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

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1974

TWENTY CENTS

MINERS CAN DEFEAT FORD

STRIKE COUNTDOWN BEGINS



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This unprecedented decline in living standards has been possible only because the trade union bureaucracy has consistently collaborated with Nixon and now Ford in sabotaging the wage struggles of the working class.

The UMW strike assumes enormous importance for the entire working class because it will be the first major working class challenge to the "anti-inflation" policies of the Ford government.

SACRIFICES

During the past week, Ford has continued to demand sacrifices by the working class to hold down prices. He has reasserted his determination to slash the federal budget.

But arrogant calls by Ford for workers to "tighten their belts" are secondary to the government's serious preparations for a direct confrontation with the unions to drive down wages and impose productivity deals and unemployment.

Just how seriously the government is preparing for a miners' strike can be seen in the contingency plans being drawn up by the Federal Energy Administration to move coal into industry during a shutdown of the mines.

Miller has stated that the FEA was developing fuel allocation programs in order to break a miners strike.

But he himself is collaborating with the government's program of "voluntary" restraints on wages.

Miller's collaboration with the government on the Labor-Management Committee and his refusal to put forward clear wage demands to defend the living standards of miners expose the fraudulent nature of his demands for more safety in the mines.

The UMW bureaucracy works with Ford in order to help the government solve the crisis of the capitalist profit system at the expense of miners. It is this very profit system that makes coal mines potential graveyards for UMW members.

NATIONALIZATION

Safety in the mines can be assured only by the nationali-

zation of the coal industry under the control of the working class.

Every central question facing the miners, from wages to safety, require independent political action by the UMW against the Ford government and its Democratic Party allies.

UMW members must demand that strike action be linked to a political break with Ford and the Democrats and the establishment of a labor party based on the unions. Only a party of the working class can carry out the nationalization of industry without compensation to the owners.

Miller must be forced off the Labor-Management Committee. He must be compelled to rally the entire trade union movement against the attempts of Ford to drive the working class back by calling a strike on November 12 and calling upon all sections of the trade union movement to convene a Congress of Labor to establish a labor party.

The eyes of the working class will be on the miners, who have throughout their history led the greatest struggles against the American ruling class. The UMW provided the resources for the construction of the CIO in the 1930s. The coal miners defied the no-strike pledge in 1943 and defeated Roosevelt.

All the power of the coal miners must be brought to bear against the reactionary Ford government. If the miners in Britain could bring down the Heath government, miners in the US can deliver a devastating blow against Ford.

Miners can place no confidence in Miller. He talks about democracy in the unions, but works with the government behind the backs of miners.

A revolutionary leadership must be built in the UMW in the fight for the following program against the Miller bureaucracy:

•Shut the mines on November 12!

•Across the board 25 percent wage increase with 100 percent cost of living escalator clause.

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

•Miller must quit the Labor-Management Committee!

•Stop the murder in the mines! Nationalize the coal industry under workers' control with no compensation to the owners!

•Call a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party!

BY DAVID NORTH
Negotiations between the United Mine Workers and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association are virtually deadlocked, with less than one month to go until the November 12 strike deadline.

Bargaining nearly broke down earlier this week after UMW President Arnold Miller charged that the BCOA's proposals amount to a carbon copy of the present contract.

Because the UMW constitution requires the ratification of the new contract by the ranks before November 12, a strike will be a certainty unless a settlement is negotiated within two weeks.

A nationwide strike by the 125,000 members of the UMW will be a powerful blow against the Ford administration's plans to place the full burden of the economic crisis and inflation on the backs of the working class.

Strike action by the miners will both inspire and generate tremendous support among millions of trade unionists who are looking for a lead in the fight against the brutal attacks on living standards that have been stepped up under Ford.

However, Miller is trying to

avoid taking up a fight on the question of wage increases—the central issue in the UMW contract negotiations.

SAFETY

The issue of safety in the mines is being used by the UMW bureaucracy to present a false appearance of militancy while it does nothing to defend the rapidly declining living standards of miners.

Thus far, the question of wages has not even been raised in the negotiations.

Miller stated in a press conference: "I want to stress that the present deadlock does not even touch on economic items in the contract. We are not talking about money, we are talking about the lives of our members."

Phil Sparks, a UMW official, added: "The BCOA wanted to move in to economic issues and present us with a money offer, in hopes that the glitter of gold would turn us away from health and safety."

These statements have a decidedly hollow sound to them. If the coal operators have decided—breaking with all their previous actions in this field—to make a large wage offer, why has Miller failed to spell it out?

Furthermore, how can Miller possibly claim that he is serious about improving safety inside the mines when he has just joined the government's Labor-Management Committee which has been assigned the task of

formulating speedup and productivity programs for all sections of industry, including coal?

The UMW bureaucracy does not want to confront the issue of wages because the fight for a big wage increase combined with a 100 percent cost of living escalator clause would mean a showdown with the Ford government and its ruthless antiinflation plan.

HARDEST

Miners stand out among industrial workers as those hardest hit by inflation.

When the rise in the cost of living is taken into consideration, it can be shown statistically that miners' wages have remained almost stationary since the last contract.

•In 1970, a miner's gross weekly earnings were \$186.46. This year, his gross weekly earnings are \$250.00. But in terms of real weekly earnings, a miner takes home only \$198.73. This means that inflation has actually wiped out the wage increases of 1972 and 1973.

An average miner now must work 90 minutes more each week just to maintain the standard of living he had in November, 1971.

This attack on the living standards of UMW members extends to all sections of the working class.

•The buying power of the average worker's take-home pay has dropped 5.3 percent over the last 12 months.

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Wilson Tells Workers: Sacrifice Wages

BY DAVID NORTH

In his first major speech since the reelection of the Labor Party government, Prime Minister Harold Wilson has called on the trade unions to observe the "social contract" and has told workers to accept a decline in their living standards for at least the next two years.

His pronouncements expose the treacherous nature of this Labor government, which is determined to carry out policies which subordinate the working class to the interests of crisis-stricken British capitalism.

By attacking the working class for seeking to maintain its living standards under conditions of galloping inflation, Wilson serves as the propagandist of Tory lies that blame trade unions for the economic crisis.

Wilson stated that England "cannot afford the 'big battalion' philosophy—with power groups, whoever they are, trying to seize more than their share of what is available.

"That is why, apart from those who cannot help themselves, no member of our national community has the right to seek to take out of our national income more than he puts into it by his work and effort and skill. It is no longer a time for anybody to be making money; it's got to be earned."

PROFITS

What Wilson is really saying is that workers should sacrifice to help the profits of the parasitic capitalist class.

He added: "We believe that our problems can be solved only by partnership between government and the whole of our national family, a partnership in which all of us should be partners, and all must play their part.

"There can be no opting out.



That is what the social contract is about, and it is going to be more vitally necessary than ever in these months and years ahead that that contract be honored, in the spirit and the letter."

This speech will arouse the deepest hostility among broad sections of workers who voted Labor not, as Wilson thinks, in support of the social contract, but in order to defeat it.

Important unions in England are preparing at this very moment to make new wage demands that will directly challenge Wilson.

More than ever, the Wilson government acts as a Trojan Horse for the Tories and the capitalist class. The Labor Party has absolutely no policy to meet the enormous economic catastrophe now threatening the lives of millions of workers.

The trade union bureaucracy is allied with Wilson. It is desperately trying to avoid the seriousness of the crisis. Len Murray, president of the TUC (the AFL-CIO of England) stated after the election: "I don't think there is an economic crisis.

"There is a very difficult situation and we—government, management, and the trade unions—are going to do a very good job to get over this."

Murray has responded to Wilson's call to meet with the representatives of British indus-

try to work out details of the social contract.

Although the plans of the Tories and leading Laborites for a coalition were thwarted by the result of the election, there is now the closest collaboration between the Labor bureaucrats and capitalist class.

While Wilson seeks to hold back wages, prices will soar. The price commission has just announced that a 35 percent rise in prices will be allowed.

The Labor Party is giving the Tories and the ruling class the time it needs to prepare for a showdown.

The increasing likelihood that Tory leader Edward Heath will step down and be replaced by William Whitelaw, who supervised the occupation of Ireland by British troops and then put together the Ulster coalition government, means that the Tory party is now gearing not toward new elections, but toward the preparation for civil war.

Gierek Offers US Coal Deal

BY A REPORTER

The First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, Edward Gierek, was given a state welcome by Ford last week.

He also met with Kissinger and spoke at the United Nations.

A series of agreements was signed, providing for increased trade in chemicals, animal fodder, and industrial goods and for scientific and technological cooperation.

Gierek also met with Gus Hall, leader of the Communist Party USA, who hailed the visit as a

continuation of Nixon's "détente" policies and a move to "strengthen the peace and security of all peoples."

It is no coincidence that Gierek visits the US just one month before the strike deadline of the United Mine Workers Union.

The real purpose of his visit was to work out a deal to import scab coal and thus to assist Ford in breaking the miners strike. At the same time, Gierek has offered to introduce coal bosses to automated mining techniques perfected in Poland.

The October 9 issue of the Daily World, newspaper of the American Communist Party, states: "Poland would like to sell anthracite coal to the US..." and approvingly quotes Ford that "Poland has a role to play in seeking a resolution to the world energy problem."

Just as the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy shipped coal to England during the miners strike last winter, and Franco used Polish coal to break the first major strike against his regime, Gierek is now preparing the same betrayal against American miners.

This is the real face of "détente." The Stalinists place trade and commercial deals that can strengthen their own bureaucratic rule against the interests of the working class.

American miners must demand that the International Longshoremen's Association block any coal shipments during a strike by miners here and that the UMW leaders appeal directly to the miners union in Poland to refuse to mine scab coal.

Italian Auto Workers March Against Layoffs

A powerful strike movement among 200,000 Fiat auto workers in Italy is developing against the company's plan to place 67,000 workers on a three-day week.

Last week, a four hour strike called by the three major union federations closed the industrial sector in Turin and other sections are scheduled to go out.

The slashing of the work week by Fiat is the beginning of the slump in the European car industry and in every industry.

The Italian Communist Party is desperately trying to head off a general strike.

The Stalinist controlled CGT, the major union federation, has made a major concession to Fiat by accepting the principle of layoffs and bargaining on the amount of days to be cut, but Fiat has rejected any compromise.

At the same time, the right-wing Amintore Fanfani, leader of the Christian Democrats, has been appointed as the new Premier.



The mobilization of 450 National Guard military police in Boston and the placing of the Pentagon's 82nd Airborne Division on alert poses an immediate threat to every worker and youth in Boston, white or black.

The government's claim that these military forces are needed to stop racial fighting is a grotesque lie.

The government, both Democrats and Republicans, are deliberately using the busing issue to set the entire working class up for repression.

The Ford government has aided the most right-wing forces in Boston. They aim to stir up racism and divide the working class as an excuse for a military occupation of the working class districts.

The government and the army are using Boston as a testing ground for the use of troops and for military dictatorship against the entire working class.

The National Guard and federal troops will be used as the state police and the Tactical Patrol Force in Boston have been: to provoke white and black workers by physically attacking them and to create conditions for further racial incidents.

The capitalist press is openly fanning racism by printing blaring headlines and exaggerating every attack to whip up an atmosphere of hysteria.

The claims of antibusing leaders that the majority of white workers support this racist campaign is a blatant lie. If anything, their demonstrations have proven they represent a minority. Many white workers are beginning to see through the police provocations.

In Boston, the Ford government and capitalist class are testing out a strategy for imposing on the working class massive unemployment, wage cuts, increased exploitation in the factories, and rotten living conditions.

The capitalists are urging Ford to take brutal measures to solve inflation that would mean wholesale closures of plants, a drastic rise in unemployment, and a crackdown on strikes for higher wages.

But Ford fears the power of the working class and of the labor movement. He knows and every worker knows that these conditions cannot simply be imposed without the most violent struggle.

The government encourages racism in Boston to weaken the working class and divide it at the very time that it faces a critical struggle to defend all the basic rights and conditions won in the past. Racism is the tool

of big business to break up the trade unions.

The busing order was issued precisely to trigger an explosion, to divert the growing anger of white workers over overcrowded and understaffed schools away from a struggle against the government that is responsible for them.

The real issue is how the working class is going to unite to confront the economic disaster that the capitalist class is preparing, to defend the right to education and jobs and decent living standards.

Boston must be a warning that this government intends to try and impose the burden of this crisis on the working class, through brute force, police repression, and military dictatorship.

the role of Ford and the Democrats, is playing into the hands of the most reactionary fascist groups.

Workers in Boston must take up a struggle in the trade unions to demand the labor leaders protect the youth, expose the racist campaign, and keep the military troops out of Boston. This can only be done by fighting for a program to unite all workers for decent schools and housing, and against inflation and the mass layoffs that are sweeping the Boston area.

The trade unions must call a Congress of Labor to unite workers throughout the country, to fight for the nationalization of industry under workers control, to defend jobs, and to stop inflation. Billions of dollars must be provided for education, housing and medical care.

