

# Bulletin

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

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1974

TWENTY CENTS

## DEMOCRAT-REPUBLICAN ELECTION FRAUD

# BUILD A LABOR PARTY!

BY THE  
EDITORIAL BOARD

Every worker knows that the congressional elections on November 5 are not going to solve any of the fundamental problems of uncontrolled inflation and rising unemployment.

This election is a fraud—a conspiracy by the two big business parties to impose the burden of the capitalist economic crisis on the working class. The Democrats and Republicans stand on exactly the same program of recession, unemployment and wage cuts.

This is why the answer for workers in this election cannot be a vote for liberal Democrats, as the trade union leaders treacherously propose. The working class must have its own independent policy to meet the economic recession. Above all, this means the fight for a labor party based on the trade unions and committed to socialist policies.

If there is anything historic about this election, it may well be the enormous number of workers and middle class people who won't vote at all. Pollsters are predicting upwards of 58% of the voters will abstain. This is a tremendous condemnation of the so-called "two-party system" and the policies of George Meany and Co.

Meany has been calling for the election of a "veto-proof" Congress. He wants the election of

the biggest number of Democrats in both the House and Senate so as to offer some protection against the economic policies of the Ford Administration.

The trade union leaders have spent over \$6 million to make sure the Democrats get elected. Not one cent of these expenditures was authorized by the ranks. But what is the record of these "friends of labor" that the bureaucrats are so anxious to see returned to Congress?

When former President Nixon introduced his wage freeze in 1971, was it not these same Democrats, with control of the House and Senate, who gave him enthusiastic support? Didn't they jump all over themselves to claim that Nixon had stalled too long in introducing controls, that he should have even brought them in a year ago? The Democrats remain to this day the leading advocates for the reimposition of controls.

### WOODCOCK

When the UAW, under "progressive" Leonard Woodcock, supports and pours money into the campaign of Democrat John Gilligan for governor of Ohio, who are they supporting? A man who called out the National Guard against the truckers' strike and the civil servants' strike. A man who claimed the killing of the Kent State students was justified.

Every worker must ask himself: is this the party that will defend his rights? A party which is leading the racist, anti-busing campaign in Boston, a party whose leading contender for the Presidential nomination is George Wallace. The Demo-

crats have made it clear where they stand—with the employers, with the racists, and with the Ford and Rockefeller government against every right of the working class.

Only the Workers League, running on the Workers Party ticket, has offered a real alternative to workers in this election. We took a decision earlier this year to enter the elections for the first time because of the growing economic crisis and the movement of the working class that was building up throughout the country. We

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"Workers and youth in Williamsburg and Bedford-Stuyvesant are outraged about the tremendous rise in food prices, clothing and other basic necessities. The Democrats and Republicans are their main enemy. They are responsible for the rise in the cost of living. If I am elected, I will expose this two-party system in Congress and fight for the construction of a Labor Party pledged to socialist policies, to put an end to the attacks on the rights of the working class."

—Helen Halyard,  
Workers Party candidate  
14 CD, Brooklyn, NY



"In my district which covers Brownsville and Bushwick, there is growing concern about unemployment. Many workers who are employed at the small factories in the area are being laid off because of the recession. The housing situation in Brownsville is criminal. Workers are fed up with the Democrats. The working class must now launch its own party to throw the millionaires and their political puppets out of power."

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## Coal Bosses Lower Pay Offer

BY DAVID NORTH

Coal bosses are refusing to offer miners a decent wage increase as negotiations on the new contract approach the November 12 strike deadline.

Each time they make minor concessions to the UMW on noneconomic issues like safety, the coal operators lower their proposed wage package.

"They're caving in on benefits and safety," a UMW spokesman said. "But they are hinting that this will mean a much smaller offer. We haven't been talking money yet, but my feeling is it won't be much."

This official said that he considered a strike to be almost a certainty.

The position of the coal bosses on wages has been worked out in advance with the Ford government. The Administration is determined to prevent a big settlement for the UMW which would lead to a massive wage offensive by the entire trade union movement.

### TAFT-HARTLEY

During the past week, it has been reported that Ford is considering the possibilities of involving the Taft-Hartley law if miners strike on November 12.

Ford plans to combine court action against the miners with a vicious propaganda campaign aimed at depicting miners' wage demands as "inflationary."

But the fact is that inflation has had a devastating affect on the living standards of miners and every other worker. New statistics show that the average worker, earning \$10 per week more than he did last year,

would have actually fallen \$5 behind in terms of "real" wages.

While miners' wages have risen only 8 percent during the past year, coal prices have risen 61 percent and profits for the industry have leaped ahead by 181 percent.

Peabody Coal, owned by Kennecott Copper (which helped finance the fascist coup in Chile against Allende), earned after-tax profits during the first half of 1974 totaling \$106,628,704—an increase of 52 percent over the previous year.

Consolidation Coal, owned by Continental Oil, earned \$209,601,000—an increase of 111 percent.

Island Creek Coal, owned by Occidental Oil, earned \$160,375,000—an increase of 403 percent.

Pittsburg and Midway Coal,

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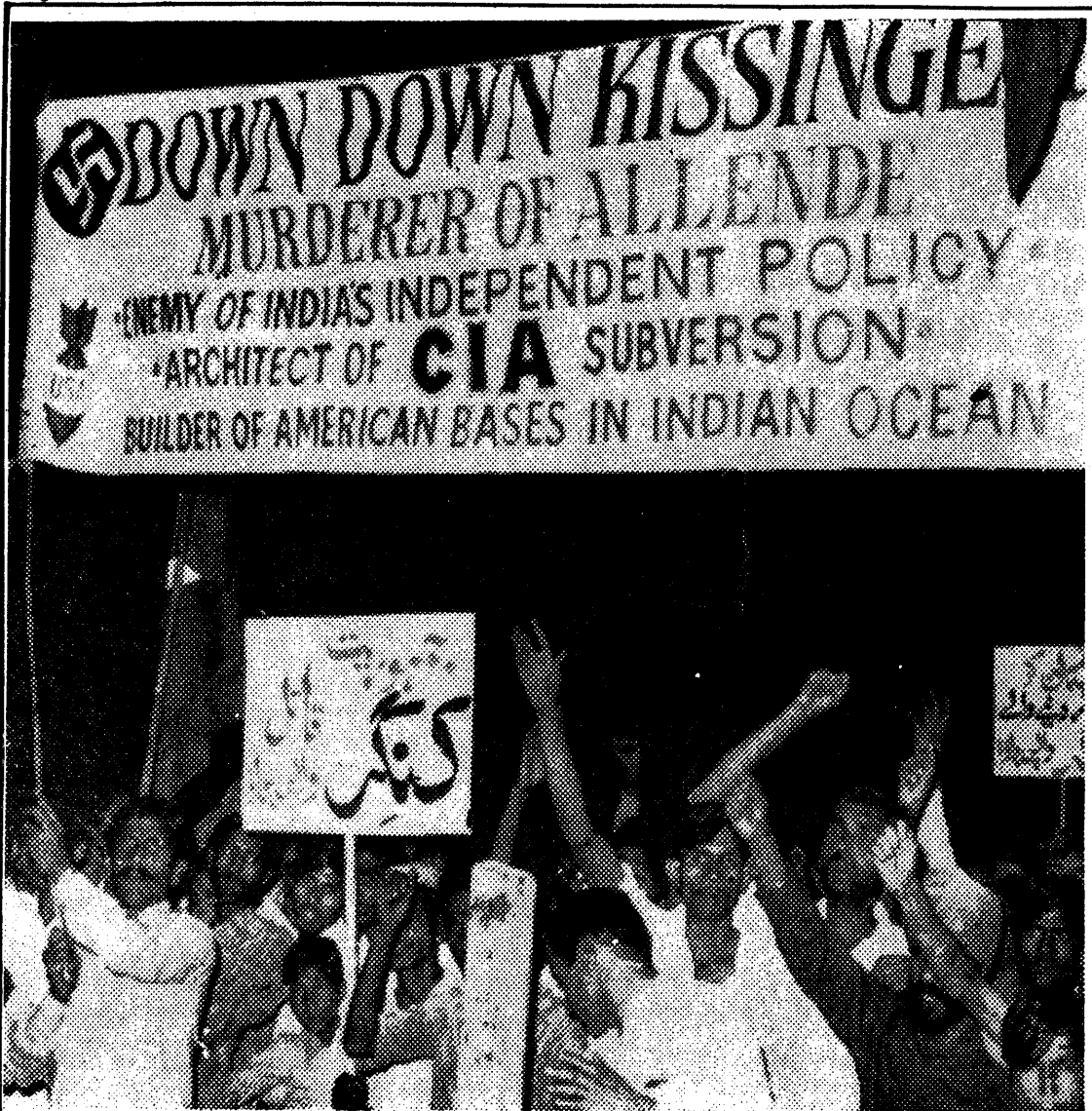
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Henry Kissinger got a very hostile reception when he flew into India for three days of talks with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and other officials. Kissinger wants India to halt development of atomic weapons for fear that the nuclear technology will be given to the Arab nations in exchange for oil. Kissinger used the threat that 500,000 tons of grain to India would not be approved until his return to Washington. In a speech, Gandhi declared that the US considered India "marginal" to its global interests.

# Philippine CP Turns Arms Over To Marcos

**BY MELODY FARROW**  
**The Philippine Communist Party has agreed to surrender its arms "as an act of good faith" and drop all opposition to the dictatorship of President Ferdinand Marcos.**

In exchange for turning over its arms, the CP will be granted legal status and jailed CP members will be granted amnesty. The pact was sealed at a meeting on October 11 between Marcos and CP general secretary, Felicisimo Macapagal, and other party leaders.

This action opens the door to a massacre of the defenseless CP members, just as the alliance between the Indonesian CP and Sukarno in 1965 paved the way for the physical destruction of that party.

By becoming a loyal opposition to Marcos, the CP gives its blessing to the war against the Maoist guerrillas in the New Peoples Army, whose members are being hunted, arrested and murdered by Marcos' troops.

This sickening collaboration means that the Stalinists will now be the official apologists for one of the most brutal and repressive dictatorships in SE Asia, a bastion of imperialist rule in the area.

Here is how William Pomeroy, staff writer for the Daily World, the organ of the American Communist Party, described the new line of the Philippine CP:

"A much publicized and vastly exaggerated Filipino Maoist group and its so-called New Peoples Army have sought to give the impression that the only path for the Filipino people in struggling for rights and gains lies in an armed revolutionary struggle to overthrow the Marcos government.

"The PKP, however, have refused to adopt extremist positions that tend to isolate it from the Filipino masses and have avoided interpreting the present situation in the Philippines from any narrow personal anti-Marcos stance...some policies and features of the Marcos regime are assessed as positive and worthy of support."

Yes, perhaps martial law, no independent unions, jail without trial and torture of opponents are some of the progressive features Pomeroy has in mind!

The article cites a change to a "parliamentary system," "the basic principles of the Marcos land reform," "the restructuring of the Philippine trade unions into a one-federation, one-industry basis," and the "development of diplomatic and trade relations with socialist countries" as proof that Marcos is moving in a democratic direction.

In September 1972, Marcos declared martial law to combat what he claimed was a wave of "subversive" and rebellious activity. Since then, countless numbers of opponents of the regime sit rotting in jails or have simply disappeared.

In 1973, Marcos went a step further and seized full personal and legislative power and proclaimed himself premier as well as president. Elections were suspended for at least six or seven years. The so-called parliamentary system Pomeroy talks about is a complete fraud.

The truth is that the Stalinist bureaucracy of both the Soviet Union and China have placed the head of the Philippine working class on the chopping block, in exchange for opening trade and commercial relations.

In 1965, the Indonesian CP gave uncritical support to President Sukarno who tried to balance between the workers parties and the right-wing generals. After an abortive coup by the generals on September 30, Sukarno launched one of the most bloody and ruthless campaigns of extermination in history against the 7-million member CP (pro-Peking).

500,000 were massacred in less than five months and the party, once one of the strongest in the world, was decimated.

The same policy of peaceful co-existence and blocs with the capitalist parties was carried out by the Stalinists in Chile with the same disastrous results. In Portugal today, CP leader Alvaro Cunhal boasts that the workers do not need arms only weeks after the generals tried to stage a coup d'etat.

These betrayals by Stalinism must be relentlessly exposed to prepare a new generation of workers and youth for revolutionary struggles.

## PLO To Limit Struggle To West Bank State

**BY A REPORTER**  
 The Arab League conference which ended Tuesday in Rabat, Morocco, has recognized Yasir Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization as "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestine people."

The PLO has been granted the right to establish "an independent national authority" on the West Bank or the Gaza strip if Israel withdraws, or over any land liberated from Israel.

By this action, the Arab leaders have not only denied the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, but have formally abandoned the entire struggle of the Palestinians, begun in 1948, to return to their homeland.

Arafat claimed that the creation of a Palestinian state on the West Bank is only "a tactical objective." In reality, the bourgeois PLO leadership wants to liquidate all armed struggle and transform itself into a provisional government that would subordinate the Palestinian people to both the Zionist regime of Israel and the hated Hussein regime of Jordan.

There are reports that in exchange for Hussein's agreement to the Arab League decision, the PLO will drop all opposition to his rule. Since the 1970 civil war when Hussein's Army massacred many guerrillas, the PLO has called for his overthrow.

There are three million Palestinians in the Middle East. 700,000 live on the West Bank, 700,000 in Syria, Lebanon, or

other Arab countries, one million on the East Bank of the Jordan River, 300,000 in Israel and another 300,000 in the Gaza strip.

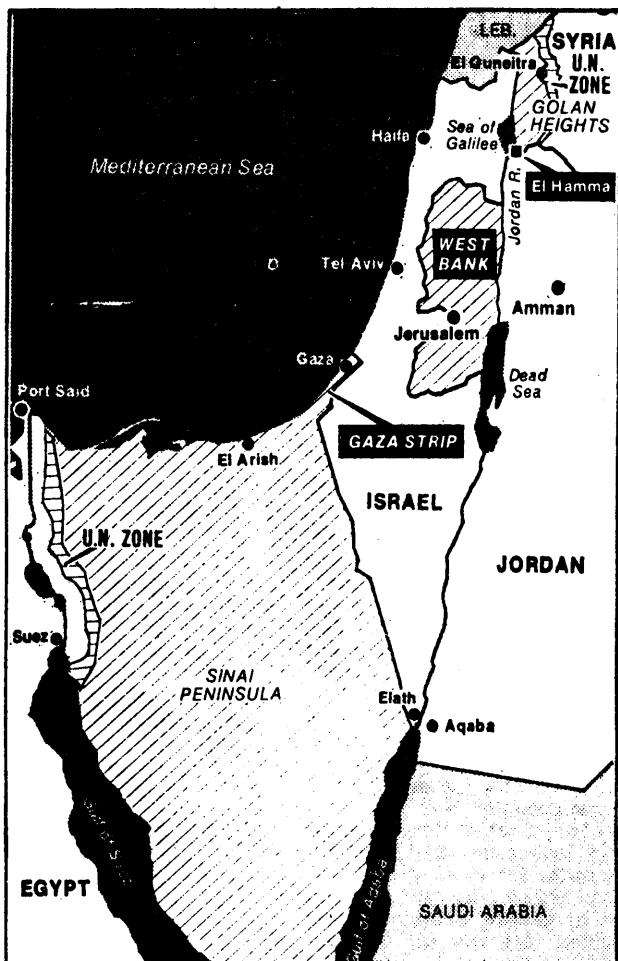
There was little confidence among the Arab leaders that a Geneva peace conference would take place. Israel has vowed never to negotiate with the PLO.

