

Anti-Arab Hysteria in the U.S.

War Rumblings in Near East



Yasir Arafat, chairman of Palestine Liberation Organization, at Rabat.

NOVEMBER 17—While the debate on Palestine was going on at the United Nations last week, preparations were proceeding for a new Near East war. Israel mobilized one third of its forces, denouncing heavy deliveries of Russian arms to Syria. At the same time, Rabin boasts of Israeli military superiority and hints at a first strike. Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization predicts war within six months.

In addition to the long-standing Arab-Israel conflict there is a new element on this round: threats of direct imperialist intervention to reassert Western control of Near East oil. A 23 October AP dispatch quoted German finance minister Hans Apel as saying "that the main industrial countries could be led to take military reprisals if they do not see any other solution in the face of recent 'catastrophic' rises in the price of the mineral [petroleum]."

In the U.S. the whipping up of war fervor has taken the form of a virulent anti-Arab hysteria campaign orchestrated by the Zionist propaganda machine. With consummate hypocrisy, the bourgeois press denounces "turning the UN into a forum for terror" by inviting the PLO to speak. But did they oppose President Ford's threat there in September that "nations have gone to war over natural advantages"? No.

A pious hue and cry was raised over the fact that Arafat wore a holster while

speaking to the General Assembly. Yet only the day beforehand, a leader of the Jewish Defense League announced on television—a .38 pistol lying in full view on the table in front of him—that, "We have trained men who will make sure Arafat and his lieutenants do not leave New York alive." Asked to clarify, he said, "We plan to assassinate him!" Had a leftist made such a public threat, he would have been immediately arrested. But it took almost a day and a formal request from the U.S. mission to the UN for federal action to lock up the JDL leader.

Meanwhile, as Arafat spoke Israeli troops were brutally breaking up pro-PLO demonstrations in West Bank towns. And the next day Israeli guns shelled a Lebanese town, killing six and wounding scores. This information, however, was buried on page 17 of the *New York Times* and escaped the attention of the *Post* and *Daily News* altogether.

Social Peace in Israel?

For years both Zionist and Arab nationalist propaganda has sought to create the impression of complete unanimity between Israeli working people and "their" expansionist generals. However, since Israel's setback in last year's October War, this "harmony" has been far from perfect. Pacifist sen-

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Self-Determination for Palestinian Arabs!

West Bank Mini-State No Solution

The international recognition won by the Palestine Liberation Organization in recent months culminated at the Rabat summit conference of Arab rulers and PLO-chief Yasser Arafat's dramatic visit to the United Nations last week. At Rabat the PLO was recognized by the assembled colonels, kings and sheiks as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people on any liberated Palestinian territory." At the UN Arafat was accorded protocol reserved for heads of state.

This international approval has been granted as a reward for the increasing "moderation" of the PLO, in particular its shift in policy last year on the issue of a Palestinian "mini-state" consisting of the Gaza strip, the West Bank and possibly the small El Hamm area at the southern end of the Golan Heights.

A West Bank state led by the PLO would soon become a "bantustan" in which neighboring states could dump their unwanted Palestinian refugees—900,000 in Jordan, 300,000 in Lebanon, 300,000 in Israel and 200,000 in Syria. It would be only a very partial and deformed expression of the Palestinian Arabs' right to self-determination.

The Spartacist tendency opposes a fifth Arab-Israel war, a war which would not bring liberation to the Palestinian people but only further senseless slaughter in the service of reactionary nationalism. Nevertheless, we defend the Palestinians' right to an independent state and demand unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories.

A genuine exercise of Palestinian Arabs' right to self-determination is conceivable only on both banks of the Jordan, including all of what is now Israel and Jordan. Both of these states were carved out at the expense of the Palestinian people. But while the Hebrew nation is today an oppressor nation in relation to the Palestinians, a democratic solution is not one which simply reverses the terms of oppression—i.e., an Arab Palestine in which Hebrews are denied their right to self-determination.