Boston: A Conspiracy To Divide The Working Class

What We Think

The Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party who welcomed the appeal for federal troops are leaving workers in Boston open to these attacks.

Will the SWP now welcome the National Guard and claim they can protect the students, when it is the Guard that has murdered hundreds of black youth and workers in ghetto rebellions in the past?

The SWP in particular, by depicting the entire white working class as a racist lynch mob, by covering up for

This can only be won by the construction of a labor party to break with the Democrats and Republicans.

A petition listing these demands is being circulated at New England Bell Telephone among members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers where 1300 face layoffs. This shows the tremendous potential for this campaign. Petitions are also being circulated in high schools such as Dorchester.

This fight must now be taken into every trade union in the country.

Ehrlichman Pins Blame On Nixon

BY A REPORTER

The long-delayed trial of the Watergate conspirators began on Monday, but without the man whom both federal prosecutors and defendants declare was the criminal-in-chief, Richard Nixon, former president of the United States.

By pardoning Nixon, Ford deliberately created the most difficult conditions for the trial to proceed.

Every sign points to a determined attempt by the judiciary and government to allow as little evidence as possible to come out. Special Watergate prosecutor Leon Jaworski quit on the eve of the trial with barely an explanation.

Judge John Sirica has ordered the greatest possible secrecy around the presentation of evidence. On Monday, he repeatedly urged assistant prosecutor Richard Ben-Veniste to bring his opening accusatory statement against Nixon to a rapid conclusion.

However, despite the efforts of the government, the trial will complicate the crisis of the Ford administration as the massive evidence against Nixon raises the sharpest questions about the motives behind the pardon.

EHRlichman

As the trial opened, lawyers for John Ehrlichman argued that their client was innocent of plotting the coverup and that his role in the Watergate conspiracy had been simply confined to carrying out Nixon's orders.

"Richard Nixon deceived, misled, lied to, and used John Ehrlichman to cover up his own knowledge and actions," de-

clared lawyer William S. Frates.

A split has developed between Ehrlichman and H. R. Haldeman, the latter defendant being Nixon's chief-of-staff. Ehrlichman now claims that he, unlike Haldeman, constantly urged Nixon to drop the cover up.

The tapes, still not made public, comprise the most devastating evidence against Nixon.

In his opening statement, Ben-Veniste outlined the information revealed by the tapes.

On April 25, 1973, Nixon and Haldeman discussed how they could justify the ex-president's remarks to Dean about paying hush money to the Watergate burglars. It was Haldeman who invented the story that Nixon was only trying to interrogate Dean.

"It's not a good story," Nixon replied, "but it's the best we can do."

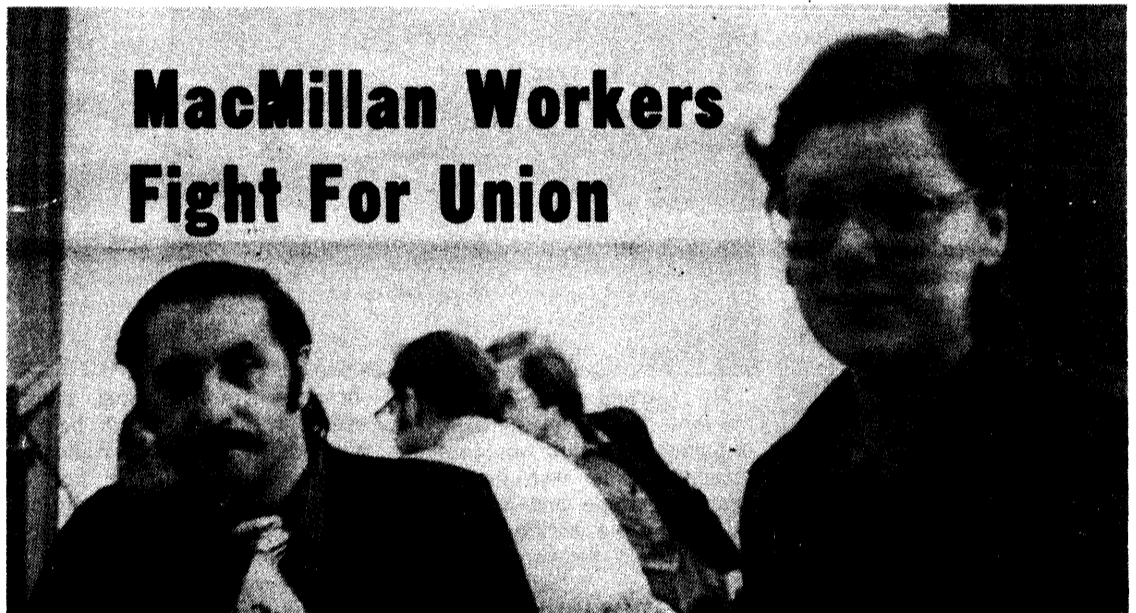
INCRIMINATING

Haldeman stated later: "It's an incriminating thing, but it'll be John Dean's word against the president's ... unless John Dean has secretly tape-recorded his conversations with the president."

Dean made no such recordings, Ben-Veniste said, but "the president did."

Ben-Veniste told the jurors, all of whom were selected in complete secrecy, that:

"We will prove to you in the course of this trial that the attempts of legitimate law enforcement agencies of the United States to ascertain the acts which led up to the Watergate break-in ... were met by an effort to obstruct and cover up the facts and obstruct the investigation by the most powerful men in the government of the United States in a conspiracy that involved the participation of even the president himself."



Fired workers from Putnam & Sons publishing company at the October 15 meeting. Right, Elke Miller, who was Putnam's organizing committee representative.

MacMillan Workers Fight For Union

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—
MacMillan, Inc., one of the largest publishers of novels, children's books, and textbooks, has launched a vicious job-cutting drive.

Over 200 workers have been eliminated this week, and workers estimate that as many as 200 more will be cut. MacMillan has also cut its British staff. It cut 40 of its 200 Chicago staff members last month.

While books are selling at record rates, the majority of sales are now in low-margin paperback books, and profit margins have been eroded by rising costs for supplies. Paper shortages and hoarding have doubled and even tripled in the past year, with book grade paper now costing as much as 30¢ a pound.

This means that record sales figures for 1973 are not producing record profit figures. During the first nine months of 1974, MacMillan sales produced revenue of \$327,257,000, but yielded a net income of \$9,295,000. During the same period last year, \$295,050,000 in revenue produced \$9,378,000 in net income.

Faced with the increasing threat to profits, MacMillan has taken the lead in the publishing industry's desperate drive to prevent unionization of editorial staff members.

Local 153 of the Office and Professional Employees International Union posted notice Friday, October 11 of a formal request for a National Labor Relations Board referendum on union recognition.

The same day, MacMillan revealed a companywide program to "concentrate our resources and efforts" and ordered department heads to prepare an "excision list" of expendable employees by midnight that night.

On Monday, management dismissed many employees on the spot and gave two weeks notice to those who were in the middle of projects the company wanted completed.

According to OPEIU officials and members of the MacMillan organizing committee, many of the fired workers, who ranged from business managers to maintenance staff, had been actively involved in union organizing and in a company women's group which won a sex-discrimination suit last month.

Over 200 workers met October 15 to lay plans for strike action to

win back the jobs of those fired at the beginning of the week.

Putnam & Sons had seized on MacMillan's arrogant union-busting tactics and fired four workers the same day.

The fired Putnam workers included Elke Meyer, a copywriter in the school and library division who was the Putnam organizing committee's representative at the first NLRB hearing. She told the Bulletin that Putnam claims the firings were due to cutbacks in library orders because of government funding slashes.

The workers fired Tuesday, however, did not all come from the school and library division, and only one of the four was offered a transfer in spite of the fact that other departments are hiring.

A large contingent at the October 15 meeting fought for immediate strike action. "We're just not going to let anyone be fired for union organizing or supporting our line."

Dave, who was given two week's notice, said:

"I don't want my job back at the expense of yours. And I don't expect to compete with my fellow workers who've been fired in a shrinking job market."

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

World capitalism now stands on the brink of a catastrophic slump.

The capitalist class is well aware of this. Leading politicians, businessmen, and economists are openly predicting industrial crashes, a chain reaction of banking failures, and the collapse of the credit system. No less a figure than Henry Kissinger is publicly warning that the crisis may mean an end to democracy.

Only the labor bureaucrats and their apologists in the revisionist and Stalinist movements continue to ignore the warnings and to proceed with boundless confidence in the future of the capitalist system.

From the time the *Bulletin* was launched 10 years ago, in solidarity with the perspectives of the International Committee of the Fourth International, it has fought to analyze every development of the capitalist crisis from the postwar boom to the breakdown of the international monetary system to the uncontrollable inflation which is now rapidly leading to deflation and collapse.

For us, this was never an academic exercise. Its purpose has been to build the revolutionary party by training forces in the working class and the youth on an understanding of the deepening capitalist crisis.

This meant fighting continuously to build the party on the perspective that beneath the appearance of capitalist boom, all the contradictions of a decaying world system were concentrated in the US.

The inevitable sharpening of these contradictions meant that not only was a reform of capitalism impossible, but that the working class would be hurled into a struggle for power in which revolutionary leadership was indispensable.

FIRST

In the very first issue of the *Bulletin* on September 14, 1964, we wrote: "World capitalism is beginning to show its deep internal contradictions. The capitalist camp is breaking apart into rival economic blocs fiercely competing with each other for the remaining capitalist markets..."

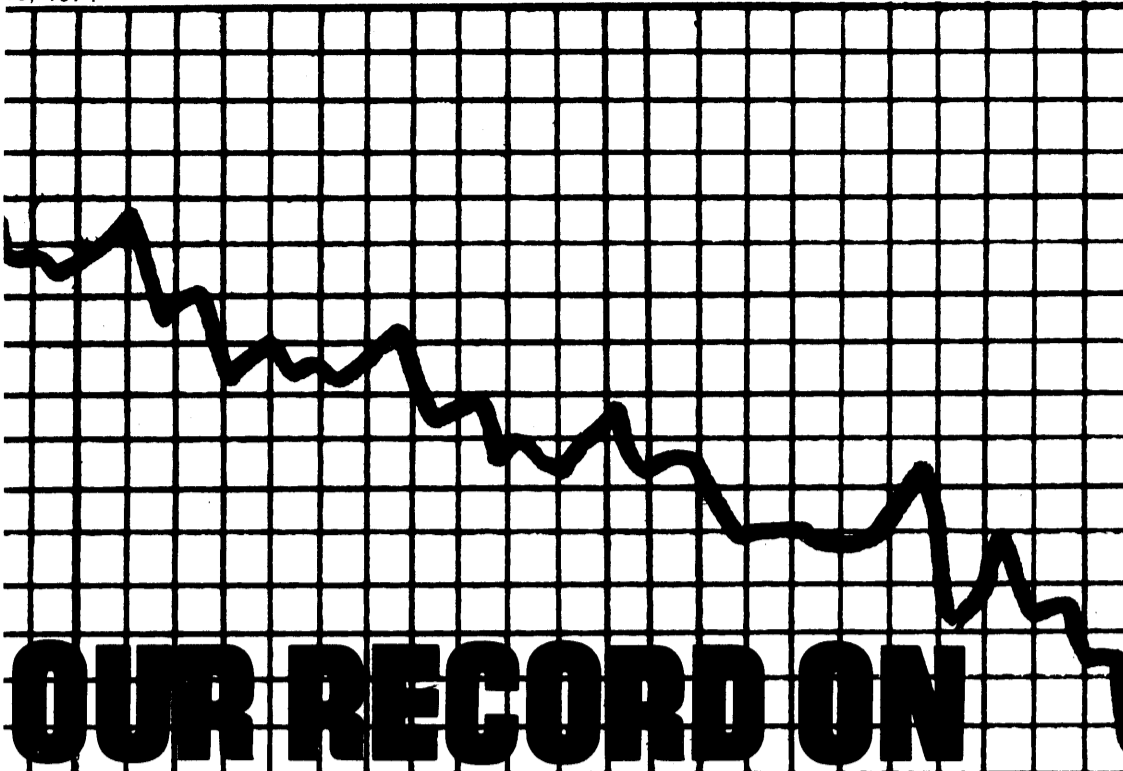
"Moreover, the capitalist camp as a bloc is going through a period of deep economic stagnation as its rate of growth continues to decline.

"...The struggle of the Negro people is but a precursor of struggles of all workers in the US which are already being prepared by the decay of capitalism."

Throughout 1965 and 1966, we fought for an understanding of the development of the liquidity crisis. The *Bulletin* pointed out that the growing balance of payments problem and the crisis of the British pound were warnings of the approaching breakup of the world monetary system.

Behind the attack on the pound was the fundamental instability of a world system that had based its entire expansion on the creation of massive US debts through the export of dollars and credit far beyond the limited US gold base.

Unlike the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party who saw the crisis simply as a matter of military spending to finance the Vietnam War, the *Bulletin* fought on the perspective that the liquidity crisis flowed from the fundamental inability of the capitalist class to smash the strength of the working class and that a confrontation was being prepared.



