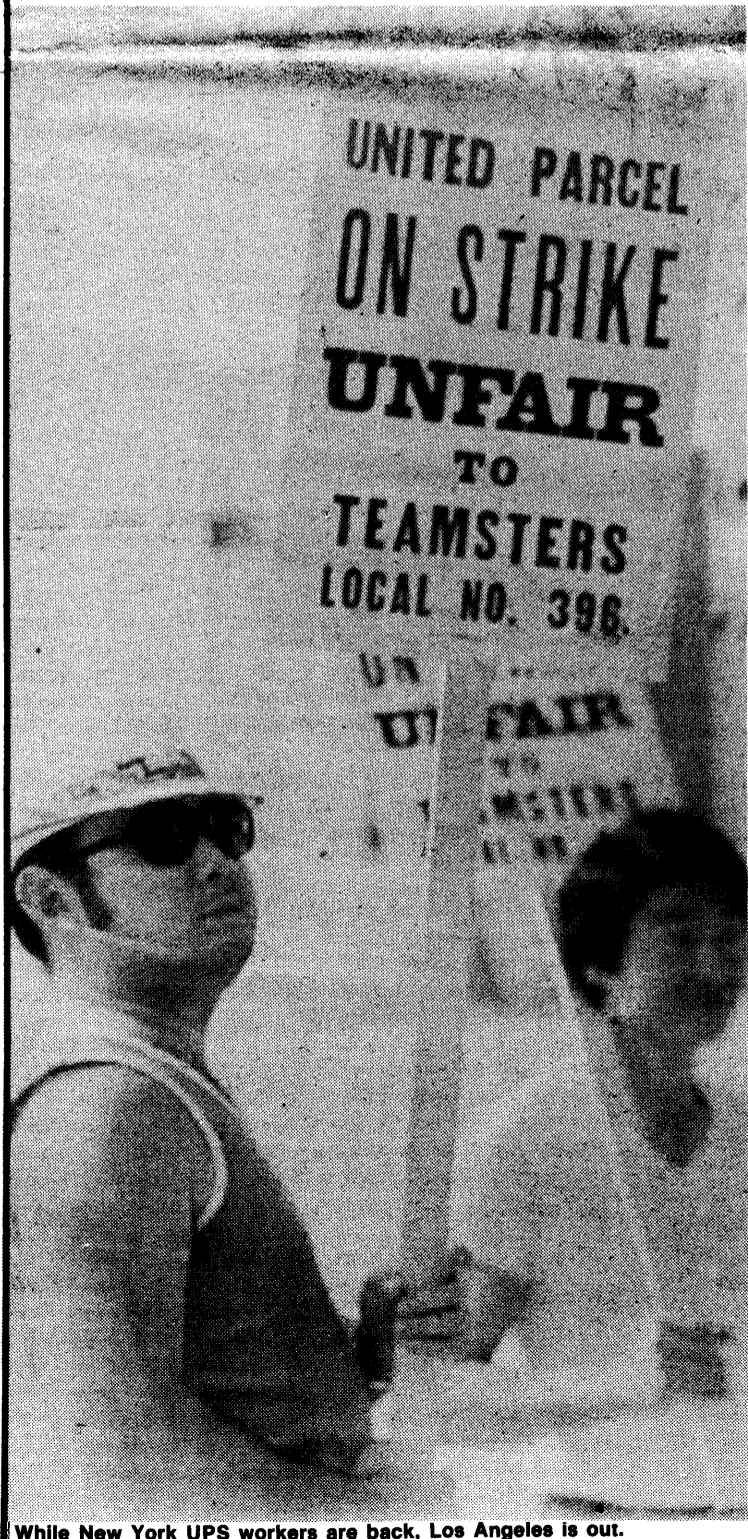
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West Bank Arabs Defy Israeli Rule

BY MELODY FARROW
Savage Israeli repression has only intensified the massive uprisings of thousands of Arab workers and youth that are rapidly spreading all over the Israeli occupied West Bank.

On Monday, demonstrations broke out for the first time in the Arab quarter of East Jerusalem which was annexed by Israel. Helmeted riot police with clubs swinging repeatedly charged into crowds, at one point using a water cannon to disperse them. Over 150 were arrested.

Hundreds of Arab youth were out in the streets again in every major town chanting: "Palestine is Arab." Roadblocks were set up and youth defiantly hurled stones at the police.

At the Ibrahimiyah College in East Jerusalem, police and soldiers brutally beat students as they were dragged into police vans. At the Kalandria Vocational School, a force of over 100 police broke through the school's gates to break up a demonstration of 200 students waving the Palestinian flag.

A PLO spokesman accused the Zionist government of being responsible for the death of 100 Palestinians in the fighting last week, including the death of a young girl who was crushed by an Israeli tank.

Karim Khalaf, Mayor of Ra-

Karamanlis Turns To Right

BY A REPORTER
The November 17 Greek election signals a sharp rightward turn by Premier Constantine Karamanlis.

The latest returns give Karamanlis 54.5 percent of the vote and 214 out of the 300 seats in the new parliament.

Karamanlis portrayed himself in the election campaign as the saviour of Greece. He formed an alliance with the most right-wing sections of the bourgeoisie, including the Royalists and ex-supporters of the junta.

In an election speech in the town of Heraklion on the island of Crete, Karamanlis said: "The army should not be confounded with those few responsible for the junta."

REPRISALS

Karamanlis has refused to take any reprisals against any of the leaders of the junta. General Ioannides, the notorious chief of secret police, has been put under house arrest and Papadopoulos has been put in exile on an island.

At the same time, Karamanlis refused to take any further steps in withdrawing Greece from NATO. He made no attacks on the monarchy, despite the overwhelming opposition in Greece to the return of King Constantine. There will be a referendum on the issue on December 8.

POWERS

Karamanlis is now using his victory to push for greatly increased powers for the premier. As premier in 1955, he earned the hatred of millions of Greek workers by pushing through slashes in living standards and destroying thousands of jobs.

He worked closely with the police and the military which he used to terrorize working class parties and unions. It was under

his premiership that the left-wing member of Parliament, Gregory Lambrakis, was killed by right-wing terrorists in collaboration with the police.

Karamanlis, however, faces enormous difficulties. His stalling on bringing to trial the junta leaders indicates the great pressures on him by the military.

The election in itself solves nothing. The capitalist economic crisis is creating enormous problems inside the country. Inflation is soaring.

The Greek working class, after seven years of dictatorship, is determined to restore its standard of living.

Andreas Papandreou, the ex-minister in his father's government, headed the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) in the election. This organization played a treacherous role, using radical phrases to appeal to sections of workers and the middle class.

PROGRAM

But Papandreou has no program to offer these sections. He has no fundamental disagreements with Karamanlis and his purpose in the elections was to become loyal opposition leader.

The United Left, led by the Stalinist Greek Communist Party, polled 10 percent of the vote. The vote indicates the building up of opposition to Karamanlis, even though the Stalinists have no intention of leading the working class in a fight for power.

The fall of the junta signals a powerful movement of the Greek working class which is heading towards a direct collision with the Karamanlis regime.

The task now confronting the Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International is the construction of the revolutionary leadership, against the Stalinists and demagogues like Papandreou, to lead the working class to power.



Palestinian Liberation Organization member demonstrating against the Zionists.

and a supporter of the PLO who has been threatened by the Zionists, said: "These demonstrations convey a very simple message.

"The people are fed up with the occupation. They want their own state and the right to live under rulers of their own choosing. Is that asking too much?"

The Palestinian Liberation Organization of Yasser Arafat will

present a resolution at the United Nations this week that would grant every Palestinian the right to return to any place in Palestine where they lived at any time since 1947.

With these mass demonstrations, the Palestinian people are showing that they do not want some token piece of land, but their full rights to return to their homeland.

Vote Upset In Brazil

The upset victory of the Brazilian opposition party in the November 15 election is a forewarning that a massive rebellion against the military dictatorship is not far off.

The ruling party, the National Renewal Alliance, expected to win. But on Sunday, with 30 percent of the votes counted, the opposition Democratic Movement was winning by two to one.

One-third of the seats in the National Assembly and all members of the Chamber of Deputies and the state assemblies were up for reelection.

DEMOCRACY

While the majority of workers knew that the election did not signal a return to democracy and that General Ernesto Geisel would still retain power, they voted for the opposition as a way of expressing their hatred for the regime and their desire to fight for their basic rights.

As one railroad worker said: "If they don't let me vote for president of the republic or for governor, then why should I bother to vote for deputies and senators just to please them?"

Soaring inflation on basic commodities, unemployment, and poverty wages, combined with the denial of all political and trade union rights are creating an explosive situation.

TAME

The tame Democratic Movement exploited these issues to win votes, but this party is willing to work with the military, and give it a democratic facade. The opposition is seeking to gain enough seats to set up parliamentary commissions.

Just before the election, deputy Francisco Pinto was jailed for six months for denouncing the presence of Chilean dictator General Pinochet at Geisel's inauguration last March.

Stalinists Persecute USSR Artists

BY FRANK MARTIN

The Stalinist hacks in the Kremlin are taking their revenge on a group of painters who defied the bureaucracy and held an art exhibition in Moscow on September 29.

The exhibition, attended by 10,000 people, became a focal point for opposition to the Brezhnev bureaucracy. It was held after a previous exhibition was broken up by police and KGB men manning bulldozers.

Since then, the exhibition's organizer, Aleksandr Glazer, has been interrogated for 90 minutes at KGB headquarters. He was warned not to organize such an exhibition again.

Aleksandr Pennanen, a young artist who participated in the September 29 show, was dragged from his house by the KGB and committed to a mental hospital.

Viktor Tupitsin, a 31-year old mathematician who was beaten by police at the first exhibition, was dismissed from the institute he worked at and told he would be "crushed like a grain of sand."

Vladimir Seichev, a 29-year old photographer who worked with the artists, was forcibly evicted from his house by police despite a ruling he obtained from legal authorities claiming the eviction was illegal. He and his family have been unable to find a new home ever since.

Four of the artists, Oskar Rabin, Lydia Masterkova, Vladimir Nemukhim, and Dmitry Polovinsky, have been offered a chance to display their work at an exhibition organized by the Moscow Central Committee of the Graphic Arts Organization.

BRIBE

But five of the artists involved in the September 29 exhibition have rejected these bribe attempts and have written a letter of protest to the secret police chief over Glazer's treatment.

These gangster-style tactics against a group of artists are a desperate attempt to suppress any opposition to the Stalinist regime. But this is not the 1930s. The demonstration of 10,000 on September 29 is only the beginning of an enormous movement by the Soviet working class that will sweep aside the bureaucrats and restore political rights as well as cultural and artistic freedom to the Soviet Union.



French postal workers now in their second month of strike. They, along with the sanitation workers have triggered the biggest strike wave since the 1968 general strike.

Strike Wave Greet Ford In Japan

BY MELODY FARROW

Behind all the diplomatic statements about "mutual friendship" and "cooperation" that concluded Ford's visit to Japan, the United States and Japan are on an irreversible collision course.

A communique issued Wednesday said the US and Japan pledged "to promote close economic and trade relations ... and participate constructively in international efforts to ensure a continuing expansion of world trade through negotiations, to reduce tariff and other trade distortions, and to create a stable and balanced international money order."

This was for public consumption. In private, however, the meeting was overshadowed by the impending threat of trade war and protectionist measures against Japan.

The visit was a hopeless attempt by Ford and Kissinger to get Japan to line up behind a US-dominated united front to force the Arab countries to lower oil prices. Instead, Japan is continuing to make independent deals with the oil producers to resolve its own balance of payments deficit.

In October, Japan's exports

General Strike In France

Tuesday, 300,000 French workers defiantly marched through Paris as part of a one-day general strike that paralyzed transportation, tv and radio, banks, hospitals, and schools.

The major trade union federations, the Stalinist led CGT, and the CFDT were forced to call the action as strikes snowballed throughout the country for higher wages.

Police and troops have been mobilized by the government against the postal workers who are entering their second month of strike. Soldiers were sent into the streets by Interior Minister Michel Poniatowski to collect garbage as the one-week old sanitation strike continued.

On November 15, thousands of postal workers and their supporters staged a march to protest against police who have instituted massive identity checks.

Postal workers are demanding an increase of \$45 a month to bring their monthly minimum pay up to \$365 before they will return to work.

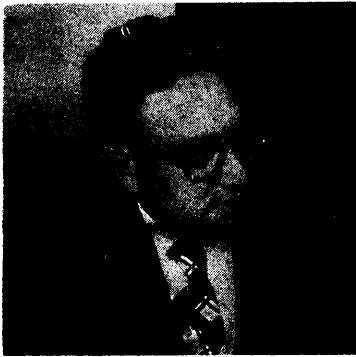
The biggest political confrontation between the government and the working class since the 1968 general strike is now on the agenda. The government of Valery Giscard d'Estaing is out to smash the postal and sanitation men for fear that their victory will spark an explosion of wage demands.

went up 55 percent over last year, and 9.8 percent of this involved exports to Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, and Nigeria, all oil producers.

WORLD WAR

In a speech in Chicago last week, Kissinger implicitly warned that a new world war would result if nations did not subordinate their national interests to the interests of the US. He declared, "Some countries will be tempted to secure unilateral benefits through separate arrangements with producers at the expense of the collaboration that offers the only hope for survival over the long term."

Above all, it is the refusal of the working class here and in Japan to accept the burden of the economic crisis and to pay for the huge deficits that are upsetting all the plans of Tanaka and Ford.



