

Bulletin

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

NOV 21 1974
HCOVER
INSTITUTION

VOLUME TEN NUMBER EIGHTY SEVEN 423

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1974

TWENTY CENTS

THE REAL ISSUES IN THE MINERS STRIKE

STATEMENT OF THE TRADE UNION ALLIANCE FOR A LABOR PARTY

125,000 coal miners once again stand at the front line of the struggle of the working class to defend its living standards and basic rights against the attacks of the corporations and the government.

With the greatest solidarity and military-like precision, the ranks of the United Mine Workers have shut down the coal fields and paralyzed the most ruthless corporations in the country.

Every coal miner is determined to win a big wage increase and cost of living protection to defend himself and his family against skyrocketing inflation and make major gains in benefits, working conditions, and the unlimited right to strike.

These demands are absolutely essential for the coal miners. Miners all over the country are saying they will not go back to work until they get what they want.

No one can question the courage and determination of the miners. But militancy alone is not enough for this struggle. The demands of the miners for decent living standards completely collide with the plans of the Ford government and the capitalist class to impose the full impact of the economic crisis on all workers through mass layoffs, wage cuts, and speedup. This is why every wages fight today is a political fight.

This strike takes place in the midst

of the biggest economic crisis in the history of capitalism. Inflation is completely out of control in the US. It now stands at about 12 percent annually and is still rising.

DEPRECIATION

This inflation is not caused by wage demands of workers whose paychecks always fall behind the rise in prices, but by the depreciation of paper currency which has been pumped into the economy by the capitalists to boost their profits.

Inflation has created the conditions for the most monumental collapse of production since the depression. Corporations are desperate for loans to meet the ever-increasing costs of production. But the bankers have no intention of pumping more money into an economy already drowning in a sea of worthless dollars.

Against this background of slump and collapse, Ford's so-called anti-inflation program is in reality a recipe for the most brutal attacks on the working conditions and living standards of every worker.

(Continued On Page 11)



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Resistance Develops To Peru Junta

Mass opposition is beginning to develop inside Peru to the military junta of General Juan Velasco Alvarado.

Last July, thousands of residents of Miraflores, a middle class suburb of Lima, demonstrated against the government. Velasco was forced to cordon off the town and put it under police occupation.

The economic crisis has hit every section of Peruvian society. With an official inflation rate of 40 percent, according to the junta's Institute of Planning, thousands of workers and peasants have seen their living standards slashed in the last year.

This created a split in the ruling circles of the junta and the firing of economics minister General Juan Marco del Pont, when he proposed a 30 percent devaluation in the Peruvian currency, el Sol.

Since then, the junta has taken a series of measures to save the currency. It got a \$10 million loan from Japan. It has restricted spending of foreign currency, abroad, particularly the importation of heavy, industrial machinery.

BANKRUPTCIES

The result has been a string of bankruptcies and failures among small and middle-layer industries.

Velasco's junta has always prided itself on being "anti-imperialist." When he overthrew the government of Fernando Belaunde Terry in 1968 and took power, Velasco carried through a series of reforms and company takeovers. In October 1968, relations with the US became very tense when the junta announced the takeover of the American-owned IPC, a petroleum company. But the dispute was settled when Velasco offered substantial compensation.

Now Velasco has turned back heavily to dependence on foreign investment. Peru enjoys one of the highest credit ratings of any Latin American country on Wall Street. Next to Venezuela, it has the highest American investment per capita of any other country on the continent.

Velasco's latest measures to save the currency are directly aimed at attracting more foreign investment, particularly in oil exploration, and forcing the burden of the crisis on the backs of the middle class and working class.

This has entailed a tightening of the political controls inside the country. The "ley de prensa" or press laws are the most overt form of this. It allows for fines and jail terms for anyone caught publishing, selling, or even possessing any "clandestine" journal not sanctioned by the junta.

SUPPORT

The Stalinists, in particular, have given virtually uncritical support to Velasco. Through their control of the union federation CGTP, they have acted as Velasco's policemen in the unions. They have accused



General Juan Velasco Alvarado.

striking workers of counter-revolutionary activity and have collaborated with the police in breaking strikes.

Indeed, radicals like Hector Bejar have become functionaries of the junta and serve in the corporatist SINAMOS, designed to tie the unions and peasant cooperatives directly to the state.

NATIONALIST

Lately, a nationalist campaign has been whipped up based on rumors of an impending war with Chile.

Velasco has shown himself to be a true servant of imperialism.

The task facing the Liga Comunista, in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International, is to expose the misleaders of the Peruvian working class and prepare it for a fight for power.

Spanish Car Workers On 4 Day Week

BY A REPORTER
SEAT, the giant Spanish auto company, announced on November 7 that it would cut back production by 10 percent and slash the work week from 6 to 4 days.

Immediately, work stoppages began at the main SEAT plant in Barcelona which employs 30,000 workers.

Spain is now feeling the effects of a sharp economic decline. The Ministry of Industry announced a "substantial reduction" in industrial production from the second to the third quarter. It added that it was "frankly pessimistic" about the fourth quarter.

Meanwhile, the Madrid stock exchange hit its lowest point this year on November 6 and the outlook for new investment was the worst in two years. Bankruptcies are now reported daily in the textile, construction and tourist trade.

The SEAT cutbacks are management's response to new contract negotiations that have been going on for close to a

month. SEAT has rejected both the demands of the official union, which is controlled by the fascist Franco regime and the demands of the illegal workers' commissions, which are heavily influenced by the Stalinist Communist Party.

FIAT

FIAT, the giant Italian car company, has a 35 percent share in SEAT. The rest is controlled by Franco's National Industrial Institute and private Spanish interests.

The workers' commissions collected 2,600 signatures in the plant for its demands. These include the setting up of a workers' commission to monitor wage increases, tied to the rise in the cost of living plus an extra 50 percent.

This wage formula was won in the last contract, but the commissions have claimed that the increases were unfairly monitored.

The commissions also demanded a reduction of the work week, the rehiring of leftists, the dismissal of shop stewards, free elections for stewards and a new negotiating committee.

SEAT faces a massive backlog in car sales. Its costs have been rising, sales dropping, and its

profit margins may well be wiped out this year. It is desperately trying to avoid a price increase which would push it out of the European car market.

The fascists have tried to saddle the effects of the crisis onto the working class. Basic food staples like olive oil have gone up in price as much as 75 percent in recent weeks.

But the resistance in the working class has grown. The big metallurgical plants have been hit with work stoppages when employers refused pay demands.

The increasing militancy of Spanish workers has forced a major political crisis in ruling class circles. The extreme right wing of Franco's Falange Party have demanded the end of "liberalization" measures. Last week, they forced the resignation of two "liberal" cabinet ministers—Finance Minister A. Barrera de Irimo and Information Minister P. Cabanillas.

But others, particularly the Monarchists and the Catholics, are looking at the recent events in Portugal very nervously. They propose an alliance with the Spanish Stalinists modelled after Portugal to head off the development of a revolutionary movement in the working class.

NEWS FROM LATIN AMERICA



Juan and Isabelita Peron.

State Of Seige In Argentina As Fascists Go On Rampage

Argentine guerrillas shot and killed one army officer and wounded another on November 7 in the latest wave of assassinations that have swept the country since the death of dictator Juan Peron on July 1.

Members of another guerrilla group, the Liberation Armed Forces, set fire to a dozen buses and six chassis at an auto factory 15 miles north of Buenos Aires.

On November 1, Alberto Villar, chief of federal police, was assassinated with his wife by left-wing Peronist guerrillas. Since then, the right-wing has launched a virtual reign of terror against left-wing organizations.

The government, now headed

by Peron's wife, Isabelita Peron, has declared a state of seige inside the country and suspended most democratic rights. At the same time, the government has encouraged the growth of fascist terror squads, particularly the Anticomunist Alliance of Argentina (AAA).

The AAA, which contains many moonlighting policemen, has been responsible for the murder of labor leaders and the bombing of the offices of trade unions and left-wing organizations.

In the first week of November, three members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—a fraternal organization of the American SWP) were gunned down by the AAA.

Among those killed was PST leader Cesar Robles.

The actions of the various guerrilla groups have proved impotent to block the organized terror of the capitalist state.

We defend the PST, the Communist Party, and other workers organizations against the AAA murder squads and the dictatorial measures of the Peronist government.

Only the construction of a section of the International Committee of the Fourth International can prepare the working class for power. The necessary precondition for this is the complete exposure of Stalinism and the revisionists who tie the working class to the reactionary myth of Peronism.

New Coup Rumblings In Bolivia

A state of siege has been declared in Bolivia, following an aborted coup attempt against right-wing President Hugo Banzer.

Members of the 12th Infantry Regiment and the American-trained antiguerrilla rangers spearheaded the rebellion. They seized the town of Santa Cruz in the southeast and broadcast messages accusing Banzer of maladministration.

According to The New York Times, the coup was planned by dissident members of the National Revolutionary Movement and Bolivian Socialist Falange, parties who both still support Banzer.

The rebels claimed their leaders were Carlos Valverde Barberi, a former Banzer minister and General Julio Prado. They also claimed the backing of exiled ex-President Victor Paz Estenssoro.

Banzer left La Paz for Cochabamba on November 7 and was able to rally paratroopers still loyal to him in order to quell the rebellion. This is the twelfth time during the past three years that the CIA-backed Banzer regime has faced coup attempts.

Meanwhile, all reports from La Paz were being censored and the cabinet has given police a free hand in making arrests. Banzer has postponed promised elections for the third time to at least a year from now.

STALINISM IN CRISIS

For the first time in decades, the Soviet bureaucracy cancelled the annual mass march in Moscow commemorating the November 7 anniversary of the 1917 Revolution.

After a brief military parade, a last minute decision was made to disperse thousands of marchers who had assembled on the city's main avenues.

This action expresses the enormous fear of the Stalinist bureaucracy of mobilizing the masses of workers and their fear of the very revolutionary traditions that they fraudulently claim to represent.

Fifty-seven years after the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky led the Russian working class to power and 36 years since Trotsky founded the Fourth International, the Soviet bureau-

ent social systems.

"...Immediately that means further steps towards expanding the detente between the US and the USSR, eliminating the peril of nuclear war; slashing the war budget of both countries..."

By peaceful coexistence, the *Daily World* means subordinating the working class to the most reactionary regimes, including military dictatorships, in order to uphold the privileges of the bureaucracy.

It was the Stalinist line of a "peaceful road to socialism" that disarmed the Chilean working class and allowed the fascist generals to take power in 1973.

In Portugal, the Stalinists celebrated November 7 by collaborating with the military government of Costas Gomes and by eliminating the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" from their program. In every country where the working class is on the offensive in defense of living standards, Stalinism openly defends private property.

The *Daily World* has defended every bloody betrayal of Stalinism and wants to drag the American working class down the same road.

The American Communist Party is the mouthpiece for the Soviet bureaucracy. It seeks to act as an advisor to Ford in his savage attack on the rights of American workers. It seeks to bolster the Democratic Party just when this party calls for a wage freeze.

The American Stalinist movement has been the spokesman for the most vicious slanders and attacks against the Soviet dissidents such as Grigorenko, Pytor Yakir, and others, who fought the bureaucracy from the standpoint of defending the Russian Revolution.

There is no peaceful coexistence. The American capitalist class must now shelve detente as it gears for world war against Europe and Japan and against the workers states to recover these vast markets for profit and investment. The buildup in the Middle East is a preparation for direct attacks against China and the USSR.

In Moscow, the same day the *Daily World* praised the era of detente, Marshal Andrei Grechko, Soviet Minister of Defense declared that the military budgets of the West were being expanded and that "in a whole series of countries, extreme right-wing groups and fascist and militarist forces are being reactivated."

No section of the Soviet bureaucracy can defend the working class. This is only possible by the construction of sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International to overthrow capitalism and the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy bound up with it.

The revolutionary movement of the working class in every country throws all the plans of Stalinism into crisis. Today, within the USSR, there is a growing movement of opposition to the dictatorial bureaucrats involving masses of workers and youth. This is the greatest vindication of Trotsky's struggle.