The Israeli information minister recently stated in Chicago: "If there is no political movement between the countries of the Middle East, I am afraid there is no doubt that the danger of war will become greater."

"Israel should be organized to strike first—to make a pre-emptive strike."

The tremendous social, political, and economic crisis of Israel drives the Zionists inexorably towards a new war. The United States would use any war to seize control of Arab oil reserves.

The Saudi Arabian government denied rumors that they had agreed to a lowering of oil prices at Rabat, stating that this would be decided by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.







# 'Men Are Disgusted and Angry'

**TARRYTOWN, NY—**Outside of the wealthy residents on the hill, everybody else in the Tarrytown area is dependent on the General Motors Assembly Division plant and its subsidiary industries. Workers from White Plains, Greenborough, and even from New York City come up to Tarrytown to work.

Last week General Motors announced that it is cutting out the second shift and laying off half of the 4000 man work force.

A worker on the first shift told the *Bulletin*: "This is like dropping a bomb. When somebody tells you something like that, it's like giving you the ax. Something's got to be done."

He has a wife and three children and has worked at the plant for 10 years. Like hundreds of others, this was his first and only job since leaving school.

"They are laying people off according to seniority. Guys with up to 11 years and some with even more than that are being told they're going to go. So it doesn't look too hopeful to me.

"The point is it's going to be very hard to find another job now. You can maybe find what I'd call a piece of a job, half of a job, but not enough to support a family.

"In any case, we haven't even been told anything definite about the layoffs yet. Ray Calore, Local 664 UAW president, talks to the *Daily News*, but he hasn't held a union meeting or given us a word about it yet. It's like a slap in the face. Most of the men are disgusted and angry.

"You could see this thing coming. I work on the line. In the past a lot of cars would come down and they'd be marked 'customer order'. This would mean that they were already sold, but now, none of the cars come down marked that way. They're not selling.

"Ray says this is the fault of the Ford administration because they're following Nixon's

policies. But it seems to me the union and management are playing this thing hand in hand. Then they turn around and throw us out of the plant.

"The line speed is supposed to be 56 cars an hour but it seems a lot faster. I come in the morning at about 5 minutes before 6:00 am. By the time I get to where I work the whistle's about ready to blow. If I wanted to set up everything before the line started, I'd have to get in there maybe one half hour or an hour early.

"Right away, I've got to clean up my table from what the night man left over. Then I've got to pull out what I need for the day. By that time, I've probably missed two cars. I've got to run down the line to make up for what I've missed. By the time I get back to my place, another car has passed by. For at least the first hour, I'm constantly running up and down the line to catch up.

"Since GMAD was brought in 3 or 4 years ago, things have become a mess. Particularly after the changeover to the new Chevy Nova model, they began

piling jobs on, laying other guys off, so that it's impossible to keep up.

"I work with another guy and there used to be what's called an equal balance between our jobs. I would put on the moulding and he would put in the screws. Then they took a man off the line and gave us his job. Not only that, but the hinges come in bent the wrong way, so I have to bend up about 40 or 50 sets of hinges a day, work with the light stock and the screws and keep up with the line. So it's nearly impossible.

"It's useless to put in a 78 (workload grievances). There's already an overload of 78's in the plant. The union and management work together and all they care about is productivity. For instance, once my son had an asthma attack. My wife had to rush him to the hospital because he stopped breathing. She called the plant right away to let me know. But they waited for over an hour and a half before they gave me the message.

"The place is run like a dictatorship. I think there is a lot of sentiment for a strike against

the layoffs among the men. But there is no confidence in Woodcock."

The office of Local 664 UAW is right next to the Tarrytown plant. The secretary at the front desk tells you that nobody is in, nobody is talking and Mr. Calore is busy. Outside, there is a big red billboard that says: VOTE CAREY FOR GOVERNOR.

Only the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is fighting for a policy to defend the jobs of thousands of auto workers threatened by layoffs.

•Call a national auto strike against layoffs. The UAW must support occupations in every plant that is threatened with closure.

•Union control of working conditions. Stop the speedup!

•The UAW must take the lead in fighting for a Congress of the entire labor movement to plan action against the rising unemployment and the skyrocketing inflation.

•Build a labor party to begin the nationalization of the auto and all basic industry, without compensation, and under workers' control.

## Opportunist Coalition At PSP Rally

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

The real position of the bankrupt leadership of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party was sharply exposed at the Madison Square Garden extravaganza on October 27.

"The National Day of Solidarity with Puerto Rico" was called for and built under the political leadership of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). To the tens of thousands, some of whom traveled across the country to attend, the PSP proposed a campaign for America to celebrate "a bicentennial without colonies."

The PSP split from the bourgeois nationalist Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) in 1959 and now claims to be a socialist movement. They have adopted the Stalinist theory of a two stage struggle—independence now, socialism later—to cover the fact that they have never broken from the Puerto Rican bourgeoisie.

In the 1972 Puerto Rican elections, they gave uncritical support to PIP's campaign and wrote: "At this time, there is no need for another workers

party...that is the role that PSP plays. But, as a complement to the struggle of the PSP, it is necessary for there to be a multi-class party in which the patriotic section of the bourgeoisie can function." (Claridad, Oct. 29, 1972.)

In the current campaign for independence, the PSP is supported by PIP, black and Chicano nationalist movements, the Communist parties of Cuba, and Dominican Republic and the United States, the Socialist Workers Party, an assortment of liberals like Jane Fonda and Dave Dellinger, and even some members of the Democratic Party.

All these movements share PSP's refusal to construct a revolutionary leadership within the working class and fight for the political independence of the class.

Not one speaker, including Angela Davis of the American Communist Party, said anything about the tremendous struggles workers have waged in both Puerto Rico and in the US. Electrical workers, firemen, teachers and most recently, dockers, have confronted the Puerto Rican government in a series of powerful strikes. In 1973, there were only three days when no workers were on strike.

The PSP does not base the fight for independence on the working class as part of a



Juan Mari Bras, General Secretary of the PSP, and Angela Davis, Communist Party member at Madison Square Garden rally.

socialist program to bring the working class to power.

Instead they plan a mass campaign based on the American middle class to pressure the Ford government, modelled on the anti-war movement of the 1960s.

It is this perspective which lies behind the proposal of PSP General Secretary Juan Mari Bras that militants at the rally have "a magnificent historical opportunity to convert the celebration planned by the imperialists into a great movement where the forces of all marginal and super-exploited sectors of this country can join together and denounce the oppressive character of this system."

In every national liberation struggle, the nationalist bourgeoisie seeks to prevent the struggle of the working class against imperialism from going forward to revolution.

Thus the PSP tells workers and youth that the struggle is not a class struggle, but centers on the "main" contradiction, between the native bourgeoisie and the imperialists. The Stalinist two-stage theory means that there must be a period between independence and socialism in

order to educate and prepare workers for socialism.

This policy means in practice subordinating the working class to the interests of the capitalist class and the system of private property, and opening up the danger of a counter coup by the right-wing and the military. This is the lesson of Chile.

In Bangla Desh, the working class and peasantry won their independence after a bitter, heroic struggle in 1971, but under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie, represented by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, conditions have worsened. (see page 10).

On October 27, the Workers League published "An Open Letter To PSP Militants" which stated:

"The revolutionary period we have entered makes the national bourgeoisie more reactionary than ever. Like the bourgeoisie worldwide, in order to survive they must attack the working class and carry out political repression.

"The independence of Puerto Rico without the working class taking power must result in a government like that in Haiti or the Dominican Republic.

"The fight of the Trotskyist

movement, the International Committee of the Fourth International, is for the political independence of the working class in its fight for socialism."

Terrorist actions, such as the bombing of five Rockefeller-controlled banks in New York the day before the rally, is an attempt to substitute the activity of individuals for the mass action of the working class.

A group called the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) claimed responsibility for the bombings, but the group is unknown among Puerto Rican militants.

Such actions cannot advance the cause of independence for Puerto Rico and in fact, opened up the workers and youth attending the rally to extreme danger of police frameups and attacks.

The fight for independence is inseparably linked to the struggles of workers in the US and in every country to defend wages and jobs, under conditions of the crisis and collapse of the capitalist system. This fight requires the building of a revolutionary party in the workers movement in Puerto Rico that raises the demand for a labor party and socialist policies



# Big Payoffs Boomerang On Rocky

BY A REPORTER

"They say that when Rockefeller was a kid he liked playing with blocks. Like 62nd Street, 63rd..."

The erstwhile Republican governor is fast becoming the most hated public figure in America for his crude bid to buy the vice-presidency.

The rush to seal up the vice-presidency recommended by President Ford soon after Nixon's fall has slowed to a crawl. "There is no rush to a confirmation vote," a spokesman for the House Judiciary Committee said this week. The reasons for the hesitation are clear. Rockefeller's bid for White House office has turned into Chapter 2 of the corruption saga that began with Watergate.

Senator Barry Goldwater, the hawk from Arizona, expressed the fears of the Republican Party, when he went sour on Rockefeller's nomination, saying:

"The whole trouble is not whether he has millions of dollars—that doesn't bother me. It's whether or not he's used these millions to buy political power."

Goldwater must be the only politician in Washington who doesn't have an answer to this question. From revelations of the past week it is clear that the VP designate has maintained a network of politicians, public servants, and academics on his payroll.

HINMAN

George L. Hinman, New York State's Republican National Committeeman, who admitted this week he had been on the Rockefeller payroll since 1960, said: "The interests of the Republican Party in New York state are identical with the interests of Mr. Rockefeller."

With breathtaking hypocrisy, Hinman said, "There has never been the slightest conflict" between his role as National Committeeman and family lawyer to the Rockefellers.

They all say the same thing. US Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger said the tens of thousands of dollars he received was a "personal gift"—without any political strings attached. If they are so "insignificant" it is hard to see why Rockefeller and his aides have tried so hard to suppress them. Each donation has been pried out after exhaustive investigation of the family bank accounts and tax records.

Last weekend, a "new list" of loans totalling a half million dollars was disclosed including Robert B. Anderson, former secretary of the Navy and secretary of the Treasury who received \$84,000.

The phony inquiries by the House Committee have not yet

fully established the extent of the Rockefeller fortune and its political intrigue. His income over the past 10 years is reckoned to be almost \$4.7 million—(\$90,162 a week.) His personal assets are conservatively at \$64 million plus a lifetime income from two trusts worth \$116 million.

EVIDENCE

In evidence to the House Committee, Rockefeller has admitted making gifts totalling \$15.5 million to members of his family and a further \$2 million to his friends in politics and government. \$344,500 went to Nixon in 1972. Shortly thereafter, Nixon made executive decisions favoring Eastern Air Lines, the domestic air line in which Laurence Rockefeller is the largest single stockholder.

A just-completed audit by the Internal Revenue Service shows the former governor owes a colossal \$1 million in back taxes.



Rockefeller's confirmation hearings reconvene on November 12 when the election-shattered Republicans will be in an even weaker position to advance his candidacy. But the question of Rockefeller's nomination cannot be left to the corrupt, anti-working class bourgeois politicians on Capitol Hill.

Workers must demand that their union leaders denounce his nomination. For many years the union bureaucracy has treacherously given support to Rockefeller, Nixon, and Henry Jackson—ruling class politicians who are dedicated to exploiting and repressing the working class here and abroad.

In the fight to break the collaboration between the trade union bureaucracy and the two main capitalist parties, only the Workers League advances the struggle to build a Labor Party.



United Parcel Service workers at New York City facility are entering their tenth week of strike. Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons refused to allow Local 804 to close down the Secaucus, New Jersey UPS warehouse. UPS has been able to reroute much of its business. Workers are demanding job security and a substantial wage increase.

## Auto Cutbacks Hit Rubber Workers

BY A REPORTER

The auto companies have released preliminary plans to slash new car production in November to 19 percent less than last year.

Industry experts now estimate that production between now and the end of the year will be down a minimum of 10 percent from 1973.

They warn that the usual increase in sales during this time of year is unlikely to materialize and that the steadily-increasing stocks of 1975 cars will force even sharper cutbacks in December. Over 200,000 cars built so far during October will remain unsold at the end of the month.

Assembly schedules for November show a 15.8 percent reduction from original production targets. Ford has cut back its plans by 22.2 percent and Chrysler by 31.4.

Already, this cut-back in production is rebounding on auto-related industries. Major tire producers have announced sharp cuts in November production schedules due to overstocks of passenger car tires.

Goodyear will close all production in its Tyler, Texas plant and cut at least 15 days' production in every facility

during November and December. Uniroyal has put 1000 workers in the Chicopee, Massachusetts plant on reduced workweeks for the month.

While car sales and profits plummet, economic indicators show that the entire economy is sliding deeper and deeper into recession. The Department of Commerce's composite index of indicators for September plunged 2.5 percent below the August level.

This fall is the steepest since June of 1951, and the fourth largest drop since the index was originated in 1968.

The decline included a 6.4 percent drop in orders for durable goods, a decline in building permit applications, the 10.4 percent drop in stock prices and a 9.1 percent surge in new applications for unemployment compensation.

Treasury Secretary, William Simon, reconfirmed the administration's determination to pursue policies that must intensify this slump. Speaking before a business audience, he warned that recession must not replace inflation as the number one source of concern.

"We are now facing rising pressures from some commentators to shift our attention away from inflation to what they believe is a deepening recession.

"(This) is a temptation that must be stoutly resisted."

## National Pact Opens Door To Job Cuts

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, NY—National Airlines will resume flights November 1, after a strike by ground maintenance crews forced a four-month shutdown of operations.

Striking members of the International Association of Machinists accepted a new contract this week, with a 30 percent no vote against the settlement. The new pact, ratified 14 months after the old contract expired, is closely modeled on the United Airlines pattern settlement.

It provides for a 23 percent wage hike over three years and two cost-of-living increases limited to ten cents each.

This contract was rejected 137-54 by New York Local 1894, representing workers at La Guardia and Kennedy airports. Even the Miami local, where strikers have not been able to collect unemployment insurance, voted only two-to-one to accept.

