

# Bulletin

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER EIGHTY EIGHT 424

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1974



TWENTY CENTS

## MINERS MUST REJECT SELLOUT!

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The coal pact endorsed by the Miller leadership of the United Mine Workers of America is a stab in the back to 120,000 striking miners.

Miners must answer this treachery by campaigning throughout the coalfields to throw this settlement back in Miller's face and continue the strike.

This contract has been dictated to Miller by the Ford government. It is the product of his participation on the administration's Labor-Management Committee, which was set up for the express purpose of policing wages and preparing a new round of state control on wages.

Miller seeks to call off the strike just as it is becoming clear that miners are in a position to unite all sections of the working class around their contract struggle and deal a crushing blow to the labor-hating and crisis-stricken Ford administration.

Despite all his claims that this time miners would win big concessions from the profit bloated

coal bosses, they are nowhere to be found in the new contract.

On wages, the agreement offers a miserable nine percent the first year and three percent in each of the next two years. A cost of living escalator guarantees a one cent an hour increase for every .4 percent increase in the Consumer Price Index. Nothing will be paid for inflation exceeding 8 percent.

Not only will this fail to compensate miners for wages already lost to inflation, but it means that in the second and third years of the contract, the maximum pay increase allowed would be approximately \$15 a week, under conditions of runaway inflation.

Despite the enormous fighting spirit of the miners, the Miller bureaucracy has negotiated a wages pact fully in accord with Ford's wage guidelines.

On the critical issue of safety and the unlimited right to strike, absolutely nothing has been won to guarantee miners control over the conditions of work. This means that the slaughter will continue in the mines.

### SECRECY

It is now completely clear why Miller conducted his negotiations in absolute secrecy.

An Appalachian newspaper, which has followed the negotiations very closely, wrote Wednesday morning: "Labor specialists in and out of the government have rumored in recent weeks that a possible 'deal' had been reached by Miller in one of his recent meetings with President Ford, a 'deal' that the union would not use the walkout in return for an unspecified favor."

Miller, who has maintained the closest contact with the administration throughout the negotiations, never intended to call a prolonged walkout.

His wage pact makes it obvious that the 'deal' was to tailor the settlement to suit the administration's plans to prevent a new wage offensive by the labor movement and impose a new round of wage controls.

Both Ford and the UMW bureaucracy are terrified that a prolonged fight by the miners will provide the lead for a massive offensive by the working class against the Ford government.

Miller's continuous meetings with administration representatives were where the real negotiations took place. While the two-faced Miller told the miners one thing, he planned exactly the opposite in collaboration with Ford.

We demanded that the miners force Miller to break from the Labor-Management Committee in order to open the way for a full-scale offensive against both the coal bosses and their strike-breaking government.

### ANSWER

Every miner who has said that he would withhold judgment on Miller until he negotiated a contract now has his answer.

The Stalinists and the SWP revisionists who have claimed that Miller represented the real needs of the miners and would lead a rank and file struggle stand completely exposed for their treachery.

Miller's deal represents much more than just a betrayal on wages and conditions. By preventing the miners from taking on Ford and rallying the entire labor movement to their side, he

intends to leave the working class completely exposed to the full blast of the economic crisis.

Everything negotiated on fringe benefits and wages will be completely destroyed by the skyrocketing inflation and recession.

The fight to reject this pact must begin now. The 830 delegates who will be meeting in Pittsburgh must be instructed to repudiate it. The ranks must prepare for a massive "no" vote when it is brought back to the locals.

The full strength of the UMWA must be mobilized for an all-out strike to win:

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

- The full right to strike over all issues.

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## US And Israel Prepare Invasion

BY MELODY FARROW

The real terrorists and criminals at the United Nations are not the representatives of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, but the Israeli and the United States governments who are jointly preparing a new invasion of the Arab countries.

The real terrorists are organizations like the Jewish Defense League, whose leader Russell Kelner declared that PLO leader Yasser Arafat "would not get out of the city alive" and announced that JDL assassination squads were ready to kill Arafat.

Arafat flew out of the United States immediately after his speech at the United Nations on Wednesday.

The reactionary demonstrations organized by the Zionist organizations are a cover for the new wave of terror that the Zionist Israeli regime is unleashing against the Arab states and in the occupied areas of Palestine.

While we disagree with the political program of the PLO, which now accepts the existence of the Zionist state, we unconditionally defend the PLO and other guerrilla organizations against the right-wing attacks and hysteria of the Zionists and US imperialism.

### DELEGATE

Yosef Tekoah, chief Israeli delegate to the UN, declared: "Israel will not permit the establishment of PLO authority in any part of Palestine."

Israel not only wants to maintain its iron grip on the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip, but is now conspiring with the US to extend its domination.

On Wednesday, as the West Bank town of Nablus was shut by a general strike, Israeli police and paratroopers charged through the streets clubbing everybody in sight.

Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres said "stringent measures" would be taken against rebellions on the West Bank.

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## GM Shuts Tarrytown See Page 11



Workers leaving Chrysler's Jefferson plant in Detroit, that is expected to close.



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# British Miners Oppose Coal Speedup Deal

**BY FRANK MARTIN**  
240,000 British miners have almost certainly rejected the latest National Coal Board productivity deal in the nationwide ballot that ended on Thursday, November 14.

The miners are in the lead of the British working class in the growing opposition to the Labor government's social contract. This contract between the government and the British union leaders calls for voluntary wage restraint by the unions.

Meanwhile, the November 12 budget handed down by the Labor government will fuel the economic crisis that is ripping apart the British economy.

The Laborites, elected with a small majority on October 10, have absolutely no answer to the 20 percent inflation and the \$10 billion trade deficit which has plunged Britain into economic bankruptcy.

Instead, Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey proposed measures to further subsidize private industries and place the burden of the crisis on the backs of the working class.

Healey called for the lifting of

price controls, which will add \$1.84 billion to capitalist profits. He also reduced taxes on inventory gains which will add a further \$1.84 billion to private profits.

Healey coupled this with measures to triple the tax on gasoline and raise the price from \$1.06 to \$1.20 for an American gallon.

While raising profits for capitalist profiteers and thereby feeding the inflation rate, Healey called for the phasing out of any subsidies to nationalized industries.

This vicious, anti-working class measure will immediately imperil the jobs and wages of thousands of British workers in the mines, the steel industry, and the railroads. Healey added that he expects the unemployment figure to jump to over one million by next year.

The Trades Union Congress (British AFL-CIO) leaders praised Healey's budget as "a courageous endeavor to protect employment, stimulate investment, and promote social fairness."

## DISAGREE

But the miners disagree. When the National Coal Board, a government agency which runs the nationalized mines in Britain, proposed a deal which called for massive speedup in ex-



Brian Conway, a miner for 25 years in Wales: "... miners have got them in a grip right where it hurts..."

change for a nominal increased compensation for pneumoconiosis (black lung), big opposition began to develop in the coal fields.

The Scottish Committee of the National Union of Mine Workers voted rejection and called for repudiation of the social contract and a \$70 weekly rise.

The majority of the NUM executive committee voted to recommend rejection and 2000 Yorkshire miners at a mass meeting on November 11 voted unanimously against it.

This opposition to the deal built up despite a red-baiting witch-hunt launched by NUM President Joe Gormley. Backed by right-wingers, Len Clarke and Sid Vincent, Gormley tried to shove the deal down miners' throats by claiming that NUM leaders Joe Whelan and Mick McGahey, Communist Party members, were bringing politics into the union.

## FAILED

Despite heavy coverage in the capitalist press, this campaign totally failed. At the same time, the Labor Party bureaucrats began their own witch-hunt, slurring the miners with the charge of mass absenteeism.

Far from scaring the miners, these charges only strengthened their opposition. The British miners defeated the Tory government of Edward Heath in 1972, and in 1974, forced the Tories to resign. Now, the miners struggle poses a break with the Labor government and its social contract.

But, as one miner told the Workers Press, the big question now facing the miners and the rest of the working class is what happens then? This question can only be answered by the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the working class as an alternative to Gormley, Wilson, and Co. to lead the fight for power. Only the Workers Revolutionary Party, the British Trotskyist movement, is fighting to build that leadership among the miners.

## Reject UPS Ultimatum Now!

**BY CYNTHIA BLAKE**  
NEW YORK, N.Y.—United Parcel Service has set November 20 for the shut-down of its Manhattan and Queens facilities if Teamster Local 804 does not ratify the contract ultimatum issued last week.

A membership meeting is scheduled for Sunday, November 17. 804 President Ron Carey has announced that he will seek to delay a vote on the contract, which would allow UPS to cut 1200 full-time jobs over 10 years through attrition and bring in part-time workers as needed.

The contract offer includes a wage offer of about \$50, which Carey says is "about \$10 below" the union's demands which have never been announced.

Carey, speaking to reporters, denounced the company's attempt to "stampede the membership into a quick vote on this offer" by setting the November 20 deadline. "I believe that their threat is a reality; I take it seriously," he said, "but I don't know how a union can function under these conditions."

Carey also denounced IBT head Frank Fitzsimmons, who he said has "paid lip service to his commitments under the constitution, but has given us no support."

Other locals in IBT Joint Council 16 have joined 804 in demanding that Fitzsimmons extend strike authorization to Local 177 in nearby Secaucus, N.J. which

is currently handling jobs rerouted from New York City.

Carey says that he cannot consider re-establishing the picket lines in Secaucus because it would leave the local "wide open to their game plan. An unconstitutional act like that would bring them in to try and take over the local."

But, Carey himself has no plan to defend the jobs at UPS. He has repeatedly stated that the union would make "radical changes" in its position if the company documents its claim that New York has an operating loss of \$8 million.

He hopes to force the membership to delay a vote on the contract while the union audits UPS records.

Local 804 ranks must prepare to fight against this bankrupt perspective. Carey, like the UPS executives, are actually demanding that Local 804 members and their families pay for the collapse in profits caused by inflationary cost increases and the bankrupting of many small businesses in the area.

Drivers and inside men must make it clear that they will not allow Carey to "open the books" in order to sell them out. The arrogant demands of UPS management must be voted on immediately and rejected out of hand.

The mass demonstration called for November 14 can then be the springboard for new picketing at Secaucus.

Carey must then be sent back to the bargaining table with a new program of demands to assure that not one job and not one cent is lost at UPS:

- No lay-offs. No part-time worker can replace any full-time worker. A 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to create new jobs.



Ron Carey

- A single contract nation-wide. Part-time and full-time workers in every local must share the same wage rates, benefits and protection. A uniform contract will also prevent the rerouting of packages that has threatened this strike.

- A full 20 percent wage hike now, plus 100 percent cost of living protection.

A national strike must be called if necessary to prevent re-routing and the shutdown of the New York City facilities. Together with auto workers and other sections of the labor movement facing massive unemployment, Teamsters must prepare to fight for nationalization of all basic industries and banks under workers control and without compensation.

This requires a political fight against this union-busting administration and its Democratic allies. It is Fitzsimmons' support to these politicians of the corporations that lies behind his backstabbing collaboration with UPS.

Local 804 must demand that the Teamsters call a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party now, uniting the working class around these policies.

## The British Miners Say:

Gilbert Bevan, chairman NUM lodge, Coed Colliery, Glamorgan:

"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. As for the miners, we have forged not only unity, but also political strength.

"We will be watching on Budget Day. It is workers' money they will be giving away to the capitalists. I feel this Labor government will sell out the working class."

Brian Conway, face miner, Bargoed Colliery, South Wales:

"No matter which government is in, Tory or Labor, the miners have got them in a grip right where it hurts.

"We don't want to stop the coal again, but if they push us into a strike again, they are asking for trouble, I can tell you.

"Well, we don't want this productivity deal nor do we want the 'social contract'.

"As for Gormely, all he seems to want us to do is dig more coal. He seems to have changed his colors in the last two years."

David Smith, Treeton Colliery:

"Siddall's (NCB director who accused the miners of absenteeism) talk is just another threat, but Gormley said the same thing.

"He accused us of being go slow miners after the last strike, and now he goes for this productivity deal.

"In south Yorkshire, there has been a complete run down on face training. This shows they intend to work short face teams on this productivity deal.

"Arthur Scargill (Yorkshire NUM president) talked about big pay rises, retirement at 60, and so on.

"But we know there is an economic crisis and a slump in industry.

"Our industry cannot expand. His talk is a red herring because he has no policy towards getting these things.

"We had to bring down a Tory government to get \$21.15. So to get \$70.50 and smash the 'social contract,' we have to bring down a Labor government.

"Arthur Scargill doesn't mention what happens then. The only thing that can happen is that the working class will have to take over the power."

## Unions Reject Israel Pay Freeze

Rioting continued for the third day in the slum districts of Tel Aviv against the Israeli government's new austerity measures.

The executive committee of Histadrut, the Israeli labor federation, confirmed an earlier vote by the executive bureau to reject the government's wage freeze by a vote of 82 to 3. The vote was taken in the presence of Premier Yitzhak Rabin and Finance Minister Yehoshua Rabinowitz who had pleaded with the committee to reverse the decision.

Histadrut demanded specifically the payment of regular twice-yearly cost of living allowances to make up for the price rises. The government wants to

pay the allowance only once a year and not cover the new price rises.

Work stoppages were reported all over the country and 5,000 workers marched in Ashdod against the measures.

In Parliament, the right-wing Likud opposition provoked a shoving match when it accused the ruling Labor party of "betraying the workers."

Israeli workers, both Jewish and Arab, are not going to pay the price of the Zionist war bill. This can lay the basis for uniting Israeli workers and farmers with Arab workers and peasants against the common Zionist enemy and its imperialist backers.



# Gold Rush Shows Fear Of Collapse

BY A REPORTER

A new gold rush is on. Prices on Wednesday in London hit a record \$187.50 and gold dealers are predicting that it will break \$200 by the end of the year.

The rush into gold expresses the widespread fear of international recession and the growing conviction that nothing can be done to handle the problem of the massive dollar surpluses of the oil-producing countries.

Alfred Hayes, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, warned in a speech Wednesday that private banks are no longer able to cope with the flow of oil payments.

"So far, private markets and institutions have taken care of most of the oil payments without undue difficulty, but it would be a bad mistake to assume that they can continue to do so much longer."

Hayes warned that "new international bodies" would have to be created to extend credit to nations unable to meet their oil bills. This is completely opposed by the Ford administration which has made it clear that it has no intention of financing the deficits of nations that will be unable to repay.

The problem facing the banks is the impossibility of finding profitable outlets for the petrodollar funds on deposit. There are very few corporations that can pay high interest rates and still earn sufficient profit under the present conditions of recession.

The new turn to gold will intensify this problem by increasing the probability that huge amounts of capital deposited by the Arab oil states on short term will be withdrawn in order to buy gold.

David T. Kleinman, Fordham University finance professor, told a meeting of the World Business Council on Tuesday that the international financial system faces a collapse within the year.