Stalinism will not be destroyed automatically. We commemorate the November 7 anniversary by deepening our resolve to build the Trotskyist movement to lead the working class to power.

WHAT WE THINK

cracy faces a tremendous crisis.

It is being torn apart by the international crisis of capitalism and by the revolutionary movement of the working class in the colonial and major industrial countries.

The bureaucracy was a product of specific historical conditions. It developed out of the isolation of the Russian Revolution and the economic devastation and demoralization to which this isolation led.

The perspective of Lenin and Trotsky was not to build socialism in one country, as Stalin later proclaimed, but to build sections of the Third International in every country to lead a fight for the independence of the working class and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Trotsky took up an implacable struggle in defense of the principles of Marx and Lenin against the growing bureaucracy. Expelled by Stalin, and hounded from one country to another, Trotsky ruthlessly exposed Stalinism and assembled the cadres that laid the basis for the Fourth International, founded two years before he was killed by Stalin's agents in 1940.

Trotsky insisted that the bureaucracy was not a new class, but a parasitic caste, dependent on the Soviet working class for survival. The defense of the gains of the October Revolution required the political overthrow of this bureaucracy to restore the working class to power.

The smashing of Stalinism today is more urgent than ever, at a time when the collaboration of the bureaucracy with imperialism places the Soviet working class in extreme danger.

The economic crisis of capitalism and its drive towards war to dominate the world markets are breaking up any basis for detente.

In the November 7 editorial of the *Daily World*, organ of the American Communist Party, this crisis is denied:

"The international significance of the October socialist revolution lies, in the first place, in the fact that all of the Soviet Union's political, diplomatic, and economic resources have been thrown into the struggle for peace..."

"The interests of the people of the US lie in peaceful coexistence between states with differ-

Riots Rip Israel As Food Prices Double

BY FRANK MARTIN

Rioting broke out in Tel Aviv as the Israeli government announced a 43 percent devaluation of the pound and price rises that amount to a 17 percent rise in the cost of living.

"This will not be the last step," stated Premier Yitzhak Rabin in a tv address. He said that the Israeli people "have to face all the struggles—military, political, economic, and social."

This is the price Israeli workers are being told to pay for Zionist war plans: sugar up 300 percent; bread, milk, and eggs up 100 percent. Food will now cost three-quarters of an average worker's salary. Gas is up over 100 percent from \$1.53 to \$2.66 a gallon; it will now cost half a week's salary to simply fill a gas tank. And should anyone contemplate a journey to the US, it will now cost half a year's wages.

In order to enforce these measures, the government has clamped a wage freeze on the Israeli trade unions.

Hundreds of workers and youth took to the streets in the slum districts of Tel Aviv,

smashing shop windows and overturning cars to protest the enormous price rises. They were met by squadrons of military police who arrested 31 of the rioters, including Shalom Cohen, a leader of the Israeli Black Panthers, an organization of Oriental Jews.

REFUSED

Thousands of Israeli workers refused to report to work. Over 1,000 gathered at the headquarters of Histadrut, the Israeli labor organization and demanded to know why nothing had been done to protect workers from the price rises. They dragged an official, Uriel Aronovitz, from the building and forced him to address the crowd.

Demonstrations were reported in Haifa, Ben Shemesh, and Ashdod. The dockers in Ashdod voted to walk out on a one hour protest strike against the price rises.

Israel is now spending more than \$4 billion a year on arms. Despite massive US aid, Israel has worked up a balance of payments deficit of \$1.8 billion. The immediate purpose for the new austerity measures is to gain new foreign currency reserves to buy more arms.

Finance Minister Yehoshua Rabinowitz said there was no other choice except for Israeli workers to accept "the severe shock and unemployment in the

order of magnitude of 100,000 workers."

The Israeli working class, both Jewish and Arab, has always had to accept the burden of Zionist war plans in both lives and money. But ever since last year's Arab-Israeli war, when the invincibility of the Zionist armies was smashed, this burden has become impossible.

INVESTMENT

Falling investment and the drying up of the critical tourist trade have created enormous economic problems. This has combined with a series of Israeli bank scandals and failures. A recent investigation into an international Zionist fund in Europe, in which the Rothschild bankers had money, revealed heavy speculation and embezzlement on Swiss money markets.

Now the Zionists are telling Israeli workers that their only choices are to accept full-scale impoverishment or mass unemployment. The riots and demonstrations show clearly that they will not accept this.

The movement of the Israeli working class onto the scene not only puts up an enormous obstacle to the new war drive, but can lay the basis for uniting Israeli and Arab workers and peasants in the Middle East to smash Zionism and imperialism once and for all.



Israeli military units on exercises in the Judean hills.

First Nixon... Now Calley And Kent State Guards

BY PERRY IVERSON

Last Friday, Federal District Court Judge Frank J. Battisti ordered the dismissal of charges against the eight National Guardsmen for the murder of four Kent State students May 4, 1970.

That same day, former Lieutenant Calley was let out on bail awaiting parole, after he was convicted of murdering 22 South Vietnamese civilians in 1968. He served only three years.

All the machinery of the Ford government—the courts, judges, army—has been working for months to assure the release of Calley and the acquittal of the Guardsmen.

In both cases, the government went through the motions of a trial, while assuring that neither Calley nor the Guardsmen would face any punishment for the murders they committed.

They were brought to trial only

because of the outrage of workers against their atrocious actions. The parents of the four murdered Kent State students fought for four years to bring the guardsmen to trial. When they were charged, it was not for murder, but for violating the "civil rights" of the students. The judge did not even let the case go to the jury, but acquitted them for insufficient evidence. This is the evidence presented: All eight admitted firing their rifles and one indicted sergeant admitted giving orders to shoot. There were no students within 60 feet of the Guardsmen and there was no rush of students towards them.

As the father of one of the slain students said: "When you take a loaded rifle in your hands and then fire it into a crowd of students, that's intent, pure and simple."

The defense had threatened to subpoena high-ranking officials, such as former Governor Rhodes, as witnesses, showing that the orders for the shooting came from the center of government.

The judge's abrupt acquittal reveals the government's tremendous fear of this information coming to light.

The government acted to prevent the truth coming out about Mylai as well. This massacre was concealed from the public for 20 months. All charges of murder or suppression of information against others involved in Mylai were dropped.

Calley was originally sentenced to life imprisonment. After appeals in civil court, this was reduced to 10 years.

Ford finished the job of freeing Calley which Nixon began. Nixon freed him from the stockade and placed him in a two-bedroom bachelor's apartment in Fort Benning. There, he watched TV, built model airplanes, learned gourmet cooking, entertained his girlfriend and took accounting courses.

As the Ford government tries to sentence millions of workers to unemployment and poverty, it frees these murderers and continues the conspiracies which were revealed during Nixon's term.

TAKE THE PROFIT OUT OF FOOD

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

A witness at a Senate hearing once described the typical American Thanksgiving Day dinner:

"The Smithfield ham comes from ITT; the turkey is a product of Greyhound Corporation; the lettuce comes from the Dow Chemical Company; the potatoes are provided by the Boeing Company; and Tenneco brought the fresh fruits and vegetables. The applesauce is made available by American Brands, while both Coca-Cola and Royal Crown Cola have provided the fruit juices." (The American Food Scandal by William Robbins).

This Thanksgiving, the praises for this corporate bounty will be sung only by a small group of shareholders and, of course, by Earl Butz of the Department of Agriculture. Since all controls were eliminated on food prices on April 30, 1974, the price of Dow's lettuce has leaped 36 percent; tomatoes have soared 23 percent; and cola drinks have risen at least 13 percent.

The cost of feeding a family of four in New York City is now estimated at more than \$63 a week and every housewife is aware that sugar is increasing in price twice every week. Wholesale prices of sugar have gone from \$13 for a hundred pound sack one year ago to \$63 today. In January, a five pound bag cost the shopper 90 cents and now predictions are for prices well above \$3 for the same bag. These costs will be added to the price of everything from bagels to donuts and soda to canned fruit.

While the lobbyists for America's food industry continue to tell us that we are the best-fed nation in the world, in 1973 a Senate committee estimated that 12 million Americans were undernourished and that while 37 million people were technically eligible for food stamp assistance, only 14.1 million were receiving it.

But the biggest lie of all is the industry argument that high prices are simply beyond their control and are the product of blind market force.

The truth of the matter is that



the massive \$150 billion a year food industry represents one of the greatest concentrations of financial power in the world.

Monopolization of food is so advanced that food prices are determined with an almost complete absence of price competition. The monopolies determine their profit margins and make sure that they are huge. The huge savings that should be passed along to the shopper from concentration and standardization of production are instead squandered in vast expenditures for advertising, meaningless "improvements," and a continuous decline in food quality.

Monopolization in food extends into every sector of the industry from farming to processing to the giant supermarkets. Two companies control the production of soup, four control the cereal market, and one company dominates the market for cheese. In such basic items as cereal, chocolate, bread and flour, farm machinery, and metal containers, only four companies control at least three-quarters of the market.

Farming is almost exclusively a big business operation. From 5.7 million farms in 1950, there are only 2.7 million left today. Less than one-fifth of these receive over 80 percent of the cash profits. Well over 90 percent of these farms hire less than the equivalent of one full-time worker. A company like Del Monte, however, employs over 40,000 laborers on its farming operations.

Even this does not exhaust the extent of business domination over farming. Fully 25 percent of all farming in the US is owned by processors or retailers who control every aspect of food production from the fields to the checkout counters.

The great majority of small farmers who continue to survive

function, in essence, as extensions of these large conglomerates. They work under contract to the food processors and their total product is sold in advance at fixed prices.

The monopolistic domination of farming is carried to even greater extreme in the food processing industry. According to the Federal Trade Commission, out of 32,000 food processing companies in 1967, only 50 were earning 61 percent of the profits.

Finally, this is extended to the giant supermarket chains. While four giants, A&P, Safeway, Kroger, and National Tea, dominate 20 percent of all national grocery sales in urban areas, the top four chains average more than 50 percent of grocery sales. In some cities like Washington, DC, the figure runs as high as 80 percent.

The shopper in the supermarket is confronted with all the inflated costs of food production passed along at each stage of the process until the product reaches the grocery shelves.

MARKUPS

A recent estimate of how the food dollar is spent both for home foods and food eaten out reveals the tremendous markups that are added.

From each dollar: 39¢ goes to the farmer; 21¢ is taken by the food processors, wholesalers, assemblers; various other middlemen absorb 8¢; restaurants take 14¢; and the supermarkets gobble up 18¢.

The standard supermarket markup is well over 20 percent. In the case of the giant chains which control every stage of the food production process, this final 20 percent increase represents an additional markup on prices on top of all the other increases.

It is estimated that a quantity of bread selling for one dollar in a chainstore actually contains 14¢ worth of wheat. There is 8¢

worth of corn in a \$1 quantity of cornflakes, and \$1 worth of canned beets contains beets originally costing 6¢.

The standard supermarket argument that profits represent only a tiny percentage of sales is a fraud. The real figure of profit as a percentage of investment reveals that profit rates are really in the vicinity of 15 percent for such giants as Safeway.

The kind of extraordinary profits that are raked in by the food giants is best revealed in the ready to eat breakfast food industry.

Here the top four companies take in 90 percent of the sales dollars. This is an industry where hucksterism has reached its apex.

A huge section of the costs of breakfast cereal represents total waste. The packages alone cost more than the cereal they contain. In 1970, this industry spent \$81 million on advertising costs alone or 13 percent of its sales volume.

Since 1950, Kelloggs, General Mills, General Foods, and Quaker Oats have managed to produce 150 different brands of cereals in assorted package sizes. This proliferation of brands was used to literally push their competitors off the grocery shelves, while they took charge of a greater and greater portion of the market.

For all the advertising claims, there is, of course, virtually no difference between the cereals, and prices have been maintained at inflated ratios by agreement between the giants.

This kind of stranglehold has been developed in virtually every basic food commodity needed by the working class.