Ford was welcomed on his arrival by a strike of the Japan National Railway Workers Union for higher wages and by other walkouts. Last Sunday 35,000 workers responded to a demonstration against Ford's visit called by the trade unions and the Socialist and Communist parties.

A force of 25,000 police had to be mobilized to keep angry crowds away from Ford, who was only exposed to small, pre-arranged friendly groups.

RESIGN

The government of Premier Kakuei Tanaka is expected to be forced to resign shortly because of a Watergate-type scandal on top of a growing labor upsurge against inflation and unemployment which has now reached 900,000 and is expected to go to one million before March.

While Ford met with Tanaka, Kissinger was in consultation with the other officials who will replace him if he resigns.

Ford's visit with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in Vladivostok, his next stop, is also geared to keep up the facade of cooperation and "detente" while in reality, US imperialism rushes headlong into preparations for stepped up trade war and military war in the Middle East.

Workers in Japan and United States have no interest in supporting the nationalist aims of their own ruling class. The demonstrations in Japan show the powerful way in which the world economic crisis is uniting the international working class.

The working class is the only force that can smash the preparations for war and depression by taking political power.



Ford with Kakuei Tanaka.

Chrysler Axes 35,000

BY A REPORTER
Chrysler confirmed on Tuesday that it was closing all but one of its assembly plants between the Thanksgiving holiday and New Years, laying off an additional 35,000 workers.

The plants effected are two in Detroit, one in Hamtramck, Michigan, Newark, Delaware, and Belevedere, Illinois.

Chrysler also declared that even after the New Year one shift will be permanently eliminated from one of the Detroit plants and the assembly line speed at Belevedere will be cut 25 percent, laying off 1,200 indefinitely.

The only plant to remain open, for now, is the St. Louis facility.

This attack on jobs, the most sweeping since the wave of layoffs began, must be a warning to every worker and trade unionist. The Ford government and the employers want to reduce the working class to pawns to be smashed up and destroyed in their all-out drive for profits.

Having built up a 108-day stock of unsold 1975 models, Chrysler has decided to cut fourth quarter production by another 50,000 units. It will be able to complete its scaled-down production quota by the Thanksgiving holiday.

The UAW bureaucracy has

UMW District 20 Leader Killed

BY DAVID NORTH
WASHINGTON, DC—The United Mine Workers has posted a \$50,000 reward for information leading to the capture of the killer of Sam Littlefield, the bargaining council member who was shot to death on Friday night.

The death of Littlefield has been officially explained as the result of a burglary.

Union officials, according to The New York Times, state that they have offered such a large reward to allay suspicions that Littlefield may have been the victim of an assassination.

Littlefield was a leading opponent of the proposed contract. Only hours before his death, he had made an impassioned speech against the contract, saying at one point, according to a source, "Arnold, you have to get a bigger slice of the apple."

Littlefield was killed only minutes after returning to the Holiday Inn on Rhode Island Avenue following a recess of the bar-

gaining council meeting on Friday.

He stepped into the room of members of the bargaining council and then left it momentarily to get some papers from his own room. The door was left ajar.

In the brief period while Littlefield was out of the room, a man stepped in waving a gun and ordered the two UMW bargaining council members onto the floor.

The gunman told the two men to throw their billfolds onto the bed. One of the union men did so, but the other said he did not have any money on him.

MONEY
The gunman made no attempt to check him for money. The gunman then stepped behind the door.

At this point, Littlefield entered the room once again. He could not see the two men on the floor. As he walked into the room, he hesitated when he saw the man.

He looked at the gunman and began to flee down the lobby, according to the source.

and the cutoff of SUB funding on the grounds that the companies have no alternative if they are losing money.

A UAW official told the Bulletin on Tuesday that the SUB was not set up to compensate laid-off workers under conditions of massive unemployment.

"The companies can't be expected to pay SUB if they don't have it," he said.

This official added that workers "will have to live on unemployment compensation if the SUB runs out."

Auto workers must take action to defend their jobs against the plans of the government and corporations for mass unemployment.

Attempts by the companies to shut down the facilities should be met with occupation of the plants by the workers.

UAW members have every right to sit-down and occupy a plant which the bosses threaten to shut because they claim profits are down.

These occupations must be defended politically through a break with the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. The UAW must call for a congress of labor to build a labor party pledged to the nationalization of the auto industry under workers control without compensation to the owners.

We call on auto workers to join the auto workers section of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party to fight for these policies.

The gunman ran after him and fired an 8 mm. slug into Littlefield's head. Littlefield collapsed immediately. After a noticeable pause, the gunman fired another bullet into Littlefield's head at point blank range.

The gunman then fled from the fourth floor. Police have no suspects. The money of the two union officials had not been touched.

Littlefield, who was a leader in Alabama's District 20, was buried on Tuesday.

Littlefield's wife is calling for an investigation of her husband's death.

Questions about Littlefield's death have not been answered by the police to the satisfaction of many bargaining council members.

An investigation into Littlefield's death must be made by the UMW. A special UMW commission must be set up with rank and file members drawn from Littlefield's home district to investigate all the details surrounding his death.

lessons of UPS IN DEFENSE OF JOBS

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

NEW YORK, NY—The 4,500 members of Teamsters Local 804 were forced back to work at United Parcel Service by the absolute refusal of their trade union leadership to offer a perspective for winning the three-month strike.

Before they ratified a "compromise" contract that will cut 500 full-time inside jobs in the next three years and pave the way for additional layoffs and back-breaking speedup, these workers launched a battle crucial to the entire working class.

UPS had threatened to close the Manhattan and Queens terminals if the ranks did not ratify a "final offer" reserving the company's right to cut 1,200 full-time jobs and bump full-time workers into part-time positions. This demand was rejected by 4,000 members in a unanimous voice vote November 17.

By refusing to sacrifice these 1,200 jobs, these workers took a principled stand for the entire working class. The battle to defend the basic right to have a job that began here will spread through the American labor movement.

The right-wing New York Times backs UPS empire-builders Harold and Paul Oberkottter by writing that these workers are playing "Russian Roulette with their jobs and with delivery service."

They refer to the November 20 vote as "the last chance for sanity."

In their resistance to the UPS attacks, these workers took a stand for the entire working class against the drive of the corporations to destroy jobs.

President Ford directed his Chief Mediator, William Usery, to work around the clock on a UPS settlement, in the midst of the critical attempt to force the miners back to work.

What was at stake for the government was the need to back up in no uncertain terms the right of every company to impose ruthless job cuts to defend profits.

Local 804 President Ron Carey demanded that UPS "open the books," but the union proved only that those who make the profits are the experts at manipulating them. By accepting the company's loss of \$8 million in the area as a negotiating factor and by agreeing to back Usery's eleventh-hour plan, Carey showed that he, just as much as IBT head Frank Fitzsimmons, places the preservation of company profits ahead of the preservation of every job in the local.

UPS was willing to lock up its warehouses in New York City because they are preparing for a period of slump which will mean sharp cutbacks in production from the garment center and in retail sales, industries which provide the bulk of the New York City business.

TRUCKING

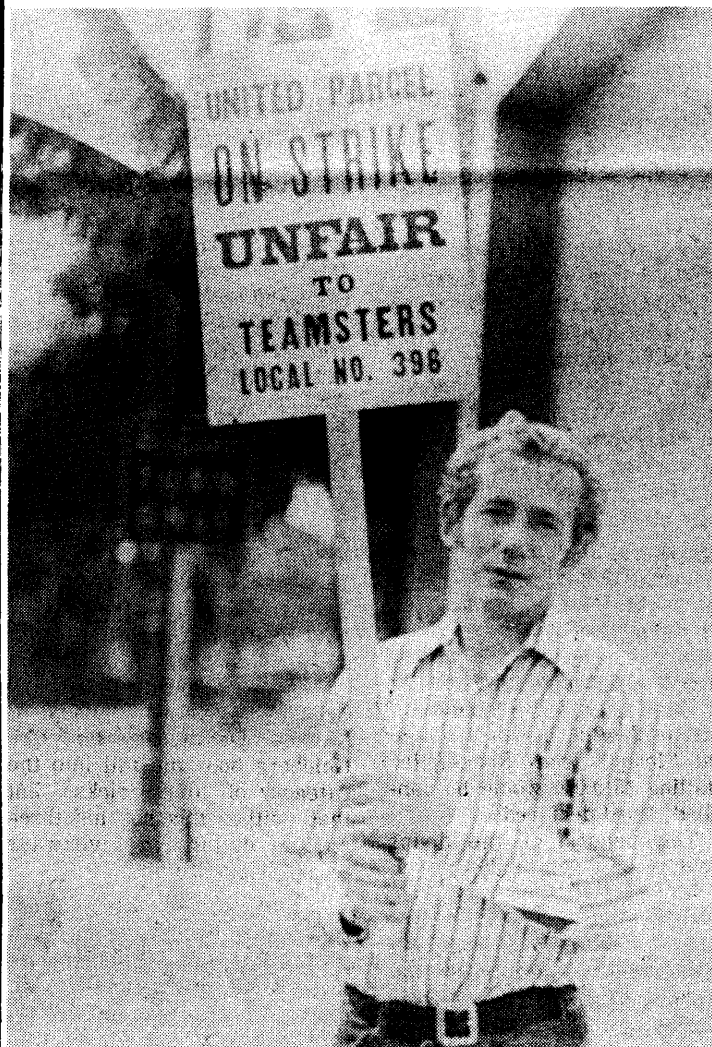
UPS was founded in Seattle in 1907, and remained a small

trucking concern for many years. With the development of huge department stores after World War One, founder James Casey expanded and concentrated on winning contracts for customer delivery. The East Coast operations were incorporated in 1930, with 123 contracts signed during the first year of deliveries in New York City.

By 1953, UPS had expanded to common-carrier service, and is now one of the world's largest commercial trucking businesses.

Approximately 30,000 trucks and trailers and 59,000 employees bring in a revenue of over a billion dollars annually. In New York City alone, there are almost 4,500 full and part-time

Los Angeles UPS Men Strike



Nearly 3,000 members of Teamsters Local 396 have shut down all UPS facilities in the Los Angeles area.

The drivers have rejected a contract calling for a 19 percent wage hike over 18 months. The key issue in this strike centers on the cost of living clause, which UPS says will not go into effect until November, 1975.

One driver told the Bulletin: "The wage offer was all right, but with inflation going up like it is, we can't afford to wait for a year. In fact, the whole economy looks bad with auto blowing to pieces, and UPS in New York threatening to shut down."

LA drivers believe that a big opposition movement from Orange County drivers who are in the same local sparked this first major UPS strike on the West Coast. Drivers from Orange County threatened to break away from the local for fear of being sold out in the secret negotiations.

UPS furniture workers and mechanics are currently crossing the picket lines.

Drivers are holding out for an immediate cost of living and an hourly wage increase of \$1.50 instead of the company's offer of \$1.25.



Local 804 UPS workers in front of Manhattan Center after contract vote.

employees, and revenue for the year ending August 31, 1974 was \$102,187,284.

While UPS is not required to publicize its financial situation in great detail because the corporation does not offer stock except to its own executives, it is clear that the shape of the business slump is having a real impact on profit margins.

The garment center has cut production by half or more in the last year, with many sweatshops closing completely. Unemployment and soaring prices mean that UPS's retail customers are planning a Christmas season of layoffs instead of extra hiring.

Soaring gas prices, increased taxes and tolls also cut into trucking profits, while the tight-money policies imposed by Ford create a squeeze on every company's operating capital.

For the last seven years, the entire trucking industry has braced for this slump in just one way—cut man-hours and speed up remaining workers. While wages have continued to climb, the industry since 1967 has paid out a constant 52 percent of revenue in wages and 7 to 7.5 percent on benefits. Average employees per carrier on the East Coast has dropped from 370.8 to 262.1.

For UPS, this has been done with a combination of decentralizing facilities, entire shifts of part-time workers, and a barrage of productivity propaganda.

Large warehouses have been split up into satellite sorting centers and hundreds of part-timers hired to unload and sort packages during the early evening hours after the truckers check in for the day. This is the plan that Local 804 ranks fought to block.

From the beginning, the UPS campaign has had the full backing of IBT President Frank Fitzsimmons. Similar plans have already been imposed on 217 locals, many without rank and file ratification.

He also bears responsibility for the lower pay scales and lack of benefits and job protection that have kept the full-time and part-timers split.

Fitzsimmons gives the same firm support to Ford's labor-hating administration that he offered Nixon. His betrayals have reached a new peak in the face of the principled stand of Local 804 members.

First, he broke up the joint contract arrangement between Local 804 and neighboring New Jersey Local 177, an agreement that formed a powerful bargaining unit.

When Local 804 members picketed the Secaucus facilities organized by Local 177, Fitzsimmons used the murder of business agent Ed Dougherty by

a scab driver as an excuse to order pickets withdrawn. Constant appeals by Local 804 and by all 30 locals in Joint Council 16 have been ignored by Fitzsimmons.

This strengthened UPS's hand, allowing them to reroute New England traffic to Secaucus and set up the basis for functioning without the Metro warehouses.

However, it is not true, as Local 804 President Ron Carey claims, that this is the decisive question. There is no doubt that the ranks of these powerful Teamsters locals, and huge sections of New York City's labor movement would rally to back an offensive by Local 804.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is campaigning within Local 804 to lead this fight against the attacks posed by implementation of the new pact. What is required is a fight for a national shutdown of UPS and a national contract protecting every job.

Local 804 ranks must demand a pledge from every Teamsters local and from the New York City Central Labor Council for general strike action if UPS moves to shut down any facilities.