Only within the framework of a bi-national Palestinian workers republic, created by a united proletarian revolution of Hebrew and Arab workers against the clerical Zionist state and the bloody Hashemite throne, can an equitable solution of the counterposed national claims be reached. ■



Pra-PLO demonstration in New York.

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"Thank you, Mrs. President, Isabel is Perón": Peronist demonstration in Buenos Aires.

SIPA

Death Squadrons Murder Argentine Leftists

NOVEMBER 12—Since the announcement of Perón's death on July 1, some 137 political and labor leaders have been assassinated in Argentina, more than one a day. Contrary to the impression given by capitalist news media, the overwhelming majority of the victims are leftists.

This government-backed crackdown is now reaching the proportions of a veritable political pogrom and threatens to lead to the banning of all socialist and independent labor organizations.

Most notable has been the complete impunity with which the ultra-rightist terror squads carry out their "mopping up" operations. So far responsibility for more than 25 of the deaths has been taken by a previously unknown "Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance." The Triple A, as it has become known, has never released a kidnap victim, never had a member captured by the authorities and never had an operation foiled. None of its leaders are known and it has made no political declarations.

Its remarkable success is no doubt due to the special methods of the AAA—"arrests" made by teams with credentials that "look like" police cards, the victims being taken off in cars that also "look like" those of the secret police. To even the most gullible observer it is evident that the "Triple A" is simply a cover for the police, a sinister "night and fog" operation patterned on the Brazilian "esquadras do morte" (death squadrons) and Nazi activities in Germany during the months before Hitler's takeover.

The King is Dead, Long Live the Queen!

For many among Argentina's workers, General Juan Domingo Perón had symbolized the "fat years" of the late 1940's and early 1950's, when wages were high and the unions strong. Then came the military with their "Liberating Revolution," which drove out the caudillo and cut real wages by one half. Yet although the generals and admirals banned Perón's Justicialista party, annulled votes and "intervened" (took over) the unions, they were unable to crack the masses' faith in their "lider."

Thus when the Supreme Benefactor returned to the fatherland last year, the plebeian Peronist ranks were in for a rude awakening, discovering (too late) that the General had returned only to do the job the military had failed to accomplish—ruthlessly crush the combative workers movement. The bloodbath began even as Perón was arriving from Europe on June 20. Gunmen in the pay of the reactionary union bureaucracy shot down 34 Peronist youth,

wounding over 300, in a cold-blooded attack on the thousands who streamed to Ezeiza airport to greet their idol.

In the months that followed wages were frozen; laws were passed permitting the national union bureaucracy to "intervene" rebellious locals and allowing the government to sack any public employee without cause; assassinations of leftists rose sharply and left-Peronist newspapers were outlawed. A crisis came in February of this year with the "police coup" in Córdoba (a key interior industrial center), ousting the local left-Peronist provincial governor and vice governor. Although "Marxist" labor leaders and bourgeois liberals denounced the coup, they did nothing to mobilize the masses.

Nevertheless, the workers did not cease to struggle. Tens of thousands of teachers defied the "Social Pact" by striking for higher wages in June. Thus with the death of the "lider" the whole structure threatened to collapse. If Perón's widow, Maria Estela (commonly referred to as "Isabelita"), stepped into the presidency without incident, it was only because the figure with total authority was replaced by one who had none at all.

Under Isabelita the cabinet soon polarized into a moderate and hard-line rightist wing, the former led by economics minister José Gelbard (a businessman and author of the wage freeze) and the latter by the sinister Rasputin-like José López Rega. Although nominally minister of social welfare, López Rega actually controlled the secret police. It is he who is undoubtedly responsible for the terror



General Juan Domingo Perón

AP

squads. With the resignation of Gelbard last month, the rightist ultras appear to have consolidated their position.

Independent Unions Under Attack

Particularly singled out for attack have been leftist unions, which earlier played a key role in bringing down the military dictatorship. The Córdoba CGT (General Confederation of Labor), under the leadership of left-Peronist Atilio López (of the bus drivers) and "Marxist" Agustín Tosco (of the power workers), sparked a three-day near general strike in 1969, the famous *cordobazo*.

