

Bulletin

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER EIGHTY NINE 425

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1974

UNION LABEL 8

C-748

TWENTY CENTS

More Secret Talks With Government & Employers

THE FACE OF TREACHERY

BY DAVID NORTH

Every section of the trade union bureaucracy is scurrying into frantic meetings with the government and employers aimed at heading off the mounting offensive of the working class against the brutal attacks on its jobs and living standards.

•United Mine Workers president Arnold Miller, whose sellout agreement with the coal bosses is opposed by a majority of the 38-man union bargaining council and faces certain rejection by the rank and file, is planning to meet privately with operators and federal mediator William J. Usery in order to

salvage the government-dictated tentative contract.

•United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock began meetings in Detroit on Monday to discuss plans by the management of Chrysler Corporation to shut down all assembly plants between Thanksgiving and New Year.

•Teamsters Local 804 leader Ron Carey continues around-the-clock meetings with Usery—who is shuttling between Washington and New York—even though 4,000 striking workers shouted down on Sunday a proposed offer by United Parcel that would slash jobs to ease the company's financial crisis.

•AFL-CIO President George Meany last week secretly approved, in private meetings with leaders of the Democratic Party, a Congressional program calling for "an across-the-board system of economic controls" on wages.



Miller



Meany



Woodcock



UPS workers in New York rejected company demands to cut 1200 jobs. See article page 8.

COLLABORATION

The collaboration of this bureaucracy with the government and big business is an attempt to foist upon the back of the working class the full weight of the greatest economic crisis in the history of capitalism.

This is corporatism in its most naked form. The bureaucrats work to strip the working class of its right to defend its rights and transform the trade unions into auxiliary agencies of the capitalist state, existing only to discipline the working class according to the needs of big business.

The United States economy is hurtling into the most massive slump since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Every statistic points to a further decline in production combined with an uncontrollable rise in prices.

(Continued On Page 11)

New Clash in Britain:

From our correspondent Alex Mitchell of the Workers Press in London. See page 2.

Bulletin

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER EIGHTY NINE 425

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1974



C-748

TWENTY CENTS

More Secret Talks With Government & Employers

THE FACE OF TREACHERY

BY DAVID NORTH

Every section of the trade union bureaucracy is scurrying into frantic meetings with the government and employers aimed at heading off the mounting offensive of the working class against the brutal attacks on its jobs and living standards.

•United Mine Workers president Arnold Miller, whose sellout agreement with the coal bosses is opposed by a majority of the 38-man union bargaining council and faces certain rejection by the rank and file, is planning to meet privately with operators and federal mediator William J. Usery in order to

salvage the government-dictated tentative contract.

•United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock began meetings in Detroit on Monday to discuss plans by the management of Chrysler Corporation to shut down all assembly plants between Thanksgiving and New Year.

•Teamsters Local 804 leader Ron Carey continues around-the-clock meetings with Usery—who is shuttling between Washington and New York—even though 4,000 striking workers shouted down on Sunday a proposed offer by United Parcel that would slash jobs to ease the company's financial crisis.

•AFL-CIO President George Meany last week secretly approved, in private meetings with leaders of the Democratic Party, a Congressional program calling for "an across-the-board system of economic controls" on wages.

COLLABORATION

The collaboration of this bureaucracy with the government and big business is an attempt to foist upon the back of the working class the full weight of the greatest economic crisis in the history of capitalism.

This is corporatism in its most naked form. The bureaucrats work to strip the working class of its right to defend its rights and transform the trade unions into auxiliary agencies of the capitalist state, existing only to discipline the working class according to the needs of big business.

The United States economy is hurtling into the most massive slump since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Every statistic points to a further decline in production combined with an uncontrollable rise in prices.

(Continued On Page 11)

New Clash in Britain:

From our correspondent

Alex Mitchell

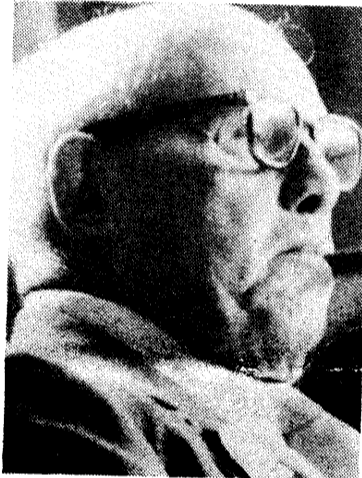
of the **Workers Press**

in London.

See page 2.



Miller



Meany



Woodcock



UPS workers in New York rejected company demands to cut 1200 jobs. See article page 8.

Miners vs Wilson: New Clash In Britain

British miners are again on the road of confrontation nine months after their strike brought down the Conservative Government.

This time the clash looms with the Labor Government.

The 250,000 miners have just rejected in a national ballot a productivity deal backed by the Labor leaders and the state-run National Coal Board.

The Scottish, Welsh, Yorkshire and Kent coalfields led the fight against the pit-by-pit bonus deal.

Miners said it would have "set pit against pit, and man against man." Earnings would have been tied to how many yards of coal were cut on each shift. Death and accident rates would have risen towards the appalling level in American pits.

The coal board branded anyone who opposed the bonus scheme as an "extremist." They warned that rejection would mean colliery closures.

But the ballot again showed the strength of miners who stand in the front rank of the British working class.

Scottish miners have now demanded a \$72 a week "no strings" pay increase for all UK miners.

But right-wing and reformist leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers know this would lead to a confrontation with the Labor Government.

Like all reformist governments, Labor is trapped in times of capitalist crisis. They are trapped between the determination of the working class to resist attacks on living standards, and the demands of the

international bankers whose loans to shore up British capitalism only last as long as the exploitation of the workers is intensified.

Ian Humble, member of the NUM's Scottish executive, told Workers Press: "The National Executive Committee (of the NUM) has not emerged with much credit. First of all they are split down the middle.

"Then they are talking about national productivity deals. We want no productivity deals at all. We got rid of that evil years ago. We want big rises on the basic rate.

"I am very critical of the national executive. They have launched no campaign. They have just thrown down a ballot sheet and asked the rank and file to reject the Coal Board's scheme. But they have not given enough guidance.

"Once the deal is rejected we should get down to increasing the basic wage. The only way to get big rises is to strike for it.

"If any government wants a coal industry, they have got to pay for it. I don't care what government is in power."

Replying to a Coal Board "scare" about "Lenins" and "Marxists" in the pits, Tam Porteous, from the Fife coalfield in Scotland, said, "It's typical of the NCB officials to try to start a red scare in Scotland. But they should know better by now than to try to interfere in the internal affairs of the NUM in this way. It only hardens the men.

"The claim for an increase in the basic wage is completely justified. There is too much play on productivity. The job of the trade union leadership is to improve the basic wage.

"We should not hold back this claim out of any concern for the 'social contract'—(The Labor government's wage-cutting policy).

"And irrespective of what

government is in, the trade union leaders' responsibility is to their members. Therefore, they must not hold back just because there is a Labor government in office."

His workmate Brian Smart said, "When I started working \$10 was worth something. It's nothing now. Even with a \$72 increase we won't be getting all that far ahead. It's not as fantastic as it would have sounded a year ago.

"Productivity? Not on! It's men's lives that matter, not productivity. It's not on at any price."

In South Wales, Edwin Sibthorpe, 38, a faceworker said, "The Labor government is wrong to back this productivity deal. This government should be backing the miners, not these Coal Board directors."

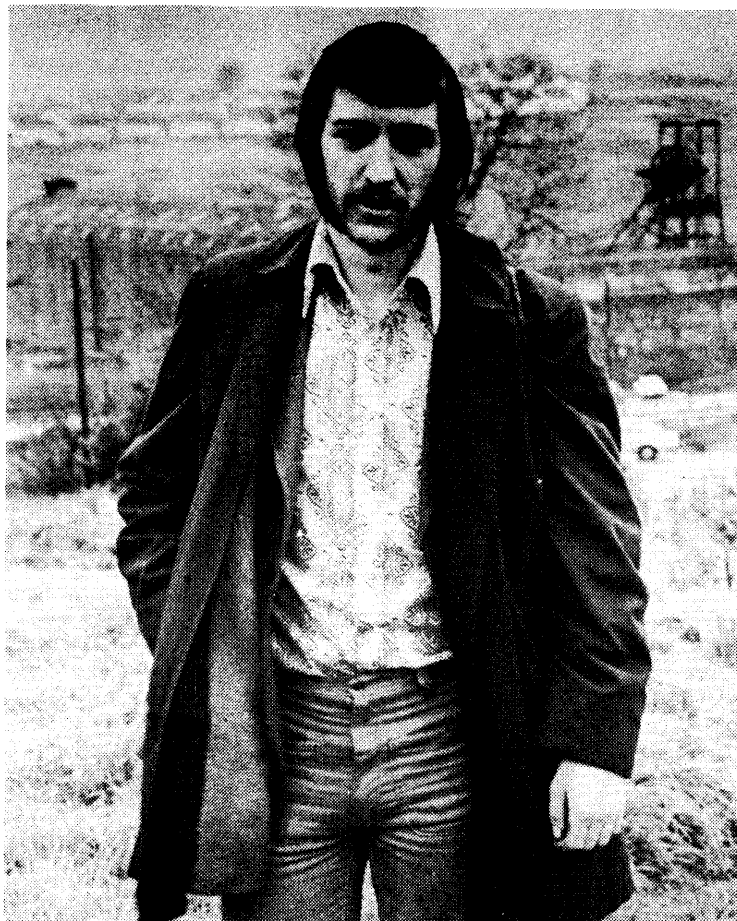
Edwin, whose father died from dust in his lungs, has been in the pits since he was 15. "Miners have never met a situation like this before," he said. "Inflation is worldwide. It may have to be that miners go on strike again to get a good basic wage.

"But there's more to it than that. Employers, politicians, workers are going to be at each other's throats. Countries are going the same way. It is country against country, I am almost sure there will be another war."

Yorkshire miner Arthur Hawker from Glasshoughton Colliery told Workers Press: "This productivity deal is no good to us. It is going back to the old days. They want you to flog yourself to death for nothing.

"Airline pilots have got a rise of \$168, so miners are worth a rise of \$96. If rises are going on at that scale, \$96 is nothing. Members of Parliament will be getting a rise shortly, and you can bet that won't be \$19 or \$21."

Alun Davies from the nearby Allerton Bywater Colliery spoke bitterly of the government's productivity scheme. "Produc-



Aubrey Price, Welsh miner.

tivity deals are out. That's all, they're out. There's no point in talking about it. There isn't going to be one." He was equally determined that the miners' deserved a substantial wage increase. "People think this is a big claim, but that's because our wages dropped right down before the 1972 strike. If we'd had what we were entitled to right through, our wages would be up to that level right now. They held our wages back, but they can't do that any more."

Another Welsh miner from the Cefn Fforest colliery, told Workers Press: Something big is building up. Churchill told the workers to work or get shot. If Heath (the Tory leader) had won last February's election, he would have been telling the miners the same thing. The army would have been sent in."

Gilbert Bevan, chairman of the NUM lodge at Coed Ely Glamorgan, in South Wales, said: "The miners are giving a warning. The Tories were cleared out. If this Labor government does not play the game, they will be brought down as

well. It is the working class that is the power in this country."

The determination and strength of the miners is undisputed. But trade union militancy in its spontaneous form cannot settle the issues facing the miners. At every stage they face the threat of betrayal from their union leaders—an amalgam of right wing Laborites, centrists, and Stalinists.

They are not going to get their \$72 to \$96 wage claim (or any substantial increase) without waging the most ruthless political fight against its leadership of class collaborators and the Wilson government.

The new claim means nothing short of the complete reorganization of the nationalized coal industry under workers' control and the abolition of all compensation to the private coal barons who still draw massive profits.

This political objective can only be achieved by the smashing of the capitalist state and replacing it with the system of socialist production based on the needs of people and not private greed.

Labor Unveils 'Banker's Budget'

The Wilson government has set itself on a collision course with the working class by introducing a budget which attacks the wages, jobs and living standards of the vast mass of working people.

It marks a decisive rightward swing by the newly-elected Labor government and its reformist collaborators in the leadership of the Trades Union Congress (TUC).

Under the budget (see panel) prices are going to rip to provide millions of pounds for the industrialists and the banks.

Chancellor Denis Healey made clear that it meant a lowering in living standards. At the same time he warned workers against fighting for wage increases. To do so, would be to invite the sack, he said.

The treacherous character of the budget can be gauged from the fact that it has been warmly greeted by the chairman of the London Stock Exchange, Mr. George Loveday, *The Times*, and the *Financial Times*, two

mouthpieces of the British ruling class.

Calling the Labor fiscal plans "A Step in the Right Direction," *The Times* said it was a "hard" budget "likely to involve falling living standards for most people in the years ahead." The huge cash hand-out to industry was the "equivalent of making an interest-free loan to companies," the paper added.

Under Healey's budget \$6,240 million is to be taken out of wage packets and housewives purses and given to the monopolists.

The TUC has "welcomed" the measures and "congratulated" Healey for his "courageous" measures. Other trade union bureaucrats have said that the budget means the Labor government is "fulfilling its side of the social contract."

This is a reference to the \$3.50 increase to pensioners...next April! But by the time April comes around, the \$3.50 will be eaten up by soaring inflation. The pension rises are a most cynical betrayal of the working class.

The millions of working people who voted Labor into power on October 10 did not do so in order to have a bankers' budget foisted on them in the form of mass unemployment, wage cuts and unheard-of attacks on their stan-

dard of living.

Yet this is exactly what has happened. The International bankers to whom the Labor government are in gigantic debt have insisted that not a single concession be made to the working class. On the contrary, the "strings" to their loans call for the "interest" to be paid from the backs of working people by the destruction of their hard-won wage levels and living standards.

For millions of workers, the budget has unveiled the depth of reformist treachery. Labor is vividly exposed as a government of the ruling class and not of the working people who voted it in.

The working class which brought down the Heath government in February, smashed the National Industrial Relations Court and is advancing its wages demands on all fronts, must now come into collision with its reformist leadership in the Labor Party and the TUC.

Every struggle now poses concretely the task of building the alternative revolutionary leadership, the Workers Revolutionary Party, which alone fights for the mobilization of the working class to defend itself from capitalist slump.



Aircraft workers from the Hawker-Siddeley factories demonstrate to demand nationalization against layoffs.

Tax on gas to go up from 8 percent to 25 percent. A gallon will go up to \$1.52 this week and \$1.68 within three weeks.

The government's Price Code will be "relaxed" setting loose an avalanche of price rises.

Nationalized industries—the National Coal Board, the Post Office, British Rail, British Airways, British Gas, the Electricity Board—to lose their subsidies. This means massive increases in coal, gas, electricity, fares, postage, etc.

Government spending to be cut, particularly effecting education, health, and social services.

Local government ordered to stop recruiting staff.

Wage cutting to be stepped up under the "social contract," the wage restraint policy between the Labor Cabinet and the unions chiefs.

Companies are to get a massive \$6,240 million cash injection through price relaxations, cutting of corporation tax, and a new \$2,400 million loan from the banks.

Why Rockefeller Is So Generous

BY FRANK MARTIN
 With unparalleled hypocrisy and arrogance, Nelson A. Rockefeller continues to claim that the furor over his \$2.5 million gifts was all a gross misunderstanding.

Meanwhile, in Phoenix, Arizona, President Ford appealed for a swift confirmation of Rockefeller as vice-president.

"I am as convinced as ever that Governor Rockefeller is the right man for the job and I am anxious to have him as a working partner in the government."

Rockefeller was received with the utmost cordiality by Democrats and Republicans alike in the two days of Senate hearings. With the arrogance of a man who owns everything, he pledged to restrict any future "gifts" he may make only to people in circumstances of a "compelling human need."



"You've made me see," he said, "how some of my acts which were undertaken out of generosity and friendship and love can appear to the public to be something that they weren't."

ALMIGHTY

Rockefeller then invoked God Almighty: "And the Lord's Prayer says, 'Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors' and I do think that has some relevance."

To which Senator Scott from Pennsylvania responded: "You are being accused of being generous and that is rare in the District of Columbia. And of having forgiven loans, and, again, forgiveness is rare in Washington."

Mr. Rockefeller's generosity and forgiveness seem to have known no bounds:

Take, for instance, the case of one L. Judson Morhouse, former New York State Republican Chairman. According to Rockefeller, he gave Morhouse a \$100,000 loan in order to prevent him from taking bribes!

But it seems that Morhouse did not get the point. Oddly enough, he drew the opposite conclusion, got himself involved in bribery in a big way, and got hit with two felony charges in 1966 in an attempted bribery for a liquor license. Here again, the Rockefeller generosity comes to the rescue—the \$100,000 loan was forgiven and the prison sentence commuted.

ENORMOUS

The list of gifts is enormous. It ranges from \$50,000 to State Secretary Kissinger, a former Rockefeller aide, to \$625,000 to William J. Ronan, chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. It is well known that the Chase Manhattan Bank, owned by the Rockefeller family, has heavy interests in the Port Authority.

But Rockefeller has a rationale for all this. "My mother, one of her basic principles in life was always associate with your superiors.

"She brought us up on this concept and I've got to say I think it's a very good concept... Only can one accomplish big things in life if you're associated with big people."

Rockefeller has done this in a "big" way and now hopes to buy his way into the White House. The fact that after all this, he is still in the running for the vice-presidency only exposes the real position of the Democratic and Republican politicians.



General George Brown's 'Mein Kampf' Speech

BY MELODY FARROW

In the midst of trying to salvage Rockefeller's nomination, Ford was forced to come to the defense of General George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the Pentagon who unleashed a virulent anti-Semitic attack last month.

Ford formally rebuked Brown and called his remarks at Duke University on October 10 "ill-advised and poorly handled" hoping that this would close the matter.

A student at Duke University taped the speech and just released it to the Washington Post. A transcript released by the Pentagon quotes Brown as saying:

"Now, in answer to the question would we use force in the Middle East. I don't know—I hope not. We have no plans to. It is conceivable, I guess.

"It would be almost as bad as the Seven Days in May. You can conjure up a situation where there is another oil embargo and people in this country are not only inconvenienced and uncomfortable, but suffer.