INFLATION

The wage increase will be immediately eroded by inflation.

In addition, IAM President Floyd Smith gave up the fight for a "Scope" clause to prevent subcontracting of jobs early in the negotiations, claiming that this was necessary to force National's hand on the wages issue. The threat to jobs posed by subcontracting was a major factor in the "No" vote in New York.

Already National is talking about dropping over 100 stewardesses and has said that it may not resume all of its previous routes.

Trans World Airlines crews are not the only locals without a contract. The IAM leadership has left them isolated at a time when TWA is threatening bankruptcy. Smith refused throughout the four-month strike to mobilize his entire membership for a united fight.

The membership of every IAM local must be prepared to demand all-out action in support of the TWA workers.

Workers League  
public meeting

# 10

## years of the Bulletin

Downtown Minneapolis YMCA 30 So. 9 St. 7:30 PM November 3 \$2; \$1 youth & unemployed	Oakland, Calif. Jenny Lynd Hall (ILGWU) 2267 Telegraph (& West Grand) Friday, Nov. 8 7:30 PM \$2.50; \$1.50 youth & unemployed
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Chicago: 7020 S. Aberdeen 2 p.m. Saturday Nov. 2  
\$1; 75¢ youth & unemployed.



# Stalinists Accept Army Rule

## Part Two

The Portuguese Communist Party is prepared to accept permanent rule of the Armed Forces.

Stephen Johns, correspondent of the British Trotskyist daily paper, Workers Press, attended the first Congress of the Communist Party since the overthrow of the fascist Caetano regime on April 25.

As members of the Armed Forces applauded, CP general secretary Alvaro Cunhal called for the removal of any mention of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" from the party's program.

The Stalinists in Portugal, as well as internationally with their policy of "peaceful coexistence," do not want the working class to smash the capitalist state and establish socialism.

In this article, Stephen Johns explains how the Stalinists try to prevent the working class from taking power.

The developments of September 28 were undoubtedly based on a deal between de Carvalho, the AFM, and the Stalinists. It is inconceivable that de Carvalho did not know in advance about the reaction organized by Spinoza.

Indeed he admits that COPCON had a contingency plan for such an event. De Carvalho almost certainly sounded out the attitude of the Stalinist leaders and reached some agreement over a limited mobilization involving barricades.

On the night of September 27, the commercial radio stations put out a message from the Portuguese trade unions calling the members to the headquarters.

They were told to bring food because they were "going on a picnic." The "picnic" turned out to be more than Stalinist leader Cunhal and de Carvalho bargained for. The intervention of the masses interrupted their plans.

Once on the streets the working class were not prepared to play the pawns in some grand political game. They took things very much into their own hands. This alarmed both Cunhal and de Carvalho, who became more and more agitated during his stay in

the palace that the situation would develop far beyond his control.

The common concern among all the generals and politicians assembled in the palace became not the "reaction," but the "barricades"—in other words, not the return of military dictatorship, but the rapid political advance of the working class.

De Carvalho has made this perfectly clear in a later statement that firmly established the class position and intentions of the AMF and the new administration.

He was asked how did he see the relationship between the Armed Forces Movement and the working class. De Carvalho replied:

"We are vigilant at all levels. But we consider we are in a country in which there exists forces of law and order. These forces are the police and the military, they have the duty to defend people, property, and impose order. All the modifications of public order therefore have to be resolved by the police, the armed forces, and the national guard.

"The barricades that appeared on the 28th were completely outside the control of the armed forces. This situation has many good and many bad aspects. It is bad because the barricades were not anticipated by the forces of law and order who were not able to resolve the problems they already knew existed.

"People (the fascists) probably with guns, wanted a battle in the Imperial Square. We in the COPCON made provision for this. We were in good contact with the police and the national guard to stop people all around Lisbon. Around the Imperial Square there were big forces of the military police and

# Holding Back Workers Power In Portugal



Communist Party leader Alvaro Cunhal and General Spinoza.

national guard and also we had helicopters. All that was needed was to press the button. But this was not done and the people began to phone me on Friday night and tell me about the barricades put up by the popular forces. They were doing the job that we should have been doing.

"The people did this before us and this was extremely dangerous. The truth is people on the barricades were largely well behaved but they did some things that were very bad.

"In some areas the people were not polite, they were very excited and searched officers of the Armed Forces Movement who had already identified themselves, and they humiliated the officers.

"Many of my comrades are angry with this. People cannot make searches and arrests like that. The only thing they can do

is to tell the armed forces that in this or that locality there are guns. So I have made a report from COPCON recently that in the future this must not happen.

"It is possible that the popular forces—the forces that Spinoza calls the militia—will take advantage and undertake actions that are the responsibility of the armed forces. This is absolutely wrong and created discontent among many people." (My emphasis).

One might add that an even greater concern of De Carvalho, the officers, and the capitalist class in Portugal is that the ranks of the armed forces are beginning to identify themselves more and more closely with the "popular forces" and these same forces now realize that they—and not the Armed Forces Movement—were the bastion against reaction.

As one worker—a trade unionist in a cork factory in the south of Lisbon told me: "It was we who stopped the return of fascism on September 28—and we will stop it again whenever it appears. What the workers are learning is that there is still a lot of 'cleaning' to do in Portugal before the workers can be free."

The guardians of reaction in Portugal now are the officers led by De Carvalho who in turn is supported directly by the Stalinists and the social democrats.

It was an indignant Mario Soares, leader of the pro-capitalist Socialist Party, who attacked talk about soldiers deserting with their weapons. "This is something that no state can tolerate without losing its self respect," he said after the events of the 28th.

And it was Alvaro Cunhal who sent the workers home from the barricades, echoing the words of the Chilean Stalinist leader Banchemo: "We have arms to defend democracy in Portugal. They are in the hands of the Armed Forces Movement."

But all the enemies of the working class forget one thing: the Portuguese masses are not a stage army of extras to be driven back and forth to the requirements of Stalinism and the capitalist class.

Trotsky's words concerning the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries in the Russian Revolution, who attempted to bind the working class to the imperialist war, apply directly to the politicians and military men of Portugal: "These complacent rulers of destiny thought that in entrusting the leadership to them, the Soviets had essentially completed their task. The future will soon show them that this is not so. The masses are long suffering, but they are not made of clay out of which you can fashion anything you want to. Moreover in a revolutionary epoch they learn fast. In that lies the power of the revolution."



The occupation of Lisbon by the Armed Forces Movement after the April 25 coup.



# The IMG and the Right - Wing

One of the redeeming features of even the most backward workers is that they can be transformed in the course of struggle and become the most tenacious fighters for their class.

No such claim can be made for the International Marxist Group (IMG). They move consistently to the right and their development at Cowley is no exception.

The IMG broke from revolutionary politics when, as part of the "United Secretariat" they left the Fourth International in 1953 advocating the view that the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies would be forced, under pressure of the masses, to carry out revolutionary actions against capitalism. Since then they have become one of the most anti-working class sects in the labor movement.

Their activities at Cowley provide an objective lesson to all trade unionists. Before the victimization they acted as provocateurs and facilitated the company's attack on the trade unions. During the witch-hunt they capitulated to the most backward elements in the working class. After the reinstatement of Thornett they joined up with the right-wing.

## THE IMG AS PROVOCATEURS

One characteristic method of this middle-class group is to encourage workers to engage in adventures and expose the whole trade union movement to attack. In October last year for example they were responsible for an incident in the south side assembly plant at Cowley that almost resulted in a serious victimization.

Management had refused a group of workers safety shoes. This was a blatant provocation. The company obviously wanted to inflame the situation, spread the dispute and bring about a premature confrontation in the south side which had been earmarked for speedup. The senior stewards moved in swiftly to neutralize this tactic. But the IMG played directly into the company's hands.

On October 17 they issued a leaflet which called on the workers to demand a mass meeting at 7:30 a.m. The situation degenerated rapidly into chaos and confusion and the company were able to institute an immediate lockout, threatening they would not reopen the south side until the authors of the leaflet—two IMG members—had been put out of the plant. After negotiations the leading stewards managed to get the plant reopened but only under conditions where the management were able to issue a harsh disciplinary code which increased the chances of future victimizations.

At a special meeting of the 5/55 branch committee the authors of the leaflet were severely censured. A resolution condemned "the action of the International Marxist Group in publishing the leaflets on the plant which usurp and undermine the functions of the trade union movement exposing the trade union to great danger." A full branch meeting three days later endorsed this policy statement and the two IMG members undertook not to publish calls for specific action.

It was a pledge to the trade union movement the IMG were soon to break. During the strike in the QT block, which was the prologue to Thornett's victimization, the IMG poured hundreds of their factory bulletin *The Organiser* into the plant, again usurping the role of the trade unions in the most unprincipled manner and ultimately exposing the shop stewards body to attack (see chapter IV).

The *Organiser* during this period was based on a lie. IMG members attended branch discussions as trade union members, then presented policy worked out by the senior stewards as their policy. (The policy against speedup was discussed in the 5/55 branch as early as February 5, immediately it became known that Leylands wanted to intensify the effort on Marina production. The branch position was thrashed out in detail. Alan Thornett published his own demolition of the company position on March 14—a policy subsequently endorsed by the branch officers, see appendix IV).

The March 27 *Organiser* for example begins in bombastic style:

"What we need," it declares, "is to give our policy more teeth. We suggest the following course of action."

The course of action advocated turns out to be based entirely on the senior stewards' policy—with one revealing difference: in the IMG scheme of March 27, the stewards have no role in defending the work force. They are not even mentioned in this respect. Instead, the operator is encouraged to follow his own independent course of action. (Later this "omission" was put right. In the *Organiser* of April 1 the policy against speedup contains a section "on prior consultation with stewards").

This deception of the trade union movement was carried to extraordinary lengths. On April 2 for example, *The Organiser* for the night shift was based completely on the shop stewards' report to workers on the day shift. Yet it is so phrased to disguise this fact. The bulletin begins:

"The company was completely exposed in yesterday's meeting. Every accusation the *Organiser* has made (!) against them has been proved true. This is the crunch position we have always predicted would arise from measured day work. The honeymoon is over. We fight this through to the finish or we surrender control over our work efforts."

The last three sentences were almost word for word what the senior stewards reported to the day shift, yet they appeared, without any acknowledgement, as the IMG's estimation of the struggle at Cowley only hours later.

While they engaged in this shameful plagiarism the *Organiser* attacked the senior stewards for "retreating" before the management in the QT dispute. But there were no retreats. The senior stewards stood absolutely firm on the mutuality agreement and blocked the company's attempt to impose speedup. Caution was certainly practiced, despite the IMG's promptings to support all manner of spontaneous action and adventures on the grounds that an unprecedented unity had emerged in QT.

The caution was justified. The QT was the most volatile area of the factory and a base for the right-wing. In the extremely tense situation after the three-day week it was the duty of any trade unionist to tread very carefully. The atmosphere at Cowley reeked of witch-hunt. When the QT strike began the working class in this section were pushed back despite a bitter fight by the senior stewards. The aftermath of this was the victimization of Thornett, a victimization which the IMG themselves had helped to prepare.

## THE IMG AND THE WITCH-HUNT

Like all reactionary idealists who feed off surface impressions, the IMG swung from soaring optimism to total pessimism. During the QT strike they concluded that trade unionism at Cowley was almost invincible. Weeks later, at the height of the witch-hunt, trade unionists were "isolated" or experiencing "terrible lessons." Principles, we were told, were "hanging by a thread."

When Mrs. Miller took the streets they were pole-axed. *Red Weekly*, the IMG weekly journal, declared solemnly that:

"These events offer a terrible lesson to the workers' movement. If measures are not taken to win the support of workers' families for trade union struggles hardship can leave the wives prey to right-wing or even fascist demagogues." (*Red Weekly*, April 12).

And on May 1: "The fight to reinstate victimized shop steward Alan Thornett at BLMC continues. But it only hangs by a thread...Inevitably they (the drivers) are feeling their isolation. Each meeting shows a decline in support for continuing the strike. The company, anxious to take advantage of this, opened up the plant using scab labor. This was aimed at increasing the drivers' isolation."

(These are the words of Bob Pennington, the national secretary of the IMG, who wrote the *Red Weekly* articles attacking Thornett and the Workers Revolutionary Party during the victimization struggle under the name of King. In this outburst Pennington can barely conceal his desire to see Thornett victimized for good).

And on May 9: "Workers can often be won to the defense of the union—despite their mistrust of their leaders—by work-

shop experience. However their wives are isolated and fragmented into family units and often identify the union with loss of earnings." (Original emphasis.)

After accusing the Workers Revolutionary Party and the stewards of not organizing a fight to win women this article concludes—

"Cowley serves dramatic notice that the struggle against the oppression of women is not as some "revolutionaries" consider, a diversion which weakens the struggle. The struggle will be weakened by failing to make this a central issue within the working class."

The first thing of note in this mass of reactionary confusion is the phrase—"wives...often identify the union with loss of earnings." The only other paper to reach this reactionary conclusion was the *Daily Telegraph*! In Chapter Four we quoted their editorial on Miller. It is worth quoting again:

"Trade unionism as it is practiced in this country denies to an ever growing extent one of the elementary needs of nearly all wives—regular housekeeping money."

It is absolutely no coincidence that the *Red Weekly* should use the same argument as the ultra right-wing *Daily Telegraph*. Both papers start from precisely the same class position—that trade unionism, male "arrogance," "chauvinism," etc., is responsible for women like Mrs. Miller.

For their own separate purposes, *Red Weekly* and the *Telegraph* approach the issue of women outside the context of the class struggle in order to avoid the conclusion that the oppression of working class women can only be ended by the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

From reading the IMG coverage of the witch-hunt in *Red Weekly* anyone could be pardoned from thinking that Miller and company broke the drivers strike and were on the brink of cracking trade unionism altogether. In fact this myth was the product of a lying capitalist Press campaign.

And what "terrible" lessons were trade unionists supposed to learn from Miller? That the female working class population of Cowley had suddenly abandoned all resistance against the employers? To draw this conclusion would be to swallow whole the capitalist press campaign launched around the Miller bandwagon.

In the end the so-called Cowley wives were silenced by women. But women trade unionists from the Cowley trim shop needed no prompting from the middle class ladies of women's liberation. They turned up to defend basic rights because they had experienced Thornett's stewardship first hand during their own fight against speedup.

This miserable capitulation to the forces of outright reaction is another illustration of the IMG class position. Like all spineless petty bourgeois they have absolutely no faith in the working class and are overwhelmed by the apparent strength of the ruling class and its media.

The fight against Thornett's victimization never "hung by a thread" at Cowley. The drivers stood firm not because of some inherent strength in the transport section, but because they received principled leadership and expressed the resistance of the working class to the Leyland offensive. Such resistance cannot be smashed by the antics of a tiny group of confused women and the machinations of the right-wing, as the company found out.