He pointed out that Italy's balance of payments deficit is now running at an annual \$20 billion rate with huge pressure building towards an Italian default. American banks alone have already lent \$17 billion to Italy and face the prospect of staggering losses.

Kleinman suggested that a situation similar to the 1930s could develop, with Italian capitalists forced to dump Fiats on the world market at prices approaching manufacturer's costs or lower in order to earn foreign exchange. This would mark the beginning of a vicious round of tariff reprisals and destruction of world trade.

The desperate drive of imperialism towards war was revealed at this meeting when one businessman, infuriated by the latest round of oil increases, rose to suggest that the industrialized nations should invade the Middle East. According to a Journal of Commerce

reporter, he was greeted by applause from a considerable section of the audience.

The oil-producing countries have made it clear that they will in no way allow inflation to cut into their revenues and that any attempt to meet oil deficits through inflation will be met with new increases. Saudi Arabia has been removing its gold from the Federal Reserve bank in anticipation of an attempt by the US to freeze it as the crisis intensifies.

Every industrial country is now taking measures to save itself at the expense of its rivals. The British government recently announced that it was removing all guarantees on sterling. This was a measure which provided compensation for sterling holders against depreciation of the currency. Its removal can only indicate that the British capitalists are prepared to let the value of the pound fall in the hopes that this will provide a competitive advantage in the world trade war.

Both Germany and Japan have undertaken a massive expansion of exports.

But all of these plans, which rely on exports to the US market, are hopeless. The growing slump in the United States must have a devastating impact on Japanese and German export industries.

These are the conditions underlying the latest gold panic. They reveal that entire nations and the whole international banking system is hopelessly undermined.

## Strike Call By French Unions

BY A REPORTER

The biggest strike wave since the massive General Strike of May-June 1968 is sweeping through France.

The two major trade union organizations, the CGT and the CFDT, have called for a one-day general strike on November 19.

The strike of postal workers is in its fourth week and will soon be joined by rail and civil service workers.

The greatest factor fueling this strike movement is the soaring rate of inflation, combined with unemployment. 1.5 million are now out of work and unemployment is expected to leap to at least 800,000 by the end of the year.

France will have at least a \$4 billion balance of trade deficit by 1975 after having a surplus the year before.

George Seguy, general secretary of the CGT, is hoping as he put it for an "acceptable compromise," but under the present conditions of economic crisis, the government of Valery Giscard d'Estaing is forced on a collision course with the working class. Seguy whose 1968 compromise, the Grenelle agreement, was overwhelmingly rejected during the general strike, is terrified that the new powerful upsurge will escape his control.

## Stalinists Divert Inflation Fight

"Now is the time to let Washington know that something has got to be done to stop the rising unemployment and bring down the rising prices."

This is the theme of the nationwide protest rallies being organized for November 16 by the Coalition to Fight Inflation and Unemployment. This coalition initiated by the Stalinist Communist Party is an amalgam of liberals, reverends, and trade union leaders.

On the West Coast the November 16 actions have been endorsed by the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, the machinists union, AFSCME, and the Western Paper and Pulp workers. In Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, Arnold Miller of the miners union and other UMW officials will speak.

### WHAT WE THINK

These rallies will not only have no effect on the soaring cost of living but are a diversion from the political struggle the working class must lead against the Ford government and the ruling class who are responsible for inflation and unemployment.

The program of the coalition to tax profits, control prices instead of wages and "force a change in budget priorities" gives the illusion that inflation is just some kind of natural evil and that it can be controlled under the capitalist system.

Just protest and demonstrate enough, the coalition organizers say, and the government will be forced to listen.

But it is precisely the government, both Democratic

and Republican administrations, who have followed a conscious policy of inflating the dollar since 1945. The capitalist class has printed billions of paper dollars to expand the economy in a desperate attempt to overcome the crisis of their profit system. They did this to avoid an all-out confrontation with the working class.

Nixon's order in 1971 to end the convertibility of dollars into gold, that destroyed the whole basis for stable trade and investment, ushered in a period of absolutely uncontrolled inflation. Paper money is now completely worthless.

This is what is behind the spiralling rise in prices. The government cannot control prices because the inflation is rooted in the bankruptcy of their economic system. The Ford government wants to fight inflation in order to defend profits and investments.

The aim of the bankers and employers is to restore value to the dollar by a savage deflation of the economy, that is by intensifying massive unemployment, shutting the plants, speedup, and a violent confrontation with the working class to destroy wages and the trade unions.

At the same time, the inflation is being used as a weapon to slash real wages in order to weaken the working class.

Living standards are not going to be defended through impotent appeals to this government but only by the independent mobilization of the working class to force this government out and replace it with a labor party committed to the defense of the working class, the unemployed, and the youth.

The so-called "left" trade union leaders like Miller and Harry Bridges of the ILWU

build up these protests as a way of avoiding this struggle. They tell workers that since inflation can't be controlled, the wages fight is not central in order to evade confronting the political fight that the labor movement now faces.

While Miller will go to rallies against inflation, he refuses to lead a real struggle for a major wage increase and to rally the trade union movement behind the miners.

The working class must begin with defense of its right to decent wages and jobs for all. This brings every worker squarely up against the need to build a revolutionary leadership to lead a fight against the capitalist system and the government.

The Stalinists organized the November 16 protests because they want to head off the development of an independent labor party. Instead, they want to channel the anger and militancy of millions of workers back into the Democratic Party which is the biggest advocate of wage controls.

The Stalinists create illusions in the capitalist state, just as the Chilean Communist Party created the illusion that the generals and bourgeois politicians would be forced to compromise, that disarms the working class at the very point when the government is preparing its police and the military for civil war.

The fight against inflation poses the need for socialist policies and for nationalization of the banks, corporations, and food monopolies under workers control.

The launching of a wage offensive to unite the enormous power of the working class must go forward and is decisive in the fight for a congress of labor and a labor party.

## Hospital Striker Killed In Rhode Island



BY FRANK SLADE  
CRANSTON, Rhode Island—One woman was killed and another critically injured by a scab car here.

The car deliberately drove through the picket line of Local 1350 at the massive Rhode Island Medical Center. More than 5,000 members of American Federation of

State, County, and Municipal Employees Council 22 and 70 walked off their jobs on November 8 demanding a three-step wage increase retroactive to July 1. Union officials urged the workers to return to work.

Governor Phillip Noel, in an attempt to break the strike, called in 146 National

Guardsmen to carry out strikers' duties and added that he had 3,000 National Guard on alert.

On Tuesday, November 11 at the ratification meeting, the 3,000 members only voted to return to work and accept the contract proposal after it was clear that the leadership would not fight for any of the original demands.



## Unite NY City Labor Against Cutbacks

NEW YORK, NY—The New York City Beame administration has given its agency heads 30 days to come up with specific plans for cutting some \$100 million out of their respective operations. This figure is based on the false assumption that the growing economic crisis will not get any worse.

On top of this, a \$500 to \$750 million deficit is now expected in Albany which will mean that the first order of business of the incoming Democratic Carey administration will be massive cutbacks.

Beame's cutbacks in the school budget will be at least \$74.1 million and are expected to violate the existing contract. Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers said: "What it means is that thousands of people are going to get a Christmas gift of being fired."

The president of the board of higher education, Alfred Giardino, warned that the cutbacks could also affect the City University, eliminating open admissions, and remedial and career programs in the community colleges.

The budget slashes will also affect the hospitals and correctional and fire departments.

City labor cannot now sit back for 30 days until Beame announces mass layoffs and a new wave of productivity schemes.

City workers must completely reject the corporatist appeals being made in the New York Times and elsewhere that the crisis and its solution are the joint responsibility of the "city, the unions, and individuals."

Resolutions demanding that DC 37 and other city unions prepare for strike action in the event of layoffs and that they reject increased productivity must be introduced in every local.

### BREAK

Resolutions must also demand that city labor break with the Democrats and Republicans and fight for a labor party.

The struggle in SSEU-371 must now be stepped up against the growing inroads on basic working conditions and job security being made almost daily by the city.

In the last two weeks, it has been revealed that the city is now attempting to arbitrarily consolidate two Bronx offices of Community Services locations manned by dozens of caseworkers and supervisory staff into a single office, miles away from the area that at least one of these offices covers. This and similar moves are raising an ever bigger question mark over the future

of the whole OCS operation, where hundreds of social service staff have been transferred in the last year.

Car authorizations for workers assigned to make long distance field visits have been virtually wiped out. New requirements involving increased insurance would cost workers who use their cars on the job an additional \$100 in insurance costs per year.

### from the committee for new leadership...

In the face of these attacks, the Knight leadership has been completely passive.

In the Housing Development Administration, the Knight leadership is widely publicizing its success in preventing direct layoff and removal from permanent civil service rosters of 40 Model Cities workers. But, this leadership is in direct collaboration with the city in the dismantling of HDA. It has done nothing to date to fight either the closure of three of the five HDA workshops, the dispersal of 40 workers, to other agencies, or the curtailment of operations at the two remaining HDA locations.

Regarding shift work, the Knight leadership continues with the same lame position of no cooperation pending hiring.

The SSEU Committee for New Leadership will intervene at the November 25 Delegate Assembly against the retreat of the Knight leadership on the basis of the following policies:

1. For DC 37 wide strike action in the event of any layoffs arising from the present city budget crisis and a policy of no cooperation with any productivity plans.

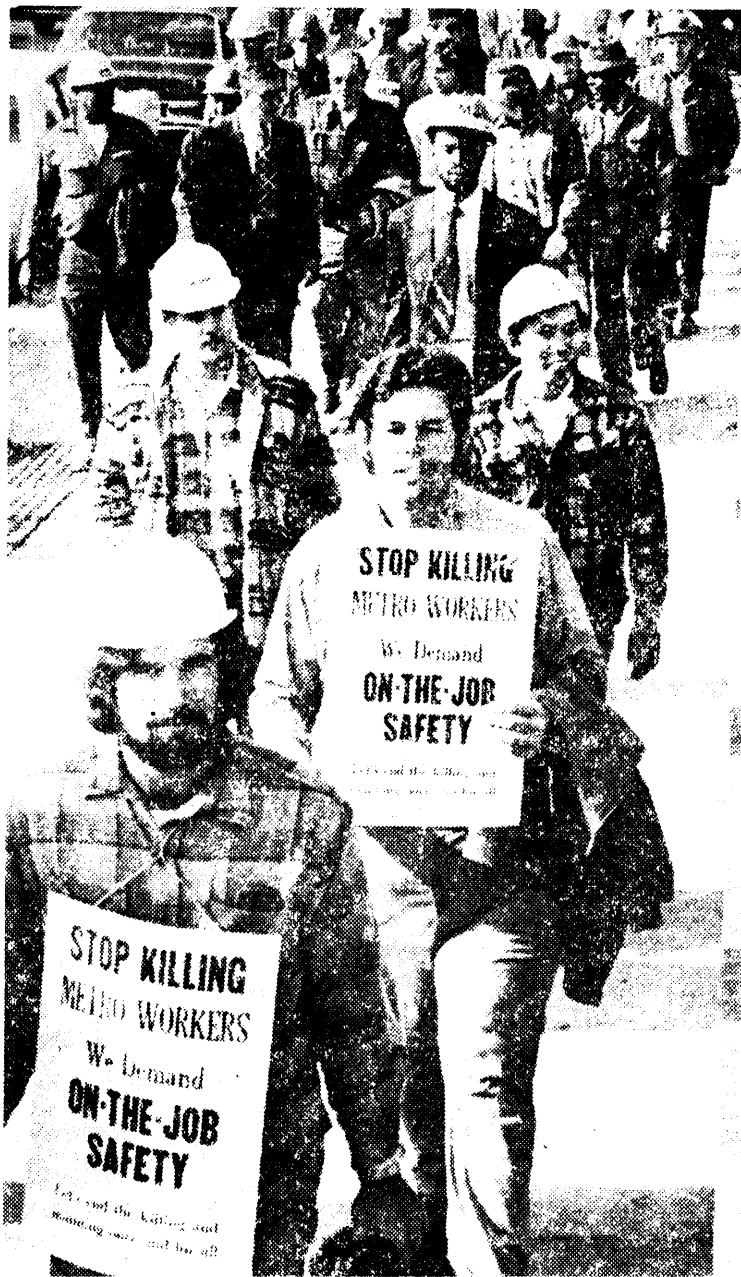
2. No union cooperation with any involuntary transfer of OCS staff or OCS locations.

3. No cooperation with any present or future reorganization until all measures aimed at harassment, such as new car authorization policy, all closings, such as the shut-downs and curtailments in HDA, and the victimization of Catchpol are rescinded.

4. No cooperation with shift-work whatsoever.

5. For 20 percent across the board per annum, iron clad no layoff provisions, and blanketing in of all provisions in the Model Cities contract.

6. For a break by the SSEU with the Democrats and Republicans and an all-out campaign in the labor movement for the convening of a congress of labor and the launching of a labor party.



## METRO Workers Shut Site To Protest Deaths

BY NICK LUCAS  
WASHINGTON, DC—On Thursday, October 30, an operating engineer working for METRO died by electrocution.

Construction workers declared war on METRO and shut the entire site for one day. 500 workers marched to the labor department to protest the terrible safety conditions which have killed 12 METRO workers in the past three years.

Another 2,000 stayed off the job in solidarity with the demonstration, while 6,000 stayed home because of missing key personnel at the various construction sites.

The work stoppage had been decided upon on Friday by Local 77 of the Operating Engineers, the union whose members have had the most fatalities. It was joined by the others unions involved in the construction of METRO, including Latherers

Local 466 and the carpenters and electricians.

The marchers presented John Spender with a petition listing 33 specific grievances, but the real complaint is the 12 deaths since METRO construction began in 1969.

### MARCHED

After the rally, the workers marched to METRO headquarters, where a union delegation met with Donald H. Laar, a METRO official.

A shop steward told the Bulletin: "The main thing is safe conditions. We want somebody from the outside, somebody neutral and not tied to METRO or the contractors. Safety conditions have deteriorated terribly. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration won't do anything. It works side by side with the bosses."

Before any dangerous conditions can be straightened out, workers must fill out long and complicated applications. Many workers are afraid to fill them out because they fear for their jobs.

The contractors can challenge any complaint and hold it up for months.

The only answer to these conditions is union control of safety conditions and inspection. The fight for safety must be combined with the fight for jobs. Decent working conditions and full employment cannot be guaranteed by the Ford government, but mean a political fight by the trade unions for a labor party and the nationalization of the construction industry.

## Ray Charges King's Murder Was A Plot

James Earl Ray, convicted assassin of Martin Luther King Jr., is demanding a new trial on the grounds that King's murder was a conspiracy.

Ray claims that he was coerced into pleading guilty at his original trial.