Among the most combative workers in Córdoba were those of the Renault

and Fiat auto plants. After fighting off thugs from the rightist-led metal workers' union (UOM) for several years, they eventually achieved temporary government recognition for an independent union, the local SMATA (auto workers) led by René Salamanca. Together, the left-Peronist López, the independent militant Salamanca and the Stalinist sympathizer Tosco were the prominent local leaders of the CGT. In March 1973 López was elected vice governor of the province.

Then, less than a year later, in the wake of the Córdoba "police coup" the local union federation was wrested from the leftists and López deposed by Perón. Now López has been killed by the AAA (in September). Both SMATA and the power workers' union have been "intervened" by the government and warrants issued for the arrest of Tosco and Salamanca. The right-wingers' "mopping up" operation appears to be successful.

The masses' will to fight the rightists was never in doubt. Despite numerous threats, beatings, machine-gun attacks and government refusals to recognize their choice, Córdoba auto workers refused to bow to the gangster-ridden UOM. In August a victorious strike brought them a large pay increase. But the supposed "class-struggle" leaders refused to fight for any but strictly trade-union issues.

Supporting the Institutional Order

Chief responsibility for the absence today of any significant organized workers movement independent from Peronist control must fall to the Communist Party. With many tens of thousands of militants, it could have ensured a sizeable vote for a workers' candidate to

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Córdoba during "police coup" in February.

ASI

...Near East

timement has increased sharply, notably among war veterans, and there has been widespread economic discontent.

Then, when the government of Yitzhak Rabin announced a 42 percent devaluation of the Israeli currency last Sunday demonstrations erupted in several cities. Rioting in Tel Aviv's Hatikva quarter, a slum section, was led by the Israeli Black Panthers, a group of militant Sephardic Jews (from Africa and Asia). It was put down by club-swinging riot police.

The same day about 1,000 workers gathered in front of the headquarters of the Histadrut, Israel's corporatist "labor federation," demanding action against the price increases. When a Histadrut official attempted to defend a policy of passive objections he was followed back inside the building by a group of workers who then assaulted him.

Port workers, traditionally among the most militant, stopped work in Haifa and Ashdod, and on Wednesday an engineers' protest took the state radio off the air for almost an hour. Reporting a meeting by delegates of shop committees in Haifa representing 80,000 workers the *New York Times* (14 November) wrote: "A representative of Haifa municipal employees was pushed off the dais by industrial workers when he opposed anti-government demonstrations. An uproar prevented an official of the Ministry of Communications from continuing his speech after he said there was room in Israel for capitalists, too."

The Washington-Tel Aviv Axis?

If the riots, demonstrations and work stoppages by Jewish workers were hammering at the myth of social peace in Israel, a significant incident involving the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff should put into question the supposedly unbreakable unity between Israel and American imperialism.

In an address to students at Duke University on October 10, General George S. Brown remarked: "Now, in answer to the question would we use force in the Middle East. I don't know—I hope not. We have no plans to. It is conceivable, I guess. It would be almost as bad as the seven days in May. You can conjure up a situation where there is another oil embargo, and people in this country are not only inconvenienced and uncomfortable, but suffer."

This is the kind of talk the Zionist propagandists like to hear—"denials" that are in fact threats. But what followed was not so pleasant: "They get tough-minded enough to set down the Jewish influence in this country and

break that lobby. It is so strong, you wouldn't believe, now. We have the Israelis coming to us for equipment. We say we can't probably get the Congress to support a program like this. And they say don't worry about the Congress. We will take care of the Congress. This is somebody from another country, but they can do it. They own, you know, the banks in this country, the newspapers. Just look at where the Jewish money is" (*New York Times*, 14 November). The general subsequently "regretted" his remarks, but did not retract them.



JDL leader threatens to kill Arafat.