"They get tough-minded enough to set down the Jewish

influence in this country and break that lobby...

"We have the Israelis coming to us for equipment. We say we can't probably get the Congress to support a program like this. And they say, don't worry about the Congress...

"This is somebody from another country, but they can do it. They own, you know, the banks, in this country, the newspapers. Just look at where the Jewish money is."

This talk of the "Jewish bankers" from the top levels of the military must come as no surprise. The close collaboration between US capitalism and Zionism for the last 25 years has been based on a common stand against the Arab masses and the working class internationally, including the Jewish and Israeli workers.

The Israeli rulers have always worked with vicious anti-Semites like Brown. They have faithfully served the most reactionary forces in order to keep the working class divided and bolster their own rule.

The US government has always been riddled with racists and anti-Semites. If it comes out now, it is only because the days in which the Zionists could suc-

cessfully guard imperialist interests against the Arab masses are gone forever.

Washington fears the mounting revolutionary struggles throughout the Middle East, including Israel. It fears the impact of a new oil embargo and a possible defeat for the Zionists in a new war. Under these conditions, divisions about the alliance with the Zionists have emerged within the highest levels.

Until he was appointed chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff last July, Brown was head of the air force. This is the branch of the military with which Nixon was reportedly in contact to help block his impeachment. As the White House tapes revealed, Nixon and his inner circle regularly made racial slurs and Nixon referred to Daniel Ellsberg as a "Jewboy."

As the economic crisis deepens these are the elements behind the Ford government as it enters into tremendous struggles with the working class.

These are the type of men behind the Ford administration as it enters into tremendous struggles with the working class.

It's Becoming Too Expensive To Eat

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

Last summer, workers and housewives at the meat counters protested the high prices.

By now, there's not an aisle anywhere that doesn't have a shopper angrily picking up and putting back something they had planned to serve their family.

After all the Boards and Councils figure all the indexes and percentages, the press releases tell you what you already know: you can't afford to feed your family any more.

Shortages, speculation and trade war policies have combined to push prices to staggering levels. Wholesale cost figures for October say with certainty that this will continue on into the new year.

In New York City, the "39¢ size" of Ritz crackers, the family 12-oz. box, now costs 69¢. Eggs are back up to 93¢ a dozen for the large size.

"Listen, don't talk to me about food prices," one mother said on the way out of the supermarket. "I'm on my way home to pick up

more money so I can finish shopping."

Planning Thanksgiving is a nightmare. After you pay 53¢ a pound for the turkey, the Pepperidge Farm stuffing mix that used to sell for 29¢ costs 41¢. Then it's 79¢ for a cake mix, and anywhere from 89¢ to \$1.09 for a can of ready-mixed frosting.

"I told the family to forget about Thanksgiving. If I serve a dinner like I used to, there won't be any money left to buy Christmas presents."

Because of the run-away speculation in basic agricultural crops, the prices have gone up highest on the basics that most families rely on as "fillers" to supplement or replace meat dishes. Bread prices are double the 1973 costs in every part of the country. Spaghetti and breakfast cereals also reflect the skyrocketing wheat prices.

You can't get a pound of dried beans for less than 59¢. Rico brand rice in the 10-pound bag was promoted at \$2.43 on an overlooked shelf tag. But the bags themselves were stamped in at \$3.49.

Campbell tomato soup is up from 10¢ a can sale prices to 2 cans for 39¢. Hot dogs are running at \$1.39 for 10. That means peanut butter lunches—maybe. Skippy's 28-oz. size is up from \$1.09 to \$1.37, and the Welch's grape jelly is 53¢, just about double what it was last summer.

"Everything has gone up, you can't buy half what you want. They charge you \$1.99 for a jar of instant coffee and then tell you they're doing you a favor—bring in the coupon to get it. Then they charge you just as much for the sugar."

"It isn't just food, either," a retired city worker said, "it's everything you need. Ivory soap used to be two bars for 19¢, now you pay 89¢ for a pack of six."

Paper shortages that have driven newspaper costs up have also doubled the cost of toilet tissue, paper towels. Liquid soap has doubled, and buying laundry detergent is almost as expensive as paying the electricity to run your machine.

"Last week we bought Tat roach traps, two for 69¢ on a

Chrysler To Shut All Six Assembly Plants

A Chrysler spokesman said: "It's obvious we can't keep producing at the rate we are when sales are coming in this way. There isn't any doubt more cuts are coming."

General Motors has announced the closing of its Lordstown, Ohio plant for two weeks. 5000 assembly plant workers and 10000 Fisher Body workers will be affected.

GM also announced the closing of 3 other plants for one week.

A Chrysler spokesman said: "It's obvious we can't keep producing at the rate we are when sales are coming in this way. There isn't any doubt more cuts are coming."

The latest layoffs come one week after GM let go 6000 workers at its Tarrytown, NY, Van Nuys, California, and Willow Run, Michigan plants.

GM sales are down a staggering 43% in early November from last month. Auto inventories (unsold cars) have gone up by 15 percent to 16 million units. Originally, GM had planned to sell 717,000 cars this month but this figure has been revised down to 525,000.

The result is a massive reduction in production plans this month for 1975 models. The total Big Three production for this month is expected now to be 660,000, down 25 percent from Nov. 1973 figure of 885,000.

The worst cutback of all is at Chrysler where production has dropped by 48.7 percent from 155,956 last November to 80,000 this November.

While auto workers are receiving pink slips by the thousands, Leonard Woodcock and the UAW leadership have not said a single word or made a single statement about the layoffs.

The only policy to meet the layoffs is the socialist policy of nationalizing the auto industry under workers' control without compensation. Auto workers must demand the convening of an emergency congress of the UAW and join with the striking miners in demanding the construction of a labor party.

card. This week, the cards are all printed up new, 79¢, and half of them have a paper sticker that says 89¢."

These figures reflect both the deliberate profiteering of the giant agricultural and food monopolies, and the effect of the rampaging inflation. While the supermarket cash tapes run higher and higher, the trade union leadership still collaborates with the Ford administration, which insists that it is workers' wages that are driving costs up.

This lie must be thrown back in their faces with a clear-cut call for big wage increases and full cost of living protection in every contract. A congress of labor must be called now to launch a labor party committed to the nationalization of the food industries under workers control and without compensation.

"The way I shop now is this. I make a list, then I cross out every third item. Then I go to the store and buy half of what I need.

"Something has to be done, and soon. Workers in this country are not going to watch their children starve."

George Viers is a working miner on the day shift at the Buckeye mine in Mullens, W. Va., and the president of Local 6869 of the United Mine Workers. He spoke to Bulletin labor editor David North about the miners strike several hours before UMW President Arnold Miller announced a tentative settlement of a new contract.

Q. I'd like to start out by asking you some questions about what you feel the main issues in this strike are.

A. Well, I feel the main issues were the pay raise, the cost of living escalator, the right to strike, and better benefits for the disabled and pensioned miners. These were the main issues that the majority of the men raised to me.

We have a lot of disabled and retired miners in this area, and they're very concerned about what benefits they'll get. The majority of the working men are concerned about it too, because in the mining industry you can never tell when you may get hurt or crippled for life or something.

I feel the majority of miners down in this area feel that the wages ought to be raised substantially and they feel that since they do work in a hazardous area, they ought to get a substantial raise even for that reason.

And they definitely want the right to strike included in the contract. Because they feel that regardless of what we get in the contract, if we don't have the right to strike, we don't have enough bargaining power to deal with the companies. Whenever we go into arbitration with them, we may get a ruling in our favor, and then the next day, well, the company goes back and does the same thing over, and it's just a long drawn out procedure where the men just have to keep repeating themselves just to get one point across to the company.

Q. In District 29, what's been your experience with injunctions over the past year?

A. Well, my local, we've been under a preliminary injunction. The local union's being fined \$100 a day; the membership's being fined \$10 a day; and we've been in court approximately 15 times in the last year. Other local unions in this area in District 29 have also been in court on numerous occasions. And the membership feels that that's very important on the right to strike, because whenever you have a strike, the first thing the company does is get an injunction against you and take you into court. The judges have been one of the biggest problems in District 29.

Q. When you've had these strikes, what type of assistance have you received from Miller, from the UMW International?

A. Well we've had, on one occasion, an attorney come from Washington. But on the majority of occasions, we've just had the one district attorney that represents the whole district and he handles all the cases for all the local unions. The companies come down with seven or eight attorneys. We have one that's



An Interview With UMW Member George Viers **WE NEED A PARTY OF ALL THE UNIONS**

handling the whole district, and they have seven or eight that just handle certain divisions in our country. So really, I would say that as far as our legal advisors go, we haven't really received the legal support that we ought to. The individual local unions haven't from Miller and the international union.

Q. What would you say the role of Miller was during the gasoline shortage strike last March?

A. Well, during the gasoline shortage strike, I don't think that he stood behind the miners like he ought to. Instead of coming down here himself, he sent one of his advisers down here. Actually, I think that he was more or less in the background, that he didn't actually want to get involved in it. I think several of the other miners feel the same way about it. Miller tends to be a little leery of District 29 anyway. He doesn't seem to want to get involved with District 29 too much.

Q. Before the negotiations began, did you or miners from District 29 have an opportunity to present their demands to Miller?

A. Well, we had an opportunity. We sent them in at the convention in Pittsburgh. All the

local unions sent in their resolutions; some of them were accepted and some of them weren't.

Then we had a district conference where members from all local unions were present. We sent in our basic ideas of what we felt we ought to have in the contract from that district conference.

But as far as knowing whether or not they accepted all of them or not, they never did say. The only answer we received on that was that whenever the contract was ready they would call us back in to another conference to discuss the contract.

Q. How do you feel Miller has conducted the negotiations? Do you think he actually wanted to strike?

A. I don't honestly believe he wanted to strike because of the way he started negotiations early and then by the way he would go see President Ford about it. I don't think President Ford needs to know about our negotiations.

I'd say that the majority of the miners feel the same way around here, that they felt it was our contract and we didn't think the government needed to know what was going on in our

contract.

Miller has been having talks with the government and evidently, they have been pretty close or he wouldn't just keep going back and forth to see them and having his conferences with them.

Q. How about this Labor-Management Committee?

A. On this labor part, we feel that we ought to be the ones to get our contract and we don't need no outside help. As far as anything relating to the labor department or anything like that, we don't really appreciate that too much.

The only thing that comes out about how the negotiations have been going is just what you read in the paper or on a news broadcast or something. Or Miller or some of his assistants will get on the news and they'll say, 'well, we're making progress' and that's about it. None of the rank and file miners know exactly what's been going on.

Q. What's your own speculation about it?

A. They're trying to get a contract with some new benefits and stuff. I would say basically that the 800-member delegation that will go to be briefed on the contract is just a body of men that they're trying to get to

sell the individual package to the rank and file.

Q. Do you foresee a lot of opposition?

A. From this general area, there'd be quite a bit of opposition.

In all probability they will tell the delegation that that's the best they can do and try to get the delegation to come back and sell the men the package that they have completed.

But regardless of what they try to get me and some others that I know to sell the rank and file, if it doesn't have included in there what we and our fellow workers want, we're not going to try to sell it to them.

We're just going to explain it to them the way that it was explained to us and we have our own feelings on what we wanted in the contract. If it's not in there, regardless of how much they try to get us to sell the whole package we're not going to do it.

Q. Do you think there's a good chance this will be rejected?

A. I feel almost certain it will.

Q. If there's a rejection, what do you think is going to happen then?

A. Then the top level, the bargaining council, will probably go back and talk to the coal operators association, and they may make a few changes. Then they'd try to push it over anyway, probably. Possibly without even another vote from the rank and file.

Q. What do you think would happen among the ranks if they try to do that?

A. The rank and file would probably be split. But regardless to what they do, if it doesn't have what they want in it, the rank and file are not going to go back to work.

The government would probably try to call in a Taft-Hartley. But from talking to several around this area, I don't think that's going to do them any good, even if the government does invoke the Taft-Hartley, I don't believe they're going to go to work anyway.

If they invoke the Taft-Hartley and the membership still don't go back to work, I believe that Miller and them will have to get down to brass tacks and they'll have to basically get what the rank and file want.

As everyone knows, the coal miners have had similar things like Taft-Hartley and injunctions and they have been militant enough so that regardless of whatever they put against them, they would still continue their work stoppage.

Q. If the state begins to interfere in the struggle, begins to dictate to the miners what they have to accept, and tries to back this up with law, do you think that strike action at this point alone is sufficient?

A. I doubt if it by itself would tend to help the situation. It's true politics play an important part. And whether or not the entire membership would try to get together and do away with the leaders in politics that we have today, is a question that would remain unanswered, I guess, until the time arose.

In the coal industry, like everything else, you've got your men divided: one parts one way, one part's the other way, then you have a part that doesn't really know.

It might be possible that some of the miners would be teed off and would want to do something about the political end of it. And whether or not that will happen, that remains to be seen.

Because the first thing that comes in to a coal miner before something like that happens is that they say, 'well, let's strike: let's shut it all down'. And on the

Stalinists Boost Miller Sellout

The Communist Party has joined in the frantic propaganda campaign launched by the coal operators, the UMW bureaucracy, and the capitalist press to boost the sellout contract negotiated last week by union President Arnold Miller.

The Stalinists of the CP share Miller's fear that the miners will reject the new pact, which was worked out behind closed doors with the government. This contract is an attack on the living standards of miners, maintaining wage increases within the old Nixon guidelines of a 15 percent hike over three years—averaging under 5.5 percent in each year of the contract.

In the November 15 issue of the Daily World, organ of the CP, the Stalinists published their first comments on the settlement in an article called: "Miners scan new accord with cautious optimism."

The article itself is written in a manner which is virtually identical in both tone and content to reports on the settlement which have appeared in The New York Times and the Wall Street Journal.

WHAT WE THINK

It details at length the supposed gains in benefits in the new contract. But the Daily World does not even criticize the wage settlement: nine percent in the first year, three percent in the second year and third year.

Nor does the Daily World mention that Miller abandoned the fight for the unlimited right to strike, without any doubt the most critical demand raised by miners next to the wages struggle.

Miners had insisted that the UMW win back the unlimited right to strike because the ranks have been savagely victimized by the courts with injunctions, fines, and firings when forced to wildcat because of contract and safety violations.

The Stalinists not only refuse to call on miners to reject the contract in the ratification procedues now in process, but actually give back-handed support to Miller by suggesting that ratification should be no more than a formality.

The Daily World states: "The miners say they trust Miller, but want to study the contract before they vote on it. This was the main sentiment in the ranks."

There is enormous opposition to this contract among the ranks. Several UMW locals in West Virginia's District 29, the largest in the union, have already stated that they will vote down any contract that does not guarantee the right to strike.

The Stalinists stand with Miller against the opposition of miners to this sellout. They fear that a repudiation of this contract by the ranks will lead to a long strike that will draw millions of workers throughout the trade union movement into a direct collision with the Ford government.

A breakthrough by the miners on wages would be a crushing blow to Ford's savage recessionary policies and his plans for wage controls.

Above all, the inevitable collision between the miners and the state flowing from a repudiation of the contract would create the conditions for the development of a conscious political struggle by the working class against the government.

As Ford intervenes against the

miners and threatens to use Taft-Hartley, the fight for the construction of an independent labor party to defeat Ford and his staunch allies in the business-controlled Democratic and Republican Parties will gain broad support among miners and all sections of workers.

The Stalinists oppose this movement among the miners because it violently disrupts the policy of collaboration between the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union and the imperialist government of the United States which the Communist Party advocates.

The American Stalinists serve the policy of "peaceful coexistence" and "detente" by seeking to derail the movement of the working class in this country away from the necessary political struggle against the government.

In order to carry this policy out, the Stalinists support Miller's treachery.

Not once throughout the negotiations have the Stalinists advanced any demands for which the miners must fight. The CP has said nothing about the need for miners to smash through the unofficial wage guidelines and break up the conspiracy to impose state pay laws.

Nor did the Communist Party criticize Miller's decision to join Ford's Labor-Management Committee.

Indeed, the CP itself pleaded with Ford for an invitation to the September economic "summit" where the Labor-Management Committee was established.

When Miller was invited to the White House by Gerald Ford at the start of the coal talks, the Daily World did not denounce this backroom dealing.

Instead, it praised the "new day now that the corrupt mine union administration of W.A. 'Tony' Boyle is ousted," and added that "White House words won't suffice."

This whitewashing of Miller's collaboration with the government is the key element in the Communist Party's attempts to portray him as a rank and file leader.

While the collapse of the Boyle machine came out of the powerful movement of miners that began in the late 1960s, Miller was elevated to the presidency by a reform section of the UMW bureaucracy in the Miners For Democracy that turned to the Nixon government to gain office.

The intervention of the government in the affairs of the UMW was aimed not at the corruption of Boyle—in which neither Nixon nor the Labor Department had the slightest interest—but at gaining a foothold in the mine workers' union.

Arnold Miller is not a rank and file leader, but a trade union bureaucrat who represents the interests of the government and the coal bosses within the UMW.

The fight of miners in defense of their living standards and basic rights against the attacks of the government is inseparable from a determined struggle to smash the Miller bureaucracy and construct a new revolutionary leadership within the UMW.

This fight requires a relentless exposure of Stalinism, represented by the Communist Party. It seeks to subordinate the working class to the bureaucracy in order to prevent the ranks from fighting for socialist policies and defeating the capitalist government.

political issue of it, I don't honestly believe I could give a good answer to that because I just don't really know how the majority of them would feel about it.

Q. What do you feel should be done?

A. As far as the state of West Virginia, I think the coal miners ought to get rid of the governor of the state because he's been against them in everything they've ever done.

As far as the president, I'd say that they ought to try to get rid of him because he's no good either.

Q. What do you replace him with?

A. The only way that they're ever going to get a fair shake out of anything, they're going to have to have their own type of people in office, they're going to have to have the working class type of people. Regardless of whether they're from the mining industry or auto workers or what.

If they don't have people that are concerned with labor in there, they're never going to get anything. And a labor man, doesn't have to be a Democrat or Republican, he's the labor man. That's what they need in this country because there's more people involved in the actual common labor than there are big business men. That is the only way I could see for them to ever get ahead, and that's when they could elect people from their own classification.