King's assassination on April 4, 1968 sparked riots among black workers and youth throughout the US. Meanwhile, the government launched an international manhunt to find Ray.

He was picked up in Britain, with a plane ticket to Africa in his pocket. He was brought to trial in Memphis on March 10, 1969. Ray pleaded guilty and Judge Preston Battle handed down a 99-year sentence. The trial was over in one day.

At the trial, Ray was asked if he had any further comment. His only statement was that he took issue with the statements being made by the Attorney-General at that time, Ramsey Clark.

Clark had been stating that there was no conspiracy in King's death and that Ray was a white racist who was seeking fame.

For five years, this story held up, though there were widespread rumors about a conspiracy.

### GUILTY

Ray is now claiming that his lawyer, Percy Foreman, and a writer who had been commissioned to do Ray's biography, William Bradford Huie, combined to force Ray to plead guilty. Huie claimed that a book about a man who did not murder King would not sell, while Foreman did not want to go through the lengthy procedure of a trial and an appeal.

Ray claims he was set up as the fall guy in a conspiracy which involved a number of wealthy Southern businessmen. He claims he has names, addresses, and phone numbers of several of these people, although he will not reveal who they are until he gets a new trial.

According to Ray, he was hired by a "blond Latin" called Raoul, whom he met several months before and whom he followed down to Memphis to help carry out a "major crime." Ray says he was several blocks from the scene of the crime when it happened. He decided to run when he realized he was being set up and would be blamed for the murder.

### HANES

Arthur Hanes, segregationist ex-mayor of Birmingham, Alabama and Ray's former lawyer, has testified that this was the story Ray gave him shortly after his arrest and that he never budged from it.

Hanes has added another piece of interesting information. Ray told him that the mysterious Raoul had been arrested in connection with John F. Kennedy's assassination in 1963. He described Raoul as an "anti-communist Cuban."

Whatever else comes out, Ray's statements are conclusive proof that a conspiracy was definitely involved in King's assassination and that the conspirators are being protected by the government.

## Con Ed Gets 10% Rate Hike

NEW YORK, NY—Electricity bills for New York state families will soon be an average of \$22 a month, thanks to a permanent 10 percent rate increase awarded by Con Edison by the State Public Service Commission.

This is the biggest single increase in revenue—\$388.7 million—ever given to an electric utility in the state's history. Added to the 12 percent

increase that was granted last March, the rates have now gone up 20 percent since last February and a total of 93 percent since 1971.

PSC Chairman, Alfred Kahn, said he "would not be surprised if Con Ed comes back a year and a half from now for another increase and added it might be even sooner. The original amount requested by Con Ed was \$422.6 million.

The PSC also said that Con Ed should recover \$6 million in revenue deficits from the New York Transit Authority and the world Trade Center and begin charging them at the same rate paid by other large electricity users.

This is almost certain to mean another fare increase on the city's bus and subway system in the near future.



BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

**Virtually every capitalist economist and politician is now forced to admit that world capitalism is heading into a slump of enormous proportions. The prospect is for massive layoffs, wholesale slashes in the social services, and savage attacks on all the basic rights of the working class.**

Already, hundreds of thousands of workers are experiencing the shock of skyrocketing inflation and unemployment. The miners strike is only the first step in the wave of working class resistance that must come forward against these attacks.

With inflation out of control, worldwide recession developing, and thousands of firms facing bankruptcy, the capitalist class is absolutely incapable of dealing with this crisis without a headlong confrontation with the working class. The very heart of this crisis is the desperate need of the capitalist class to take away everything the working class has won and to smash its ability to fight back through the destruction of the unions.

The working class faces a struggle in which the defense of every gain from wages to the right to a job and a union is political and requires the construction of a labor party committed to a socialist program for state power.

In this situation, the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party are acting to hold back this fight by picking out bits and pieces from the "Transitional Program of the Fourth International" and converting these demands into a perspective for the reform of the capitalist system.

For Trotskyists, the demands of the "Transitional Program," from nationalization and a sliding scale of hours and wages to the demands for workers control and soviets, are seen as part of a strategy for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system.

#### EXPERIENCE

The "Transitional Program" was based on the rich store of experience of the early Communist International. The Third Congress of the CI put forward these lessons in its Theses on Tactics.

"The Communist Parties do not put forward any minimum program to strengthen and improve the tottering structure of capitalism... In the place of the minimum program of the reformists and the centrists, the Communist International puts the struggle for the concrete needs of the proletariat, for a system of demands which in their totality disintegrate the power of the bourgeoisie, organize the proletariat, represent stages in the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, and each of which expresses in itself the need of the broadest masses, even if the masses themselves are not yet consciously in favor of the proletarian dictatorship..."

"The revolutionary character of the present epoch consists precisely in this, that the most modest conditions of life for the working masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society and that, therefore, the fight for even the most modest demands grows into the fight for communism."

Today, the Socialist Workers

Party stands completely opposed to these perspectives. An article in the November 15 issue of *The Militant* entitled "How Auto Workers Can Stop the Layoffs" by Andy Rose presents a program designed to make capitalism responsive to the needs of the working class.

Rose begins from the perspective that there is no capitalist crisis forcing the ruling class to attack the rights of the working class. He maintains that the government can be pressured to act in the interests of the working class.

Thus, on unemployment, Rose proclaims: "In a country as wealthy as this one, the government should provide jobless compensation at union wage rates for the full duration of unemployment..."

"This is not unrealistic. If a real campaign of mass protest were organized—as the unions

of mass layoffs, speedup, and productivity drives.

But not for Rose. According to him, the entire crisis could be handled simply enough with the government eliminating war spending and taxing the big corporations to obtain the funds for employing the jobless. He suggests that such a policy, combined with the institution of a shorter work week, would actually be beneficial to capitalism.

"One of the factors causing the recession to deepen right now is that as workers are laid off, their purchasing power goes way down. Then, because there is less demand for goods, still more industries cut production and lay off still more workers.

"...If all auto workers were employed and drawing their regular pay, consumer purchasing power would rise and others of the unemployed could

is why we are calling them transitional demands.

"It creates a bridge to the mentality of the workers and then a mental bridge to the socialist revolution. The whole question is how to mobilize the masses for struggle."

The needs of the working class for higher wages represents a deadly threat to the capitalist industry. Under conditions of a falling rate of profit with thousands of capitalist firms on the brink of bankruptcy, the employers must drive to slash wages. No amount of pressure can force the capitalists to grant any lasting or significant reforms.

#### BANKRUPTCY

The capitalists face a situation in which inflation is out of control. The very inflation that once fueled the capitalist boom is now threatening capitalist industry with bankruptcy and

They declare that because of the militancy of the miners, "the government will have to recognize union control of mine safety in some form before it can get miners to dig coal again."

On the Miller leadership, which has been forced into this strike because of its fear of the miners, the SWP has nothing but praises declaring that for "the first time in UMWA history the rank and file will decide the new contract terms."

They deliberately quote a miner saying: "Since Arnold Miller has taken over, we've gotten a voice in our union we never had before... Miller knows what it's like, whereas some of the others, they forgot or had never known the hardship." This is, in effect, an open endorsement of Miller in an attempt to tell miners that his leadership is adequate to the situation.

But the heart of the miners struggle is political. The question facing miners is to use their tremendous industrial strength to rally the entire working class against Ford's antiunion government, for a wages offensive, and a struggle against unemployment by fighting now to rally the labor movement to launch its own political party.

A leadership in the mines adequate to fight in the present crisis can only be trained in a battle to expose Miller's class collaboration before the miners. To refuse to do so is to leave miners politically unprepared for the coming attacks.

This is precisely the perspective of the SWP. In the latest issue of the *International Socialist Review*, Carol Lipman spells this out. "First of all the ranks as a whole must be mobilized in struggle and that requires a struggle unambiguously directed against the class enemy: the bosses. That means concentrating our fire on the employers, not the union officials."

This is exactly the formulation used by the Stalinists as an explanation for their refusal to fight Woodcock and other sections of so-called progressive labor leaders.

Lipman would have the miners fight the bosses without a word of criticism of the Miller leadership which betrays that struggle by its refusal to campaign on the political issues.

Miller fights on the reformist perspective of all labor bureaucrats that the capitalist state can be won over to the side of the unions in the fight with the employers, or at least neutralized. This is the class position of the SWP today.

It is the class expression, in the unions, of the same position that causes them to call on the reactionary Ford government to send troops into Boston to defend integration of the schools.

This is why in five full columns devoted to the auto layoffs and two entire pages on the fight of the miners, *The Militant* raises not once the question of a labor party.

The "Transitional Program" is being tailored by these reformists to meet the needs of the labor bureaucracy and the Democrats and Republicans with whom they hope to forge an alliance.

The "Transitional Program" was put forward by the Fourth International as the program for the epoch of capitalist decay. Its sole purpose was to build the revolutionary instrument to mobilize the working class to take political power.

It is carried forward today only by the Workers League and the International Committee in a bitter struggle to expose the betrayal's of the revisionists.



# The SWP & the Transitional Program

have the power to do—the government could be forced to grant it."

It is significant that in a programmatic statement on layoffs, Rose chooses to begin with the demand for unemployment compensation. It is not an accident that he places this demand first because he has absolutely no perspective for the mobilization of the working class to defend jobs. To ask auto workers to launch a campaign for unemployment compensation as their major demand is to advocate the acceptance of mass unemployment.

#### INADEQUATE

Rose further declares that Ford's "plan to aid the unemployed is totally inadequate." He suggests that Ford and his advisers don't really care about the unemployed and declares: "Maybe they would feel differently if they ever had to support a family on unemployment insurance of \$59 a week."

Everything is wrong here. Ford's feelings have absolutely nothing to do with it. Despite the enormous struggle that will result, Ford and the capitalist class are forced to use mass unemployment as a weapon in the battle to smash up the unions. The defense of capitalist profit under the present conditions of crisis requires a policy

go back to work."

And if this isn't nice enough, another benefit for workers from the shorter work week would be "more leisure time to develop new interests and talents, more time to spend with their families, and so on."

Everything here reflects the complacency of a middle class commentator still resting on all the illusions of the boom and convinced that capitalism has the resources and the strength to solve the crisis.

Of course, Rose is careful to mention that ultimately, a socialist society would represent a big improvement. But in the meanwhile, rather than raise uncomfortable questions, "auto workers can fight for practical measures to protect themselves in today's crisis: full unemployment compensation, a massive public works program, and 30 for 40."

Trotsky would have had some choice words for the editors of the present *Militant*. In discussions in 1938 on the "Transitional Program," he answered the question of one SWP member as to whether a shorter work week and a sliding scale of wages could be realized.

"It is easier to overthrow capitalism than to realize this demand under capitalism. Not one of our demands will be realized under capitalism. That

has brought on a world monetary crisis that means bankruptcy for entire states. To return value to its depreciating paper money, the capitalists must destroy fictitious capital and inflict economic disaster on a world scale. Mass impoverishment, trade war, and preparations for world war are the inevitable results of this crisis.

Rose and his SWP mentors are completely blind to this and to the political tasks it poses to the working class.

The working class must fight to defend its living standards. But it can only do this by conducting a fight for political power. Every gain won on the level of militant action alone only deepens the capitalist crisis and strengthens the determination of the capitalist state to take gains back through inflation and political preparations for dictatorship.

The real content of the SWP's policy is to tell the working class that it can rely on its present unions and on pressure to defend itself.

This is most clearly revealed in the strike of the United Mine Workers of America.

In the same issue of *The Militant*, the SWP makes it clear that they see the strike simply as a struggle of militant miners for better safety conditions and higher pay.



# JAMES P. (1890— CANNON 1974)

PART TH

## BY MICHAEL BANDA

### THE MINNEAPOLIS STRIKES

The break with the Comintern coincided with an enormous upsurge of the US working class which the Stalinists, encumbered with "Third Period" sectarianism, were unable to exploit. Cannon was quick to grasp the opportunity presented by the growth of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the upsurge of labor militancy. This development in fact heralded the subsequent breakup of the Federation and the formation of the industrial unions in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

The high point of this period of development was the Minneapolis Teamsters' Strike in 1934 which was led and organized by the Trotskyists. The coal yard strike was a victory and gave to Cannon and the Communist League a recognition and respect throughout America which no other radical group enjoyed.

No account of Cannon's life would do him adequate justice if it did not mention, however briefly, the circumstances of this great and truly inspiring development of the American working class.

Together with the Autolite strike in Toledo and the San Francisco General Strike, which occurred a month later, the Teamsters' strike constituted the "snowball" which launched the avalanche of industrial unionism on its way in 1936-1938.

The twin-cities—Minneapolis and St. Paul—occupy a strategically important position in the American Mid-West as the center of Minnesota's wheat, lumber and iron ore areas. Transport played a predominant role in this industrial and agricultural complex. Not surprisingly—because of its strategic industrial significance—the Twin Cities became the exclusive preserve of a reactionary and brutal group of union-busting employers, the Citizen's Alliance, which established Minneapolis as a notorious open-shop town.

But Minneapolis had another, less well known but unique, feature: it was the only town in the US in which a whole group of industrial militants, 30 in all, led by V. Dunn supported Cannon, left the CP and joined the ranks of the International Left Opposition in the 1928-1929 period.

This group, led by the Dunne Brothers, had its main basis in the General Drivers Local Union 574, AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

In February 1934 Local 574 paralyzed the coal yards and won union recognition through the introduction for the first time in industrial history of what was known as the "Cruising Picket Squad"—a technique which was to become standard practice in the great CIO strikes. Another original feature of the strike which was pioneered by the Trotskyists—principally the Dunne Brothers and Carl Skoglund—was the recruitment of the previously debarred semi- and unskilled workers into the craft union of Teamsters.

This created an unprecedented situation for an already enraged Citizen's Alliance. In May 1934 the second truck drivers' strike to secure union recognition for these new groups paralyzed all truck transport in the city.