This is a political fight precisely because it poses the question of who will control these industries. The working class now enters the period where defending the right to earn a paycheck requires a fundamental collision with the whole system of private enterprise and the government that props it up.

LABOR

With this political perspective, the battle at UPS can be the starting point of a campaign to mobilize the entire labor movement in defense of this basic right.

What is most urgent now is the calling of an emergency congress of the labor movement to confront this situation head-on. Here UPS workers, with auto workers, construction workers, garment workers, and every section facing mass unemployment today could unite with the entire labor movement around socialist policies to meet this crisis.

The congress must pledge the labor movement to back the occupation of any plant shutting down, and the nationalization under workers control of all industry, without compensation to the corporate heads who refuse to provide jobs.

This would require the construction of a labor party to fight for these policies against the Democrats and Republicans. It requires a workers government operating a planned economy to meet the needs of the millions of workers and their families rather than the needs of profit.

16,000 Strike At Greyhound

BY A REPORTER
Nationwide, 16,000 workers shut down Greyhound Bus Lines on November 18.

The drivers, freight, and ticket counter workers are members of the Amalgamated Transit Union.

"This strike is solid," said one of the picketers outside New York's Port Authority Terminal. "Greyhound isn't moving anyone or anything."

This is the first time in years that Greyhound has been struck. The drivers presently make \$5.76 an hour and 21.8 cents a mile. James Kerrigan, Greyhound president, claimed that the strike was "unnecessary" and that Greyhound employees were the best paid in the industry.

But the workers disagreed. "This strike is over wages," continued the picketer.

"The company is offering us a 10¢ increase on the hourly rate and a 4 mill (0.4¢) increase on the mileage rate. I mean, you can't even take that kind of an offer seriously.

"The union is asking 60¢ on the hourly rate and 1 or 2¢ on the mileage rate. Also, the company wants to tie us to a 3-year contract and we want an 18-month deal.

"This is the way these two rates work: suppose you're going from New York to Washington. It's a 4.5 hour ride. So on the hourly rate, you may get about \$20, but you may double that on the mileage rate.

"Now the other thing we want to change is the 36 hour clause. The company has it now set up so that they can keep a driver away from home for up to 36 hours.

"They only pay him for 10 of those hours. The men are forced to sit around for a whole day sometimes, paying for a motel room and food, and doing nothing. Now we want that cut down to 24 hours.

"The company wants to change the charter language in the contract. Right now, the rates on charters are figured according to miles you drive plus the hours you have to wait. The company wants to change that to miles or hours.

"Now I ask you, the telephone company asks for rate hikes and they get it, Con Ed asks for more money and they get it, and then Greyhound comes and offers us 10¢ and \$4 a week for the inside workers and they expect us to take that.

"You know what the prices are like. How can you live on 10¢?"

"We're not going to lose this strike. The UTU sold out the drivers at Continental Trailways. They let scab drivers run the buses. But we're not going to let that happen here."



Greyhound bus drivers on the picket line in New York City.

Beame's New Budget Slashes 33,000 Jobs

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—
Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame has revealed plans to balance the city's budget by firing at least 33,000 city workers in the next seven months.

City department heads spent last weekend planning to chop 8.5 percent from each budget. This would mean a cut of \$74.1 million from the board of education, \$32.6 million from the fire department, and similarly large cuts in social services, hospital funding, and others.

In addition, \$24 million is being slashed from the budget of the City University. At Queens College, 500 elective courses are being dropped and all part-time teachers are being fired. The community colleges are threatened with a complete shutdown.

Dr. Lothar Wertheimer, chairman of the Council of Medical Boards of the 19 city hospitals,

has said that this cut would force the closure of five hospitals and elimination of most outpatient departments.

The city forced a \$15 million budget cut from hospital funds requested in proposals for the original budget, which went into effect July 1. Twenty-five hundred provisional workers were fired and the sales, auto, and real estate taxes were raised.

Beame imposed a hiring freeze just days after he took office last January. Already, the library system is running the shortest branch hours in its 73-year history, with just 13 libraries open on Saturday and 15 on four-day weeks. In the last four years, 118 staff members have been cut and an additional 160 positions have not been filled.

The fire department has already begun saving funds by sending only one fire truck on some calls sent in from new computerized street voice alarm boxes.

In spite of protests from the Uniformed Firefighters Association, the department says it will continue to respond minimally to these calls and may begin to

ignore calls they cannot "certify" because no one waits at the box.

Millions more have been saved by withholding retroactive wages, overtime pay, expense reimbursements, and other checks due to thousands of city workers. Some locals have unsettled back pay claims going as far back as 1972.

In the midst of the decision to cut staff, officials of AFSCME District Council 37 announced that they had joined Beame's citywide Productivity Council in order to insure that decisions on speedup are "in no way punitive" for workers.

The collaboration of these city union bureaucrats has given Beame a free hand to plan this massive attack. Workers in every local must demand that all collaboration be ended at once in order to prevent implementation of the budget plan.

General strike action must be prepared if these layoffs go ahead. The labor movement in New York City must take the lead in calling a congress of labor to establish a labor party to defend jobs, education and all social services.

Senators Rally Round Rockefeller

BY MELODY FARROW
On Friday morning, the charade of hearings on Nelson Rockefeller's nomination will be over.

The Senate Rules Committee will vote, as they planned to all along, to give Rockefeller their overwhelming endorsement to be vice-president.

The game was given away by Democratic Senator Robert Byrd who has persistently questioned Rockefeller about his unlimited gifts and loans totalling two million dollars and his financing of a book slandering his opponent in the 1970 governor's race, Arthur Goldberg.

The reason Byrd put Rockefeller through a little grilling was because as he put it "the more thorough and incisive the questions are, the more the American people...will feel he passed the test."

What did liberal Hugh Carey have to say? "I'd be inclined to be positive because the country needs him."

After having established beyond any doubt that Rockefeller violated state laws that

prohibit gifts or benefits to state employees, after an FBI report proved that Rockefeller protege William Ronan lied when he said that "loans" from Rockefeller totalling \$510,000 would be cancelled, Byrd declared:

"The benefit of the doubt ought to be given to the person involved in this case, the nominee.

"Even though I would not give him a perfect score of 100, my intention now is to vote for him..."

It has now come out that it was none other than Byrd who recommended Rockefeller to Ford as the vice-presidential nominee in the first place!

William Ronan, former chairman of the Port Authority, is now a \$100,000 a year "personal adviser" to Rockefeller. May 3, 1974, less than two weeks before he was appointed to the post, just happened to be the same day that Rockefeller cancelled his debts. Ronan has received a total of \$625,000 in gifts and "forgiven" loans.

RONAN

In exchange for guarding the interests of the Rockefeller banks, Ronan's meager annual salary of \$12,000 was generously

reported worth close to one million dollars.

Senate Rules Committee Chairman Howard Cannon, a Nevada Democrat, said the Goldberg book did fall into the category of "dirty tricks," but that neither this nor his three million dollars in giveaways would disqualify him.

The Democrats want Rockefeller, the representative of the most powerful and ruthless banking and corporate interests, to conduct a war against the American working class. They want a government that will save the capitalist system from collapse by freezing wages, outlawing the right to strike, and creating mass unemployment.

CONTEMPT

The Senate Rules Committee circus is a measure of the contempt the Democrats hold for the working class.

The nomination of Rockefeller must be answered with a renewed drive by trade unionists for the building of an independent labor party to throw out the Democrats and Republicans. The first business of this labor party will be to nationalize Rockefeller's banks and industries and place them under the control of the working class who made his millions.

Who's Behind The Death Of Karen Silkwood?

BY A REPORTER
The Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union has asked the Justice Department and the Atomic Energy Commission to investigate the circumstances surrounding the death of Karen Silkwood, a lab technician for the Kerr McGee Nuclear Corporation

Miss Silkwood, a lab technician at the plutonium plant in Cimarron, Oklahoma was on her way to a meeting with union official Steven Wodka and a New York Times reporter with information about critical safety threats when her car went off the road and she was killed.

Silkwood and three other technicians had proof that the company was manufacturing faulty fuel rods and was deliberately falsifying inspection documents. Two weeks earlier, Karen Silkwood had been exposed to a large amount of radiation.



The fuel rods, made of highly toxic plutonium, will be used in an experimental atomic reactor under construction in Washington.

OCAW representative Anthony Mazzocchi in a telegram to Attorney General William Saxbe said that a private investigation by the union found evidence to "suggest that Miss Silkwood's car was hit from behind by another vehicle, causing her to leave the road and hit the concrete culvert."

"Miss Silkwood was bringing information concerning the alleged falsification of records concerning quality of nuclear fuel elements being manufactured at Cimarron.

"We are in possession at this time of sufficient evidence that we believe would lend credibility to Miss Silkwood's allegations."

The private investigator hired by the union found that there was a dent mark in the rear left hand side of the car. At first, the Oklahoma state highway police claimed that it was caused by the towtruck that dragged her car from the stream. When confronted with the fact that the car had been towed from the front, police switched their story and said the car swung around during the towing operation.

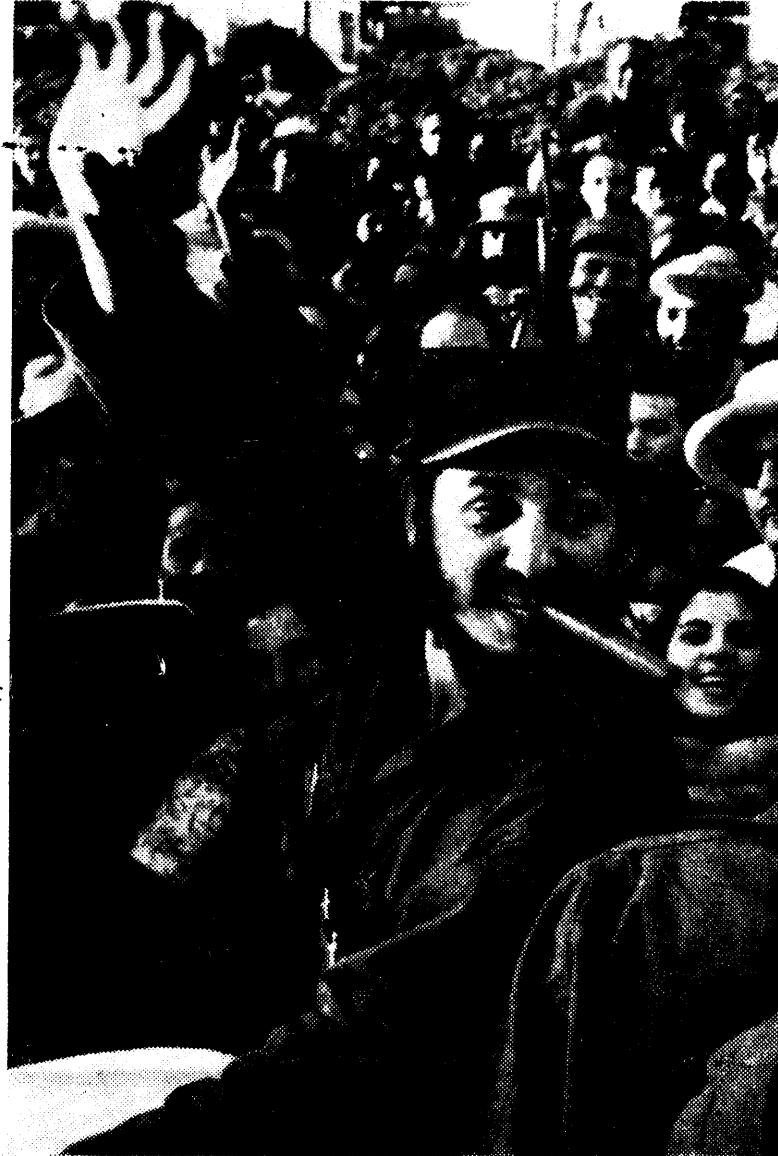
Dr. Henry Kendall, a leading nuclear critic and physics professor at MIT in Boston, said that a leak in the fuel rods "could start off an accident which would result in the release of huge amounts of radioactivity."

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JAMES P. (1890— CANNON 1974)

PART F

BY MICHAEL BANDA



Cannon abandons theoretical struggle

In his speech to the 16th Convention of the Socialist Workers Party in November 1954, Cannon did not even mention the split in the Fourth International and the role of the International Committee. Because of this failure to enrich Marxism, the SWP not only failed to replace the cadres it had lost in industry, but increasingly began to turn its face towards the radical milieu which Cochran and Clarke had advocated a turn to.

The "proletarian orientation" had become, under Cannon, a "petty bourgeois orientation." The first clear sign of this was revealed at the 16th Convention when Cannon welcomed the Supreme Court decision on the ending of segregation as a "tremendous victory" for the Negroes. This set the pattern for a rapid adaptation to the bourgeois-reformist leadership of the Negro movement and the qualified support for the sending of Federal troops to enforce school desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas. The qualification added by Cannon to this measure is a clear indication of his slide to radicalism: he demanded that an integrated army be sent!

Cannon's failure to continue the struggle against Pablo and his evident lack of interest in the growth of the International Committee led, predictably, to an adaptation and conciliation with revisionism. But this did not come in a straight-line development.

The 20th Congress of the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union and the events in Hungary and Poland in 1956 provided bloody confirmation of the absolute necessity for the break with Pabloism and of the enormous opportunities for the development of Trotskyism. This was particularly true in Britain where the British section was able to make considerable gains from the crisis of Stalinism and was moreover able to strike a powerful blow at Pabloism.