Q. How would that be done?

A. The only way that could be done, you'd have to get members from all different types of labor to go together and actually form their own labor party. Where they would have their own type of people running for office and they would have to support their type of people entirely.

Q. Miller has set up COMPAC which has been endorsing Democrats and in some cases Republicans. How do you feel about that?

A. I don't think too much of COMPAC. I have had some people that I preferred to get elected run, and COMPAC endorsed them. But I have seen COMPAC in this area go ahead and just because a man had voted for two or three things pertaining to the coal industry and he was a newspaperman, I've seen them endorse him and then not endorse a brother coal miner from another county that was running against him. So in my opinion I'd say that shows prejudice on COMPAC's part.

Q. If there would be a labor party, this gets into the question of what type of policies it would have. We spoke before about the nationalization of the coal industry and placing it under the control of workers.

A. I would say that's the only solution. Because if the workers don't have the control of it, they're not going to benefit from it. Anytime you've got somebody high up, above the working class of people, the working class of people are just getting sold out, more or less.

Q. How can one relate the struggle of the miners to the situation facing all workers today? Right now, we have the miners strike, we also have hundreds of thousands of auto workers being laid off. They just announced today several thousand more layoffs in auto. Steel workers also face layoffs. How do you think one can unite all these struggles of the working class?

A. The only way you could get those together would be if the auto workers, steel workers, and United Mine Workers, could band together to form their own

labor movement party. Then they would have the people in there that would do the best job for them, instead of the best job for somebody else. That would avert 90 percent of their problem.

Q. How do you feel about Miller's statements, when he supports Democrats, that they're "friends of labor?"

A. I'm a registered Democrat, and I know some Democrats that are in office that I don't think too much of, and I knew some Democrats in office that haven't done a darn thing for the laboring man.

You have Democrats that are elected because, in this area, the majority of the population's Democrats anyway, and they just run on the Democratic Party because they know they'll get the Democratic vote. So you couldn't really say that they were for the laboring man.

Q. Miller's said before that he's going to get safety in the mines. Do you believe it?



Mining town in West Virginia.

A. I believe he's very interested in safety because it is a big factor in all the men of wanting safety.

I honestly believe that he does want all the safety he can get in the mines, I'll say that for him. But as far as him getting safety in the mines, there's no way that he can do it. He can sit up there and say he wants safety, and he's going to get safety, but he can't get safety in the mines.

As far as the safety in the mines goes, that comes down to the everyday working man that goes in the mines, that works in a pit or something, that comes down to him. He's the man that gets the safety in the mines, not Arnold Miller.

Q. Arnold Miller is trying to get safety in the mines while letting the operators control the mines.

A. As far as that goes, no one can get it, and that relates back onto your government.

You've got these politicians in and they pretty well screen these federal judges whenever they pick them out. They know the type of person they pick out. They're appointed for a life term.

Whenever the working man goes before one of them, his case is what you might say cut and dried before he gets there, he's already guilty. There's no need in even going; he's just wasting his time.

Q. What do you think really has to be done in the UMW in this situation?

A. As far as that goes, from what I've seen of Arnold Miller, I think that he has made a lot of promises that I honestly don't believe he can keep.

I know he's made some he hasn't kept. And it's true he has a tough situation to deal with, but I don't believe he's the man to deal with it. We need a man in there that's much smarter and shrewder than Arnold Miller is. You don't need a man in there

that anytime you're having a negotiation for a contract or something, the first thing he does, he runs and sees the president of the United States about it. We don't need a man to do that.

Q. Do you think it's a problem of an individual or a problem of policies?

A. The way it's being run right now, it's basically a policy situation.

It's more Miller being just a name figurehead for the United Mine Workers and I think the attorneys are more or less running the show than he.

A man in a position like that needs attorneys, but I feel that they are doing more than they should be. I think they're more or less controlling the way the union is being run and I don't think that's the right way to do it.

Q. How long have you been a coal miner?

A. Seven years. Q. In that time, have you seen a change in the way a lot of

miners look at problems?

A. Yes, I have. In that period of time, the miners are actually getting a little more involved in politics and a large number of the miners have in their minds that if Arnold Miller can't meet up to their specifications, he can definitely be replaced.

A lot of the miners nowadays are getting together. They're talking a whole lot more now than they did seven years ago when I went to work in the mines. You have a lot larger number of young miners working in the mines today and naturally young miners have got newer ideas, and they're beginning to speak out on some of their ideas, things that they like.

Gradually, the miners are getting closer together on working on some of the problems that they need. I couldn't really say how long it will take them before they could really work together from all districts and everything.

The only way that the regular working class of man can ever get what he wants is through a party that all the labor unions endorse and back up—a party of their own, not a party of businessmen, lawyers, and stuff like that.

They'd have to have a labor party where they would pick the people they'd like to have for these offices out of their own classification of people and back them instead of these other people.

They don't really have any future unless they get a labor party of their own, rank and file of all the major unions, and endorse those candidates to fulfill our needs. It's a proven fact that the ones they've got now, they're not strictly labor. They're big business and everything and the working man, the laboring man, is going to have to have people of his classification in before he can ever make any headway.

JAMES P. (1890— CANNON 1974)

PART I

BY MICHAEL

Defeatism and Defencism

The SWP's trial presentation was suitably adapted to Cannon's peculiar conception of the US working class which he defended against Trotsky the previous year. Instead of using the trial as a forum to denounce US imperialism and to appeal to the most advanced sections of US workers to pursue a revolutionary defeatist line in relation to US imperialism, Cannon turned the trial into a pedagogical and pedestrian exercise in explaining socialism to backward workers. The entire defense strategy was misconceived primarily because Cannon's conception of the US working class was un-Marxist.

When criticized Cannon—heedless of Trotsky's earlier warnings—explicitly defended this concession to backwardness thus:

"The 40 million American voters, casting an almost solid vote for Roosevelt, remain in the first primitive stages of class political development; they are soaked through and through with bourgeois-democratic illusions: they are discontented to a certain extent and partly union conscious, but not class conscious; they have a fetishistic respect for the Federal government as the government of all the people and hope to better conditions for themselves by voting for 'friendly' bourgeois politicians; they hate and fear fascism which they identify with Hitler; they understand socialism and communism only in the version disseminated by the bourgeois Press and are either hostile or indifferent to it; the real meaning of socialism, the revolutionary Marxist meaning is unknown to the great majority." (Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trial, Pioneer Publishers, New York, 1942, p. 5.)

Even in prison Cannon continued to inculcate the spirit of adaptation to the "average" American worker which insulated the party from the big movements in industry while, paradoxically, he tried to fight the ultra-conservative elements in the party who wanted to abandon the Transitional Program altogether. The SWP's trade union cadres became more conservative—not less—during the war because of Cannon's policy.

His *Letters from Prison* (Merit Publishers 1968) are worth studying because they show the curious ambivalence between Cannon's concern for "orthodoxy" on political questions and his very unorthodox idealism on the perspectives and tasks of the party.

In his sojourn in Sandstone prison Cannon had tried to follow the evolution of the world situation and in particular followed keenly the events in Yugoslavia and Italy and the growth of the resistance movements. The defeat of the fascist armies in the east confirmed Cannon's confidence in the power of the property relations of the October Revolution and of the supreme duty of revolutionists to defend this great conquest of the working class against the bureaucratic Stalinist usurpers and its state-capitalist detractors.

The great upsurge of the US working class at the end of the war coincided with the eruption of a new opposition in the SWP which wanted to fuse with Shachtman's Workers Party. This was the group of Goldman and Morrow who drew their political sustenance from the most pessimistic dissident groups of the Fourth International in Europe. The emergence of this group as a warning symptom that the pene-

tration of the working class was no guarantee at all that the "petty-bourgeois disease" was eliminated. The working class—contrary to Cannon—was no less or more immune from revisionist ideas than the middle class intellectuals.

Whereas in 1940 Cannon could count on Trotsky to deal theoretically with his opponents, in 1944-1946 he had to deal with the revisionists single-handed. The result was predictable.

Cannon could only restate Trotsky's position on a number of concrete political questions, but failed completely to elucidate the serious methodological divergences between the SWP and Morrow. Insofar as the SWP tried to tackle the question of method, it did so by confusing Marxist methodology with the "class criterion."

The enormity of the blow struck by Trotsky's GPU assassin was most sharply revealed when Cannon had to analyze the post-war reality and formulate a perspective for the United States. The attempt to do so at the 12th Convention of the SWP in 1946 did more to contribute to the decline of the SWP and its disorientation than anything since or before.

The 1946 Theses

The "American Theses," as it was called, was a hodge-podge of ill-digested ideas on political economy eclectically combined with a mystical conception of the US working class which reduced the world crisis of imperialism to a single apocalyptic crash triggered off by the curtailment of the US home market in a matter of two years, i.e., 1948. It even envisaged World War Three years before Michel Pablo came to this bizarre revisionist conclusion.

But the most serious criticism of Cannon's perspective was the complete ignoring of European developments and the reciprocal relations between Europe and America. Worst of all, by prognosticating an immediate revolution in the US—a completely false if fantastic prospect in 1946—Cannon effectively threw out Trotsky's major contribution to the practice of the Socialist Workers Party—the demand for a labor party based on the unions.

Instead of the much awaited revolution, the upsurge of the US working class was followed by the post-war inflationary boom and the onset of McCarthyite witch-hunt and reaction. In the US, Stalinism expanded in the post-war period and consolidated its hold on a number of unions with thousands of militant workers. But Cannon, with his eye fixed on a non-existent imminent revolution, turned a deaf ear to the struggles and crisis in the USCP and refused to intervene in the breakup of the Stalinist-backed Progressive Citizens of America and the formation of the Progressive Party.

At the same time the political adaptation to the left-Rooseveltians in the unions which went on before and during the war resulted in some nasty shocks when, as Trotsky warned, the "progressives" gained control of unions from the Stalinists and began to launch anti-Communist witch-hunts against the left. The failure of Cannon to prepare a Marxist trade union cadre to meet this situation created deep disquiet and considerable confusion in the SWP cadres, particularly those in such unions as the United Auto Workers-Congress of Industrial Organizations. By 1948 the SWP cadre in the unions began to decline seriously. The same phenomenon was to be observed in the sphere of work amongst the Negro minority whilst little or no attention was paid to the students.

Cannon's failure to extricate the SWP from this blind alley and to set more realistic if more modest aims before the party led inevitably to the emergence of a

new opposition based on the "solid proletarians" which Cannon in 1940 contrasted to the "flabby" intellectuals.

The confusion in the SWP was further compounded at this time by unprincipled unity negotiations conducted between Cannon and the Workers Party of Shachtman. The purpose of these maneuvers was to split off the Johnson-Forrest group—a state-capitalist group completely opposed to Trotskyism—and assimilate them into the SWP. It was a perfect example of Cannon's pragmatic politics and—as usual—came to nought when Johnson-Forrest (C.L.R. James-Raya, Dunayevskaya) denounced the SWP in 1950 for supporting North Korea against the South and US imperialism in the Korean War and walked out of the SWP never to return.

More and more the SWP began to resemble a political sect whose main preoccupation was the publication of the weekly paper—*Militant*—and the contesting of presidential elections. The increasing reliance on a method based on empirical adjustments and superficial impressions began to have the most grotesque results for Cannon. When the McCarthyite witch-hunt increased, the SWP suddenly discovered that it was faced by an American form of fascism. When the Korean war broke out the *Militant* adopted a third camp position which was only changed when Cannon addressed an Open Letter to Truman denouncing the war and supporting the North. The chickens of 1940 were coming home to roost. And nowhere was this more apparent than in the field of international relations.

As a corollary to his thesis of 1946, Cannon assumed that since the American revolution was on the agenda, nothing of any decisive importance would take place on the European continent and that the American revolution would solve the problems which defeated and devastated Europe could not. America was seen as the epicenter of the international and the European sections were seen as the ancillary pillars of the Trotskyist movement. This is not to imply that Cannon and the SWP leaders did not intervene in or help the struggling sections of Europe in their political and material difficulties. What was lacking, however, was a real theoretical collaboration in defining a strategical line for the International. This was virtually excluded by the adoption of the American Theses which violated the traditional Marxist concept of the development of the world revolution.

Cannon and the International

In this sense Cannon, with his theory of American exceptionalism, must bear the main responsibility for the subsequent crisis in the Fourth International. Not only did it mean an indifference to Europe and the relations between Europe and USA but—more seriously—it did nothing to train or correct the mistakes of an immature European Secretariat. On the contrary Cannon's policy gave carte blanche to the already serious deviations within the European leadership. Cannon's own admission on this score does nothing to enhance his claim to be a "genuine internationalist" and makes nonsense of Joseph Hansen's posthumous defense of Cannon as an internationalist who opposed a federalist concept of the international:

"Our relations with the leadership in Europe at that time were relations of closest collaboration and support. There was general agreement between us. These were unknown men in our party. Nobody had ever heard of them. We helped to publicize the individual leaders, we commended them to our party members, and helped to build up their prestige. We did this, first because we had general agreement, and second because we realized they needed our support. They had yet to gain authority, not



only here but throughout the world. And the fact that the SWP supported them up and down the line greatly reinforced their position and helped them to do their great work (sic)." (Speeches to the Party, p. 75. James P. Cannon. Pathfinder Press 1973.)

The road to hell however is paved with good intentions and the examples adduced by Cannon in this same speech showed unmistakably that the SWP's patronizing attitude to the European leadership was compounding the difficulties and augmenting the weaknesses of the European leaders.

For example, when the Morrow-Goldman group were expelled—correctly—for their open collaboration with Shachtman's Workers' Party, the International Secretariat under the pressure of the right-wing Groffroi-DeMazere leadership of the French Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI) publicly dissented.

Cannon's comment on this scandalous intervention stands in stark contrast to Trotsky's ruthless determination to follow every principled difference to its political roots:

"It was a very rash, precipitate action by a small group in Paris. We just told them: 'Please don't do that any more.' And we didn't pay any attention to their intervention on Morrow's behalf. The only result of their action was to stir into new life group of former Morrowites in San Diego. They had just about reconciled themselves to the convention decision. But on the assumption that the International was supporting their faction, they stirred into new life, and we lost the San Diego group of the SWP on that account." (Ibid p. 37 Internationalism and the SWP. Our emphasis.)

Enter Mandel- Germain and Pablo

Cannon's indulgence of the International Secretariat only encouraged this petty-bourgeois liberalism and conciliationism whose chief exponent was Ernest Germain (Mandel) on the Secretariat. A little while later, when the SWP broke up the unity negotiations with the Workers Party, the International Secretariat once again intervened against the SWP and Cannon. Here is Cannon's account:

"Germain, with the agreement of Pablo (Raptis, ed)—and again without consulting our people and even without a majority of the people there knowing it—decided that they would be more clever than we were.

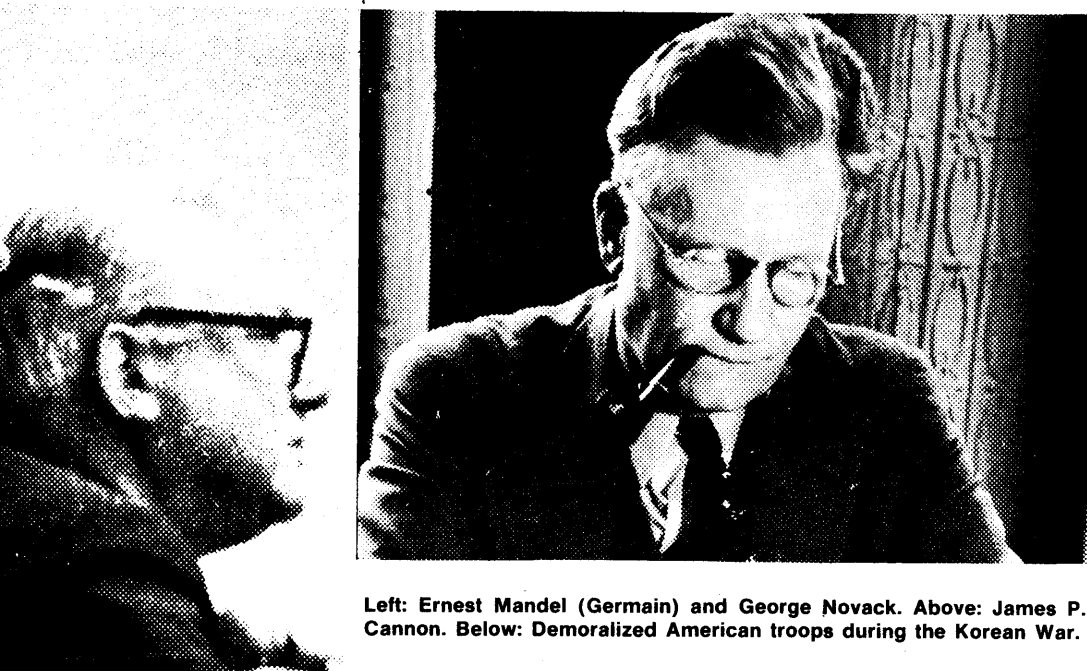
"Without consulting us, Germain addressed a letter to Shachtman saying that he was sorry negotiations were broken off, but hoped they would be resumed, and that he personally would stand for unity and support the unity movement in the International. It was an open invitation to Shachtman to grab hold of this rope and make trouble for us in the party and in the international movement.

"As
tation
heard
sent—
letter
volent
perien
the fo
they s

No
appal
by Ca
viatio
While
stige'
delibe
disrup
end t
and I
Intern
tend t
nation
up to
could
ternat
To
ciple
main
gress
capita
ship o
This
sion o

ART FOUR A critical assessment of a pioneer Trotskyist

CHAEEL BANDA



Left: Ernest Mandel (Germain) and George Novack. Above: James P. Cannon. Below: Demoralized American troops during the Korean War.

and
posi-
work
75.
1973.)
with
uced
d un-
g at-
com-
ting
ers.
Gold-
for
acht-
onal
ight-
p of
tion-



"As I said, that was done without consultation with us. Comrade (Morris) Stein heard about it only after the letter had been sent—and we didn't even get a copy of the letter. I don't attribute this to any malevolence on their part, just to their inexperience. They don't know how to deal in the formalities of organization as well as they should." (Ibid p. 78 Our emphasis.)