The military officer caste is largely drawn from the most reactionary elements of the population and is certainly infused with racism, national chauvinism and other forms of bigotry. By his blatant appeal to anti-Jewish sentiments, General Brown demonstrated that these are not the exclusive property of aged Nazis and semi-feudal sheiks. Socialist militants must not allow legitimate revulsion for Zionism to obscure the need for uncompromising struggle against such anti-semitic filth.

Furthermore, it is well known that much of the Pentagon and State Department have never favored the traditional U.S. policy of support for Israel. They are more concerned with securing oil supplies and keeping the Russians out of the Near East. So this speech is nothing new as far as the sentiments it expresses are concerned.

But the fact that it should be stated publicly, not retracted and the general not removed is a sign of the times. U.S. imperialism is not about to let Israel disappear from the map—any more than it will allow another of its client states, Hashemite-ruled Jordan, to crumble if it can prevent it. But, as indicated during the last Arab-Israeli conflict and by Nixon's tour to the Near East in June, Washington is willing to maneuver and (within certain limits) use its role as arms supplier for the Tel Aviv generals in order to extract concessions.

As preparations are being made for a fifth Near East war, the "socialist" cheerleaders of the "Arab Revolution" should be demanding a bigger and better war from Sadat and Faisal. Marxists, on the other hand, seek not to reinforce the nationalist hold over the working masses of Israel and the Arab countries but to undermine this by struggling for proletarian internationalist policies of united class struggle.

In the 1973 conflict, as in 1948 and 1967, we have called for a policy of revolutionary defeatism on both sides in the Arab-Israel wars. At the same time we demand unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories and recognize the right of both Palestinian Arabs and Hebrews to self-determination.

Only by creating a bi-national Palestinian workers state—the product of socialist revolution through common struggle of Hebrew and Arab workers—as part of a socialist federation of the Near East can there be a truly democratic solution to the competing national claims in Palestine. ■

Dialectics of Double-Talk

Guardian Defends Protectionist Boycott

The *Guardian's* resident Trotskyologist, Carl Davidson, has once again tried to show that Trotskyism is "left" in form and right in essence." His 13 November column, "Which Side Are You On?", explains how the Spartacist League's opposition to the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) bureaucracy's national-chauvinist boycott of South African coal proves that the "first duty" of the SL is "to the State Department, to the Southern Co. [target of the boycott] and other 'free trade' coal importers and, finally, to the South African regime."

Given the serious nature of such accusations an honest opponent would feel obligated to provide some evidence to prove his case. He might even begin by simply showing that, contrary to the assertions of the SL, the boycott is not a tool of the Miller bureaucracy to foment sentiments of reactionary protectionism and national chauvinism, but is, in fact, a blow against racism and apartheid—or at least intended to be so. Carl Davidson, however, is not an honest opponent.

Carl Davidson does not directly deny the SL's assertion that UMW president Arnold Miller's boycott campaign is a protectionist scheme not different from the "Be American, Buy American" jingoist campaign pushed by the U.S. textile capitalists and their lieutenants in the labor movement. His objection is that the SL's assertion is one-sided. According to Davidson, the truth lies on another plane: "The coal boycott, of course, like any tactical weapon used for limited aims, contains within it two different class lines. One can move the struggle forward, while the other can hold it back and even turn the fight into its opposite."

Davidson sees two lines contending within the UMW and goes so far as to claim that both lines "are reflected in the *UMW Journal*." One line says that the coal boycott is an act of international labor solidarity and a protest against racism, while the other line echoes the sentiments of the "protectionist" section of the bourgeoisie. Unfortunately for Davidson, these "two lines" amount to nothing more than the Miller bureaucracy speaking out of both sides of its mouth.

If Davidson objects that this is not so, then let him identify by naming those in the UMW who oppose Miller's reactionary boycott line, who are struggling for internationalism and against racism and who have access to the pages of the *UMW Journal*. He is unable to do so because such an organized opposition does not exist. And what is more, because the *Guardian* is tied to Miller's coattails, it and Davidson are—their protests to the contrary—committed to opposing the creation of such a class-struggle opposition. They are simply Miller's front men.