The Hungarian revolution deepened the differences with revisionism and glaringly exposed the contradictions of revisionists who adopted an equivocal position, trying to balance between the bureaucracy and the working class. This policy was dictated by the fact that they did not know who was going to win—Cannon, however, proceeded on impressions and judged the Pablo group not by their overall policy and direction but by episodic statements and eclectic formulae.

BACK TO PABLO

Thus when Leslie Goonewardene, Secretary of the Ceylonese Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), wrote to Cannon in January 1957 (only three years after the split) proposing a joint Congress to unite all Trotskyist forces, Cannon, without consulting the International Committee, sent a conciliatory reply which stated:

"It is true that in the three-year period since the departure of Mestre in France, Collins (John Lawrence) in England, and Cochran-Clarke in the United States, the political pronouncements of the two sides appeared to come closer together than was the case in the period prior to the formal split. More particularly in the past year, since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the positions taken on the most important questions of the day came even closer together. If the thinking of the two sides should continue to evolve in the same way, then they both would have to consider the question of unity, not as a demagogic slogan to maneuver with, but as a project to be realized." (Trotskyism versus Revisionism—A Documentary History. Vol. III p. 21, New Park

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Charitably put, this was a stab in the back of the International Committee and a monstrous travesty of Marxism. Cannon could not stop here and, despite many attempts of the Committee's leadership to restrain this unprincipled reconciliation, the SWP became the center of a new revisionist conspiracy to undermine the International Committee.

In conformity with this line, the SWP began to turn to the most right-wing Stalinist dissidents and in their public writings began to openly revise Trotsky's concept of the political revolution.

Under the slogan of "regroupment" the SWP formed the most unprincipled alliances with the Stalinists and even organized a party—the Independent Socialist Party—for dissident Stalinists. By 1958 Cannon's closest collaborator—Hansen—was putting forward a line on Soviet Russia which was identical to that of Pablo. Not accidentally, the same Hansen in his obituary of Cannon maintains an eloquent silence on Cannon's struggle against revisionism and his subsequent capitulation! This, however, did not prevent the disintegration of the SWP cadre—it only accelerated it. In 1958-1959, important working class groups, one led by Joyce Cowley, the other by S. Marcy, left the SWP in disgust at the fraud of "regroupment." At one stage even Cannon was compelled to sharply criticize the antics of his own supporters in the New York leadership. Concerned about the complete liquidation of the SWP, Cannon intervened belatedly in the 1959 Convention to eliminate the tactic of regroupment.

At the first Congress of the International Committee in 1957 the SWP made little or no contribution. Cannon made sure that the SWP observer, Dobbs, did not have any mandate. He was, as he stated, on a "fact-finding mission."

CANNON TURNS AGAINST SLL

The formation of the Socialist Labor League (forerunner of the Workers Revolutionary Party) and the split with Social Democracy in 1959 intensified the conflict

with Cannon, who reacted with extreme subjectivism to this step forward of the International Committee. The SLL clashed with Cannon's centrist conceptions and he made a vicious attack on the SLL in a letter to Joseph Hansen in 1961:

"Now we have a new development in what appears to be an outbreak of neo-Oehlerite frenzy in Britain, which can hardly fail to bring them into sharp conflict with us." (Oehler was a sectarian who opposed entry into the Socialist Party of America.)

The final catalyst which brought Cannon and the revisionists together was the Cuban rebellion in 1959-1960. Ignoring all Marxist criteria and filling the air with syllogistic proofs of an alleged Cuban Marxism, the SWP leaders saw the Cuban rebellion as the logical extension of their turn to the Negro reformists and the Stalinist "progressives." In this grotesque charade, Cannon played a prominent role. He advocated the complete liquidation of Trotskyists into the July 26 movement of Castro and in a footnote to the letter quoted above made patently clear his unashamed capitulation to Castroism:

"PS I will write separately about Cuba. I agree with what you say, only more so. The only revolutionary policy for Cuba is to recognize the revolution there, as it is and as it is developing as a socialist revolution—and to identify ourselves with it, and to act as a part of it, not as scholastic wisecracks standing outside the living movement." (Ibid. Vol. III p. 70.)

One capitulation leads to another. When the Cuban missiles crisis took place in 1961, Cannon unashamedly defended the withdrawal of the missiles with a truly pragmatic defense: "What else could Khrushchev do?" he asked. Cannon—more than any other leader of the SWP—helped to degrade Marxism to the art of the obsequious worship of the accomplished fact.

With equal cynicism he made no protest when Hansen sent his shameless telegram of condolence to Jackie Kennedy on the occasion of President Kennedy's assassination.

T FIVE

A critical assessment of a pioneer Trotskyist



Left: Joseph Hansen. Insert: members of the Ceylonese Lanka Sama Samaja Party. Center: Castro, 1959. Right: James P. Cannon seated center, surrounded by other leading members of the SWP who were defendants in the Minneapolis Smith Act Trial.

There seems little doubt that Cuba was to Cannon what Algeria had been to Pablo: a convenient pretext for revising the whole of Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution and becoming an apologist for bourgeois-nationalism and Stalinism. If Cuba had not existed, it would have been necessary for Cannon to have invented it. It was an impressionist radical's paradise.

In the USA the Cuban revolution was used to justify an opportunist turn to the radical bourgeois Fair Play for Cuba Committee, which was nothing more than a fan club for Castro. But after the first Tri-Continental Conference, when Castro made a slanderous attack on Trotskyism, Cannon's enthusiasm began to wane. But there was no turning back. He still defended Castro.

Support for Castro was, for Cannon, a means of getting closer to the Pabloite ranks and the consummating split with the SLL and the other International Committee sections. The 1957-1959 overtures of the Pabloites had proven abortive because Cannon hoped he could balance between Pablo and the SLL. But the continued criticisms and principled polemics of the SLL on the question of method made Cannon's position untenable. From 1961-1963 Cannon began to move rapidly towards the Pabloite International Secretariat. Despite repeated appeals by the SLL to the SWP to have a political discussion on 1953 before any unification, Cannon arrogantly steered the SWP to unify with the International Secretariat in 1963.

The reunification reaped a bitter harvest when the Ceylonese LSSP—the biggest section of the International Secretariat—left the IS and formed a coalition with Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike in 1964. This was unprecedented in the history of Trotskyism, but Cannon remained silent and did nothing to protect the dissident minority in the SWP (which later constituted the present Workers League) when they were expelled for demanding a discussion on Ceylon. Ceylon constituted a traumatic point of departure for Cannon. From then on his decline into the revisionist morass was swift and undeviating. The

SWP had become transformed and was indistinguishable from any common or garden radical group.

As the social crisis in the US intensified, with the expansion of the Vietnam war and the violent upsurge of the most oppressed workers in the ghettos of America, the SWP and Cannon moved steadily away from Marxism and the working class. The man who, for most of his life, fought every manifestation of class collaboration, now became the chief proponent of "nonexclusionary, single-issue politics," rubbing shoulders with the bourgeois-pacifists of SANE and Stalinists, collaborating with womens' lib and gay lib and capitulating in the most odious manner to the reactionary nonsense of Black nationalism.

The perversion of the party's practice led inevitably to the adoption of a completely Menshevik conception of the American Revolution. Under Cannon's and Novack's inspiration, the US revolution is now seen as a two-stage affair: in the first stage the Blacks will be liberated and in the second the socialist emancipation will occur. Hence there is no need for a Labor Party now—only the creation of Black parties.

This is the reactionary blind-alley of Cannon's pragmatic method and the rejection of Trotsky's historic struggle for the Marxist method. In every sense the SWP can be considered a putrid corpse—the complete negation of the SWP which emerged from the Socialist Party in the 1930s, and which, together with Trotsky, helped to found the Fourth International.

A PRISONER OF PRAGMATISM

For the new generation of Marxists who support the International Committee of the Fourth International, the rise and fall of James P. Cannon has many invaluable lessons. Unquestionably and principally it shows that determination, courage and ingenuity cannot compensate for a scientific theory of knowledge and that a method of cognition which is not based on the unity, conflict and transformation of opposites can only lead to disorientation and collapse.

Cannon—personifying some of the finest

traits of the American working class—remained to his dying day a prisoner of the reactionary pragmatic and empiricist method. This was his tragedy and was no different from that described by Lenin in *Left-Wing Communism*:

"The principal reason for their (Kautsky and Bauer—ed.) bankruptcy was that they were hypnotized by a definite form of growth of the working class movement and socialism, forgot all about the one-sidedness of that form, were afraid to see the breakup which objective conditions make inevitable and continued to repeat simple and, at first glance, incontestable axioms that had been learned by rote, like: 'Three if more than two.' But revolutionary politics is more like algebra than arithmetic, and still more like higher than elementary mathematics. In reality, all the old forms of the socialist movement have acquired a new content, and, consequently, a new symbol, the 'minus' sign, has appeared in front of all the figures; our wiseacres, however, have stubbornly continued (and still continue) to persuade themselves and other that 'minus three' is more than 'minus two.'" (Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 102.)

It was precisely Cannon's failure to master the algebra of revolution that prevented him from appreciating the tactical value in exploiting the contradictions of Stalinism and—more decisively—in being able to grasp the strategic importance of the labor party demand in raising the political consciousness of the American working class.

For these reasons, Cannon could not carry out the most important task of party building—the training of a Marxist cadre. Where Trotsky began the task of developing a cadre Cannon—after Trotsky's death—confined himself to protecting the cadre.

The arch-revisionist Hansen justifies the neglect of Marxism with this glib apology:

"... he (Cannon) did have a plan for carrying on the struggle in the absence of Trotsky. The plan ... consisted of closing ranks, of trying to keep the team together, of strengthening it, of expanding it, and of

renewing it. In this way the continuity of leadership could be maintained."

It was nothing of the sort.

Such a cadre could not be protected effectively without a constant struggle to bring that cadre into conflict with the prevailing bourgeois consciousness of the working class and make the cadre consciously comprehend its practice.

Above all, Cannon could not, by this method, educate his cadre in the struggle against revisionism, which is the essence of cadre training. In place of dialectics, he substituted sophistry and eclectic thinking. It is this which explains the SWP's recurrent attempts to conciliate—unsuccessfully—with the Shachtmanites and—successfully—with the Pabloite revisionists. Is it any wonder then that on the eve of his death, Cannon's party should have to expel 100 and more members of a faction standing for the complete liquidation of the SWP into the radical-Stalinist milieu?

But this expulsion has nothing in common with the principled struggle against Cochran-Clarke. It merely opens the door for the SWP to ingratiate itself with the capitalist state with its proposal to participate in President Ford's summit conference on inflation.

British and American Marxists, in rejecting this reactionary legacy of Cannon, however, will not forget or deprecate the vital and enormous contribution which the early Cannon, the real Cannon, made to the construction and establishment of the Fourth International.

Cannon's sustained and resourceful activity for the revolutionary cause, given with unflinching confidence over five decades, has helped to transform a sublime hope into a world-wide movement which will live after him; which will not only prevail but which will triumph. Nothing that Cannon did in the last 14 years can undo that. He did not live in vain and—to paraphrase Cannon—we are here because Cannon and his band of pioneer Trotskyists were there. We should never forget that.

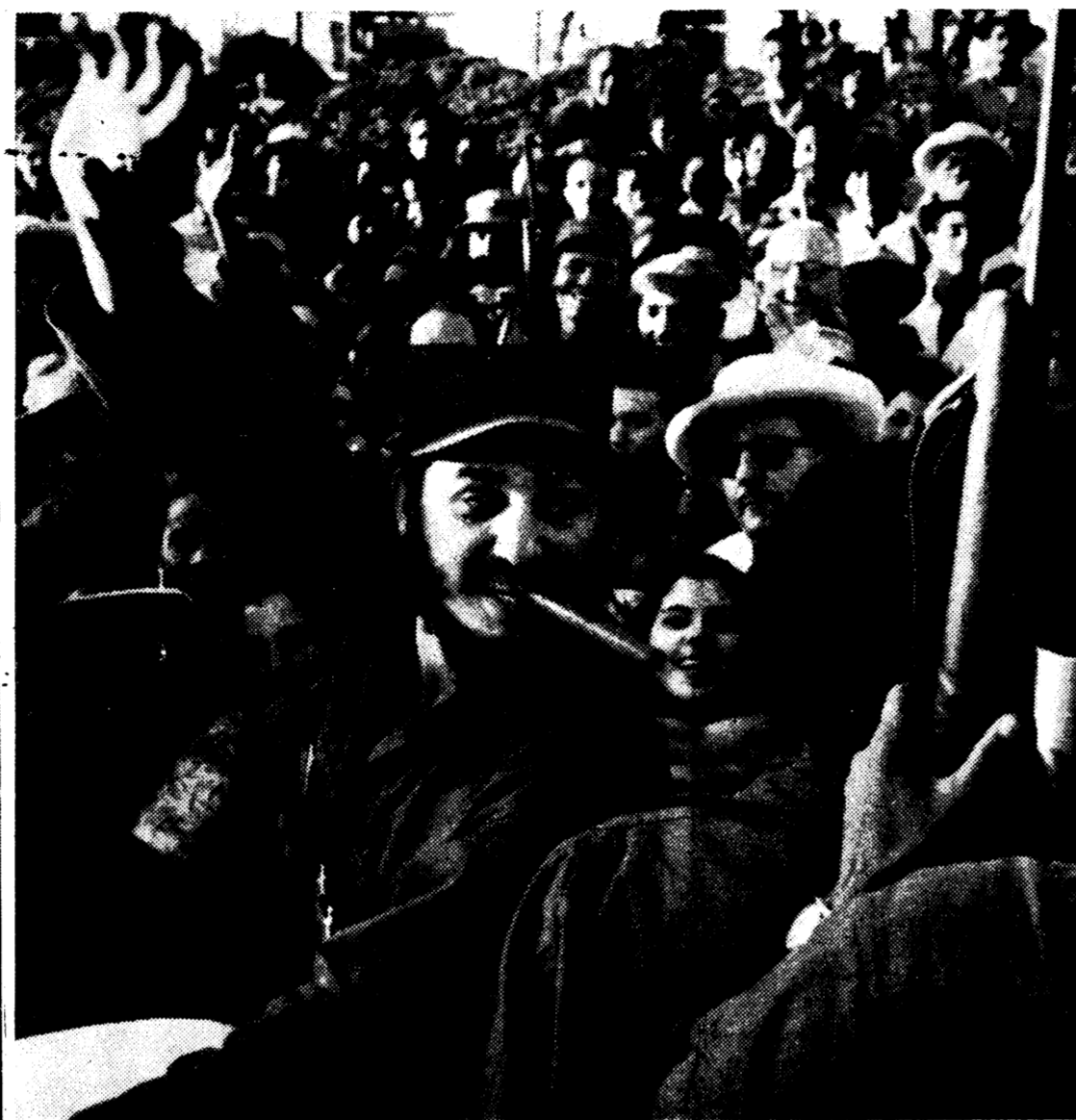
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JAMES P. (1890— CANNON 1974)