No Trotskyist can read this without being appalled by the political indifference shown by Cannon to an extremely dangerous deviation in the International Secretariat. While he was trying to "build up their prestige" they, on the contrary, were seeking deliberately to undermine his authority and disrupt the International! The farce did not end there, however. Thanks to Germain and Pablo, Shachtman—expelled by the International in 1940—was allowed to attend the 2nd Congress of the Fourth International in 1948 and a commission was set up to see whether Shachtman's party could not be readmitted into the Fourth International as a "sympathizing section."

To give theoretical cover to this unprincipled and unprecedented maneuver, Germain even wrote a section into the 2nd Congress resolutions which stated that state-capitalism was compatible with membership of the Fourth Internationalism.

This policy of friendly rebukes and evasion of the theoretical challenge presented

by the International Secretariat facilitated the development of the revisionist excrement which came to be known as Pabloism. This deviation took on a systematic character in the 1946 discussions on the nature of the states in eastern Europe. By 1949, Pablo had used the issue of the class character of these states to introduce a completely revisionist perspective of "centuries of deformed workers' states" and a policy of deep entry into the Stalinist parties which would effectively liquidate Trotskyism.

In the initial period Germain opposed Pablo, but did so with a method close to the state-capitalists. Cannon, however, was unable to play any leading role in this discussion while the SWP leaders were split, some agreeing with Pablo and others sympathizing with Germain. More often than not, the SWP leaders tried to support both sides in the discussion. Cannon, despite the danger signals from Paris, continued to support the authority of the International Secretariat on the implicit understanding that the Secretariat allowed the SWP a free hand to pursue its American isolationist orientation. But his policy in relation to the Fourth International leadership had an inexorable logic—inside the SWP.

When the Korean war broke out, Pablo and Germain, who had already capitulated to him, threw aside the last vestiges of a Trotskyist perspective and proclaimed a

new era which was leading immediately and inevitably to World War III in which the Stalinist parties would be forced to take power.

The SWP leaders—Cannon included—did nothing to oppose the adoption of this perspective not only at the 9th Plenum of the International Executive Committee, but also at the 3rd Congress of the Fourth International a year later. In fact as the SWP contribution to the 3rd Congress clearly shows they welcomed this thesis—on the proviso that the revisionist characterization of Stalinism was not imported into the US. As usual, Cannon—already disoriented by the failure of his 1946 Thesis to materialize—wanted to have it both ways.

But the laws of the class struggle are implacably remorseless. The disorientation and confusion caused by Cannon's pragmatic method and outlook had strengthened a tendency inside the SWP which wanted to liquidate the SWP into the trade union bureaucracy—led by Clarke and Cochran, were all proteges of Cannon and Dobbs and had played a considerable part in promoting Cannon's "proletarian orientation" in the 1940s. But in doing so they had only succeeded in adapting to the reformist trade union consciousness in the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Cochran was the leader of the SWP's auto faction and his base was in Flint and Detroit. Many of the older workers in the party supported him. This group began to emerge at the same time that the Pabloite faction began to develop in the Fourth International.

In early 1952 Clarke—the SWP observer at the 3rd Congress of the Fourth International—inspired and encouraged by Pablo's revisionism, coalesced with Cochran, Bartell and Frankel in the SWP Political Committee to put forward a line which would have liquidated the SWP into the Stalinist milieu around the Labour Monthly and other groups.

Degeneration Begins

Cannon's first reaction showed that he was unable to meet the theoretical challenge posed by the Cochran-Clarke group. He submitted a letter to the Political Committee to be sent to all members of the National Committee and to Pablo denouncing the minority as an unprincipled combination whose methods could lead to split. For once, Cannon was in a minority and was persuaded to withdraw the letter by his colleagues. Cannon's instinct in relation to the minority was infallible. He recognized them as a conservative group of the labor aristocracy. In his speech "Trade Unionists and Revolutionists" given to a meeting of his majority supporters in the New York Local in May 1953, Cannon makes a cogent analysis of the social roots of the minority and reveals how the dialectic of war and post-war boom transformed the great conquest of the Congress of Industrial Organizations—the seniority clause—from a radical factor into a conservatizing one and how this affected the generation to which Cochran belonged. Unfortunately the speech is marred by the complete absence of an alternative perspective.

If Cannon was partially right in relation to Cochran, he was totally bankrupt in relation to Pablo who, by 1952, was using Cannon's confidence to disrupt the Fourth International with a calculated vengeance. In 1952 the majority of the French section was arbitrarily expelled by the Pablo-Germain leadership. Even at this late hour a decisive intervention by Cannon would have had a salutary effect on the morale of the French section as well as the SWP. Cannon, however, refused to support the appeal of the French majority and fully endorsed the political line of Pablo:

"Now what did I say to Daniel Renard?...Here's what I wrote to Renard...We judge the policy of the

international leadership by the line it elaborates in official documents; in the recent period by the documents of the 3rd World Congress and the 10th Plenum. We do not see any revisionism there. We consider these documents to be completely Trotskyist.' That's what I wrote to Comrade Renard about the 3rd World Congress, not to answer a demagogue in a factional fight here, but to intervene to help the international leadership in a fight in the French party. I went on to say that it is the unanimous opinion of the leading people of the SWP that the authors of these documents have rendered a great service to the movement, for which they deserve appreciation and comradely support, not distrust and denigration." (Speeches to the Party, p. 143.)

This was possibly the cruellest blow—next to his subsequent support for Pablo in 1964—that Cannon struck the International. Far from strengthening his position in the SWP, they only weakened the Cannon group vis-a-vis the Cochran group who collaborated with Pablo and Germain secretly against Cannon.

In the autumn of 1953 the SWP split and Cannon—to his dismay—discovered that Pablo was not prepared to compromise on the question of American Stalinism. It was a bitter blow. For Cannon there was no way out except to rally his co-thinkers internationally and open fire on the International Secretariat's leaders. In the meantime the pre-conference discussion on the 4th Congress document—"Rise and Decline of Stalinism"—had begun. The line of this notorious document was a continuation of the 1951 resolution and stated unequivocally that Stalinism and the Soviet bureaucracy could be reformed and that there was virtually no need for the 4th International. Every attempt to amend the document was met by bureaucratic threats from Pablo and sordid intrigues by his supporters in the various sections. In this tense and impossible situation a split was inevitable and Cannon's "open letter" in December 1953 which denounced the International Secretariat for its treacherous role on the East Berlin uprising of June 1953, the French General Strike and the post-Stalin maneuvers of the Kremlin leaders, met with a unanimous response from his supporters around the world.

Cannon, however, did not see the split as an integral part of the struggle to secure perspectival clarity in the International and to develop the theoretical and practical struggle to build sections with an authoritative leadership. Rather it was viewed as a regrettable necessity in which "orthodox Trotskyism" had demonstrated its superiority to "counterfeit Trotskyism" and as an "interruption" of the practical work of the party. Cannon was incapable of this task because as he so correctly stated at the May 1953 Plenum of the Socialist Workers Party's National Committee:

"I think the 1946 Thesis and the resolutions of the world congress (the revisionist line of the 3rd Congress—ed.) fit together in a completely rounded world orientation." (Speeches to the Party, p. 143.)

Thus, despite the urgings of the British leadership, Cannon refused to continue the discussion with the Pabloites in order to deepen the split theoretically and educate a new cadre. After setting up the International Committee and writing a few articles and resolutions against Pablo, the SWP rapidly withdrew from the struggle and Cannon was soon to forget the import of his own words:

"The split of 1940 was by no means as definitive and final as is the split today. We are finished and done with Pablo and Pabloism for ever, not only here but on the international field. And nobody is going to take up any of our time with any negotiations about compromise or any nonsense of that sort."

TO BE CONTINUED

JAMES P. (1890— CANNON 1974)

PART FOUR A critical assessment of a pioneer Trotskyist

BY MICHAEL BANDA

Defeatism and Defencism

The SWP's trial presentation was suitably adapted to Cannon's peculiar conception of the US working class which he defended against Trotsky the previous year. Instead of using the trial as a forum to denounce US imperialism and to appeal to the most advanced sections of US workers to pursue a revolutionary defeatist line in relation to US imperialism, Cannon turned the trial into a pedagogical and pedestrian exercise in explaining socialism to backward workers. The entire defense strategy was misconceived primarily because Cannon's conception of the US working class was un-Marxist.

When criticized Cannon—heedless of Trotsky's earlier warnings—explicitly defended this concession to backwardness thus:

"The 40 million American voters, casting an almost solid vote for Roosevelt, remain in the first primitive stages of class political development; they are soaked through and through with bourgeois-democratic illusions: they are discontented to a certain extent and partly union conscious, but not class conscious; they have a fetishistic respect for the Federal government as the government of all the people and hope to better conditions for themselves by voting for 'friendly' bourgeois politicians; they hate and fear fascism which they identify with Hitler; they understand socialism and communism only in the version disseminated by the bourgeois Press and are either hostile or indifferent to it; the real meaning of socialism, the revolutionary Marxist meaning is unknown to the great majority." (Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trial, Pioneer Publishers, New York, 1942, p. 5.)

Even in prison Cannon continued to inculcate the spirit of adaptation to the "average" American worker which insulated the party from the big movements in industry while, paradoxically, he tried to fight the ultra-conservative elements in the party who wanted to abandon the Transitional Program altogether. The SWP's trade union cadres became more conservative—not less—during the war because of Cannon's policy.

His Letters from Prison (Merit Publishers 1968) are worth studying because they show the curious ambivalence between Cannon's concern for "orthodoxy" on political questions and his very unorthodox idealism on the perspectives and tasks of the party.

In his sojourn in Sandstone prison Cannon had tried to follow the evolution of the world situation and in particular followed keenly the events in Yugoslavia and Italy and the growth of the resistance movements. The defeat of the fascist armies in the east confirmed Cannon's confidence in the power of the property relations of the October Revolution and of the supreme duty of revolutionists to defend this great conquest of the working class against the bureaucratic Stalinist usurpers and its state-capitalist detractors.

The great upsurge of the US working class at the end of the war coincided with the eruption of a new opposition in the SWP which wanted to fuse with Shachtman's Workers Party. This was the group of Goldman and Morrow who drew their political sustenance from the most pessimistic dissident groups of the Fourth International in Europe. The emergence of this group as a warning symptom that the pene-

tration of the working class was no guarantee at all that the "petty-bourgeois disease" was eliminated. The working class—contrary to Cannon—was no less or more immune from revisionist ideas than the middle class intellectuals.

Whereas in 1940 Cannon could count on Trotsky to deal theoretically with his opponents, in 1944-1946 he had to deal with the revisionists single-handed. The result was predictable.

Cannon could only restate Trotsky's position on a number of concrete political questions, but failed completely to elucidate the serious methodological divergences between the SWP and Morrow. Insofar as the SWP tried to tackle the question of method, it did so by confusing Marxist methodology with the "class criterion."

The enormity of the blow struck by Trotsky's GPU assassin was most sharply revealed when Cannon had to analyze the post-war reality and formulate a perspective for the United States. The attempt to do so at the 12th Convention of the SWP in 1946 did more to contribute to the decline of the SWP and its disorientation than anything since or before.

The 1946 Theses

The "American Theses," as it was called, was a hodge-podge of ill-digested ideas on political economy eclectically combined with a mystical conception of the US working class which reduced the world crisis of imperialism to a single apocalyptic crash triggered off by the curtailment of the US home market in a matter of two years, i.e., 1948. It even envisaged World War Three years before Michel Pablo came to this bizarre revisionist conclusion.

But the most serious criticism of Cannon's perspective was the complete ignoring of European developments and the reciprocal relations between Europe and America. Worst of all, by prognosticating an immediate revolution in the US—a completely false if fantastic prospect in 1946—Cannon effectively threw out Trotsky's major contribution to the practice of the Socialist Workers Party—the demand for a labor party based on the unions.

Instead of the much awaited revolution, the upsurge of the US working class was followed by the post-war inflationary boom and the onset of McCarthyite witch-hunt and reaction. In the US, Stalinism expanded in the post-war period and consolidated its hold on a number of unions with thousands of militant workers. But Cannon, with his eye fixed on a non-existent imminent revolution, turned a deaf-ear to the struggles and crisis in the USCP and refused to intervene in the breakup of the Stalinist-backed Progressive Citizens of America and the formation of the Progressive Party.

At the same time the political adaptation to the left-Rooseveltians in the unions which went on before and during the war resulted in some nasty shocks when, as Trotsky warned, the "progressives" gained control of unions from the Stalinists and began to launch anti-Communist witch-hunts against the left. The failure of Cannon to prepare a Marxist trade union cadre to meet this situation created deep disquiet and considerable confusion in the SWP cadres, particularly those in such unions as the United Auto Workers-Congress of Industrial Organizations. By 1948 the SWP cadre in the unions began to decline seriously. The same phenomenon was to be observed in the sphere of work amongst the Negro minority whilst little or no attention was paid to the students.

Cannon's failure to extricate the SWP from this blind alley and to set more realistic if more modest aims before the party led inevitably to the emergence of a

new opposition based on the "solid proletarians" which Cannon in 1940 contrasted to the "flabby" intellectuals.

The confusion in the SWP was further compounded at this time by unprincipled unity negotiations conducted between Cannon and the Workers Party of Shachtman. The purpose of these maneuvers was to split off the Johnson-Forrest group—a state-capitalist group completely opposed to Trotskyism—and assimilate them into the SWP. It was a perfect example of Cannon's pragmatic politics and—as usual—came to nought when Johnson-Forrest (C.L.R. James-Raya, Dunayevskaya) denounced the SWP in 1950 for supporting North Korea against the South and US imperialism in the Korean War and walked out of the SWP never to return.

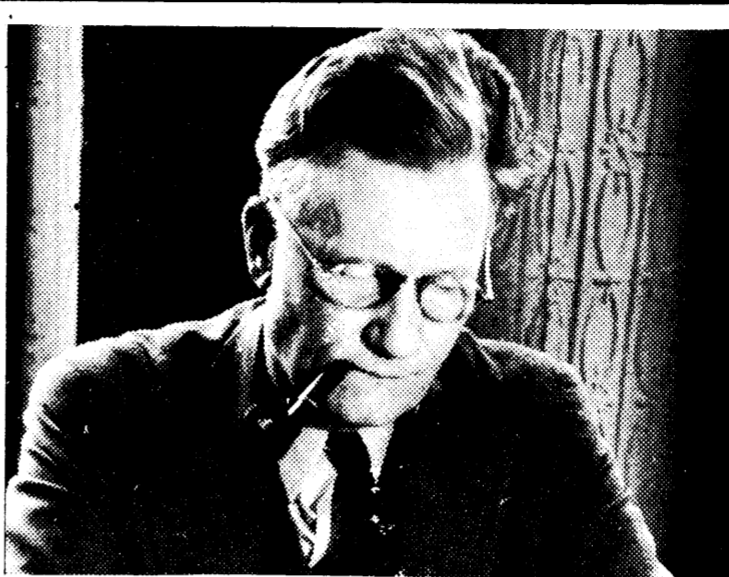
More and more the SWP began to resemble a political sect whose main preoccupation was the publication of the weekly paper—Militant—and the contesting of presidential elections. The increasing reliance on a method based on empirical adjustments and superficial impressions began to have the most grotesque results for Cannon. When the McCarthyite witch-hunt increased, the SWP suddenly discovered that it was faced by an American form of fascism. When the Korean war broke out the Militant adopted a third camp position which was only changed when Cannon addressed an Open Letter to Truman denouncing the war and supporting the North. The chickens of 1940 were coming home to roost. And nowhere was this more apparent than in the field of international relations.

As a corollary to his thesis of 1946, Cannon assumed that since the American revolution was on the agenda, nothing of any decisive importance would take place on the European continent and that the American revolution would solve the problems which defeated and devastated Europe could not. America was seen as the epicenter of the international and the European sections were seen as the ancillary pillars of the Trotskyist movement. This is not to imply that Cannon and the SWP leaders did not intervene in or help the struggling sections of Europe in their political and material difficulties. What was lacking, however, was a real theoretical collaboration in defining a strategic line for the International. This was virtually excluded by the adoption of the American Theses which violated the traditional Marxist concept of the development of the world revolution.

Cannon and the International

In this sense Cannon, with his theory of American exceptionalism, must bear the main responsibility for the subsequent crisis in the Fourth International. Not only did it mean an indifference to Europe and the relations between Europe and USA but—more seriously—it did nothing to train or correct the mistakes of an immature European Secretariat. On the contrary Cannon's policy gave carte blanche to the already serious deviations within the European leadership. Cannon's own admission on this score does nothing to enhance his claim to be a "genuine internationalist" and makes nonsense of Joseph Hansen's posthumous defense of Cannon as an internationalist who opposed a federalist concept of the international:

"Our relations with the leadership in Europe at that time were relations of closest collaboration and support. There was general agreement between us. These were unknown men in our party. Nobody had ever heard of them. We helped to publicize the individual leaders, we commended them to our party members, and helped to build up their prestige. We did this, first because we had general agreement, and second because we realized they needed our support. They had yet to gain authority, not



Left: Ernest Mandel (Germain) and George Novack. Above: James P. Cannon. Below: Demoralized American troops during the Korean War.

only here but throughout the world. And the fact that the SWP supported them up and down the line greatly reinforced their position and helped them to do their great work (sic)." (Speeches to the Party, p. 75. James P. Cannon. Pathfinder Press 1973.)

The road to hell however is paved with good intentions and the examples adduced by Cannon in this same speech showed unmistakably that the SWP's patronizing attitude to the European leadership was compounding the difficulties and augmenting the weaknesses of the European leaders.

For example, when the Morrow-Goldman group were expelled—correctly—for their open collaboration with Shachtman's Workers' Party, the International Secretariat under the pressure of the right-wing Groffroi-DeMazere leadership of the French Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI) publicly dissented.