OUR RECORD ON THE ECONOMIC CRISIS



We warned that American attempts to correct the balance of payments deficit would mean massive trade war measures against Europe and deepening attacks on the working class at home.

DEVALUED

When the British pound was devalued on November 18, 1967, the *Bulletin* explained that this was not simply a blow to British capitalism, but represented the collapse of the entire international capitalist effort to shore up the pound. The next target would be the dollar.

We warned on December 18, 1967: "The 'Keynesian revolution' is dead. The attempts to prop up capitalism with conferences on liquidity and talk of alternatives to gold are smashed before they even complete their discussions..."

"The British devaluation is only the beginning. No currency is safe and the devaluation of any major currency such as that of France or Japan can bring the whole system down in ruins."

In March 1968, the run on the dollar forced the US to end the sale of gold to private holders and established the free market price. The *Bulletin* declared in April 1, 1968 that this was the prelude to a collapse of confidence in paper money that would mean trade war and recession on a world scale.

It was precisely this assessment of the crisis that enabled us to explain the May-June events in France as the beginning of the revolutionary upsurge of the working class that would sweep Europe.

For the revisionist Socialist Workers Party, adhering to the

views of Ernest Mandel, these events were a mystery to be explained by the youth radicalization and requiring not a preparation for the struggle for power, but a program of structural reforms.

At every stage, these revisionists and the Stalinists sought to portray the crisis as something that could be patched up by currency reforms or technical adjustments.

Thus, even after May and June their role was to bring complacency into the working class at precisely the point that capitalism was preparing for decisive changes and dictatorial measures against the labor movement.

CONFIRMATION

The August 15, 1971 measures of Nixon were a decisive confirmation of our perspectives. At a single blow, the gold cover was removed from the dollar and the way was opened

for the uncontrolled expansion of paper money and credit. The system of Bretton Woods was dead, to be replaced by floating currencies, speculation, runaway inflation, and class battles.

On September 6, 1971, the *Bulletin* explained that the Nixon measures meant the breakup of all the class relations prevailing since the end of World War Two. "...the most massive revolutionary uprising of the European proletariat in history is now on the agenda.

"...The collapse of paper money and credit, itself at one point a tremendous lever in bringing about the boom of the 1950s and 1960s, now intensifies its breakup and collapse.

"All those who minimize and deny the fundamental character of this crisis disarm the working class, undermine the construction of a revolutionary leadership, and pave the way for fascism and World War Three."

For the *Bulletin*, the confirmation of our perspectives meant a fight in the American working class to construct a labor party that would take forward the struggle for power. It meant that every conquest of the labor movement was now threatened with destruction and could only be defended in a fight for the political independence of the working class.

For Mandel and the SWP leadership, the August 15 events meant nothing of the sort. They were an indication that capitalism was headed for a 20 to 25 year period of "slower growth."

NEW STAGE

On November 20, 1972, the *Bulletin* published the statement of the International Committee: "A New Stage in the International Monetary Crisis."

This made it clear that worldwide inflation was now uniting the workers of every country in a struggle that would threaten the very existence of capitalism itself.

"Henceforth, the bourgeoisie of each capitalist country, in order to survive in the trade war unleashed by Nixon must break the old relationships of trade union pressure, Keynesian policies of concessions, and parliamentary democracy in order to impose Bonapartist forms of rule.

"The political struggles which result from this necessity to break the old forms of rule, a necessity which clashes with the working classes' trade union strength built up in the boom, are the furnace within which the working class will be broken from reformism and won to revolutionary politics."

It is only this assessment of the fundamental nature of the economic crisis which permits an understanding of the collapse of the Nixon government and the enormous political crisis facing the Ford administration as it seeks to prepare its attacks.

The revisionists of the SWP, still blind to the crisis, see these events as a strengthening of the democratic process.

Less than half a year ago, *The Militant* could still publish an article by Mandel declaring: "The international capitalist recession seems to have ended."

Contrary to their complacent impressions, the revolutionary movement of the working class has already begun. This is the meaning of the fall of the Greek junta, the collapse of fascism in Portugal, and the massive upsurge in Ethiopia.

The bloodbath in Chile reveals the counterrevolutionary preparations of the capitalists aided at every point by the Stalinists and reformists who remain convinced of capitalism's viability.

The rapidly developing slump now poses the urgency of building the revolutionary party in a bitter struggle against the revisionists who deny the explosive contradictions of capitalism. The *Bulletin* will play the decisive role in this fight.

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"Other than an unexpected change of government on September 11, AIFLD activities were normal. During the daytime, all appears normal, except for the limited number of troops who are on the streets."
(Robert O'Neill, AIFLD director, Chile.)

WHAT IS A.I.F.L.D.?

BY FRANK MARTIN

By the beginning of the 1970s, the gang at the top leadership of the AFL-CIO—Meany, Abel, and Lovestone—had gained enormous experience in the service of American imperialism. They put this experience at the service of the CIA in Chile.

Men trained by Lovestone were responsible for two critical strikes that created the conditions for the overthrow of Allende—the strike by the professional workers in the Chilean copper mines and the truck owners strike.

Vast sums of money were poured in to finance these strikes. All threads lead back to an organization known as the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

AIFLD was set up by Lovestone in 1962, with a man by the name of William Doherty in charge. Its function, ostensibly, was to "train union leadership" in Latin American countries. AIFLD opened shop at a "school" in Front Royal, Virginia, not too far from CIA headquarters in Langlet, Virginia.

SCREENED

Applicants at the school are closely screened for any affiliations to communism. Once in the US, their expenses and their families' expenses are paid for by the institute.

Back in their home countries, they remain on the payroll for close to a year, depending on whether they give proof of their continuing fight against communism.

For the seemingly modest task of running a school, AIFLD has received an enormous budget. It is described in US Labor Department handbooks as a "tripartite" project. Its main funds come from the government's Agency for International Development (AID) and the Alliance for Progress. In 1967, out of a total Alliance budget of \$6.1 million, AIFLD received \$4.5 million.

Private industry in the US gives, on the average, about \$175,000 a year. The AFL-CIO donates up to 23 percent of its annual budget to AIFLD activities.

Most interesting is the board of directors of the AIFLD. Along with Meany who is president, J. Peter Grace of W. R. Grace & Co., a banking and shipping corporation, is chairman. Brent Friele of the Rockefeller interests is vice-chairman. The trustees include Juan Trippe of Pan Am; Charles Brinkerhoff of Anaconda Copper; William Hickey of the United Corporation; and Robert C. Hill of Merck & Co.

The "educational" work of the AIFLD is, of course, only one aspect of its operations. Its real purpose is to infiltrate and gather information about the

unions in Latin America, get its "trainees" into key positions, and funnel CIA money to finance their operations.

In Chile, this worked with particular effectiveness. Julio Bazan, head of the Central Confederation of Chilean Professionals (CUPROCH) was an AIFLD graduate.

In early 1973, a dispute broke out in the copper mines. The Allende government settled quickly with the miners, but the technical workers, led by Bazan, refused to return to work. They stayed out for three extra months and cost the Chilean economy close to \$90 million. This was done in spite of an offer for a 100 percent wage increase granted to all Chilean workers plus a further negotiated increase.

GREMIO

Bazan next pops up some months later in an organization called the National Command for Gremio Defense ("Gremio" refers to the term for "free trade unions"). This organization was the main backer of the month long truckers' strike which ended up virtually para-



Joseph Beirne

lyzing the Chilean economy and was the prelude to the coup. Bazan's associates in this "trade union defense" organization included the head of the National Association of Manufacturers (SOFOFA) along with the heads of the big construction companies, chambers of commerce, and the big agricultural monopolies.

Bazan and his associates received their funds from the International Trade Secretariats (ITS). These are the organizations which group together trade unions working in the same industries in different countries. Their main base of support is the huge American unions.

In 1967, Lovestone set up what he called the "union-to-union" program. It involved six unions in the US—the Communications Workers of America (whose ex-president Joseph Beirne was secretary-treasurer of AIFLD); the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline Clerks (BRAC); the Retail Clerks International (RCIA); the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers, Textile Workers Union (TWUA); and the American Federation of Musicians (AFM).

Each union hands funds over to its respective ITS which, in turn,



Chile, immediately after the September 11 military coup.

funnels it to AIFLD graduates in Latin America. The connections are so well covered over that it is extremely difficult to trace the money back to its original source.

SCALE

The scale on which funds are poured into these counter-revolutionary activities is enormous. The RCIA, for instance, in the three years from 1971 to 1974 poured in \$5 million out of a total budget of \$10 million.

Every cent of this was union funds collected from RCIA members. Yet not one of them knows that this money was used to finance the slaughter of 30,000 Chilean workers and the destruction of the Chilean trade unions.

The flow of funds also works the other way. For instance, between 1958 and 1964, the CIA poured in \$60,000 a year into the coffers of Public Service International (PSI) for various activities in Latin America. PSI is dominated by the US union, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees.

The personnel at AIFLD has now changed. After 30 years, Lovestone has finally stepped down. He has been replaced by his assistant, Ernest Lee, a man who earned a Silver Star in Korea fighting the communists. Lee also happens to be Meany's son-in-law.

For years, the main arena for the CIA and its trade union "co-workers" was in Latin America, along with similar work in Asia and Africa. But with the development of the international economic crisis and the rise of the struggles of European workers, attention had to be turned to the events in the advanced capitalist countries.

Here the CIA is running into enormous problems. It was recently revealed that the top levels of the CIA, including deputy director Vernon Walters, were active in preparing the attempted fascist coup in Portugal two weeks ago. The thwarting of this coup by the Portuguese working class and the revolutionary upsurge that followed it represent a major setback for the CIA.

Meanwhile, in Britain, the Workers Press, daily newspaper of the Workers Revolutionary Party, has revealed the building up of a CIA network inside the British labor movement.

At least 30 to 40 new operatives have been brought in to Britain since the time of the last miners' strike which toppled the Tory government of Edward Heath. Heath himself was called to Washington for special discussions with President Ford.

The man in charge of British operations is Cord Meyer. This is the man whom Victor Reuther named in 1967 as being Lovestone's boss and in charge of the union operations. He is a specialist in what is commonly known in CIA circles as dirty tricks.

Meyer is now lodged at the American Embassy in London as a political liaison officer. His interest in Britain is obvious. The movement of the British working class puts in jeopardy the interests of American imperialism.

There can be no doubt that the AFL-CIO leadership is playing a role in this operation. Meyer's work in buying off union officials, gaining information, and moving his men into key positions is straight out of the Lovestone manual.

Meyer will attempt, at the same time, to connect up with right-wing organizations inside

Britain. The emergence of people like Colonel Stirling and General Walker, calling for the formation of private citizens armies aimed against the trade unions already gives Meyer ground for this.

But the maneuverability of Meyer and his operatives will be much more difficult. The "peace and quiet" of the boom period, which enabled the CIA to concentrate its work in the colonial countries, is now irrevocably over.

EUROPE

Not only has it not succeeded in smashing the working class in the colonial countries, but it now faces the specter of revolution in Europe. At the same time, it faces the emergence of the struggles of the American working class.

Workers in their locals throughout the US must demand that the trade union leaders immediately break off all collaboration with the Ford government. Meany's joining of the Labor-Management Committee is only an extension of his policies abroad.

There can be no illusions about a progressive role of any section of the trade union bureaucracy. The only way the rights of the American working class can be defended now is through the fight to build an alternative, revolutionary, leadership fighting for the labor movement to break all links with the two capitalist parties and for the construction of a labor party based on socialist policies.

Above all, this means the fight for the principle of proletarian internationalism, the removal of all US troops from Europe and Asia, and the breaking up of all reactionary alliances such as NATO and SEATO.

CONCLUDED

The Witch-hunt

"...Too many industries today are being deliberately ruined by the divisive and destructive attitudes of a very small minority who appear to hypnotize so many of their complacent colleagues." Lord Stokes, after dinner on April 25.

The witch-hunt is designed to exploit every weakness, split and backward tendency in the working class. The aim is to turn truth upside down and to blame the working class for the economic and political crisis of capitalism.

This was what Stokes was trying to do when he made his belligerent speech in London. Stokes' concern for the survival of capitalism is understandable, he has a lot at stake, not least his \$116,400 job as chairman of British Leyland.

His minions at Cowley were also on the rampage. Aided by the entire capitalist Press they were blaming "the militants" for the steep decline in the company's fortunes.

We read in the Daily Mail: "More than 12,000 men are laid-off because Leyland is bravely trying to stand up to the Trotskyist militancy on the shop floor at Oxford."

The charge that Cowley had been stopped by a conspiracy of militants whose sworn aim was to wreck British Leyland was complete rubbish and lies. But none of the capitalist Press chose to print the detailed investigation of the transport drivers' strike and the victimization of Thornett written by the 5/55 branch secretary Tony Bradley.

