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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER EIGHTY SIX 422

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1974

TWENTY CENTS

SHUT DOWN THE MINES

BY MELODY FARROW

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In Indiana County, near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 750 miners have already walked out in reaction to the arrogance of the coal bosses in the talks in Washington, DC.

Miners in Boone County and Kanawha County, West Virginia are also out.

While miners are standing firm and are prepared for all-out confrontation with the government, Miller is more concerned with avoiding a strike than in fighting for the basic demands of miners.

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Miller, reversing his pessimistic

No Last Minute Deal



Miners from West Virginia.

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Yet, on the weekend of November 3, the coal bosses refused to respond to the UMW's demands on sick pay and the cost of living increase and the union's bargaining council was abruptly sent home.

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Miller's statement last Monday that the union and the mine owners are only five or six percentage points "off being together" is a warning that a deal is in the works to give miners an increase that will not even make up for the inflation of the last year.

Ford has instructed the coal bosses not to grant any concessions on wages that would upset his "antiinflation program." On Thursday, Ford will meet with Democratic and Republican governors to implement an emergency fuel allocation program.

Miners believe if the strike lasts over two weeks, Ford will impose the Taft-Hartley law to try to force the miners back.

The full strength of the labor movement must be rallied behind the miners to defend their right to strike and to decent wages against the ruthless drive of the corporations, backed by Ford, to increase profits.

This is the only way to answer the government's lies that the coal miners are responsible for the economic crisis. The auto manufacturers will try to blame the mine strike for a new wave of layoffs that would take place anyway because of falling sales.

Miners must reject the lie that wage increases would cause more inflation and, together with all sections of workers, launch a wage offensive to reopen all contracts.

Mine workers must also reject the insinuations of the American Communist Party and their newspaper the Daily World that miners should not strike because the coal bosses' strategy is to provoke one. The November 5 Daily World says: "...the coal operators would use (a strike) as a pretext for a savage attack on the rank and file controlled UMW."

The Stalinist CP is even more desperate than Miller to prevent a strike. Their record in the coal fields is 100 percent support to the coal bosses and their government.

In 1943, the CP demanded that miners go back to work, implying that Lewis was a tool of the

Nazis, and pledged full support to the use of troops.

Last year, the Soviet and Polish Stalinist governments shipped scab coal to help break the miners strike in Spain and Britain.

The logic of the CP's argument is that the way to fight the mine owners is not to fight at all.

We have every confidence in the ability of the miners, together with the entire working class, to deal a powerful blow to the Ford government and to carry out the political fight that this poses—the building of an independent labor party.

Miller's constant claim that economic issues have been resolved is an attempt to avoid this fundamental political battle.

We urge miners to stand firm for the following program:

- A substantial wage increase and 100 percent cost of living.
- The full right to strike written into the contract.
- \$500 pension.
- Full safety provisions.

At the same time, the only way to guarantee safety in the mines is to nationalize them under workers control.

Miller must be forced off the Ford Labor-Management Committee.

The UMW, together with the United Auto Workers Union must take a lead in fighting for a congress of labor to build a labor party now.

Chrysler Lays Off 10,000

Chrysler Corporation has announced a round of new layoffs affecting 10,000 men at four plants.

Ford is putting 12,000 on temporary layoff, in addition to 7,075 already on indefinite layoff.

Layoffs at General Motors will total at least 36,000 after production cutbacks are implemented this month.

The new cutbacks in production followed the release of October statistics which show car sales at a 10-year low. Chrysler and Ford sales are down 17 percent, GMC sales are down 32 percent, and American Motors shows a drop of 52.6 percent from last October.

Chrysler plans to shut three plants for two weeks and then drop their second shift. This will affect 1,800 men at Hamtramck, Michigan; 1,600 in Newark, Delaware; and 2,100 in St. Louis.

1,600 men will be laid off at the huge Jefferson Avenue Detroit plant which faces a total shutdown. Another 3,000 Chrysler workers in manufacturing plants will be laid off during November.

General Electric announced that over 7,000 workers will be laid off in major appliance plants. The giant Sears, Roebuck retailing chain has announced companywide cost-cutting, beginning with the layoff of 300 to 500 supervisors, buyers, and assistant buyers at the national headquarters in Chicago.

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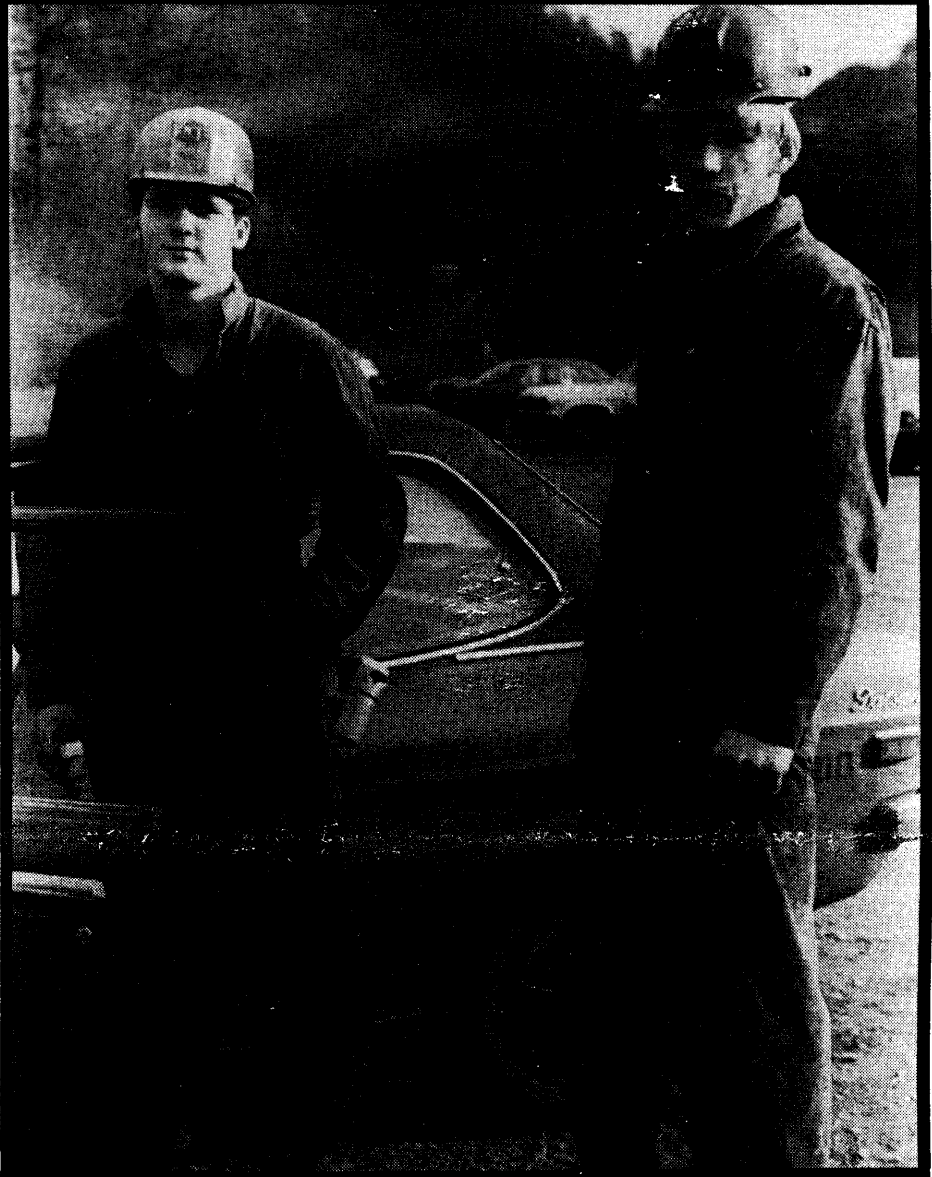
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Ford Heats Up The Trade War

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The worldwide recession is creating the conditions for a violent trade war and economic nationalism as major industrial countries fight for a share of shrinking world markets.

Every major country is now affected by falling sales, production declines, unemployment, a liquidity crisis, and rising bankruptcies.

Italy, Germany, and Britain estimate unemployment at 700,000 workers and expect the figures to reach a million very quickly. In France, with half a million unemployed, the jobless figure is the highest since World War Two.

The rapidly developing slump in the US is threatening catastrophe to the economies of Europe and Japan, which rely on the American market for the profitability of their industry.

Faced with massive oil bills, the major capitalist countries have no choice but to fight to increase their sales abroad to meet the bills. "Export or die" is becoming the watchword of every capitalist country.

The Japanese export drive which has been launched in the face of a domestic slowdown is already running into bitter international opposition.

Sir Raymond Brookes, chairman of GKN, a British engineering firm, recently urged the Common Market countries to retaliate against the Japanese by restricting imports of Japanese automobiles. Brooke urged measures similar to those adopted by the Italian government, which have reduced

Japanese car exports to Italy to 1000 a year.

"They must share their cake or we must take action to see to it that they stop gnawing ours," he declared.

Last Tuesday at an economic conference organized by the Nikko Research Center, the French and Arthur Maxwell Stamp, a director of Hill Samuel Co., told Japanese economists that a Japanese surplus would be met by competitive devaluations and controls on the inflow of Japanese goods.

The bitter rivalry between European and Japanese capitalism has been heated to the boiling point by US attempts to deny Japan free access to US markets.

The United States is now leading a drive to bankrupt its international competitors. A bitter dispute is underway with Canada which ships two-thirds of its exports to the US, including oil, gas, iron, nickel, copper, lumber, and pulp. The US has already retaliated against Canadian oil export taxes and meat import quotas by slapping duties on Canadian lead and pulp exports.

In his preelection campaign, President Ford issued a number of ominous warnings to the Europeans. Addressing Republicans in Iowa, he threatened to impose quotas on imports of meat and dairy products to protect American prices.

"The Administration is not going to permit foreign dairy producers to compete against American dairymen in the US market with subsidized products.

"If the Europeans reinstate their subsidies of dairy products directed at this market, I will impose countervailing duties on these products."

A savage battle for survival has now broken out in the aircraft industry.

Cancellation of orders by American firms for the Concorde supersonic jet has virtually condemned this joint British-French project and tens of thousands of jobs.

A similar situation is developing with the A300B airbus built by the French Aerospaiale, which has just announced losses of \$100 million for 1973, its third consecutive year of losses.

Aerospaiale builds the plane with the collaboration of the German Messerschmitt

company as well as British, Italian, and Spanish firms. Sales are currently 330 short of the break even point and Iberian Airlines has just cancelled an order because of the economic crisis.