The strike lasted five weeks and was a complete success. It was, in the words of Cannon, one of the "greatest, most heroic and best organized struggles in the annals of American Labor history. The Trotskyists brought to the strike ingenuity, improvisation, audacity and organizational skill which confounded employers, government and union bureaucrats alike. But that was not all. The Trotskyists combined their organizational prowess with a political understanding of the Roose-

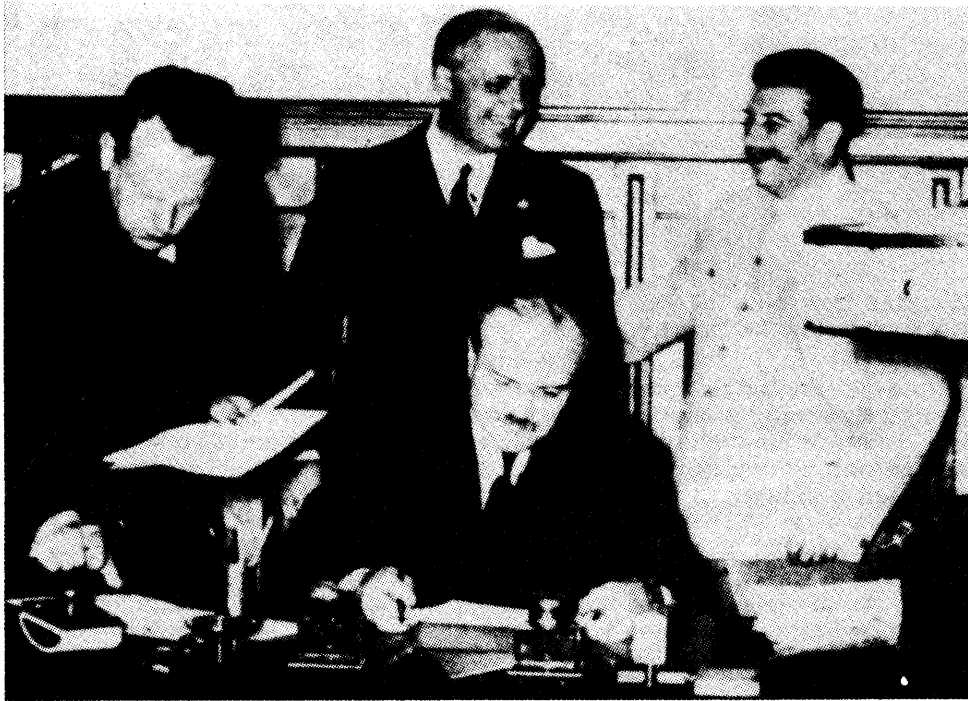
velt regime which enabled them to outwit and outmaneuver the federal government mediators every time and to reject their threats and blandishments. To this was added two unique features of strike organization: the publication of a daily paper—*The Daily Organizer*—and the creation of a Women's Auxiliary which powerfully assisted the strikers.

Cannon and Shachtman were arrested by the militia. Dozens of strikers were brutally beaten and two were killed. But so cohesive was the organization and so great was the authority of the Trotskyists that neither police terror nor federal concessions worked.

Local 574 became the scourge of every Mid-West employer as the fame and influence of the Minneapolis victory spread.



Leon Trotsky.



The signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, 1939.

Tobin, the "mad-dog" of the US unions and leader of the Teamsters, expelled Local 574 but was forced to reinstate it when the Teamsters boycotted the new branch. Tobin tried every sordid maneuver to crush Local 574 and in 1941 the entire leadership of the Local were arrested—after a vicious red-baiting campaign—and were charged under the Smith Act with advocating the overthrow of the Federal government by force.

This breakthrough in industry was accompanied by a no less important initiative in the political field: the fusion of the Communist League and the American Workers Party.

The fusion was followed by the entry of the American Trotskyists into the Socialist Party and a sharp struggle against the Oehlerite sectarians who refused in principle to do fraction work in reformist parties.

Cannon's turn to the Socialist Party was carried out in such an empirical and one-sided way that the Workers Party

completely failed to grasp the significance and scope of the third wave of strikes and sit-downs which gave rise to the CIO. Instead this movement—unlike the Teamsters' struggle—came under the domination of the Stalinists. Cannon later regretted this development:

"Except in a few localities, we let the great movement of the CIO pass over our heads." (*The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, p. 59 Pioneer Publishers.)

Cannon was never able to explain why this happened. This was partly due to his failure to appreciate the contradictory nature of the degeneration of US Stalinism and partly to his failure to grasp the trend of political and economic events in the US.

For Cannon the German events seemed to signify the end of Stalinism not merely as a political tendency but as a working class organization.

"It became clear then that these parties had become so bureaucratized, so corrupted from within, so demoralized, that even the cruellest betrayal in history was not capable of producing a real uprising in the ranks." (*History of American Trotskyism* p. 110. Our emphasis.)

Cannon's non-dialectical methods could not grasp the contradictory nature of the Stalinist degeneration, that many millions of workers would continue to join the Communist Parties of the world—despite their betrayals—because they mistakenly identified the Stalinist parties with the October 1917 Revolution.

The growth of the CIO was a grim reminder that Stalinism still contained

many thousands of devoted Communists who could be won to Trotskyism. The same formalism very nearly ruined the entry into the Socialist Party where the Trotskyists—Cannon included—began to adapt to the centrist milieu and even began to talk of transforming the Socialist Party into a revolutionary party. As Cannon later remarked:

"There is no doubt at all that the leaders of our movement adapted themselves a little too much to the centrist officialdom of the Socialist Party." (*History of American Trotskyism* p. 238.)

They were saved from disaster and liquidation only by the timely and energetic intervention of Trotsky, who, after his arrival in Mexico, took a much closer interest in the affairs of American Trotskyism.

The contradictions within Cannon's policy and method, on the one hand creating a pragmatic division of labor with the intellectuals and at the same time trying to create a disciplined revolu-

tionary party based on the working class, came to a head with the Russo-Finnish war, the Soviet Occupation of Poland and the approaching world war.

In an atmosphere devoid of serious concern for dialectical theory the petty bourgeois idealists and liquidators proliferated. Despite the apparent successes of the fusion with Muste and the entry into the Socialist Party, Cannon was surprised to see almost 40 percent of his party join the Burnham-Shachtman group in this struggle. Cannon was totally unprepared for this struggle—theoretically speaking—although the bulk of the working class members rallied to his side. It was, again, only through the intervention of Trotsky, who monopolized the discussion, that the petty bourgeois opposition was contained and defeated.

With each major theoretical struggle, the limitations of Cannon became more obvious. In the 1939-1940 dispute, his practical help to Trotsky was considered, but in inverse ratio to his theoretical contribution. Trotsky used the faction struggle to introduce into the Socialist Workers Party the absolute necessity for studying the dialectical method and mastering it in the practice of building the party.

### Trotsky's Criticisms

While Trotsky was unsparing in his criticism of the opposition, he left Cannon and his colleagues in no doubt as to his real feelings on the methodology of the SWP:

"Let me also add that I feel somewhat abashed over the fact that it is almost necessary to justify coming out in defense of Marxism within one of the sections of the Fourth International." (*In Defense of Marxism*, New Park Publications 1966, p. 114.)

In retrospect the struggle against Shachtman, Burnham, and Abern left many of the fundamental problems of party building unsolved. Trotsky showed that the development of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) into a combat party of the working class depended entirely on the way in which the SWP fought to overcome its chief weakness: indifference to dialectical materialism and its susceptibility to subjective idealism, pragmatism.

A critical study of Cannon's book, *Struggle for a Proletarian Party* shows only too clearly that Cannon never tried to grapple with this problem but merely gave it a metaphorical nod of recognition. Almost the entire book is devoted to the organizational questions and in the defense of the party against the liquidationism represented by Burnham and the unprincipled combinationism of Abel. Here Cannon is most incisive and forceful—but the essence of the conflict eludes him:

"The present crisis in the party is no mere episode. It is not to be explained by simple differences of opinion such as have occurred at times in the past, and will always occur in a free and democratic party. The crisis is the direct reflection of alien class pressure upon the party. Under this pressure the bulk of the petty-bourgeois elements, and the petty-bourgeois leaders, lose their heads completely, while the proletarian sections of the party stand firm and rally around the program with a virtual unanimity.

"From this we can and must draw certain conclusions:

"(1) It is not sufficient for the party to have a proletarian program; it also requires a proletarian composition. Otherwise the program can be turned into a scrap of paper over night.

"(2) This crisis cannot be resolved simply by taking a vote at the convention and reaffirming the program by majority vote. The party must proceed from there to a real proletarianization of its ranks. It



# A critical assessment of a pioneer Trotskyist

## THREE

...class, finish and...rious petty proli-...to the d to the this are ally king was, n of sion, was...the more prac-...ut in tri-...le to arty the...ing OSI-...col-...real...y of...me-...s al-...ut in the...al." Park...inst many arty...the...ers the...way its...ical sub-...rug-...too pple...it a most...iza-...the...ple...ed in is...es...no...d by...ave...al-...rty...lien this...ois...ers, pro-...firm...vir-...raw...y to...also...her-...o a...ved...tion...rity...e to...It

must become obligatory for the petty-bourgeois members of the party to connect themselves in one way or another with the workers' movement, and to reshape their activities and even their lives accordingly. Those who are incapable of doing this in a definite and limited period of time must be transferred to the rank of sympathizers." (The Struggle for a Proletarian Party, p.9)

Characteristically Cannon concludes his final letter to Trotsky along the same formal lines:

"At the end of the internal party fight we are thus coming back to the original slogan, the serious application of which will be the best assurance against any recurrence of the petty-bourgeois disease: Deeper into the mass movement of the proletariat." (Ibid. p. 208.)

This letter to Trotsky is dated March 1940, which is of some interest. In February of the same year Cannon wrote a long but tersely worded letter to Trotsky demanding an immediate split with the opposition on the grounds that the "most advanced and experienced and responsible proletarian comrades" viewed any continuation of the discussion after the convention of the SWP as an unwarranted interruption of their "practical" tasks. Cannon's choice of terminology is indicative of his own opinion of the theoretical discussion.

"The serious worker elements in the party have had enough and more than enough of this horseplay." (Ibid. p. 175 (Our emphasis.)

Trotsky's reply is instructive: "I understand well the impatience of many Majority comrades (I suppose that this impatience is not infrequently connected with theoretical indifference) but they should be reminded that the happenings in the Socialist Workers Party have now a great international importance and that you must act not only on the basis of subjective appreciations, as correct as they may be, but on the basis of objective facts available to everyone." (In Defense of Marxism, P. 198. (Our emphasis).)

Little did Trotsky realize that these words would have a fatally prophetic ring 13 years later!

In a further letter (April 16, 1940), Trotsky urged the SWP leaders to draw the main lessons of the struggle:

"We should now continue systematically and seriously our theoretical campaign in favor of dialectical materialism."

Trotsky, like Cannon, appreciated the necessity for a deeper penetration of the working class and the unions, but unlike Cannon there was nothing fetishistic or mystical about "proletarianizing" the SWP. Trotsky was painfully aware that a proletarian orientation, without a corresponding struggle for the Marxist dialectic, could only lead to an adaptation to the political backwardness of the American working class. So whereas Cannon concludes his letters with a formally correct turn to the working class, Trotsky concludes his book with an implicit criticism of this method:

"Devotion to the revolutionary fight of the masses' is impossible without theoretical understanding of the laws of this revolutionary fight. Revolutionary devotion is possible only if one gains the assurance that his devotion is reasonable, adequate; that it corresponds to its aim. Such assurance can be created only by theoretical insight into the class struggle." (In Defense of Marxism p. 230.)

Needless to say such insight requires a continuous struggle to master the dialectical method in the practice of building the party. It is probably for this reason that Trotsky welcomed Cannon's book with restrained enthusiasm:

"Jim's pamphlet is excellent. It is the writing of a genuine workers' leader." (Ibid. p. 206.)

Trotsky was careful not to use the word "Marxist" in this definition.

Trotsky however did not disparage the

positive qualities of Cannon, his burning ambition to establish the party in the working class and his readiness to make every sacrifice to carry it through. But he was seriously concerned that these proletarian virtues could not compensate for an abstentionist position on philosophy.

These reservations of Trotsky were more implicitly articulated on the failure of the SWP cadres in industry to fight the Left-Rooseveltians in the AFL-CIO and, more important, on the question of turning to the Stalinist ranks in the period of the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact and the Negro problem.

On most of these questions Trotsky found himself opposed to Cannon. A study of the stenographic report of the discussion between Trotsky and a delegation of SWP leaders including Cannon held in June 1940 and published during the Cochranite split in 1953 reveals the widening gulf between Trotsky and Cannon on some of the most basic questions of method.

Conscious of the political capital lodged

The discussion reveals not only the dialectical subtlety, concreteness and range of Trotsky's thought; but brings out sharply too Cannon's crude pragmatism and anti-dialectical prejudices.

When Trotsky asked: "What do we tell the workers when they ask which president they should vote for?" Cannon retorts: "They shouldn't ask such embarrassing questions." Further on Trotsky warned Cannon not to place too much reliance on the so-called "progressives" in the unions who support Roosevelt politically. These progressives initially enabled the Trotskyists to establish themselves in the unions. The New Deal and Roosevelt's war preparations created a new situation in the unions and changed the relation between the "progressives" and the SWP. There was a real danger of the SWP losing its base in the unions for failing to turn to the rank and file Stalinists whose leadership in that period was formally opposed to the war.

display of Cannonite metaphysics, implored the SWP to adopt an independent political line, a "dynamic line," and not to fall foul of the Rooseveltian progressives, or become the "squeezed lemons of the bureaucrats," but to prepare for the approaching war by breaking with the left-Rooseveltians and turning to the Stalinist ranks.

Cannon, with increasing stubbornness, rejected Trotsky, accused him of being a "sectarian" and explicitly defended the "progressives":

"Trotsky—rephrasing Lenin—replied that the SWP leaders...

"Propose a trade union policy, not a Bolshevik policy. Bolshevik policies begin outside the trade unions...You are afraid to become compromised in the eyes of the Rooseveltian trade unionists...If you are afraid, you lose your independence and become half-Rooseveltian."

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Instead, Trotsky's death enabled Cannon's pragmatic radicalism to dominate the SWP and this led to the theoretical stagnation of the party and the loss of its base in the unions.

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Cannon was oblivious to Trotsky's warning. To him the CP was an obstacle to be removed by some clever maneuver but not fought and destroyed by a resourceful exploitation of its contradictions. At times Cannon borders on paranoia:

"The problem is to get the CP out of the road (sic). There is not a large percentage of revolutionary material in its ranks...They attract through the sheer inertia of a big apparatus and a big party. They use corruption...They use economic terrorism. They do everything the old-time bureaucrats did but on a conveyor system...A complicated maneuver giving the possibility of identifying us with the Stalinists would be wrong. Our main line must be towards the non-Stalinist workers..."

Trotsky, somewhat exasperated by this



# JAMES P. (1890-1974) CANNON

# A critical assessment of a pioneer Trotskyist

## BY MICHAEL BANDA

### PART THREE

#### THE MINNEAPOLIS STRIKES

The break with the Comintern coincided with an enormous upsurge of the US working class which the Stalinists, encumbered with "Third Period" sectarianism, were unable to exploit. Cannon was quick to grasp the opportunity presented by the growth of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the upsurge of labor militancy. This development in fact heralded the subsequent breakup of the Federation and the formation of the industrial unions in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

The high point of this period of development was the Minneapolis Teamsters' Strike in 1934 which was led and organized by the Trotskyists. The coal yard strike was a victory and gave to Cannon and the Communist League a recognition and respect throughout America which no other radical group enjoyed.

No account of Cannon's life would do him adequate justice if it did not mention, however briefly, the circumstances of this great and truly inspiring development of the American working class.