One thing is clear here. The cost of living and food prices cannot be reduced without the most fundamental change in the entire industry.

Food is an industry which

must be nationalized under workers' control without compensation. This means the working class would take over the industry without paying a penny to the monopolists who have gouged out these enormous profits.

BENEFITS

Under nationalization, all the benefits from improved farming methods and new techniques in every stage of food processing could be passed on to the shoppers through lower prices and improved quality. The huge sums squandered on advertising to sell products would be eliminated and replaced with advertising designed to state simply the uses of a product.

At each stage in the production process, there are costs for wages and materials. But the profit added on is a pure confiscation of value from the workers who produce the product. Under nationalization, the elimination of these surpluses would assure lower prices and any surplus retained would be employed entirely to guarantee better service and quality.

The entire wholesale industry which contains a host of middlemen and other parasites all taking their cuts and pushing up the final price could be streamlined to eliminate this abuse.

In the same way, the final markup in the supermarket would represent only the additional costs of retailing, abolishing the present 20 percent profit gouging.

Only in this way can the profit be taken out of food, and the huge gains in productivity now possible be placed at the service of the vast majority of working people.

Only the construction of a labor party committed to such a socialist policy of nationalization can put an end to the food extortionists once and for all.

COMMITTEE FOR NEW LEADERSHIP

Rules Committee Moves To Gag SSEU Assembly

The SSEU-371 "rules committee" is moving behind the scenes to engineer the suppression of democratic rights within the SSEU.

This committee was set up at the September, 1974 Delegates Assembly.

At the October 23 Delegates Assembly, a member of the Committee for New Leadership asked about the implications of discussions in the rules committee on "the scope of the Delegates Assembly," referred to in the committee's interim report. A rules committee spokesman admitted they were considering restriction of what the DA would be empowered to discuss. Certain matters would apparently be ruled for discussion only by the various "title chapters," which under the constitution have no policy-making power.

This is an attempt to weaken the DA, which has been one of the main opposition to the Knight leadership and its predecessors. It is the only body outside of the general membership which actually gives rank and file members elected from the locations the power to vote union policy and challenge the policies of the officers.

For a number of years, the bureaucracy has tried to suppress democracy within the union to beat back the Committee for New Leadership and other opposition.

In 1970, democratic rights were attacked with the imposition of the present union con-

stitution. This constitution wiped out the old executive committee, in which delegates elected from locations comprised the union's central policy-making body.

Instead, a new executive committee dominated by full-time officials was created to make day to day policy. The framers of the constitution conceded to the democratic traditions of the union by creating a Delegate Assembly of 200 or so delegates elected in their respective work locations.

However, side by side with this, the constitution created a series of "title chapters" none of which had policy-making powers. The leadership sought to have basic issues discussed within the chapters rather than on the floor of the DA or at general membership meetings. They also placed prohibitive quorum requirements on the membership meetings. The object, of course, was to "balkanize" the union membership along craft or title lines. Each title chapter would be unable to make policy decisions on its own, leaving workers at the mercy of the top union officials.

The SSEU Committee for New Leadership will fight at the upcoming November DA to prohibit all further discussion on the subject of "the scope of the DA" by the committee and to defeat any report along these lines that it might submit for ratification.

CNL Meeting
Thurs., Nov. 14
6:30 pm

155 W. 14 St. 7th Floor

\$1.5M Cut At Elmhurst

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—
Severe cutbacks in staff and services are expected at the City Hospital Center at Elmhurst, Queens, because of a \$1.5 million budget shortage.

The 25-member medical board, made up of the chiefs of service, resigned their "administrative responsibilities" last week, and refused to carry out any but their medical duties. Director of Medicine, Dr. Stanley G. Seckler, has said that 21 physicians, 65 nurses, and an unknown number of other workers would be dismissed if money is not received this week.

This would terminate such programs as abortion and cervical cancer detection, special dental care for children, respiratory intensive care for the elderly, and the blood bank.

The 1000-bed hospital, serving about 750,000 people, would also be left without senior physicians during the evening.

Elmhurst is part of the Health and Hospital Corporation, a group of 19 city hospitals. The

corporation had its overall budget cut earlier this year, throwing the entire system into crisis.

Elmhurst had asked for a 10 percent increase in its supply budget to cover rising costs, but was instead forced to reduce costs by over \$600,000 or 1.5 percent.

The Elmhurst budget has now been cut by another \$900,000 as the result of its affiliation with Mount Sinai Hospital. This means that funds will not be available to pay the raises won by District 1199 hospital workers.

One young doctor, who said he will be among those cut, told the Bulletin that he didn't know where he would be able to practice.

"This is what we live with every day; this is what must be changed. We live in a very rich country which is completely unwilling to provide the basic things that people need."

"We are very angry, and very much afraid, in a way," a nurse said. "No one knows who will be cut, or where we will go."

"There are always a lot of help wanted for nurses, but the truth is, that no hospital can afford to pay what we need to live on, and many are on the verge of closing their doors."



Helen Halyard discussing issues with striking UPS worker Charles Berry.

UPS Worker Speaks Out: "Capitalism Has Failed"

The following is an interview with Charles Berry, 20, who has worked as a night-shift loader at United Parcel Service in New York for one year.

He is a member of Teamsters Local 804, which is presently in the thirteenth week of a strike against UPS. Local leaders are presently meeting with federal negotiators concerning a company ultimatum issued last week.

UPS has threatened to close down the struck New York City warehouse unless the men accept an offer of \$50 over three years and allow the company to lay off up to 1200 full time workers and replace them as needed with part-time help.

"These tycoons, they're very shrewd. Right now, they're making it very, very hard for the working people. The only way I see to fight back is through the unions, because that's where the real strength is."

"This is a good job for me, I was not doing bad. I've worked at UPS a little over a year, and I make \$13,500. But they make it so hard to get into the union and get some security."

"Every other local in the country just about has accepted UPS's proposals for part-time work. We're the biggest local, they have to break us down too."

"But it's not true that they don't need the men. The work is definitely there. There are 12 centers here in Manhattan, about 30 or so trucks a piece. A center handles maybe 5,000 pieces a night, with five guys loading."

"In the Central Package department, they want part-time sorters. They'll pay less money, and they won't pay them benefits."

"Too many of the full-timers have the attitude of 'hell with a part-timer,' which is bad. That's anarchy among union members and it's dangerous. They'll start replacing full-timers in that section, and then move on to another one."

"I talked with Ron Carey, president of Local 804, myself last week, and what I want to know is, is the part-time help the only issue now? We need some gains in working conditions, in benefits, and we need some sick

pay—we only get three days a year."

"Carey said to us that the international has turned its back on us. They're saying we're always on strike."

"The thing with this strike is the thing it shows about Fitzsimmons. He made us pull down the pickets at Secaucus and that's what has hurt us."

"And he's still getting paid. We have to pay our \$10 a month dues right through, on \$35 a week strike benefits."

"But I see where Ron Carey can do something. He should speak to the other union presidents and executive boards in the Teamsters. He should get them all to support us in our fight."

"When Carey was talking about 'adjusting our demands' so the company wouldn't close down, this shows signs of him giving in. I think we should stay out. I think we have to."

"I want to know why, with 7,000 members on strike, we've only had one meeting. And at that time, he had nothing to say."

"Ron Carey told me he's satisfied with that last offer of \$50. But we voted to strike when they were offering \$100, \$50-25-25. I'd like to know what happened to that \$100. There's definitely some wheeling and dealing going on."

"Closing down, I think that's a scare tactic. New York is a fast-money town, and there's too

much money around even now for them to close down."

"But they might be in trouble. They stopped doing Macy's deliveries a while back, and that was a lot of work."

"The fight we're in, a lot of working people are in. It comes from the depression. That's beginning. The auto workers are in it. And the miners, they're going to be fighting too."

"To me, capitalism has failed. It failed in the 1930s and then in the 1940s because of the war."

"Now maybe we're going through the worst thing it's ever been through. It's going to be hell."

"It's hard to take people from the free enterprise system to a socialist system. The people that you have to deal with are some powerful people. They have the money, the government, and the military enforcement."

"But there is no progress without struggle."

"I think the unions should be basically neutral about the politics we have now. They shouldn't be endorsing this Democrat or that Republican because—well, you might have a lesser of two evils thing, but in fact, they are the same thing."

"You have to create some kind of change, because what we have now isn't working. It's hurting me, so I guess I have to help do the changing."

Workers League
public meeting

10

years of the Bulletin

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| <p style="text-align: center;">Dayton, Ohio Unitarian Social Hall 665 Salem Ave. (at Neal) Fri. Nov. 15 7:30 PM \$1.00; .75 youth and unemployed</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Film: 3 Years of Workers Press Speaker from TUALP</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">Los Angeles, Calif. LA Convention Ctr. Room 208 Pico and Figueroa</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Sat. Nov. 16 7:30 PM</p> <p style="text-align: center;">\$2.50; \$1.50 youth and unemployed</p> |
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JAMES P. (1890— CANNON 1974)

PART I

BY MICHAEL BANDA

The anti-centralists and sectarians

1919 was a fateful year. The US government began a furious and unabating drive against all workers organizations.

The police and the Federal Bureau arrested thousands; the Palmer Raids.

"The new Communist parties bore the brunt of this attack. Almost every local organization from coast to coast was raided; practically every leader of the movement, national or local, was put under arrest, indicted for one thing or another. Wholesale deportations of foreign born took place. The movement...was driven underground." (History of American Trotskyism p. 9.)

The CP remained illegal from 1919-1922. Cannon fought against the fetishistic desire of the leaders to make a virtue out of illegality and keep the party permanently underground. He also criticized the ultra-left anti-parliamentary tendency which flourished in the party.

While the repression tended to strengthen the ultra-lefts and sectarians in the leadership, nevertheless it also helped to cement unity between the factions. In May 1920 the Bridgeman, Michigan, Convention of the Communist Labor Party saw the fusion of Ruthenberg's faction from the Communist Party with the Communist Labor Party to form the United Communist Party. At this convention Cannon was for the first time elected to the Central Committee and made organizer for the St. Louis-Southern Illinois District. Later in the year he moved to Cleveland to edit a paper called the Toiler. In 1920 after the Second Congress of the Communist International (Comintern) he was moved to New York and took his place in the top leadership.



Protest demonstration against the frameup of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Cannon, together with William Z. Foster and Earl Browder, a fellow Mid-Westerner, represented the new generation of native-born American workers who resolutely fought the sectarian abstentionism of the foreign-born intellectuals and artisan workers and turned the early CP towards active participation in the unions—principally the American Federation of Labor (AFL).

In order to turn the party towards the unions and to carry out legal mass work, Cannon and his group had to fight a severe and exhausting faction struggle against the foreign-born leaders who wanted to perpetuate the illegal underground party even when the political conditions changed and the repression of radicals died down in 1921-1922.

Cannon's faction managed to create a legal party—the Workers Party—which was the legal expression of the illegal CP. To everyone's surprise, this party met with no opposition or repression from the government. When the Cannon-Foster group tried to liquidate the illegal organization they met with renewed opposition and were denounced by the CP leaders as "liquidators."

What threatened to be a disastrous crisis for the American CP was averted not so much by the tactical skill of the Cannon-Foster group, but by the judicious intervention of the Comintern on the advice of Trotsky at its Fourth Congress in 1922.

ROLE OF THE COMINTERN

Cannon's description of this decisive turning point in the US Communist Party is not only a fascinating story but illustrates succinctly the way in which the Comintern exercised its enormous authority and educated a Communist cadre before it degenerated into an instrument of the Stalinist-reformist bureaucracy:

"So we went to Moscow to fight it out before the Communist International. That was the first time I met Comrade Trotsky. In the course of our struggle we tried to get support from individual members of the Russian leadership. In the summer and fall of 1922 I spent many months in Russia. For a long time I was somewhat of a pariah because this campaign about "liquidators" had reached ahead of us, and the Russians didn't want to have anything to do with liquidators..."