The company's troubles stemmed from management's inadequate capital expenditure and bad model planning—all characteristics of the degenerate nature of British capitalism. Now Leyland was facing the transformation of the inflationary boom into world recession, the oil crisis and the resulting competitive war among the car giants, but it had nothing whatsoever to do with the men who worked at Cowley or their leaders.

Of course, Leyland wanted to make the working class pay for the crisis of capitalism. But this was an entirely different matter from laying the whole evil at the door of the militants. It was surely the duty of any trades unionist to fight this onslaught in order to defend basic trade union rights, jobs, and living standards of the working class. It was precisely for doing this that Thornett had been victimized and was now being hounded in the Press and on the TV and radio.

What were the ingredients of this scurrilous campaign?

First there was "Thornett, head of the undercover extremists." The capitalist Press invented a nickname to get this slander off the launching pad. We read: "This is Alan Thornett, the rarely photographed shop steward known as *The Mole*, who is at the center of the Cowley row. Mr. Thornett hates publicity and earned his nickname because of his behind-the-scenes union work." (Daily Mail, April 25, 1974).

And in the Mail a day before headlined "The Mole"—"Mr. Thornett is also chairman of the plant's joint shop stewards committee and leads a tightly knit group of 150 internal transport drivers...His avowed objective...to bring down capitalism."

And in *The Sun*—headline, "The Mole is the man in the middle." "The mole is the man who has brought the giant British Leyland car plant to a grinding halt."

The scribblers of the capitalist Press were driven to almost farcical lengths in their eagerness to smear Thornett. But the prize for the most ludicrous description must go to Phillipa Kennedy, who found that Thornett was "not very popular with his intensely loyal workmates." (Sun, April 25.)

Much of the frenzy was accounted for by the fact that Thornett was a very difficult man to witch-hunt. This point was noted by Jack Gale in a *Workers Press* exposé of the campaign published on April 26.

"Needless to say," he wrote, "the Press has for years assiduously presented shop stewards, militants and revolutionaries as creatures with long, forked tails and cloven hooves who go around spitting fire.

"Shivers of fear have travelled down the spines of their Tory readers who were regaled with nightmare pictures of bullying louts intimidating and terrifying anybody who disagrees with them.

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Alan Thornett in their April 24 issues.

"Unfortunately, Thornett didn't fit the mould. The *Mail* put two reporters on the job who earned their daily bread by producing 12 paragraphs between them. Their main revelation was the dreadful news that 'Mr. Thornett holds meetings at his small terraced home.'

"And for a small outlay of 4p, purchasers of the *Mail* were able to read a quotation from Mrs. Thornett saying she did not want to say anything.

"And how about this for a sensation? The intrepid *Mail* reporters scooped the journalistic world by interviewing a Mrs. Renee Hicks.

"I have never met Mr. Thornett," said Mrs. Hicks." Gale continued: "It goes without saying that this proved completely how sinister Thornett is.

"After quoting people who weren't saying anything and interviewing people who hadn't met him, the *Mail* concluded that the deputy senior shop steward was guilty of 'deliberate anonymity'."

In fact Alan Thornett's "underground" and "Mole-like" activity consisted of the most open conduct of trade union affairs. He met with the 5/55 branch every two weeks at the Cowley Social Club—everyone of the 6000 branch members could, and indeed constantly were, encouraged to attend. He spoke at numerous mass meetings over the years at Cowley and was involved in his members' problems in the course of their struggle with management.

As for the dark charge of political wire-pulling, it was absolutely no secret—and Thornett never made it a secret—that he was a leading member of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

He had spoken at numerous public meetings in Oxford on WRP platforms—weeks before the wild accusations of secretive goings-on of the denizens of Cowley. Thornett had chaired a national meeting of the ATUA at the height of the WRP election campaign, in Alexandra Palace, attended by four thousand people, to which the Press were invited—but not one hack turned up on this occasion to discover "the Mole."

The suggestion that Thornett was capable of "bringing down capitalism," of course, is to repeat the old petty bourgeois fantasy of the great Red-conspiracy exploited by Hitler and all the fascists.

Crisis and slump, rapid inflation and bankruptcy, are not caused by strikes. All these economic phenomena are symptoms of a system in extreme crisis. Capitalism attempts to solve this crisis by trade war and the liquidation of capital itself.

Shop stewards, even those who are members of the Workers Revolutionary Party, cannot halt this crisis. It is their duty to defend the working class against the holocaust by building a revolutionary leadership to expropriate capitalism. As a member of the WRP Thornett campaigned for this perspective openly in the trade union movement. But it would have been completely foolish, indeed impossible, to impose these views.

The principled behavior of Thornett where trade union matters were concerned was highlighted by Tony Bradley, secretary of the 5/55 branch for 24 years, a trade unionist not of the same political persuasion as Alan Thornett.

In anticipation of the union inquiry into the company's victimization of Thornett, Bradley put out a statement on May 3 which said:

"The case against Mr. Thornett is the flimsiest we have ever heard...Alan has always been an absolute stickler for observing the union constitution. He has never taken a major decision without first getting the go-ahead from his own members and the branch committee. As a leader he has always been able to use his powers of persuasion but at the end of the day he has always carried out democratically-reached decisions, even where these did not necessarily coincide with his own."

Management however, and extreme right-wing organizations, do have their paid agents and spies on the shop floor. They are the real "Moles" because they never declare their affiliations. But these are the gentlemen whom the Press treat so kindly.

The charge "extremist wreckers" was not plucked out of the air by Leyland. They had two allies on the Cowley shop floor who gave it some credence. Their behavior is

important to an understanding of the circumstances of the witch-hunt.

One was a curious right-wing group called the Organization to Represent Moderate Opinion on Trade Union Matters (ORMO-TU). This was led by three employees: Roy Gatehouse (recently voted out of office by his own members as an AUEW steward), a man called Robert McGibbon and a fork-lift truck driver named Harry Landon. On occasions they would associate their campaign with those of a steward called Reg Parsons, whose role in the Cowley plant will be examined in detail in another chapter.

Gatehouse and company began their dirty work in May 1973 by issuing leaflets which attacked the shop stewards' movement from the position of the extreme right.

The 5/55 branch took up the issue immediately. They reported to the membership that the ORMO-TU was "an anti-democratic move aimed at removing or undermining the properly elected representatives" and added:

"The wages and conditions in this plant are second to none and the leadership stands on this record. It should also be said that every time we have fought for improvement over the years we have been opposed by Roy Gatehouse. All that has been achieved has been in spite of him."

"Since we do not know who is really behind this proposed organization, the T&GWU will not, in future, sit at any meetings or discuss any trade union business with Roy Gatehouse present." (Branch News, May 1973).

Such caution was well-founded. It was not long before Gatehouse and his cronies were calling for a witch-hunt of shop stewards in the Cowley plant.

First they demanded the senior shop stewards stand for reelection. In April the ORMO-TU "newsletter" pilloried the leading stewards as being responsible for strikes—exactly the company's line. Gatehouse singled out Thornett for special attention: "I believe Alan Thornett's connection with the Workers Revolutionary Party causes him to pursue policies that in no way represent the wishes of the workers."

Later ORMO-TU got round to suggesting that victimization might be a good thing. Their August communication stated:

"...all of us as individuals can say 'I will not vote for strike action on this issue'...in a situation where management appear to be taking a firmer line on disciplinary matters we shall all have to look carefully at each issue to see whether the majority of workers have an obligation to support a disciplined worker or whether a worker has a greater responsibility to the mass of workers to avoid conducting himself in a manner that leaves him exposed to punishment."

The oblique and cringing style of this statement has the stamp of men supporting the management and the message is unmistakable—if the management do axe one of our stewards we must abandon him.

In the weeks before the actual victimization of Thornett, the Gatehouse faction began a letter-writing campaign to the reactionary *Oxford Mail*, their opinions were printed at great length. The political character of these individuals can be established from one letter from Robert McGibbon in the *Oxford Mail* of January 23. This approved of CIA infiltration into the trade unions.

"Miles Copeland," wrote McGibbon, "a former CIA agent stated in *The Times* that the US had drafted 40 extra agents to this country due to their concern over the apparent course of the trade union movement here. If they are alarmed we most certainly should be. I am not the type who normally rushes pen to paper however I feel I must speak out...I am one of the 'silent majority'." (The CIA has been responsible for the destruction of the trade union movement in several Latin American countries and the murder of many thousands of trade unionists—their work is exemplified not least of all in Chile where over 20,000 workers and militants have been put to death.)

It was this right-wing to which the capitalist Press flocked for their "inside" information on the Cowley "extremists." It was they who were quoted at length and described incredibly as "moderates" when

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

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

Part Six

the witch-hunt started.

Gatehouse and Co. made a lot of noise. But they were hardly convincing. Management could not point to any conspiracy or underhanded methods. The leading stewards operated quite openly and kept strictly within the established procedure. What was really required was an example of provocative behavior.

It was at this point that the International Marxist Group became a significant factor in the company's calculations. The politics and history of this middle-class group at Cowley is the subject of a separate chapter, but their behavior in the weeks leading up to the witch-hunt is crucial.

The IMG have little support in the Cowley plant, their membership being confined to a handful of individuals. Their sole activity consists of distributing a duplicated sheet with the grandiose title of "The Organizer." During the strike in the Southside assembly, which led up to Thornett's victimization, they were especially active.

The distribution of political literature and pamphlets is the right of any political tendency in the labor movement. But the unprincipled methods employed by the IMG had already been condemned by the 5/55 branch (see chapter six). These consisted of attempting to substitute "The Organizer" as the vehicle for news of the shop stewards and trade union organization at Cowley.

IMG members would listen in at branch meetings or mass meetings, rush away, print their leaflet and present what was branch policy as IMG policy. Thus the IMG would attend meetings of the day shift during the Marina strike and reprint decisions, advice and policy, from the stewards, distribute this to the night shift before the stewards had a chance of presenting the case to the night-shift workers at a mass meeting.

The leaflets often took the form of attempted provocations, strident calls for action, plant demonstrations and so on. For example "The Organizer" of March 29 proclaimed:

"The lesson is clear: the COMPANY CAN BE MOVED, but only by determined action. We (who—the workers; the IMG; the trade unions?) have often taken action in the past only to lose our nerve and back off...We must not throw away our efforts so far. We must be prepared to see this...through to a victory. If this requires more decisive action, then we must STEP UP THE FIGHT." (Original emphasis).

This kind of intervention was extremely dangerous. It confused the workers on strike, it subverted the role of the trade union movement and it gave the company its ideal opportunity. Here at last was a real group of "extremists" issuing their "inflammatory communications" in order to wreck the company!

The way British Leyland used the IMG is most revealing. The method is illustrated in this letter from the production manager of the Cowley South works, W.B. Kennedy.

"The present dispute at QT has been the subject of unauthorized leaflets recently on behalf of an extremist organization.

"Such groups aim to wreck British industry. They will oppose any measures designed to promote harmony. That is why they have always wanted to tear up the Industrial Engineering Agreement and get back to the Dutch Auction system of bargaining.

"The Company does not intend to allow extremists to run the plant."

TO BE CONTINUED

VICTIMIZATION AT COWLEY

by stephen johns

...ntly published as a pamphlet by the Workers Re-
...tion of shop steward Alan Thornett by the manage-
...tested in practice all tendencies in the workers'
...the very battlefield of the class struggle that only
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At left, Lowry, head of British Leyland Labor Relations, being interviewed by reporters from the bourgeois press.



The transport drivers who struck for three weeks in defense of their shop steward Alan Thornett.

ED

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"I have never met Mr. Thornett," said Mrs. Hicks." Gale continued: "It goes without saying that this proved completely how sinister Thornett is."

"After quoting people who weren't saying anything and interviewing people who hadn't met him, the Mail concluded that the deputy senior shop steward was guilty of 'deliberate anonymity.'"

In fact Alan Thornett's "underground" and "Mole-like" activity consisted of the most open conduct of trade union affairs. He met with the 5/55 branch every two weeks at the Cowley Social Club—everyone of the 6000 branch members could, and indeed constantly were, encouraged to attend. He spoke at numerous mass meetings over the years at Cowley and was involved in his members' problems in the course of their struggle with management.

As for the dark charge of political wire-pulling, it was absolutely no secret—and Thornett never made it a secret—that he was a leading member of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

He had spoken at numerous public meetings in Oxford on WRP platforms—weeks before the wild accusations of secretive goings-on of the demizens of Cowley. Thornett had chaired a national meeting of the ATUA at the height of the WRP election campaign, in Alexandra Palace, attended by four thousand people, to which the Press were invited—but not one hack turned up on this occasion to discover "the Mole."

The suggestion that Thornett was capable of "bringing down capitalism," of course, is to repeat the old petty bourgeois fantasy of the great Red-conspiracy exploited by Hitler and all the fascists.

Crisis and slump, rapid inflation and bankruptcy, are not caused by strikes. All these economic phenomena are symptoms of a system in extreme crisis. Capitalism attempts to solve this crisis by trade war and the liquidation of capital itself.