Together with the Autolite strike in Toledo and the San Francisco General Strike, which occurred a month later, the Teamsters' strike constituted the "snowball" which launched the avalanche of industrial unionism on its way in 1936-1938.

The twin-cities—Minneapolis and St. Paul—occupy a strategically important position in the American Mid-West as the center of Minnesota's wheat, lumber and iron ore areas. Transport played a predominant role in this industrial and agricultural complex. Not surprisingly—because of its strategic industrial significance—the Twin Cities became the exclusive preserve of a reactionary and brutal group of union-busting employers, the Citizen's Alliance, which established Minneapolis as a notorious open-shop town.

But Minneapolis had another, less well known but unique, feature: it was the only town in the US in which a whole group of industrial militants, 30 in all, led by V. Dunn supported Cannon, left the CP and joined the ranks of the International Left Opposition in the 1928-1929 period.

This group, led by the Dunne Brothers, had its main basis in the General Drivers Local Union 574, AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

In February 1934 Local 574 paralyzed the coal yards and won union recognition through the introduction for the first time in industrial history of what was known as the "Cruising Picket Squad"—a technique which was to become standard practice in the great CIO strikes. Another original feature of the strike which was pioneered by the Trotskyists—principally the Dunne Brothers and Carl Skoglund—was the recruitment of the previously debarred semi- and unskilled workers into the craft union of Teamsters.

This created an unprecedented situation for an already enraged Citizen's Alliance. In May 1934 the second truck drivers' strike to secure union recognition for these new groups paralyzed all truck transport in the city.

The strike lasted five weeks and was a complete success. It was, in the words of Cannon, one of the "greatest, most heroic and best organized struggles in the annals of American Labor history. The Trotskyists brought to the strike ingenuity, improvisation, audacity and organizational skill which confounded employers, government and union bureaucrats alike. But that was not all. The Trotskyists combined their organizational prowess with a political understanding of the Roose-

velt regime which enabled them to outwit and outmaneuver the federal government mediators every time and to reject their threats and blandishments. To this was added two unique features of strike organization: the publication of a daily paper—*The Daily Organizer*—and the creation of a Women's Auxiliary which powerfully assisted the strikers.

Cannon and Shachtman were arrested by the militia. Dozens of strikers were brutally beaten and two were killed. But so cohesive was the organization and so great was the authority of the Trotskyists that neither police terror nor federal concessions worked.

Local 574 became the scourge of every Mid-West employer as the fame and influence of the Minneapolis victory spread.



Leon Trotsky.



The signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, 1939.

Tobin, the "mad-dog" of the US unions and leader of the Teamsters, expelled Local 574 but was forced to reinstate it when the Teamsters boycotted the new branch. Tobin tried every sordid maneuver to crush Local 574 and in 1941 the entire leadership of the Local were arrested—after a vicious red-baiting campaign—and were charged under the Smith Act with advocating the overthrow of the Federal government by force.

This breakthrough in industry was accompanied by a no less important initiative in the political field: the fusion of the Communist League and the American Workers Party.

The fusion was followed by the entry of the American Trotskyists into the Socialist Party and a sharp struggle against the Oehlerite sectarians who refused in principle to do fraction work in reformist parties.

Cannon's turn to the Socialist Party was carried out in such an empirical and one-sided way that the Workers Party

completely failed to grasp the significance and scope of the third wave of strikes and sit-downs which gave rise to the CIO. Instead this movement—unlike the Teamsters' struggle—came under the domination of the Stalinists. Cannon later regretted this development:

"Except in a few localities, we let the great movement of the CIO pass over our heads." (*The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, p. 59 Pioneer Publishers.)

Cannon was never able to explain why this happened. This was partly due to his failure to appreciate the contradictory nature of the degeneration of US Stalinism and partly to his failure to grasp the trend of political and economic events in the US.

For Cannon the German events seemed to signify the end of Stalinism not merely as a political tendency but as a working class organization.

"It became clear then that these parties had become so bureaucratized, so corrupted from within, so demoralized, that even the cruelest betrayal in history was not capable of producing a real uprising in the ranks." (*History of American Trotskyism* p. 110. Our emphasis.)

Cannon's non-dialectical methods could not grasp the contradictory nature of the Stalinist degeneration, that many millions of workers would continue to join the Communist Parties of the world—despite their betrayals—because they mistakenly identified the Stalinist parties with the October 1917 Revolution.

The growth of the CIO was a grim reminder that Stalinism still contained

tionary party based on the working class, came to a head with the Russo-Finnish war, the Soviet Occupation of Poland and the approaching world war.

In an atmosphere devoid of serious concern for dialectical theory the petty bourgeois idealists and liquidators proliferated. Despite the apparent successes of the fusion with Muste and the entry into the Socialist Party, Cannon was surprised to see almost 40 percent of his party join the Burnham-Shachtman group in this struggle. Cannon was totally unprepared for this struggle—theoretically speaking—although the bulk of the working class members rallied to his side. It was, again, only through the intervention of Trotsky, who monopolized the discussion, that the petty bourgeois opposition was contained and defeated.

With each major theoretical struggle, the limitations of Cannon became more obvious. In the 1939-1940 dispute, his practical help to Trotsky was considered, but in inverse ratio to his theoretical contribution. Trotsky used the faction struggle to introduce into the Socialist Workers Party the absolute necessity for studying the dialectical method and mastering it in the practice of building the party.

#### Trotsky's Criticisms

While Trotsky was unsparing in his criticism of the opposition, he left Cannon and his colleagues in no doubt as to his real feelings on the methodology of the SWP:

"Let me also add that I feel somewhat abashed over the fact that it is almost necessary to justify coming out in defense of Marxism within one of the sections of the Fourth International." (*In Defense of Marxism*, New Park Publications 1966, p. 114.)

In retrospect the struggle against Shachtman, Burnham, and Aberg left many of the fundamental problems of party building unsolved. Trotsky showed that the development of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) into a combat party of the working class depended entirely on the way in which the SWP fought to overcome its chief weakness: indifference to dialectical materialism and its susceptibility to subjective idealism, pragmatism.

A critical study of Cannon's book, *Struggle for a Proletarian Party* shows only too clearly that Cannon never tried to grapple with this problem but merely gave it a metaphorical nod of recognition. Almost the entire book is devoted to the organizational questions and in the defense of the party against the liquidationism represented by Burnham and the unprincipled combinationism of Abel. Here Cannon is most incisive and forceful—but the essence of the conflict eludes him:

"The present crisis in the party is no mere episode. It is not to be explained by simple differences of opinion such as have occurred at times in the past, and will always occur in a free and democratic party. The crisis is the direct reflection of alien class pressure upon the party. Under this pressure the bulk of the petty-bourgeois elements, and the petty-bourgeois leaders, lose their heads completely, while the proletarian sections of the party stand firm and rally around the program with a virtual unanimity.

"From this we can and must draw certain conclusions:

"(1) It is not sufficient for the party to have a proletarian program; it also requires a proletarian composition. Otherwise the program can be turned into a scrap of paper over night.

"(2) This crisis cannot be resolved simply by taking a vote at the convention and reaffirming the program by majority vote. The party must proceed from there to a real proletarianization of its ranks. It

must become obligatory for the petty-bourgeois members of the party to connect themselves in one way or another with the workers' movement, and to reshape their activities and even their lives accordingly. Those who are incapable of doing this in a definite and limited period of time must be transferred to the rank of sympathizers." (*The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, p.9)

Characteristically Cannon concludes his final letter to Trotsky along the same formal lines:

"At the end of the internal party fight we are thus coming back to the original slogan, the serious application of which will be the best assurance against any recurrence of the petty-bourgeois disease: Deeper into the mass movement of the proletariat." (*Ibid.* p. 208.)

This letter to Trotsky is dated March 1940, which is of some interest. In February of the same year Cannon wrote a long but tersely worded letter to Trotsky demanding an immediate split with the opposition on the grounds that the "most advanced and experienced and responsible proletarian comrades" viewed any continuation of the discussion after the convention of the SWP as an unwarranted interruption of their "practical" tasks. Cannon's choice of terminology is indicative of his own opinion of the theoretical discussion.

"The serious worker elements in the party have had enough and more than enough of this horseplay." (*Ibid.* p. 175 (Our emphasis).)

Trotsky's reply is instructive: "I understand well the impatience of many Majority comrades (I suppose that this impatience is not infrequently connected with theoretical indifference) but they should be reminded that the happenings in the Socialist Workers Party have now a great international importance and that you must act not only on the basis of subjective appreciations, as correct as they may be, but on the basis of objective facts available to everyone." (*In Defense of Marxism*, p. 198. (Our emphasis).)

Little did Trotsky realize that these words would have a fatally prophetic ring 13 years later!

In a further letter (April 16, 1940), Trotsky urged the SWP leaders to draw the main lessons of the struggle:

"We should now continue systematically and seriously our theoretical campaign in favor of dialectical materialism."

Trotsky, like Cannon, appreciated the necessity for a deeper penetration of the working class and the unions, but unlike Cannon there was nothing fetishistic or mystical about "proletarianizing" the SWP. Trotsky was painfully aware that a proletarian orientation, without a corresponding struggle for the Marxist dialectic, could only lead to an adaptation to the political backwardness of the American working class. So whereas Cannon concludes his letters with a formally correct turn to the working class, Trotsky concludes his book with an implicit criticism of this method:

"Devotion to the revolutionary fight of the masses' is impossible without theoretical understanding of the laws of this revolutionary fight. Revolutionary devotion is possible only if one gains the assurance that his devotion is reasonable, adequate; that it corresponds to its aim. Such assurance can be created only by theoretical insight into the class struggle." (*In Defense of Marxism* p. 230.)

Needless to say such insight requires a continuous struggle to master the dialectical method in the practice of building the party. It is probably for this reason that Trotsky welcomed Cannon's book with restrained enthusiasm:

"Jim's pamphlet is excellent. It is the writing of a genuine workers' leader." (*Ibid.* p. 206.)

Trotsky was careful not to use the word "Marxist" in this definition. Trotsky however did not disparage the

positive qualities of Cannon, his burning ambition to establish the party in the working class and his readiness to make every sacrifice to carry it through. But he was seriously concerned that these proletarian virtues could not compensate for an abstentionist position on philosophy.

These reservations of Trotsky were more implicitly articulated on the failure of the SWP cadres in industry to fight the Left-Rooseveltians in the AFL-CIO and, more important, on the question of turning to the Stalinist ranks in the period of the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact and the Negro problem.

On most of these questions Trotsky found himself opposed to Cannon. A study of the stenographic report of the discussion between Trotsky and a delegation of SWP leaders including Cannon held in June 1940 and published during the Cochranite split in 1953 reveals the widening gulf between Trotsky and Cannon on some of the most basic questions of method.

Conscious of the political capital lodged

The discussion reveals not only the dialectical subtlety, concreteness and range of Trotsky's thought, but brings out sharply too Cannon's crude pragmatism and anti-dialectical prejudices.

When Trotsky asked: "What do we tell the workers when they ask which president they should vote for?" Cannon retorts: "They shouldn't ask such embarrassing questions." Further on Trotsky warned Cannon not to place too much reliance on the so-called "progressives" in the unions who support Roosevelt politically. These progressives initially enabled the Trotskyists to establish themselves in the unions. The New Deal and Roosevelt's war preparations created a new situation in the unions and changed the relation between the "progressives" and the SWP. There was a real danger of the SWP losing its base in the unions for failing to turn to the rank and file Stalinists whose leadership in that period was formally opposed to the war.

display of Cannonite metaphysics, implored the SWP to adopt an independent political line, a "dynamic line," and not to fall foul of the Rooseveltian progressives, or become the "squeezed lemons of the bureaucrats," but to prepare for the approaching war by breaking with the left-Rooseveltians and turning to the Stalinist ranks.

Cannon, with increasing stubbornness, rejected Trotsky, accused him of being a "sectarian" and explicitly defended the "progressives":

Trotsky—rephrasing Lenin—replied that the SWP leaders...

"Propose a trade union policy, not a Bolshevik policy. Bolshevik policies begin outside the trade unions...You are afraid to become compromised in the eyes of the Rooseveltian trade unionists...If you are afraid, you lose your independence and become half-Rooseveltian."

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Regrettably despite Trotsky's proposal for a compromise in which he would evaluate Browder 50 percent lower in return for 50 percent more interest from the SWP in the Stalinist Party it was rejected by Cannon on the absurd premise that:

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Trotsky, somewhat exasperated by this



# Illinois Men Set For Long Mine Strike

BY LARRY DANIELS

SESSER, Illinois, Nov. 10—“One of the reasons I'd like to see a long strike is just to see what the government would do.”

Richard, a young coal miner at the Old Ben No. 26 mine, told the Bulletin: “I'd give anything to see this strike last three or four months.”

Coal miners all over southern Illinois, third ranking state in the country for coal production, are determined to bring the coal companies and the Ford government to their knees.

“I've loaded about \$30,000 worth of coal in eight hours with my crew. It's ridiculous what a coal miner makes in a day. We just had two men killed on the midnight shift. They were punching a lift, the top fell in, and they were covered up.”

Recently, coal companies in southern Illinois have been skimping by supplying Roof Bolters with cheap rivets that use a resin glue.

“The companies care less about safety than the man in the moon,” another miner at the Old Ben No. 21 said. “If it hurts their production, they're against any safety improvement.”

The miners have no intention of being forced back into the mines with a bad contract. “The local paper said that the railroads would load the coal that's at the mines. But if they do that, we'll put up a picket.”

“They can go ahead and put us down in those pits, but nothing but air will come up the shaft. There are so many ways to slow down work, that it would break the company to pay us. And if the government tries to stop the strike, nobody will get reelected. I think a labor party is a good idea.”



Southern Illinois Coal Mining area.

## US Steel Announces 13,700 Layoffs

BY RONNIE RAY

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—The United States Steel Corporation has announced the layoff of 13,700 workers by the end of the week and Republic Steel is planning the immediate layoff of 100 workers at three Ohio plants.

Even before the nationwide coal miners strike began, the recession in basic industry had already gripped the steel fabricating plants here.

USWA members have begun a wildcat strike wave against speedup, layoffs, and harassment by the companies. In each case, the international leadership has moved in to break the strike.

Two hundred steel workers have been laid off at Youngstown Steel Door because of a

drastic decline in railroad car orders. President Ford has demanded immediate payments on outstanding loans by several railroad companies who are temporarily staving off bankruptcy.

New orders are being postponed or cancelled.

The local union leadership paved the way for layoffs by

signing an Abel-style contract despite three wildcats and massive opposition from the ranks. The contract actually served to weaken the union with a low wage settlement and discriminatory incentive rates.

On November 6, Valley Mould USWA members returned to work after Local 33 of the Office and Professional Employees won

a major battle in their contract negotiations. Steel workers had refused to cross the picket lines set up November 1 by 35 office workers in spite of orders to cross by the district USWA leadership and a return to work injunction by the courts. The local union president and strikers are still liable to heavy fines.