## THE IMG AND THE RIGHT-WING

The true purpose of the IMG's intervention at Cowley becomes completely clear when their role after the witch-hunt is examined. Throughout their own campaign they were pleased to repeat the right-wing slander that the senior stewards under the influence of the Workers Revolutionary Party were bureaucratic.

For example Pennington-King concluded on May 9 in *Red Weekly*:

"...the undemocratic and manipulative methods of the Workers Revolutionary Party stewards have fuelled this discontent which the management had been delighted to seize upon."

Like the right-wing, Pennington produces no examples to justify this sweeping claim against Thornett and the WRP and nor can he, for no such examples exist. Of course

# Part Ten

"Victimization at Cowley" was recently published by the Workers Revolutionary Party of England.

The struggle against the victimization of shop stewards at Cowley tested in practice the movement, and demonstrated on the very battlefield those forces trained as Marxists inside the trade union movement: the Workers Revolutionary Party and the All Trades Union class in defense of its organizations and basic rights.

the IMG conception of "democracy" is similar to that of Brian Mathers, the T&GWU Region 5, who called a special meeting of the 5/55 branch on April 30 at the behest of the right-wing, knowing full well that this exposed Thornett and the drivers to a severe setback.

(The IMG in fact criticized the calling-off of this meeting. They said the reasons had not been "honestly" explained to the membership.)

The IMG use the smokescreen of "democracy" to disguise their own open agreement with the right-wing in the Cowley plant. This is perhaps the most sordid aspect of their behavior.

Their "defense" of Thornett was always completely unprincipled. When he appeared isolated he was a man who "broke" agreements. Thus Pennington wrote in the April 12 *Red Weekly*:

"...with no mandate from the membership and against union policy, the senior shop stewards accepted a proposal from Alan Thornett and backed down again. They offered the company the right to use industrial engineers at any time. They made this conditional only on obtaining mutual agreement before increasing the track speed. This was tossed out by the company.

"It did, however, show the company and the workers that the stewards had no confidence in the men's determination to defend the agreement." (Emphasis added.)

(In fact this offer to the company was designed specifically to stiffen the fight against speedup to show the work force that behind the company pleas to allow work study on the tracks was a bigger offensive on mutuality.)

This was written for public consumption by the charlatan Pennington in order to attack Thornett and the WRP. But for internal consumption the *Organiser* has quite a different verdict on Thornett.

"He (Thornett) more than anyone else, was responsible for the negotiation and the enforcing of the Industrial Engineers agreement. In order to be able to break the agreement at will the company had first to get Thornett out of the way. That is the reason why he was victimized." (*The Organiser*, May 24. Original emphasis.)

But what did we read on April 12? Thornett was responsible for breaking the agreement! He had "no confidence" in the men! He acted with "no mandate"! The apparent contradiction between the two statements is no contradiction at all if the thoroughly unprincipled nature of the IMG is also taken into account.

The April 12 article was written when Thornett and the senior stewards appeared isolated—an excellent opportunity for the IMG to have a good kick at revolutionary politics and the trades union movement!

But by May 24 Thornett had been cleared by the Region 5 inquiry. This impressed the IMG—his "popularity" was in the ascendancy and it was necessary to be seen posturing as a Thornett supporter.

The IMG's flirtation with Thornett was however a temporary affair. When the right-wing candidate Reg Parsons emerged top of the ballot organized by the Region 5 bureaucracy the *Red Weekly* felt safe enough to open up with another attack on Thornett, the WRP and the shop stewards leadership in the plant.

It proclaimed on June 13 that Parsons' election "signals the end of the first round of the company's offensive and registers a severe defeat for the trades unions." The blame was of course laid at the door of the "utter, gross irresponsibility" of the WRP.

But what did *The Organiser* have to say three days earlier about this man Parsons whose election signified such a blow for



# VICTIMIZATION AT COWLEY

## by stephen johns

Recently published as a pamphlet by the Workers Re-

stitution of shop steward Alan Thornett by the manage-  
tested in practice all tendencies in the workers'  
the very battlefield of the class struggle that only  
side the trade unions—represented in Britain by the  
the All Trades Unions Alliance—can lead the working  
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trades unionism at Cowley?

"We oppose Reg Parsons because he has long been in favor of splitting the 5/55 branch as a measure to weaken us...For all his talk of democracy he seems more concerned to take his orders from Regional Office than to represent us."

The statement continues: "But we hold no grudges. As long as Reg Parsons leads the defense against the coming company attacks we will support his actions. The need now is for unity in defense of our jobs and agreements. We will work with anyone prepared to do this...The fight for the future must not be weakened by sectarian divisions of the plant." (The Organiser, June 10).

The next Organiser published June 17 put the seal on this friendship. In a familiar "Dear Reg" style, the Organiser addressed these words to the once hated Parsons:

"Yes, Reg, we want to win some victories. Let's start now with the measures necessary to do this." (original emphasis).

The IMG were exactly where they belong, openly in the camp of the right wing, seeking the favors of the most vicious, witch-hunting, backward and anti-trade union elements in the working class. This is what their call for a united front with men like Parsons means.

This sharp move to the right by the IMG and all the revisionist circles is not accidental but a direct result of the crisis which has placed revolutionary struggles on the agenda for the working class. The IMG do not believe that capitalism is in mortal crisis. They believe in its survival.

They revealed their position when they attacked the Workers Revolutionary Party policy in the car industry. This correctly warned that workers faced a catastrophe, that the combined effects of the three-day week, the oil crisis, the deflationary policies of the Tory and Labor governments mean recession and a collapse of car sales. This in turn would bring mass unemployment and closures.

The IMG scoffed at this perspective as alarmist. According to Red Weekly of April 12:

"They—the WRP—did nothing to prepare the workforce for the most likely event, which was a run down in production and piecemeal redundancies." (emphasis added).

But events have proved the WRP right. British Leyland is on the brink of disaster, borrowing money to pay its wage bills and piling up debts that are already double the value of the company expressed in current Stock Exchange prices. Piecemeal redundancies cannot solve this crisis for Leyland. A program of sackings lies immediately ahead.

The IMG will do all in their power to obscure the objective truth from the working class because they fear the prospect of revolutionary struggle. Their charges against the Workers Revolutionary Party, Thornett and the trade union movement at Cowley are part of that campaign. Without exception they are lies and distortions.

As a political body they represent the most rotten expression of the petty bourgeois. They operate in the sinister underworld of political provocation. Deception is their stock in trade. They will do anything to worm their way into the confidence of workers.

Above all they hate the Workers Revolutionary Party because the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the working class means their utter destruction. This is why the IMG prefer Reg Parsons to Alan Thornett.

CONCLUDED





## The IMG and the Right - Wing

One of the redeeming features of even the most backward workers is that they can be transformed in the course of struggle and become the most tenacious fighters for their class.

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### THE IMG AND THE WITCH-HUNT

Like all reactionary idealists who feed off surface impressions, the IMG swung from soaring optimism to total pessimism. During the QT strike they concluded that trade unionism at Cowley was almost invincible. Weeks later, at the height of the witch-hunt, trade unionists were "isolated" or experiencing "terrible lessons." Principles, we were told, were "hanging by a thread."

When Mrs. Miller took the streets they were pole-axed. *Red Weekly*, the IMG weekly journal, declared solemnly that:

"These events offer a terrible lesson to the workers' movement. If measures are not taken to win the support of workers' families for trade union struggles hardship can leave the wives prey to right-wing or even fascist demagogues." (*Red Weekly*, April 12).

And on May 1: "The fight to reinstate victimized shop steward Alan Thornett at BLMC continues. But it only hangs by a thread...Inevitably they (the drivers) are feeling their isolation. Each meeting shows a decline in support for continuing the strike. The company, anxious to take advantage of this, opened up the plant using scab labor. This was aimed at increasing the drivers' isolation."

(These are the words of Bob Pennington, the national secretary of the IMG, who wrote the *Red Weekly* articles attacking Thornett and the Workers Revolutionary Party during the victimization struggle under the name of King. In this outburst Pennington can barely conceal his desire to see Thornett victimized for good.)

And on May 9: "Workers can often be won to the defense of the union—despite their mistrust of their leaders—by work-

shop experience. However their wives are isolated and fragmented into family units and often identify the union with loss of earnings." (Original emphasis.)

After accusing the Workers Revolutionary Party and the stewards of not organizing a fight to win women this article concludes—

"Cowley serves dramatic notice that the struggle against the oppression of women is not as some 'revolutionaries' consider, a diversion which weakens the struggle. The struggle will be weakened by failing to make this a central issue within the working class."

The first thing of note in this mass of reactionary confusion is the phrase—"wives...often identify the union with loss of earnings." The only other paper to reach this reactionary conclusion was the *Daily Telegraph*! In Chapter Four we quoted their editorial on Miller. It is worth quoting again:

"Trade unionism as it is practiced in this country denies to an ever growing extent one of the elementary needs of nearly all wives—regular housekeeping money."

It is absolutely no coincidence that the *Red Weekly* should use the same argument as the ultra right-wing *Daily Telegraph*. Both papers start from precisely the same class position—that trade unionism, male "arrogance," "chauvinism," etc., is responsible for women like Mrs. Miller.

For their own separate purposes, *Red Weekly* and the *Telegraph* approach the issue of women outside the context of the class struggle in order to avoid the conclusion that the oppression of working class women can only be ended by the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

From reading the IMG coverage of the witch-hunt in *Red Weekly* anyone could be pardoned from thinking that Miller and company broke the drivers strike and were on the brink of cracking trade unionism altogether. In fact this myth was the product of a lying capitalist Press campaign.

And what "terrible" lessons were trade unionists supposed to learn from Miller? That the female working class population of Cowley had suddenly abandoned all resistance against the employers? To draw this conclusion would be to swallow whole the capitalist press campaign launched around the Miller bandwagon.

In the end the so-called Cowley wives were silenced by women. But women trade unionists from the Cowley trim shop needed no prompting from the middle class ladies of womens' liberation. They turned up to defend basic rights because they had experienced Thornett's stewardship first hand during their own fight against speedup.

This miserable capitulation to the forces of outright reaction is another illustration of the IMG class position. Like all spineless petty bourgeois they have absolutely no faith in the working class and are overwhelmed by the apparent strength of the ruling class and its media.

The fight against Thornett's victimization never "hung by a thread" at Cowley. The drivers stood firm not because of some inherent strength in the transport section, but because they received principled leadership and expressed the resistance of the working class to the Leyland offensive. Such resistance cannot be smashed by the antics of a tiny group of confused women and the machinations of the right-wing, as the company found out.

### THE IMG AND THE RIGHT-WING

The true purpose of the IMG's intervention at Cowley becomes completely clear when their role after the witch-hunt is examined. Throughout their own campaign they were pleased to repeat the right-wing slander that the senior stewards under the influence of the Workers Revolutionary Party were bureaucratic.

For example Pennington-King concluded on May 9 in *Red Weekly*:

"...the undemocratic and manipulative methods of the Workers Revolutionary Party stewards have fuelled this discontent which the management had been delighted to seize upon."

Like the right-wing, Pennington produces no examples to justify this sweeping claim against Thornett and the WRP and nor can he, for no such examples exist. Of course

## Part Ten

"Victimization at Cowley" was recently published as a pamphlet by the Workers Revolutionary Party of England.

The struggle against the victimization of shop steward Alan Thornett by the management of British-Leyland in Cowley tested in practice all tendencies in the workers' movement, and demonstrated on the very battlefield of the class struggle that only those forces trained as Marxists inside the trade unions—represented in Britain by the Workers Revolutionary Party and the All Trades Unions Alliance—can lead the working class in defense of its organizations and basic rights

the IMG conception of "democracy" is similar to that of Brian Mathers, the T&GWU Region 5, who called a special meeting of the 5/55 branch on April 30 at the behest of the right-wing, knowing full well that this exposed Thornett and the drivers to a severe setback.

(The IMG in fact criticized the calling-off of this meeting. They said the reasons had not been "honestly" explained to the membership.)

The IMG use the smokescreen of "democracy" to disguise their own open agreement with the right-wing in the Cowley plant. This is perhaps the most sordid aspect of their behavior.

Their "defense" of Thornett was always completely unprincipled. When he appeared isolated he was a man who "broke" agreements. Thus Pennington wrote in the April 12 *Red Weekly*:

"...with no mandate from the membership and against union policy, the senior shop stewards accepted a proposal from Alan Thornett and backed down again. They offered the company the right to use industrial engineers at any time. They made this conditional only on obtaining mutual agreement before increasing the track speed. This was tossed out by the company."

"It did, however, show the company and the workers that the stewards had no confidence in the men's determination to defend the agreement." (Emphasis added.)

(In fact this offer to the company was designed specifically to stiffen the fight against speedup to show the work force that behind the company pleas to allow work study on the tracks was a bigger offensive on mutuality.)

This was written for public consumption by the charlatan Pennington in order to attack Thornett and the WRP. But for internal consumption the *Organiser* has quite a different verdict on Thornett.

"He (Thornett) more than anyone else, was responsible for the negotiation and the enforcing of the Industrial Engineers agreement. In order to be able to break the agreement at will the company had first to get Thornett out of the way. That is the reason why he was victimized." (*The Organiser*, May 24. Original emphasis.)

But what did we read on April 12? Thornett was responsible for breaking the agreement! He had "no confidence" in the men! He acted with "no mandate"! The apparent contradiction between the two statements is no contradiction at all if the thoroughly unprincipled nature of the IMG is also taken into account.

The April 12 article was written when Thornett and the senior stewards appeared isolated—an excellent opportunity for the IMG to have a good kick at revolutionary politics and the trades union movement!

But by May 24 Thornett had been cleared by the Region 5 inquiry. This impressed the IMG—his "popularity" was in the ascendancy and it was necessary to be seen posturing as a Thornett supporter.

The IMG's flirtation with Thornett was however a temporary affair. When the right-wing candidate Reg Parsons emerged top of the ballot organized by the Region 5 bureaucracy the *Red Weekly* felt safe enough to open up with another attack on Thornett, the WRP and the shop stewards leadership in the plant.

It proclaimed on June 13 that Parsons' election "signals the end of the first round of the company's offensive and registers a severe defeat for the trades unions." The blame was of course laid at the door of the "utter, gross irresponsibility" of the WRP.

But what did *The Organiser* have to say three days earlier about this man Parsons whose election signified such a blow for

# VICTIMIZATION AT COWLEY

## by stephen johns

trades unionism at Cowley?

"We oppose Reg Parsons because he has long been in favor of splitting the 5/55 branch as a measure to weaken us...For all his talk of democracy he seems more concerned to take his orders from Regional Office than to represent us."