PART FIVE

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BY MICHAEL BANDA



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CANNON TURNS AGAINST SLL

The formation of the Socialist Labor League (forerunner of the Workers Revolutionary Party) and the split with Social Democracy in 1959 intensified the conflict

with Cannon, who reacted with extreme subjectivism to this step forward of the International Committee. The SLL clashed with Cannon's centrist conceptions and he made a vicious attack on the SLL in a letter to Joseph Hansen in 1961:

"Now we have a new development in what appears to be an outbreak of neo-Oehlerite frenzy in Britain, which can hardly fail to bring them into sharp conflict with us." (Oehler was a sectarian who opposed entry into the Socialist Party of America.)

The final catalyst which brought Cannon and the revisionists together was the Cuban rebellion in 1959-1960. Ignoring all Marxist criteria and filling the air with syllogistic proofs of an alleged Cuban Marxism, the SWP leaders saw the Cuban rebellion as the logical extension of their turn to the Negro reformists and the Stalinist "progressives." In this grotesque charade, Cannon played a prominent role. He advocated the complete liquidation of Trotskyists into the July 26 movement of Castro and in a footnote to the letter quoted above made patently clear his unashamed capitulation to Castroism:

"PS I will write separately about Cuba. I agree with what you say, only more so. The only revolutionary policy for Cuba is to recognize the revolution there, as it is and as it is developing as a socialist revolution—and to identify ourselves with it, and to act as a part of it, not as scholastic wiseacres standing outside the living movement." (Ibid. Vol. III p. 70.)

One capitulation leads to another. When the Cuban missile crisis took place in 1961, Cannon unashamedly defended the withdrawal of the missiles with a truly pragmatic defense: "What else could Khrushchev do?" he asked. Cannon—more than any other leader of the SWP—helped to degrade Marxism to the art of the obsequious worship of the accomplished fact.

With equal cynicism he made no protest when Hansen sent his shameful telegram of condolence to Jackie Kennedy on the occasion of President Kennedy's assassination.

There seems little doubt that Cuba was to Cannon what Algeria had been to Pablo: a convenient pretext for revising the whole of Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution and becoming an apologist for bourgeois-nationalism and Stalinism. If Cuba had not existed, it would have been necessary for Cannon to have invented it. It was an impressionist radical's paradise.

In the USA the Cuban revolution was used to justify an opportunist turn to the radical bourgeois Fair Play for Cuba Committee, which was nothing more than a fan club for Castro. But after the first Tri-Continental Conference, when Castro made a slanderous attack on Trotskyism, Cannon's enthusiasm began to wane. But there was no turning back. He still defended Castro.

Support for Castro was, for Cannon, a means of getting closer to the Pabloite ranks and the consummating split with the SLL and the other International Committee sections. The 1957-1959 overtures of the Pabloites had proven abortive because Cannon hoped he could balance between Pablo and the SLL. But the continued criticisms and principled polemics of the SLL on the question of method made Cannon's position untenable. From 1961-1963 Cannon began to move rapidly towards the Pabloite International Secretariat. Despite repeated appeals by the SLL to the SWP to have a political discussion on 1953 before any unification, Cannon arrogantly steered the SWP to unify with the International Secretariat in 1963.

The reunification reaped a bitter harvest when the Ceylonese LSSP—the biggest section of the International Secretariat—left the IS and formed a coalition with Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike in 1964. This was unprecedented in the history of Trotskyism, but Cannon remained silent and did nothing to protect the dissident minority in the SWP (which later constituted the present Workers League) when they were expelled for demanding a discussion on Ceylon. Ceylon constituted a traumatic point of departure for Cannon. From then on his decline into the revisionist morass was swift and undeviating. The

SWP had become transformed and was indistinguishable from any common or garden radical group.

As the social crisis in the US intensified, with the expansion of the Vietnam war and the violent upsurge of the most oppressed workers in the ghettos of America, the SWP and Cannon moved steadily away from Marxism and the working class. The man who, for most of his life, fought every manifestation of class collaboration, now became the chief proponent of "nonexclusionary, single-issue politics," rubbing shoulders with the bourgeois-pacifists of SANE and Stalinists, collaborating with women's lib and gay lib and capitulating in the most odious manner to the reactionary nonsense of Black nationalism.

The perversion of the party's practice led inevitably to the adoption of a completely Menshevik conception of the American Revolution. Under Cannon's and Novack's inspiration, the US revolution is now seen as a two-stage affair: in the first stage the Blacks will be liberated and in the second the socialist emancipation will occur. Hence there is no need for a Labor Party now—only the creation of Black parties.

This is the reactionary blind-alley of Cannon's pragmatic method and the rejection of Trotsky's historic struggle for the Marxist method. In every sense the SWP can be considered a putrid corpse—the complete negation of the SWP which emerged from the Socialist Party in the 1930s, and which, together with Trotsky, helped to found the Fourth International.

A PRISONER OF PRAGMATISM

For the new generation of Marxists who support the International Committee of the Fourth International, the rise and fall of James P. Cannon has many invaluable lessons. Unquestionably and principally it shows that determination, courage and ingenuity cannot compensate for a scientific theory of knowledge and that a method of cognition which is not based on the unity, conflict and transformation of opposites can only lead to disorientation and collapse.

Cannon—personifying some of the finest

traits of the American working class—remained to his dying day a prisoner of the reactionary pragmatic and empiricist method. This was his tragedy and was no different from that described by Lenin in *Left-Wing Communism*:

"The principal reason for their (Kautsky and Bauer—ed.) bankruptcy was that they were hypnotized by a definite form of growth of the working class movement and socialism, forgot all about the one-sidedness of that form, were afraid to see the breakup which objective conditions make inevitable and continued to repeat simple and, at first glance, incontestable axioms that had been learned by rote, like: 'Three if more than two.' But revolutionary politics is more like algebra than arithmetic, and still more like higher than elementary mathematics. In reality, all the old forms of the socialist movement have acquired a new content, and, consequently, a new symbol, the 'minus' sign, has appeared in front of all the figures; our wiseacres, however, have stubbornly continued (and still continue) to persuade themselves and other that 'minus three' is more than 'minus two.'" (Lenin's Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 102.)

It was precisely Cannon's failure to master the algebra of revolution that prevented him from appreciating the tactical value in exploiting the contradictions of Stalinism and—more decisively—in being able to grasp the strategic importance of the labor party demand in raising the political consciousness of the American working class.

For these reasons, Cannon could not carry out the most important task of party building—the training of a Marxist cadre. Where Trotsky began the task of developing a cadre Cannon—after Trotsky's death—confined himself to protecting the cadre.

The arch-revisionist Hansen justifies the neglect of Marxism with this glib apology:

"... he (Cannon) did have a plan for carrying on the struggle in the absence of Trotsky. The plan ... consisted of closing ranks, of trying to keep the team together, of strengthening it, of expanding it, and of

renewing it. In this way the continuity of leadership could be maintained."

It was nothing of the sort. Such a cadre could not be protected effectively without a constant struggle to bring that cadre into conflict with the prevailing bourgeois consciousness of the working class and make the cadre consciously comprehend its practice.

Above all, Cannon could not, by this method, educate his cadre in the struggle against revisionism, which is the essence of cadre training. In place of dialectics, he substituted sophistry and eclectic thinking. It is this which explains the SWP's recurrent attempts to conciliate—unsuccessfully—with the Shachtmanites and—successfully—with the Pabloite revisionists. Is it any wonder then that on the eve of his death, Cannon's party should have to expel 100 and more members of a faction standing for the complete liquidation of the SWP into the radical-Stalinist milieu?

But this expulsion has nothing in common with the principled struggle against Cochran-Clarke. It merely opens the door for the SWP to ingratiate itself with the capitalist state with its proposal to participate in President Ford's summit conference on inflation.

British and American Marxists, in rejecting this reactionary legacy of Cannon, however, will not forget or deprecate the vital and enormous contribution which the early Cannon, the real Cannon, made to the construction and establishment of the Fourth International.

Cannon's sustained and resourceful activity for the revolutionary cause, given with unflinching confidence over five decades, has helped to transform a sublime hope into a world-wide movement which will live after him; which will not only prevail but which will triumph. Nothing that Cannon did in the last 14 years can undo that. He did not live in vain and—to paraphrase Cannon—we are here because Cannon and his band of pioneer Trotskyists were there. We should never forget that.

CONCLUDED

Strike Solid At Cleveland Plain Dealer

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—The strike of Newspaper Guild Local 1 against the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Ohio's largest, is entering its fourth week.

The strike remains solid despite every effort by the company to break it. A meeting of craft union leaders here Tuesday reaffirmed their solidarity with the strikers, despite rumors that the Teamster-organized truck drivers would be ordered back by the local leadership.

As soon as the picket lines were up, the Plain Dealer went to court and obtained an order limiting pickets. Next, they filed an action asking the court to order the craft unions to cross the Guild line. When this failed, the Plain Dealer published an eight-page supplement to the evening paper, the Cleveland Press. Finally, in an effort to bring further pressure on the Guild, the Press ganged up with the Plain Dealer and locked out its workers.

The shutdown of the city's only two daily newspapers is coupled with a strike by the drivers for the local company which distributes out of town newspapers. Papers have been trucked in from Toledo and Pittsburgh, and have been sold for 35¢, and as high as \$1 for the Sunday edition.

There have been almost no negotiations in the past week. The 250 Guild members, mostly reporters, photographers, editorial staff, and some clerical, currently earn as low as \$130 per week.

They are asking for a \$90 increase over three years. Many noneconomic issues, such as con-

fidentiality of sources, have been put off by the company as non-negotiable.

In addition, the union is fighting on the grievances of two members, although the court has ordered them into arbitration. One union member was fired for encouraging workers to come to a Guild meeting. Another was transferred after he reported a speech made by a famous lawyer, teaching law students how to "legally" bilk their clients and the IRS.

CP And SWP On IRS List

BY A REPORTER

The Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party are some of the 2,873 organizations listed on the Internal Revenue's "enemy list."

The list was just made public by Ralph Nader's Tax Reform Research Group.

The 41 documents, letters, and orders released by Nader prove that the order to set up a special file on "ideological, militant, subversive, and radical organizations" came not, as the IRS has claimed, from the Senate, but from Nixon.

White House aide Tom Huston told IRS officials in July, 1969 that Nixon wanted them "to move against leftist organizations."

Some of the groups that Nixon considered "radical" were the moderate National Council of Churches, the Urban League, the Fund for Education and Legal Defense in New York, various civil rights organizations, and Americans for Democratic Action.

The file also included 8,585 individuals who were targets of harassment.

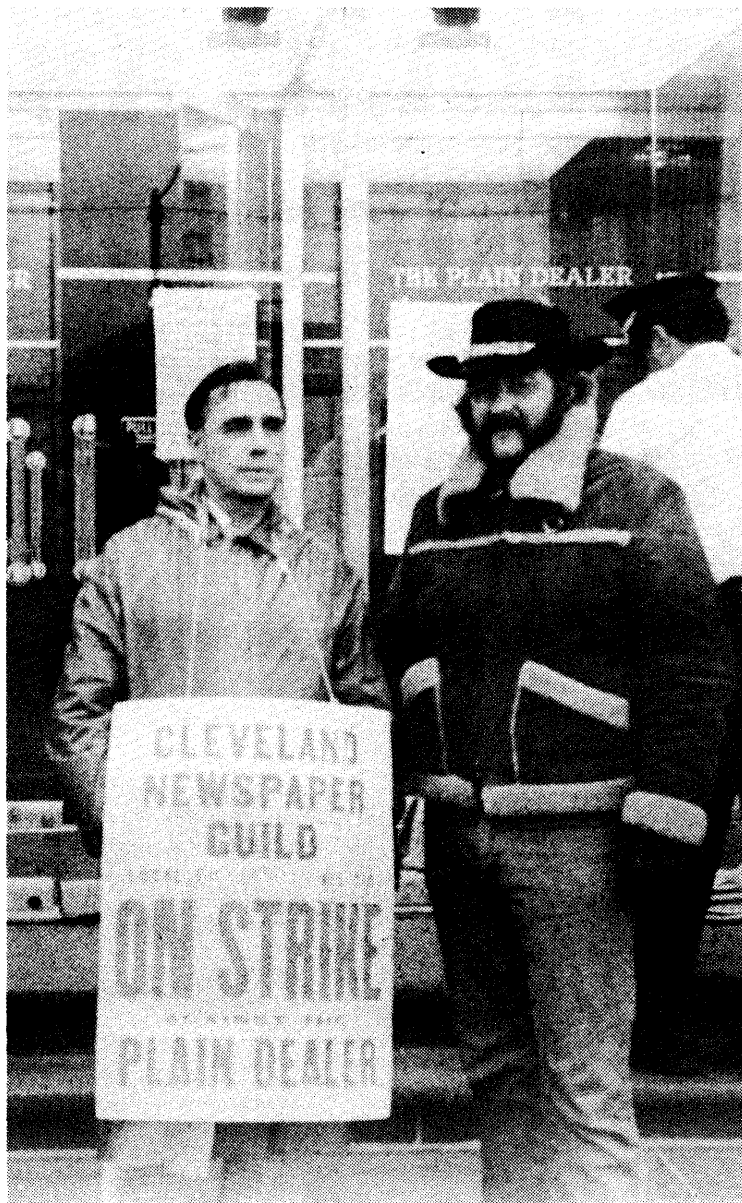
The IRS refuses to reveal what happened to the files that were not useful to the agency because they could not find any tax violations.