The airbus faces ferocious competition from Lockheed, Boeing, and McDonnell Douglas.

"We are dying a slow death. With the American competition in the market, we can't breathe," says Andre Gintrand, Aerospaiale's financial vice-president.

The rise of this economic

nationalism is a warning to the working class. The crisis is the product of a capitalist system wracked by overproduction and inflation. It prepares the way for savage attacks on the rights and conditions of all workers, and for world war.

American workers have no interest in supporting the trade war drive of the US rulers. This crisis can only be resolved through the construction of a labor party committed to carrying out socialist policies.



30,000 trade unionists marched through Quebec demanding the dropping of all charges against construction union leader Andre Desjardins and Quebec Federation of Labor President Louis Faberge.

Montreal Firemen Force Premier To Back Down

BY DAVID ALBERT
On Thursday, October 31, Montreal's 2400 firemen walked off their jobs at 11 pm. For the next two days, the firemen refused to return to work without a cost of living increase and the settlement of their 1974 contract.

This strike was remarkable not only because it is illegal for firemen to strike in Montreal, but because it was carried out with absolute determination against the union leadership of Jean L'Abbe.

The men were infuriated over the city's offer of a 4.3 percent wage increase, while policemen had received a 15 percent raise. At one meeting, angry firemen, fed up with L'Abbe's excuses that he couldn't get any more money, pelted him with eggs and tomatoes.

Finally, at a predawn emergency meeting on November 3, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa was forced to capitulate and granted a \$750 cost of living hike.

The firemen's strike is the latest in a series of powerful strikes by workers throughout Quebec province. Two days earlier, on October 29, over 30,000

trade unionists filled downtown Montreal in one of the biggest labor demonstrations in Canada's recent history.

DELEGATIONS

The demonstration, called by the Quebec Federation of Labor, was attended by delegations from over 50 unions, many of them from basic industry. Over one-half the demonstrators came from the province's construction trades, who had been out on strike in June. The Montreal firemen led the march with their brass band.

The main demands of the march were:

1. Solidarity with workers out on strike, particularly the nine-month UAW strike at United Aircraft.
2. Cost of living increases in every contract.
3. An end to injunctions, fines, and court orders against the unions.

Since their strike last June, construction workers have faced a witch-hunting campaign by the provincial government's Cliche Commission. The construction union leader Andre Desjardins has been charged with extortion while QFL president Louis Laberge faces charges of "inciting to violence" in a related strike.

The charges against Desjardins stem from an incident during the strike in which union stewards, leading a group of workers, walked into the offices of the Construction Industry Commission, cut off the telephone lines, and forced the secretaries to send out construction workers' holiday pay. Although all but one of the charges against Desjardins have been dropped, another worker, Yvon Duhamel has been jailed for 10 years for the bombing of the James Bay construction site in northern Quebec.

On the day of the demonstration, a Montreal newspaper carried a headline "QFL Planned To Topple Government." The story was based on an account given to the commission by a certain Renault who worked as a police informer inside the construction unions since 1970. He claimed that the QFL planned to take control of the construction, transport, and energy workers' unions and "at an appropriate time" call a general strike to force out the provincial government.

QFL President Laberge declared: "If the government doesn't take the necessary action to give justice to workers, if it doesn't stop trying to smear us through its inquiries, very soon there will be other action."

But Laberge refused to spell out what action would be taken. The union leaders have continually been forced to call demonstrations against the government by the pressure of the ranks, but they have always tried to channel this powerful movement into dead-end protests. Strikes like United Aircraft and Canadian Gypsum are left to rot in isolation for months.

The contracts of over half the Canadian labor movement are up for renewal in 1975. The tremendous power of the labor movement, expressed by the transit workers, construction workers, and now the firemen must be taken forward through a political fight.

Now is the time to issue a call for a congress of the entire labor movement to demand a break with the Trudeau government, a fight to force it out, and a campaign for an NDP government pledged to carry out socialist policies.

New Warning Of Mideast War

BY A REPORTER

Yasir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, warned that a new Mideast war might break out within six months.

"A catastrophe is coming in this area unless the United Nations brings pressure to bear on Israel," Arafat told a Time magazine correspondent.

Arafat made his comments following the recent recognition of his organization as the legitimate representative of the Palestine people by the United Nations.

Arafat charged that the Israelis were using "blackmail to convince the West that they can be the spearhead of what is called the military solution."

"The Israelis are only asking Rabin for time to prepare—asking for six months—by which time they will be politically and militarily in a position to demolish the effects of the October war."

He warned of a US intervention to "protect" Middle East oil fields. "I sincerely hope the Americans will not make the mistake."

He added that a new Geneva conference on the Middle East "could calm down the area, but it cannot produce a final and lasting peace."

As the PLO chief was making his statements, an Israeli cabinet minister, Peres, declared that Israel will strike first in a new war. He added that the



US Defense Secretary James Schlesinger.

war may be only a few weeks away.

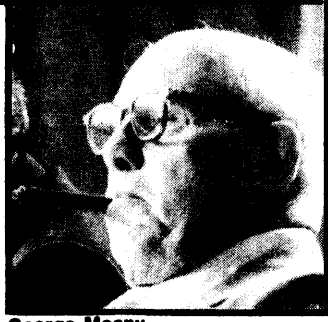
US Defense Secretary James Schlesinger was in Europe for a four-day visit to West Germany, and is following this up with a visit to the US Sixth Fleet near Naples.

And the Shah of Iran, in a rhetorical speech addressed to State Secretary Kissinger, asked: "Are you going to occupy Venezuela, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and the rest of the OPEC countries? Is America going to do all these occupation jobs?"

"Do you have enough troops? Or will you and the Europeans gang up to do this job? Do you think that the Communists will stay silent?"



Hugh Carey



George Meany

Labor Bureaucrats Handed Over \$5m To Elect Democrats

BY A REPORTER

The trade union leaders have spent over five million dollars in union funds in the 1974 Congressional election campaign. This makes them the biggest political contributors in the country.

The AFL-CIO alone has paid out \$1.4 million in political gifts to designated candidates. This bipartisan effort includes gifts of \$20,000 to Democratic Senator Warren Magnuson; \$10,000 to Republican Senator Jacob Javits; \$10,000 to Democratic Senatorial candidate Gary Hart in Colorado; and \$19,000 to Richard F. Vander Vier, a Democratic Congressman in Michigan.

The United Auto Workers spent \$763,395 on campaign contributions, the most by any single union, and one of the top contributors in the country.

This was followed by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union which gave \$516,975; the International Association of Machinists which gave \$500,690; the Maritime Engineers Union, \$552,059; and the California Teachers Association, \$576,966.

The only other figures available are for donations of over a quarter million: the Steel Workers, \$297,317; and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, \$251,909.

The biggest single gift went to Democrat Hugh Carey, running for New York governor who got \$40,000 from the garment workers.

These figures alone add up to just under five million dollars and this does not include the thousands of dollars in smaller donations made by other unions. It also does not include the sizable donations made by the Teamsters who diffuse their money through their state and local councils.

The UAW headquarters issued a news release with a statement from Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey which charged the reports of UAW election spending were "misleading" and "serve to malign the good name of our union and its members."

One can only think that Mazey is perhaps embarrassed at this huge spending. But he offers no evidence to disprove the reports. His only point is that instead of coming from the UAW as such, "this money came from individual UAW members who made their contributions voluntarily."

This statement is a total fabrication. As Mazey explains later on, the UAW has Community Action Program Councils set up in all its locals which

deduct the political gift money as if it were part of the checkoff for union dues.

AUTHORIZED

Who authorized any of the union leaders to give these enormous sums to the two big business parties? George Meany's policy of a "veto-proof" Congress is a fraud. The Democrats, "liberal" or otherwise, are as determined to slash jobs and increase prices as the Republicans.

Our point is not that the unions should not be spending money financing political campaigns. On the contrary, we believe millions should be spent, but in order to smash up the Democrats and Republicans and construct a labor party based on the unions that will fight to defend the rights of the working class.

Voting In Election Lowest Since 1946

BY MELODY FARROW

The results of the November 5 elections, far from being a sign of the strength of the Democratic Party, shows the disgust of millions of working class and middle class people with both the Democrats and Republicans.

What is significant about the election is not the so-called Democratic "sweep" which actually never materialized, but the abstention of millions of people and the large votes for independent and socialist candidates.

Last Monday, President Ford, reportedly worried about the obvious apathy towards the election, urged people to vote "as a vote of confidence in America."

But in New York state, the turnout was the lowest since 1946, with only five million voting. Voting was light all over the country.

The Democratic Party won 27 out of 35 governorships, 61 Senate seats and 290 seats in Congress, giving them a two-thirds majority.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy had urged workers to elect a "veto-

proof" Congress, claiming that this was the only way to counteract Ford's anti-working class policies.

NOTHING

But this election solves nothing. The issue facing the working class is a raging inflation of over 12 percent a year and over five million out of work with economists predicting unemployment will go to 8 or 10 percent by the end of the year.

From the moment Ford stepped into office, the Democrats have made their anti-working class policies clear by urging Ford to freeze wages. Leading Democratic officials have called for a "coalition" with the Republicans to tackle the economic crisis.

The Democrats, as a big business party, agree that inflation must be stopped by cutting the living standards of the working class and pushing up unemployment.

MINERS

In West Virginia, a working miner backed by the United Mine Workers union defeated the candidates of the main parties as a write-in for the House of Delegates.

In Ohio, it is reported that the Socialist Workers Party got 97,000 votes.

These are important indica-

tions of the turn to the left by wide sections of the working class and show the kind of massive support that can be won for an independent working class party.

The economic crisis can only be resolved with socialist policies, which requires the building of a labor party. Workers and trade unionists must press forward the fight for a congress of labor and a labor party to lead a fight to force this reactionary administration and its Democratic allies out of office.

Miner Beats Democrat

BY A REPORTER

PINEVILLE, West Virginia—Danny Burleson, a field representative of the United Mine Workers, scored a stunning upset in the local elections by defeating the official Democratic and Republican candidates

The election is significant because Burleson ran as an independent candidate with union backing. UMW president Arnold Miller yielded to demands of miners in Wyoming County that he personally endorse Burleson as a miners candidate in opposition to the Democratic nominee for House of Delegates, Jim Lyons.

Burleson decided to make the race as a write-in candidate after he was forced off the ballot by the Democratic Party machine. Mine workers set up an independent campaign building Burleson as a working class representative

This is believed to be the first time in the history of West Virginia that an independent write-in candidate ever defeated any of the nominees of the two established parties.

Typical of the union election drive for Burleson was a leaflet circulated at the polls that compared the two candidates. Lyons was described as a "lawyer" and a "friend of the special interest groups."