The statement continues: "But we hold no grudges. As long as Reg Parsons leads the defense against the coming company attacks we will support his actions. The need now is for unity in defense of our jobs and agreements. We will work with anyone prepared to do this...The fight for the future must not be weakened by sectarian divisions of the plant." (*The Organiser*, June 10).

The next *Organiser* published June 17 put the seal on this friendship. In a familiar "Dear Reg" style, the *Organiser* addressed these words to the once hated Parsons:

"Yes, Reg, we want to win some victories. Let's start now with the measures necessary to do this." (original emphasis).

The IMG were exactly where they belong, openly in the camp of the right wing, seeking the favors of the most vicious, witch-hunting, backward and anti-trade union elements in the working class. This is what their call for a united front with men like Parsons means.

This sharp move to the right by the IMG and all the revisionist circles is not accidental but a direct result of the crisis which has placed revolutionary struggles on the agenda for the working class. The IMG do not believe that capitalism is in mortal crisis. They believe in its survival.

They revealed their position when they attacked the Workers Revolutionary Party policy in the car industry. This correctly warned that workers faced a catastrophe, that the combined effects of the three-day week, the oil crisis, the deflationary policies of the Tory and Labor governments mean recession and a collapse of car sales. This in turn would bring mass unemployment and closures.

The IMG scoffed at this perspective as alarmist. According to *Red Weekly* of April 12:

"They—the WRP—did nothing to prepare the workforce for the most likely event, which was a run down in production and piecemeal redundancies." (emphasis added).

But events have proved the WRP right. British Leyland is on the brink of disaster, borrowing money to pay its wage bills and piling up debts that are already double the value of the company expressed in current Stock Exchange prices. Piecemeal redundancies cannot solve this crisis for Leyland. A program of sackings lies immediately ahead.

The IMG will do all in their power to obscure the objective truth from the working class because they fear the prospect of revolutionary struggle. Their charges against the Workers Revolutionary Party, Thornett and the trade union movement at Cowley are part of that campaign. Without exception they are lies and distortions.

As a political body they represent the most rotten expression of the petty bourgeois. They operate in the sinister underworld of political provocation. Deception is their stock in trade. They will do anything to worm their way into the confidence of workers.

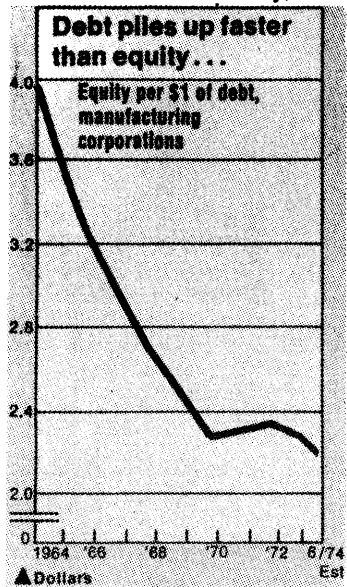
Above all they hate the Workers Revolutionary Party because the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the working class means their utter destruction. This is why the IMG prefer Reg Parsons to Alan Thornett.

CONCLUDED





# AMERICAN BUSINESS IN THE RED



BY  
**JEFF SEBASTIAN**  
The accumulated debt of leading US corporations is 2.5 trillion dollars, according to a recent survey by the magazine Business Week.

This sum is so huge that it is the equivalent of twice the nation's gross national product for 1974. This means that if the banks were to call in their loans, every major American business would be forced into bankruptcy.

These figures drive home the staggering cost of fueling the postwar economic boom. Borrowing has been going on at the rate of \$200 million a day every day since the end of the Second World War.

The debt structure now encompasses \$1 trillion in corporate debt, \$600 billion in mortgage debt, \$500 billion in federal debt, \$200 billion in state and local debt and \$200 billion in consumer debt.

Credit has been expanded at astronomical rates in order to finance economic expansion. All of this credit ballooning was undertaken on the assumption that profits from future production would continue to be large enough to finance the burden of interest payments.

Total debt is now eight times the present money supply. Only 20 years ago the figure was four. Corporation debts have spiraled to 15 times after-tax profits, compared to less than eight in 1955. Consumers now owe 93 percent of their disposable income compared to a 1955 figure of 65 percent.

According to the survey, the major economic indices such as gross national product, personal income and profit have grown by about 500 percent since the end of the war. In the same period corporate debt rose 10 times, consumer debt leaped by a multiple of 35 and federal agency debts mounted by a factor of nearly 70.

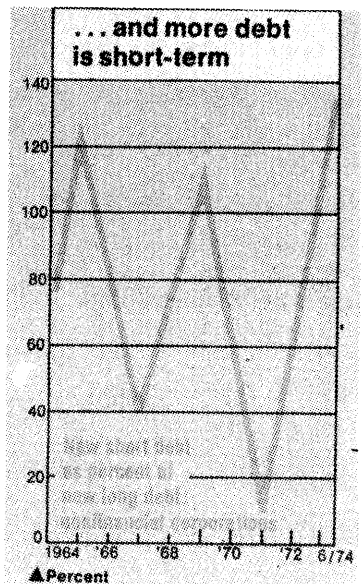
Contained in these figures are the seeds of economic disaster. What they reveal is that a greater and greater share of workers' income must be spent simply to pay off old bills.

Corporations as well are now reaching the point at which current profits are no longer adequate to meet the burden of past borrowing. What this means is that profits can no longer finance industrial expansion through new investments. In fact, industry is increasingly dependent on new borrowing to refinance old debts and meet the day to day expenses of wages,

materials, and inventories.

Even more ominous is the fact that all economic indicators are pointing incontestably to the development of a massive recession.

With production turning down in all sectors and a major slump in auto threatening to whipsaw



throughout the economy, credit which at one point was used to fuel economic expansion threatens to turn into its opposite and become the vehicle for bankruptcies, mass liquidations and unemployment.

The stock market collapse in which hundreds of billions in paper values have been wiped out is an accurate gauge of the present lack of confidence in any prospect for profitable business operations.

But when production turns down, and confidence in business evaporates, banks and other sources of credit are unwilling to provide financing. This sets the stage for major defaults in consumer loans and corporate debts.

Just as in the Great Depression of 1929, the entire pyramid of paper can collapse overnight. The failure of one major debtor means ruin for his creditors as they in turn are unable to meet their debts and the entire process rips throughout the economy causing one crash after another.

A section in the Business Week feature entitled "The Crushing Burden of Corporate Debt" makes clear how advanced this process is.

Using 1964 as a base period, the position of American corporations has steadily worsened. More and more debt is short term. In 1964 short term debt was only 80 percent of new loans. Today it is 140 percent and rising rapidly.

In 1964, corporate debt was 25 percent of equity, the value of common stock plus internal cash. Today it is approaching 50 percent.

Even this conceals the position of numerous firms whose debt far exceeds their equity. A survey of 500 large corporations shows that 114 now have a long and short term debt that exceeds their cash value. This means that technically these firms are bankrupt.

Among these companies are Allied Stores, Avco, Eastern Airlines, Genesco, Grumman, ITT, Kaiser Aluminum, Nabisco, Phillip Morris and US Home to name only a few. (The position of the airlines and defense industries in this structure is well known.)

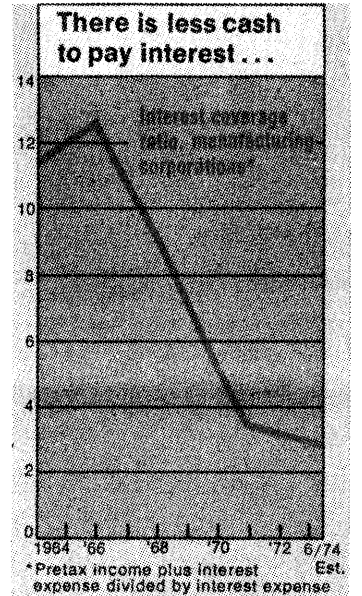
Along with this tendency, the

shift to greater and greater amounts of short term debt is reaching avalanche proportions. 46 companies in the survey now have a majority of their total debt structure in short term obligations.

Literally hundreds of major companies are reaching danger levels in which profits are barely adequate to cover expenses for debt. The companies tied up with short term obligations are in particularly perilous shape as they must raise cash continually just to meet presently maturing debts. At the same time, they are forced to pay greater and greater interest rates to raise these funds.

Just this year alone, rating services have downgraded more than 50 corporations as credit risks which means they must pay higher rates on bonds and loans than before.

With profits tied up in paying off old debts and stocks plummeting, American corporations are unable to raise cash through



the issue of stocks. \$13 billion was raised in this way in 1972 and 1973. So far throughout 1974 only \$4.2 billion has been raised through stock issues.

This makes major corporations more directly dependent on banks for capital than ever before and ties the banking system directly to the crisis of the corporations.

The banks will only continue to finance corporations as long as there is a reasonable possibility of a return of their money. The fate of Penn Central when the bankers refused to roll over its debt and the threatened fate of Pan American World Airways are harbingers of what is in store for hundreds of corporations.

Business Week's survey makes it clear that an absolutely new factor is now added to the dangerous position of corporate debt: the probability of major defaults in loans by entire nation states.

With the rise in petroleum prices there has been an astronomical increase in the loans negotiated by countries to finance their payments deficits.

In the first half of this year alone England, France and Italy have borrowed \$10 billion from the European banks to meet oil payments. In addition, heavy borrowings have been made by countries such as Spain, Brazil, Portugal and Greece. Since 1970, the Eurobanks have extended some \$60 billion in credit.

There is not the slightest possibility of the European states raising the funds to meet these bills through increasing exports.

A default could bring the

entire structure of international credit crashing to the ground.

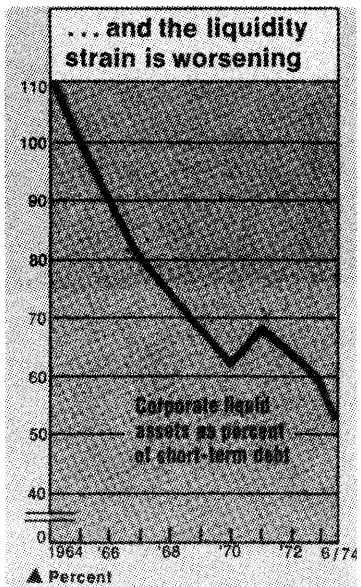
What is particularly striking about the Business Week survey is the degree to which the liquidity crunch has worsened in the last year alone. Most of the figures for short term debt or debt as a percentage of equity show marked deterioration in the last year from the averages over the previous ten years.

This is the most striking confirmation of the perspectives of the International Committee of the Fourth International. We said that Nixon's August 15, 1971 measures which ended the convertibility of dollars into gold would mean a catastrophic depreciation of paper money in an orgy of speculation and credit inflation.

With the value of paper money unknown, speculation in commodities was conducted in an attempt to preserve value. Corporations were forced to borrow just to finance materials and build up inventories in expectation of ever increasing prices.

This process is now reaching the end of the line. Marx explained in Capital over 100 years ago the real role of the credit system in allowing capitalism to temporarily overstep the limits on production.

"The credit system appears as the main lever of overproduction and overspeculation in commerce solely because the process of reproduction which is elastic in its nature is here forced to its extreme limits. And it is so forced for the reason that a large part of the social capital is employed by people who do not own it and who push things with far less caution than the owner who carefully weighs the possibilities of his private capital



which he handles himself. This simply demonstrates the fact that the production of values by capital based on the antagonistic nature of the capitalist system permits an actual free development only up to a certain point so that it constitutes an imminent fetter and barrier of production which is continually overstepped by the credit system. Hence the credit system accelerates the material development of the forces of production and the establishment of the world market. To bring these material foundations of the new mode of production to a certain degree of perfection is the historical mission of the capitalist system of production. At the same time credit accelerates the violent eruption of this antagonism, the crises and thereby the development of the elements of disintegration of the old mode of production." (Capital, Volume III, Page 441.)

This mounting debt crisis must now have the most immediate and brutal impact on the lives of millions of workers.

The capitalists know only one way to resolve this crisis—a savage attack on all the basic rights, wages and conditions of the working class. Before any company goes bankrupt, it must undertake the most brutal onslaught on its workforce in an attempt to sweat out additional profits through wage slashing and speedup.

Business Week's figures confirm that this must now be the cornerstone of the capitalists and the Ford government. The demand of millions of workers for the right to a job and a decent income clashes directly with the desperate need of the corporations to stay afloat.

The policy of the Ford administration is to defend these corporate profits through the destruction of the rights of the unions. Each step it takes is designed to strengthen state control over the unions in order to impose these vicious cuts, while it launches international trade war and prepares war for control of shrinking markets.

The labor movement will not save capitalism by sacrificing everything it has gained in the boom. The only way forward is a political break from the capitalist parties of big business and the building of a labor party committed to nationalization of industry under workers control and the planning of the economy for need and not profit.



Economies struggle to avoid the fate of this 19th century bankrupt.



# Delco UAW Made Deal On Standards

BY A LOCAL 696  
MEMBER

**DAYTON, Ohio**—The recent strike at the Delco-Moraine plant here proves beyond a doubt that there is a tremendous will of the working class to fight, to defend their living standards.

There is no other term to apply to this settlement than a glaring sellout. The Local 696 bureaucrats openly admit to negotiating an increase, rather than a decrease, in production standards. In the October issue of the *Union Eyes*, Taylor Seale, 696 Shop Chairman, said: "In the most recent dispute under a new general manager the negotiated standards on number One line was increased from 3800 to 4103 boosters, per eight hour shift, without making changes that would justify an increase.

"Prior to the strike, the union, in an honest effort to settle this dispute, offered to allow management to increase the standards from 3800 to 3900 but the new general manager said no. At 10:30 am, September 5, we struck the plant to get the standard set at 3900. Today, the standard on number One booster line is negotiated at 3900."

In other words, the UAW officials are bragging that workers struck for four and one-half days, only to be burdened with an increase, rather than a decrease, in production standards.

Don, a young worker in 48 department, said that a job-steady job called the pork chopper had a standard of 2880 pieces for an eight hour shift two years ago. Management raised the standard to 4300 pieces before the strike. After the strike, the new standard was 3300 pieces, an increase of 420.

Only in number 5 department where the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party campaigned for strike action against speedup was the old standard returned.

In other departments there are even more glaring examples of speedup. In Department 19, the section called the service area basically runs two sets of brake shoes with two different standards for each set.

On one set, the old standard was 1868 but a little over a year ago, it was increased to 2272. On the other set, the standard was 2310 and the new standard is now 2908. The company claimed that by adding a loader there would be fewer changeovers so these increases were justifiable.

Griff, a department 19 worker, stated that there are just as many changeovers now as ever. Downtime is not considered in those time studies nor is adequate consideration given to the time spent opening the boxes that the brake linings are in or for stacking them.