"Finally, I and some other comrades met with Comrade Trotsky and expounded our ideas for about an hour. After asking a few questions when we had finished, he said, 'That is enough, I will support the 'liquidators' and I will talk to Lenin. I am sure he will support you. All the Russians will support you. It is just a question of understanding the political situation. It is absurd to bind ourselves in an underground strait-jacket when it is not necessary. There is no question about that...'. Predictably, the Congress Commission on America came out unequivocally in support of the 'liquidators'."

Cannon's appreciation of the Comintern's leadership and assistance was serious and genuine, but it was one-sided. He saw the Comintern as an organization which provided the ideas and the strategy while the national sections went ahead with the practical tasks of building the organizations. In the early 1920s Cannon was obsessed exclusively with the American question.

Referring to the later struggles in the Communist International, Cannon makes this rather lame comment:

"The Communist Party in the United States, like the parties in other countries (sic), failed to understand the complicated issues of the great struggle. We fought in the dark thinking only of our national troubles." (p. 39).

China, Germany, Bulgaria, the stabilization controversy and a lot more theoretical problems were dutifully reported but largely ignored.

It is hardly accidental that the first Three Congresses of the Comintern—the most important from the standpoint of the elaboration of theory and program—are not referred to by Cannon in his writings. The American CP, played no part in this intense struggle. They merely adopted the basic conclusions and applied them to the American scene. They only made an intervention in 1922 when their own problems had to be solved. This reluctance to integrate the American movement in the Comintern's theoretical battles—was the reverse side of Cannon's belief that Marxism in America could be improvised empirically from the practical experience of the party.

The following extract from a statement by Cannon in 1923 reveals this inconsistency in a striking way:

"The American movement has no counterpart anywhere else in the world, and any attempt to meet its problems by the simple process of finding a European analogy will not succeed. The key to the American problem can only be found in a thorough examination of the peculiar American situation. Our Marxian outlook, confirmed by the history of the movement in Europe, provides us with some general principles to go by, but there is no pattern, made to order from European experience, that fits America today." (American Communism and Soviet Russia, Theodore Draper, Viking Press NY 1960. p. 82.)

Cannon here betrays a complete lack of understanding of the active and revolutionary side of reflection. He saw theory in the same way as a ship's captain sees navigational points of reference on a map—"some general principles," nothing more. The "peculiar American situation"

can be grasped only by empirical improvisation. Here the concession to American pragmatism is barely concealed and spontaneity takes over. This also explains the failure of Cannon and the early CP leaders fully to grasp the significance of Lenin and Trotsky's demand for a Labor Party. This, after all, was not a "peculiar" American institution but a "European analogy."

Notwithstanding these deficiencies, Cannon and his colleagues—aided by the Communist International and a favorable political situation—made considerable progress in building the party. With only 10,000 or 15,000 members, the Party succeeded in establishing a revolutionary daily paper. Propagandistic work was developed on a large scale. Labor defense work was organized on a scale and basis never known before. Virtually every serious strike that broke out came under the leadership of the Communists...This was indeed the most inspiring period of the early American CP—but it was cut short by the bureaucratization of the Soviet state and the Comintern after 1924.

It was about this period that Cannon developed his exceptional talent for agitation, a talent which is nowhere more consummately and evocatively expressed than in his defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, Bill Haywood, Tom Mooney, Warren Billings and Frank Little, lynched for his antiwar activities.* His work for the International Labor Defense made him a regular visitor to the most infamous prisons in the USA.

Yet despite his passionate hatred for the perpetrators of frame-up and lynch-law and his great compassion for their hapless victims, his writings betray a kind of radical humanism and a lack of political perspective. As a result, although the influence of the ILD campaign on Sacco and Vanzetti was considerable, its political impact was negligible, because it never raised at any time Lenin's suggestion of creating a political alternative to the two-party system—a labor party based on the unions.

The onset of Stalinist reaction in Russia coincided with the election to leadership in 1925 of the Cannon-Foster group. Still obsessed with the intricacies of the "American question," Cannon, in the early period of this struggle remained a bewildered if somewhat disenchanted spectator of the anti-Trotsky campaign. This was something quite unlike the tactical turns to trade unions and the legalization issue which had immediate practical significance for American Communists.

The 1926 Chinese Revolution, the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Alliance of the same period and the industrialization controversy in Russia still seemed far removed from Cannon's world, whose horizons were bounded by the vast plains of Kansas and the Chicago stockyards. These questions did not have the same tangible impact. Cannon frankly regretted his inability to cope with these problems:

"Someone may ask, 'Why didn't you make speeches in favor of Trotsky?' I couldn't do that either because I didn't understand the program. My state of mind then was that of doubt and dissatisfaction. Of course, if one had no responsibility to the party, if he were a mere commentator or observer, he could merely speak his doubts and have it over with. You can't do that in a serious political party. If you don't know what to say, you don't have to say anything. The best thing is to remain silent." History of American Trotskyism, page 44.

Cannon's silence was of no avail. Foster and Lovestone, the other leaders of the CP, were only encouraged to intensify the baiting of Trotsky. Their allegiance was to the apparatus. Cannon's genuine concern for his faction and the party impelled him

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A critical assessment PART TWO of a pioneer Trotskyist



Leon Trotsky.



Left to right: Max Eastman, James P. Cannon and Big Bill Haywood.

finally in 1928 to take an active interest in the Left Opposition and defend Trotsky.

But, as Cannon would have said, he didn't plan it that way. As a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, Cannon went to Moscow as usual preoccupied with American problems. By a rare quirk of history he was appointed to the Comintern's Program Commission where—by some bureaucratic error—Trotsky's "Criticism of the Draft Program," elaborated by Stalin and Bukharin, fell into his hands with the effect of a thunderbolt:

"Maurice Spector, a delegate from the Canadian Party, and in somewhat the same frame of mind as myself, was also on the program commission and he got a copy. We let the caucus meetings and the Congress sessions go to the devil while we read and studied the document. Then I knew what I had to do, and so did he. Our doubts had been resolved. It was as clear as daylight that Marxist truth was on the side of Trotsky. We made a compact there and then—Spector and I—that we would come back home and begin a struggle under the banner of Trotskyism." *History of American Trotskyism*, pages 49-50.

Cannon smuggled the Trotsky document out of Russia. This document constituted the basis of the organization of the Left Opposition in the US. It is however a debatable point whether Cannon realized the real significance of Trotsky's critique. He never subsequently explained what "doubts" were resolved by the "criticism." It is more probable that Cannon, representing a class struggle tendency in the party, could not reach a compromise with Foster and Lovestone, who were supported by Stalin, and that this drove him empirically to seek the help of Trotsky. To say this, however, is not to disparage the sterling labors of Cannon, Dunne, Skoglund, Swabeck and others in propagating, at the risk of assault and expulsion, the seminal ideas of Trotskyism in America.

Expulsion from the CP

In October 1928 the group led by Cannon, Martin Abern and Max Shachtman were bureaucratically expelled.

From the first week of their expulsion the Cannonites hit back with their paper *The Militant* and the public battle against Stalinism was begun.

What Cannon lacked in theoretical knowledge he tried to make up in determination and audacity. The attacks of the Stalinists—their squalid maneuvers and grotesque slanders of Trotsky—only stimulated him to fight back more tenaciously.

It is worth recalling his own sentiments at the time; in particular his modest and self-effacing estimate of the selfless sacrifice made by the pioneer Trotskyists to keep the banner of Trotskyism flying:

"It was not too promising a struggle from the point of view of numbers. The three of us who signed the declaration—Abern, Shachtman and myself—felt pretty lonely as we walked down to my

house to lay plans to build a new party that was to take power in the United States.

"All three of us had been working for the ILD (International Labor Defense). We were immediately thrown out of there with back wages coming to us and not paid. We didn't have any money at all, and didn't know where we could get any. We planned the first issue of *The Militant* before we knew how we were going to pay for it. But we made a deal with the printer to give us credit for one issue. We wrote to some friends in Chicago who sent us some money and we got out the paper. We announced proudly that it was going to be published twice a month. So it was." (*History of American Trotskyism*, p. 56).

Cannon's succinct summary, written in 1936, of the creed which inspired the pioneers of the early American Communist and radical movement is well worth recalling today in the period of the rapid decline of the affluence of the welfare state.

"It is imperative, of course, that our youth deeply ponder the great lessons to be derived from the world experience of the working class since 1914. Then they will be able to see clearer, and work with a better sense of direction, than the pioneers of an earlier day upon whose shoulders they stand. But the makers of the new movement, if they really want to make it move, must be fired with the spirit of the pioneers, with the courage, self-sacrifice and purposeful activism for which the names of Bill Haywood and Gene Debs and Ben Hanford and Vincent St. John are unforgettable and inspiring symbols.

"The socialist movement, if it is really socialist, is a poor man's movement, which operates every day in defiance of the rules of book keeping and bankruptcy laws and cannot hire high-priced experts to bring about a socialist society. Those who have gone before us have shown how to make out in spite of all that. Debs campaigned for the presidency for the party wage of \$3 a day, and in 1917 they had to take up a collection in New York to send Trotsky to Russia to organize a revolution.

"We have no subsidy to draw on, and that is very probably a good thing. Subsidy is all too easily converted into a corrupting influence, as the sorry degeneration of Stalin's jumping-jack parties so eloquently testifies. Better for the movement to stand on its own feet and pay its own way as best it can. Better to draw on the hidden and financially intangible resources of enthusiasm, conviction and self-sacrifice of party militants who dare to 'storm the heavens'." (*Notebook Of An Agitator*, p. 105.)

For Cannon it was a new era—but not an easy one by any means. The split with Stalinism coincided with the growing world depression and the ominous rise of fascism in Germany. To add to Cannon's troubles, the Stalinists opened up a systematic campaign against the Trotskyists. It included slander, ostracism, and gangsterism.

Ironically, the leader of this GPU-organized campaign was J. Lovestone, who later became—and still is—the most prominent CIA "labor leader." But

CANNON AND TROTSKY

Cannon's relationship with Trotsky in this early and vital period of the Marxist movement was to prove of enormous importance. As in 1922 Trotsky's colossal authority, experience and knowledge helped to develop a collective leadership in the American Left Opposition and prevented the differences between Cannon and Shachtman from degenerating into unprincipled and premature split.

Yet despite the stimulus of Trotsky's advice, few of the Cannon leadership felt obliged to develop theoretically in the period 1928-1933 and take a serious interest in dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism.

This method reflected itself in the Trotskyist movement where the intellectuals like Burnham and Shachtman did the literary work and theorizing while Cannon attended to organization, trade union work, administration and finances. It was a pragmatic arrangement which "worked," but in the end militated against the political development of the party, as was shown in 1939-1940. This method of political leadership not only prevented the training of workers cadres, but equally effectively prevented the assimilation of the intellectuals.

The collapse of Stalinist policy and the coming to power of Hitler in Germany in 1933 and the revival of world economy in early 1934 provided Cannon with the opportunity to expand the work of the Communist League and take part in some serious mass work. The League was also able to publish some of Trotsky's suppressed writings, such as *The Problems of the Chinese Revolution*.

The influence of Trotskyism grew considerably because of the great interest in the causes of the German defeat. This interest was largely confined to the non-Stalinist radical circles. In America the Socialist Party, almost defunct in the 1920s, witnessed a dramatic revival because of the degeneration of the CP as well as the depression. Other movements such as A.J. Muste's Conference for Progressive Labor Action were formed and under the pressure of events set up the American Workers Party. Cannon grasped—more by intuition than by theoretical analysis—the correctness of Trotsky's change of tactic from reforming the Communist International to the construction of the New International. He struggled indefatigably for the New International and new party in America.

To Be Continued



William Z. Foster.

Cannon's group did not falter. The campaign failed. A little while later, after the ousting of Bukharin, Lovestone himself was thrown out and his faction dispersed.

In the spring of 1929, the American Left Opposition made their first political contact with Trotsky in exile in Prinkipo. Trotsky at the time was fighting to reform the Communist International and the Soviet State. In the USA this meant a consistent campaign to expose the bureaucratic degeneration combined with a struggle to gain reinstatement in the party. Cannon carried on this task with great skill and was able to recruit many a Communist into the ranks of the Left Opposition.