Attempts were made by the courts to exclude him as even a write-in candidate. Democratic Party officials filed lawsuits when the UMW printed stickers with Burleson's name to be placed over Lyons name on the ballot to make a write-in easier.

Burleson won by a slim majority on the strength of the huge turnout which contrasted sharply with the small vote in other elections. Several hundred miners crowded the Pineville courthouse to hear the outcome of the vote.

Harold Hayden, president of the UMW Local in Mullens and a supporter of Burleson, stated: "This is a first in West Virginia."

"We had a chance to show our strength. This is one way of showing what a workers party can do when we're organized."

Although this was a small local election, it gives indication of the enormous political support that can be rallied in the working class today for a break with the Democratic and Republican parties and for the building of a labor party.

San Francisco Trade Unionists Throw Out Proposition L

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—The labor movement won a major political victory by defeating Proposition L with a decisive 54 percent "no" vote.

This vicious bill would have abolished collective bargaining and frozen indefinitely the wages of the vast majority of city workers. It would have wiped out the city charter provisions guaranteeing MUNI bus drivers parity with New York City drivers and guaranteeing building tradesmen union scale based on San Francisco private

industry rates.

A hysterical anti-working class campaign was launched by the city's two daily newspapers, the Democratic Mayor, and the Board of Supervisors by playing up the city workers general strike last March.

A big issue was made of the fact that a handful of skilled tradesmen, by working a lot of overtime, get more pay than the armchair supervisors.

The labor leaders completely capitulated to this campaign. At a rally three weeks ago, John Crowley, SF Labor Council Secretary-Treasurer said that the results of one poll showed

that Proposition L would pass by a 71 percent vote.

Despite all this defeatism, city workers, particularly the MUNI drivers, campaigned day in and day out at shopping centers, in the neighborhoods, and at the factories.

As one MUNI driver said, summing up his experience in this campaign: "The only way they can deal with this is to throw out the whole system, but the politicians won't do that."

"I think the Proposition L fight started something the unions should keep going."



City workers campaigned throughout San Francisco for a massive "no" vote on Proposition L.

CRISIS IN SOCIAL SERVICES

No Cooperation With Shift Work

While an apparent stalemate exists on the issue of whether SSEU-371 members will be forced to perform shift-work, preparations are now afoot behind the scenes between the city and the union leaders to push it through.

October 31, 900 clericals in Local 1549 turned out for the 1549 Welfare chapter meeting in an effort to reverse union policy of cooperation with shiftwork. The 1549 leadership manipulated the meeting to prevent a motion of noncooperation with shiftwork from coming to the floor. A strike motion did

come to the floor and was only narrowly defeated.

At the October 23 SSEU Delegate Assembly meeting, the SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership offered a motion barring all union cooperation with shiftwork and demanding a campaign on the issue be taken to the clerical and other locals.

A Knight supporter immediately moved to table the motion without debate and this passed by a 60 to 40 margin.

Thus, the original SSEU position of noncooperation with shiftwork, until the city hires additional staff, still stands.

From the start, the CNL has opposed all shiftwork in principle as a scheme aimed at stepping up productivity through speed up and at destroying all union control over hours and schedules.

In the fight on this issue, the caucus in the union led by Communist Party supporters and that led by Progressive Labor supporters have both lined up with the union bureaucrats.

The CP-led caucus has played a role of active support to Knight. Progressive Labor actually issued a leaflet at the October 31 clerks meeting which, while calling for a strike against involuntary shift work, openly endorsed shiftwork so long as it is introduced on a voluntary basis. Progressive Labor, furthermore, placed in office the current 1549 Chapter Chairman Bill Dorkin. A year ago, Dorkin headed a PLP backed "centerleft coalition" insurgent slate on which PLP supporters also ran. Today, he is the leading figure in the drive to break the rank and file upsurge of 1549 clericals through a campaign of lies and baiting of militants.

At the upcoming November 25 Delegates Assembly meeting, the CNL is calling upon every member to mandate his delegate to vote against the current official union position and for a total ban on shiftwork backed by a campaign for a reversal of the existing policies of 1549 and CWA 1180.

At the November 23 Delegate Assembly meeting, the Knight leadership ruthlessly suppressed all attempts at opposition to the Executive Committee's policy of down the line endorsement of Democratic Party candidates.

PL supporters posed no alternative to the leadership's support of the Democrats. While the CP officially ran its own candidates in the November 5 election, their leading supporter in the SSEU walked out of the meeting when the endorsements point was reached on the agenda.

Resolutions demanding a campaign by 371 throughout the labor movement for a break by labor with the Democrats and Republican and the calling of a congress of labor to launch a labor party must be put forward at every meeting of the SSEU.

Model Cities Contract

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

The Knight leadership of SSEU-371 is preparing the sellout of the Model Cities contract covering hundreds of Community Trainees, Community Program Specialists, and the Coordinator Title series in various city agencies.

The last contract expired on June 30, 1974, but the Knight leadership waited until October 22 to even begin negotiations.

Knight has already accepted as a wage ceiling the settlement that was rammed down the throats of workers in the Social Services earlier this year, (7 percent to 10 percent per annum depending on title).

It is also virtually certain that Knight will seek to rope Model Cities workers into a contract which will have no provision against layoffs due to fiscal cutbacks.

The leadership has raised the issue of blanketing all the Model Cities workers who are now provisionals as permanents, on the basis of an "experience paper." This could turn out to be meaningless if the contract does not also specifically prohibit all layoffs.

Model Cities bargaining is now taking place in a climate of

growing hysteria whipped up by city officials and the Citizens Budget Committee, over the one billion dollar 1974-1975 budget deficit.

Last week, citing an eight million dollar cutback in federal funds, the city closed three of the five Housing Development Administration workshops and curtailed operations at the remaining two. These performed emergency repairs and then billed landlords on apartment buildings with outstanding gross violations. Workers at the closed location are slated for transfer to other city agencies. Union officials, while doing nothing to halt this, privately admit layoffs of permanent workers in HDA may be in-store.

The SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership will demand at the upcoming November 25 Delegates Assembly meeting the adoption of the following basic demands for the Model Cities contract:

1. 20 percent per annum across the board wage hikes and full cost of living clause.
2. Iron clad guarantees against all layoffs and blanketing in of all provisionals as permanents on the basis of an "experience paper."
3. No more closures or other reorganization measures during the term of the contract.

Puerto Rican Dockers Defeat Layoff Plans

BY TOM GORDON

Longshoremen in the International Longshoremen's Association in Puerto Rico have dealt a blow to the Puerto Rican government's plans to bail out American shipping companies at the expense of longshore jobs in Puerto Rico and the states.

The Puerto Rico Maritime Shipping Authority has been forced by the dockers strike on the island in October to drop its plans to consolidate the terminals bought from Sea Land and Seatrain and leased from Transamerican Trailer Transport.

Negotiations are still going on for a guaranteed annual income for Puerto Rican dockers. This issue was never resolved in the strike.

The original plan of the Puerto Rican government was to put profits back into the money-losing USA-Puerto Rico run through: laying off up to 2,000 dock workers, including 300 in New York port; speeding up the other workers; and eliminating services to Mobile, Miami, Philadelphia and Boston.

The shipping companies involved will be paid large amounts for the generally antiquated equipment used on the routes. Sea Land has already been hired back to run the whole operation.

The chief topic of discussion at the annual convention of the American Association of Port Authorities, attended by ILA President Teddy Gleason, was the Puerto Rican government's strategy.

No corporation today can supply the massive capital needed to operate a modern container transportation system. This government steps in to organize the competing shippers into a monopoly, lop off unprofitable routes and jobs, and force the working class to make up the deficits.

At the convention, Gleason, Pacific Maritime Association President Edmund Flynn, and New York Shipping Association President James Dickman held a press conference at which Mr. Flynn praised the steel and railroad industries for their no-strike pledges, government "fact finding" boards, and government arbitration machinery.

He pointed out that on the West Coast alone, longshore jobs have been cut from 14,000 to 10,000 since 1952, while cargo tonnage has increased from 24,000,000 to 70,000,000 annually.

Despite the devastating job loss in longshore, Gleason, Flynn and Dickman agreed that strikes must be avoided at any cost.

The large profit increases of the shipping companies in the past year have been achieved by gigantic rate increases (47 percent in the Puerto Rico run over the past two years alone), by selling off assets, and by attacks on the unions.

SELLING

Seatrain was able to show a profit in the first quarter of this year only by selling off its Puerto Rico, Guam, and Hawaii routes and equipment. American Export Isbrandtsen Lines sold its new Howland Hook, Staten Island Terminal to the City of New York, which has also purchased the money-losing Bush Terminal in Brooklyn.

The development of land bridges—shipping containers by rail from inland cities to the coast—has almost eliminated dock work in Chicago and Buffalo.

The ILA leadership and the New York Shipping Association agreed in October to reduce company payments to ILA welfare and guaranteed annual income funds, threatening the income of unemployed dock workers.

ILA members must construct a new leadership in the union that will fight for a labor party to nationalize the docks and all transport without compensation and under workers control as the answer to the bankruptcy of the private companies.

Defend Judy Catchpol

Judy Catchpol, 11-year veteran militant of the Social Service Employees Union and supporter of the Progressive Labor Party received her termination notice effective Monday.

She was fired from her job as Bureau of Child Welfare supervisor on trumped up charges of insubordination.

The Knight leadership flatly refused, despite the demands of Delegate Assembly members, to put Catchpol on union staff while her case is appealed, a union tradition in such cases. This, in effect, makes Knight a party to the victimization.

Neither Knight nor Progressive Labor supporters have ever proposed going beyond a series of futile protest actions on the matter.

The SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership is fighting in the union to tie this attack on basic democratic rights to the issues of the union's fight on wages and conditions. The CNL is demanding that the union break off all talks and refuse all cooperation in any present and future reorganization until the victimization is lifted.



Workers from the Van Nuys, California General Motors Assembly Division plant leaving recent union meeting. They were angered by the fact that the union leadership proposed no fight against the coming layoffs. Instead, the bureaucrats provided a platform for Democratic politicians campaigning in the area. 1650 production workers are scheduled to be terminated on November 11.

SWP TURNS TO THE DEMOCRATS

The *Militant*, weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party, published the following letter in its November 8, 1974 issue:

"As you know, I subscribe regularly to *The Militant* and I continue to be impressed by the high quality of journalism therein displayed.

"I take this opportunity to commend the staff for the excellent coverage of the tragedy of South Boston. It is regrettable that the majority of the media have chosen to minimize the seriousness of that grievous situation.