A new conveyer system, instead of helping workers, ends up increasing the work six percent for the job setters. A job for General Electric has been cancelled because of the massive lay off of 20,000 GE



workers in Louisville, Kentucky.

In light of the recent announcement of layoffs by GM, Ford and Chrysler, Delco-Moraine workers and all workers in related industries face a struggle to defend jobs and decent working conditions. The UAW leadership wants to tie workers to Democrats like Governor Gilligan who called for the National Guard against Ohio State workers to break their strike and who said Kent State students needed to be shot.

TUALP is mobilizing to defend the union and all the gains workers have won in the past around a program that includes:

- A halt to all layoffs. Recall of all laid off workers.
- 30 hours work week for 40 hours pay in order to provide jobs.
- Wage reopeners in all contracts and full cost of living clauses.
- Force Woodcock off Ford's Labor-Management Committee.
- Call a Congress of Labor to build a Labor Party to fight for the nationalization of basic industry under workers control.

## FBI Data Bank To Aid In Crackdown

President Ford will have to decide in the next week whether to allow the FBI to establish a computerized national information bank.

The plan, already approved by the Justice Department, would expand and modernize the FBI's National Crime Information Center.

It would control and route information on police records on a national basis. This means the FBI network would eventually replace the state-run bodies.

At present the national criminal records are overseen by the National Law Enforcement Telecommunications System, a non-computerized system run by

various state police departments.

It is poorly financed and the FBI is critical of its efficiency. In the wake of Watergate, the FBI is desperate to do some empire-building and revamp the security agencies to meet the inevitable struggles against the working class. William Saxbe, US Attorney General and former Republican governor of Ohio, has given the green light to the proposed computer bank.

Senators Sam J. Ervin and Roman Hruska are proposing a Bill to establish a national board, representing the entire "criminal justice community," to supervise the handling of all criminal information. Ostensibly the Bill is to protect the public from the abuse of centralized police records.

The get-out clause is simple. It prohibits the FBI and the police from using arrest records that show no conviction, except where there is "reasonable suspicion" that an individual "has committed or is about to commit a crime."

Such "reasonable suspicion" can be manufactured on the spot! The aim of the FBI data bank would be to absorb all the names of persons who had ever been arrested or convicted. Whenever the police made an inquiry about the person, they could be directed to the state that had his or her complete record. In a recent survey in California, police records were compared with local court records. In 100 percent of cases, the police records were incorrect.

The building of the FBI information bank in Washington is completely in line with the Ford administration's plan to gird itself for confrontation with the US working class.

Senate sub-committees have started hearings into the domestic functions of the FBI, particularly "intelligence-gathering." The head of the FBI's intelligence division told the House Internal Security Committee recently that "subversive organizations" are investigated if they "advocate rebellion or insurrection, seditious conspiracy, or overthrow of the government."

As one Washington observer noted: "With scope like that they should have been trailing Nixon."

## D.C. METRO Site A Death Trap

BY RAOUL RIZIK

**KILLED:** Richard Watkins, 43-year old flagman. Crushed against a truck by the counterweights of a rotating crane. July, 1974, at the Union Station construction site.

**KILLED:** Willmer Jacobs, 47-year old surveyor. Fell seventeen feet to his death from a beam. August, 1973, at the 12th and "C" Sts. construction site in Southwest.

**KILLED:** Frederick Gau, 27-year old civil engineer. Crushed to death by a six-ton boulder that fell from the ceiling. Feb., 1970, at a Connecticut Avenue construction site.

Safety investigators have found that the swinging area of the crane that killed Watkins was not properly barricaded; that no safety equipment for walking on beams had been issued to Jacobs; and that no overhead protection devices had been installed in the tunnel where Gau died.

In other words, the seven-thousand men presently working on the construction of the Washington METRO subway system are living in a death trap.

Of the eleven men killed by the contractors' negligence in providing safety conditions, five were crushed or struck, three died from falls, two were electrocuted, and one died in a cave-in.

The statistics which have been

released by the press make the gigantic METRO project the most dangerous heavy construction site in the nation. The accident rate is 38 per 100 workers, almost 82% higher than the national average. So far, the number of injuries reported for every 200,000 man hours has been 40.1—more than twice the national average of 19.

Translated into more concrete figures, this means that, through August of this year, 1,088 workers have suffered "lost time" injuries; that is, they have missed one or more full days of work after being injured on the job. Those who have suffered less severe injuries, but who nevertheless have required professional medical assistance, total 4,239. And the figure for those who have had to receive on the spot

first-aid treatment, METRO officials will agree, is so high that it is impossible to determine.

Contractors have consistently failed to put non-skid surfaces on wooden decking over subway trenches. They have placed incorrectly-marked barricades around street construction sites for vehicular traffic. They have even allowed workers entering the excavation sites to use ladders with inadequate toe clearing.

Of the 42 contractors working on METRO, seven account for more than half of the serious injuries. They are: Healy-Kruse (at the Eastern Market Metro-rail Station); Slattry Associates (at L'Enfant Plaza Station); Swindell-Dressler-Jackson (at the Smithsonian Station); P&Z Shea (at the Federal Triangle Station); Early Massman (at the McPherson Square Station); and Norair (at the Pentagon and Union Station stations).

Healy-Kruse, Slattry Associates, Early Massman, and P&Z Shea have publicly blamed the "inexperience" of the workers and the "irresponsibility" of doctors who "exaggerate the nature of the injuries for the high accident rate.

But two facts contradict these allegations. First, all contractors draw from the same labor force, including those with low-

accident rates, and secondly, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration's records have shown that citations for safety violations were issued against these construction firms in five out of the eleven deaths.

Another insidious fact is that while METRO's accident rate increased, the number of so-called "independent" safety inspections decreased from 600 a month during 1972-1973 to only 136 for a three-month period in 1974.

If there was any complaint about safety hazards, OSHA has quick criminal penalty provisions against offending contractors. But that procedure no longer exists. It has been replaced by a bureaucratic maze of paper work and delays which contractors now use to retard correction of violations for months.

Metro Secretary-Treasurer Del Ison arrogantly declared: "In the case of continued safety conditions, we will move in and close the job down..."

In other words, rather than force the contractors to provide safety conditions for the METRO workers, he would much rather close them down and throw hundreds of workers out of jobs, in a city where heavy construction industry has already declined by 44% in the past year.



**BY CYNTHIA BLAKE**  
**Floods, famine, disease, poverty, and starvation. The 77 million population of Bangladesh languishes under the tyranny of capitalist economic forces which enforce human misery.**

Nowhere has the impotence of the national bourgeoisie been so brutally demonstrated as in the teeming nation of Bangladesh which won independence from Pakistan in 1971.

In a recent article from Dacca, Sheik Mujibur Rahman was likened to Nero fiddling while the country burns.

The flooding rains that have destroyed 400,000 homes and almost one and a half million potential tons of rice this fall wiped out every remaining illusion in the Awami League leaders.

They made solicitous speeches...but could do nothing.

More than 15 million people now have no jobs and no land. Average income is under \$50 a year. Over one half the population eats less than the supposed minimum necessary to stay alive, an average of 12.9 ounces a day. The government itself estimates that five million will starve to death this year.

4,500 "gruel kitchens" have been set up by the government. Here, the once-a-day ration is roti, a fried wheat bread.

At some camps, the Red Cross supplements the ration with one biscuit and three ounces of milk. At others, the ration is just one half roti.

Government officials estimate that every person coming to a kitchen leaves three or four family members at home because they are too old, young, or sick to stand in line.

As the flood waters receded and transportation was restored, thousands began to wander toward the cities, particularly Dacca. Hundreds have already starved to death along the roads, or are stranded in towns just miles from the capital without the few cents they need for the boat ride across the river.

In Dacca, city officials clear an estimated 25 bodies a day from the streets. About 600 more refugees are taken to the three gruel kitchens set up in an abandoned industrial complex, a high school, and a college.

One thousand people now sit or lie in the halls and classrooms of the high school, waiting for the daily ration. Lye is sprinkled in the hallways as the only sanitation measure.

Because the majority of Dacca's residents are themselves without food or shelter, government guards now prevent the refugees from leaving the gruel kitchens, turning them into veritable death camps, in the hope of preventing food riots in the city.

Reporter Claire Sterling writes that the majority of Dacca's residents live in thatched lean-tos. About one in ten has no house at all. They spend their days wandering about the city and sleep on the stairways and railroad platforms.

"They are always hungry," she reports. "Most of those I met seldom ate more than a handful of rice a day with perhaps a single onion or chili, cooked over fires made with old tires and rubbish..."

"In the Chowdatool colony of sweepers, former Untouchables from India who have been gatherers of night soil in Dacca for generations, I saw several children standing knee-deep in

an open sewer, hacking away at the bloody and maggoty carcass of an old bullock."

She describes a high-rise hotel that was abandoned half-built and is now occupied by nearly 1000 squatters:

"Every inch was occupied by men, women and children sitting or lying listlessly on filthy rags or straw. The air stank of excrement, urine, rotting garbage, and pus.

"Within two minutes of entering the premises, I counted fifteen cases of raging smallpox. Cholera was endemic. Almost everybody I questioned suffered from skin or intestinal disease, anemia, life-threatening malnutrition.

"You're asking about our health? We're all dying, just waiting to die," one said."

No single flood could cause destitution of this magnitude. The simple truth is that the ruling Awami League, basing itself on the national bourgeoisie with the support of the Indian ruling class, has been unable to provide for the basic needs of the Bengali people.

## Bangla Dosh: Poverty & Starvation



The average diet in Bangla Dosh before the war for independence was 15.4 ounces of food a day; today the average diet is 12.9 ounces.



"Mujib cannot solve any of the democratic and economic demands of the Bengalis...What Trotsky called the permanent revolution is now a life and death matter for the workers and peasants of Bangla Dosh."

—Bulletin, 1971

Industrial production, which never recovered from the massive damage inflicted during the civil war with Pakistan, has fallen over 30 percent in the last two and one-half years. Factories closed by flood damage join a long list closed because of lack of capital or raw materials.

Sheik Mujibur Rahman "nationalized" 85 percent of industry soon after independence, providing lucrative management positions for his political cronies. They have managed to drive down profits in every area and send the banks into near collapse because of unpaid loans.

Jute mills, which once provided nine-tenths of Bangla Dosh's foreign exchange, now lose as much as \$30 million a year. Ten to twelve power failures a day cut production. Fields of hemp have been turned into rice paddies to reap the profits of a lucrative black market. Profits have plummeted from \$39 a ton before the war to an average loss of \$212 a ton.

With virtually no foreign exchange credit, Bangla Dosh now faces the need to import vast quantities of food and fertilizer at grossly inflated market rates. To keep industry at last year's low level requires \$70 million more for soaring fuel costs alone.

From the first days of independent rule, the Awami League has been wracked by political crisis. Rahman, who was greeted as a savior upon his release from Pakistan's prisons three years ago, today has no support among the workers and peasants.

The countryside is terrorized by roving bands of armed thugs.

Shipments of industrial goods and even Red Cross food shipments are plundered by smugglers, and virtually every government official and functionary is actively involved in bribery and corruption.

Rahman has steadfastly refused to institute land reforms, so that land-grabbing has led to a situation where fully one-half of the nation's landowners are attempting to survive on plots of under one acre. Farmers working three-acre plots have been murdered by guerrillas.

The imprisonment of peasant refugees in Dacca's "gruel kitchens" demonstrates Rahman's fear of the masses he rules.

In place of the courageous Mukti Bahini freedom fighters, who faced machine guns and bombers with bamboo spears during the 1971 war, Rahman has filled the countryside with his corps of 45,000 Rokhi Bahini. Workers who threaten to slow-down or strike are forced to work at gunpoint, villages are pillaged for "illegal weapons," and unpaid tax money and political dissidents are interrogated with all the brutality of the imperialists the Awami League denounced so bitterly.

The Awami League's General Secretary described the campaign bluntly: "The government will annihilate elements threatening to overthrow it by armed struggle. Unwanted people engaged in destructive activities will be exterminated."

"Mujib, even if he is sincere, is from now on the hostage of the rich class that he protects and maintains," an opponent told the French paper *Le Monde*. "The people, who no longer have confi-

dence in him, have turned away. Without the petty bourgeoisie in the Awami League, he is nothing."

From the beginning, the Awami League's goal was limited to the freeing of the Bengali capitalists from domination by the Pakistani and imperialist ruling classes.

In fact, Rahman declared even in the face of the most brutal massacres, that he would still be willing to rule East Bengal as an autonomous state within Pakistan. It was the pressure of the peasants and workers who fought Yahya Khan that forced the Awami League to issue a declaration of independence in the fall of 1971.

Even then, Rahman refused to take the only step that could have broken imperialism's grip on the area—the expansion of the struggle into West Bengal in order to break up the reactionary partition of 1947 which created Pakistan.

To maintain the support of the Bengali workers, Rahman adopted the rhetoric of socialism, but claimed that private capital could make positive contributions.

The Workers League warned at the time that the Awami League's optimism concerning economic prospects in Bangla Dosh was "nothing but the sheerest utopianism and treachery to the masses of impoverished workers and peasants..."

"The only road to victory for the Bangla Dosh fighters is on a revolutionary program. This means a fight for the agrarian revolution, nationalization and economic planning, the extension of the struggle into West Bengal and the rest of the region and the arming of the workers

and peasants."

This is the Bolshevik policy which Trotsky called the Permanent Revolution. The International Committee of the Fourth International defended this against every Stalinist, revisionist and liberal tendency who invariably and uncritically applauded the Awami League.

Today the Stalinist Communist Party in Bangla Dosh still refuses to mobilize against Rahman's regime, and in every country, in Mozambique, in Angola, in Puerto Rico, the Stalinists and revisionists uncritically support the bourgeois nationalist leaderships.

Capitalism, whether imperialist or national, can no longer meet the needs of the world's peoples. The illusion that national liberation can be maintained, apart from the fight for socialism, is a trap for the legitimate struggles of the colonial masses.

The "two-stage" theory enunciated by Stalin is used deliberately to prevent a revolutionary mobilization because this would threaten the position of the national bourgeoisie as well as the imperialists.

We say once again that the most urgent task facing the colonial peoples is the construction of parties of the International Committee of the Fourth International. The IC statement issued during the Bengali struggle is more important than ever:

"Revolutionaries must combine the national struggle with the fight for an uncompromising redistribution of land in the interests of the poor peasants, the nationalization of industry and the setting up of a workers and peasants government."



# GM Axes 1650 At Van Nuys Plant

BY SHEILA BREHM  
VAN NUYS, Calif.—  
The entire second shift of 1650 production workers at the Van Nuys General Motors Assembly plant will be eliminated November 11.

The Van Nuys plant produces the Nova, Ventura, Apollo, and Omega. The prices of these compact cars have skyrocketed since the last model year. The nearly \$500 increase has driven auto sales to an all time low.