A number of right-wing groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, the Minutemen and Wallace's States Rights Party were included on the administration list. But this was only a cover for the real government aim of preparing repression against left-wing and socialist groups.

Whether or not the IRS list is abolished, the FBI and the CIA, with Ford's blessing, continue to be the primary center for spying and surveillance against all workers and socialist organizations.

The Young Socialist Alliance youth movement of the Socialist Workers Party has charged that the FBI planned surveillance of their December National Convention in St. Louis.

These activities are being stepped up as part of the government's preparations for attacks on the working class and the trade unions. The only defense against government persecution is not through lawyers and legal suits, as the SWP says, but by building a revolutionary party based in the working class.



Thermo-King Boss Cracks The Whip

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—United Steel Workers members at the local Thermo-King division of the Westinghouse plant face the company's attempt to double output and wipe out more jobs.

A letter from division President M.B. Green on November 14 spells out the company's plan: "Close to one-third of the plant has now been laid off—and it's all your fault—you didn't work hard enough; not only that, you steel workers have an average productivity rate of 54 percent—the company wants it up to 80-92 percent, and as far as I can see, the honeymoon is over."

"Rework has become a way of life, we just cannot afford it any more."

This letter, similar to others being written by other Westinghouse division heads, could have been written in the White House.

NONUNION

Green and his bosses would really like a situation like the nonunion Thermo-King plant in Louisville, Georgia. Wages average \$1 to \$1.25 an hour less than in Minneapolis, layoffs and promotions are based on favoritism instead of seniority, and speedup has been a way of life since the plant opened 10 years ago.

They want a situation like in the new Thermo-King plant in Sao Paulo, Brazil, where unions are illegal and wages average 40-50¢ an hour.

In Minneapolis, Westinghouse wants to destroy every condition won by the Steel Workers in this plant since they organized it in 1943.

Green concludes his letter by arrogantly telling the workers that if they feel he has been too harsh or unjustly accused anybody, "my door is always open and I'll be happy to talk to anyone who wants to unburden themselves."

This door is the one leading to the unemployment office.

Westinghouse workers must demand the USW reject productivity schemes and fight the layoffs that are spreading through Westinghouse, GE and the entire electrical and appliance industry.

LA Union Fines 2 Carpenters

BY A REPORTER

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—The LA District Council of Carpenters has found Phil Rosenberg and Dave Zeiger, members of Local 25, guilty on charges of causing disruption and dissension within the union.

This upholds the earlier decision of the Council Trial Panel.

Rosenberg was fined \$250 and Zeiger \$200. Not even the few delegates who had previously opposed the charges, spoke out when the vote was taken.

The bureaucracy had two plainclothes LA policemen stationed at the entrance hall of the meeting to intimidate the 30 carpenters who showed up to defend Zeiger and Rosenberg.

Petitions which had been signed by several hundred carpenters demanding that the charges be dropped, were rejected by the secretary of the union.

The victimization of the two carpenters began during the six-week strike last July. At the end of the strike, Rosenberg and Zeiger, supporters of the Maoist Hard Hat News waged a campaign for a "no" vote and a one-year contract, a full cost of living clause, and a strike fund.

LEAFLET

As they distributed a leaflet in the parking lot of the El Monte local, Business Agent Richard Parker asked them to leave. When they refused, he called the police. Parker brought them up on charges that they were, "interfering with him running his business."

Just as the district leadership feared the support for a "no" vote in the last contract, they fear a new explosion in the locals over rising unemployment. The Van Nuys carpenters local reports a 25 percent rate of un-

employment, and the president of the International Brotherhood of Carpenters has predicted a whopping 50 percent unemployment by next spring.

The same leadership that victimized Zeiger and Rosenberg has no policy to fight the devastating unemployment. Instead, they have appealed to the membership to accept "economic realities."

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party will step up its campaign to overturn the decision, linking this with the fight to defend jobs through the nationalization of the construction industry and the building of a labor party.

MARXISM OR RANK-AND-FILE-ISM?

An Analysis of the Tactics & Strategy of the International Socialism Group. 25¢

Published by the British Workers Revolutionary Party.

Available from Labor Publications, 135 W. 14 St., NY, NY 10011

Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party Meeting

November 24, 7 pm
YMCA
17 North Champion
Room 203
Youngstown, Ohio

The Miners' Strike & the Fight for a Labor Party

Saturday, November 30
7:30 p.m.
Lawson YMCA
30 West Chicago Ave.
Chicago, Ill.

\$2 for trade unionists/ \$1 for youth

Speaker: Fred Mazelis
Workers League
National Secretary

Call an Emergency UAW Conference

December 4, 7:30 pm
St. Phillip Aeri Church
Dickerson & Charlevoix
Detroit

Speaker: Fred Mazelis,
Workers League
National Secretary

Shadow Of 1930s Looms Over Detroit

BY A REPORTER

DETROIT, Mich.—Layoffs continue in Detroit's auto industry, with no end in sight.

Because half of Chrysler employees live in the Detroit area, where most of the plants are located, the effect of the massive closings is closer to a depression than a recession.

At a press conference on Monday, Chrysler Board Chairman Lynn Townsend denied reports that the Jefferson Assembly Plant would be closed soon. With Leonard Woodcock and Douglas Fraser seated at his side, he stated that the plant would remain open until the new model changeover, or next August.

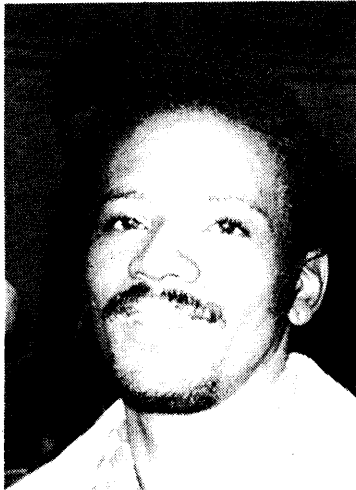
Already, the second shift has been eliminated, throwing 1,600 workers out of their jobs and moving many older workers back on the line.

One older worker with 28 years seniority said: "After 10 years on repair, they put me back on the high line, and everybody's all over everybody else. Seniority doesn't mean a thing anymore."

With Mayor Young and the UAW leaders calling the announcement "good news," Townsend went on to state that there would be "substantial plant closings," but would give no figures.

He stated: "It's a simple matter, we've been producing more cars than we have orders for. The automobile industry is seriously depressed."

Bill Cammon, who works at Chrysler's Lynch Road Assembly Plant, said:



Jesse Rayford

"If there aren't any jobs, then there's nothing. This is the time when the union leaders should stand up and be counted.

"At our plant, the committeemen are siding with the company. Now is the time to force the union leadership to act.

"We've been talking about a change, and the time is here to make that change."

Jesse Rayford, a worker at the Cadillac Plant, explained how his plant has been working a six-day-week, nine-hour day and is scheduled to continue until August to keep up with orders for Cadillacs.

"It's crazy. Here we are working overtime and our brothers are getting laid off every day.

"We run 54 cars an hour and they want to increase that by 12. If they do, they're going to have to hire 400 to 500 more people.

"Of course, they'll try to get by with as few as possible, but they won't be able to. Now, why doesn't the union speak out. They are completely silent.

"We have to wait until we get home at night to read the papers and find out what's going on.

"I don't know about a labor party. We've had nothing but lies from both parties, and after Watergate you can't trust anybody."

Charles Mitchell was just laid off from the Mack Avenue Stamping Plant, where frames for the new cars are manufactured.

"They've been laying off regularly, most of the second shift. Then they up the production. The steward, nobody does anything to stop them.

"They raised on job I was on from 300 pieces to 450 and the steward looked the other way. Chrysler won't let you rest for even one minute.

"Now with all this talk about shutting down all of Chrysler, why not a nationwide strike? Not only in the auto industry, but everybody.

"If we need a labor party in order to get this done, then that's what we'll have to have. It seems like we don't have any strength, at least that's the way Woodcock's been acting.

"We have to use the power we've got to fight back against these layoffs, it's got to change."



Charles Mitchell

MINERS COUNCIL...

(Continued From Page 1)

mittee" with no powers.

•The wage increases negotiated by Miller are completely within the guidelines established by the government during the period of Phase Two. Over a period of three years, the wages of the highest paid miner will rise only \$7.82, to \$57.82 per day.

Even this figure is deceiving. It applies only to the highest classification. The thousands of miners who are beitmens, brakemen, general inside laborers, masons, electrician helpers, timbermen, or wiremen will be earning only \$49.44 per day within three years.

This contract was dictated to Miller by the government and coal operators.

Bargaining council members told the Bulletin that they had never been consulted by Miller on either the terms of the contract nor the progress of negotiations.

Throughout the period of bargaining, Miller was in constant contact with either Gerald Ford or high officials in the government.

Even during the sessions of the bargaining council, federal mediator William J. Usery briefed and was briefed by Miller or his aides.

Council members were reportedly told by UMW Secretary-Treasurer Patrick that miners could not get any more than they were being offered in this contract.

The bargaining council members further complained that Miller was using the capitalist press to flood the coal fields with propaganda favorable to the contract.

The meetings of the bargaining council became especially tense following the death of Sam Littlefield, an opponent of the contract who was murdered by an unidentified gunman after last Friday's session of the council (see page 3).

The terms of the contract, and the manner in which Miller has sought to ram it through, expose the fraud maintained by the Stalinists of the Communist Party and the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party that Miller represents the rank and file and is committed to union democracy.

Events have completely vindicated the Bulletin's warnings about Miller's close collaboration with the government.

Only the Bulletin exposed the dangerous implications of Miller's reactionary reliance upon the government during his campaign against the corrupt Boyle leadership.

Only the Bulletin demanded that Miller be forced off the Labor-Management Com-

mittee, a corporatist body set up by Ford to draw the trade union bureaucracy into the government's plans to drive down the living standards of workers.

The Bulletin alone called for the rejection of the contract and has campaigned for its rejection among miners in the coal fields.

Every UMW member must now demand the end of all secret negotiations. Confidence cannot be placed in the bargaining council which has allowed Miller to slip back into private meetings with industry and the government. Bargaining council members have not publicly stated their demands on the question of wages and the right to strike.

A revolutionary leadership must be built in the UMW against the Miller leadership. The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, industrial arm of the Workers League, calls for:

•An across the board 25 percent wage increase and a 100 percent escalator clause.

•The full right to strike over all issues.

•Rejection of all productivity deals and a \$500 a month pension after 20 years for all miners.

Millions of workers will stand with the miners if they are given the lead. Miller must be forced off Ford's Labor-Management Committee. The UMW must call immediately for the full support of the labor movement. It must fight for the immediate convocation of a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party fighting for a workers government that will nationalize the mines and basic industry under workers' control.

United Mine Workers officials attempted to exclude Bulletin Labor Editor David North from a press conference held in the headquarters of the United Mine Workers in Washington, DC on Wednesday.

In the morning, no effort was made to bar North from the UMW building after he had presented his credentials. However, during a routine press briefing by Bernard Aronson, assistant to Arnold Miller, North was warned not to ask any questions at a press conference.

Later that afternoon, when North attempted to reenter the UMW building to visit the press room, he was stopped by UMW attendants and told that Aronson had given word that he was not to be recognized as a reporter.

A number of newspapermen covering the deliberations of the UMW bargaining council, including Ben Franklin of The New York Times, threatened to walk out of the UMW building if North was excluded from the press conference.

When Miller came downstairs to face the press, no attempt was made to bar the Bulletin reporter.

IUE Silent On Airtemps Layoffs

BY DOROTHY
WRIGHT

DAYTON, Ohio—The leadership of Local 775 of the International Union of Electrical Workers is letting mass layoffs take place at Chrysler Airtemps.

Airtemps began layoffs several weeks ago, first 74, then 200, and recently 400 last week in addition to the total shutdown of the appliance division during the week of November 18 to December 16.

The auto division will also have at least a one week shutdown in December.

Airtemps has never called back all the workers laid off earlier in 1974 and many of those recalled had been out for six months. Having been called back in August just to get out the 1975 models, they can't put in enough time to qualify for unemployment compensation.