Shop stewards, even those who are members of the Workers Revolutionary Party, cannot halt this crisis. It is their duty to defend the working class against the holocaust by building a revolutionary leadership to expropriate capitalism. As a member of the WRP Thornett campaigned for this perspective openly in the trade union movement. But it would have been completely foolish, indeed impossible, to impose these views.

The principled behavior of Thornett where trade union matters were concerned was highlighted by Tony Bradley, secretary of the 5/55 branch for 24 years, a trade unionist not of the same political persuasion as Alan Thornett.

In anticipation of the union inquiry into the company's victimization of Thornett, Bradley put out a statement on May 3 which said:

"The case against Mr. Thornett is the flimsiest we have ever heard...Alan has always been an absolute stickler for observing the union constitution. He has never taken a major decision without first getting the go-ahead from his own members and the branch committee. As a leader he has always been able to use his powers of persuasion but at the end of the day he has always carried out democratically-reached decisions, even where these did not necessarily coincide with his own."

Management however, and extreme right-wing organizations, do have their paid agents and spies on the shop floor. They are the real "Moles" because they never declare their affiliations. But these are the gentlemen whom the Press treat so kindly.

The charge "extremist wreckers" was not plucked out of the air by Leyland. They had two allies on the Cowley shop floor who gave it some credence. Their behavior is

important to an understanding of the circumstances of the witch-hunt.

One was a curious right-wing group called the Organization to Represent Moderate Opinion on Trade Union Matters (ORMO-TU). This was led by three employees: Roy Gatehouse (recently voted out of office by his own members as an AUEW steward), a man called Robert McGibbon and a fork-lift truck driver named Harry Landon. On occasions they would associate their campaign with those of a steward called Reg Parsons, whose role in the Cowley plant will be examined in detail in another chapter.

Gatehouse and company began their dirty work in May 1973 by issuing leaflets which attacked the shop stewards' movement from the position of the extreme right.

The 5/55 branch took up the issue immediately. They reported to the membership that the ORMO-TU was "an anti-democratic move aimed at removing or undermining the properly elected representatives" and added:

"The wages and conditions in this plant are second to none and the leadership stands on this record. It should also be said that every time we have fought for improvement over the years we have been opposed by Roy Gatehouse. All that has been achieved has been in spite of him."

"Since we do not know who is really behind this proposed organization, the T&GWU will not, in future, sit at any meetings or discuss any trade union business with Roy Gatehouse present." (Branch News, May 1973).

Such caution was well-founded. It was not long before Gatehouse and his cronies were calling for a witch-hunt of shop stewards in the Cowley plant.

First they demanded the senior shop stewards stand for reelection. In April the ORMO-TU "newsletter" pilloried the leading stewards as being responsible for strikes—exactly the company's line. Gatehouse singled out Thornett for special attention: "I believe Alan Thornett's connection with the Workers Revolutionary Party causes him to pursue policies that in no way represent the wishes of the workers."

Later ORMO-TU got round to suggesting that victimization might be a good thing. Their August communication stated:

"...all of us as individuals can say 'I will not vote for strike action on this issue'...in a situation where management appear to be taking a firmer line on disciplinary matters we shall all have to look carefully at each issue to see whether the majority of workers have an obligation to support a disciplined worker or whether a worker has a greater responsibility to the mass of workers to avoid conducting himself in a manner that leaves him exposed to punishment."

The oblique and cringing style of this statement has the stamp of men supporting the management and the message is unmistakable—if the management do axe one of our stewards we must abandon him.

In the weeks before the actual victimization of Thornett, the Gatehouse faction began a letter-writing campaign to the reactionary Oxford Mail, their opinions were printed at great length. The political character of these individuals can be established from one letter from Robert McGibbon in the Oxford Mail of January 23. This approved of CIA infiltration into the trade unions.

"Miles Copeland," wrote McGibbon, "a former CIA agent stated in The Times that the US had drafted 40 extra agents to this country due to their concern over the apparent course of the trade union movement here. If they are alarmed we most certainly should be. I am not the type who normally rushes pen to paper however I feel I must speak out...I am one of the 'silent majority'." (The CIA has been responsible for the destruction of the trade union movement in several Latin American countries and the murder of many thousands of trade unionists—their work is exemplified not least of all in Chile where over 20,000 workers and militants have been put to death.)

It was this right-wing to which the capitalist Press flocked for their "inside" information on the Cowley "extremists." It was they who were quoted at length and described incredibly as "moderates" when

Part Six

the witch-hunt started.

Gatehouse and Co. made a lot of noise. But they were hardly convincing. Management could not point to any conspiracy or underhanded methods. The leading stewards operated quite openly and kept strictly within the established procedure. What was really required was an example of provocative behavior.

It was at this point that the International Marxist Group became a significant factor in the company's calculations. The politics and history of this middle-class group at Cowley is the subject of a separate chapter, but their behavior in the weeks leading up to the witch-hunt is crucial.

The IMG have little support in the Cowley plant, their membership being confined to a handful of individuals. Their sole activity consists of distributing a duplicated sheet with the grandiose title of "The Organizer." During the strike in the South-side assembly, which led up to Thornett's victimization, they were especially active.

The distribution of political literature and pamphlets is the right of any political tendency in the labor movement. But the unprincipled methods employed by the IMG had already been condemned by the 5/55 branch (see chapter six). These consisted of attempting to substitute "The Organizer" as the vehicle for news of the shop stewards and trade union organization at Cowley.

IMG members would listen in at branch meetings or mass meetings, rush away, print their leaflet and present what was branch policy as IMG policy. Thus the IMG would attend meetings of the day shift during the Marina strike and reprint decisions, advice and policy, from the stewards, distribute this to the night shift before the stewards had a chance of presenting the case to the night-shift workers at a mass meeting.

The leaflets often took the form of attempted provocations, strident calls for action, plant demonstrations and so on. For example "The Organizer" of March 29 proclaimed:

"The lesson is clear: the COMPANY CAN BE MOVED, but only by determined action. We (who—the workers; the IMG; the trade unions?) have often taken action in the past only to lose our nerve and back off...We must not throw away our efforts so far. We must be prepared to see this...through to a victory. If this requires more decisive action, then we must STEP UP THE FIGHT." (Original emphasis).

This kind of intervention was extremely dangerous. It confused the workers on strike, it subverted the role of the trade union movement and it gave the company its ideal opportunity. Here at last was a real group of "extremists" issuing their "inflammatory communications" in order to wreck the company!

The way British Leyland used the IMG is most revealing. The method is illustrated in this letter from the production manager of the Cowley South works, W.B. Kennedy.

"The present dispute at QT has been the subject of unauthorized leaflets recently on behalf of an extremist organization. 'Such groups aim to wreck British industry. They will oppose any measures designed to promote harmony. That is why they have always wanted to tear up the Industrial Engineering Agreement and get back to the Dutch Auction system of bargaining.'

"The Company does not intend to allow extremists to run the plant."

TO BE CONTINUED

VICTIMIZATION AT COWLEY

by stephen johns



At left, Lowry, head of British Leyland Labor Relations, being interviewed by reporters from the bourgeois press.



The transport drivers who struck for three weeks in defense of their shop steward Alan Thornett.

TRUCKERS AUTHORIZE NEW SHUTDOWN

**BY HAL STANTON
YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—**The massive strike of truckers of last December and February threatens to erupt again.

Inflation is continuing to drive independents out of business.

All of the gains of the previous strike have been destroyed. Even the totally inadequate 6 percent surcharge has been eliminated.

This surcharge on freight hauling was put by the Interstate Commerce Commission to

compensate drivers for increased fuel charges. Highway patrols have now cracked down on the 55 mph speed limit also contested by the strike.

The National Independent Truckers Unity Committee met last Thursday in Atlanta, Georgia, to discuss a nationwide work stoppage. Strike action has been authorized by 24 of its 26 affiliates.

STATEWIDE

Two weeks ago, truckers in Ohio called a statewide trucking boycott to fight against the harassment of state highway patrols which is described by truckers as the worst in the

nation. Because of lack of leadership and confusion among truckers, the strike was never held, and the explosions remain just below the surface.

The Bulletin spoke with truckers here. Luther Lane said:



Independent truckers striking last February in New Jersey.

“Ohio state troopers are always bugging the truckers who are running on percentage.

“If you go 1 mph over 55 you get a ticket. It has gotten much worse since the 55 mph speed limit was imposed. This is outright harassment.

“At 60 to 65 mph, you can make it. At 55 mph, you have to shift more, which means using a lot more fuel.

“These fuel prices are also an issue again as far as I am concerned. I don't think there is a shortage of anything at all. Before this so-called energy crisis began, we paid 26¢ a gallon for diesel No. 2 fuel and 38¢ a gallon for No. 1 diesel fuel.

“Just before the strike last February, No. 2 diesel fuel was costing well over 50¢ a gallon. Now, it is still over 50¢ a gallon at most places.

“These guys who have trucks also have a wife and kids. We have to run night and day just to support our families. Right now, the trucking business is slow because of the recession, but we would work seven days a week if we could.

“The CIT is trying to get all truckers to stop coming into Ohio to put an end to this harassment by the highway patrol. However, the strike never really came off. It was completely unorganized.

“I used to belong to both CIT and FASH and was never notified about anything. We were badly led last February. When you get a leadership these days, it's just like the president. They promise a lot, but do the op-

posite once they get in.

“We need good leadership, somebody that will turn back the buck and fight for the working man. These companies think that they own you just because you operate their equipment.”

Frank Karcher, a member of the Teamsters told us: “Truckers are sick and tired of this harassment.

“This 55 mph speed limit is murder. A trucker is paid by the distance he travels and the load he carries.

“At 55 mph, he isn't going to cover much ground. If a car cruises down the road at 80 mph, the highway patrol won't bother him, but let a truck go by at 60 and they have him off the road checking his lights, tires, anything they can find to give him a ticket.

STATE

“The state of Ohio is making a lot of money off of truckers this way. Fuel prices are killing us again.

“In the Teamsters, our leaders are filling nobody's pockets but their own. They aren't doing a thing for us except collecting our dues each month.

“These leaders we have now had no business at that summit with Ford and don't belong on that labor-management board.

“I would support a labor party. “The only way we can really get what we want is to go out nationwide and not take any compromise or fast deals. We would have to stay out until we got everything we want. Truckers are the nation's life line.”

Lumber Mills Closing

'From Crisis To A Catastrophe'

**BY GERARDO NOYES
PORTLAND, Ore.—**Between 50 and 60 lumber mills have shut down in Oregon and Washington in the last two months.

The crisis in construction has now forced itself upon the lumber industry as well. In addition to the shutdowns, which have affected 20,000 workers in the Pacific Northwest, 10 other mills have curtailed production by 10 to 65 percent by closing down for weeks at a time.

It is estimated that by the end of 1974, total lumber production in this region will be down by 20 percent.

Robert F. Higgins, executive vice-president of the Medford Lumber Co. stated: “We're moving from a crisis to a catastrophe in the lumber industry.”

The crisis in lumber affects the Pacific Northwest states severely because 59 percent of the jobs in Oregon and 25 percent of the jobs in Washington are tied to the harvesting and processing of lumber for housing.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment in Oregon is already 6.3 percent. Unemployment claims have increased 30 percent in the last year and State Employment officials predict unemployment will go up to 6.7 percent as construction slows down. Nationally, one-half million construction workers are out of work and it is expected

that by the end of this year, another one-half million will be laid off.

The situation threatens to make ghost towns out of more than a score of Oregon and Washington towns. “It's not so bad when they lay you off in Portland or Vancouver,” said one worker.

“You just can't let it get you down. But if it happens in a small town, then you lose everything you got.”

While two mills are down in Portland, and at least one in Seattle, the situation is more serious for small towns like Turner, Garibaldi, Prineville, and Lakeview, in which lumber is the town's only industry.

The Garibaldi mill of the Oregon-Washington Plywood Co. has been shut down since the end of August. Garibaldi is a coastal town of 1000 people. Three hundred and twenty men were laid off. At the time, some of these men had hopes of being employed in the already depressed fishing industry. But, like agriculture, fishing is highly seasonal and cannot absorb many workers on a year-round basis.

Many of those laid off had been with the mill since it started, 28 years ago. “I started when I was just a kid,” said one Garibaldi worker. “I've never worked anywhere else. It was always a good place to work, I hate to see it close.”

The effects of the mill's closure will force a drastic revision of this town's budget.

The same situation exists in Turner and Lakeview, Oregon.

The shutdowns are not just affecting the smaller mills. Weyerhaeuser has just announced the closure of its plant in Independence, until further notice. The Louisiana-Pacific plant in Lakeview is shut down “for the foreseeable future.” The Georgia-Pacific mill in Eugene, Oregon will resume operations this week on a limited basis, rehiring a few of the 500 workers laid off.

SILENT

Meanwhile, the union leadership has been silent on the mill closures. The leadership of the International Woodworkers of America proposes that unemployment insurance benefits be increased.

The Oregon AFL-CIO is actively misleading workers into thinking that the situation in the lumber industry is caused by log exports to Japan. The truth is that at this time exports to Japan are only preventing the recession in the mills from extending into logging operations in the forests.