"Thanks again for keeping me informed."

Louis Stokes
Member of Congress
Washington, DC

Louis Stokes is a leading member of the Congressional Black Caucus. The fact that he should choose to publicly thank *The Militant*, a supposedly Trotskyist newspaper, is of some significance.

In the Senatorial campaign in Pennsylvania, the SWP candidate Christina Adachi organized a Republicans and Democrats for Adachi Committee.

In her regular column in *The Militant*, Linda Jenness proudly quotes Ann Pride, a Republican and state coordinator for the National Organization of Women as saying: "Christina Adachi is a clear-cut choice for women and men in Pennsylvania. There can be no other."

Adachi has also received the endorsement of Dr. Joanne Gardner, a Republican, and Mary Robinson, a former Democratic committeewoman and coordinator of Roman Catholics for the Right to Choose.

Why do all these Democratic and Republican politicians support the SWP? For only one reason—the complete subservience of the SWP to the capitalist parties and their state.

Ever since the Watergate crisis, the SWP has made a sharp turn towards approaching and working with "liberal" capitalist politicians. When the *Bulletin* warned that behind the Watergate conspiracies were preparations for dictatorship by the capitalist class, the SWP said we were panic-mongers.

The *Bulletin* saw Watergate as a sharp expression of the crisis of capitalism. The tremendous power of the working class forced Nixon out, but we immediately warned that Ford was brought in to pursue the conspiracy against the rights of workers.

The SWP, on the other hand, said Watergate was the usual capitalist corruption and, therefore, saw Nixon's ouster as proof in the vitality of bourgeois democracy.



Democratic Representative John Conyers, member of Black Caucus.

The SWP responded to Watergate by filing a court suit in July 1973 for a permanent injunction against FBI wiretapping, burglary, mail tampering, and infiltration. The capitalist courts were being asked to stop the capitalist police from doing their job.

The SWP has continuously portrayed the liberals as the chief defenders of civil rights and civil liberties. This conception is just one small step removed from the Stalinist policy of the popular front, of government coalition in defense of bourgeois democracy against the working class.

When the SWP was challenged by the liberal lobbyist group Common Cause, to reveal the names of its campaign contributors, it appealed to this organization to reconsider its legal attack on the SWP on the basis of



Christina Adachi

impressions, it fears the militancy of the working class and turns sharply to the right.

Inside the trade unions the SWP turns to the bureaucracy, to the very same officials who are the staunchest defenders of the Democrats.

As the economic and political crisis of capitalism deepens, the role of the revisionists is to give the discredited politicians and bureaucrats a desperately needed "left cover" for their attacks on the working class. This is why the Democrats and Republicans are using the SWP, not the other way around.

The Workers League ran its election campaign differently.

We fought on principles. We campaigned to unite the working class through a fight for a labor party based on socialist policies. We fought to expose the treacherous character of the liberal politicians and the bureaucrats who back them. And if we gained the animosity of those people in the process, so much the better. Our aim is to smash bureaucracy in the labor movement and build an alternative revolutionary leadership to lead the fight for power.



Linda Jenness

its "reputation as a firm defender of the rights of the American people." (!)

By calling on the Ford government to send troops to Boston, it won the admiration of every liberal Democrat and Republican in the country. It also won the enmity of every class-conscious worker.

Boston was the real answer of the SWP to the growing struggle of American workers. As a movement rooted in the middle class and basing itself solely on

Food As Imperialist Blackmail

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN
The World Food Conference now meeting in Rome will provide little consolation to the millions across the globe facing disease and death from malnutrition and starvation.

The spectacle of thousands of well-fed delegates gorging themselves on Lasagna, veal cutlet, peas in butter, fruit, and wine only serves to underscore the fraud and hypocrisy of this Conference.

While the delegates deliberate, millions in India, Bengla Desh, and the African Sahel face immediate starvation. A group of specialists led by Barbara Ward, issued a statement to the conference declaring: "The primary question before us is how many of the world's peoples may not survive until the next harvest."

On Tuesday, US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger addressed the delegates and made it clear that the US has no intention of alleviating the crisis.

HYPOCRITICAL

Behind Kissinger's hypocritical statements that the US has "a special responsibility" to help finance the flow of food to "the starving and hungry," he spelled out a series of cold blooded proposals for using American food surpluses as a means of international blackmail.

A State Department briefing reported by the *Journal of Commerce* reveals the real plans of the US.

"It is not our intention to bear the problem alone. The developing countries have to do a lot of this.

"It is not within our capacity to feed all the starving people of the world. That is the clear thrust of the secretary's speech. It is a global problem, requiring global solutions."

Kissinger proposed the establishment of an international body to set up a stockpile of national food reserves to handle the crisis. This body, which would include the Soviet Union, would gather information of the food situation facing every country and coordinate "assistance."

This is a thinly veiled attack on the Soviet Union which has refused to release information on its agricultural sector for imperialist scrutiny.

IDENTICAL

Kissinger's proposal is virtually identical to the demands he made earlier for the establishment of an international body of oil-consuming nations to coordinate policy against the oil producers.

As the economic crisis deepens, the underdeveloped countries are being systematically starved of any possibility of obtaining fertilizer and machinery to develop their agriculture.

In addition, with the land in the hands of a few private owners and food owned by speculators and landlords, there is no possibility of any development of agriculture.

Norman E. Borlaug, "father of the green revolution" and Nobel prize winner, suggested that if Kissinger and a dozen other ministers were locked up in a room for 10 days without food, some decisions to eliminate famine would be made.

The fear dominating the World Food Conference is that the Kissingers, Fords, and Rockefeller will be locked up for a lot longer than that.

Labor Leaders Back Zionists War Drive

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
The support of the major trade union leaders to the reactionary Zionist rally on November 4 in New York against the Palestine Liberation Organization must be repudiated by every rank and file worker.

The labor leaders who paid for ads in the newspapers attacking the Arab oil countries are preparing to line up behind the Ford government in an imperialist war in the Middle East.

The ad called the guerrillas "international criminals" and supported the government's justification for war preparations by stating that the economic crisis is caused by the rise in oil prices:

"The same countries which sponsor the PLO now seek to use their natural resources and the

wealth that flows from it to disrupt world economies and to infiltrate legitimate industry in this country, to serve their political purposes to our detriment."

The statement was signed by Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, Harry Van Arsdale of the taxi union, Bertram Powers, ITU No. 6, David Livingston of District 65, Victory Gotbaum of AFSCME, and Patrick Gorman of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters. Murray Finley called his own rally of textile workers on the theme that foreign imports are the cause of unemployment in the garment industry.

Recession and unemployment is a direct outcome of the inflation fueled by the credit policies of the postwar boom. This inflation became uncontrollable after Nixon severed the gold backing

from the dollar, throwing all banking and trade relations into chaos.

It is the bankruptcy of the profit system of capitalism, not oil prices, that creates the crisis.

The union leaders who get on the war bandwagon with Ford are the same men who will not lead a fight against layoffs and refuse to fight for wage increases to offset this inflation.

Instead, they want the American and Arab workers to sacrifice to increase the profits of the multimillionaires.

Just as in World War Two, war would be accompanied by wage cuts, productivity drives, and even worse inflation.

Few workers attended the rally and there were virtually no trade union delegations. Workers must denounce this war mongering and fight any moves to invade the Arab nations.



Reactionary Zionist rally held in New York City on November 4.

JAMES P. (1890— CANNON 1974)

BY MICHAEL BANDA

PART ONE

James P. Cannon—who died at age 84 on Wednesday, August 21, 1974, in Los Angeles—has written an imperishable page in the history of world Trotskyism.

This is indubitable and not even the renegades from Trotskyism will deny this proposition.

But an obituary which confined itself to a recital of the qualities and positive achievements of this pioneer radical and Trotskyist and yet ignored or did not critically appraise his failures and inadequacies from the standpoint of the complex development of the American working class would detract from historical truth and render a disservice to the US working class and the Trotskyist movement.

The task of Marxists is to pay homage to the real Cannon whom we respected, criticized and fought. The uncritical eulogies and lyrical adulation we shall leave to the revisionists.

As Cannon himself remarked on one occasion: "The truth never really harmed anybody, provided he was on the level."

Cannon was born in Kansas City of Irish parents. From his father, who was steeped in the tradition of Robert Emmett and Wolfe Tone, he acquired the rudiments of a radical education involving the Knights of Labor, the Populists and the Utopian Socialists. At the age of 12 he began work in a packing house. At 17 he left the factory for high school. On leaving school Cannon plunged straight into the radical movement as a travelling organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Here he came under the influence of IWW leaders like Vincent St. John, Red Doran, and "Big Bill" Heywood.

Despite his years in the early Communist and Trotskyist movement, the influence of those legendary figures in the American radical tradition had an indelible effect on Cannon.

The division in the US labor movement between the DeLeonist socialists, who placed a high premium on socialist theory and propaganda and paid little heed to the industrial organization of the working class, and the "Wobblies" (IWW), who were indifferent to theory but showed great capacity for the industrial organization of the semi- and unskilled workers, did not fail to affect Cannon in his formative years.

He was attracted by their sacrifice and heroism and their unflinching devotion to the ideals of industrial unionism and the theory of spontaneity, i.e., "direct action." It was a powerful influence with certain positive features, but it was not necessarily a good one. The IWW's philosophy was permeated with an incorrigible individualism and pragmatism. It is no accident that after World War I and the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, this once great and expanding movement virtually disappeared without a trace.

The most politically minded of the radicals in the IWW—Cannon included—were profoundly influenced by the Russian Revolution. This is how Cannon described the devastating impact of the Russian Revolution on the reformist and radical movements in the US:

"The Socialist Party Left Wing, which later became the Communist Party, was directly inspired by the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. Prior to that time American militants had very little opportunity to acquire a genuine Marxist education. The leaders of the Socialist Party were not Marxists. The literature of Marxism

printed in this country was quite meagre and confined almost solely to the economic side of the doctrine. The Socialist Party was a heterogeneous body; its political activity, its agitation and propagandistic teachings were a terrible hodgepodge of all kinds of radical, revolutionary and reformist ideas. In those days before the last war, and even during the war, young militants coming to the party looking for a clear programmatic guide had a hard time finding it. They couldn't get it from the official leadership of the party which lacked serious knowledge of such things...

The Bolshevik revolution in Russia changed everything almost overnight. Here was demonstrated in action the conquest of power by the proletariat. As in every other country, the tremendous impact of this revolutionary victory shook our movement in America to its very foundations. The inspiration alone of the deed enormously strengthened the revolutionary wing of the party, gave the workers new hope and aroused new interest in those theoretical problems of revolution which had not received proper recognition before that time...