Commercial Shearing USWA members have returned to work, but the future of the shop steward whose firing provoked the walkout is up in the air. After a seven day wildcat, the company rehired the steward “subject to binding arbitration.”

This confrontation took place because of a long refusal of the local leadership to fight against the deterioration of working conditions, especially the company's introduction of a Universal Scheduling, a time and motion company, into Commercial Shearing. This follows a scandal where the local president was forced to resign to avoid charges that he illegally rigged a ratification vote on a contract for a three percent wage increase.

There are now reports that Republic Steel plans to institute a four-day week during the miners strike which will undoubtedly remain permanent.

The only alternative to the Abel bureaucracy is the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party. We urge all steel workers in the Youngstown-Cleveland area to attend the TUALP meeting on November 24. TUALP is building an alternative leadership to Abel on a program to defend jobs, wages, and the right to strike, and fighting for a labor party and the nationalization of the steel industry under workers control.

## 'Excellent Opportunity For A Labor Party'



MULLINS, W. Va., Nov. 12—Danny Burleson, the United Mine Workers field representative who was elected to the State Assembly as an independent, attracted more local support than any Assembly race organized by the Democrats.

“I got a lot of support when I went on television and radio and told the miners that I was going to fight the coal industry.”

Burleson said that he supported the idea of a labor party and believed that it would win a lot of support among workers, but he stated that he did not know how one could be built in a short period of time.

“I know what a labor party consists of, but between having one and wanting one, there's a hell of a lot of difference.

“The way things are going now, you have an excellent opportunity of getting a labor party. When working people are catching hell from all sides, they're apt to be rebellious.” Burleson was an early supporter of Arnold Miller against Boyle, but says he has become somewhat critical of the UMW president.

“I was glad that there were a bunch of people in the UMW who claim to be socialist, but I do admit that they've done a

good deal of back-sliding since they've got to Washington,” Burleson said. “They seem to have acquired some pretty strong capitalist views.”

Although Burleson downplays the opportunities and possibilities for building a labor party and still leaves the door open for running as a Democrat in the future, his upset election demonstrates that a labor party could be built very quickly if backed by the resources of the trade union movement, and that it would have the overwhelming support of working people.

## YSU Compiles Its Own 'Enemies List'

BY HAL STANTON

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—Youngstown State University has been rocked in recent weeks by a Pentagon Papers style scandal.

Someone, apparently working for the campus security department, has lifted 18 index cards from the university's “enemies list” and taken them to the Jambor, the campus newspaper. The faculty and students have learned that the security department has kept a constant file since 1967 and that they also have a statewide teletype tie-in with a data bank in Columbus, Ohio. Security chief Paul Cress described the students and faculty on the list in a television statement as “criminals or potential criminals.”

The “enemies” list includes all campus political groups and trade union leaders. The list is extremely detailed and has obviously received attention from the Youngstown Police Department and the FBI.

Last March, the security department used their teletype tie-in to obtain all information on Dr. Thomas E. Shipka, at that time president of the YSU Ohio

Education Association.

YSU is located in the heart of the nation's fourth largest steel-producing region, with General Motors Lordstown Assembly plant nearby. Many students included on the lists also work in the mills or at Lordstown, where workers are facing immediate massive layoffs.

### INVESTIGATION

The YSU OEA has begun an independent investigation of the file, as well as submitting a grievance to the YSU administration. OEA Vice-President Dr. Dan O'Neill told the Bulletin: “We presently have access to the ‘enemies list’ file, but we also want access to other information.”

“We have an academic freedom clause in our contract. In submitting this grievance, we are showing that the ‘enemies list’ has a chilling effect on our members.”

Dr. Alice Budge, an English professor on the list said: “This action is parallel to much of the political life in our country as indicated by Watergate. This kind of name-keeping is deplorable. It mostly involves people working for other peoples rights.”

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# STOP THE MURDER IN THE MINES

BY DAVID NORTH

**"A Raleigh County miner was killed Monday at 9:15 am when several tons of slate fell on him in the mine at Josephine, about 20 miles south of here.—August 6, 1974.**

"A Mingo County man was killed Friday when he was trapped between a wall of coal and a piece of machinery while working at the W-P Coal Company's Number 18 mine near Omar, company officials said.—August 4, 1974.

"Virgil Amburgey, 45, of Amberstdale, and Herbert Burgess, 46, of Blair, were operating bulldozers on the slag dump about 2 p.m. at the firm's Guyan Number 5 mine at Blair when two explosions occurred. The men were reportedly killed in the second explosion, while they were attempting to run to safety...Burgess's body was found about eight hours later, 300 yards from the explosion site. Amburgey was found immediately following the blast.—January 31, 1974.

"A 53-year old Raleigh County man was killed at 11:30 am Monday when he was crushed under a slatefall in a Cranberry Mine of the New River Coal Company.—January 30, 1973.

"A Fayette County coal miner was killed in an accidental explosion yesterday at the Imperial Colliery Number 14 mine at Burnwell in Kanawha County, company officials said. Jessie Scarboro of Mount Carven, was dead of severe blast injuries on arrival at Montgomery General Hospital. Yesterday, was his forty-eighth birthday, company officials said.—July 20, 1972.

"A Kanawha County man was killed last night when the roofing gave in in the area where he was working inside the Bethlehem Mines Corporation Number 111 mine at Kayford, company spokesmen said.—June 15, 1972.

"Leroy Stover, 48, of Aameagle near here was killed in a slate fall while working in a mine at Clear Creek at 5 am Monday." —March 14, 1972.

This is just a small sample of excerpts from articles that have appeared on the back pages of a leading West Virginia newspaper over the past two years.

## LIFE

On the average, nearly three times a week, the digging of coal costs a miner his life. Most of these deaths are badly recorded because the event particularly in West Virginia, is so common. Since the turn of the century, it is estimated that more than 100,000 miners have died beneath the earth.

The bloodiest disasters stand out, like the blast at Monongah, West Virginia in 1907, which cost 351 miners their lives; or the explosion in Centralia, Illinois in 1947, which left 111 dead; or the explosion in Farmington, West Virginia, in 1968, in which 78 miners died.

When such a disaster occurs, there is a flourish and investigation. The congress holds hearings to determine whether there are laws or safety measures which might be enacted to prevent these so-called acts of God from occurring again.

But the killing in the mines continues. In between the explosions, in which miners are entombed en masse, they die every week, one, two, or three at a time.

When a miner goes to work, he does not know whether he will be crushed, electrocuted, suffocated, or blown up that day. There is one statistic which says: one out of every twelve miners who enters the mines in his early twenties is likely to be killed before he retires.

According to the coal barons, there is nothing that can be done to make mining less dangerous. The death of a miner is, in the words of one company official: "Just one of those things."

However, there is nothing unavoidable about the death of miners while at work. They are the victims not of accidents, but of murder.

## INSATIABLE

Miners are killed because of the insatiable drive of the coal operators for profits. Investigations of every great mining disaster have always shown that the deaths could have been prevented.

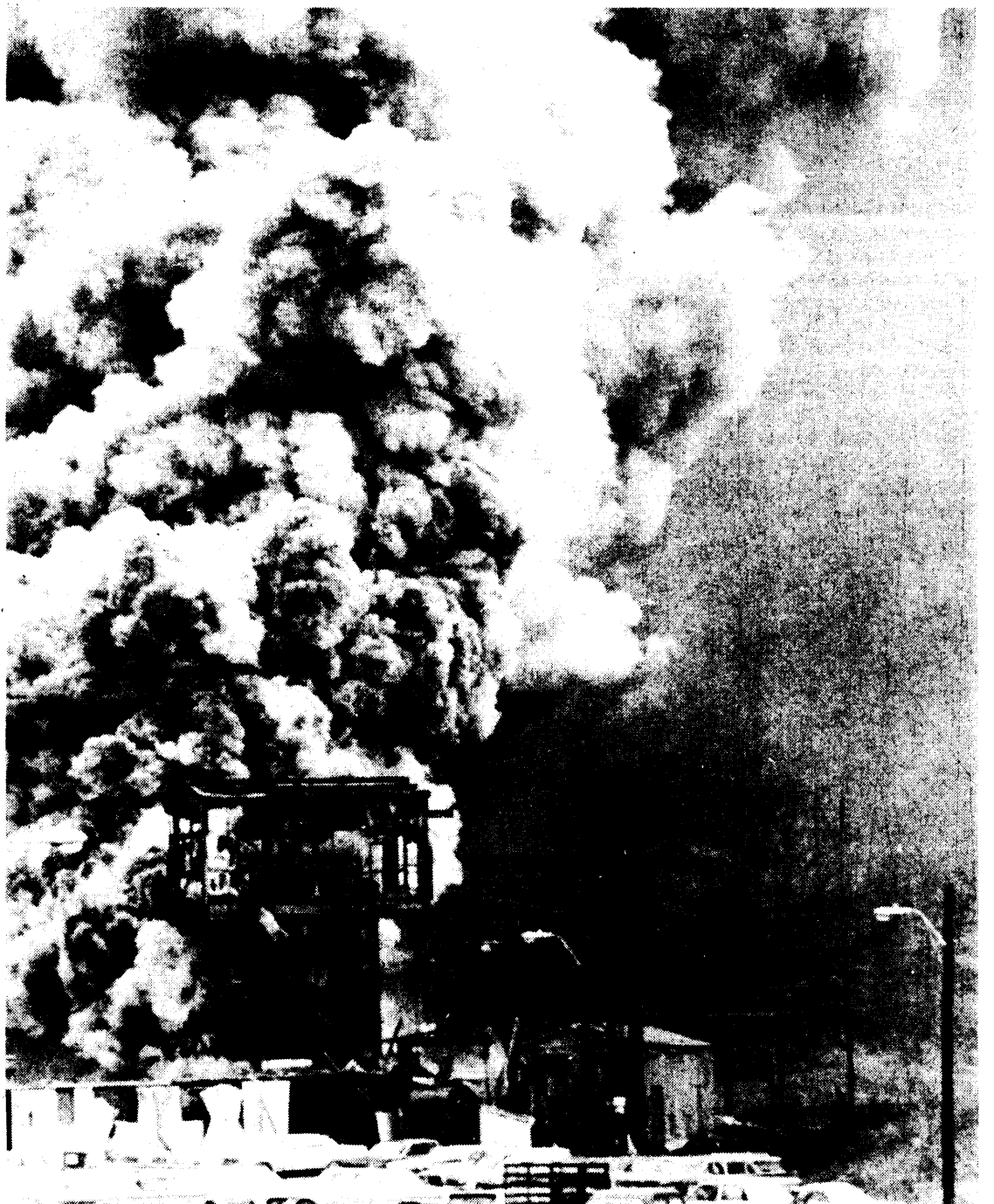
In the Farmington disaster of 1968, 78 miners died because Consolidation Coal Company did not want to lose the production time nor hire the additional workers necessary to whet down coal dust and prevent the accumulation of high metals and methane gas.

One industry expert once described a cost-cutting technique of management to secure maximum profits: "If you space the roof bolts further apart, you'll be able to keep up with the continuousminer more easily; you won't have to buy as many bolts or bolting machines; and you can get by with hiring one man to do the bolting, even though it would be safer to have two.

"And if the roof falls, chances are the miner will get blamed for spacing the bolts too far apart. Especially, if he's dead and can't answer back."

Federal inspection of mines are a farcical process. Since the coal mines are owned by the largest oil and banking interests, which control the government and the politicians, reported infractions of safety regulations barely cause the company in question the slightest discomfort.

It is not at all uncommon for a mine with a long record of infractions to have a fatality because none of these infractions were ever corrected. This is what happened in the case of two elderly miners, Richard Randolph and Charles Gibson, who died in the Buckeye Coal Company mine beneath the Great Pittsburgh seam in March, 1971.



The Buckeye mine, then a division of Youngstown Sheet and Tube, had a long history of safety infractions. In the two years before Randolph and Gibson were killed, federal inspectors reported 214 health and safety violations.

Inspectors found: insufficient air flow, allowing pockets of methane gas to accumulate rapidly; improperly spliced cables; inadequate rock dusting; uninsulated electrical cables; etc. etc.

The inspectors proposed the most modest fines and adjustments. However, the Buckeye mine was quite indignant over these reports of safety infractions and they filed a counterclaim demanding that the government exempt them from the fines.

On the very day the counterclaim was mailed, an air compressor within the Buckeye mine, leaking oil, caught fire. Eighteen men escaped the blaze, but Gibson and Randolph, both in their sixties, never made it.

In December 1970, 38 coal miners died in a blast at the Finley operation in Hyden, Kentucky. An investigation revealed that the explosion was caused by the company's decision to use illegal but cheaper explosives.

As one witness told the safety

hearing a few months after the miners' deaths: "It's easier and cheaper. The idea is to save a little money.

"Whoever was responsible in this case had obviously done it before and gotten away with it. So he did it again. Only this time, it caused a disaster."

The attitude of the corporations to the death of miners is one of callous arrogance. In 1972, nine miners were trapped in a fire that swept through the Blackville No. 1 mine in West Virginia, owned by Consolidation Coal.

An investigation revealed that the mine superintendent had broken safety laws which led to the deaths. Operators know that there is not a law on the books that they cannot get around. That is why miners, particularly in West Virginia, are insisting that the new contract guarantee them unlimited right to strike over all grievances.

Safety, as far as the miners are concerned, is a dead letter unless coal miners have the right to walk out of the mines the moment they spot an infraction of safety.

The demand for the unrestricted right to strike is absolutely essential. The miners must not accept any contract that does not guarantee this right.

However, to achieve real

safety in the mines, it is necessary to fight politically for the nationalization of the mines under the control of the miners themselves. This calls for the building of a labor party based on the trade unions which would enact such laws upon taking power.

As long as the coal operators own the mines and run them on the basis of profit, the murder of miners will continue.

Miller's statements that he will demand that the mines be made safe are completely hollow because he has absolutely no intention of challenging the right of the coal operators to own the mines. He accepts the private ownership of the mines by the coal operators and it is this system of private ownership which causes the death of miners.

Moreover, Miller turns to the government, which is allied to the coal corporations, to enforce safety.

The alternative to these bankrupt policies must be the fight for the nationalization of the mines under workers control. We call on miners to join the Workers League and help construct its industrial section, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in order to take up the fight for the nationalization of the mines.



# The Life Of KARL MARX

Review By Alex Steiner

This is the second part of a book review of David McLellan's Karl Marx, His Life and Thought. In the first part, Steiner analyzed McLellan's method of ripping Marx out of his historical context.

The revolutions of 1848 marked a decisive turning point in history. The European bourgeoisie was transformed from a progressive class to a reactionary class. Out of this experience, Marx drew very sharp and definite conclusions: the working class could no longer tie itself politically to the bourgeoisie.