The fate of the wood products industry in the Pacific Northwest is determined by the slump in construction. After World War Two, construction had been stimulated by the inflationary boom, causing a dramatic increase in the number of mills operating in this area.

The tight money policies of the government have resulted in the collapse of construction nationwide. This means that there are too many lumber mills in existence to meet the present demand.

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Alcoa Men Out 5 Months

BY SHEILA BREHM
VERNON, Calif.—

The strike over working conditions of 1150 workers against Alcoa Aluminum is now in its fifth month.

Although most of Alcoa's 25 plants throughout the country are organized by the United Steel Workers of America, this plant has been organized by the United Auto Workers since the 1940s.

The basic issue is the strikers' demand that the rotating shifts be eliminated. In 1971, Alcoa introduced the rotating shift on 100 workers in the plant's extrusion department. They work a four month cycle, the first one on the day shift, the second on the swing shift, the third on the night shift. During the last month, or the "killer" as the workers call it, they change shifts every third day.

"It's terrible," explained a striker. "We never get to see our families or even have any time for leisure. It's exhausting. We work to live, not live to work."

Alcoa has found the rotating shift very profitable since they can maintain a 24-hour day, seven days a week, with little or no costly overtime pay.

Another big issue is Alcoa's attempt to do away with the grievance procedure. They want the absolute right to decide if employee grievances go beyond the level of plant discussion into arbitration.

DETERMINED

The strikers say they are determined to hold out on these issues. They have rallied support from nearby factories in Vernon through gate collections.

Many strikers agreed when one worker told the Bulletin: "The Ford administration's plans are to break the unions, weaken us, take away our rights, like they are trying here."

"I don't want my labor leaders, like Woodcock, to cater to Ford. I think he should get off that labor-management com-

Aerospace To Strike

Aerospace workers at McDonnell Douglas and North American Rockwell have authorized strike action.

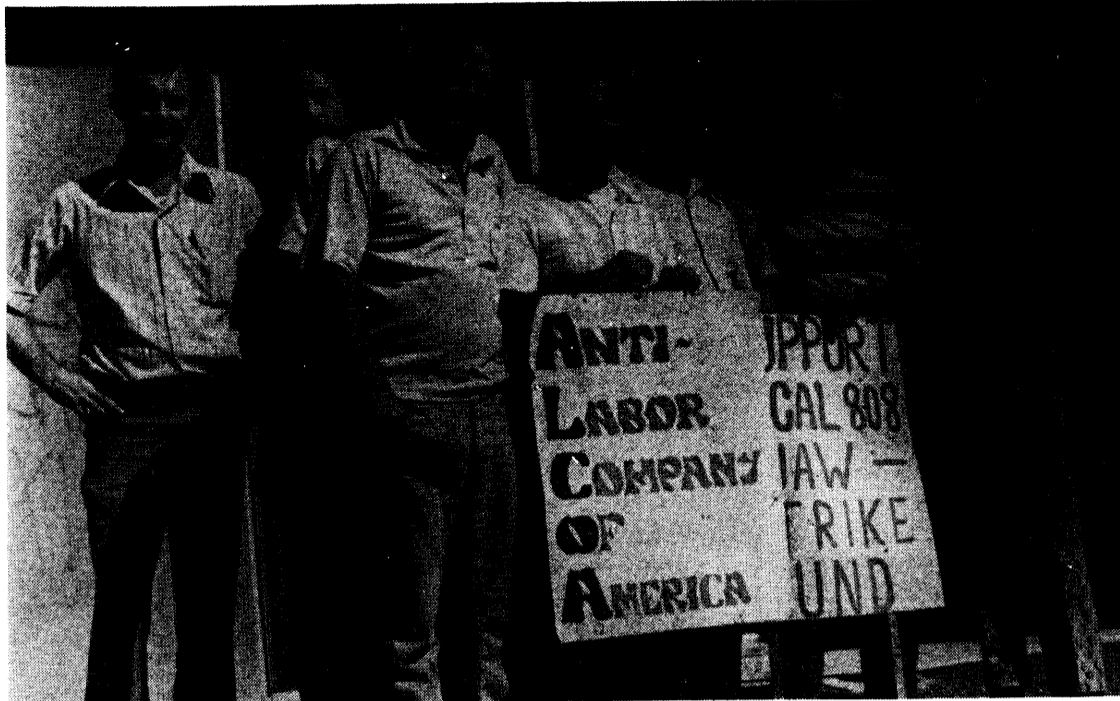
The United Auto Workers Union represents 12,000 workers at McDonnell Douglas and the UAW together with the International Association of Machinists represent workers at Rockwell.

Lockheed workers are expected to vote authorization at the end of this week.

The unions represent a combined total of 50,000 workers and a strike would effect an estimated 250,000 men in southern California.

The aerospace companies had hoped that the recently signed agreement between Boeing Corporation and the IAM would set the pattern for the settlements in the industry.

This agreement, however, has been rejected because the 11 percent wage increase includes "catch up pay" which reduces the actual wage increase to only 5.5 percent.



Alcoa workers in their fifth month on strike in Vernon, Calif.

mittee. It was set up to be for the rich and then we pay the bills."

Alcoa has been shipping work to the Cleveland plant where the company is now trying to intro-

duce the rotating shifts, speedup, and the point system.

The local leaders in Cleveland have circulated a letter warning that there would be no Interna-

tional support for a strike, but there is widespread support for a shutdown and for a united struggle by both the Cleveland and Vernon locals.

Longshoremen Fear Guarantee Cutoff

BY MARTY MORAN
SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—Devastating unemployment is hitting dock workers up and down the coast.

One delegate told the Bulletin: "In my local everyone is worried that the guarantee fund will run out. There are rumors that it will run out by January."

The ILWU won a pay guarantee in its last contract. The contract guarantees that each full union member, or "A man" will be paid for 36 hours work each week, regardless of how many hours he works. Members with lesser seniority, called "B men," are guaranteed 18 hours of pay regardless of how many hours they work.

The guarantee is limited to a total of six million dollars a year paid by the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) into a trust fund. The fund is distributed at the rate of \$115,000 a week.

At the beginning of the contract, only 25 to 30 percent of the guarantee money was actually paid out, because the rest of the time there was enough work to go around. This allowed the union to invoke a clause raising the B men's guarantee from 18 hours a week to 24 hours a week, using the extra guarantee money.

Now because of the drastic decline in jobs, 90 percent of the guarantee fund is now being paid out. This means that very soon B men could face a 25 percent slash in their wages, if their guarantee is dropped back to 18 hours.

The crisis in jobs is indicated by the fact that every port on the West Coast is now in what is described in the contract as a Distressed Port Situation (DPS) for the B men. This means that the dockers are actually working less than one-half of the time guaranteed—less than nine hours a week for B men.

The drain on the guarantee

will soon pass 100 percent. When this happens, the only thing stopping an immediate across the board cutback in the guarantee will be money left over unused from last year.

This sum will be completely inadequate in the event of major

collapses.

The ILWU must immediately demand full payment of the guarantee for the life of the contract, and prepare for a strike June 30, since the shippers are certain to try to destroy the guarantee then.

Revisionists In Action

BY DEBRA WATSON
Building maintenance workers at the University of Chicago were forced back to work last week in near total defeat.

Members of the Service Employees International Union Local 321 struck to win 14 percent pay hikes under a wage reopener clause in last year's contract. After the four-week strike, they voted 124 to 104 to accept 8.5 percent plus a one-year contract extension designed to block a fight for cost of living protection.

At every point, Local 321 officials refused to demand that other campus unions shut the university down.

American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) officials forced some 800 members across the line every day at Billings Hospital, the center of picketing activity.

These criminal betrayals were supported and covered up by the revisionist Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Rather than fighting among union members for a program to unite all campus workers to win their strike and to expose the union bureaucracy, the YSA organized a Strike Support Committee that worked hand in glove with the bureaucracy.

The YSA never attempted to mobilize support for the workers among the students.

The Rockefeller-funded U of C, like every major company today, must recover lost profits by driving down the wages and con-

ditions of workers and slashing programs.

This means that every trade union struggle, for recognition, for wages, and working conditions, requires a political struggle to unite the working class against the Ford government and the Democrats. The actions of the SWP in this strike show that their role is to prevent the political independence of the working class and to create illusions in the Democrats.

The contract was only rammed through after the SWP organized a rally that because of its poor attendance and its lack of any perspective to mobilize new support to the strikers, could only demoralize the workers.

At the planning meeting the night before, the SWP blocked a motion to allow working class tendencies to speak and instead SWP member Neil Davis declared that Democratic congressional candidates should speak because they had power "in high places."

The revisionists have no confidence in the ability of the working class to fight for its rights.

The only perspective that can take forward the struggle of the U of C staff, whose next battle is the clerks recognition fight, was put forward by the Workers League and Young Socialists.

•Shut the university through a joint strike of all campus unions to win union rights and decent wages with cost of living protection.

•Stop the budget cuts—no layoffs of staff or faculty, no cuts in student scholarships and grants.

Wear-Ever Alcoa Ranks Forced Back In Ohio

BY LOUIS MILLER
CHILLICOTHE, Ohio—The Alcoa Wear-Ever strike ended with a vote of no confidence by the rank and file in the leaders of the Aluminum Workers International Union.

Under the threat of a plant shutdown, and the refusal of the AWIU to provide strike benefits, the members of Local 110 were forced back to work.

During the two week strike, business was conducted as usual and picketing was kept to a minimum.

In a joint statement, union president Howard McGee and company president I.S. Hamilton declared they were "gratified" by the settlement, which only grants a 69¢ an hour raise over three years and an equally inadequate increase in retirement benefits.

REJECTED

This betrayal comes only one week after the workers had firmly rejected the company's offer of 67¢ an hour and no cost of living clause until 1976 and had demanded \$1.05 in wages over three years and an immediate cost of living.

Alcoa workers know that McGee runs a company union and has a long history of collaboration with the employers. His strategy has been to divide the young and older workers and the production and shipping department workers against each other, and to extend favors to a key number of workers.

The men in the shipping department are higher paid and have union stewards, while the shipping department men do not.

McGee emphasized the pension issue to divide the older workers from the younger men. He told them that the younger workers were provoking a plant shutdown.

At the same time, McGee has tried to launch a witch-hunt against supporters of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party. One union official tried to get the local press to print a story about "agents from South America" in the plant.

TUALP

TUALP campaigned during this strike to win back the 75¢ cut in 1970, for \$1.05 in wages and a 100 percent cost of living clause and to unite all workers around these demands.

The caucus has warned that Alcoa will use the divisions to impose speedup on all workers. The experience of the Frigidair workers who took a pay cut to supposedly preserve their jobs and then were laid off must be a warning to Alcoa workers.

TUALP is fighting to build an alternative leadership to throw McGee out, based on a campaign for a labor party to unite the whole working class against the Ford government and for an immediate Congress of Labor.

MOVIES



THE NIGHT PORTER. Starring Dirk Bogarde and Charlotte Rampling. Directed by Liliana Cavani. Produced by Joseph E. Levine.

The Night Porter opened in New York to sarcastic, thumbs down reviews and sold out performances, with crowds waiting in line 24 hours a day to see a film which promises to do Last Tango in Paris one better in showing a truly sado-masochistic relationship.

Luchino Visconti (director of *The Damned*, *Death in Venice*) and Bernardo Bertolucci (director of *Last Tango in Paris*) defended *The Night Porter* against the Italian courts. Liliana Cavani, its director, interviewed in *The New York Times*, states: "It's a love story... It is a beautiful relationship."

To say the film stinks would be doing it more justice than it deserves. To assess *The Night Porter* seriously, which no bourgeois critic seems capable of doing, it is necessary to take a look at the one person not talked about or interviewed—the producer, Joseph E. Levine, Hollywood's golden boy of box office receipts. The reason he has been ignored is obvious—*The Night Porter*'s sole purpose is to make money, period.

Cavani's "love story" is between Max, a hotel night porter and an ex-SS officer personally responsible for the murder of several thousand concentration camp victims, and Lucia, the one inmate who survived his experiments by becoming his personal plaything, his "little girl."

They meet years later in Vienna and renew their relationship which is complicated by an organization of ex-Nazi officers, to which Max also belongs.

They hold encounter group type sessions to rid their members of their guilt and, more importantly, to get all the evidence out so they can destroy government documents and living witnesses. They want Max's witness, but Lucia and Max have discovered their old passions.

They hole up in Max's apartment where he chains her up to prevent his friends from taking her away. In an effort to force them out, the ex-Nazis stop food deliveries and Max and Lucia spend their time starving, stepping on broken glass and having simulated sex covered with strawberry jam.

When they are so weak from lack of food they can barely walk, Max puts on his old SS uniform and dresses Lucia in something resembling a three-year old's party dress and they

go out for a stroll. They are shot in the back by the ex-Nazis.