Cannon's comment on this scandalous intervention stands in stark contrast to Trotsky's ruthless determination to follow every principled difference to its political roots:

"It was a very rash, precipitate action by a small group in Paris. We just told them: 'Please don't do that any more.' And we didn't pay any attention to their intervention on Morrow's behalf. The only result of their action was to stir into new life group of former Morrowites in San Diego. They had just about reconciled themselves to the convention decision. But on the assumption that the International was supporting their faction, they stirred into new life, and we lost the San Diego group of the SWP on that account." (Ibid p. 37 Internationalism and the SWP. Our emphasis.)

Enter Mandel- Germain and Pablo

Cannon's indulgence of the International Secretariat only encouraged this petty-bourgeois liberalism and conciliationism whose chief exponent was Ernest Germain (Mandel) on the Secretariat. A little while later, when the SWP broke up the unity negotiations with the Workers Party, the International Secretariat once again intervened against the SWP and Cannon. Here is Cannon's account:

"Germain, with the agreement of Pablo (Raptis, ed)—and again without consulting our people and even without a majority of the people there knowing it—decided that they would be more clever than we were. "Without consulting us, Germain addressed a letter to Shachtman saying that he was sorry negotiations were broken off, but hoped they would be resumed, and that he personally would stand for unity and support the unity movement in the International. It was an open invitation to Shachtman to grab hold of this rope and make trouble for us in the party and in the international movement.



"As I said, that was done without consultation with us. Comrade (Morris) Stein heard about it only after the letter had been sent—and we didn't even get a copy of the letter. I don't attribute this to any malevolence on their part, just to their inexperience. They don't know how to deal in the formalities of organization as well as they should." (Ibid p. 78 Our emphasis.)

No Trotskyist can read this without being appalled by the political indifference shown by Cannon to an extremely dangerous deviation in the International Secretariat.

While he was trying to "build up their prestige" they, on the contrary, were seeking deliberately to undermine his authority and disrupt the International! The farce did not end there, however. Thanks to Germain and Pablo, Shachtman—expelled by the International in 1940—was allowed to attend the 2nd Congress of the Fourth International in 1948 and a commission was set up to see whether Shachtman's party could not be readmitted into the Fourth International as a "sympathizing section."

To give theoretical cover to this unprincipled and unprecedented maneuver, Germain even wrote a section into the 2nd Congress resolutions which stated that state-capitalism was compatible with membership of the Fourth Internationalism.

This policy of friendly rebukes and evasion of the theoretical challenge presented

new era which was leading immediately and inevitably to World War III in which the Stalinist parties would be forced to take power.

The SWP leaders—Cannon included—did nothing to oppose the adoption of this perspective not only at the 9th Plenum of the International Executive Committee, but also at the 3rd Congress of the Fourth International a year later. In fact as the SWP contribution to the 3rd Congress clearly shows they welcomed this thesis—on the proviso that the revisionist characterization of Stalinism was not imported into the US. As usual, Cannon—already disoriented by the failure of his 1946 Thesis to materialize—wanted to have it both ways.

But the laws of the class struggle are implacably remorseless. The disorientation and confusion caused by Cannon's pragmatic method and outlook had strengthened a tendency inside the SWP which wanted to liquidate the SWP into the trade union bureaucracy—led by Clarke and Cochran, were all proteges of Cannon and Dobbs and had played a considerable part in promoting Cannon's "proletarian orientation" in the 1940s. But in doing so they had only succeeded in adapting to the reformist trade union consciousness in the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Cochran was the leader of the SWP's auto faction and his base was in Flint and Detroit. Many of the older workers in the party supported him. This group began to emerge at the same time that the Pabloite faction began to develop in the Fourth International.

In early 1952 Clarke—the SWP observer at the 3rd Congress of the Fourth International—inspired and encouraged by Pablo's revisionism, coalesced with Cochran, Bartell and Frankel in the SWP Political Committee to put forward a line which would have liquidated the SWP into the Stalinist milieu around the Labour Monthly and other groups.

Degeneration Begins

Cannon's first reaction showed that he was unable to meet the theoretical challenge posed by the Cochran-Clarke group. He submitted a letter to the Political Committee to be sent to all members of the National Committee and to Pablo denouncing the minority as an unprincipled combination whose methods could lead to split. For once, Cannon was in a minority and was persuaded to withdraw the letter by his colleagues. Cannon's instinct in relation to the minority was infallible. He recognized them as a conservative group of the labor aristocracy. In his speech "Trade Unionists and Revolutionists" given to a meeting of his majority supporters in the New York Local in May 1953, Cannon makes a cogent analysis of the social roots of the minority and reveals how the dialectic of war and post-war boom transformed the great conquest of the Congress of Industrial Organizations—the seniority clause—from a radical factor into a conservatizing one and how this affected the generation to which Cochran belonged. Unfortunately the speech is marred by the complete absence of an alternative perspective.

If Cannon was partially right in relation to Cochran, he was totally bankrupt in relation to Pablo who, by 1952, was using Cannon's confidence to disrupt the Fourth International with a calculated vengeance. In 1952 the majority of the French section was arbitrarily expelled by the Pablo-German leadership. Even at this late hour a decisive intervention by Cannon would have had a salutary effect on the morale of the French section as well as the SWP. Cannon, however, refused to support the appeal of the French majority and fully endorsed the political line of Pablo:

"Now what did I say to Daniel Renard?...Here's what I wrote to Renard...We judge the policy of the international leadership by the line it elaborates in official documents; in the recent period by the documents of the 3rd World Congress and the 10th Plenum. We do not see any revisionism there. We consider these documents to be completely Trotskyist. That's what I wrote to Comrade Renard about the 3rd World Congress, not to answer a demagogue in a factional fight here, but to intervene to help the international leadership in a fight in the French party. I went on to say that it is the unanimous opinion of the leading people of the SWP that the authors of these documents have rendered a great service to the movement, for which they deserve appreciation and comradely support, not distrust and denigration." (Speeches to the Party, p. 143.)

This was possibly the cruellest blow—next to his subsequent support for Pablo in 1964—that Cannon struck the International. Far from strengthening his position in the SWP, they only weakened the Cannon group vis-a-vis the Cochran group who collaborated with Pablo and Germain secretly against Cannon.

In the autumn of 1953 the SWP split and Cannon—to his dismay—discovered that Pablo was not prepared to compromise on the question of American Stalinism. It was a bitter blow. For Cannon there was no way out except to rally his co-thinkers internationally and open fire on the International Secretariat's leaders. In the meantime the pre-conference discussion on the 4th Congress document—"Rise and Decline of Stalinism"—had begun. The line of this notorious document was a continuation of the 1951 resolution and stated unequivocally that Stalinism and the Soviet bureaucracy could be reformed and that there was virtually no need for the 4th International. Every attempt to amend the document was met by bureaucratic threats from Pablo and sordid intrigues by his supporters in the various sections. In this tense and impossible situation a split was inevitable and Cannon's "open letter" in December 1953 which denounced the International Secretariat for its treacherous role on the East Berlin uprising of June 1953, the French General Strike and the post-Stalin maneuvers of the Kremlin leaders, met with a unanimous response from his supporters around the world.

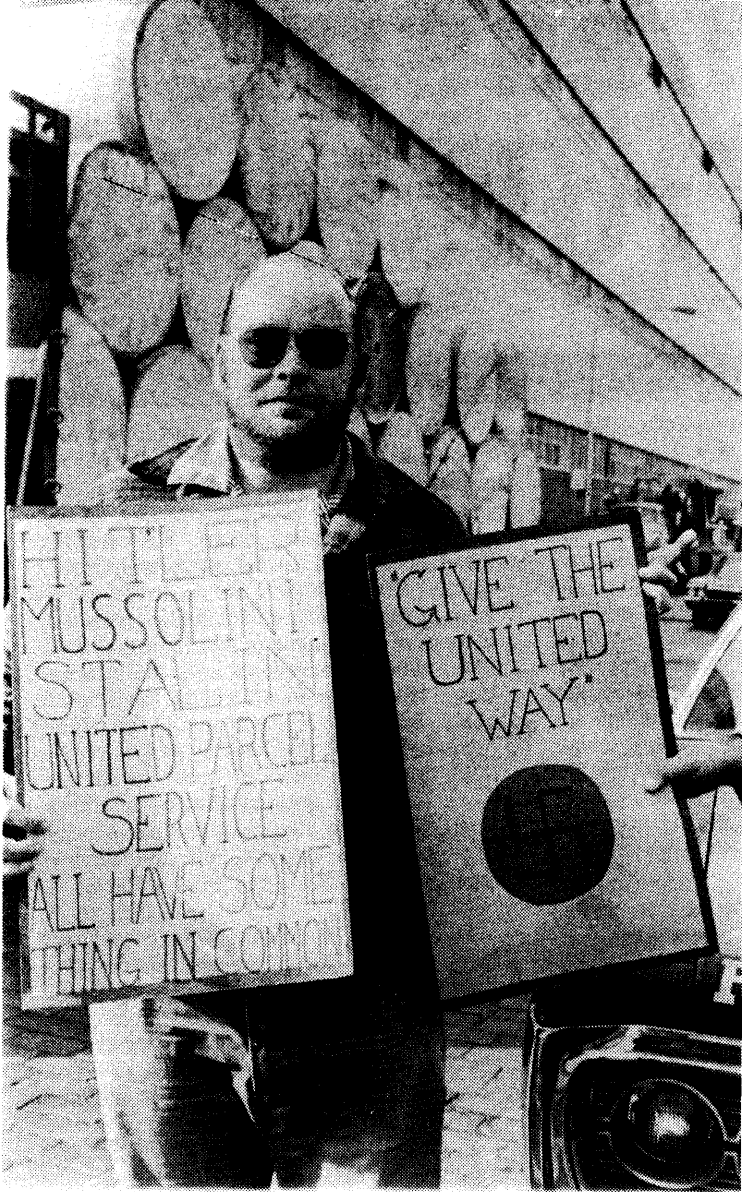
Cannon, however, did not see the split as an integral part of the struggle to secure perspectival clarity in the International and to develop the theoretical and practical struggle to build sections with an authoritative leadership. Rather it was viewed as a regrettable necessity in which "orthodox Trotskyism" had demonstrated its superiority to "counterfeit Trotskyism" and as an "interruption" of the practical work of the party. Cannon was incapable of this task because as he so correctly stated at the May 1953 Plenum of the Socialist Workers Party's National Committee:

"I think the 1946 Thesis and the resolutions of the world congress (the revisionist line of the 3rd Congress—ed.) fit together in a completely rounded world orientation." (Speeches to the Party, p. 143.)

Thus, despite the urgings of the British leadership, Cannon refused to continue the discussion with the Pabloites in order to deepen the split theoretically and educate a new cadre. After setting up the International Committee and writing a few articles and resolutions against Pablo, the SWP rapidly withdrew from the struggle and Cannon was soon to forget the import of his own words:

"The split of 1940 was by no means as definitive and final as is the split today. We are finished and done with Pablo and Pabloism for ever, not only here but on the international field. And nobody is going to take up any of our time with any negotiations about compromise or any nonsense of that sort."

TO BE CONTINUED



November 14 UPS rally.

Massive 'No' Vote To UPS Job Slashes

**BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—**
Over 4,000 members of Teamsters Local 804 have decisively rejected United Parcel Service's demand to cut 1,200 jobs in return for continuing metropolitan area operations.

Local 804 President Ron Carey's procedural move to delay the vote until November 20 was, in fact, superceded by the massive standing voice vote to reject at once.

UPS has set November 20 as its deadline for closure if the pact is not accepted, and Carey is still involved in a last minute attempt to work out a compromise proposal.

Carey turned his back on the strength expressed in the meeting and the November 14 mass rally, hiding behind the fact that IBT head Frank Fitzsimmons has refused to allow the local to strengthen its strike

by picketing the nearby Secaucus, N.J. warehouses.

Faced with a membership determined to defend every job in New York City, Carey said: "You and I both know you don't win a strike."

REJECTION

When rank and file members continued to call for a rejection of the UPS ultimatum, Carey sent his negotiating committee to monopolize the floor mike, and then quickly adjourned the meeting.

Carey has completely conceded the company's right to replace full-time with part-time workers, who he proposes should continue at a lower rate of pay, without cost of living protection, welfare, or pension benefits.

This position was actually presented to UPS behind the backs of the membership in a November 6 letter. Carey criticized UPS for overestimating operating expenses by:

"The apparent failure to calculate the substantial savings which which would be realized by the company if it secured some degree of the part-timer relief demanded as a condition of continued operation.

"This saving would be reflected in a decrease in the projected figure for full-time hours and the substitution of cheaper part-time hours. Savings would result in the pension, health, and welfare contribution costs as well."

Carey is still ready and willing to modify the union's position if UPS proves its claim that eight million dollars a year are lost in the metropolitan operations.

"We're faced with a complete unit of part-time men on the inside. You're kidding yourself if you think this won't happen," he said. "But we're going down swinging."

In addition to bargaining away job security, Carey has given up any fight for wages. By a vote of 1400 to 7, Local 804 rejected an offer of \$100 a week. Now UPS proposes that full-time workers

receive \$50 a week more over three years and part-timers, a raise of mere pennies an hour.

When Carey announced that the two cost of living raises would be capped at 11¢ an hour, one worker ripped up the printed contract and threw it in the air, winning strong applause.

Closing down discussion, Carey was anxious to avoid demands that he move the strike onto the offensive by directly challenging Fitzsimmons in an appeal for support from rank and file Teamsters.

Many drivers from other Teamsters locals, including Local 177 in Secaucus, were present at the November 14 rally. The Boston UPS workers have already contacted Local 804 about plans for a wildcat, and Los Angeles workers walked off the job November 13.

This provides a base to prepare national strike action in support of Local 804, a move that will be essential if the operations are, in fact, shut down November 20.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is fighting to build a leadership in Local 804 to mobilize workers against Fitzsimmons's betrayal through the resumption of picketing in Secaucus and the picketing of Teamsters Headquarters in Washington, DC.

This must be combined with a massive rejection at the formal voting November 20 and preparations for a national strike around new negotiating demands for no layoffs, a single, nationwide contract, a 20 percent increase now with part-time workers brought up to equal pay scale and full cost of living protection for every worker.

This fight must be taken forward by motions in every local supporting occupation of the facilities by 804 if they are closed, and for the Teamsters to call a congress of labor at once to launch a labor party and prepare for the nationalization of UPS and any industry that refuses to provide jobs and a living wage.

Knight Backs Victimization

Two hundred SSEU-371 members attended an on-location meeting at the Brooklyn Bureau of Child Welfare office on November 15, where president Pat Knight made clear that he would not defend Judy Catchpol, a militant supported by Progressive Labor. He also launched a witch-hunt of his own aimed at ousting BCW local union delegates who have led Catchpol's defense.

In the last three weeks, a right-wing group has emerged in the center circulating a petition directed to the union leadership and management criticizing the local delegates' defense of Catchpol and supporting the local administration which initiated her firing.

At an earlier local union meeting November 8, a Knight organizer refused to repudiate the group's actions and supported the group by raising the issue of possible recall action against the elected delegates.

At the November 15 meeting, Knight took this a step further by raising the issue of recall and by directly encouraging a red-baiting campaign being conducted by this group.

Knight told the right-wingers if they saw so-called unauthorized political literature on union bulletin boards they did not like, they could tear it down.

Knight likewise succeeded in lessening the authority of local elected delegates by gaining sanction for a joint committee of both elected delegates and representatives of the right-wing to jointly look into such matters as quorums for local chapter meetings.

Knight's encouragement of a right-wing red-baiting campaign against Catchpol and those supporting her in her center makes the criminal nature of this bureaucracy 100 times clearer.

The city has moved against Catchpol for political reasons. The city is determined to drive

out of the trade unions any forces independent of the trade union bureaucracy which might lead the ranks against the city's attacks.

In this way, the city and all the employers seek to prepare the way to destroy the independence of the trade unions and incorporate them into the government in the coming period.

Knight, in joining with the city in its drive to witch-hunt and fire union militants, is

from the committee for new leadership...

refusing to defend the democratic right of those who oppose him on policies within the union, is aiding the city in its drive to destroy the city union movement as a whole.

These are new developments in the rightward movement of the union leadership and its drive towards the bureaucratization of the SSEU.

This victimization is being utilized by the city to play on all the weaknesses and confusion in the union so there can be a new wave of attacks on the union, in the area of shift work or with layoffs.

At the November 15 BCW meeting, it was announced that the city was now preparing a showdown in BCW over a BCW-wide work action which has been in effect for over a year. Workers have refused more than four new BCW cases monthly.

The SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership has fought at each stage of the victimization to base this fight in the struggle of the union as a whole on the issues of wages and working conditions.

Catchpol, other PL supporters and the local dele-

gates at Brooklyn BCW cannot pose any serious alternative to Knight's refusal to fight this victimization. They are incapable of exposing either him or the right-wing group that is moving to oust them in the center.

Progressive Labor supporters and the local delegates are no more willing than Knight to put the union on the line against Catchpol's firing.

At the meeting a CNL supporter pointed to the inadequacy and futility of more local protests on the issue. The CNL supporter proposed a motion demanding all cooperation with, and all negotiations on, present or future reorganization programs be broken off by the Knight leadership until Catchpol was reinstated.

Against this, Catchpol and the local delegates succeeded in carrying a motion for a referendum the following Friday, November 22, which would consider a one-day local walkout to protest the firing.

While Knight opposed both proposals, he reserved his chief attack for the CNL representative, whom he labeled "ultraradical." He claimed the Catchpol victimization was not a political victimization of a union militant, but a mere routine firing which deserved to be handled in a routine fashion.

The Catchpol victimization can no longer be allowed to remain in the hands of either Knight or the supporters of Progressive Labor.

The November 25 Delegates Assembly meeting must vote endorsement of the CNL defense policy and this must be backed up at the earliest date by the vote of the general membership.

Both bodies must likewise demand Knight repudiate his support to the antiunion and anticommunist elements at Brooklyn BCW seeking to oust the elected delegates.

UPS Men Speak Out

"If UPS lost eight million last year, they lost it by paying off the cops. They don't need scabs in this strike, they have the police department. They hire retired cops as security guards and guarantee them full job security. They patrol inside, wearing their service guns."