Marx had to change his strategy and break with the "democratic" bourgeois party, putting forward the demands of the working class independently and warning the working class not to have any confidence in the bourgeoisie. Thus Marx was able to develop the perspectives of the proletariat on the basis of the new knowledge gained from practice which negated the previous abstract conceptions.

This is in general the way in which dialectical materialists see the development of knowledge. It is only through a continual practice that we can more closely approximate the truth, which always contains error as an element to be overcome within truth.

## EXPERIENCE

It is only on the basis of seeing Marxism as a theory of knowledge that we can understand why it was necessary for Marx to go through the experience of 1848, and not to write off the possibility of the bourgeoisie playing a progressive role in advance. Marx's change in strategy after 1848 had nothing to do with skeptical wavering, but was the result of the new understanding he gained of the transformation in class relations that had taken place.

McLellan, proceeding as an empiricist, thinks that Marx's change in strategy was the result of political in-fighting, based on a desire to appease his "left" critics. He writes:

"The reasons for Marx's decision were probably complex. The Democratic Association had debated at length the question whether it should change its title to Democratic and Republican Association, but it had rejected the proposals and had in consequence been bitterly attacked by Anneke's *Neue Kolnische Zeitung*.

"Probably also the refounding of the Communist League and criticism from within the Workers' Association of his temporizing attitude led Marx to break with the Democrats." (page 220)

It is clear that McLellan sees no objective content to Marx's change in political perspective, but sees only some pragmatic political maneuvering aimed at shoring up Marx's position

against his opponents. McLellan proceeds with this idealist and cynical method throughout the book.

He is therefore completely unable to recognize the principled basis behind the various political struggles Marx waged.

## MATERIALIST

In each of these cases, and throughout his entire political life, Marx fought for a workers movement with a perspective based on a materialist understanding of society and the relations between classes. He fought to root political practice in an assessment of the objective possibilities inherent in a situation: the development of economic crises, the political changes in class relations this engenders, and the development of the organizations of the working class.

Marx's opponents, on the other hand, were all idealists who based their practice on a subjective conception of the revolutionary "spirit" of the oppressed people completely divorced from any scientific analysis of the roles of the various classes in society which were rooted in economic relations.



## INCONSISTENCIES

Needless to say, with this middle class, empirical method, McLellan can only see "inconsistencies" and not the continuity in a struggle for a scientifically based workers movement throughout Marx's activities in the Communist League and the First International, as well as in Marx's literary and theoretical activity.

Contrary to McLellan, Marx always, in every one of his struggles from 1847 on, fought for a party, a revolutionary party to lead the working class to power. When Marx left the Communist League in 1852, he did not consider himself to have abandoned the fight for a party, but undertook this task in a different form since he recognized that the Communist League had served its historical purpose. The next 10 years were crucial in Marx's investigations of economics and allowed him to lay the basis for the scientific elaboration of capitalism which was completed in his *Capital*. McLellan writes of this period:



Marx and Engels with Jenny, Eleanor and Laura in 1864.

"For the next 10 years Marx was a member of no political party."

While it was true in a narrow sense that Marx did not belong to a party in this period (mainly because none existed), he understood his activities in a much different way than McLellan. Writing to Freiligrath, he said: "After the 'League' was dissolved in November 1852 on my proposition, I no longer belonged to any society secret or public, nor do I; thus the party in this completely ephemeral sense ceased to exist for me eight years ago... Thus, I know nothing of the party, in the sense of your letter, since 1852..."

"The 'League' ... like a hundred other societies, was only an episode in the history of the party which grows everywhere spontaneously from the soil of modern society."

Thus, as far as the historical significance of Marx's political life is concerned, McLellan's empirical approach has the effect of wiping out the principles Marx fought for in the workers movement. He sees everything in terms of surface events, inconsistencies and personal intrigue. McLellan sees Marx the individual in the manner of the petty bourgeois, completely divorced from the class struggle.

This same method leads McLellan to completely distort and revise Marx's theoretical writings. Commenting on a passage in the *Grundrisse*, McLellan says it:

"... Shows clearly enough that what seems to be purely economic doctrines (such as the labor theory of value) are not economic doctrines in the sense that say Keynes or Schumpeter would understand them. Inevitably, then, to regard Marx as just one among several economists is somewhat to falsify and misunderstand his intentions. For, as Marx himself proclaimed as early as 1844, economics and ethics were inextricably linked."

First of all, the labor theory of value was not even discovered by Marx, but by the classical economists such as Smith and Ricardo who preceded him. Marx's contribution was to demonstrate that the determination of value by labor time

was not an eternal principle as the classical economists supposed, but was relative to the capitalist system of production.

## CONTRADICTION

Marx was further able to resolve the hopeless inconsistencies in Smith and Ricardo, who were never able to reconcile the labor theory of value with the problem of establishing the source of wages and profits. The classical bourgeois economists were unable to do this because they could not grasp the contradiction inherent in the commodity and in labor, between abstract labor and living, concrete labor.

Marx demonstrated this contradiction scientifically and showed it to be the source, in its further development, of exploitation of the worker and the profits of the capitalist. Marx in no way introduced some kind of moral argument to show that workers are exploited. Nor did he introduce a moral argument when he scientifically demonstrated that the development of the productive forces under capitalism lead inevitably to a collision with the property relations, a contradiction that objectively moves the working class to struggle for power and end its exploitation.

Marx himself is slandered in a personal way because he fought ruthlessly in his own time against all the tendencies in the workers movement such as LaSalle and Bakunin that hampered its development through theoretical backwardness and the pressure of alien classes. Marx was not guided by personal considerations in this struggle, but by the goal of the complete emancipation of the working class.

What McLellan is most hostile to is the actual living development of Marxism in the working class that Marx, Engels and Lenin fought for above all else.

It is this revolutionary practice that destroys the *raison d'être* of "Marxist" scholars such as McLellan who have constructed an industry based on the lie that Marxist "theory" can be developed stripped of its materialist, revolutionary content and divorced from the real struggles of the working class.

That McLellan, who considers himself "sympathetic" to Marx, chooses to follow in the traditions of the anti-Marxist slanderers is indicative of a right-wing movement on the part of the so-called Marxist intellectuals. But for all his erudition and numerous source materials, McLellan fails to produce anything new to buttress these discredited arguments.

As far as McLellan's portrayal of Marx's personal life, which seems to take up a large percentage of the book, we can only say that McLellan certainly does not paint a very pretty picture. It is true that for much of his life, Marx's family life was strained, that he was in a dire financial predicament, and that he was a poor manager of his financial and literary affairs. With the exception of a few newly discovered details, none of this material is new to us. Marx had to sacrifice a great deal in his personal life in order to found the modern workers movement.

In this respect it is interesting to note that Mehring's biography deals with much the same material. But whereas McLellan paints a rather grim picture, Mehring sees a heroic quality even in Marx's personal life. McLellan would doubtless say that this is because Mehring's account is "hagiographic." Mehring, who had serious political differences with Marx, and brought them out in his book, would have laughed at such a charge.

Mehring was able to depict Marx with genuine respect. Mehring had nothing but contempt for the "orthodox" Marxists of his day such as Bernstein and Kautsky, whose epigonism finally led them to betray the working class. Mehring was able to recognize, despite his many political differences with Marx, his great contribution to the working class and the personal suffering this often entailed.

We can see that McLellan provides us with a biography reeking with cynicism politically, idealism and empiricism methodologically, and distortion and falsification historically. Mehring's biography despite its dated character and certain shortcomings, still remains the classic biography of Marx.



# Tarrytown, Van Nuys Shut

**TARRYTOWN, NY.**—General Motors Corporation announced the shutdown of its assembly plant here less than a week after the second shift was closed down.

The closure is officially scheduled for November 18 through 25, but many men have already predicted that slumping sales will mean layoffs of one to two months or the complete closure of the plant. Reduced work forces at GM plants in Van Nuys, California, and Willow Run, Michigan, will also be laid off November 18.

The November 8 layoff had already wiped out the jobs of 2000 men, workers with up to 11 years' seniority. 1900 additional men will be thrown out of work by the new shutdown.

Hundreds of auto workers packed the Local 664 union hall here for a midnight meeting November 6, but local leaders offered no plans to fight the layoffs.

Originally called to explain benefit procedures to body shop workers, men from virtually every department attended the meeting. Union officials at that time warned that further layoffs were likely to occur.

The new wave of temporary layoffs across the country will be a severe drain on the funds union leaders said were available for longterm SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) payments. SUB payments are supposed to total 95 percent of base pay. GM officials estimate that only 10 percent of the laid off men have been trained for any other type of work.

For younger workers, living in Tarrytown has become a dead-end. The son of one GM worker had been planning to go into the plant when the shut-down was announced. Now they are both unemployed.

A young garage mechanic said that half the employees, including himself, were also being laid off at the Chevrolet dealership in Tarrytown.

## DETERIORATION

The shutdown will mean a sharp deterioration of conditions in the plant. With all of the younger workers forced out, the back-breaking lines of GMAD will now be manned by men with up to 21 years' seniority, most of whom haven't worked on the line in years.

Rather than leading a fight against this attack by General Motors, Local 664 leaders and

the International have said there is absolutely nothing to be done. Faced with the determination expressed in last week's meeting, they merely explained procedures for signing up for unemployment compensation and payments from the union's dwindling SUB fund.

## COMMUNIST PARTY

The Daily World, newspaper of the Communist Party, and the CP supporters in the UAW are covering up for Woodcock by discouraging workers from taking up any fight against the layoffs. Their emphasis on "unity" against GM is another way of saying "Don't attack the leadership."

In the October issue of Political Affairs, the monthly magazine published by the Communist Party, an article entitled "New Dangers and New Possibilities for Auto Workers" says: "The anti-leadership thrust which is the main line of these (opposition) forces becomes anti-union."

There is no question that unity among the rank and file is essential in the struggle against the layoffs. It is precisely Woodcock and the bureaucrats who have sabotaged unity by allowing local struggles such as the Lordstown and St. Louis GM strikes to be isolated, and by allowing layoffs to proceed without any struggle to unite the membership of the UAW against it.

## POLITICAL

No struggle against layoffs, speedup and the entire rotten contract is possible without a head-on battle with the UAW bureaucracy. At the same time, the fight against layoffs requires that every auto worker now confront the necessity for a political fight against the Ford government and the decaying capitalist system that is responsible for the crisis.

In the course of a fight to mobilize the working class around a concrete policy to defend jobs, Woodcock must be exposed and revolutionary leadership organized in the plants.

The UAW must be forced to call an emergency conference of the UAW to call a national auto strike and to support occupations of any plant that shuts down.

Reopen the national contract on wages and conditions. Full 100 percent cost of living protection.

A 30 hour work week at 40 hours pay and nationalization of the auto industry requires the calling of a congress of labor and the building of a labor party based on the unions.

fight for the immediate convocation of a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party committed to a workers government that will nationalize the mines and basic industry under workers control.

The lesson of this strike is clear. Only a revolutionary leadership fighting for revolutionary policies in the unions can take the struggle forward. Miners can build this leadership by joining the Workers League and its industrial arm, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.



Garment workers rallied against unemployment November 11. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America leadership says imports are to blame and favors Ford's trade-war measures.

## PLO . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

At the same time, the Zionist regime was attacking and clubbing Jewish workers and youth in Israel who demonstrated against the doubling and tripling of basic foods that was part of a savage "austerity program."

Jack Anderson, syndicated columnist has revealed from sources in the State Department that plans to invade Libya and Kuwait in order to seize control of the oil fields are under active consideration. Anderson's information includes an assault by marines from helicopter carrier fleets of the Libyan oil fields. The CIA sought \$50 million from the Occidental Petroleum Company for the assassination of Libyan leader Khadafy.

The US is considering giving Israel a green light to invade Kuwait. Ford is reportedly willing to use military force if necessary to protect America's "vital interests."

The Zionist state was created by imperialism through terror, murder, and the expulsion of millions of Palestinians from their land. This was sanctioned by the UN in 1948 when they partitioned Palestine granting the Zionists 54 percent of the land.

This began the Zionists drive to take all of the land by force. They destroyed hundreds of villages and replaced them with their own.

The Jewish people were the pawns of the imperialists in the plan to create a base in the Middle East to divide the Arab countries and push back the revolutionary struggle of the Arab people.

We defend the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to live in their homeland with equal rights for Moslems, Christians, and Jews. It is a Zionist lie that the PLO is motivated by anti-Semitism.

The real anti-Semites are right in the highest levels of the US government. None other than George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the Pen-

tagon told an audience at Duke University last month that Jews "own, you know the banks in the country, the newspapers. Just look at where the Jewish money is."

This is the kind of fascist mentality that now exists in the leadership of the US armed forces.

## REVOLUTION

Our defense of the PLO against Zionism does not, however, mean any support to the PLO's program. In his speech, Arafat said, "... the United Nations is more nearly capable of implementing the principles embodied in its Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as being more truly empowered to support causes of peace and justice."

The United Nations has never been anything more than an arm of imperialism—in Korea, the Congo, Cyprus, and especially the Middle East.

## UNITED NATIONS

The Zionists and the US fear the revolutionary upsurge opening up within the Arab nations and among the Palestinian people that is going beyond the bourgeois nationalist leadership of Arafat. The demonstration in Beirut, where banners appeared opposing Arafat's agreement to a "partial settlement with Israel," shows this. Arafat refuses to unite the Jewish and Arab working class in a common struggle against Zionism and imperialism and to fight for a socialist state. This is the only way the rights of both the Jewish and Arab people can be defended.

The American working class must fight against those US labor leaders who want to get on the patriotic bandwagon of a war in the Middle East, that would only benefit the US oil and other monopoly corporations.

The fight against Israel's aggression and the struggle to defend living standards and jobs here is the same fight.

# Chrysler Cuts 2000 In St. Louis

**BY CAROL MARKS**  
ST. LOUIS, Mo.—"I don't see why Woodcock isn't doing anything.

"This is the worst thing we've been hit with in years," said Andrew, who was recently laid off from the Chrysler Fenton plant. "Everyone has got to think about how secure his job is.

"I'm sure we'll never be going back, not the way things look. We don't even know how long the SUB pay will last. That depends on how many more they decide to get rid of.

"We've got to do something. How am I ever going to find another job in this city?"

Andrew is one of the thousands of men on Chrysler's second shift who is now out of a job. The second shift was put on only 18 months ago and 2,000 were hired at that time. Production was frenzied and the plant was working six to seven days a week. When the UAW leadership rammed through a national contract, they claimed a completely phony victory over Chrysler's "forced overtime."

General Motors converted its plant here to the GMAD system in 1971. The plant produces Chevrolet car bodies, trucks, and also the only Corvette line in the country. The entire second shift in the car production was laid off last January 8.