...On that basis was formed the Left-wing of the Socialist Party."

THE EARLY CP

In 1918 Cannon left the IWW to join the pro-Bolshevik left-wing of the US Socialist Party. Out of this left-wing crystallized the early American CP which was launched in September 1919.

Cannon attended the national conference of the Left Wing in New York in June 1919, but did not attend the founding conventions of the CP in the autumn because he was opposed to a premature split. Cannon abandoned his caution when



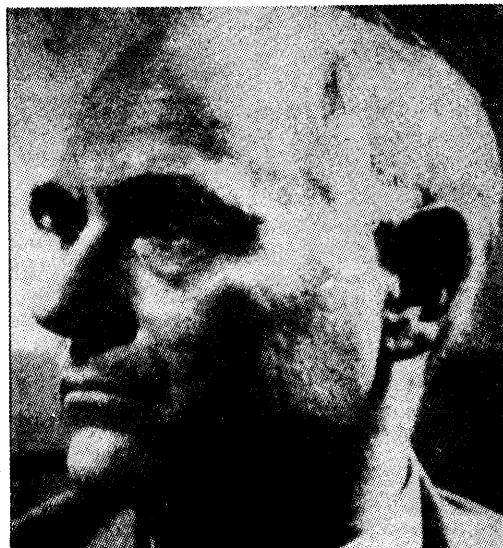
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his own local (union branch) in Kansas City joined the Communist Labor Party and appointed him secretary of the Kansas Missouri District.

The Left Wing of the SP, however, was not homogenous in its political composition, despite a common admiration and respect for the Bolsheviks. The bulk of the membership were foreign born and a large proportion of the basic industrial proletariat were foreign immigrants who brought with them the socialist theories and traditions they had learned on the Continent. These immigrant socialists were organized into separate and autonomous foreign language federations which were affiliated to the Socialist Party. After the split they constituted the majority of the CP members and controlled the party. Cannon, who supported the John Reed-Ben Gitlow tendency in the SP Left-Wing against the foreign language federation leaders, once again found himself a minority—fighting the "exotic sectarianism" of the immigrants and for a "native American leadership."

Basing himself on the experience of the Bolsheviks, Cannon correctly fought for a centralized party which would abolish the privileged autonomy of the affiliated foreign language groups. This struggle became exceptionally sharp and after the Chicago Convention the Left Wing split to form two communist parties; the Communist Party of the US, dominated by the "foreigners," and the Communist Labor Party, representing the minority faction

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Although this struggle for democratic centralism and against sectarianism was correct and absolutely necessary, nevertheless there is little doubt that in Cannon's case, at least, this struggle was partly based on assumptions which were not only manifestly false but were—in the coming years—to be patently dangerous.

Here is what Cannon says of this period: "We were convinced that it was impossible to build a movement in this country without a leadership in control more intimately acquainted with and related to the native movement of the American workers." (*History of American Trotskyism*, p. 9).

This theme recurs in different forms in Cannon's speeches and writings and in one example took the curiously provincial form of opposing Chicago—a 100 percent American mid-West city—to "cosmopolitan" New York as the center of the revolutionary party.

Cannon's remarks betray an organic provincialism combined with an ingrained indifference to dialectical theory. The point at issue was not the national origins of the leaders, but the struggle for dialectical materialism as against the prevailing idealist and pragmatic outlook in America. Their native origins did not prevent the majority of the native American leadership, Foster, Browder, Lovestone, Minor, W. Dunne and others, from capitulating abjectly to Stalinism. The separation of

theory and practice—to be precise, the refusal to posit practice on theory and extract knowledge from this conflict—has been the hallmark of the American radical movement. It was no accident that Lenin in his first discussions with the US Communist Party leader Louis Fraina (Lewis Corey) impressed on him the necessity for a serious study of Marxist philosophy.

Cannon, however, created Lenin in his own image. In his later writings he saw Lenin's most enduring conquest as the disciplined combat vanguard party, but neglected Lenin's truly historic contribution to the Marxist theory of cognition, of which the Bolshevik Party was an integral and vital party.

In other words Cannon, pragmatically and without full consciousness of his method, tried to blend his home-spun IWW-SP philosophy with Lenin's organizational prescriptions and techniques. This resulted in a political miscarriage which later contributed greatly to the degeneration of the SWP.

His unshakeable belief in the destiny of the American workers and his reliance on revolutionary organization, however, enabled Cannon—despite his Marxist shortcomings—to establish his revolutionary party on American soil. And this was done in the teeth of the greatest repression and witch-hunt of the radical movement in the United States.

To Be Continued



Above: the Russian Revolution whose success had a profound impact on Cannon. Below: James P. Cannon.

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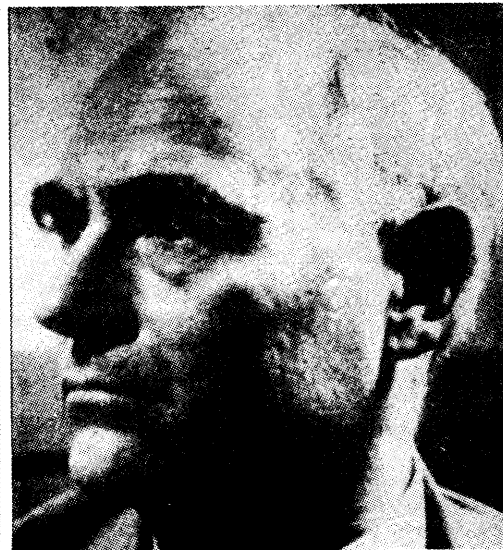
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Alcoa Pushes Fierce Productivity Drive

BY FRANK DENISON
CLEVELAND, Ohio—Alcoa workers in United Auto Workers Local 1050 here must gear for the same brutal attack on working conditions that led to the five month strike at the Alcoa plant in Vernon, California.

The Vernon strike against disciplinary layoffs, the point system, speedup, and rotating shifts, brought in two years ago, was betrayed by the UAW leadership.

The enormous recession hitting the auto industry and the mass layoffs must inevitably lead to cutbacks and layoffs in aluminum and steel. The layoff of 362 workers at Vernon after the ratification vote is a serious warning that Alcoa workers in Cleveland can expect a bitter struggle over jobs and working conditions.

Even before July 1, when the new 3-year contract took effect, the speedup had begun to reach unbearable limits, especially in the forge department. Some pressmen had quoted over a thousand wheels per shift, which often had to include breakdown time.

At the same time, Alcoa has slashed capital spending on new equipment orders and maintenance. Deteriorating machinery and six-seven day scheduling have led to an alarming increase in the rate of accidents suffered on the job.

New workers are continuously hired and moved from job to job without regard to classification. Recently, a young worker on the notorious 330-03 hydraulic press was nearly killed when an overhead hoist motor fell, and narrowly missed him.

Along with the relentless drive to increase production, Alcoa intends to break down the grievance procedure. Over 100 grievances were unresolved on expiration of the last contract, and new grievances are filed every day.

Alcoa's profits, even though they are at a record high of 12.1 percent, are totally inadequate for the rate of inflation. Figuring interest on back loans and financing owed by Alcoa, returns on invested capital come to almost 7.6 percent.

Alcoa, like every corporation, has been forced to go to the banks for loans just to meet its debts. To pay for this, it must

sweat every last drop of blood out of workers by speedup, running down machinery, cost-cutting, and mass layoffs.

Instead of mapping out a campaign against the layoffs and speedup, for a full cost of living, and an effective grievance procedure, the International and local UAW leadership has done everything possible to divide the two locals. The Vernon and the International UAW leaders sat back during the strike, and did not lift a finger when Alcoa shifted some workers to the Cleveland plant which was operating.

Two months ago, Alcoa brought the disciplinary point system into Cleveland and the local leadership virtually left the shop stewards to fight against it alone.

Jerry, who works in Cleveland, told the Bulletin: "It is a fraud. No one has even seen the contract. No one knows for sure what's in it."

Workers with seniority have lost confidence in the present union leadership. A forger in the pressroom stated: "This point system is not recognized by the older workers here."

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is the only leadership which has fought to end the collaboration between the union leaders and the government and to defend the right to a job and decent working conditions.

PROGRAM

At Alcoa, TUALP is fighting to build a caucus on the following program:

•For a national UAW strike to reopen the contract to win a \$1/hour catchup increase in wages plus a 100 percent monthly cost-of-living. A full sliding wage scale.

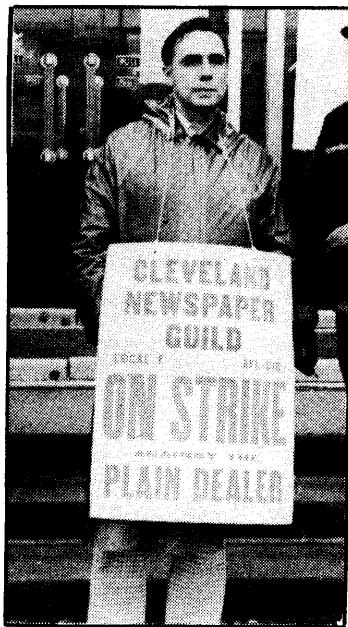
2. No speedup. Outlaw time and motion studies. Union control of production standards and no point system. Abolish Article 15.

3. Unlimited right to strike against speedup, backed up by the International. No rotating shifts.

4. No layoffs. A 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. Add another shift and recall all laid off workers since 1971.

5. Woodcock must break with Ford's labor-management committee, break with the Democratic and Republican parties.

The unions must call a congress of labor to build a labor party to fight for socialist policies, including nationalization of industries under workers control, as an answer to bankruptcies and planned closures.



BY PERRY IVERSON
CLEVELAND, Ohio—Cleveland's two major newspapers, the Plain Dealer and the Cleveland Press are ganging up to bust the strike of the Newspaper Guild.

In what will be a long and bitter strike, 235 Guild members at the Plain Dealer are on strike for a new contract.

Last Wednesday, after four days without publishing, the Plain Dealer reappeared as an eight-page supplement in the regular edition of the Cleveland Press.

The striking Guildsmen, mostly reporters, editorial staff,

Newspaper Strike Hits Cleveland

and photographers, had effectively shut the Dealer down because the other craft unions and the Teamster drivers refused to cross the picket line.

The Plain Dealer management wants the courts to force the craft union members who are still under contract to cross the picket lines.

As one guildsman said: "They're trying to break the Guild. They're trying to break all the unions. If they try to put out a scab paper, you'll have a labor war."

"There are 160,000 labor families in Cleveland, not counting thousands of auto workers, and the leaders of the UAW and United Steel Workers of America have promised to help on the picket line."