"If we take this contract, we will be laid off in a week. They say, 'because things are bad in this country, you take what we give you because you can't find a job anywhere else.'"

"Maybe we need Hoffa back. I'd rather have a crook than a politician. When Hoffa took a dollar, he gave us back a dime. This guy, Fitzsimmons, took \$10,000 and gave every penny to Nixon."

"If we give up today, we'll lose everything tomorrow. I've been a driver for six and one-half years, but this move is going to hurt all of us. When they eliminate full-time night

jobs, the seniority men will move to other departments.

"There will be lots of layoffs. We'll be working one day a week, or maybe three or four days out of two weeks. The full-timers will be knocking each other off like what's happening in auto."

"They can't break our wage rate, so they try to put in other men at lower rates. They want the same amount of work for less pay. They can't do any more work than we're doing—they're only human."

"I'm out here representing my whole family. We're fighting for survival in this strike. Now a few men in this nation are at the stage where they're not dealing, but destroying."

"They want to destroy us, the machine that created them and their wealth. Their crisis is worse than ours—we're used to fighting. There are a lot of vets here, and the first thing they taught us was self-preservation. They made us what we are."

Rhode Island Hospital Worker Murdered In Contract Fight



**BY FRANK SLADE
CRANSTON, R.I.—**
"All this for a lousy buck."

On Saturday morning, November 9, Mrs. Wilma Schesler, a member of Local 1350 American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, and an employee of the Rhode Island Medical Center for 27 years, was killed. She was hit when a car driven by a scab deliberately ran through the picket line. Margarette MacIntyre, employed 17 years, was critically injured by the same car.

The peaceful picket line had been established by Local 1350 to secure demands for a decent contract.

Mrs. Schesler has three years left until retirement. As one Local 1350 member told the Bulletin: "Wilma knew what she was fighting for. With 27 years, you get nothing. You're responsible for clothing, feeding, and

administering medication to the patients. At top, \$7,400, it's not worth it."

Another Local 1350 member stated: "She died for the union, for a contract. I've been working 23 years with the criminally insane patients and making \$248 every other week. You can't live on that."

SCARE

Hospital administrator, Robert Ready, has been whipping up a scare campaign and calling for "volunteers."

One of his first "volunteers," a motorcycle gang called the East Coast M.F.'s, assaulted the picket line with knives and chains. Governor Philip Noel brought in 146 National Guardsmen in an attempt to break the strike.

In this witch-hunt atmosphere, Mrs. Schesler and Mrs. MacIntyre were crushed beneath the wheels of the scab's car.

Seeing that their leadership was preparing a sellout from the beginning, the members of Local 1350 organized their own strike committee. As strike coor-

dinators and executive council member Jim Hueling stated to the Bulletin: "They always try to sell you out."

"On Friday, they sent a guy down from the international to try to negotiate. What do we need that for? As soon as we walked out, they hit us with an injunction. But they didn't begin to arrest."

"We organized over 600 or 700 of our members on the picket lines. The scabs parked their cars at the state police headquarters and were driven in with police escort."

INCREASE

"Wilma was run over for this contract and we aren't going back till we get what we went out for, a three-step increase retroactive to July 1, nothing less."

"On Sunday, the union leaders reached tentative agreement with the state. The local president came down to the lines asking us to go back to work until the ratification meeting Monday."

"We asked him what the terms of the contract were and he refused to tell us. We told him he could take his contract and his injunction and stick it."

"We're staying out till we get what Wilma died for. At that point it was clear that they were going to start arresting us, so we pulled our picket off so everyone could vote."

Local 1350 then began to organize its members to fight for a 'no' vote at the ratification meeting Monday night. The strike committee arranged buses, a lobby in front of the Civic Center, and a floor fight.

It became obvious that the union bureaucracy was trying to arrange for a minimum turnout on the vote. There had been no information sent to some of the other locals concerning the vote, and, forced back to work, the locals had no time to arrange meetings. The voting had been set at a time when most of the council's members would be getting off from work which left about one-third of the membership able to vote.

The contract, under negotiation since August, was postponed until after the November elections. The AFSCME leadership wanted nothing to come into conflict with its alliance to the Democratic and Republican parties.

When asked to give endorsements for the elections, the Local 1350 membership refused to endorse either Republican or Democratic candidates.

The membership only accepted the contract because it became clear that the leadership would not fight for any of the original demands.

Local 1350 has to repudiate this contract of \$100 across the board and one-grade increase retroactive to July 7, 1974, by demanding a new vote by secret ballot where the members work. The new contract should include a three-step wage increase retroactive to July plus an immediate 25 percent increase and a full cost of living clause.

The hatred of the Democrats and Republicans expressed by the refusal of Local 1350 to make endorsements in the election must be taken forward by a fight in the trade union movement for an independent labor party to defend basic trade union rights and living standards.

Teachers Jailed In Michigan

BY KEN WESTON

DETROIT, Mich.—Teachers in West Wayne County, Michigan, have begun sympathy strikes to protest the jailing of 11 striking teachers in Garden City who defied return to work orders.

On Thursday, November 14, Wayne County Circuit Court Judge Charles Kaufman sentenced John Melchor, the chief negotiator of the Michigan Education Association, to 30 days in jail and gave 10 other union leaders five-day sentences.

Dolly McMaster, president of the Plymouth teachers, said: "If the Garden City School Board gets away with this, they could destroy the collective bargaining process for all the rest of us."

Charles Balzarini, president of the Westwood teachers, declared: "I would go on strike. I think the Garden City teachers are getting a raw deal."

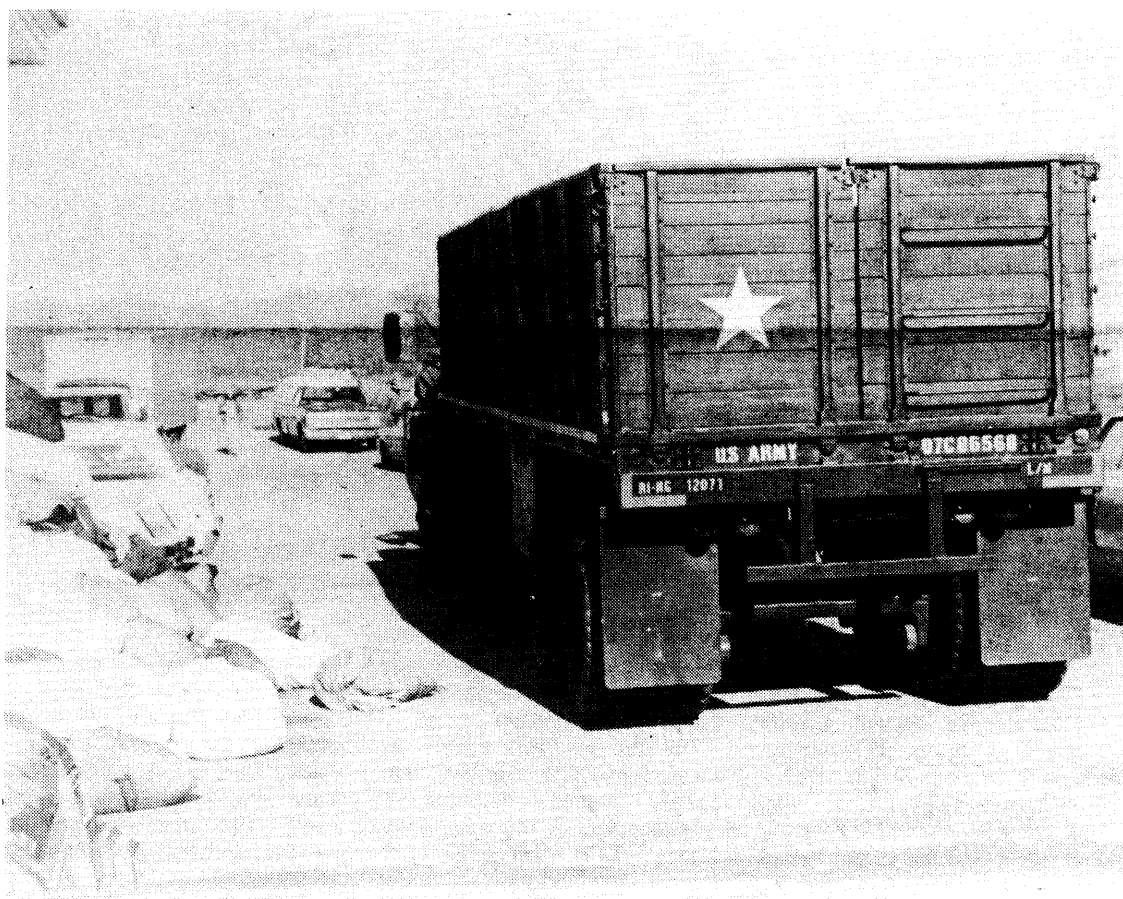
On September 3, 525 Garden City teachers began their strike for a new contract. On September 26, they obeyed a court order to go back to work, but negotiations failed to produce an acceptable contract. The strike was resumed on November 11.

Union President Paul Chamberlain refused to honor his own members' strike and was promptly removed from his post by the teachers. Teachers now say they will not work without a contract under any circumstances.

Garden City teachers are the first teachers in Michigan to serve time for striking. Earlier this year, East Detroit teachers were sentenced, but the charges were dropped before they were jailed.

Melchor, speaking in the court, declared he would not obey a court order because it would "cause the association to be crushed."

"We will serve time with honor and dignity. Sentence me as you will."



National Guardsmen outside Rhode Island Medical Center.

Abel Supporter Loses USW Election

BY A REPORTER

CHICAGO, Ill.—Tremendous opposition to steelworker head I.W. Abel and the ENA (Experimental Negotiating Agreement) has resulted in the upset of Sam Evett as District Director in District 31.

Evett was defeated by Ed Sadlowski by a two-to-one margin. The totals were 37,637 for Sadlowski, 20,158 for Sam Evett.

A steel worker told the Bulletin: "How in the world can you have a union and not be able to strike? We don't even have the right to vote on the contracts, and they have deprived us of the right to strike, the strongest weapon we have."

"What kind of union is this, anyway?"

While the election demonstrates the hatred of the Abel bureaucracy, Sadlowski in no

way represents any real alternative. He has no program to defend workers against the dangers of mass layoffs and the decline in living standards.

Like Abel, Sadlowski is a supporter of the Democratic Party and an opponent of the fight for a labor party.

INTERVENTION

Furthermore, Sadlowski's use of the courts in this election endangers the union by opening it up to the intervention of the government in its internal affairs.

Government agents were swarming all over the district for this election.

A new leadership must be built in the USWA, fighting against Abel's collaboration with the government's attacks on steel workers, which is represented, above all, in the no-strike ENA. This agreement must be smashed.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is fighting for:

1. Abolish ENA, restore the right to strike.
 2. Actual defense of the miners—Abel must be committed to calling out all steel locals to defend the miners.
 3. Re-open the contracts for a 20 percent wage increase and a full 100 percent cost of living clause.
 4. 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. Abel has dropped this demand.
 5. Nationalize steel under workers' control without compensation.
 6. Call a congress of labor and build a labor party. Withdraw all unions from the Labor-Management Committee.
- We urge all steelworkers to attend the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party meeting at the Sacred Heart Church, 7020 South Aberdeen on November 23 at 2 p.m.

WITCH-HUNT AGAINST IMMIGRANT WORKERS



BY SHEILA BREHM
LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Unemployment officially stands at 5.5 million, including over 200,000 workers just laid off by major US corporations last month.

Attorney-General William Saxbe has launched a vicious campaign to deport one million illegal aliens, mainly from Mexico, over the next year.

Massive roundups are being prepared on a far greater scale than the vast deportations which took place in the 1930s, 1947, and 1954.

The Ford administration is out to split the working class to prevent a united fight against unemployment, and against the Democrats and Republicans who stand behind these attacks. The government, with the treacherous aid of the labor bureaucracy seeks to convince American workers that unemployment, inflation, crime, and the decay in social services is the fault of the immigrant worker.

Cesar Chavez, head of the United Farm Workers, is on the top of the list of labor officials who are demanding stringent deportation measures.

In an incredible charge, one government official has tried to blame the illegal aliens for the huge balance of payments deficit, claiming that their wages which they send back to feed their families are creating the crisis.

FRAUD

It is a fraud to blame the illegal aliens for unemployment. The crisis is the result of capitalist production going headlong into slump and recession, with bankruptcies and layoffs hitting every section of the working class regardless of race or nationality.

Saxbe has demanded an extra \$50 million dollars to beef up the Immigration and Naturalization Service's (INS) current \$175 million budget. Claiming there are 12 million workers in the US without proper documentation, Saxbe wants to add 8,000 to the current 20,000 immigration agents to facilitate roundups and deportations.

For decades, the corporations and agribusiness industry have reaped enormous profits through

the brutal exploitation of illegal workers.

With the approval of the US government, they have been denied basic rights and forced to work for the lowest wages under slave labor conditions in the fields and factories.

Seeking to escape the poverty in Mexico, workers have crossed the border for decades in search of employment. The economic crisis has greatly aggravated the poor conditions in Mexico, where the annual average wage is now \$900. It is estimated that 40 percent of the workers in Mexico are either unemployed or underemployed.

The Border Patrol agents have won the hatred of both illegal and legal Mexican workers. Last year, the agents caught 800,000 crossing the US-Mexican border into California and Texas. Workers of Mexican or Latin American ancestry are constantly harassed by the immigration officers.

TRAINING

The Border Patrol agents receive a 16-week training program in Port Isabel, Texas. Twenty-seven graduates who just completed their training a few weeks ago were sent to San Diego, and an additional 41 agents are currently in training. They will join 162 agents currently on "line watch" along the international border.

Large-scale deportation campaigns against Mexican immigrants were launched in the 1930s, followed by a stepped up effort in 1947. Behind the 1947 campaign was the anticipated recession.

Starting in California and moving towards Texas, a total of 734 officers were assigned positions on the Mexican border. Named the "Stockton Operation," the Fresno Operation, Salinas, San Antonio, etc. a total of 193,657 illegal aliens were apprehended and deported.

By 1954, the Border Patrol had been transformed from a small guard unit into an army. A supervisor in the El Paso district termed the campaign "actual warfare."

The agents were equipped with all the necessary technological gear under leadership of General Joseph Swing (then INS commissioner), Attorney General Brownell, and President Eisenhower. Their combined combat records ranged from the 1916



Immigrant workers awaiting deportation

Punitive Invasion of Mexico to World War Two European and Pacific Campaigns.

The 1954 deportation drive, unprecedented in history was called, "Operation Wetback." It was assisted by the FBI, navy, army, federal, state, and city officials, including railroad police officers. These agents were supported by aircraft, watercraft, and special task forces.

The campaign began June, 1954 at El Centro and Chula Vista, California where Border Patrol agents assembled using a system of blocking off an area, and then "mopping it up." It spread to include all industrial and agricultural areas in the entire state of California.

APPREHENDED

During the first week, an average of 1700 workers were apprehended each day. Special mobile forces were sent to discover workers without proper papers in Chicago, Spokane, Kansas City, and St. Louis. As a result of this vicious and very brutal campaign, 4,961,195 aliens were deported, mainly to Mexico.

Saxbe has in mind today, this type of campaign, but on a more sophisticated level.

Not only have the employers been able to maximize their profits through the use of illegal workers, but the deportation process has become a big business, bringing in millions of dollars for the network of politicians, busi-

nessmen, and mafia who operate the "Removal System."

Once the illegals are caught crossing the border, they are told by Border Patrol agents that they can avoid fingerprinting and possible legal action if they pay for a bus trip or air trip back to Mexico.

The trip, they are told is 1200 miles to Léon, in the interior of Mexico, a desolate, poverty-stricken area. They are later told by the bus or air crew that by paying an additional bribe they can avoid the long trip and get dropped off closer to the border. Millions of dollars are paid for unwanted trips and bribes.

The Removal System is a confidential and completely illegal program worked out between INS officials in collaboration with private Mexican transportation companies and Mexican immigration officials. The system has been defended by US immigration authorities who say it takes the illegals far away from the border.

REMOVAL

The individuals behind the Removal System are none other than Richard Kleindienst, Armando Verdugo, John Allesio, and Leonard Gillman.

•Kleindienst is reported to have helped establish the system.

•Armando Verdugo, the kingpin of coin operated machines in

Tijuana, based on his connections with influential Mexican officials, reportedly helped persuade them to go along with the system.

•John Allesio, a San Diego millionaire, is now completing a prison sentence for income tax evasion. He is an associate of Verdugo's, a big supporter of the Democratic Party, and faithfully supported Richard Nixon's campaigns. He owns dog and horse tracks in the US and Mexico, and has strong connections to organized crime. He was the head of a successful book-making operation in Mexico, where that type of gambling is legal.

•Leonard Gillman is the Southwest Regional Commissioner of the INS who is currently the subject of a federal investigation. He was linked with the operation when he took Verdugo to visit Allesio in prison. According to Gillman, the arrangements for the Removal System were made in 1969 as a result of an unofficial agreement between US and Mexican officials.

EXPLOITATION

During the period of the boom, the exploitation of these workers was profitable. Now, with the corporations plunged into financial crisis, they no longer need them. This is what is behind the big campaign against "aliens."

This campaign is being directed not just against Mexican workers, but also against West Indian and other foreign born workers.

Trade unionists must demand their leadership fight for full trade union rights for foreign workers and against all forms of discrimination.

CHAVEZ

Those union leaders like Cesar Chavez who blame the foreign workers for the crisis will be the first ones to say nothing can be done when the American workers lose their jobs.

The unions must fight for jobs for all, for a 30 hour work week at 40 hours pay, and the nationalization of industry under workers control.

The unity of the working class in an independent labor party against the main enemy, the Ford government and the employers, is essential to carry this fight through.

Israeli Military On Alert

BY MELODY FARROW

The Zionist regime in Israel, in the midst of a desperate economic crisis, is close to launching a pre-emptive strike against the Arab countries.

Israel has mobilized her reserve forces and the entire military is on a state of alert. Israeli troop movements were reported towards Syria and Lebanon and the Kibbutzim on the border have been evacuated.