The film is much less coherent than described here, being executed in very disjointed scenes with the flashbacks of their "romance" in the concentration camp strewn about haphazardly. The set design and photography is like a Visconti film gone mad with washed out color in the flashbacks and sparse scenery.

Dirk Bogarde underplays the role of the psychotic Max and Charlotte Rampling has the sex appeal of a toothpick, while her role is limited to crawling about on the floor. The film's pretension towards eroticism or even pornography falls flat on its face.

"In every couple there exists a degree of sado-masochism," says Cavani, and what Bogarde and Rampling do to each other is "nothing compared to the numberless couples who tear each other apart psychologically." While this may very well be true, it has nothing whatsoever to do with *The Night Porter*.

The watered down sado-masochistic nuances are barely deserving of being defined as such and if Cavani or Levine were interested in revealing the psychology of sado-masochism, why did they choose a Nazi officer and a concentration camp victim to do it.

But the main objection to this piece of trash is not based on technical and artistic failure, or the profit motive.

Cavani would have us believe that a Nazi murderer is actually a romantic figure, one with whom we can sympathize. Though he is obviously sick, he's in "love," he's even amusing at times.

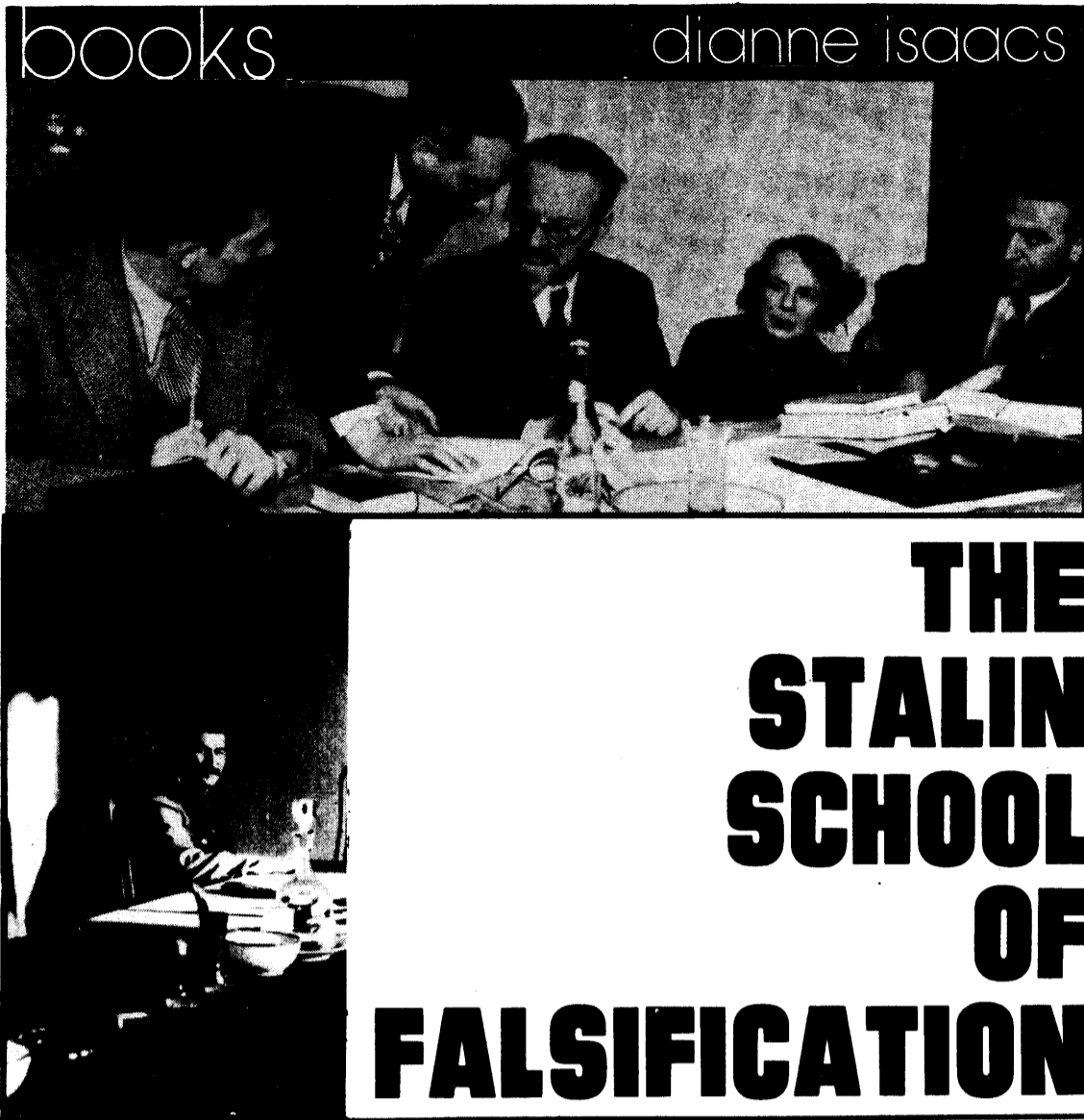
We are expected to forgive Max in the name of true love, along with the countless other criminals who tortured and murdered millions. We are expected to believe that concentration camps existed for sexual fun and games where the victims were perhaps as depraved as their captors.

We are to shrug our shoulders and live and let live with the Nazi swine who still run the same type of organizations to cover up their atrocities, while today the Nazi Party is reemerging, while Wallace would make racism the basis of American politics, and Gerald Ford gives the virtual go-ahead to the KKK and the American Nazi Party to continue the Boston racial violence.

The Night Porter is possibly the sickest most reactionary film ever made.

BOOKS

dianne isaacs



THE STALIN SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION

The Stalin School of Falsification. By Leon Trotsky. New Park Publications, Ltd. 1974.

The Stalinist bureaucracy long ago rejected Marxism and the construction of revolutionary parties to lead the working class to power internationally. It justifies its existence by lies and falsifications about the history of Marxism, especially the 1917 Russian Revolution.

The uncontrollable economic and political crisis of world capitalism today pushes this bureaucracy and the Communist Parties all over the world into deepest crisis because of their fear of the revolutionary upsurge of the working class and the growth of Trotskyism.

The heirs of Joseph Stalin today are the backbone of the General Gomes government in Portugal. In a situation of dual power, the Portuguese Communist Party attempts to lull the working class with talk about the military defending democracy, and preparing the way for a right-wing coup which would make the events in Chile pale by comparison.

The historical roots of these counterrevolutionary policies lie in the Stalinist formulations of "socialism in one country" and the popular front of the late 1930s.

The lies and falsifications are as necessary today to the bureaucracy as they were in 1932 when *The Stalin School of Falsification* was first published. If the bureaucracy were to tell the truth about the past, then it would have to account for its privileged position and its counterrevolutionary role today.

In this book, Trotsky answers the torrent of lies made against him by the Stalinist bureaucracy, a process begun after Lenin's death in 1924, culminating in the infamous Moscow Trials of 1937 and the assassination of Trotsky himself in 1940.

For Trotsky, the bureaucracy's increasing need to falsify the history of the 1917 Russian Revolution was aimed at destroying the political and theoretical basis of the revolution itself.

The lies and slanders of the bureaucracy were therefore not a secondary feature of Stalinism, but its essence. That Stalin-

ism could not and still cannot face up to the events after 1917 and the degeneration of the revolution in the period following Lenin's death is a sign of its tremendous crisis.

The fight Trotsky took up against the bureaucracy, of which this volume is an integral part, was imperative to maintaining the continuity of Marxism, from which Stalin irrevocably broke. Only in this way could the foundations of the October Revolution be preserved and a new generation of Marxists trained.

Trotsky explained:

"Revolution in its own turn sweeps into power a new ruling stratum which strives to secure its privileged position and is apt to view itself not as the temporary historical vehicle of revolution, but rather as its completion and its crowning work.

"The epochs of ideological reaction which, more than once in history, have run parallel with economic successes, engender the need for revising revolutionary ideas and methods; and create their own conventional lie. Such is the content underlying the falsification of history against which this book is directed.

"In point of fact, the lie in politics, as in daily life, serves as a function of the class structure of society. The oppressors erect the lie into a system of befuddling the masses in order to maintain their rule. On the past of the oppressed, the lie is a defensive weapon of weakness.

"Revolution begins by giving things and social relationships their real names.

"To justify their privileges, the ruling caste perverts the theory which has as its aim the elimination of all privileges. The lie serves, therefore, as the fundamental ideological cement of the bureaucracy.

"The more irreconcilable becomes the contradiction between the bureaucracy and the people, all the ruder becomes the lie, all the more brazenly is it converted into criminal falsification and judicial frame-up. Whoever has not understood this inner dialectic of the Stalinist regime will likewise fail to understand the Moscow Trials."

Bolsheviks like Stalin, Kamenev, and Bukharin, found

it increasingly necessary to distort the history of the revolution because they had never fought to train themselves as Marxists.

Their methods were those of the middle class—impressionism, eclecticism, and empiricism—which could not help but bring them into conflict with the needs of the working class at a certain point. During the period of the New Economic Policy, a retreat necessary to preserve the gains of the revolution, this layer in the party adapted to the war weary masses and particularly to the middle class: the Kulaks and civil servants.

The actual consolidation of this bureaucracy took place during the final months of Lenin's life. Within a decade, Stalin's faction became the chief agent of counterrevolution internationally.

Trotsky had to wage this campaign against Stalin's lies in the most difficult circumstances: against the entire bureaucratic apparatus, its printing presses and party hacks, and against the efforts of the bureaucracy to first exile and then expel him and the opposition.

This bureaucracy took strength from the retreats necessary after the Revolution and from setbacks in the international revolution.

But its methods signified its doom, and Trotsky in his "Letter to the Bureau of Party History" in 1927 proclaimed:

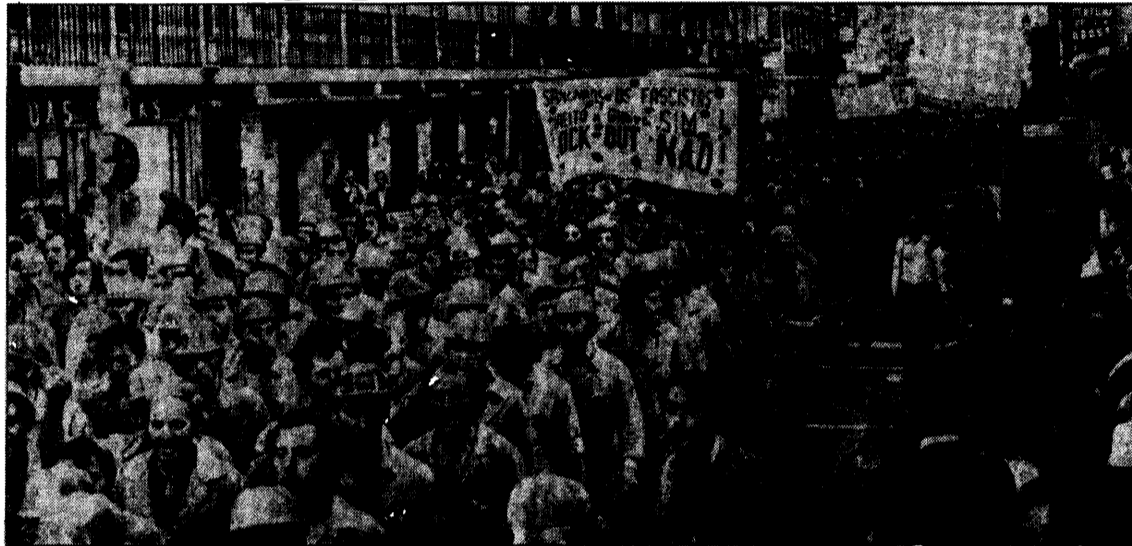
"The label 'Trotskyism' has been applied since 1923 and especially since 1924, to the correct application of Marxism with regard to the new stage in the development of the October Revolution and of our party."

The struggle against Stalinism today takes place under entirely different conditions than the 1930s. Today, socialist revolution is on the agenda in Portugal, and is rapidly developing in Italy, Britain and all over Europe while in every country the working class goes on the offensive and is in conflict with the Stalinist leadership.

Stalinism cannot be reformed, but must be politically smashed by the building of the parties of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

from Stephen Johns in Lisbon

Stalinist Threat To Portuguese Workers



Daily World: Full Support To Spinola

BY DAVID NORTH

The attempt of former Portuguese President General Antonio de Spínola to seize dictatorial power through a right-wing coup is the clearest possible warning that the only way forward for the working class of Portugal is the road of the socialist revolution.

Only by smashing the capitalist state apparatus, taking political power, and expropriating the banks, industry, and large estates can the working class defeat counterrevolution.

There can be no doubt that if the working class, acting with unparalleled heroism, had not risen up to prevent the fascist rally in Lisbon organized by Spínola, a right-wing butchery could have ensued that would have dwarfed the bloodiest efforts of Pinochet in Chile.

The danger has not passed. Costa Gomes, one of Spínola's closest allies, has assumed the presidency. The very forces who organized the coup, bankers, industrialists, and land owners, still are at liberty to plot with the generals and the CIA.