Last Friday, the membership overwhelmingly rejected management's contract offer. As one member stated: "So many issues haven't even been discussed yet."

"I don't think they should give up anything."

The biggest issue is wages. Workers are also concerned about protection against closures. The victimization of two guild workers also prompted the strike. One was fired for union activity and the other was demoted following pressure from the Cleveland Bar Association. Judge Sweeney, who limited picketing, also ruled that the Guild could not strike over these issues.

At this moment, Guild members who work for the Cleveland Press are in court trying to stop the Press from locking them out and shutting down in sympathy with Plain Dealer management.

No confidence can be placed in the courts. Just as the publishing bosses stand together, all the craft unions must unite with the Guild to defeat this union-busting drive.

The labor movement in Cleveland must mobilize to shut the Press down and Cleveland Press workers must demand that the union authorize a boycott of all scab work for the Plain Dealer.

From A 7 Day Week To Unemployment Lines



DETROIT, Mich.—Chrysler Corporation moved a step closer to the permanent closing of Jefferson's Assembly plant on Detroit's East Side.

Chrysler has announced that beginning November 25, it will lay off 1600 second shift workers and move to a one shift operation. More than 60 percent of the men live nearby and shutdown would be the final blow to this area of the city.

It is estimated that eventually, over one million dollars a week would be lost in salaries. United Auto Workers official Douglas Fraser, in charge of Chrysler operations, is calling on "New Detroit," a civic organization which includes Chrysler chairman Lynn Townsend as a member, to help!

Ted Collins, 31, has eight years seniority at Jefferson and lives with his wife Ellen and three children near the plant.

"They've already started the layoffs. I walked by the office

and I thought it was a walkout, but it was only guys going to get their checks.

"Some were joking about how they're glad that they can rest. But that's just a few. When you've got a family to support, you think about how you are going to take care of them."

"Last year, I was working seven days, 10 hours a day, and just making it. Today, it's impossible. We may not be able to pay all the bills, but we're going to eat. Credit's

impossible to get. You can't depend on the union to fight. We need a new way.

"Everybody's depending on the government to keep the plant open. They talk about extending unemployment benefits as an answer. But I don't want to be unemployed, I want to work."

"It's rough working in these plants, but you get used to it. Now they won't even let you do that. If enough of us got together, we could change the way things are run."

PUBLIC MEETING

NOVEMBER 17

- FIGHT LAYOFFS AND INFLATION
- CALL A CONGRESS OF LABOR BUILD A LABOR PARTY
- NATIONALIZE THE AUTO INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL

ST. Philips Neri Church Basement
 2679 Dickerson, Detroit 4pm

Workers League
 public meeting

10 years of the Bulletin

Dayton, Ohio

Unitarian Social Hall
 665 Salem Ave. (at Neal)

Fri. Nov. 15
 7:30 PM

\$1.00; .75 youth and unemployed

Film: 3 Years of Workers Press

Speaker from TUALP

Los Angeles, Calif.

LA Convention Ctr.

Room 208

Pico and Figueroa

Sat. Nov. 16

7:30 PM

\$2.50; \$1.50 youth and unemployed

Miners Determined To Fight

BY DAVID NORTH MULLENS, West Virginia—In this coal town in the scarred hills of Wyoming County, the miners are preparing for the strike which is now all but inevitable.

Come Tuesday, 125,000 members of the UMW will not show up at the pits to dig coal. In fact, thousands of miners will have stopped working well before the strike deadline. They are closing down the mines early in the surrounding areas to demonstrate their anger over deteriorating living standards and working conditions, as well as their determination to fight back.

By midweek, miners were discussing the early shutdown of the mines at Wyco, Alpoca, and Lynco. On Thursday morning, miners shut down operations at pits in Boone and Kanawaja Counties. Thousands of other miners expect to be out perhaps as early as Friday, but no later than Saturday.

PAST

As the miners prepare for a new struggle, they often recall the story of the bitter battles of the past. Old timers can still remember the names of close buddies who were killed while

here," recalled 74-year old T.C. Wright.

"But they won't be able to bring those days back. The kids who work in the mines today would die before they'd let that happen. There'd be a civil war in this country."

STRENGTH

West Virginia miners have been testing their strength repeatedly during the past year in preparation for the big national strike. Last March, they walked out in defiance of emergency measures taken by the government during the fuel crisis. There have been numerous wildcat actions against unsafe conditions or arbitrary disciplinary measures.

Now UMW members are determined to use the full strength of the union to defend their living standards and basic rights. The two issues uppermost on the minds of miners are wages and the unrestricted right to strike.

"We know that we got to go out," declared Gary Wilkerson, a 28-year old miner who works at the huge Itmann Corporation owned by Consolidated Coal.

"Miller had better prove himself now because this is liable to be his only chance."

Wilkerson told the Bulletin that the last UMW contract negotiated three years ago has not yet covered the rise in the cost of living. "The UMW has to fight

on their trailer homes.

"Most of the big people running their mouths and saying that the miners shouldn't strike have never done a day's work in their lives. They don't know what it is to work in the mine.

"They look down at the miners. They think miners are just country people who don't know anything.

MILLER

"I don't think Miller is all for the miners. He's just like all the big people trying to make a good name for himself.

"But if my husband goes on strike, I'll expect Miller to do something for him."

Thomas Phillips who works at the Itmann Mine said that Miller should spell out the wage increase he is looking for. "I myself think that we should get as much money as the highest paid worker in the best paid industry.

"The right to strike is one thing that the miners insist must be guaranteed by the new contract. The union bureaucracy accepted restrictions on this basic right in earlier contracts and the miners want those restrictions eliminated."

Miners have held mass meetings in neighboring Welch and passed a resolution urging rejection of any new contract that does not grant an unlimited right to strike.

George Viers, President of Local 6869 and a supporter of the resolution, attacked Miller for having stated that the company should have the right to lock out if the union has the understood right to strike. "I don't see where the one should go with the other.

"A lot of us don't like how Miller has been handling the negotiations. There's been too much going on behind our backs. For a long time, Miller was saying how well the negotiations were going. Suddenly, there's a lot of trouble.

"I think he's worried that we won't ratify the contract he sends us. Miller knows that he's got a lot of opposition in District 29. A while back, he said he wouldn't come down to Wyoming County anymore because we tell him straight to his face when we don't like something. And sure enough, Miller has stayed away.

GOVERNMENT

"One thing I don't like is all this dealing with the government. The courts are always moving into the union, sending the Department of Labor to look into this or that.

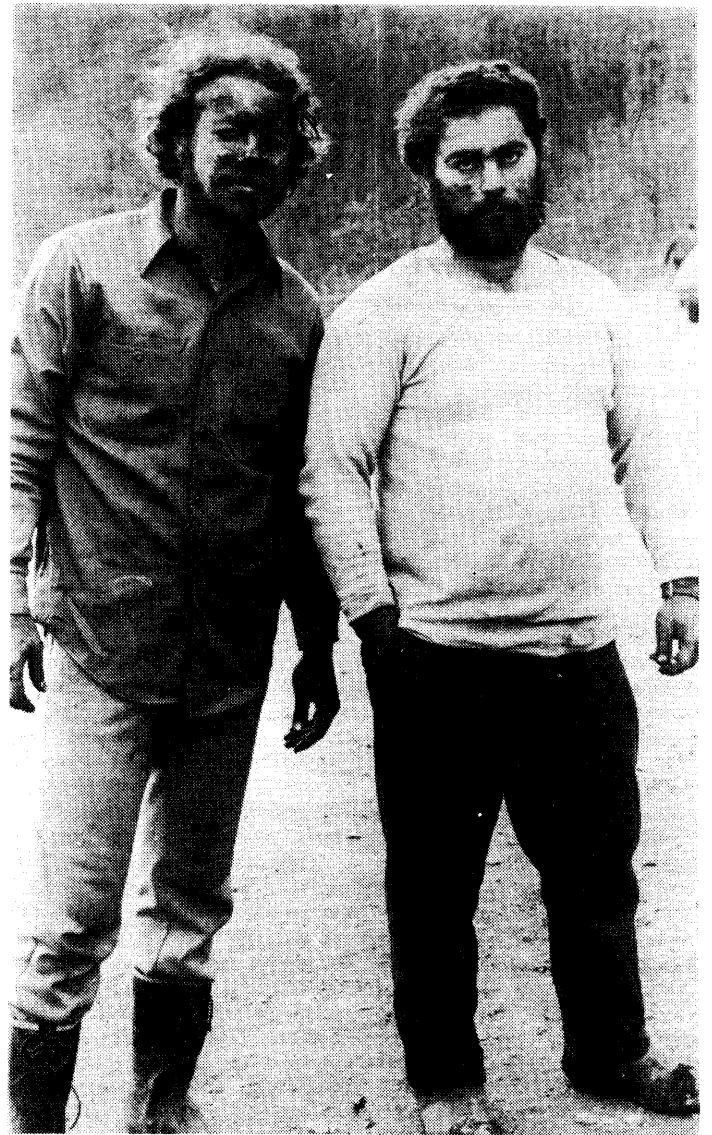
"It's getting to be so that you don't know if the president of the US is the president of the UMW."

Viers has had personal experience with the courts. He has faced several injunctions this year for "illegal" work stoppages. When he was elected to the presidency of the mine workers by a unanimous vote, the courts intervened to contest the election. A new vote was held and Viers won once again without opposition.

Miners talk about safety, but few of them believe that any contract will cut down the dangers facing a man every time he enters a mine.

"The mines ought to be safe," asserted Douglas Thorn. "But the coal operators don't care about the men. They just want the coal."

Not a week goes by without a serious injury in the coal mines of West Virginia. Earlier this



year, a man was killed in Itmann No. 3. "Conditions are really rough," said Thorn. "The bosses tell you to do the stupidest things just so they can get their profits."

Several hours after Thorn said this to the Bulletin, 23-year old John Paul Thompson was killed when he was run over by a motor in the Slab Fork No. 10 mine about 25 miles away from Mullens.

There has been quite a lot of talk about the possibility of the government invoking Taft-Hartley. "Ford can kiss my you know what if he tries to bust this strike," said a young miner from the Herndon Mine.

"No one is going to have a lot of respect for anything that government does after what it's been up to for the last four years. If Ford says I'm breaking the law, that's a compliment coming from him."

YOUNGER

"I'm telling the younger miners to get everything they can," stated pensioner T.C. Wright. "I know that I'm not satisfied with what I'm getting as a retired miner—just \$150 a month.