Palestinian guerrilla leaders expect a full-scale attack on southern Lebanon. Early on Monday, Israeli gunboats shelled the Al Rashidayah refugee camp near the border, where 3,000 Palestinians live. Many were injured.

Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin has charged that 20 ships are unloading Soviet arms at the Syrian port of Latakia to create a fraudulent war scare. Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam declared:

"Israel wants to cover for an aggression which it is preparing and planning to launch against Syria, while alleging that Syria is contemplating military actions.

"At the same time, Israel wants to divert the attention of its population from their domestic problems by talking about imaginary dangers."

RIOTS

Massive riots and demonstrations continue to sweep through the Israeli occupied West Bank. On Sunday, large

crowds gathered in the streets of Jenin, Ramallah, Al Birah, and Hebron, stoning and fighting Israeli police and troops.

In Hebron, Arab shopkeepers staged another general strike in support of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Last week, a young Arab girl was killed when Israeli riot police charged into thousands of demonstrating Arab high school students.

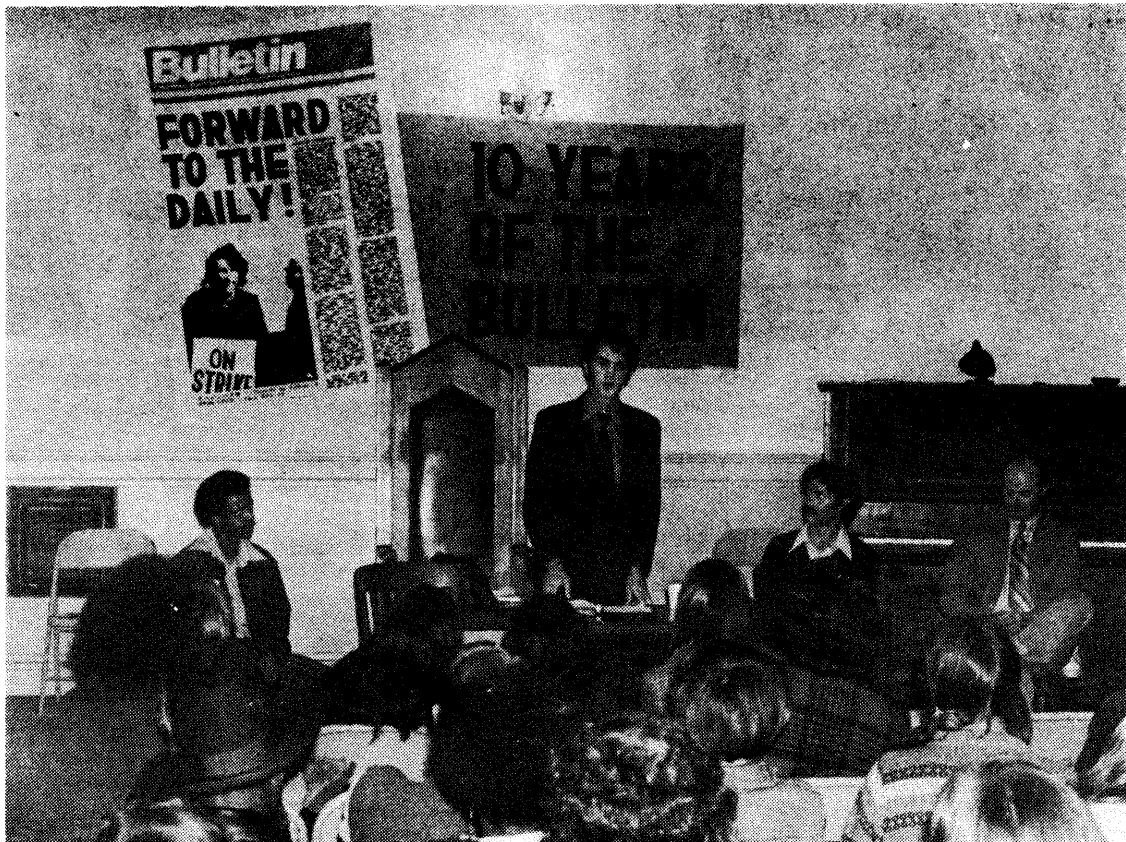
In Israel, opposition to the government's price increases and wage freeze is intensifying. Engineers shut the state radio for one hour and aviation workers struck for one-half hour. Industrial workers in every area staged work stoppages.

A new war at this time will rapidly intensify the class struggle within Israel. A new military adventure will force the Israeli government to purchase more arms and further reduce the living standards of both Arab and Jewish workers.

The United States is in the thick of the war preparations. Kissinger's strategy to use the right-wing rulers of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Morocco to defend US interests was largely defeated at the Rabat conference.

The tremendous determination of the Arab people to fight Zionism and imperialism and the strength of the Palestinian revolution has thrown all these plans into crisis.

A defeat for Zionism in any future war is in the interests of the Jewish people in Israel. The building of a revolutionary party to fight for a socialist state, where Jewish and Arab workers can live together on the land that was formerly Palestine is the only way there can be any peace.



The Bay Area Workers League in California commemorated the Tenth Anniversary of the Bulletin with a successful meeting in San Francisco.

CP Inflation Rally: A Pathetic Protest

BY FRANK MARTIN

The Stalinist "Campaign to Roll Back Prices" that culminated in rallies around the country on November 16 was a dismal affair.

With speakers from the National Council of Churches and the National Students Association, a former recipient of CIA funds, on the platform, the Communist Party tried to generate enthusiasm for a new "people's movement against inflation and unemployment."

After a big publicity campaign, the rally attracted only 700 people, mostly trade union

bureaucrats and aging CP members. There were virtually no youth and no rank and file workers.

The keynote speaker was Jane Benedict, from the Metropolitan Council on Housing. She tried to warm up the crowd with a speech that read as if it was written to Gerald Ford: "President Ford, we say roll back the prices to 1970, limit profits, and curb the monopolies."

Benedict called for the building of a middle class protest movement against unemployment and inflation patterned after the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s. This takes place when unemployment and inflation are the direct consequences of the enormous crisis of capitalism internationally which can only be resolved through a political fight by the working class for power.

The Stalinists plead with the Democratic and Republican politicians for reforms. To this end, Benedict proposed the circulation of a petition addressed to Ford and Congress.

"Even President Ford admits his program can not bring inflation under control before mid-1976. He says sacrifice will be necessary.

"A program to combat inflation must end the years of sacrifice by lower and middle income people and the unemployed. The wealthy and the big corporations can afford to make some sacrifices for a change.

Another key speaker was Bill Scott, a leading Stalinist supporter at GM's Tarrytown plant, where 2000 workers were recently laid off. Scott made it clear that he accepts the present layoffs and expects many more. "We in auto recognize we're in a deep crisis.

"We expect millions more to be thrown out of the plants. But we have an obligation to begin to organize, to unite with all different types of people to let the government know we won't stand idly by.

"We may be out of the plants, but we will be in the community organizing."

Trade union leaders like Arnold Miller of the UMW and Leon Davis of 1199 who, despite their "left" image, are completely in favor of collaboration with the government, gave their support to this bankrupt protest but mobilized no one from the ranks of these unions.

One of the final speakers at the rally was the Rev. W. Sterling Cary of the National Council of Churches. Besides talking about the merits of heaven and hell, he used his time to call for wage and price controls!

This pathetic affair indicates the treacherous policy of the Communist Party inside the working class. Not once throughout the entire rally was the question of independent political action of the working class even mentioned.

The Stalinists are desperate to maintain detente with American imperialism. As Ford begins his Asian tour, which will end with a meeting with Brezhnev, the American CP has tailored its entire policy to fit in with the Democrats and Republicans.

TREACHERY . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Industrial output declined another 0.6 percent in October. The level of production is down 1.7 percent from the same period in 1973.

The Gross National Product fell 2.1 percent in the third quarter, a worsening of the 1.6 percent drop during the second quarter.

Inflation continues to skyrocket. The Wholesale Price Index exploded in October to hit an adjusted annual rate of 27.6 percent. The rise over the last 12 months has been 22.6 percent.

The deteriorating economic situation is starkly revealed in the latest slump in the dollar and the rise in the price of gold to above \$190 per ounce.

The trade union bureaucracy does not have any intention of leading a fight against the plans of the Ford government and big business for brutal cuts in living standards and mass unemployment. The opposite is the case. Meany, Miller, and Woodcock are terrified by the prospect that the working class will fight back against these attacks which they themselves are helping the government to implement.

Woodcock meets with Chrysler to sanction new layoffs that will add to the present figure of 70,000 unemployed auto workers.

All the meetings between bureaucrats and the representatives of government and industry have one main point on the agenda: how to disarm the working class and make it pay for the economic collapse which is now unavoidable.

The bureaucracy fears above all that the movement of the working class in defense of its living standards, jobs, and basic rights will escalate into a collision with the Ford administration and its Democratic Party allies in Congress.

As Meany, Miller, and Woodcock know full well, the Ford government—backed by the Democrats—is orchestrating the corporations' attacks on the working class.

That the trade union bureaucracy supports wage controls and the government's drive to slash living standards is demonstrated by Miller's attempt to defend the tentative coal contract, which maintains wages within the unofficial 5.5 percent limit, in front of the UMW bargaining council.

Although the bargaining council has told Miller that the contract will never be accepted by the ranks, the UMW leader is hanging on to this contract. Miller is asking coal operators to readjust, not increase, the

money offer in order to give the package a face lift and ram it through.

The opposition on the bargaining council of the UMW is only a pale reflection of the mood of the miners. As one council member stated in explaining his opposition to the settlement: "We have to live with those people" in the coal fields.

The rejection of the tentative settlement will be a powerful blow against the collaboration of the trade union leadership with the plans of the Ford government for wage controls and mass unemployment.

Miners are in a position to make their strike the instrument for rallying the entire working class in a political offensive to smash the Ford government.

The miners must press ahead with their fight for a major wage increase of above 20 percent with an escalator clause to give full protection against inflation, as well as the unrestricted right to strike over all grievances.

The entire working class must be mobilized around this struggle by demanding that the United Mine Workers issue the call for the convening of a congress of labor drawn from all trade unions and workers organizations to map out a strategy to

defeat Ford's program of slashing jobs, living standards, and basic rights based on a program of nationalizing all basic industry under workers control.

This congress of labor will have the historic task of uniting the entire working class for struggle against the capitalist government by constructing an American labor party based on the trade unions.

The "unity" preached by the Stalinists and the revisionists amount to solidarity with the Miller bureaucracy against the interests of the miners and all workers.

Unity with Miller means unity with the government and the employers. This is what the Stalinists and revisionists stand for.

The unity of the working class and the miners requires a relentless struggle against Miller and all bureaucratic agents of the ruling class inside the unions. A revolutionary leadership must be built in the UMW to drive the bureaucracy out and launch the fight for socialist policies necessary to defend the working class.

We call on all miners to join the Workers League to carry out this fight and build its industrial section, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, inside the UMW.



lucha obrera

CRISIS EN ARGENTINA

POR CESAR UCO

En medio del terrorismo que viene acentuándose en la Argentina a partir de la muerte de Perón el 1 de julio, la destitución de Gelbard, ministro de economía y creador del Pacto Social, significa un nuevo viraje hacia la derecha del gobierno de Isabel Perón.

El nombramiento de Alfredo Gomes Morales en reemplazo de Gelbard significa el reconocimiento oficial del fracaso de la política de congelamiento de precios y salarios y los preparativos del gobierno para aumentar las tarifas y servicios públicos, autorizar el aumento de precios, preparar la devaluación del peso e implementar la racionalización.

La serie de asesinatos políticos de dirigentes sindicales y de izquierda por organizaciones fascistas como la Alianza Anticomunista Argentina, AAA, han servido de pretexto para que el gobierno de Isabel Perón pase una serie de leyes represivas que prohíben el derecho a la huelga y hacen posible castigar a cualquiera que mantenga opinión izquierdista. Hace unas semanas la Presidente declaró: "Cualquier intento o recomendación, por cualquier medio, de alterar o destruir el orden institucional y la paz social de la Nación, por medios no sancionados en la constitución y con el propósito de lograr sus propios objetivos ideológicos, será castigado con tres a ocho años de cárcel."

Estas medidas son un complemento a la política económica cuyo fundamento real se encuentra en el fracaso del Pacto Social y la crisis política del peronismo.

CORPORATISMO PERONISTA

El triunfo del peronismo, primero en la persona de Cárpora en marzo de 1973 y luego con Perón en setiembre del mismo año se logra en base al apoyo de amplios sectores de la burguesía, las masas populares y grupos guerrilleros.

Para la burguesía, Perón era una alternativa a la dictadura militar que no puede resolver la crisis y que se ve amenazada por explosiones revolucionarias.

Y la burocracia sindical hizo creer a la clase obrera que bajo Perón vivirían mejor y que "el General" los defendería contra los ataques de la reacción y el imperialismo.

Perón también obtuvo el apoyo de los revisionistas pablistas, stalinistas y reformistas que impusieron el fraude de la naturaleza "anticapitalista" y "progresiva" del peronismo.

Los grupos guerrilleros que habían luchado contra la dictadura militar clamando ser de izquierda también le ofrecen su apoyo. 30 mil Montoneros se unen a la Juventud Peronista.

Fue este apoyo heterogéneo que permitió a Perón jugar un papel bonapartista.

La doctrina de Perón fue, y sigue siendo, una doctrina corporatista apoyada por el estado y la

burocracia sindical. Niega la lucha de clases tratando de sentar en la misma mesa a capitalistas y obreros.

PACTO SOCIAL

El pacto social de junio de 1973, diseñado para durar dos años, es una expresión del carácter tradicional corporatista del peronismo.

Fue acompañado por el conjunto de la burguesía porque la unificaba contra el movimiento obrero.

Por medio de la emisión monetaria, subsidios y créditos baratos, el gobierno le financió a la burguesía la contención relativa de los precios mientras aseguraba el congelamiento riguroso de los salarios obreros, y demás reivindicaciones obreras.

El financiamiento estatal resultó ser esencialmente inflacionario. El resultado del pacto ha sido una inflación anual del 40 por ciento y un déficit presupuestario de 3 billones de pesos argentinos.

Además, el mercado internacional de carnes, fuente fundamental de divisas para la Argentina, ha sido fuertemente



Isabelita Perón.

afectado con el cierre del Mercado Común Europeo, que conjuntamente con la constante alza del precio del petróleo y otras materias primas industriales amenaza con una parálisis de la producción.

La inflación en la Argentina es creada por la inflación mundial del capitalismo y la devaluación del papel moneda.

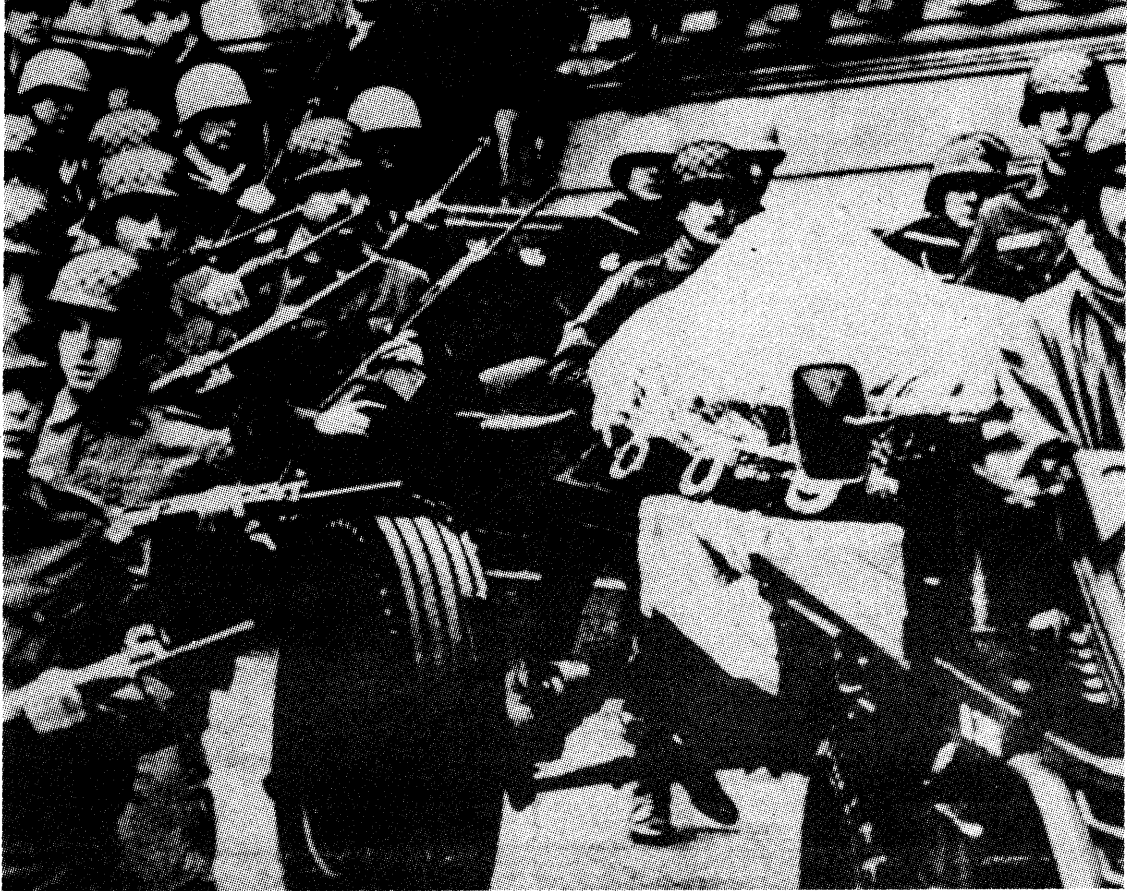
En momentos en que todos los sectores de la burguesía se quejan que el control de salarios no es suficiente, que hay que subir los precios, cuando los latifundistas declaran que con mil pesos por dólar no pueden exportar, Gomez asume su puesto en el gobierno precisamente para eso: subir los precios y devaluar la moneda.

Las consecuencias de estas medidas será la baja en la producción, el inicio de despidos masivos y el corte en el nivel de vida de las capas populares y medias.