In May of the same year, *The Militant* made its call for the first National Conference of the Left Opposition in the States. This conference, held in Chicago in May 1929, represented a grand total of 100 members nationally and set up the Communist League of America.

*See *Notebook of an Agitator*, Pioneer Publishers.



China, 1927. The Communist League under Cannon's leadership was able to publish Trotsky's suppressed writing *The Problems of the Chinese Revolution*.

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BY MICHAEL BANDA

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It was about this period that Cannon developed his exceptional talent for agitation, a talent which is nowhere more consummately and evocatively expressed than in his defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, Bill Hayward, Tom Mooney, Warren Billings and Frank Little, lynched for his antiwar activities.* His work for the International Labor Defense made him a regular visitor to the most infamous prisons in the USA.

Yet despite his passionate hatred for the perpetrators of frame-up and lynch-law and his great compassion for their hapless victims, his writings betray a kind of radical humanism and a lack of political perspective. As a result, although the influence of the ILD campaign on Sacco and Vanzetti was considerable, its political impact was negligible, because it never raised at any time Lenin's suggestion of creating a political alternative to the two-party system—a labor party based on the unions.

The onset of Stalinist reaction in Russia coincided with the election to leadership in 1925 of the Cannon-Foster group. Still obsessed with the intricacies of the "American question," Cannon, in the early period of this struggle remained a bewildered if somewhat disenchanted spectator of the anti-Trotsky campaign. This was something quite unlike the tactical turns to trade unions and the legalization issue which had immediate practical significance for American Communists.

The 1926 Chinese Revolution, the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Alliance of the same period and the industrialization controversy in Russia still seemed far removed from Cannon's world, whose horizons were bounded by the vast plains of Kansas and the Chicago stockyards. These questions did not have the same tangible impact. Cannon frankly regretted his inability to cope with these problems:

"Someone may ask, 'Why didn't you make speeches in favor of Trotsky?' I couldn't do that either because I didn't understand the program. My state of mind then was that of doubt and dissatisfaction. Of course, if one had no responsibility to the party, if he were a mere commentator or observer, he could merely speak his doubts and have it over with. You can't do that in a serious political party. If you don't know what to say, you don't have to say anything. The best thing is to remain silent." History of American Trotskyism, page 44.

Cannon's silence was of no avail. Foster and Lovestone, the other leaders of the CP, were only encouraged to intensify the baiting of Trotsky. Their allegiance was to the apparatus. Cannon's genuine concern for his faction and the party impelled him

A critical assessment PART TWO of a pioneer Trotskyist



Leon Trotsky.

finally in 1928 to take an active interest in the Left Opposition and defend Trotsky.

But, as Cannon would have said, he didn't plan it that way. As a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, Cannon went to Moscow as usual preoccupied with American problems. By a rare quirk of history he was appointed to the Comintern's Program Commission where—by some bureaucratic error—Trotsky's "Criticism of the Draft Program," elaborated by Stalin and Bukharin, fell into his hands with the effect of a thunderbolt.

"Maurice Spector, a delegate from the Canadian Party, and in somewhat the same frame of mind as myself, was also on the program commission and he got a copy. We let the caucus meetings and the Congress sessions go to the devil while we read and studied the document. Then I knew what I had to do, and so did he. Our doubts had been resolved. It was as clear as daylight that Marxist truth was on the side of Trotsky. We made a compact there and then—Spector and I—that we would come back home and begin a struggle under the banner of Trotskyism." History of American Trotskyism, pages 49-50.

Cannon smuggled the Trotsky document out of Russia. This document constituted the basis of the organization of the Left Opposition in the US. It is however a debatable point whether Cannon realized the real significance of Trotsky's critique. He never subsequently explained what "doubts" were resolved by the "criticism." It is more probable that Cannon, representing a class struggle tendency in the party, could not reach a compromise with Foster and Lovestone, who were supported by Stalin, and that this drove him empirically to seek the help of Trotsky. To say this, however, is not to disparage the sterling labors of Cannon, Dunne, Skoglund, Swaback and others in propagating, at the risk of assault and expulsion the seminal ideas of Trotskyism in America.

Expulsion from the CP

In October 1928 the group led by Cannon, Martin Abern and Max Shachtman were bureaucratically expelled.

From the first week of their expulsion the Cannonites hit back with their paper *The Militant* and the public battle against Stalinism was begun.

What Cannon lacked in theoretical knowledge he tried to make up in determination and audacity. The attacks of the Stalinists—their squalid maneuvers and grotesque slanders of Trotsky—only stimulated him to fight back more tenaciously. It is worth recalling his own sentiments at the time; in particular his modest and self-effacing estimate of the selfless sacrifice made by the pioneer Trotskyists to keep the banner of Trotskyism flying:

"It was not too promising a struggle from the point of view of numbers. The three of us who signed the declaration—Abern, Shachtman and myself—felt pretty lonely as we walked down to my



Left to right: Max Eastman, James P. Cannon and Big Bill Hayward.

house to lay plans to build a new party that was to take power in the United States.

"All three of us had been working for the ILD (International Labor Defense). We were immediately thrown out of there with back wages coming to us and not paid. We didn't have any money at all, and didn't know where we could get any. We planned the first issue of *The Militant* before we knew how we were going to pay for it. But we made a deal with the printer to give us credit for one issue. We wrote to some friends in Chicago who sent us some money and we got out the paper. We announced proudly that it was going to be published twice a month. So it was." (History of American Trotskyism, p. 56.)

Cannon's succinct summary, written in 1936, of the creed which inspired the pioneers of the early American Communist and radical movement is well worth recalling today in the period of the rapid decline of the affluence of the welfare state.

"It is imperative, of course, that our youth deeply ponder the great lessons to be derived from the world experience of the working class since 1914. Then they will be able to see clearer, and work with a better sense of direction, than the pioneers of an earlier day upon whose shoulders they stand. But the makers of the new movement, if they really want to make it move, must be fired with the spirit of the pioneers, with the courage, self-sacrifice and purposeful activism for which the names of Bill Hayward and Gene Debs and Ben Hanford and Vincent St. John are unforgettable and inspiring symbols.

"The socialist movement, if it is really socialist, is a poor man's movement, which operates every day in defiance of the rules of book keeping and bankruptcy laws and cannot hire high-priced experts to bring about a socialist society. Those who have gone before us have shown how to make out in spite of all that. Debs campaigned for the presidency for the party wage of \$3 a day, and in 1917 they had to take up a collection in New York to send Trotsky to Russia to organize a revolution.

"We have no subsidy to draw on, and that is very probably a good thing. Subsidy is all too easily converted into a corrupting influence, as the sorry degeneration of Stalin's jumping-jack parties so eloquently testifies. Better for the movement to stand on its own feet and pay its own way as best it can. Better to draw on the hidden and financially intangible resources of enthusiasm, conviction and self-sacrifice of party militants who dare to 'storm the heavens.'" (Notebook Of An Agitator, p. 105.)

For Cannon it was a new era—but not an easy one by any means. The split with Stalinism coincided with the growing world depression and the ominous rise of fascism in Germany. To add to Cannon's troubles, the Stalinists opened up a systematic campaign against the Trotskyists. It included slander, ostracism, and gangsterism.

Ironically, the leader of this GPU-organized campaign was J. Lovestone, who later became—and still is—the most prominent CIA "labor leader." But



William Z. Foster.

Cannon's group did not falter. The campaign failed. A little while later, after the ousting of Bukharin, Lovestone himself was thrown out and his faction dispersed.

In the spring of 1929, the American Left Opposition made their first political contact with Trotsky in exile in Prinkipo. Trotsky at the time was fighting to reform the Communist International and the Soviet State. In the USA this meant a consistent campaign to expose the bureaucratic degeneration combined with a struggle to gain reinstatement in the party. Cannon carried on this task with great skill and was able to recruit many a Communist into the ranks of the Left Opposition.

In May of the same year, *The Militant* made its call for the first National Conference of the Left Opposition in the States. This conference, held in Chicago in May 1929, represented a grand total of 100 members nationally and set up the Communist League of America.

CANNON AND TROTSKY

Cannon's relationship with Trotsky in this early and vital period of the Marxist movement was to prove of enormous importance. As in 1922 Trotsky's colossal authority, experience and knowledge helped to develop a collective leadership in the American Left Opposition and prevented the differences between Cannon and Shachtman from degenerating into unprincipled and premature split.

Yet despite the stimulus of Trotsky's advice, few of the Cannon leadership felt obliged to develop theoretically in the period 1928-1933 and take a serious interest in dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism.

This method reflected itself in the Trotskyist movement where the intellectuals like Burnham and Shachtman did the literary work and theorizing while Cannon attended to organization, trade union work, administration and finances. It was a pragmatic arrangement which "worked," but in the end militated against the political development of the party, as was shown in 1939-1940. This method of political leadership not only prevented the training of workers cadres, but equally effectively prevented the assimilation of the intellectuals.

The collapse of Stalinist policy and the coming to power of Hitler in Germany in 1933 and the revival of world economy in early 1934 provided Cannon with the opportunity to expand the work of the Communist League and take part in some serious mass work. The League was also able to publish some of Trotsky's suppressed writings, such as *The Problems of the Chinese Revolution*.

The influence of Trotskyism grew considerably because of the great interest in the causes of the German defeat. This interest was largely confined to the non-Stalinist radical circles. In America the Socialist Party, almost defunct in the 1920s, witnessed a dramatic revival because of the degeneration of the CP as well as the depression. Other movements such as A.J. Muste's Conference for Progressive Labor Action were formed and under the pressure of events set up the American Workers Party. Cannon grasped—more by intuition than by theoretical analysis—the correctness of Trotsky's change of tactic from reforming the Communist International to the construction of the New International.

He struggled indefatigably for the New International and new party in America.

To Be Continued

*See Notebook of an Agitator, Pioneer Publishers.



China, 1927. The Communist League under Cannon's leadership was able to publish Trotsky's suppressed writing *The Problems of the Chinese Revolution*.

Miner Says: WE WANT UNION CONTROL

BY DAVID NORTH
POWHATAN POINT
Ohio—"We need union control."

"Just let the union, the miners, control everything themselves. That's all I can see us doing."

"Because if the company still owns the miners, there's nothing you can do."

Mike Roe is one of several hundred miners who had just come out of the Powhatan Number 1 coal mine at 7:45 am Friday, completing his last shift, before the start of the nationwide UMW strike.

Compared to the other mines in the area, the strike was late getting underway at Powhatan Number 1, even though nearly three days remained until the contract deadline.

South of Bellaire and Wheeling on the Ohio side of the Ohio River, the mines began shutting down as early as Tuesday. Disputes over local conditions combined with militancy over national issues brought the miners out even while UMW President Arnold Miller engaged in desperate eleventh hour negotiations.

Dangerous working conditions have provoked wildcat strikes in



Trailer camp in New Richmond, home of many miners from the Mullens area.

the area throughout the past year. Safety is a big issue among the miners who have seen too many of their brothers mangled and disabled in the mines.

But few miners believe that the wording of a contract will end the slaughter that goes on every day and night in the mines.

In the five years since he has become a miner, Roe has learned everything he wants to know about the issue of safety in the mines.

"On my third day in the

mines," he said, "I got my arm busted in 10 places. The damn federal safety inspector was right next to me when it happened."

"He told us to clear the dirt and dust off the continuous miner. I was cleaning it and then the operator grabbed the wrong controls and the jacks caught my arm."

"It took them three hours to get me out of the mine. That's an awfully long time."

"The men went on strike over it. I was out for a long time, and lost about \$1500 in pay. But I only got about \$600 in compensation."

"This all happened because all the coal operators want is production. Most of the time the company gets on the shift foremen. Then he comes up and says 'we need more coal. You're not putting out enough. What's wrong up there.'"

"Then we'll tell the foreman that the men won't run this or that because of safety. That doesn't stop the boss. He threatens to send us home if we don't run it."

"Well, you can't always afford to lose a day's pay, so you run the machine. Just as long as the company gets coal out, they don't care about the men. The men are expendable in the mines today."