Davidson and the *Guardian* fronted for Miller when he was campaigning for UMW president (with a little help from his friends in the U.S. Departments of Labor and Justice). Davidson is still at it today. The proof? In his polemic against the SL, Davidson obligingly attributes the following reactionary statement to the 16 August issue of the *UMW Journal*: "We have coal operators sitting down here in Alabama who would love to make a nice profit out of selling their available low sulfur coal to the Southern Co." Comrade Davidson, why don't you tell us that these are the words of your "progressive" darling, Arnold Miller?

In fact, if Davidson had pursued the question of the "two lines" more deeply, he would have discovered that the "two lines" in the UMW, "reflected in the *UMW Journal*," come from one and

the same person! For Miller is also quoted in the *UMW Journal* of 16 August as saying, "The coal that South-ern wants to bring in to replace UMWA coal was produced by slave labor under the threat of jail sentences." It seems that "the two-line struggle within the miners' union" is so omnipresent that it finds its reflection in the very head of Arnold Miller himself!

Clearly Miller is trying to exploit the feelings of those miners who are genuinely anti-racist and repelled by the apartheid regime in South Africa. He seeks to mobilize their outrage in the service of a policy of jingoist solidarity with the American coal barons. Miller's crocodile tears for the slave labor conditions of South African black workers are as phony as three dollar bills.

Those trade unionists who man and respect the unionpicket lines in support of the boycott (lines that the SL would respect even as it fought the boycott as a policy) out of anti-racist sentiment are being used by the UMW bureaucracy. If the UMW bureaucracy was really concerned about racism and international solidarity it would do many things, not the least of which would be to undertake a fight against racism not only in South Africa, but also in Alabama.

Davidson may really believe that the coal boycott is tactically justified and an objective blow against racism. But why then does he not demand that it be extended to the "racist coal" mined in Alabama, which, according to his school of Maoism, is part of an oppressed "Negro Nation"? Instead, uttering not a single peep of criticism, he falls in line behind Miller, the Alabama coal producers and the State of Alabama, all of whom shout "Don't Buy Racist South African Coal! Buy Good, Democratic Dixieland Coal!"

Davidson's "two-line" theory is only a lot of Maoist gobbledegook to cover up his petty-bourgeois moralizing in the service of social patriotism and bourgeois hypocrisy. ■

CORRECTION

In our last issue, the article "Shut Down Coal! Organize the Unorganized!" contained a formulation which leads to the conclusion that the trade unions, under their present leadership, are of no use at all to the workers. Speaking of UMW president Miller's linking of the demand for a right to strike over grievances to a supposed right of the employers to lock out, we wrote: "Once the alleged 'right' of the companies to exploit labor, make a profit and organize production is admitted the union becomes superfluous."

The reactionary, liberal and even reformist labor bureaucrats *do* recognize the employers' "right" to exploit, make a profit and organize production: yet that does not make unions led by these fakers "superfluous." While the bureaucracy kowtows to bourgeois property rights, it occasionally is compelled to contest their application (wage-gouging, speed-up, etc.) although in, at best, a half-hearted manner. The trade unions, even under reactionary leadership, are nonetheless the principle independent organizations of the working class and it is in this arena that communists must counterpose themselves to the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.

Only by ousting these treacherous misleaders and replacing them with a class-struggle leadership can the trade unions become a mighty springboard for the fight to liberate the working class and all of the oppressed. ■

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French Postal Workers Spark Strike Wave

PARIS, November 11—A militant nationwide strike by French postal workers, now in its fourth week, has touched off a major upsurge in the class struggle here. With mail at a virtual standstill throughout the country, additional strikes have caused disruption in train service, television broadcasting, electric power and gas supplies, Paris bus service and newspaper publication. On everybody's mind is the possibility that the determined struggle by postal workers may set off a chain reaction on the scale of the May-June events of 1968.