Workers with up to twelve years seniority are scheduled to lose their jobs, with rumors spreading throughout the plant that another big layoff is scheduled for February and possibly a complete closure.

Bulletin salesmen received an

enthusiastic response at the plant gates. Many expressed interest in joining the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party to fight the layoffs and build an opposition to Leonard Woodcock.

Louis, one of those who will be laid off, said Woodcock should be forced off Ford's Labor-Management committee. "That's why the government gets the labor leaders in there. They need their aid to carry out these layoffs and attacks on us. No one suffers for it but the working man. The government is to blame for this. Nobody can afford to buy the cars we make. They sell for between \$5000 and \$6000.

"The union did not warn us about the layoff, nor are they telling us anything definite now. I don't think the sub fund will last long, and if this is the case, \$90 in unemployment insurance is nothing."

The line speed is currently 70 cars per hour, up substantially from the level before change-

over a few months ago. GM has deliberately created a stockpile while thousands are thrown out of work.

Hector Soto said that the layoff has completely jolted the plans of the workers. "Many guys bought themselves a house, a car and now we'll be in pretty bad shape. I definitely think we are going into a depression."

A newly hired worker said, "I had plans for buying a home, but that's all over now. It's a shame. I thought I had a job I could hold on to. I thought I'd be able to call this my last job."

This wave of layoffs is different from those a year ago. Now the conditions of an irreversible slump in the economy and the rapid draining of the UAW SUB fund will leave auto workers with no financial security and no hope of returning to the plants.

A section of TUALP must be built in UAW Local 645 as part of a national fight for a Congress of Labor to defend jobs.



Auto workers at GM's Van Nuys plant speaking to the Bulletin.

## Movies by Alan Berenson

Louis Malle's film *Lacombe, Lucien*, which has been hailed by film critics on both sides of the Atlantic serves one single purpose: to deliberately distort the history of the struggle against fascism in France and Europe during the Nazi era and to blur the essential character of fascism itself.

The film concerns Lucien Lacombe, a young peasant living in the south of France during the last years of the Nazi occupation. Lucien is characterized as a particularly empty and stupid individual with, however, a large capacity for violence and brutality. After being rejected by the Resistance, Lucien wanders by accident into the center of the German Police headquarters. After a few glasses of wine—by mere coincidence—Lucien becomes a member of the police and a fascist.

He informs on the Resistance and is responsible for the death of many of its members. He rounds up Jews, and in particular terrorizes a Jewish tailor, his daughter, and mother who are hiding out in the village and trying desperately to escape France into safety in Spain.

The daughter inexplicably falls in love with Lucien, who towards the film's end has a slight change of heart and tries to take the girl and her grandmother into Spain; but not until he has unaffectedly watched the girl's father taken to a concentration camp by his Nazi friends.

Lucien's actions and the convictions and cause he espouses are painted as inconsequential and secondary. His political development into a Nazi and enemy of his own people is shown as totally understandable and "natural."

Fascism is represented vaguely and as basically meaningless. The decision to fight it or join with it is shown as a question of coincidence, and mood. The real issues involved are never raised by Malle, who presents Lucien's development with a shrug, as if to say "Didn't we all?"

The Nazi occupation of France was one of the darkest episodes in the history of the French working class. Hitler rolled into Paris in 1940 after the complete and almost immediate capitulation of the French bourgeoisie which then proceeded to collaborate with the German fascist armies, seeing in them an ally in the struggle against the working class and revolution, a struggle which the bourgeoisie had been conducting itself prior to the Occupation. The working class had been politically disarmed and disoriented by the Stalin-Hitler Pact.

The Nazi armies marched through France murdering

whole villages and executing thousands of workers and youth. Others were sent to die in concentration camps in France and further east. The organizations of the working class were completely suppressed with unparalleled brutality. The Nazis accomplished all this aided greatly by the collaboration of the leading section of the French bourgeoisie under Marshal Petain.

Under these dangerous conditions, the Resistance led a heroic struggle against fascism. For the Resistance fighters and for the working class, fascism was a question of life and death. To paint this history differently, to minimize and cloud the issues involved, to so falsify the truth, can only be interpreted as a vile slander of the history of the struggle of the Resistance against fascism and as an attempt to excuse the French collaborationists.

The development of fascism was not a question of coincidence and chance happenings. Furthermore, no individual became a fascist coincidentally as Lucien does in the film. The issues involved are clearcut and sharp, not hazy and blurred as Malle would have us think. Those such as Lucien who sided with the Nazis joined hands consciously with the butchery and oppression of the masses during the Occupation and were therefore totally responsible for their actions.

The bourgeoisie collaborated with the Nazis consciously in order to smash the working class and its institutions and preserve capitalism. The working class organized the revolutionary resistance under communist leadership out of the absolute necessity to destroy Nazism and survive fascist barbarism because its survival as a class was at stake. Those were and are the issues. Malle tries desperately to cover them up.

His characters are presented as being without any sort of political principles. The young girl sleeps with Lucien despite the fact that he is an ally of the murderers of her people. Her father, persecuted and in fear of his life, also cannot restrain his affection for his Nazi friend. Even the grandmother who throughout the film will have nothing to do with Lucien eventually comes to the conclusion that he is really a nice boy.

To excuse Lucien and excuse fascism and its crimes is the reactionary core and theme of this film.

That *Lacombe Lucien* is also a colossal bore, artistically uninteresting and cliché-ridden, is secondary to the whining conceptions of Louis Malle.

## ELECTION . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

are standing 2 candidates, Helen Halyard and Terry Delgado, in the 14th and 12th Congressional Districts in Brooklyn.

### ILLUSIONS

We enter the elections without any illusions that the defense of workers rights can be solved in Congress. On the contrary, we fight for workers to defend their rights through their own independent political action, through the fight to build a labor party.

This crisis is not the responsibility of the working class. It is the result of the collapse of the capitalist system of private ownership and production for profit on a world scale.

Only our campaign has told workers, housewives and youth the truth about this crisis. We warned that it could not be solved by measures in Congress, that what was required was a fight for power by the working class in order to implement a socialist program.

## MINERS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

owned by Gulf Oil, earned \$540,000,000—an increase of 50 percent.

Bethlehem Mines, owned by Bethlehem Steel, earned \$112,718,000—an increase of 15 percent.

Pittston Company, earned \$39,054,000 in profits, an increase over last year of 868 percent!

These profits have been made through the most brutal exploitation of miners. As John L. Lewis declared, every ton of coal is smeared with human blood.

Injuries in the mines exceed those in any other industry. There are 40.92 disabling in-

A vote for the Workers Party on Nov. 5 is a vote for this fight.

Outside of the 12th and 14th Congressional Districts, we call on workers to vote for candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on Nov. 5. We call on workers to vote SWP on the basis of a class vote against the Democrats and Republicans. This is in no way a retraction of our sharp differences with the SWP and their centrist policies.

### PROGRAM

This is the socialist policy of the Workers League to meet the crisis:

1. **Stop Price Rises:** Take the profit out of food by nationalizing the big food chains, the agribusiness under workers' control without compensation. Take the profit out of housing by nationalizing the land.

2. **Defend the Right to a Job:** Answer the threat of layoffs by factory occupations. Demand a 30 hour work week at 40 hours pay, to guarantee jobs for all. Nationalize the basic industries,

the banks, and financial institutions under workers control without compensation.

3. **No Laws Against the Unions:** Repeal the Landrum-Griffin, Taft-Hartley, Taylor and any other acts against the right to strike and the independence of the trade unions.

4. **Break Off All Talks With Ford:** Demand that the trade union leaders get off Ford's Labor-Management Committee at once.

5. **Build a Labor Party:** Fight for an Emergency Congress of the entire labor movement whose responsibility will be to break off all ties with the Democrats and Republicans and launch an independent party based on the trade unions pledged to carry out this socialist program.

We call on all workers who agree with our program, not just to vote for our candidates on Nov. 5, but to join our movement in the historic task of building a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

juries in the mines per million man-hours worked. This compares with the 10.55 disabling injuries for all industry.

Arnold Miller, president of the UMW, has still refused to tell miners anything about the wage demands he is making. Nor has he spelled out the details of the gains in noneconomic matters that he has supposedly made.

Reports coming out of the negotiations indicate that the bosses, rather than making major improvements over the last contract, have merely withdrawn some of their initial demands. For example, they apparently are no longer demanding that the mines be operated seven days a week rather than the current five. But this cannot be called a "concession" because miners would never have tolerated the change.

It is also reported that Miller has given ground on the definition of seniority.

All the publicity surrounding noneconomic issues is a staged diversion from the number one question every miner is asking: How much money are we getting?

Miller is trying to avoid the

fight on wages because he is scared of a confrontation which will pit the strength of the miners against the Ford government.

He is trying to prevent a coal strike that the miners, backed by the strength of the trade union movement, are in a commanding position to win.

General Motors executives released a statement earlier this week which stated that: "The threatened coal strike will have a devastating effect on the nation's productive capacity."

Miners must demand that strike action be called on November 12 in order to win the following:

•25 percent wage increase in the first year with 100 percent cost-of-living escalator clause written into the contract.

•\$600 per month pension after 25 years.

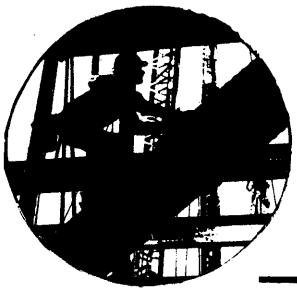
•No productivity deals or restrictions on the right to strike.

Miners must demand that the UMW fight for this program and that Miller get off Ford's Labor-Management Committee which has been set up to help control wages and step up productivity.

**Attend Workers League  
Lobby of Chicago  
Federation of Labor**  
Monthly Meeting—  
175 W. Washington  
Tues. Nov. 5 7 PM

Demand that the AFL-CIO call a Congress of Labor and build a labor party!





# lucha obrera

## Vota Halyard-Delgado

La Liga Obrera está corriendo dos candidatas para el Congreso con el fin de construir el liderazgo revolucionario en la lucha por movilizar a la clase obrera hacia la construcción de su propio Partido de los Trabajadores.

Aunque nuestras candidatas están corriendo en los distritos congresionales 12 y 14 en Brooklyn contra demócratas y republicanos, la mayor tarea que enfrenta la clase obrera en estas elecciones es la construcción de un Partido de los Trabajadores.

Ni los demócratas ni los republicanos presentan una alternativa a la clase obrera. Ambos están de acuerdo con la política de Ford de desempleo masivo y aumento de precios.

El jueves pasado, la GM anunció que despedía 6 mil obreros en cuatro plantas. Y un número "indeterminado" aún, quedaría sin empleos en las fábricas que producen las diversas partes de automóviles, aumentando así hasta 36 mil los obreros de la GM que han sido despedidos.

El informe de la GM deja bien claro que esto es solo el comienzo.

### CRISIS ECONOMICA

Estas acciones son el resultado de la crisis económica del capitalismo, el cual se encamina rápidamente hacia la depresión.

Que la burocracia laboral rehuya conscientemente defender a los trabajadores, es desenmascarada claramente cuando Ray Colore, presidente de la local de Tarrytown de la UAW dice:

"Estamos fuera del alcance de la ayuda de la unión y la administración. Con la economía como está, no puedo ver que sea posible para 2 mil personas encontrar empleo."

Muchas uniones, como la UAW y la IBEW firmaron contratos durante el período del control de sueldos, en el que se prohibía cualquier aumento mayor al 5.5 por ciento. Hoy, la inflación ha aumentado al 12.1 por ciento y sigue aumentando acelerada e incontroladamente.

Esto significa que los salarios reales de millones de obreros seguirán cayendo en el siguiente período.

El "Workers Party" en Brooklyn y la Liga Obrera en todo el país luchan por las siguientes demandas:

- Salarios: Cancelar todos los contratos firmados durante el período de control de salarios. Aumento de 25 por ciento contra la inflación. 100 por ciento de escalada al costo de vida.
- Trabajos: 30 horas de trabajo por 40 horas de paga. Reemplazar a todos los trabajadores despedidos durante la crisis de energía.

• Condiciones de Vida: Billones deben dedicarse a proveer buena educación y viviendas. Medicina socializada debe de ser establecida.

En la lucha por defender empleos y niveles de vida en este período todo trabajador se ve forzado a llevar una lucha política contra el gobierno. Nada cambiará hasta que la clase obrera construya su propio partido político—Un Partido de los Trabajadores basado en las uniones.

Este partido tendrá que luchar por políticas socialistas que respondan a la crisis. Solo la nacionalización de la industria básica bajo control obrero y sin compensación puede poner fin a la inflación y garantizar trabajos.

Paralelamente con los ataques a la vida de los trabajadores, los capitalistas están preparando una represión masiva porque saben que la clase obrera va a luchar por sus derechos.

### RACISMO

El veneno del racismo es propagado conscientemente por los capitalistas para dividir a la clase obrera y desviarla de su lucha contra los ataques a los empleos y niveles de vida.

En Boston, la policía y la amenaza de usar la Guardia Nacional viene a ser como un ensayo general de represión masiva contra la clase obrera.

Los trabajadores en Boston deben demandar al liderazgo de las uniones que protejan a la juventud, blancos y negros, con guardia de defensa y que no permitan que la Guardia Nacional entre a la ciudad.

Los revisionistas del SWP han apoyado la intervención de la Guardia Nacional diciendo que defenderán a la juventud negra de los ataques racistas de los estudiantes blancos.

El SWP no tiene confianza en la clase obrera para que esta use su propia fuerza para defender sus derechos. Ellos no tienen ninguna intención de movilizar a la clase obrera. En la práctica, hacen todo lo posible para dividir a los trabajadores.

Contra los ataques de la policía y de las Fuerzas Armadas, y por la defensa de las uniones, las candidatas del "Workers Party" demandan:

- Alto a la Represión Policial: Saquemos a los policías de las escuelas.
- Alto al Racismo: Alto a la discriminación económica y en las escuelas y viviendas.
- Ninguna Ley Contra Las Uniones: Debe de haber un fin a todas las restricciones al derecho de huelga para los trabajadores del gobierno o de cualquier otro; fin a todas las cortes represivas y otras restricciones a las uniones y a grupos minoritarios y jóvenes.

### LIDERAZGO

Cuando hoy, más que nunca la clase obrera se moviliza en defensa de sus derechos y nivel de vida, la burocracia de las uniones repite una y otra vez que no hay nada que podamos hacer.

La fortaleza de la clase obrera debe conducirse para construir

## EN CONCENTRACION DEL 27:

# NUEVA ETAPA EN LA BANCARROTA DEL PSP



**POR LUCIA RIVERA**  
El evento del 27 de octubre, "Día de Solidaridad con Puerto Rico," representa una nueva etapa en la política de bancarrota del liderazgo del Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP).