"In the last year, we've had two wildcats that maybe lasted two or three days."

"At other mines, they've wildcatted maybe 10 or 15 times."

"Once the miners in another pit set up picket lines at our mine. I think that strike lasted

three weeks and it brought all the Ohio Valley mines out. We respected their picket line."

"That's the only way you can ever get an issue answered around here. If you don't shut down the entire Ohio Valley, the union leaders tell you to take it to the district. The district officials let it lay on their desk for a couple of weeks. They don't care if you get your complaint answered or not."

"Those guys are just collecting their money and sitting on their fannies."

Roe said that he did not believe that Miller had a serious program to make the mines safe. "There were a lot of expectations when Miller came in. He was supposed to be for the union. He was going to give us this and that. He hasn't given us anything."

"The men still have big expectations. We're all waiting to see what we're going to get in this contract. Myself, I figure that we're going to get the shaft from Miller."

"The problem is that your companies control your unions. That's why I agree with you on nationalization. It's definitely a good thing if you can get it. But it's going to be a fight."

"Look at the UMW. Miller's controlling the union right now. Now, if you can get the men to back your cause, to see your points, then I can see nationalization."

"But right now, Miller's controlling the union. Miller's controlling the men. But the company is controlling Miller."

So who's controlling the whole damn thing? Your companies.

"Now, there are the young miners. You've got the right ideas and you'll have the young miners behind you."

"At least 50 percent of the miners are young. The older miners are fading away. The younger guys are sticking up for themselves."

"Nationalizing the mines, a lot of that might catch on. Because the younger miner wants to get out. It's like being on your own and doing something new. That's what the younger miners want."

"But the unions are controlled by conservative people, and they just don't go for it."

REVOLUTIONARY

The fight for the nationalization of the mines under the control of the workers requires the development of a revolutionary leadership inside the United Mine Workers.

The nationalization of the mines is an urgent necessity. There cannot be safety as long as the mines are run on the basis of profit. Most essentially, nationalization is the indispensable measure which must be fought for by the working class to resolve, in its own interests, the enormous economic crisis.

The fight for the nationalization of the mines is a political issue which Miller refuses to confront and will not carry out. He is a trade union bureaucrat seeking to maintain the movement of the working class within the limits of the capitalist system.

He defends private ownership of the mines. Miller knows that it is impossible to demand nationalization of the mines under workers control and at the same time maintain his alliance with the Ford government and the Democratic Party politicians and Congress who are controlled by the corporations.

The issue of nationalization raises the need for a political break with the capitalist parties and for the building of a labor party based on the trade unions that can mobilize the working class on the basis of socialist policies.

To carry this fight forward, an alternative revolutionary leadership must be developed in the United Mine Workers. This is the task now posed to the Workers League.

Textbook Protestors: A Right-Wing Diversion

BY DAVID NORTH
CHARLESTON, W. Va.—More than 2,000 "textbook protestors" marched through the city Friday.

This followed the decision of the Kanawah County Board of Education to reinstate all of the textbooks that protestors had demanded be removed from school libraries.

There is considerable evidence that these protests are being financed and led by ultraright-wing elements from all over the country who are seeking to create a diversion in the midst of the miners' strike.

One of the leaders of the textbook protests, Reverend Marvin Horan, reported that he received \$7,920 in contributions, but was unable to detail where the money came from. In his recent speeches, Horan has paid relatively little attention to the issue of pornography, but has instead denounced those who attack the "free enterprise system."

Right-wingers from out of state have emerged in the leadership of the protests. Bob Dornan, representing the Citizens for Decency through Laws, of Los Angeles, has been a regular speaker at the textbook rallies.

Not much is known about this organization, but Dornan, who once barred the television series "Twelve O'Clock High," has been identified with right-wing groups.

Another speaker at the rallies here has been James McKenna, of the Heritage Foundation, which is suspiciously located in Arlington, Virginia, headquarters of the American Nazi Party.

The American Opinion Bookstore, official publishing house of the John Birch Society in Reedy, West Virginia, has offered to print the pamphlets for

the textbook protestors.

This movement has also received support from the business community. The Business and Professional Peoples' Alliance for Better Textbooks was recently established, led by Elmer Pyke, president of a chemical company and a well-known Birchite sympathizer who contributes columns for the right-wing Kanawah Valley Leader. Rev. Ezra Graley, an organizer of the protests, recently stated that the anti-textbook campaign was receiving money from unnamed groups in New Orleans.

The United Mine Workers has repeatedly insisted that it does not back the protest and that none of its leaders are spokesmen for the union. However, the textbook protest leaders are deliberately claiming that they speak for the miners and that the West Virginia miners are now going on strike not over contract issues, but because of the books in their school libraries.

One Fred Harris, claiming to speak for miners, said that his vote on the upcoming contract has nothing to do with the terms of the settlement, but rather with the outcome of the anti-textbook campaign.

This textbook protest is being whipped up by right-wingers with the tacit approval of leading Democrats and Republicans like Senator Robert Byrd and Governor Arch Moore, to create divisions within the miners union.

Fearing the movement of workers against the government, the protest leaders are attempting to whip up anticommunism. Reverend Horan has told his followers to check their communities for card-carrying "strange persons." Another leader, Ed Miller, told the rally on Friday: "Communists are coming in your back yard."

Miners throughout West Virginia must be on their guard and reject the right-wing provocateurs who seek to break up their strike and the union.

Threat Of 5000 Layoffs At Lordstown

BY NANCY RUSSELL
LORDSTOWN, Ohio—General Motors workers here know it is just a matter of time before the mass layoffs in the auto industry hit the Lordstown plant.

Tom, a Lordstown worker, said, "Already they have the sheets up on the bulletin board so men can volunteer to take a layoff and give a younger man a longer chance to work. But I sure couldn't afford to do that."

GM is considering several tactics at Lordstown: cutting to one shift with layoffs up to 5,000; closing the entire plant for the month of December; eliminating holiday pay; cutting the line speed from 110-110 to 75, accompanied by large layoffs.

Tom reported that a shutdown may have already taken place at GMAD's St. Therese plant in Quebec, as Lordstown is producing the Canadian

models.

While Ford removed its posted layoffs of 75 auto workers at Cleveland's Brook Park complex because of the immediate turmoil, the crisis forces these companies to push ahead with cutbacks in all plants. The cutting to one shift at Tarrytown, Van Nuys, and Kansas City is an immediate warning that Lordstown and Brook Park workers must prepare now.

Juan, a Lordstown worker who has joined the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party at Lordstown, said: "We now have 30 days to sign up for our seniority rights."

"When the layoff comes, people with up to five years seniority will probably be on the streets. It's not right. I'm completely fed up."

"The union sold us down the drain with that last strike. Some guys at the plant told me not to get involved with this because it's Communist. But I wonder if they're company men or something. Can't they see something must be done the way things are

right now with these layoffs?"

"The prices are now \$3,500 for a Pontiac and you only get 14 to 15 miles per gallon."

"Within two years, the Vega is entirely rotted out. After 40,000 miles, the cylinder walls warp. The whole car rattles. They're just junk and people can't afford to buy them."

The Youngstown-Cleveland Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party will meet November 24. Not one job must be sacrificed for Gerstenberg's profits. We demand:

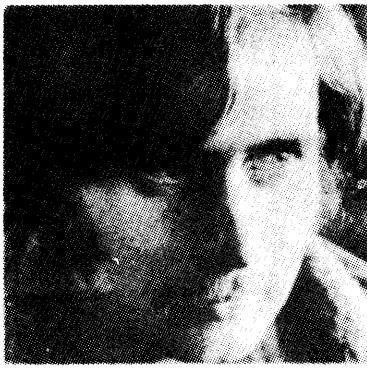
•Full employment in auto. 30 hours work for 40 hours pay now with union control of working conditions. End speedup.

•Closures must be met with occupations and a national auto strike to shut the industry down.

•A congress of the labor movement is necessary to map out united labor action against Ford's plans to fuel the recession and destroy the independence of the unions.

•Build a labor party to nationalize the auto industry under workers control.

HOW THE BRITISH MINERS FORCED THE TORIES TO RESIGN



"We've got to show the government who rules the country. The working class should rule...We've been a quiet country but when the working class moves, it will move very decisively. The working class can't accept three-day working." (John Deerin, British miner.)

BY MELODY FARROW

The demand of British miners for a wage increase of over \$60 a week and their rejection of a productivity deal places them again in the forefront of the struggle to defend living standards of the whole British working class.

In February 1974, British miners led a determined struggle against the Industrial Relations Act and the state pay laws of the Tory government.

Just as the strike of American miners is in defiance of Ford's belt tightening "anti-inflation" program, the British miners strike was, above all, a political struggle against a government out to destroy the unions, basic rights, and living standards.

The British Industrial Relations Act with its Pay Board and courts was a fundamental attack on trade union rights—collective bargaining, union recognition, and the right to strike and picket.

The strike demonstrated the enormous power of the working class, not just in Britain, but in every country. It made possible the election of the Labor Party and of a whole new stage of class struggle.

The struggle took place in the midst of the worst economic crisis in the history of Britain. On December 13, a full-scale recession was set in motion by placing industry on a three-day week. Over two million were out of work. Once this step was taken, bankruptcies and permanent closures became inevitable.

Simultaneously, the Tories slashed public spending. The pound was in a state of collapse, inflation out of control, and the trade deficit continued to soar every month. The international crisis of capitalism hit Britain with a ferocious impact.

This crisis and the offensive of the working class threw the Heath government into an enormous crisis. The miners pay demands were a decisive challenge to the Phase Three pay ceiling and to the whole Tory strategy to force the working class to pay for the crisis with wage cuts and speedup.

Heath declared a policy of no-surrender and in a letter to the leaders of the National Union of

Mine Workers warned:

"In this situation, the country can no longer sustain the increase in the living standards of our people which we have enjoyed for the last two years."

Heath set out to prepare for a violent confrontation and to make the miners the scapegoat for the crisis by accusing them of destroying the nation.

The Special Patrol Group, a picket busting squad, was organized. The government openly tried to recruit to the Special Constables, a strike-breaking force. The high level Privy Council was given emer-

gency powers and the police, army, provocateurs, and bombers were all mobilized in preparation for the strike.

Coal stocks were built up and an arrangement was made with the Stalinist regime in Poland, which shipped 27,000 tons of coal to Britain on January 18.

On the flimsiest of pretenses, the British troops in an unprecedented maneuver, occupied the Heathrow Airport outside London as a dress rehearsal for the use of troops against workers.



British troops occupied Heathrow Airport at the height of the miners strike.

gencies and the police, army, provocateurs, and bombers were all mobilized in preparation for the strike.

On February 24, the All Trades Union Alliance, industrial arm of the WRP, held a 4000-strong rally of youth and trade unionists in London in support of the miners.

ATUA chairman Alan Thornett, an auto worker, declared: "The general election will only place the ruling class and the working class at different vantage points in the terrain of battle. Immediately the election is over, the issue of jobs comes up. This is because of the unprecedented economic

back down and forced the NUM to call a strike vote. The answer was a resounding 81 percent vote to shut the coal fields.

These preparations were the clearest warning that the government was gearing for a civil war against the entire working class to smash the unions and impose military dictatorship.

On February 8, Heath resigned and a General Election was called for February 28.

This was an enormous vindication of the policy fought for by the Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain which was the only movement that exposed the weakness of the Heath regime and said the miners could force the government out.

Now, a direct confrontation by the working class with a Labor Party government, even weaker than the Tories, creates favorable conditions for the building of revolutionary leadership.

The experience of the miners in Britain demonstrates that the wages fight is a political fight.

crisis facing world capitalism. "The election of Labor is important, but only in the sense of a struggle to compel the Labor leaders to implement socialist policies, to expose them and through that, the building of a mass Workers Revolutionary Party."

The miners went ahead with their strike during the election campaign. On March 8, they forced the new minority Labor government to grant them a substantial wage increase.