"We've got to even things up in this country. How many years of my life have been spent just in total darkness? Nobody but a coal miner knows what it's like to lift one's hand up in front of one's face and not be able to see it because it's so dark.

"The laboring man should get his fair share for what he does. Look at the president of the US. Look at his pension. Look then at the pension miners get. And then look at Nixon getting a whole suite in the hospital.

"Why give one man so much when the working man gets nothing? Those two women of Ford and Rockefeller get sick and there is all the care they need. My wife wouldn't get the same treatment. When you think of that, it goes right down into your blood.

"Miners haven't been getting their fair shake, and I know that's the way the younger men feel. They don't want to put 40 or 50 years in the mines and come back with dust in their lungs and nothing else. That's why they want to strike.

"We've had three years to get ready for this, and now we're ready."



Danny Burleson, UMW field representative, won election to House of Delegates in West Virginia. See page 3.

fighting to establish the UMW in the state.

In the early 1920s, civil war raged as miners fought to unionize the operation controlled by US Steel. In August, 1920, 1,200 federal troops invaded neighboring Mingo County, following a three hour pitched battle between miners and company guards in which six men died.

The climax of the struggle was the summer of 1921, when 4,000 men joined a miners army to defeat US Steel. They entered Mingo County defying a proclamation issued by Harding ordering them to disperse. The government then sent thousands of federal soldiers into the state to put down the rebellion against US Steel. About 325 miners were indicted for treason.

"I haven't forgotten the time when it was dangerous just to say the word union around

for money. I'm fully behind it and so is everybody else.

"Back in 1966, before I worked in the mine, I worked for General Motors. Then I made \$126 a week in Pontiac, Michigan. I was doing just as well then as I am doing now getting \$236. The extra \$110 doesn't keep up with inflation."

His wife Jennifer agreed. "We're buying more TV dinners. Even chicken costs over three dollars for just some small piece. Sugar costs as much as coffee.

"I don't blame them for striking," she went on, "because things are going up. We can hardly make it, even though he is bringing home pretty good pay.

"I am fed up with everything. We're not better off now than we were with Nixon.

"Common people can't make their downpayments on cars or

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Portugal

Stephen Johns, Workers Press correspondent, reports on the dual power situation in Portugal and the dangerous role played by the Communist Party and Socialist Party and their leaders, Alvaro Cunhal and Mario Soares.

We will continue to provide on the spot reports on the continuing struggle of the Portuguese workers against fascism.

Official figures for unemployment show that in 1967, 7,390 Portuguese workers were looking for jobs. Now it is admitted that 44,000 want work. In fact, unemployment is far higher—the rural jobless are not counted in these figures and many workers do not register since there are no state unemployment payments in Portugal. In some occupations, unemployment stands at 30 percent and over—1000 out of 3000 ships' cooks and waiters, for example, have no jobs and 2000 sailors cannot find ships.

In short, Portuguese capitalism is breaking down and even the vehement statements from Cunhal and Soares in support of the "rejuvenation" of the economy cannot disguise this fact from the working class.

The main weapons at the disposal of the capitalist class at this moment are Cunhal and Soares—especially Cunhal. The employers and landowners rely on the Stalinists to prevent the emergence of any national struggles on wages or jobs. This strategy is only temporary. To survive, the ruling class in Portugal requires the most ruthless military dictatorship.

They face a working class that has flocked to join unions since April 25. In most cases, the old state-control syndicals have been stripped of their fascist functionaries and staffed with workers' representatives. In other cases, like the teachers, unions have been built where no forms of organization existed before.

The new official leadership is firmly in the hands of the Stalinists who also control the Inter-Syndical.

Recently, it met in Porto and pledged to build free trade unions, but at the same time called for a "review" but not the

MILITARY RULE OR WORKERS' POWER?

repeal of the anti-strike legislation that was passed by decree by the Provisional Government.

The same absolute collaboration characterizes the Stalinist and social democratic leadership of the individual unions. Wherever there is a dispute, the bureaucracy intervenes and denounces the strikers as "fascists," "disrupters." In the cork industry, for example, where men work in intolerably dirty and dangerous conditions, the bureaucracy intervened with a determined campaign against a strike.

At one meeting, the president of the union intervened in the following way: "If the bosses offer higher wages, we must refuse this reactionary move. The fight of the working class is not an individual fight, but the fight of the whole working class. If this is not so, we will be shot, the forces of reaction are looking for their chance all the time."

This type of corporatist appeal, which amounts to an invitation to workers to walk voluntarily before the firing squad, is repeated everywhere the Stalinists hold office. The most common version is the Stalinist catechism that the "task of the working class is to work hard for Portuguese democracy, in solidarity with the Provisional Government and the Armed Forces Movement." It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the wealthiest people in Lisbon openly admit that they will vote for the CP.

The real movement of the working class exists in the factories and in the localities. Hundreds of committees have sprung up—some directly connected with the syndicates and other autonomous bodies, mobilizing workers who are often outside trade unions. In many areas, committees of vigilance exist. They were formed rapidly before the September 28 counter-coup led by General Spínola. The Stalinists have fought to keep these committees unarmed—some however have access to weapons and

most have excellent relations with ordinary soldiers, many of whom come from the working class areas of the towns and cities.

The factory committees vary from corporatist bodies rigidly controlled by the Stalinists and social democrats to organizations built by workers who are relatively new to politics—the latter are now more advanced politically.

One example of a committee controlled politically by the Stalinists is Mundet—a cork factory south of Lisbon across the river Tejo. At Mundet there is supposed to be workers control. When we asked for the workers committee we were shown respectfully into the director's office and invited to sit down in plush leather sofas. Two expensively-dressed individuals came in and asked what we wanted.

"To interview the workers' committee."

"We are members of the workers' committee," was the reply.

"You are workers? You don't look like workers."

"Nevertheless, we are workers. The workers' control in this factory involves everyone—white collar and manual."

In this case, the two "workers" were the director of finance and the head salesman! Later, they produced "a worker," who began monotonously to explain that the need at Mundet was to work hard, build up the firm, to build "democracy" in Portugal.

"GENEROSITY"

The owner of Mundet was an American woman. She had decided to redistribute just less than half her shareholding to the workers, retaining the controlling interests herself. This act of "generosity" was inspired by the fact that Mundet was losing money and "workers' control" was clearly the only way of driving up production and profit.

"What about real workers' control—the expropriation of the shares of the American owner?"



Soldiers celebrating the downfall of the fascist Caetano regime.

The sales director smiled: "Yes, this is important—this is the second phase, but at the moment we are in the first phase of rebuilding."

The two-phase theory outlined by this employer corresponds exactly to the "theories" of both the Stalinists and the social democrats who—like the Mensheviks in the Russian Revolution—argue that capitalist democracy must be established in Portugal before there can be a move towards socialism.

The only noticeable disagreement between this trio came when the real worker began to describe September 28—"Yes, it was the working class who stopped the reaction on that day—not the army or the bosses," he said. "There was a woman reactionary on the bridge (across the Tejo) who had a machine gun. But the workers can also get weapons."

At these words, the director looked round at his partner with a nervous smile. He was clearly disturbed by the prospect of workers with guns.

At another workers' com-

mittee—the one at Projel, a large electrical contractors in Lisbon—the corrupt atmosphere of class collaboration was absent. The workforce had just voted (by secret ballot, organized by the committee!) one hundred percent for a list of demands.

At first, the committee repeated some of the hackneyed sentiments they hear constantly on television and radio and read in the papers, about building democracy. But these were very much surface attitudes.

"What do you think about autogestion?" asked one worker (autogestion is the title the class collaborators have substituted for workers' control).

"I think the workers must take over completely—the industries should be nationalized under workers' control."

Heads began to nod.

"What about the English workers—we hear the miners got rid of Heath? Do the English workers want autogestion? Will there be a revolution in England?"—the questions flowed once the attitudes implanted in the working class by the Stalinists and the capitalist Provisional Government were stripped aside.

At a workers' area in Corvina, Lisbon, there was even less reserve. The demand there was directly for Marxist theory. We were asked what kind of man was Lenin? What did Trotsky do? How could the working class in Portugal make the revolution? This area is relatively free from Stalinism and is in fact a base for the League for the Building of the Revolutionary Party in Portugal—the Portuguese section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Despite Stalinism, the working class in Portugal is moving forward powerfully. They are building and consolidating their organizations. Every issue in the mass movement—wages, jobs, conditions and the liquidation of fascists—is connected directly with the question of power.

The ruling class cannot possibly tolerate this situation. Already, under the cover of "democracy," they are preparing to reimpose a police-military dictatorship. They now have on hand the Armed Forces Movement, pledged to defend private property and swinging rapidly to the right. The issue at Santarem—military rule or workers' dictatorship—is the issue for the whole of Portugal.



Thousands of workers and youth celebrating the 64th anniversary of the Republic of Portugal on October 5.

The Committee That Organizes Military Takeovers

BY FRANK MARTIN

There is a committee in Washington that can bribe politicians, organize private armies, and arrange military takeovers.

It is a committee of five people. It derives its name from National Security Council Intelligence Decision Memorandum No. 40. It is called the 40 Committee.

This committee has no files, no offices, no correspondence. Its only staff is a CIA liaison officer and a secretary.

When Gerald Ford stated at a recent news conference that this committee was responsible for the CIA operations in Chile, it was the first public admission that the committee even existed. Up to that point, it was forbidden to mention the committee's name even in the most top-secret documents.

However, the committee has existed at least since the end of World War Two. It was called at different times the 10/12, 10/15, 54/12, and the 303 Committee. When Nixon took office in 1969, he renamed and reorganized it in its present form.

MEMBERS

The committee's members are: General George S. Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; William P. Clements, deputy secretary for defense; Joseph J. Sisco, under secretary of state for Political Affairs; William E. Colby, director of Central Intelligence; and the chairman, Henry Kissinger, acting in his capacity as special assistant to the president for national security affairs.

Kissinger's position is unique. As state secretary, he carried out the public policy of the US government. As head of the 40 Committee, he carries out the covert, actual policy of American imperialism. With six years on the committee, he is its longest-standing member.

The power of the 40 Committee is enormous. It is in charge of all clandestine and intelligence operations run by the US. Its activities include the overthrow of governments; the creation and funding of secret armies and counterinsurgency units; political subversion; infiltration and assassination; bribing of officials, politicians, and labor leaders; and secret surveillance and intelligence gathering.

Its access to funds is unlimited and it is accountable to no one. Technically, it functions as a subcommittee of the National Security Council, but there is no evidence to show that it even reports its decisions to the full NSC.

The functioning of the 40 Committee offers a unique glimpse at the internal operations of American imperialism. Its agenda is prepared by a supersecret planning committee in the CIA known as Comrex. The agenda is then checked and approved by State, Defense, and CIA officials.