In recent weeks there has been strike action in numerous branches of the economy, particularly around threatened plant closures or bankruptcies. The most dramatic was the occupation of the luxury liner *France* by its crew following announcement of government plans to mothball the ship. In addition, the Annonay tanneries, three Titan-Coder trailer assembly plants and five printing plants owned by Néogravure, the largest firm in the industry, have been occupied in the face of threatened closings.

The current strikes are concentrated in public services and nationalized industry, thus pitting the workers directly against the government. Common to all are demands for increased hiring in the face of speed-up, opposition to deteriorating job conditions, and wage claims. They are an explicit challenge to President Giscard d'Estaing's "austerity" policy of making the workers pay for capitalist economic crisis.

Postal Wildcat

The postal walkout began as a wildcat action ("grève sauvage") in Paris sorting centers on October 18, winning grudging support from the union federations when it quickly escalated into a national action. It was solidified by the hostile attitude of the government, which offered only a token wage increase. Postal minister Pierre Le-long added fuel to the strikers' anger by describing mail sorters as lazy and their work as "stupid."

With over 90 percent of the mail sorters out nationwide, the strike has been effective as an industrial action. In some places it has been quite militant, involving occupation of the postal facilities: Lille and Saint Etienne strikers had to be forcibly evicted by police. Telephone and telex service have also been affected.

Postal workers' grievances are typical of those in other French "public" services. Despite a mushrooming volume of mail, the government has restricted hiring of new workers in recent years. Instead it has taken on a large number of "auxiliary" workers who are laid off after a short period (these now number one quarter of all postal employees).

Despite the speed-up, French mail sorters receive a completely inadequate salary. With living costs higher than in the U.S., a postal worker in Paris starts at 1,450 francs (\$313) per month, rising to only 1,700 francs (\$366) after ten years service! Infla-

tion currently exceeds 15 percent annually.

The union bureaucrats have done their best to limit the struggle to purely economic demands, namely a minimum salary of 1,700 francs, the hiring of several thousand new workers, improved working conditions and reclassification of "auxiliary" workers as "functionaries" (giving them job security and increased pay). They have also not called out the entire post office, a clear measure of their sabotage.

Extend the Strike!

The Stalinist and social-democratic union leaders' main concern is to keep



Workers at Marseille trailer factory protest plant closing.

the mail strike from spreading to the rest of the government sector and private industry. Thus they call for rotating strikes on a staggered basis to ensure that there is not too much disruption in any one area at one time. On the state railways, for instance, they strike one-day-at-a-time and one-section-at-a-time. A power workers' strike here in Paris cut the current by 30 percent, but was limited to a half day.

The most blatant betrayal by the union tops has been over the miners' strike in the nationalized Lorraine coal fields. The miners' action posed a substantial threat of extending strike action to all nationalized industry. However, it was effectively isolated by the bureaucracy, which refused even to extend it to other coal fields. It was broken after six days, when the Force Ouvrière (FO) and another union federation ordered their members back to work.

Despite its unusual length and the no-win policy of union leaders, the postal walkout has successfully held out against the government. The national labor federations have been forced to call a one-day general strike for November 19 to show that they

are "doing something" to support the mail walkout. While they no doubt hope to bring the action under control in this way, such maneuvers can be risky.

With the bringing together of the postal strikers and rail, hospital, newspaper, gas, electric and other workers who have recently undertaken one-day work stoppages, militants could agitate for making the reformists' token protest into a real general strike, raising demands which unite the working class. All working people are hit by skyrocketing inflation and mounting layoffs, for instance, thus urgently posing the need for a sliding scale of wages and hours. Other key demands include expropriation of plants and companies

the workers to concentrate on defeating Giscard's budget (although failing to explain how). As the walkout spread, however, the OCI belatedly began to call on the bureaucrats to "take on their responsibilities" and for a strike by all postal workers.