The miners won an important political victory over Phase Three that strengthened the

Every wages victory by any section of workers in Britain or the US deepens the economic crisis and forces the government to destroy the rights and organizations of the working class.

Decent living standards can only be won by halting the uncontrollable inflation. This means the nationalization of food monopolies, the banks, and the industries under a workers government.

The lesson of the British strike is that the working class has power to defeat the government but that it must fight consciously, under a revolutionary leadership. The leadership can take workers through a struggle against the labor bureaucracy and its Stalinist and revisionist allies and in this way build a party to lead the struggle for power.

The lessons for American workers are these: the miners can deal a powerful blow to the Ford government. The strike must become a battlefield for a struggle to build a labor party and for a political break with the Democrats and Republicans.

The Arnold Miller leadership refuses to lead this fight. Miller's collaboration with Ford's Labor-Management Committee expresses his agreement with the British NUM leaders that workers must sacrifice wages to bolster a bankrupt economic system.

Like the "left" union leaders such as Scanlon in Britain, who bowed to Phase Three, Miller is willing to accept a corporate state setup in which wages are determined by the government.

The Communist Party and the revisionist Socialist Workers Party uncritically back Miller and remain silent on these issues.

The British miners forced their leaders to break off talks with the government, but unless this leadership is actually exposed and removed in the course of further struggle, it will lead the working class to defeat.

In the US, the importance of building a labor party is to unite the entire working class against the alliance of the Democrats and Republicans and big business who have declared war on decent wages and the right to a job.

In the course of this struggle, the primary issue is to expose the bureaucracy and to fight for a socialist program to answer the economic crisis and build an alternative revolutionary leadership in the unions.

CONDITIONS

Now, a direct confrontation by the working class with a Labor Party government, even weaker than the Tories, creates favorable conditions for the building of revolutionary leadership.

The experience of the miners in Britain demonstrates that the wages fight is a political fight.



The young Marx.

With much publicity and fanfare, Harper and Row has published a new biography entitled *Karl Marx, His Life and Thought* by David McLellan. The author claims that his work is the first "full-scale biography of Marx in English covering all aspects of his life since that of Mehring, first published in the original German in 1918." He comments that Mehring's book is "somewhat hagiographic and out of date."

We are therefore confronted with a book which undoubtedly the author, as well as certain bourgeois critics, consider to be the definitive biography of Marx.

When bourgeois critics and university professors have such effusive praise for a book about Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, then we must take notice and examine the cause of these acclamations.

We disagree with McLellan's claim that one can be impartial in assessing Marx's life and thought. Nor do we share the belief that impartiality, even if it were possible, leads to objective truth. For a Marxist—which McLellan quite correctly does not claim to be—objective truth in any field can be more closely approximated only through a process of continual struggle to transform the material world in order to serve the needs of man.

Today this struggle is the struggle to overthrow the existing social relations of capitalism. This struggle to bring the working class to power is carried out on the economic, political and theoretical level in the building of a revolutionary party. We maintain that an objective understanding of Marx as well as of McLellan's book is only possible as a partisan of this struggle.

McLellan's book is important precisely because in his various assessments of Marx's activities and thought, as well as in his selections, we find not simply the individual conceptions of McLellan, but also the thinking of a whole section of so-called Marxist intellectuals.

In this sense, McLellan's book is more of a reflection of the present period and the status of a whole section of the middle class than it is of Marx and his time.

ACCIDENTS

The first sections of the book concern Marx's childhood and early development. The way this is treated is typical of the whole book. McLellan puts together various events and family background, all aimed at giving the impression that a series of accidents moulded the thinking of Marx.

It is in this context that McLellan claims to correct a misconception held by Mehring on the basis of some recently discovered facts that were inaccessible to Mehring. Since this is the only direct challenge to Mehring's scholarship in the whole book, it is worth examining.

McLellan maintains that the conversion of Marx's father from Judaism to Protestantism was made solely for pragmatic reasons: so that Heinrich Marx could keep his position as a civil servant in the face of anti-Semitic legislation that would have removed him from his job. Mehring writes of this event:

"At that time the renunciation of Judaism was not merely an act of religious emancipation, but also and even more so, an act of social emancipation. Thus for many a decade the adoption of Christianity was an act of civilized progress for the freer spirits of Judaism, and the

The Life Of KARL MARX

A Review By Alex Steiner



Karl Marx building the First International depicted in a mural by Diego Rivera.

change of religion made by Heinrich Marx for himself and his family in 1824 must be understood in this sense and no other. It is possible that external circumstances determined the moment at which the change was made, but they were certainly not the cause."

This dispute McLellan has with Mehring is not trivial. It is clear from Mehring's account that he does not deny that an external factor may have been the immediate reason for the conversion of Heinrich Marx. But Mehring insists that within this accidental occurrence, there existed the force of historical necessity.

The conversion to Protestantism was the form in which the spirit of the Enlightenment was expressed by a section of the Jewish middle class who broke not merely with the Jewish religion, but also from the backwardness and provincialism of ghetto life and culture. The younger Marx was inculcated in his formative years with the liberal spirit of the Enlightenment, which was a necessary starting point for his later break with the bourgeoisie and their ideology, for that break could only take place once Marx had assimilated the highest developments of bourgeois culture.

DIALECTICAL

Mehring's treatment of this topic is dialectical. It attempts to portray the contradictory na-

ture of seemingly accidental events in history. It is materialist, because Mehring does not explain the events in an individual's history in terms of their conscious motives, but rather in terms of the historical forces at work which created the conscious motives in the first place.

McLellan, on the other hand, proceeds with an empirical method. He sees only the immediate, accidental cause of an event. He makes no attempt to examine the social forces or the particular historical context within which the event took place and which ultimately determined it.

Despite the emphasis McLellan places on biographical and historical data, he shows himself to be a complete idealist. The material class forces that drive men into conflict with the whole of "official" society remain beyond the province of McLellan's investigation. This method of looking at history is the hallmark of the petty bourgeoisie, which always imagines itself to be independent of and above the class struggle.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is with this method that McLellan proceeds throughout the whole course of his biography. In this way, nothing seems to make sense or have any significance outside of its immediate impact. Thus, McLellan is completely incapable of assessing the significance of

Marx's activities or theoretical discoveries, the unity behind them as well as the growth and development in them.

McLellan continually points out that Marx's political perspectives, as well as Marx's attitude toward political activity, were inconsistent: that it was one thing in 1848, another in 1852, still another in 1871 and so on. He further implies that these inconsistencies represented in Marx a wavering political attitude based at best on skepticism and changes in moods, or at worst in opportunist maneuvering at the expense of principles.

One example of this is McLellan's treatment of Marx's and Engels's activities during the 1848 Revolution. Marx, Engels, and the Communist League which they led at the time took the position that the interests of the working class could best be advanced by participating with the bourgeoisie in the democratic struggle against the semi-feudal aristocracy in Germany. The proletarian party would remain independent and be the most consistent champion of the bourgeois revolution. This struggle to destroy the remnants of feudalism would lead to the establishment of a bourgeois republic and the unhindered development of industrial capitalism, which would in turn strengthen the working class and set the stage for the independent movement of the working class for socialism at some point in the future.

What Is The Labor Committee

"The Labor Party is the only commie group we trust." This quote from a John Birch Society member in Pennsylvania is proudly reproduced in Solidarity, organ of the National Caucus of Labor Committees which operates a political front called the US Labor Party.

Recently, this hysterical group has been stepping up activities designed to discredit Marxism in the unions and to spread confusion about the necessity of a fight for the construction of an independent labor party based on the strength of the trade union movement.

As the economic crisis intensifies, millions of workers forced to defend their living standards and jobs are turning towards the unions demanding that these mass organizations take up the fight in their defense.

The Workers League begins from the understanding that in the course of such struggles, workers will immediately face political questions. The struggle to defend all basic rights means a political confrontation with the government that requires a perspective for the working class to take power and establishing socialism.

The task facing revolutionaries is to take the working class through the experience of establishing a mass labor party in order to expose the reformist leaders of the working class and to build a revolutionary leadership in the class.

The capitalist crisis, which is shattering the conditions of life for millions of workers, provides the objective conditions for carrying out this fight. No bureaucratic apparatus has the power to prevent great class battles from developing.

The trade union bureaucracy, the Stalinists and revisionists act as agents of the capitalist class within the workers movement by reinforcing bourgeois ideology

and preventing the working class from using its vast industrial power to build its own political party.

The National Caucus of Labor Committees has substituted this necessary theoretical and political struggle against reformist thinking for a completely idealist "conspiracy" theory that the working class is brainwashed by the CIA, through the bureaucracy, which NCLC equates with fascism.

They carry to its most extreme and reactionary lengths the total pessimism about the working class that is characteristic of all centrist and radical petty bourgeois formations.

In Europe, where the greatest battles in history are just beginning, they see the working class as already defeated. According to them, the British miners strike last February "destroyed the economy, broke the working class, and for all extents and purposes turned Britain into a banana republic."

In recent weeks this group has hurled itself into activities around the labor movement launching ultimatums at workers and seeking to substitute its own frenzied actions for the struggle of the working class.

Their followers have been involved in physical confrontations with a number of union officials at plant gates, and violent attacks against members of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

Their vicious provocations have opened the door for police to intervene against working class organizations. With the perspective that the unions are CIA-led, they do not of course defend the unions against the capitalist state.

The truth is that NCLC has nothing to do with building a mass labor party to defend the working class. They are completely hostile to the working class.

They seek out and boast of the tremendous press and TV publicity they seem to attract. The extreme interest displayed by the capitalist press towards this group shows how the press seeks



Bulletin reporters interviewed youth in Newburgh, NY after press reports of racial fighting. Many youth there said that last week's outbreak was nothing major, that it was blown out of proportion to "look like Boston."

Julio, who attends Newburgh Free Academy, said: "The whole thing is stupid. In the school, we stay separate, black and white and Puerto Rican, but we don't usually have racial fights. They built this one up."

Several youth agreed, saying: "The police made it worse. They were threatening to call in the National Guard over nothing."

to portray their sick antics as representative of revolutionary Marxism.

Recently, it was revealed that one of their candidates in Flint, Michigan, Vernon Higgins, was discovered to be an FBI informer. We do not know the extent of police infiltration of the Labor Committee, but there is no doubt that their provocative activities provide a fertile breeding ground for agents to work in.

The NCLC was founded by Lynn Marcus, a former member of the Socialist Workers Party. While he was a neutral in the struggle against Pabloite revisionism within the SWP, he finally left the SWP in 1965 and for a short period of time collaborated with the American Committee for the Fourth International (predecessor of the Workers League).

Marcus split from ACFI following the 1966 Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International and joined the Spartacist League which walked out of the conference. Both shared a common hostility to building an international movement. He stayed with Spartacist only for a brief period, and wrote upon leaving in July 1966 that the Fourth International had been destroyed by revisionism and proclaiming that a fifth international had to be built. He severed all connections to the Trotskyist movement.

In this period, Gerry Healy, general secretary of the Socialist Labor League in Britain, wrote Marcus:

"The American petty bourgeoisie reflect the powerful pressure of American imperialism. They are arrogant and impatient towards the working class in the United States and internationally.

"They start off with the impression that the world is theirs and all they have to do is demand it. They begin with themselves and in doing so reflect the most reactionary Wall Street pressure.

"The trouble with all subjective idealists such as yourself is that you see revolutionary struggles invariably from the standpoint of 'conspiracies,' the clashes between 'personalities.' Marxists, on the other hand, begin with the international class struggle between capital and labor..."

Today, we see the results of this subjective idealist method gone mad. Labor Committee exists in a fantasy world where they now claim that the mass layoffs are a Rockefeller conspiracy to demoralize workers into not voting for their candidates in the November 5 election.

The labor movement, working class organizations, and individual trade unionists must completely reject this dangerous group of provocateurs.

Government Intervenes In Steel Election

BY DEBRA WATSON

CHICAGO, Ill.—The issues involved in the November 14-18 elections for the director of the 140,000 member District 31 of the USWA show more than ever the need to build a leadership among steel workers that will fight for a labor party.