Estas medidas acentuarán aún más la crisis política del peronismo. Crisis que consiste en la pérdida del apoyo de miles de trabajadores y las capas medias.

A partir del "Cordobazo" en febrero de 1974, la clase obrera empieza a romper con el peronismo.

Este levantamiento de vastos sectores populares dirigidos por el ala izquierda del peronismo fue reprimido violentamente por



Funerai de Juan Perón.

el propio Perón, pero inicia una nueva etapa en la lucha salarial.

En Córdoba los trabajadores del vidrio ganan un aumento de 50 mil pesos y en bancos de 35 mil. Los azucareros de Tucumán piden 100 mil pesos rechazando una oferta de 51 mil.

En auto, petroquímica y mecánicos de Córdoba, los trabajadores están exigiendo o ya obtuvieron 60 mil y 90 mil pesos.

BUROCRACIA TRAICIONA

Y frente a esta ofensiva salarial la central sindical CGT, controlada por los stalinistas, firma un trato con el gobierno que pone un aumento tope de 15 por ciento no inferior a 30 mil pesos que debe durar hasta junio de 1975!

Este aumento no hace ni para lo que ya se perdió. La propia CGT declaró anteriormente que el salario se desvalorizó en un 21 por ciento, y además, que la productividad subió en 6 por ciento, sumando un 27 por ciento!

STALINISTAS

Y en medio de esta lucha, cuando se abre la oportunidad de hacer romper a la clase obrera con el peronismo, los stalinistas, los mismos traidores de Chile y Portugal, continúan apoyando a Perón.

Los stalinistas dicen que ellos apoyarán todas las medidas del gobierno "para proveer la liberación nacional del país," y llamarán a la realización del programa peronista de reformas sociales.

En diciembre de 1973, Orestes Ghioldi, miembro del Comité Central del Partido Comunista Argentino declaró en World Marxist Review:

"Perón a menudo dice que el quiere hacer lo que la gente quiere. Ahora la situación lo ha forzado a escoger entre hacer realmente lo que la gente quiere o tirarse en contra de las organizaciones locales peronistas."

A las medidas económicas recién adoptadas, al entreguismo del liderazgo burocrático de la CGT, se suma el activismo fascista que, sin duda, está financiado por la CIA, pero que fundamentalmente se caracteriza por recibir el apoyo directo

del gobierno y del movimiento peronista.

La lucha por lograr la independencia política es fundamental para evitar la derrota frente al fascismo, canalizando el ascenso obrero hacia la toma del poder.

Frente a este avance del proletariado, los Montoneros se alejan de la clase obrera pasando nuevamente a la clandestinidad y al guerrillerismo en julio de este año.

Este es el resultado al que llega la Juventud Peronista por su confianza en el gobierno represivo y en los partidos burgueses.

Rechuzando ir a las masas, los Montoneros escogen seguir en el terreno de la clase de la burguesía, pero disfrazándolo con un

ropaje izquierdista.

Los revisionistas del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, dirigido por el centrista Nakud Moreno, no presenta ninguna alternativa—en el pasado capitularon frente a Perón haciendo concesiones a la izquierda peronista.

El grupo de Moreno apoyó incondicionalmente a Perón en los años 60. Su periódico llevaba la consigna "bajo el liderazgo y dirección del General Perón."

Lo que se necesita en la Argentina es construir un liderazgo trotskista, una sección Argentina del Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional.

La segunda parte de este artículo tratará sobre la lucha por la construcción de una alternativa revolucionaria.

Victimización De Trabajadores Inmigrantes

Los Angeles, California—El porcentaje del desempleo marca 5.5 millones incluyendo 200 mil obreros recién despedidos por las grandes corporaciones americanas.

El gobernador General William Saxbe, está llevando una viciosa campaña para deportar un millón de inmigrantes ilegales principalmente chicanos. Las deportaciones son planeadas a una escala mucho más alta que las que se llevaron a cabo en 1930, 1947 y 1954.

Demócratas y Republicanos están apoyando estas medidas del gobierno de Ford, que tienen como fin dividir la clase obrera.

La burocracia laboral trata de hacer creer que la inflación, el desempleo y el crimen, son culpa de los inmigrantes.

César Chávez líder sindical de la Unión de Trabajadores Agrícolas (UFW), es desenmascarado dando su apoyo a estas medidas de deportación.

Es una farsa el tratar de culpar a los inmigrantes por el desempleo. Esta crisis es el resultado de la decadencia del capitalismo que va camino de la recesión mundial y la bancarrota, y las medidas que los capitalistas toman por mantener el

sistema afectan por igual a toda la clase obrera sin distinción de razas y nacionalidades.

Durante décadas, las grandes corporaciones han explotado a inmigrantes haciendo tremendas ganancias a costa de pagar los más bajos sueldos y negar los derechos básicos en los campos agrícolas y las fábricas.

Tratando de huir de la miseria los mexicanos han cruzado las fronteras en busca de trabajos. El promedio del sueldo anual en México es de \$900 y el desempleo a aumentado un 40 por ciento.

La Liga Obrera en su lucha por la independencia política del proletariado demanda que las uniones luchen por los derechos de todos los obreros contra toda forma de discriminación.

Líderes sindicales como César Chávez, quien culpa a los inmigrantes de la crisis, será de los primeros en decir que no se puede hacer nada cuando el desempleo masivo afecte millones de obreros americanos.

Las uniones deben luchar por trabajos para todos. 30 horas de trabajo por 40 de paga y nacionalización de la industria bajo control obrero y sin compensación.



lucha obrera

CRISIS EN ARGENTINA

POR CESAR UCO

En medio del terrorismo que viene acentuándose en la Argentina a partir de la muerte de Perón el 1 de julio, la destitución de Gelbard, ministro de economía y creador del Pacto Social, significa un nuevo viraje hacia la derecha del gobierno de Isabel Perón.

El nombramiento de Alfredo Gomes Morales en reemplazo de Gelbard significa el reconocimiento oficial del fracaso de la política de congelamiento de precios y salarios y los preparativos del gobierno para aumentar las tarifas y servicios públicos, autorizar el aumento de precios, preparar la devaluación del peso e implementar la racionalización.

La serie de asesinatos políticos de dirigentes sindicales y de izquierda por organizaciones fascistas como la Alianza Anticomunista Argentina, AAA, han servido de pretexto para que el gobierno de Isabel Perón pase una serie de leyes represivas que prohíben el derecho a la huelga y hacen posible castigar a cualquiera que mantenga opinión izquierdista. Hace unas semanas la Presidente declaró: "Cualquier intento o recomendación, por cualquier medio, de alterar o destruir el orden institucional y la paz social de la Nación, por medios no sancionados en la constitución y con el propósito de lograr sus propios objetivos ideológicos, será castigado con tres a ocho años de cárcel."

Estas medidas son un complemento a la política económica cuyo fundamento real se encuentra en el fracaso del Pacto Social y la crisis política del peronismo.

CORPORATISMO PERONISTA

El triunfo del peronismo, primero en la persona de Cámpora en marzo de 1973 y luego con Perón en setiembre del mismo año se logra en base al apoyo de amplios sectores de la burguesía, las masas populares y grupos guerrilleros.

Para la burguesía, Perón era una alternativa a la dictadura militar que no puede resolver la crisis y que se ve amenazada por explosiones revolucionarias.

Y la burocracia sindical hizo creer a la clase obrera que bajo Perón vivirían mejor y que "el General" los defendería contra los ataques de la reacción y el imperialismo.

Perón también obtuvo el apoyo de los revisionistas pablistas, stalinistas y reformistas que impusieron el fraude de la naturaleza "anticapitalista" y "progresiva" del peronismo.

Los grupos guerrilleros que habían luchado contra la dictadura militar clamando ser de izquierda también le ofrecen su apoyo. 30 mil Montoneros se unen a la Juventud Peronista.

Fue este apoyo heterogéneo que permitió a Perón jugar un papel bonapartista.

La doctrina de Perón fue, y sigue siendo, una doctrina corporatista apoyada por el estado y la

burocracia sindical. Niega la lucha de clases tratando de sentar en la misma mesa a capitalistas y obreros.

PACTO SOCIAL

El pacto social de junio de 1973, diseñado para durar dos años, es una expresión del carácter tradicional corporatista del peronismo.

Fue acompañado por el conjunto de la burguesía porque la unificaba contra el movimiento obrero.

Por medio de la emisión monetaria, subsidios y créditos baratos, el gobierno le financió a la burguesía la contención relativa de los precios mientras aseguraba el congelamiento riguroso de los salarios obreros, y demás reivindicaciones obreras.

El financiamiento estatal resultó ser esencialmente inflacionario. El resultado del pacto ha sido una inflación anual del 40 por ciento y un déficit presupuestario de 3 billones de pesos argentinos.

Además, el mercado internacional de carnes, fuente fundamental de divisas para la Argentina, ha sido fuertemente



Isabelita Perón.

afectado con el cierre del Mercado Común Europeo, que conjuntamente con la constante alza del precio del petróleo y otras materias primas industriales amenaza con una parálisis de la producción.

La inflación en la Argentina es creada por la inflación mundial del capitalismo y la devaluación del papel moneda.

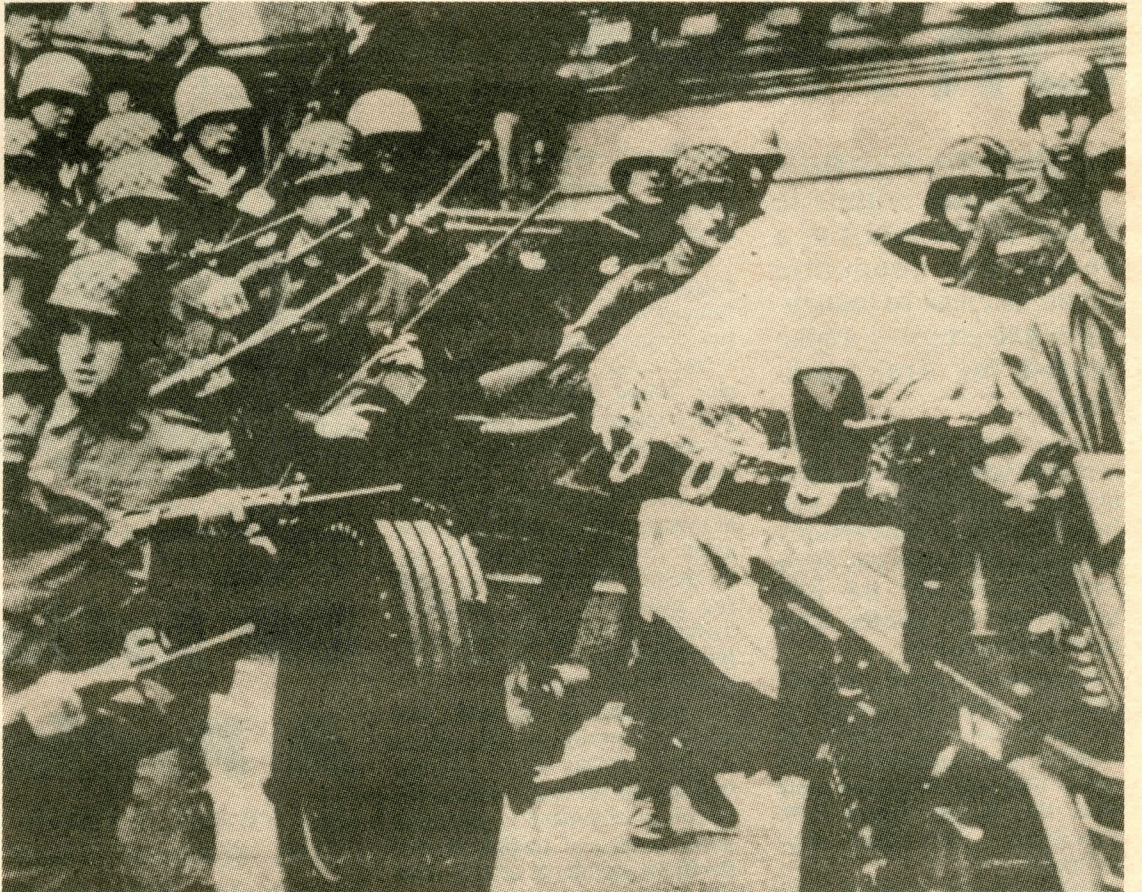
En momentos en que todos los sectores de la burguesía se quejan que el control de salarios no es suficiente, que hay que subir los precios, cuando los latifundistas declaran que con mil pesos por dólar no pueden exportar, Gomez asume su puesto en el gobierno precisamente para eso: subir los precios y devaluar la moneda.

Las consecuencias de estas medidas será la baja en la producción, el inicio de despidos masivos y el corte en el nivel de vida de las capas populares y medias.

Estas medidas acentuarán aún más la crisis política del peronismo. Crisis que consiste en la pérdida del apoyo de miles de trabajadores y las capas medias.

A partir del "Cordobazo" en febrero de 1974, la clase obrera empieza a romper con el peronismo.

Este levantamiento de vastos sectores populares dirigidos por el ala izquierda del peronismo fue reprimido violentamente por



Funerál de Juan Perón.

el propio Perón, pero inicia una nueva etapa en la lucha salarial.

En Córdoba los trabajadores del vidrio ganan un aumento de 50 mil pesos y en bancos de 35 mil. Los azucareros de Tucumán piden 100 mil pesos rechazando una oferta de 51 mil.

En auto, petroquímica y mecánicos de Córdoba, los trabajadores están exigiendo o ya obtuvieron 60 mil y 90 mil pesos.

BUROCRACIA TRAICIONA

Y frente a esta ofensiva salarial la central sindical CGT, controlada por los stalinistas, firma un trato con el gobierno que pone un aumento tope de 15 por ciento no inferior a 30 mil pesos que debe durar hasta junio de 1975!

Este aumento no hace ni para lo que ya se perdió. La propia CGT declaró anteriormente que el salario se desvalorizó en un 21 por ciento, y además, que la productividad subió en 6 por ciento, sumando un 27 por ciento!

STALINISTAS

Y en medio de esta lucha, cuando se abre la oportunidad de hacer romper a la clase obrera con el peronismo, los stalinistas, los mismos traidores de Chile y Portugal, continúan apoyando a Perón.

Los stalinistas dicen que ellos apoyarán todas las medidas del gobierno "para proveer la liberación nacional del país," y llamarán a la realización del programa peronista de reformas sociales.

En diciembre de 1973, Orestes Ghioldi, miembro del Comité Central del Partido Comunista Argentino declaró en World Marxist Review:

"Perón a menudo dice que el quiere hacer lo que la gente quiere. Ahora la situación lo ha forzado a escoger entre hacer realmente lo que la gente quiere o tirarse en contra de las organizaciones locales peronistas."

A las medidas económicas recién adoptadas, al entreguismo del liderazgo burocrático de la CGT, se suma el activismo fascista que, sin duda, está financiado por la CIA, pero que fundamentalmente se caracteriza por recibir el apoyo directo

del gobierno y del movimiento peronista.

La lucha por lograr la independencia política es fundamental para evitar la derrota frente al fascismo, canalizando el ascenso obrero hacia la toma del poder.

Frente a este avance del proletariado, los Montoneros se alejan de la clase obrera pasando nuevamente a la clandestinidad y al guerrillerismo en julio de este año.

Este es el resultado al que llega la Juventud Peronista por su confianza en el gobierno represivo y en los partidos burgueses.

Rehuzando ir a las masas, los Montoneros escogen seguir en el terreno de la clase de la burguesía, pero disfrazándolo con un

ropaje izquierdista.

Los revisionistas del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, dirigido por el centrista Nakud Moreno, no presenta ninguna alternativa—en el pasado capitularon frente a Perón haciendo concesiones a la izquierda peronista.

El grupo de Moreno apoyó incondicionalmente a Perón en los años 60. Su periódico llevaba la consigna "bajo el liderazgo y dirección del General Perón."

Lo que se necesita en la Argentina es construir un liderazgo trotskista, una sección Argentina del Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional.

La segunda parte de este artículo tratará sobre la lucha por la construcción de una alternativa revolucionaria.

Victimización De Trabajadores Inmigrantes

Los Angeles, California—El porcentaje del desempleo marca 5.5 millones incluyendo 200 mil obreros recién despedidos por las grandes corporaciones americanas.

El gobernador General William Saxbe, está llevando una viciosa campaña para deportar un millón de inmigrantes ilegales principalmente chicanos. Las deportaciones son planeadas a una escala mucho más alta que las que se llevaron a cabo en 1930, 1947 y 1954.

Demócratas y Republicanos están apoyando estas medidas del gobierno de Ford, que tienen como fin dividir la clase obrera.

La burocracia laboral trata de hacer creer que la inflación, el desempleo y el crimen, son culpa de los inmigrantes.

César Chávez líder sindical de la Unión de Trabajadores Agrícolas (UFW), es desenmascarado dando su apoyo a estas medidas de deportación.

Es una farsa el tratar de culpar a los inmigrantes por el desempleo. Esta crisis es el resultado de la decadencia del capitalismo que va camino de la recesión mundial y la bancarrota, y las medidas que los capitalistas toman por mantener el

sistema afectan por igual a toda la clase obrera sin distinción de razas y nacionalidades.

Durante décadas, las grandes corporaciones han explotado a inmigrantes haciendo tremendas ganancias a costa de pagar los más bajos sueldos y negar los derechos básicos en los campos agrícolas y las fábricas.

Tratando de huir de la miseria los mexicanos han cruzado las fronteras en busca de trabajos. El promedio del sueldo anual en México es de \$900 y el desempleo a aumentado un 40 por ciento.

La Liga Obrera en su lucha por la independencia política del proletariado demanda que las uniones luchen por los derechos de todos los obreros contra toda forma de discriminación.

Líderes sindicales como César Chávez, quien culpa a los inmigrantes de la crisis, será de los primeros en decir que no se puede hacer nada cuando el desempleo masivo afecte millones de obreros americanos.

Las uniones deben luchar por trabajos para todos. 30 horas de trabajo por 40 de paga y nacionalización de la industria bajo control obrero y sin compensación.