Wesley Wells, Local 775 president, admitted that the SUB fund is almost totally exhausted. Wells, who has no plans to fight the layoffs, told the Dayton Daily News: "The only thing we can do is help these people get food stamps and welfare and ask finance companies to allow them to pay only the interest on their home mortgages and car loans until they are recalled or find another job.

"I think things are going to get worse than last year. We have a lot of young people here who have families to feed and whose

benefits have run out.

"They are going to feed their families some way even if they have to take to the streets."

In a statement to the Journal Herald on Wednesday, Wells disclosed that the SUB fund is down to \$44,000 or \$23 per person. When it falls below \$18, there can be no SUB payments for that week.

Wells admits that this has happened several times in the past few months and expects it to happen again in December. Many workers have already exhausted their SUB credit. For those who have not, the depletion of the SUB fund means they will be skipping weeks that cannot be paid retroactively if the SUB fund is built up again later on.

Wells said it was not likely that any SUB money would be paid during the week long shutdown December 16.

Wells ganged up with the company in 1973 in launching attacks on Bulletin salesmen because the Bulletin warned against the sellout Woodcock auto contract that the IUE followed in its own negotiations.

After hailing the contract as "the best ever," he was forced to admit last spring that workers had not gotten a large enough wage increase to meet inflation. Wells's solution was to circulate a petition to beg Congress for legislation to allow the IUE a wage reopener.

One Chrysler worker told the Bulletin: "Seven years seniority may seem like a lot, but it's not. This is the second time I've been laid off this year and I have no prospect of getting a job. My unemployment compensation

will last only until February."

Chrysler workers, workers at the General Motors parts suppliers where layoffs have begun, and GHR workers who are on a four day week must demand their leadership act to stop the layoffs and fight for a 30 hour week and 40 hours pay and nationalization of the auto industry under workers control.

Vega Line Shut At Lordstown

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—The Vega line at the huge General Motors Lordstown Ohio complex is shut, with 5,500 auto workers laid off.

The line is scheduled to reopen on December 2, but even then 1,600 men will not be recalled. In addition, GM plans to slow the line speed by 25 percent and reduce car production to 75 cars an hour.

The Lordstown van line is still running, but GM is expected to remove it from the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) and try and split the Lordstown Local 1112 in half.

A Local 1112 member said: "GM says it is in the red. It means that they didn't make their 20 billion dollar profit.

"The committeemen aren't doing anything. We get along as well with the company as we do with the union.

"If GM keeps its profit system, it will have to mean more layoffs. What do layoffs mean? Depression.

"This is why I can't see the union making secret deals. Who are they to deal with our future?"



special report
from Stephen Johns
in Portugal

THE REVOLUTION

In Alentejo extreme wealth and extreme poverty stand side by side. Its fertile plains have produced immense riches for the few but poverty and misery for the masses.

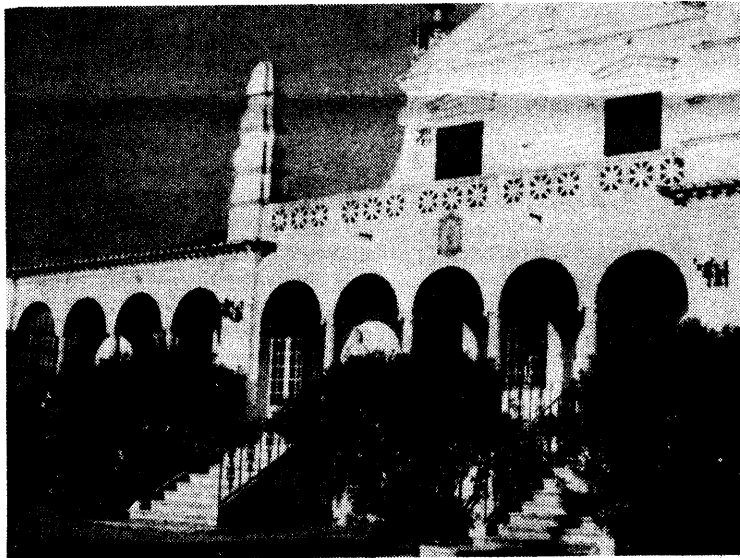
From the main road which cuts north to south across the province the land stretches to the horizon without walls or fences. There is no need for any. As far as the eye can see the land is owned by the masters—the tiny handful of landowners who control this area almost the size of Wales.

They live in the most luxurious palaces which spring up abruptly from the flat land. A few miles outside Ferreira one mansion is occupied by Matilda Passanha, an 80-year-old widow, and the head of one of the biggest landowning dynasties in Alentejo. The Passanha holdings were so large that even the fascist laws prevented any more purchases. When they reached the legal limit the family transferred to fascist Spain and built up estates there.

Matilda Passanha's residence has a courtyard and a frontage complete with Grecian columns. Around the house there are ornamental lakes given over to swans. There are gardens with rare flowers. Now the house is shuttered and the children play football in the yard. Outside the mansion there is a street of small cottages—the homes of the 11 families who work on the Passanha land around Ferreira. Others come from the town itself.

One old worker who lives on 300 escudos (less than \$14.40) a month said the Passanhas had been kind. "When we are hungry they give us some flour free," he explained.

"How do they make their money?"



"They give us five escudos and take 10. That's how they built the great house—I know that."

The workers of Alentejo are not passive like this man. The area has a history of struggle under fascism. The repressions were savage. One woman, Catarina Eufemia, from the tiny village of Baleizao has become a legend among the farm workers. She led a struggle for higher pay and shorter hours. The climax came when the women met a force of the GNR, the armed fascist police that still exist in Portugal. One officer stepped forward and asked what the women wanted.

ORGANIZE

"More money to feed our sons," replied Catarina. Her answer was a bullet that killed her.

This was the way the landowners of Alentejo held onto their empire.

After the fall of the Caetano regime on April 25 the land workers of Alentejo began to organize. The first workers' committee was formed at Pias and soon they spread throughout the whole of the south of the province. Headquarters of the Union of Agricultural Workers were established at Beja, the main town in the center of Alentejo.

The first big battle was over a new 90-day contract. The struggle began abortively in Evara the northern part of Alentejo. The Minister of Labor of the provisional government intervened and imposed a settlement that conceded only one of the workers' demands—payment for bank holidays. This attack on the workers' organizations was carried through with the support of the Portuguese Communist Party, who were, and still are, members of the provisional government.

But in the Beja district the struggle was victorious. Workers succeeded in nearly doubling their wages to around 160 escudos (\$6.60) a day. They established a 44-hour week and work for all. The last demand was important. In the Alentejo only 20 percent of the farm workers can count on work the whole year round. The rest are subject to periodic unemployment and must go hungry or migrate north or south for jobs.

The victory was however short lived. Some landlords refused to honor the contracts. They threatened their workers with unemployment unless they signed declarations pledging not to observe the deal. There were cases of deliberate burning of crops by the owners. One

reactionary assembled his workers before the counter coup—which was stopped by industrial workers on September 28—and warned them that by supporting democracy they were digging their own graves. The first to be buried, he added, would be the union men. The workers of this region knew from experience that the landowners will carry out their bloody intentions if they get the chance.

The big crisis came at the end of September. The workers' union wanted a new contract. The owners answered with mass unemployment. At this moment 12,000 have no jobs in the Beja areas alone—it means 50 percent are out of work in the villages—if the situation continues people will starve.

The revolt of the landowners was a dramatic illustration of one basic fact—the land workers and peasants in Portugal cannot achieve the most minimal basic rights without expropriating the land.

The union has just signed a new contract with the employers. This appears to leave the unemployment problem completely untouched. The landowners have agreed not to sack workers "without just cause" but this meaningless pledge does not commit them to reemploy the thousands of idle workers in the towns and villages.

In one of the interviews below, Jose Batista Mestre Soceiro, a union leader, expresses the political line of the Portuguese Communist Party. He relegates the crucial issue of land ownership to some unspecified time in the future. The core of the Stalinist policy is that the "progressive" landlords can be separated from the reactionaries. On this basis they say agriculture in Portugal can be expanded within the capitalist framework to provide jobs for all.

In fact, subsistence wages and mass unemployment, is inseparable from the Portuguese landowning system. For modern

agriculture to emerge there would have to be a revolution in the industry and such a revolution could only be carried out by the participation of the workers and peasants. Essential prerequisites would be nationalization of the banks which control credit, nationalization without compensation, under workers' control, of the big monopolies which supply raw materials, machinery, fertilizers, etc., and the liquidation of all middle-men and profiteers. These changes are incompatible with the existence of the private estates which survive only by keeping agriculture backward and the people in misery.

CONDITIONS

In the far south of Alentejo and in the Algarve conditions are even worse. These lands are farmed by small tenants who rent their holdings from the landlords. Their farms vary from about 10 hectares to 30 hectares—compared with the big estates of between 4,000 to 20,000 hectares (one hectare equals 2.4 acres).

These peasants live permanently on the brink of hunger and financial ruin. They are dominated by the big companies who supply fertilizers. They have no control over the prices of their produce. Many eat the corn and potatoes they grow. This year some have been forced to sell the crops their families were going to eat because of record inflation in the costs.

The question of credit does not enter into the lives of these people. To get credit you need land and they own no land.

Most work half the time on the owners land. In addition on their rented land they must "work the trees" to provide cork for the landowner.

In their southern villages there is great unemployment. In recent years the surplus population—particularly the young men—migrated to the coast to work in the building trade. Now



Upper left: women and girls, farmworkers of Alentejo. Lower left: Matilda Passanha's mansion. Below: farmworkers who work for Passanha live in shabby huts on her land.

ON THE LAND

the tourist boom has collapsed. There are no holiday hotels and villas to be built. The youth are back in their homeland where they live off the food provided by their parents.

These peasants feel cut off. Many cannot read and very few have radios. The slogans painted across the walls of the villages, shouting revolution, mean little to these people. What they want is a concrete program to solve their desperate predicament. They want the land, action to keep prices down, stable price for their produce, an end to the middle men, "honest" technical advice and cooperatives.

In some areas cooperatives have been built. But they are weak—"what can a cooperative do without the land?" one organizer asked me. Apart from the program of reforms the peasantry must see a force capable of carrying it out, before they commit themselves to supporting the overthrow of the landowning and capitalist class.

Clearly the working class is the only force capable of giving such a decisive leadership. The revolution on the land is therefore inseparable from the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship and the construction of a revolutionary party in Portugal.

THE FARM WORKERS OF FERREIRA

In Ferreira the local committee of the land workers' union meets each evening in the Casa do Povo—House of the People. These buildings were constructed in each village by the fascists, now they have been taken over by the workers and peasants.

The Ferreira committee is about ten strong. The comments come from several of its members.

"Unemployment is the main problem here. The owners are putting us out of work. It began 15 days ago when the old contracts with the landowners ran out. Now there are about

2,000 with no work in this village alone. The big men say they have no work, but we think there is work. They don't like the situation after April 25, we think they want to make a sabotage and do here what they did in Chile.

"We will write to the leadership in Beja and they will write to the Provisional government—we want them to take over the land not worked by anyone and put people to work. The Provisional government should oblige the landowners to work the land, if the landowners don't accept, expropriate them. This is what we want the government to do.

"The situation is serious. Last year for example, I, as a woman worker, got 40 escudos a day. Now we get much higher wages—but if we had not got them, I and my family would be dying of hunger, the prices have risen so much.

"If people don't work, sometimes they eat and sometimes they don't eat. Or sometimes they work for a few days and they have to make the food they buy last for a number of weeks. No one eats very much around here.

"There have been big changes since the end of fascism. Now when we have problems we write to the owners and they come here to see us. In the time of fascism, if we went to ask for more wages they would hand us over to the police. The police would beat you and if they got a militant they would kill him. It's not like that now.

"The land ownership is still the same though. This area is all very big landowners. They own all the land around the town and the land beyond the town. Passanha is the biggest. It's difficult to know just how much land this family has; it's registered under different names.

"Another bad thing is the uncultivated land. There is a lot of land around here that has never been exploited. Is it land for the birds and the rabbits,

kept that way so the fascists could come and shoot and hunt?

"Now the Provisional government has passed a law that says only people who own the land can shoot on the land. Now I do not agree with that—the rabbits and the birds, they belong to the people.

"Take over the land? First the union must be completely built. The second problem is that we have a Provisional government. After the Parties have stood for the election, then we can decide.

"But I would like to see the land taken over and in the hands of the people who work it. The landowners won't exploit the land, so it must be the people, it's the only way."

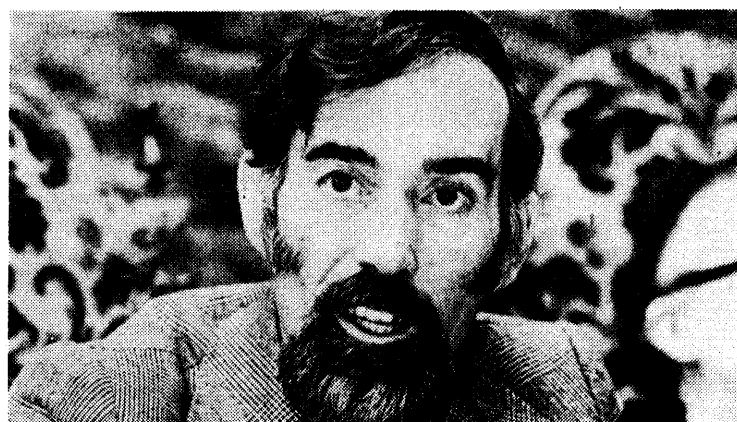
New Threat To Portuguese Left

"Extremist" left-wing parties in Portugal will be banned, Major Victor Alves, a leading figure in the Armed Forces Movement, told journalists in London.