The elections will be held with 400 federal marshals lining the union polling places. The investigation by the Ford government of the entire union's activity was only stopped when Sam Evett, the declared winner of the original 1973 election, agreed to a rerun before the Labor Department could complete its lawsuit. The investigations were held after Ed Sadlowski, the only opponent to the Abel bureaucracy's hand-picked man, filed charges with the government when it was revealed he lost by 2,300 votes.

There is no doubt that there were election irregularities. The USWA leadership had to throw out the entire Gary Local 1014 vote and union officials there were suspended. But Sadlowski has opened the union up to intervention by a government bent on busting up the unions.

ENA

Evett has campaigned continuously by praising the Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

The Bulletin and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party have continuously fought the speedup measures and for a full cost of living clause. We waged a campaign against the introduction of the job-cutting Basic Oxygen Process and the Q-BOP. We saw the QW-DOT (Quality Workmanship—Delivery on Time) program at South Works and the nationwide showing of the movie Where's Joe? by the USWA as union compliance with the US Steel speedup drive.

Now the ENA must be fought by preparation for a nationwide strike and the construction of a labor party against the back-breaking productivity and wage limitations.

MINERS. . .

(continued from page 1)

Jobs in basic industry are being destroyed by the thousands. There is not an auto worker with less than 10 years seniority whose job will not be threatened in the next few months.

Speedups in the plants threaten to transform every factory into an industrial concentration camp. As in the 1930s, the employers will seek to force those who are left in the plant to complete not only their own jobs, but those of laid off workers. They want uninterrupted production at a murderous pace.

This applies not only to industrial plants and mills, but also to the mines. This is why the coal bosses backed by the government bitterly resist the demands of miners for the unlimited right to strike.

Above all, Ford and the employers are determined to drive down wages. The government is already preparing a new program of wage controls backed by law.

The attack launched by AFL-

CIO President George Meany last week on the Democratic Party is completely fraudulent. Meany charged that Mike Mansfield, Democratic leader in the Senate, was not serious about proposals for mandatory wage and price controls. Meany declared he was "disillusioned" with the Democratic Party and that the November 5 election did not give them a mandate.

But in the same breath, Meany added: "We will support anything that's equitable."

The AFL-CIO has been the biggest supporter of Nixon's Pay Board and Ford's Labor-Management Committee. In exchange for a worthless promise from the government that prices will be controlled, he wants another wage freeze.

He has absolutely no difference in principle with the Democrats.

Meany's explosion only shows how terrified he is that any attempt to freeze wages again will lead to massive labor struggles that his bureaucrats will not be able to control.

Ford and the employers know that in order to impose wage cuts on the working class, they

must break the trade unions and impose dictatorship.

For these reasons, the fundamental issue raised before miners and all sections of the working class is the political fight against the government.

The basic rights of the working class can only be defended if the issue of wages is linked to a political fight for socialist policies and a labor party to unite the entire working class against Ford and the employers.

Umw President Arnold Miller has conducted these negotiations as if no economic crisis existed at all. But this crisis makes the defense of living standards and basic rights impossible within the framework of capitalist private ownership and the profit system.

Miners know from experience that the wage increases they win today will be eaten up by price increases tomorrow—unless the struggle for wage increases is taken forward by the political fight to nationalize the mines and all the profit gouging corporations and monopolies under workers control.

Miners know that their lives will be placed in danger every time they go underground—unless the mines are operated and controlled by the workers and not by the coal bosses. The fight for the nationalization of the mines and all basic industry under the control of the working class poses in the most immediate way the need for the building of a labor party based on the trade unions.

There must be a break from the Democratic and Republican Parties which are the tools of big business.

Miners must demand that Miller and the Umw take this fight forward by calling for a congress of labor organized from the ranks of the trade unions to build a labor party.

The miners stand in a powerful position to rally the entire working class against Ford. Millions of workers are prepared to back the miners if given the lead.

The Umw bureaucracy has refused to confront these basic issues. Miller has not only refused to spell out the demands of the Umw on wages and the unlimited right to strike, but he

serves on Ford's Labor-Management Committee, set up to control wages and boost productivity.

It is necessary to construct a revolutionary leadership in the United Mine Workers in a fight for the following program against the Miller bureaucracy.

- Across the board 25 percent wage increase and 100 percent cost of living clause.

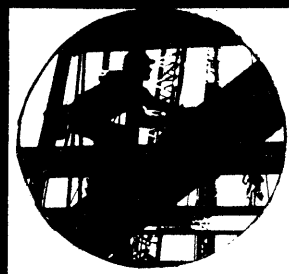
- The full right to strike over all issues.

- No productivity deals.
- Miller must quit Ford's Labor-Management Committee.

- Stop the murder in the mines, nationalize the coal industry under workers control with no compensation to the coal owners.

- Call a congress of labor to build a labor party.

Every trade unionist in steel, auto, and throughout basic industry must demand that his union give the fullest support to the miners strike. We call on miners and all workers to take up a fight for the building of a labor party to mobilize the working class against the government by joining the Workers League.



lucha obrera

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A mediados de la semana pasada, once de los dirigentes de la Unión Independiente Auténtica (UIA) fueron enviados a la cárcel por que rehusaron terminar la huelga. El gobernador, basado en una ley anti-unión, trató de presionar al liderato imponiendo una sentencia de un mes de cárcel y una multa de doscientos dólares.

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La Unión de Tronquistas que cuenta con una matrícula de 14 mil afiliados aprobó por unanimidad unirse al paro del

lunes en apoyo a los líderes encarcelados y las demandas de los trabajadores en huelga.

Luis E Pagán, secretario tesoro de la unión, presentó que "no se puede permitir que el movimiento obrero organizado pierda el derecho a la huelga." Parte de la resolución pasada por aclamación por los delegados tronquistas lee así: "Solicitar la cooperación de todo el movimiento obrero organizado del país, de todos los líderes obreros, de todas las uniones y de todo el pueblo en general para que sumándose al paro de este lunes demuestren a los enemigos de los trabajadores que nosotros jamás renunciaremos a un derecho que tanta sangre ha costado."

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Las Tres A es una agrupación fascista que trabaja mano a mano con la policía. Estos han enviado amenazas a actores, decanos de universidades y a líderes de uniones.

En la ciudad de Comodoro Rivadavia los trabajadores del aceite, cuando sus líderes recibieron amenazas de las Tres A, llevaron a cabo una huelga el pasado 25 de octubre en repudio de los ataques fascistas.

Repudiamos los ataques fascistas en contra de los miembros del PST. Demandamos la devolución de las garantías constitucionales a los trabajadores.



Demostración de obreros AAA en protesta por el encarcelamiento de sus líderes.

Uniones: Apoyen Huelga Mineros!

POR CESAR UCO

120 mil mineros están en huelga desafiando el programa "anti-inflacionario" del presidente Ford.

Esta huelga debe de ser apoyada por todo el movimiento obrero para transformar la lucha salarial en una lucha política—para cons-

truir un partido obrero y nacionalizar las minas y la industria sin compensación y bajo control obrero—como la única manera de detener la inflación y la recesión.

Indudablemente, los capitalistas culparán a los mineros de crear una crisis de energía queriendo justificar de esta manera miles de nuevos despidos.

Esto no es cierto. La gran industria del auto, la electrónica, construcción y acero ya han hecho planes para cerrar plantas y despedir a miles de trabajadores.

Entre los mineros se corren rumores que Miller está considerando un contrato con un aumento de 8 por ciento el primer año y 3 por ciento para los dos siguientes. También se dice que está pidiendo una cláusula para el costo de vida similar a la de los trabajadores del acero: nada el primer año y un máximo de 1 por ciento durante el segundo y tercer año.

Un contrato con estas cláusulas ni siquiera defiende el salario frente a la inflación del 12 por ciento. Y nadie, absolutamente nadie espera que la inflación baje.

La verdad es que cualquier aumento salarial ganado por los mineros o cualquier otro sector obrero solo obligará a los capitalistas a aumentar los precios, que a su vez contribuirá en intensificar la recesión—cierre de plantas y desempleo masivo.

Pero una victoria de los mineros—un alto aumento salarial—estimularía a la clase obrera a tomar medidas para defender el nivel de vida frente a la inflación. Abriría las puertas para que sectores importantes como auto y acero re-abran sus contratos que solo permiten aumentos salariales de 3 por ciento anual por tres años.

Ford ha dicho que si la huelga de los mineros dura más de

dos semanas, usará la ley Taft-Hartley, sentando las bases para multar a los trabajadores o usar la guardia nacional.

Pero esta medida, o aún un contrato con un incremento salarial decente sería aprobado por el gobierno solo para ganar tiempo y prepararse para reprimir a la clase obrera y obligarla a aceptar las condiciones de vida miserables de los años 30.

Esta es la solución de los capitalistas a la crisis. No tienen otra alternativa.

En implementar estas medidas buscan el apoyo de la burocracia de las uniones. Esta es la función del Comité de Administración del Trabajo que incluye a líderes de las grandes uniones como Meany de la AFL-CIO, Woodcock de la UAW y Miller de la UMW. El gobierno quiere usar a la burocracia para patrullar a la clase obrera.

LLAMAR UN CONGRESO DE LOS TRABAJADORES

Es por esto que un partido obrero debe construirse para movilizar toda la fortaleza de la clase obrera en contra del gobierno y tomar el poder.

Este partido debe de luchar para implementar una política socialista—la nacionalización de la industria sin compensación y bajo control obrero.

La huelga de los mineros debe de transformarse en una lucha de toda la clase obrera llamando inmediatamente a un Congreso de los Trabajadores para tomar medidas que conduzcan a la derrota política del capitalismo.

riales, mejores condiciones de trabajo y el derecho a los trabajadores del gobierno a sindicalizarse y tener derecho a la huelga. La Autoridad de Acueductos y Alcantarillados es una agencia del gobierno. El jueves pasado tres agencias gubernamentales, el Banco de la Vivienda, la Compañía de Desarrollo Industrial y la Autoridad de Fuentes Fluviales comenzaron un movimiento de brazos caídos en protesta de la acción del gobierno.

El gobierno ha fabricado casos en contra de los huelguistas arrojando en los últimos días a más de ocho obreros bajo supuesto sabotaje al servicio de agua. La unión ha declarado que dichas acusaciones son falsas.

Este movimiento es de gran importancia para la clase obrera puertorriqueña y de este país. Cerca de una tercera parte de la fuerza laboral del país trabaja con el gobierno.

La lucha en contra de las leyes anti-obreras y por la defensa de los líderes arrestados es una lucha política en contra del gobierno. El Partido Popular Democrático (PPD) que está ahora en el poder cuenta con el apoyo de la mayoría de la clase obrera. Las promesas de Hernández Colón antes de que subiera al poder—trabajos y buenos salarios—han sido expuestas como falsas.

La clase obrera en Puerto Rico al igual que aquí tiene que construir su propio partido basado en un programa de demandas socialistas. Es solo así que se puede defender el derecho a tener una unión, de destruir las leyes anti-obreras y defender a los líderes sindicales.



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El gobierno ha fabricado casos en contra de los huelguistas arrojando en los últimos días a más de ocho obreros bajo supuesto sabotaje al servicio de agua. La unión ha declarado que dichas acusaciones son falsas.

Este movimiento es de gran importancia para la clase obrera puertorriqueña y de este país. Cerca de una tercera parte de la fuerza laboral del país trabaja con el gobierno.

La lucha en contra de las leyes anti-obreras y por la defensa de los líderes arrestados es una lucha política en contra del gobierno. El Partido Popular Democrático (PPD) que está ahora en el poder cuenta con el apoyo de la mayoría de la clase obrera. Las promesas de Hernández Colón antes de que subiera al poder—trabajos y buenos salarios—han sido expuestas como falsas.

La clase obrera en Puerto Rico al igual que aquí tiene que construir su propio partido basado en un programa de demandas socialistas. Es solo así que se puede defender el derecho a tener una unión, de destruir las leyes anti-obreras y defender a los líderes sindicales.



La huelga de los mineros es una lucha de toda la clase obrera.