But most dangerous of all is the role of the Portuguese Communist Party, which fully supports Gomes and opposes any action by the working class against this regime.

NATIONALIZATION

The PCP has come out against the nationalization of industry under workers control; it has used its influence in the trade unions to oppose strikes that might harm the capitalist "national economy; and it has de-

clared that the government will not demand the withdrawal of Portugal from NATO.

After the resignation of Spínola on September 30, PCP leader Alvaro Cunhal denounced him as "an opportunist, plundering personal power at the head of a military dictatorship."

However, Cunhal served as a minister in Spínola's government up until the day the general resigned. Never did he expose the counterrevolutionary plans of Spínola. Rather, Cunhal and the PCP hailed Spínola as the worthy representative of the Armed Forces Movement.

At the heart of the Stalinist strategy in Portugal has been the attempt to portray the military and the Armed Forces Movement as the guardian of democracy and the savior of the working class. But it is this very AFM, led by a host of reactionary officers trained in the Francoist army during the civil war and hardened by decades of colonial wars, that is the one sure bastion of the capitalist class.

ILLUSIONS

The Stalinists did their best to sow illusions among workers as to the class character of the AFM. The position of the PCP since April can be traced in the pages of the *Daily World*, newspaper of the American Stalinists who have totally endorsed the policies of Cunhal.

The fact is that the American Stalinists will play no less a counterrevolutionary role under conditions of an American revolution than their colleagues in Lisbon now play during the Portuguese social revolution.

Albert J. Lima, a member of the central committee of the CPUSA, enthusiastically endorsed the alliance between the Portuguese Stalinists and the military.

Just three weeks before Spínola's attempted coup, Lima wrote from Lisbon: "Thus, the next number of months will be a

decisive period for the struggle taking place in Portugal. The key question is the ability of the Portuguese Communist Party to continue to give effective vanguard leadership in strengthening the unity of the Democratic mass movement and the armed forces, while helping to overcome the economic and social and structural difficulties."

When 30,000 postal and telephone workers demanded a 100 percent across the board pay hike and a 35-hour week, the *Daily World* reported (June 21):

UNREALISTIC

"The Portuguese Communist Party on Wednesday termed these demands unrealistic and warned workers against 'the manipulation of those who exploit the workers' just demands by advancing unrealistic claims which are incompatible with the existing conditions in the national economy'."

The *Daily World* added: "But the Portuguese economy remains on the brink of the catastrophe, and reactionaries, ultraleftists, and even bosses, are goading workers to strike in the hopes of toppling the new antifascist regime."

But this very antifascist regime would within a space of three months be at the center of a fascist plot thwarted by the working class despite the treachery of the Stalinists.

Stalinist policies in Portugal represent a grotesque variation of the popular front policies pursued in the 1930s in Europe which led directly to the defeat of the Western European proletariat and World War Two.

Forty years ago, the Stalinist parties collaborated with the social democrats and liberal section of the bourgeoisie. Today, it collaborates directly with the military. The working class is thus placed under the discipline of the most reactionary representatives of capitalism.

The army, entrusted by the

The Stalinists in Portugal are attempting to drive back the working class, but without success. They are openly playing the role of strike-breakers and demanding that the masses in the trade unions give full support to the Bonapartist regime of General Costa Gomes.

But the working class is in no mood for compromise. The so-called Provisional Government is faced with a flood of wage demands. Already sections of workers have begun to take over factories where employers refuse to pay up immediately.

South of Lisbon, at the town of Seixal, representatives of 3,000 cork workers from 12 factories met to discuss a charter of rights and conditions.

They are among the lowest-paid workers in the country, receiving less than 3,300 escudos (about \$120) a month.

When management refused their demands at the biggest factory, Mandet, the workers removed 11 directors and took over.

EXPLOITED

The mood among the rank and file was clearly expressed by one trade unionist who told his fellow workers:

"We have been totally exploited for 48 years. We gave our

money, we gave our sons and we gave our lives.

"Now they refuse to give back anything. But we are going to fight and we are going to win.

"The only way to fight the reactionary forces of the bosses is to fight for this.

"The bosses told us they can't give us money, because they don't want to give it.

"The bosses have two books. One they show to the state, the other they keep secret, and this has the real profits in it. The workers must expose this situation."

This appeal was rejected by a Stalinist leader. He told the workers that to strike was wrong.

"We don't want to strike to disturb the Provisional Government. Many of us have been arrested because we were communists and fought for bread and liberty.

"But now we have to work for a free and democratic Portugal."

He ended with a direct counter-revolutionary appeal—"If the bosses offer higher wages, we must refuse this reactionary move.

"The fight of the working class is not an individual fight but a fight of the whole working class.

"If this is not so we will be shot—the forces of reaction are looking at us all the time."

The Stalinists applied this policy last Sunday when they called on workers to enter the factories for the so-called national "day of work."

The Stalinist leaders said the money would be for the state.

But the outcome of this reactionary move to prop up the rapidly-degenerating Portuguese capitalist system did not meet with complete success.

Most workers went into the factories on Sunday, but many have decided to give the day's wage to the trade union strike fund or to the victims of the colonial wars in Africa.

It is with such appeals and interventions that the Stalinist movement is supporting the Costa Gomes regime.

The latest government is in no way different from that of the Spínola administration, which was brought down on September 29 by armed workers and soldiers who erected barricades against an attempted fascist counter-coup.

Gomes, with the tacit approval of the Stalinists and social democrats, is attempting to allow the reactionaries back.

On Monday he met the deposed Spínola in the Ambassador Hotel in Lisbon for what the bourgeois Press described as a "friendly lunch."

Names to replace the right wingers and fascists who were forced to leave the ruling Council of State are already being canvassed in government circles.

ARMY OFFICERS

They are all leading members of the armed forces and identified completely with the capitalist class in Portugal.

They include Carlos Fabiao, who directed the fascist forces as governor of Guine, remaining in his port after April 25, and Colonel Fisher Prie, a leader in the Armed Forces Movement and a Brigadier-Colonel in the Air Force.

This reestablishment of the right wing is only possible with the support of the Communist Party.

The vital need in Portugal is to transform the situation of dual power.

This can only be done by the working class taking over the factories, establishing local committees of control and linking with committees elected by the ranks in the armed forces.

lucha obrera

EDITORIAL

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CASTRO ABANDONA LAS MASAS



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Estos son los últimos razgos de la evolución del Castrismo que ha demostrado durante todo este período su indiferencia por la lucha de obreros y campesinos.

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El acercamiento de Castro a los Estados Unidos, en este período, en que la clase obrera internacional se mueve hacia la revolución socialista mundial, es la culminación de una serie de maniobras derechistas que Fidel ha venido realizando contra el proletariado y que confirman que la evaluación hecha por el Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional en 1962, acerca del carácter burgués del gobierno cubano es correcta.

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Estos traidores no tienen una perspectiva revolucionaria, y han abandonado el método marxista para actuar en base a sus impresiones del movimiento superficial, abandonando a la clase obrera y su rol revolucionario liquidando el partido revolucionario que es la alternativa que llevará a la clase obrera a la toma del poder; mediante la lucha por desarrollar la conciencia revolucionaria, construyendo los cuadros marxistas en las uniones y con la juventud.

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Usando demandas socialistas, estos nacionalistas, que son reformistas y no revolucionarios, aceptan el sistema capitalista que está destruyendo los derechos y el nivel de vida de trabajadores. Tampoco ven ningún peligro en el uso de la policía armada y las preparaciones del gobierno para una dictadura.

En la práctica, hacen lo posible por mantener dividida a la clase obrera y a la juventud, porque saben que unificando al proletariado venceremos.

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Las negociaciones casi se rompieron esta semana cuando el presidente de la UMW, Arnold Miller, dijo que las propuestas del BCOA eran una copia del contrato actual.

Debido a que la constitución de la UMW requiere la ratificación del nuevo contrato por los miembros antes del 12 de noviembre, solo el avance de las negociaciones impedirá la huelga.

Una huelga nacional de los 125 mil miembros de la unión sería el gran golpe contra Ford y sus planes de hacer recaer la crisis contra los trabajadores que están buscando un liderazgo contra estos brutales ataques. Sin embargo, Miller se niega a luchar por el aumento salarial.

La burocracia de la UMW no hace nada para defender la caída del nivel de vida de los mineros.

Miller dijo: "Quiero enfatizar que el presente impase ni siquiera toca los puntos económicos del contrato."

¿Cómo puede Miller pretender que reclama después de haberse unido al Comité de Administración del Trabajo con el fin de programar el aceleramiento y aumentar la productividad?

Los mineros son de los obreros peor pagados en la nación. En 1970 ganaban \$186.46 semanales. Este año ganan \$250.00. Y en términos reales, se llevan a su casa \$198.73.

Hoy trabajan 90 minutos más cada semana para mantener su nivel de 1971. Sus salarios, en términos de poder adquisitivo están a nivel de 1965.

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Pero estas medidas son secundarias en comparación con los preparativos del gobierno para una confrontación directa con las uniones.

Un ejemplo es los planes de la Administración de Energía de llevar el carbón a la industria durante el cierre de las minas.

Miller colabora con el gobierno traicionando a los mineros.

La seguridad de las minas solo

se garantizará con la nacionalización de la industria del carbón bajo control obrero.

Cada demanda salarial requiere una acción política independiente de la UMW contra Ford y sus aliados demócratas.

Miller debe renunciar al Comité de Administración del Trabajo. Debe llamar a la huelga del 12 de noviembre demandando que las uniones convoquen a un Congreso de Obreros para construir un Partido de los Trabajadores.

Los mineros no pueden confiar en Miller. Un liderazgo revolucionario debe contruirse en la UMW para luchar por el siguiente programa:

- Cerrar las minas el 12 de noviembre.

- 25 por ciento de aumento salarial con 100 por ciento de escalada para el nivel de vida.

- Ningún acuerdo sobre productividad ni restricciones al derecho de huelga.

- Miller debe renunciar al Comité de Administración del Trabajo.

- Alto al asesinato en las minas. Nacionalizar la industria del carbón sin compensación bajo control obrero.

- Llamar a un Congreso de los Trabajadores para construir un Partido de los Trabajadores.

Terror Fascista En Argentina

El Congreso Argentino acaba de dar amplios poderes a la presidenta María Perón para poner en prisión, hasta por ocho años, a quienes traten de cambiar la estructura política del país por "medios ajenos a la constitución." También se ha limitado a la prensa argentina la publicación de noticias sobre los movimientos izquierdistas—Montoneros y el Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP).

Estas medidas están dirigidas contra la izquierda y las uniones, y coinciden con el surgimiento del grupo fascista Alianza Anti-comunista Argentina (AAA).

Durante las últimas dos semanas, el AAA ha reclamado responsabilidad por la muerte de 12 personas. Entre ellas la del licenciado Arturo Frondizi, hermano del ex-presidente, que durante su vida defendió en el tribunal a varios políticos izquierdistas.

Una ola de terror fascista se ha desatado en el país. Desde la muerte de Domingo Perón, el 1 de julio, han habido más de 92 asesinatos políticos.

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La seguridad de las minas solo

se garantizará con la nacionalización de la industria del carbón bajo control obrero.

Cada demanda salarial requiere una acción política independiente de la UMW contra Ford y sus aliados demócratas.

Miller debe renunciar al Comité de Administración del Trabajo. Debe llamar a la huelga del 12 de noviembre demandando que las uniones convoquen a un Congreso de Obreros para construir un Partido de los Trabajadores.

Los mineros no pueden confiar en Miller. Un liderazgo revolucionario debe contruirse en la UMW para luchar por el siguiente programa:

- Cerrar las minas el 12 de noviembre.
- 25 por ciento de aumento salarial con 100 por ciento de escalada para el nivel de vida.
- Ningún acuerdo sobre productividad ni restricciones al derecho de huelga.
- Miller debe renunciar al Comité de Administración del Trabajo.
- Alto al asesinato en las minas. Nacionalizar la industria del carbón sin compensación bajo control obrero.
- Llamar a un Congreso de los Trabajadores para construir un Partido de los Trabajadores.

Terror Fascista En Argentina

El Congreso Argentino acaba de dar amplios poderes a la presidenta María Perón para poner en prisión, hasta por ocho años, a quienes traten de cambiar la estructura política del país por "medios ajenos a la constitución." También se ha limitado a la prensa argentina la publicación de noticias sobre los movimientos izquierdistas—Montoneros y el Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP).

Estas medidas están dirigidas contra la izquierda y las uniones, y coinciden con el surgimiento del grupo fascista Alianza Anti-comunista Argentina (AAA).

Durante las últimas dos semanas, el AAA ha reclamado responsabilidad por la muerte de 12 personas. Entre ellas la del licenciado Arturo Frondizi, hermano del ex-presidente, que durante su vida defendió en el tribunal a varios políticos izquierdistas.

Una ola de terror fascista se ha desatado en el país. Desde la muerte de Domingo Perón, el 1 de julio, han habido más de 92 asesinatos políticos.