Leonard Woodcock

Speedup was intensified and the UAW local leaders were forced to call a strike over grievances. Nothing was won but a few minor concessions such as new uniforms and some back SUB pay. After the strike, work overload grievances began piling up again, especially on the Corvette line.

Nat Mosley, a militant committeeman who led the opposition to the local contract has been fired by GM. Mosley attempted to take on the UAW leadership virtually single handedly and was arrested for allegedly spraying mace in the face of a union official named Morganfield. Mosley had initiated a lawsuit against Woodcock and others on behalf of men whose grievances were never settled.

The St. Louis Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is beginning a struggle in the UAW here to unite auto workers in a fight against layoffs and speedup and against any victimizations. A program for a national emergency conference of auto workers to demand a national auto strike and the fight for a labor party means building a new leadership against the Woodcock bureaucracy.

## MINERS . . .

(continued from page 1)

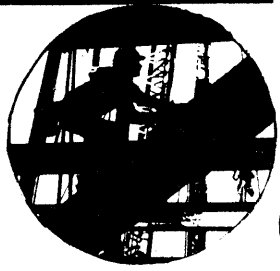
•Rejection of all productivity deals and a \$500 a month pension after 20 years for all miners.

## BREAK

This fight can only be carried forward in a complete break from the policies of Miller.

Millions of workers will stand with the miners if they are given the lead. Miller must be forced off Ford's Labor-Management Committee. The UMW must call immediately for the full support of the labor movement. It must





# lucha obrera

## Dirigentes Amenazados De Carcel

Once líderes de la Union Independiente Auténtica (UIA) que organiza los trabajadores de la Autoridad de Acueductos y Alcantarillados (AAA) en Puerto Rico fueron dejados en libertad el pasado viernes. El gobierno utilizó una ley anti-obrera para enviarlos a la carcel si no terminaban la huelga de dos semanas de duración.

Su libertad esta basada en un periodo de cinco días que el gobierno le ha dado para llegar a un acuerdo sobre el contrato. Hasta hoy con los cinco días al punto de expirar, aún no han llegado a un acuerdo. El gobierno esta ofreciendo \$55 dólares de aumento al mes y un contrato de tres años. La unión esta pidiendo un aumento de \$119 dólares de aumento mensual a un contrato de dos años como medida en contra del alto costo de vida.



Yasser Arafat, lider de la Organización de Liberación Palestina.

# FORD E ISRAEL PREPARAN INVASION

## POR MELODY FARROW

Los verdaderos terroristas y criminales en las Naciones Unidas no son los representantes de la Organización de Liberación Palestina (OLP), pero los representantes israelitas y el gobierno de los Estados Unidos que juntos están preparando una nueva invasión de los países árabes.

Los verdaderos terroristas son organizaciones como la Liga de Defensa Judía (LDJ) cuyo líder Russel Kelner declaró que el líder de la OLP, Yasser Arafat, "no saldría con vida de la ciudad" y anunció que los escuadrones de la muerte de la LDJ estaban preparados para asesinar a Arafat.

Arafat dejó los Estados Unidos inmediatamente después de dar su discurso en las Naciones Unidas.

Las demostraciones reaccionarias organizadas por organizaciones zionistas son una cobertura para la nueva ola de terror que el régimen zionista de Israel prepara contra los estados árabes y la región ocupada de palestina.

Aunque nosotros no estamos de acuerdo con el programa político de la OLP, que ahora acepta la existencia del estado zionista, defendemos incondicionalmente la OLP y otras organizaciones guerrilleras contra los ataques derechistas de los zionistas y el imperialismo Estadounidense.

### DELEGADO

El delegado principal israelí a las Naciones Unidas, Yosef Tekoah, declaró: "Israel no permitirá el establecimiento de la autoridad de la OLP en cualquier territorio palestino." Israel no solo quiere mantener su dominio sobre los territorios ocupados del Banco Oeste y la franja de Gaza, sino que ahora conspira con los Estados Unidos para extender su dominio.

El miércoles pasado, cuando el pueblo de Nablus, situado en el Banco Oeste, fue paralizado por una huelga general, la policía y paracaidistas israelíes cargaron sobre las masas congregadas en las calles.

El ministro de defensa israelí, Shimon Peres dijo que "medidas de fuerza se tomarían contra las rebeliones en el Banco Oeste."

Al mismo tiempo, el regimen zionista reprimía a la juventud y trabajadores israelíes que protestaban contra el aumento de los alimentos básicos en 100 y 200 por ciento, parte del "programa de austeridad."

De fuentes del Dpto. de Estado se ha revelado que se están considerando planes para invadir Libia y Kuwait para tomar control de los pozos petrolíferos; que la CIA pidió \$50 millones a la Occidental Petroleum Company para asesinar al líder

libeo Khadafy.

El estado zionista fue creado por el imperialismo mediante el terror, asesinato y expulsión de millones de palestinos de sus tierras. Esto fue sancionado por la ONU en 1948 cuando partieron Palestina dándole a los zionistas 54 por ciento del territorio

### POR LA FUERZA

Así iniciaron los zionistas la toma de tierras por la fuerza, destruyendo cientos de pueblos.

El pueblo judío fueron los peones del imperialismo en su plan de crear una base en el Medio Oriente para dividir a los países árabes y detener el empuje revolucionario del pueblo árabe.

Nosotros defendemos el derecho del pueblo palestino a la auto-determinación y que vivan en sus tierras con iguales derechos para musulmanes, cristianos y judíos. Es una mentira zionista que la OLP está motivada por el anti-semitismo.

Los verdaderos anti-semitas están en los niveles más altos del gobierno de los Estados Unidos. George Brown, jefe del mando conjunto del Pentágono declaró en la Universidad Duke el mes pasado que los judíos "son dueños de los bancos en el país, y de los periódicos. Fíjense donde está el dinero de los judíos."

Este es el tipo de mentalidad fascista que ahora existe en el liderazgo de las Fuerzas Armadas Estadounidenses.

Nuestra defensa de la OLP contra el zionismo no significa un apoyo de su programa. En su discurso Arafat dijo: "... las Naciones Unidas hoy no son como en el pasado, así como el mundo de hoy no es el mundo de ayer... hoy las Naciones Unidas son más capaces de implementar los principios expresados en la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos, así como apoyan causas para la paz y la justicia."

Las Naciones Unidas nunca ha sido más que el arma del imperialismo—en Korea, el Congo, Chipre, y especialmente en el Medio Oriente.

### TEMOR

Los zionistas y los Estados Unidos temen el levantamiento revolucionario del pueblo en las naciones árabes y el pueblo palestino que va más allá del nacionalismo burgués de Arafat. La demostración de Beirut, donde aparecieron consignas oponiéndose a Arafat por su "acuerdo parcial con Israel," demuestra este hecho. Arafat rehuza unir la clase obrera judía y árabe en una lucha común contra el zionismo e imperialismo y luchar por un estado socialista.

La clase obrera americana tiene que luchar contra los líderes sindicales que quieren imponer el patriotismo en una guerra en el Medio Oriente, que solo beneficiaría al monopolio del petróleo de las corporaciones americanas y de otros países.

La lucha contra la opresión israelí y la lucha para defender el nivel de vida y el empleo aquí es la misma lucha.

# Oposición Masiva Contra Militares Peruanos

Una oposición masiva está aumentando en Perú en contra de la junta militar del General Juan Velasco Alvarado.

La crisis económica se deja sentir en todos los sectores de la sociedad peruana. Con una inflación oficial de 40 por ciento anual, de acuerdo con el Instituto de Planificación, miles de obreros y campesinos han visto sus niveles de vida reducidos a niveles miserables.

La crisis creo divisiones dentro de la junta militar que llevaron al "retiro" del ministro de economía, Juan Marcó del Pont, cuando propuso una devaluación de 30 por ciento de oneda nacional, el Sol.

Desde entonces, la junta se ha visto obligada a tomar una serie de medidas para salvar la moneda. Obtuvo un préstamo de \$10 millones del Japón y ha acentuado la restricción de divisas, limitando la importación de insumos industriales.

### BANCARROTAS

Estas medidas han comenzado a causar una serie de estragos en la pequeña y mediana industria.

Los sucesos de Miraflores, un barrio de clase media donde miles demostraron contra el gobierno, demuestra como las capas medias están siendo golpeadas por la crisis y la facilidad de su mobilización por grupos fascistas.

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# lucha obrera

## Dirigentes Amenazados De Carcel

Once líderes de la Union Independiente Auténtica (UIA) que organiza los trabajadores de la Autoridad de Acueductos y Alcantarillados (AAA) en Puerto Rico fueron dejados en libertad el pasado viernes. El gobierno utilizó una ley anti-obrera para enviarlos a la carcel si no terminaban la huelga de dos semanas de duración.

Su libertad esta basada en un periodo de cinco días que el gobierno le ha dado para llegar a un acuerdo sobre el contrato. Hasta hoy con los cinco días al punto de expirar, aún no han llegado a un acuerdo. El gobierno esta ofreciendo \$55 dólares de aumento al mes y un contrato de tres años. La unión esta pidiendo un aumento de \$119 dólares de aumento mensual a un contrato de dos años como medida en contra del alto costo de vida.



Yasser Arafat, lider de la Organización de Liberación Palestina.

# FORD E ISRAEL PREPARAN INVASION

## POR MELODY FARROW

Los verdaderos terroristas y criminales en las Naciones Unidas no son los representantes de la Organización de Liberación Palestina (OLP), pero los representantes israelitas y el gobierno de los Estados Unidos que juntos están preparando una nueva invasión de los países árabes.

Los verdaderos terroristas son organizaciones como la Liga de Defensa Judía (LDJ) cuyo líder Russel Kelner declaró que el líder de la OLP, Yasser Arafat, "no saldría con vida de la ciudad" y anunció que los escuadrones de la muerte de la LDJ estaban preparados para asesinar a Arafat.

Arafat dejó los Estados Unidos inmediatamente después de dar su discurso en las Naciones Unidas.

Las demostraciones reaccionarias organizadas por organizaciones zionistas son una cobertura para la nueva ola de terror que el régimen zionista de Israel prepara contra los estados árabes y la región ocupada de palestina.

Aunque nosotros no estamos de acuerdo con el programa político de la OLP, que ahora acepta la existencia del estado zionista, defendemos incondicionalmente la OLP y otras organizaciones guerrilleras contra los ataques derechistas de los zionistas y el imperialismo Estadounidense.

### DELEGADO

El delegado principal israelí a las Naciones Unidas, Yosef Tekoah, declaró: "Israel no permitirá el establecimiento de la autoridad de la OLP en cualquier territorio palestino." Israel no solo quiere mantener su dominio sobre los territorios ocupados del Banco Oeste y la franja de Gaza, sino que ahora conspira con los Estados Unidos para extender su dominio.

El miércoles pasado, cuando el pueblo de Nablus, situado en el Banco Oeste, fue paralizado por una huelga general, la policía y paracaidistas israelíes cargaron sobre las masas congregadas en las calles.

El ministro de defensa israelí, Shimon Peres dijo que "medidas de fuerza se tomarían contra las rebeliones en el Banco Oeste."

Al mismo tiempo, el regimen zionista reprimía a la juventud y trabajadores israelíes que protestaban contra el aumento de los alimentos básicos en 100 y 200 por ciento, parte del "programa de austeridad."

De fuentes del Dpto. de Estado se ha revelado que se están considerando planes para invadir Libia y Kuwait para tomar control de los pozos petrolíferos; que la CIA pidió \$50 millones a la Occidental Petroleum Company para asesinar al líder

libeo Khadafy.

El estado zionista fue creado por el imperialismo mediante el terror, asesinato y expulsión de millones de palestinos de sus tierras. Esto fue sancionado por la ONU en 1948 cuando partieron Palestina dándole a los zionistas 54 por ciento del territorio

### POR LA FUERZA

Así iniciaron los zionistas la toma de tierras por la fuerza, destruyendo cientos de pueblos.

El pueblo judío fueron los peones del imperialismo en su plan de crear una base en el Medio Oriente para dividir a los países árabes y detener el empuje revolucionario del pueblo árabe.

Nosotros defendemos el derecho del pueblo palestino a la auto-determinación y que vivan en sus tierras con iguales derechos para musulmanes, cristianos y judíos. Es una mentira zionista que la OLP está motivada por el anti-semitismo.

Los verdaderos anti-semitas están en los niveles más altos del gobierno de los Estados Unidos. George Brown, jefe del mando conjunto del Pentágono declaró en la Universidad Duke el mes pasado que los judíos "son dueños de los bancos en el país, y de los periódicos. Fíjense donde está el dinero de los judíos."

Este es el tipo de mentalidad fascista que ahora existe en el liderazgo de las Fuerzas Armadas Estadounidenses.

Nuestra defensa de la OLP contra el zionismo no significa un apoyo de su programa. En su discurso Arafat dijo: "... las Naciones Unidas hoy no son como en el pasado, así como el mundo de hoy no es el mundo de ayer... hoy las Naciones Unidas son más capaces de implementar los principios expresados en la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos, así como apoyan causas para la paz y la justicia."

Las Naciones Unidas nunca ha sido más que el arma del imperialismo—en Korea, el Congo, Chipre, y especialmente en el Medio Oriente.

### TEMOR

Los zionistas y los Estados Unidos temen el levantamiento revolucionario del pueblo en las naciones árabes y el pueblo palestino que va más allá del nacionalismo burgués de Arafat. La demostración de Beirut, donde aparecieron consignas oponiéndose a Arafat por su "acuerdo parcial con Israel," demuestra este hecho. Arafat rehuza unir la clase obrera judía y árabe en una lucha común contra el zionismo e imperialismo y luchar por un estado socialista.

La clase obrera americana tiene que luchar contra los líderes sindicales que quieren imponer el patriotismo en una guerra en el Medio Oriente, que solo beneficiaría al monopolio del petróleo de las corporaciones americanas y de otros países.

La lucha contra la opresión israelí y la lucha para defender el nivel de vida y el empleo aquí es la misma lucha.

# Oposición Masiva Contra Militares Peruanos

Una oposición masiva está aumentando en Perú en contra de la junta militar del General Juan Velasco Alvarado.

La crisis económica se deja sentir en todos los sectores de la sociedad peruana. Con una inflación oficial de 40 por ciento anual, de acuerdo con el Instituto de Planificación, miles de obreros y campesinos han visto sus niveles de vida reducidos a niveles miserables.

La crisis creo divisiones dentro de la junta militar que llevaron al "retiro" del ministro de economía, Juan Marcó del Pont, cuando propuso una devaluación de 30 por ciento de oneda nacional, el Sol.

Desde entonces, la junta se ha visto obligada a tomar una serie de medidas para salvar la moneda. Obtuvo un préstamo de \$10 millones del Japón y ha acentuado la restricción de divisas, limitando la importación de insumos industriales.

### BANCARROTAS

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