Alves, whose responsibilities in the Portuguese Provisional Government cover defense, said that fascist parties would not be allowed to stand in the elections next March, but that what he described as extremist left-wing parties would also "not be accepted."

Later he defined such groups as those who did not want to work within the scope of the program of the Armed Forces Movement.

He said that the Maoist MRPP group, 11 of whose members have been arrested following disturbances outside the meeting of the right-wing CDS party—would probably not be banned. The MRPP paper, *Luta Popular*, (Popular Struggle), however, is



Major Victor Alves.

banned from publication.

The AFM Program was the document issued after this section of the army staged the successful coup that deposed the Portuguese fascist dictator Marcelo Caetano on April 25 this year.

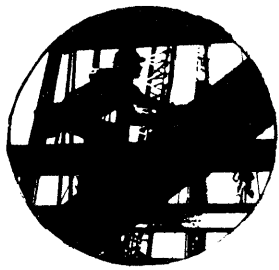
BONAPARTIST

It calls for the establishment of a bourgeois democratic regime, but in practice is the cover for the development of a Bonapartist military autocracy propped up by the Stalinist and Social Democratic Parties.

Alves, who is in Britain to attend a NATO meeting, discounted fears that the large Portuguese Communist Party was playing a double game using its policy of full support to the capitalist Provisional Government as a tactic.

Alves said the Communist Party had compromised its program and accepted the idea of a "pluralist democracy."

He was referring to the recent PCP congress where the call for the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was dropped from the Party aims.



lucha obrera

CRISIS EN ARGENTINA

PARTE 2

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El gobierno peronista, encabezado por Isabel Perón, cumple la necesidad objetiva de la burguesía de corporatizar las uniones, destruir el nivel de vida del trabajador a través de la inflación, el desempleo y el aceleramiento en la producción.

El costo de vida ha aumentado 40 por ciento en el último año. A través del Gran Acuerdo Nacional (GAN), todos los burócratas de las uniones han jurado mantener la existencia del gobierno peronista frente a la ofensiva de la clase obrera.

El movimiento peronista, que data de la década de los cuarenta, siempre ha gozado con el apoyo de la burocracia sindical, el liderato stalinista del Partido Comunista, de los revisionistas del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) y de los diversos grupos guerrilleros como los Montoneros y el Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP).

En estos momentos, cuando la clase obrera argentina se enfrenta a luchas decisivas en contra del gobierno, es necesario analizar el carácter de estos partidos para entender la necesidad urgente de la construcción del partido revolucionario en la Argentina como sección del Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional. Perón vio la necesidad de movilizar a los trabajadores para poder consolidar su poder capitalista, con un programa anti-imperialista. Desde ese período, la burocracia sindical ha apoyado la corporatización de las uniones destruyendo la independencia política de la clase obrera.

STALINISMO

Los stalinistas del Partido Comunista se han reunido varias veces con Isabel Perón para discutir con ella los problemas nacionales. Esta reunión está de acuerdo con su posiciones pasadas. En 1971, frente a la amenaza de un golpe de estado por los militares, ellos hicieron un llamado por un "gobierno provisional de amplia coalición democrática" para defender al actual gobierno.

Este llamado fue hecho luego del Cordobazo de 1969, cuando la clase obrera se hayaba en la ofensiva en contra de la dictadura militar. Lo que se requería era la preparación política de la clase obrera para la toma del poder. El Partido Comunista, por primera vez en su historia, apoyó la candidatura de Perón en 1972 para alimentar las ilusiones sobre el carácter "progresista" de Perón.

En su prensa Nuestra Palabra, cuando las decisiones de Nixon de terminar la convertibilidad del dólar en oro comenzaron a perjudicar la economía capitalista, los stalinistas llevaron una campaña llamando por la nacionalización de la industria frigorífica (carnes) bajo el control del gobierno.

Ellos a la misma vez emplazaron al gobierno a que tomara

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REVISIONISTAS

Las perspectivas pablistas, de que el stalinismo se transformaría en revolucionario a través de las presiones de la clase obrera, lo llevó a plantear que el movimiento trotskista debía disolverse dentro de los partidos stalinistas. Mantenía que esto era necesario debido a la pequeñas de los partidos trotskistas. Esta política de traición fue lo que llevó al rompimiento en 1953 y a la creación del Comité Internacional.

Esta perspectiva destruyó una gran porción del movimiento trotskista en América Latina. No solo es Pablo el responsable sino el Socialist Workers Party (SWP) que luego de romper con el pablismo en 1953, se reunifica a ellos en 1963 clamando que "luchas de guerrillas, conducidas por campesinos sin tierras y fuerzas semi-proletarias, pueden jugar un papel importante en minar y precipitar la caída del poder colonial y semi-colonial."

El Secretariado Unificado presentó que la clase obrera puede llegar al poder a través de "instrumentos botos" implicando que la construcción de un partido revolucionario no es necesario.

El constante apoyo de la "lucha guerrillera," en particular por el SWP desde 1961, fue base filosófica de la formación del Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP). El ERP fue formado en 1969 por el Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT), la sección en aquel entonces del Secretariado Unificado, luego de un año en que una minoría encabezada por Nahuel Moreno se había separado del PRT.

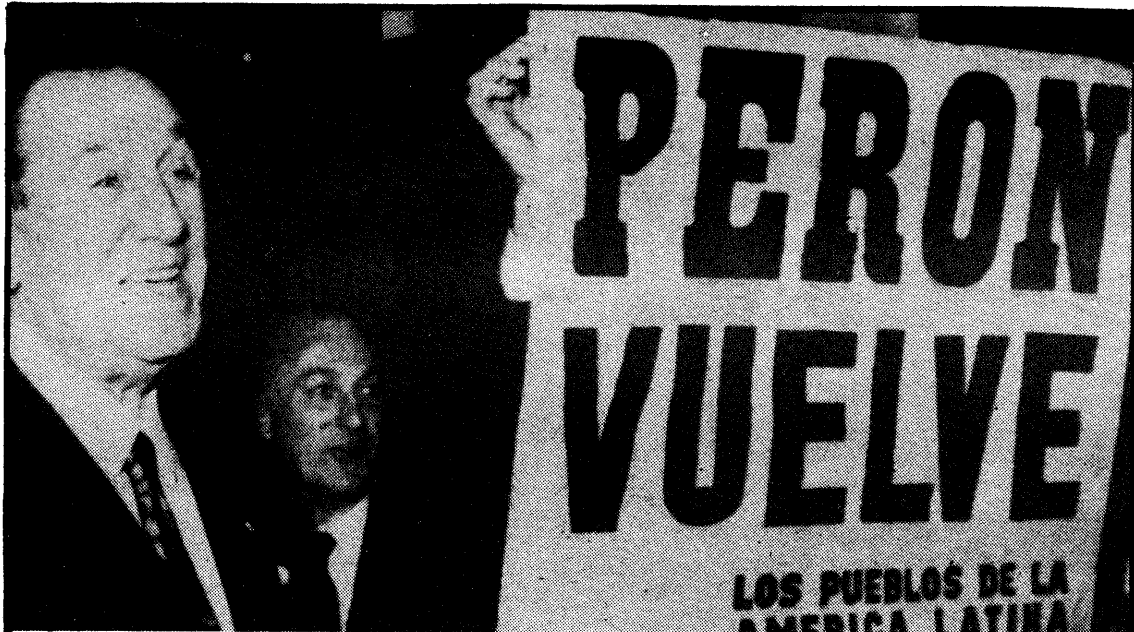
El ERP, dirigido por Roberto Santucho, ha llevado a cabo una serie de secuestros y asesinatos políticos que han sido utilizados por el gobierno para reprimir a las uniones y coartar los derechos democráticos de los trabajadores.

Cientos de miembros del ERP han sido encarcelados y torturados. El SWP se desasocia políticamente del ERP y de sus acciones guerrilleras cuando históricamente fueron ellos los responsables de estas políticas liquidacionistas.

Las acciones guerrilleras del ERP son una divergencia de la tarea central de la construcción de un liderato revolucionario en este período, cuando la clase obrera, a través de huelgas masivas en contra del gobierno peronista, amenaza la estabilidad de la burocracia sindical pro-peronista.

La sección minoritaria que rompió con el PRT dirigida por Nahuel Moreno, se une con el Partido Socialista Argentino, sección de Coral, y forma el Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST), al que el SWP le brinda su apoyo.

A través de Avanzada Socialista, periódico del PST al retorno de Perón a la Argentina, fueron los principales apoyadores del "derecho de Perón de participar en las elecciones y ser presidente."



Perón recibió el apoyo de los stalinistas y revisionistas a su regreso



Nahuel Moreno, líder del PST.



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Además le propusieron a Perón una serie de demandas tales como "un 80 por ciento de los candidatos nominados deben ser de la clase obrera." Ellos se han reunido varias veces con el gobierno peronista al igual que los stalinistas para discutir con el gobierno.

En su declaración del 10 de agosto en la reunión con el gobierno declaran "Nuestro partido concurre a esta reunión de la misma forma que antes asistiera a reuniones con el gobierno y con otros partidos y organizaciones, no porque aspire o crea en la posibilidad de una "unidad nacional—imposible entre clases sociales antagónicas—sino porque esta dispuesto a defender las libertades democráticas que, costosamente, las masas conquistaron a partir del Cordobazo.

"El objetivo fundamental de esas libertades democráticas consiste en el respeto al derecho de las masas a disponer el gobierno que quieran, en este caso el gobierno peronista, y también al esencial respeto para todas las fuerzas políticas a proclamar sus ideas ante las masas. Por ello, no vacilamos en condenar todo intento de golpe que pretenda derribar al actual gobierno elegido por la mayoría de la clase trabajadora."

"Nuestro Partido reclama su derecho a plantearle esta opción socialista a las masas mientras se compromete a luchar, y lucha, contra todo golpe de estado que pretenda derribar al gobierno que ellas eligieron a través del voto."

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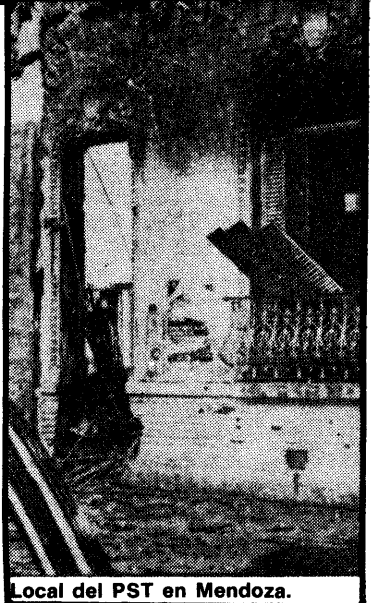
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La llamada "defensa de los derechos democráticos" en una época en que el gobierno prepara guerra civil en contra de la clase obrera, es la clara negación de los revisionistas de la crisis capitalista.

El SWP durante la conferencia de Ford con la burocracia sindical de este país le pidió al gobierno que le permitiera participar para poder presentar su programa en contra de la inflación y otros problemas económicos. Esto cuando el gobierno había llevado actos de espionaje en contra de las oficinas y miembros del SWP.

El Secretariado Unificado, que reconoce al ERP como su sección argentina y al PST como simpatizante, ha sacado una carta pública criticando al PST por sus reuniones con el gobierno, cuando prepara las mismas traiciones en contra de la clase obrera.

Tanto el guerrillerismo del ERP como las discusiones parlamentarias del PST con el gobier-



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no son con el fin de presionar al gobierno para que de ciertas reformas. Estas dos caras del pablismo están unidas en su negación de construir un partido revolucionario de la clase obrera independiente de los capitalistas.

La clase obrera argentina se enfrenta a una época decisiva en su historia. La descomposición de la economía argentina no es un fenómeno aislado de la crisis internacional. Las medidas del gobierno de Isabel Perón preparan el terreno a las fuerzas fascistas que han emergido en los últimos meses. La tarea de la construcción de un partido revolucionario se basa en la lucha en contra de todos estos partidos que se autotitulan revolucionarios y por sus acciones preparan la traición de la clase obrera.

Este liderato tiene que luchar por la independencia política de la clase obrera por la construcción de la sección argentina del Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional.



lucha obrera

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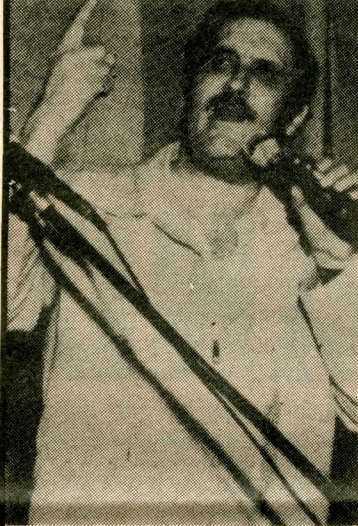
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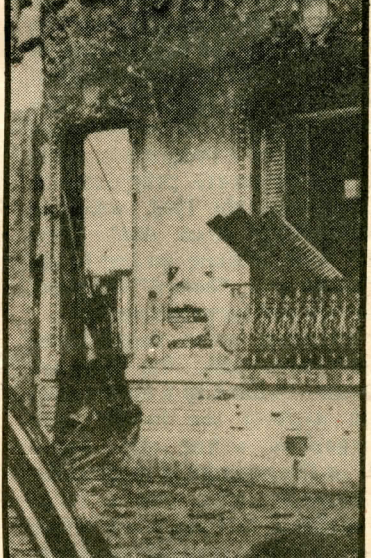
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