Cerca de 20 mil personas, en su gran mayoría jóvenes y trabajadores puertorriqueños provenientes de 25 estados, viajaron largas distancias para oír que la lucha por la independencia de Puerto Rico no está en sus manos sino en las manos de los liberales, la iglesia y los radicales.

El PSP busca recrear el movimiento de protesta de los años sesenta, teniendo a Puerto Rico en vez de Vietnam, como el centro de las protestas.

Como es claramente presentado por Manuel de J. Gonzales, miembro de la Comisión Política del PSP:

"Por años—y no podía ser de otra forma—la solidaridad con el pueblo vietnamita fue el foco principal del movimiento

progresista norteamericano. De hecho, estas acciones de solidaridad ayudaron a la izquierda norteamericana a crecer—por lo menos cuantitativamente. Pero ahora que el imperialismo ha sido destruido en Vietnam es realista presentar la solidaridad con la independencia de Puerto Rico como el punto prioritario en la agenda del movimiento progresista."

Este movimiento de protesta, que el PSP está recreando, está compuesto de elementos tales como los stalinistas del Partido Comunista, los revisionistas del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (SWP), Jane Fonda, el Padre Berrigan y maoistas. Es una clara expresión del temor del liderazgo del PSP en la fortaleza de la clase obrera en Puerto Rico y en este país.

Pero por mucho que el liderazgo del PSP y todas estas fuerzas liberales y radicales deseen recrear la política de los sesenta de presionar al gobierno, en este período de grave crisis económica no solo es reaccionario sino que presenta graves peligros a la clase obrera.

En el discurso de Juan Mari Brás, Secretario Nacional del PSP, fue hecho claro que el liderazgo del PSP no tiene ningún programa para la clase

obrera. En su largo discurso, no hubo la menor mención de la ofensiva de la clase obrera.

El año pasado en Puerto Rico hubo solo tres días en que los trabajadores no se fueron a la huelga. Una de las huelgas más importantes para el movimiento laboral fue cuando el gobierno movilizó a la Guardia Nacional para romper la huelga de los trabajadores de la unión de electricistas (UTIER) y los bomberos. Todas las secciones del movimiento obrero de la isla amenazaron con una huelga general en apoyo a la huelga de los trabajadores de la electricidad y los bomberos.

A principios de año, en la huelga de maestros que paralizó todo el sistema educacional de la isla, se vio la movilización espontánea de los trabajadores que mantuvieron una defensa constante en las líneas de piquetes de maestros.

La posición del PSP frente a esta ola huelguística fue la de adaptarse al nivel de militancia sindical, sin presentar en momento alguno una demanda socialista ni perspectivas claras en contra de los ataques del gobierno.

El liderazgo del PSP, que se autotitula socialista, es en gran parte la expresión de la sección de la burguesía nacional que más ha sido afectada por el dominio de la economía puertorriqueña por el imperialismo norteamericano y que ve en el poderoso movimiento de la clase obrera una amenaza a sus intereses de clase.

El PSP se ve forzado a movilizar a la clase obrera pero tiene constantemente que luchar por mantener el nivel de conciencia de la clase al nivel de presiones y protestas en contra del gobierno.

El verdadero carácter del liderazgo del PSP es expuesto durante el discurso de Mari Brás que ni siquiera mencionó la lucha por el socialismo. El liderazgo del PSP es conciente de su papel en este período. Es por eso que busca desesperadamente mantener la lucha por la auto-determinación de Puerto Rico en las manos de la clase media.

La Liga Obrera, partido trotskista, apoya la lucha por la auto-determinación de Puerto Rico, sin reserva alguna. Pero señalamos de que esta es solo la labor de la movilización política independiente de la clase obrera en su lucha por el socialismo. Lo que busca el liderazgo del PSP es establecer un estado capitalista bajo el cual las condiciones de miseria a las que se enfrenta la clase obrera en Puerto Rico no han de cambiar.



Candidata Helen Halyard y Promise, obrero de construcción.

del Partido de los Trabajadores ahora.

Un liderazgo se necesita para llevar adelante esta tarea. La Liga Obrera es la única alternativa revolucionaria que lucha por estas demandas y por la construcción de un Partido de los Trabajadores. La Liga Obrera lucha por el marxismo en contra de todas las tendencias revisionistas que se oponen a la independencia política de la clase.

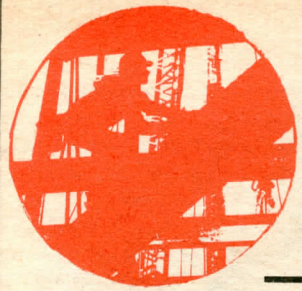
Durante este fin de semana, todos los miembros de la Liga Obrera del área de Nueva York estarán en campaña en los Distritos Congresionales 12 y 14, en los centros comerciales y la comunidad.

Le pedimos a todos los trabajadores que se unan a las uniones. Y que construyan su propio partido en las fábricas y en sus uniones; que planteen la pregunta de la construcción de un Partido de los Trabajadores a sus compañeros en la lucha por el socialismo como la alternativa de la clase obrera.

En nuestra lucha por la independencia política de la clase obrera le pedimos a todos los trabajadores que no viven en los DC 12 y 14 de Brooklyn, que voten por el SWP en contra de los demócratas y republicanos.

El 5 de noviembre vota por Terry Delgado en el DC 12 y por Helen Halyard en el DC 14.





# lucha obrera

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Ni los demócratas ni los republicanos presentan una alternativa a la clase obrera. Ambos están de acuerdo con la política de Ford de desempleo masivo y aumento de precios.

El jueves pasado, la GM anunció que despedía 6 mil obreros en cuatro plantas. Y un número "indeterminado" aún, quedaría sin empleos en las fábricas que producen las diversas partes de automóviles, aumentando así hasta 36 mil los obreros de la GM que han sido despedidos.

El informe de la GM deja bien claro que esto es solo el comienzo.

### CRISIS ECONOMICA

Estas acciones son el resultado de la crisis económica del capitalismo, el cual se encamina rápidamente hacia la depresión.

Que la burocracia laboral rehúza conscientemente defender a los trabajadores, es desenmascarada claramente cuando Ray Colore, presidente de la local de Tarrytown de la UAW dice:

"Estamos fuera del alcance de la ayuda de la unión y la administración. Con la economía como está, no puedo ver que sea posible para 2 mil personas encontrar empleo."

Muchas uniones, como la UAW y la IBEW firmaron contratos durante el período del control de sueldos, en el que se prohibía cualquier aumento mayor al 5.5 por ciento. Hoy, la inflación ha aumentado al 12.1 por ciento y sigue aumentando acelerada e incontroladamente.

Esto significa que los salarios reales de millones de obreros seguirán cayendo en el siguiente período.

El "Workers Party" en Brooklyn y la Liga Obrera en todo el país luchan por las siguientes demandas:

- Salarios: Cancelar todos los contratos firmados durante el período de control de salarios. Aumento de 25 por ciento contra la inflación. 100 por ciento de escalada al costo de vida.

- Trabajos: 30 horas de trabajo por 40 horas de paga. Reemplazar a todos los trabajadores despedidos durante la crisis de energía.

• Condiciones de Vida: Billones deben dedicarse a proveer buena educación y viviendas. Medicina socializada debe de ser establecida.

En la lucha por defender empleos y niveles de vida en este período todo trabajador se ve forzado a llevar una lucha política contra el gobierno. Nada cambiará hasta que la clase obrera construya su propio partido político—Un Partido de los Trabajadores basado en las uniones.

Este partido tendrá que luchar por políticas socialistas que respondan a la crisis. Solo la nacionalización de la industria básica bajo control obrero y sin compensación puede poner fin a la inflación y garantizar trabajos.

Paralelamente con los ataques a la vida de los trabajadores, los capitalistas están preparando una represión masiva porque saben que la clase obrera va a luchar por sus derechos.

### RACISMO

El veneno del racismo es propagado conscientemente por los capitalistas para dividir a la clase obrera y desviarla de su lucha contra los ataques a los empleos y niveles de vida.

En Boston, la policía y la amenaza de usar la Guardia Nacional viene a ser como un ensayo general de represión masiva contra la clase obrera.

Los trabajadores en Boston deben demandar al liderazgo de las uniones que protejan a la juventud, blancos y negros, con guardia de defensa y que no permitan que la Guardia Nacional entre a la ciudad.

Los revisionistas del SWP han apoyado la intervención de la Guardia Nacional diciendo que defenderán a la juventud negra de los ataques racistas de los estudiantes blancos.

El SWP no tiene confianza en la clase obrera para que esta use su propia fuerza para defender sus derechos. Ellos no tienen ninguna intención de movilizar a la clase obrera. En la práctica, hacen todo lo posible para dividir a los trabajadores.

Contra los ataques de la policía y de las Fuerzas Armadas, y por la defensa de las uniones, las candidatas del "Workers Party" demandan:

- Alto a la Represión Policial: Saquemos a los policías de las escuelas.

- Alto al Racismo: Alto a la discriminación económica y en las escuelas y viviendas.

- Ninguna Ley Contra Las Uniones: Debe de haber un fin a todas las restricciones al derecho de huelga para los trabajadores del gobierno o de cualquier otro; fin a todas las cortes represivas y otras restricciones a las uniones y a grupos minoritarios y jóvenes.

### LIDERAZGO

Cuando hoy, más que nunca la clase obrera se moviliza en defensa de sus derechos y nivel de vida, la burocracia de las uniones repite una y otra vez que no hay nada que podamos hacer.

La fortaleza de la clase obrera debe conducirse para construir

## EN CONCENTRACION DEL 27:

# NUEVA ETAPA EN LA BANCARROTA DEL PSP



**POR LUCIA RIVERA**  
El evento del 27 de octubre, "Día de Solidaridad con Puerto Rico," representa una nueva etapa en la política de bancarrota del liderazgo del Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP).

Cerca de 20 mil personas, en su gran mayoría jóvenes y trabajadores puertorriqueños provenientes de 25 estados, viajaron largas distancias para oír que la lucha por la independencia de Puerto Rico no está en sus manos sino en las manos de los liberales, la iglesia y los radicales.

El PSP busca recrear el movimiento de protesta de los años sesenta, teniendo a Puerto Rico en vez de Vietnam, como el centro de las protestas.

Como es claramente presentado por Manuel de J. Gonzales, miembro de la Comisión Política del PSP:

"Por años—y no podía ser de otra forma—la solidaridad con el pueblo vietnamita fue el foco principal del movimiento

progresista norteamericano. De hecho, estas acciones de solidaridad ayudaron a la izquierda norteamericana a crecer—por lo menos cuantitativamente. Pero ahora que el imperialismo ha sido destruido en Vietnam es realista presentar la solidaridad con la independencia de Puerto Rico como el punto prioritario en la agenda del movimiento progresista."

Este movimiento de protesta, que el PSP está recreando, está compuesto de elementos tales como los stalinistas del Partido Comunista, los revisionistas del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (SWP), Jane Fonda, el Padre Berrigan y maoistas. Es una clara expresión del temor del liderazgo del PSP en la fortaleza de la clase obrera en Puerto Rico y en este país.

Pero por mucho que el liderazgo del PSP y todas estas fuerzas liberales y radicales deseen recrear la política de los sesenta de presionar al gobierno, en este período de grave crisis económica no solo es reaccionario sino que presenta graves peligros a la clase obrera.

En el discurso de Juan Mari Brás, Secretario Nacional del PSP, fue hecho claro que el liderazgo del PSP no tiene ningún programa para la clase

obrera. En su largo discurso, no hubo la menor mención de la ofensiva de la clase obrera.

El año pasado en Puerto Rico hubo solo tres días en que los trabajadores no se fueron a la huelga. Una de las huelgas más importantes para el movimiento laboral fue cuando el gobierno movilizó a la Guardia Nacional para romper la huelga de los trabajadores de la unión de electricistas (UTIER) y los bomberos. Todas las secciones del movimiento obrero de la isla amenazaron con una huelga general en apoyo a la huelga de los trabajadores de la electricidad y los bomberos.

A principios de año, en la huelga de maestros que paralizó todo el sistema educacional de la isla, se vio la movilización espontánea de los trabajadores que mantuvieron una defensa constante en las líneas de piquetes de maestros.

La posición del PSP frente a esta ola huelguística fue la de adaptarse al nivel de militancia sindical, sin presentar en momento alguno una demanda socialista ni perspectivas claras en contra de los ataques del gobierno.

El liderazgo del PSP, que se autotitula socialista, es en gran parte la expresión de la sección de la burguesía nacional que más ha sido afectada por el dominio de la economía puertorriqueña por el imperialismo norteamericano y que ve en el poderoso movimiento de la clase obrera una amenaza a sus intereses de clase.

El PSP se ve forzado a movilizar a la clase obrera pero tiene constantemente que luchar por mantener el nivel de conciencia de la clase al nivel de presiones y protestas en contra del gobierno.

El verdadero carácter del liderazgo del PSP es expuesto durante el discurso de Mari Brás que ni siquiera mencionó la lucha por el socialismo. El liderazgo del PSP es conciente de su papel en este período. Es por eso que busca desesperadamente mantener la lucha por la auto-determinación de Puerto Rico en las manos de la clase media.

La Liga Obrera, partido trotskista, apoya la lucha por la auto-determinación de Puerto Rico, sin reserva alguna. Pero señalamos de que esta es solo la labor de la movilización política independiente de la clase obrera en su lucha por el socialismo. Lo que busca el liderazgo del PSP es establecer un estado capitalista bajo el cual las condiciones de miseria a las que se enfrenta la clase obrera en Puerto Rico no han de cambiar.



Candidata Helen Halyard y Promise, obrero de construcción.

del Partido de los Trabajadores ahora.

Un liderazgo se necesita para llevar adelante esta tarea. La Liga Obrera es la única alternativa revolucionaria que lucha por estas demandas y por la construcción de un Partido de los Trabajadores. La Liga Obrera lucha por el marxismo en contra de todas las tendencias revisionistas que se oponen a la independencia política de la clase.

Durante este fin de semana, todos los miembros de la Liga Obrera del área de Nueva York estarán en campaña en los Distritos Congresionales 12 y 14, en los centros comerciales y la comunidad.

Le pedimos a todos los trabajadores que se unan a las uniones. Y que construyan su propio partido en las fábricas y en sus uniones; que planteen la pregunta de la construcción de un Partido de los Trabajadores a sus compañeros en la lucha por el socialismo como la alternativa de la clase obrera.

En nuestra lucha por la independencia política de la clase obrera le pedimos a todos los trabajadores que no viven en los DC 12 y 14 de Brooklyn, que voten por el SWP en contra de los demócratas y republicanos.

El 5 de noviembre vota por Terry Delgado en el DC 12 y por Helen Halyard en el DC 14.