The 40 Committee then meets, at least twice a month. Its decisions are issued in the form of a National Security Council Intelligence Decision Memorandum, signed by Kissinger, and handed to Colby for implementation.

Colby issues a Director Central Intelligence Decision either to his own CIA or to any of a number of other agencies: the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, or the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. If it is a CIA operation, Colby turns to the Covert Action Staff, formerly known as the Psychological and Paramilitary Division, one of several clandestine service bureaus run by the CIA's Directorate of Operations.

The CAS, in turn, has its own specialized branches such as the Economic Warfare Section, the Financial Section, etc. These different branches coordinate their activities to implement a 40 Committee decision.

The Directorate of Operations is more commonly known in Washington circles as the "Department of Dirty Tricks." It is headed by a man named Karamessiness. His deputy is Cord Meyer, a well-known liberal in the late 1940s and now on special assignment for the CIA in Britain. No doubt he is there on the basis of a 40 Committee decision.

This elaborate machinery has only one purpose: to carry out in the swiftest and most efficient manner the requirements of American imperialism. There is no question that all the key CIA operations—the overthrow of the governments of Iran and Guatemala in the early 1950s, the Cuban Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, or the formation of secret armies in Laos, and Vietnam in 1961—went through a similar chain of command.

Chile is the clearest example of this. As early as June 27, 1970, Kissinger raised the matter at a 40 Committee meeting in the White House Situation Room. Here, he was quoted as saying: "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people."

The 40 Committee voted to authorize the spending of \$400,000 to stop the presidential campaign of Salvador Allende. By 1973, the committee had pumped in at least eight million dollars and probably a good deal more, to guarantee Allende's overthrow.

Chile was, in many ways, a "test run" for the 40 Committee. Kissinger wanted to see if his methods could be used to successfully "dislodge" an unfriendly government.

He wanted to refine his operations and be in a position to use them not only in colonial countries, but eventually against workers in Western Europe and America

INTELLIGENCE

Midway through 1971, Kissinger began to tighten up various intelligence branches working under 40 Committee

supervision. He also began to coordinate their activities with various domestic services, particularly the White House Plumbers.

Kissinger has been linked a number of times with the Plumbers, but no conclusive proof has ever been brought out. However, Tad Szulc, in a recent New York magazine article, furnishes a number of key details.

First, Nixon's attorney general and top assistant, John Mitchell, began attending 40 Committee meetings in 1970. This was unprecedented practice for an attorney general.

Richard Helms, former CIA director, has testified that the two top Nixon aides, John Ehrlichman and H.R. Halde- man, attended one or two meetings either of the 40 Committee or of the Washington Special Action Group (WASAG), a White House committee whose membership is identical to the 40 Committee.

These meetings can only point to one intention: to coordinate the CIA and the Plumbers into an omnipotent secret police force under the direct control of Nixon and Kissinger.

In the spring of 1972, a half dozen break-ins took place at the offices and homes of Chilean diplomats in Washington and New York. The Plumbers have been blamed, but no proof has ever been produced.

COLLABORATION

There is one other case of known collaboration. In 1971, Kissinger listened to a secret tape recording of an interview, held by David Young, an ex-Kissinger aide who was then a Plumber, with a young navy yeoman. The yeoman, who was employed as a secretary to the National Security Council, had been caught spying on the NSC and Kissinger, and passing on top secret documents to the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

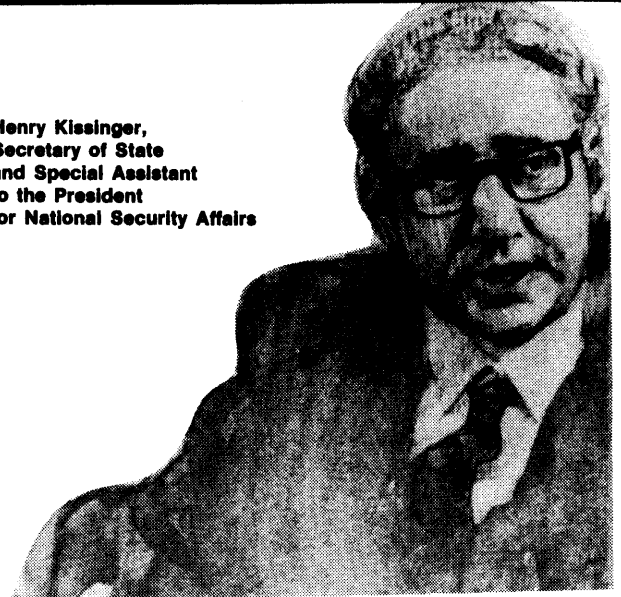
The story only hit the press three years later. During that time, Kissinger had taken no reprisals or disciplinary action against the Joint Chiefs, which he could have done. He made no comment on the story when it appeared and tried to get the matter dropped as soon as possible.

Of course, Kissinger wanted the story shelved in order to avoid any investigation of the secret workings of government. But there seems to have been an additional reason.

Kissinger himself has not been going through the "normal channels." He has established a private liaison with the CIA's Directorate of Operations, bypassing CIA Director Colby. He has also established a "back channel" to the Pentagon and the Joint Chiefs, bypassing the secretary of defense.

In any case, the 40 Committee is now working on a busy agenda. It has had a standing proposal for over a year from the US ambassador to Rome, Graham Martin, to bolster the Christian Democrats to stop Italy from going communist. Active operations are going on in Portugal,

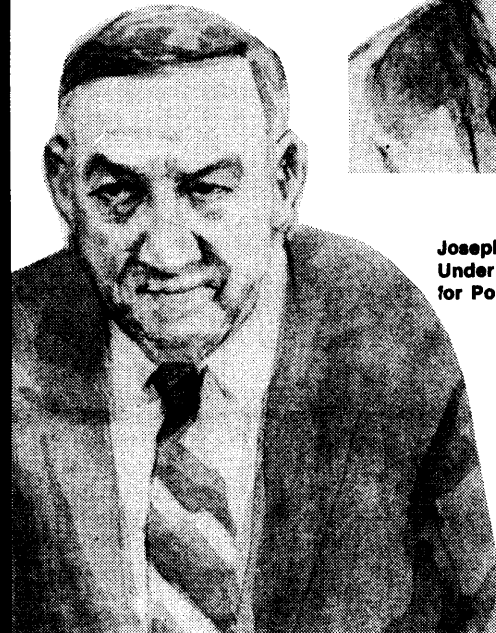
Henry Kissinger,
Secretary of State
and Special Assistant
to the President
for National Security Affairs



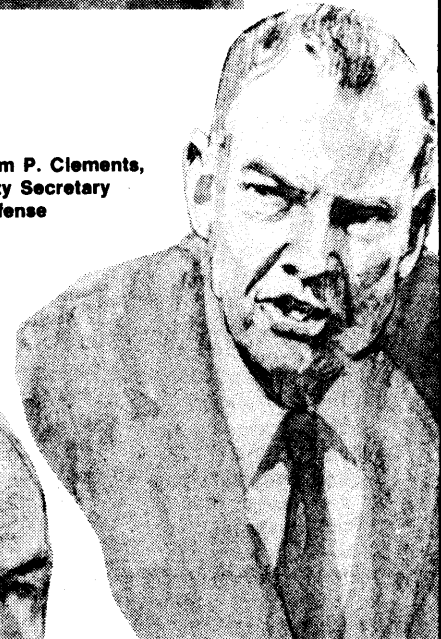
William E. Colby,
Director of
Central Intelligence



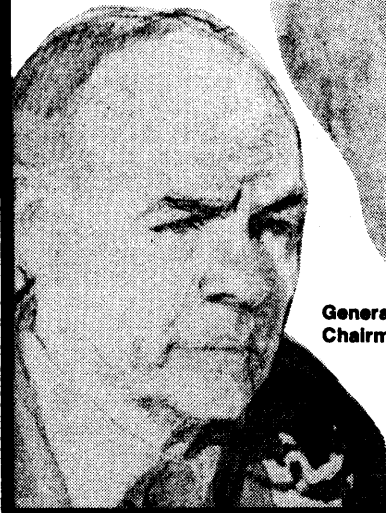
Joseph J. Sisco,
Under Secretary of State
for Political Affairs



William P. Clements,
Deputy Secretary
of Defense



General George S. Brown,
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff



Illustrations by Burt Silverman
for New York Magazine.

Greece, Britain, and South Vietnam. It is working in Mozambique and has coordinated activities between the CIA and the apartheid regimes in southern Africa.

The 40 Committee is an "executive committee" of world imperialism. It is fighting a desperate, rearguard action to stop the revolutionary movement of the international

working class. The Kissingers, Colbys, and Co. with their conspiracies for dictatorship can only be smashed by the working class.

American workers must fight for the construction of a labor party to take political power, disband the standing army, and destroy all clandestine intelligence and police groups.



lucha obrera

La PRMSA Amenaza Con Desempleo En PR

POR LUCIA RIVERA

La Asociación Marítima de Puerto Rico (PRMSA) es una amenaza a la seguridad de empleo para miles de trabajadores de los muelles en la isla y en los Estados Unidos. El PRMSA es la agencia gubernamental que administra la marina mercante, recientemente nacionalizada por el gobierno.

Los planes del gobierno son claramente expresados por el gobernador de Puerto Rico, Rafael Hernández Colón: "Con la industria marítima, ahora bajo el funcionamiento de una sola agencia, nosotros creemos que las tarifas que estaban poniendo en peligro nuestro desarrollo económico pueden ponerse bajo control.

Además, para estabilizar las tarifas, el control de las líneas marítimas bajo la potestad del gobierno puede proveer el capital suficiente para modernizar la flota. Estos objetivos son vitales para el bienestar del consumidor puertorriqueño y prosperidad del manufacturero puertorriqueño."

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Lo significativo de estas elecciones fue la abstención de millones de ciudadanos y el alto porcentaje de votos alcanzado por candidatos independientes y socialistas.

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¿Quién autorizó a los líderes de las uniones para donar el dinero de los trabajadores a los partidos capitalistas?

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Pero esta inflación es incontrolable porque el valor del papel moneda, que ya no está respaldado por el oro, sigue depreciándose.

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lucha obrera

La PRMSA Amenaza Con Desempleo En PR

POR LUCIA RIVERA

La Asociación Marítima de Puerto Rico (PRMSA) es una amenaza a la seguridad de empleo para miles de trabajadores de los muelles en la isla y en los Estados Unidos. El PRMSA es la agencia gubernamental que administra la marina mercante, recientemente nacionalizada por el gobierno.

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