Thus ten days after the national mail strike was a fact, the OCI newspaper *Informations Ouvrières* (30 October-6 November) announced: "...the battle for the general strike in the post office ... has begun." It only bothered to raise this slogan after the sorters' wildcat had already effectively crippled the system and received official endorsement. Since that time the task of revolutionists should have been to call for expanding the strike to other sectors of the economy both private and "public." This the OCI did not do.

The FCR's intervention in the postal strike has been characterized by its usual mindless enthusiasm over workers' militancy. A front-page headline, "The Postal Workers Show the Way!", in *Rouge* (1 November) sums it up; certainly the FCR didn't show the way.

The program offered by the Front is essentially the same economist program of the union bureaucracy, with the addition of a few demands for strike militancy, calling for "plant occupations," "block the automatic telex machines," "general assemblies to control the strike" and the like. Like the OCI the FCR has failed to call for a real general strike to achieve victory for the postal workers and for key demands which could mobilize the entire working class against Giscard's "austerity" plans (no layoffs, sliding scale of wages and hours).

Having discovered in the postal workers its latest "new vanguard"—the purpose of this invention being to relieve the FCR of any responsibility to lead the class struggle forward—the Pabloists seek to simply liquidate into it on the basis of being the best trade-union militants. ■

which threaten to close; workers control of industry; workers defense guards; a democratically elected central strike committee and a workers government. This would set the scene for a direct confrontation with the government and pose the question of state power.

Absence of Revolutionary Leadership?

The current upsurge reveals the bankruptcy of the two main ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France, the OCI (Internationalist Communist Organization) and FCR (Revolutionary Communist Front).

The OCI's attitude has been marked by pervasive tailism, support for the trade-union bureaucracy (particularly of Force Ouvrière) and parliamentary cretinism. In addition to the FO leaders' despicable role in sabotaging the coal strike, they also renounced the postal strike as soon as some districts began to waver, calling on FO members to return to work. Yet OCI leader Pierre Lambert voted in favor of the political report by FO chief Bergeron at the union federation's recent convention.

At the beginning of the strike the OCI focused on parliament, calling for



Mail accumulates in Paris during postal strike.

L'EXPRESS

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SWP-OCI Discussions

The letter which we reproduce below will no doubt be of great interest both to members of the French OCI (Organisation Communiste Internationaliste) and to members of the "United" Secretariat, in particular of the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire (FCR) in France and the American SWP. Written by the member of the OCI Political Bureau chiefly responsible for international work to member groups of the OCI-led "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" (OCRFI), the letter boasts of the "correctness" of their "tactical steps... to intervene in the crisis of the USec." These "tactical steps" amount to abandoning twenty years of struggle against Pabloist liquidationism.

Domestically the OCI's capitulation

WV EXCLUSIVE

has found expression in its position in the 1974 French presidential elections of support to the candidate of the class-collaborationist, popular-front Union of the Left. At the time, we characterized the OCI's electoral line with a quote from Trotsky, "Not just a stupidity, but a crime" (*Spartacist*, édition française no. 6, 5 May 1974). Now it appears that the crime has borne fruit.

In letters referred to in the text below, the International Bureau of the OCRFI wrote to the United Secretariat requesting observer status at the USec's "Tenth World Congress." In the letter of 10 October 1973 the OCRFI not only proposed exchanging discussion documents but also, in a passage whose exact application is unclear, to "apply democratic centralism":

"It goes without saying that, respecting the principles of the Transitional Program of the Fourth International and workers democracy, on the basis of a broad and full international discussion which alone can create the terrain for defining clear political positions and for accomplishing practical tasks in the rebuilt Fourth International, we are prepared to apply democratic centralism."

—Correspondance Internationale
No. 9, December 1973

In the earlier (May 1973) letter the OCRFI clearly, if not explicitly, renounced the OCI's previous position that, in the words of James P. Cannon, "The essence of Pabloist revisionism is the overthrow of that part of Trotskyism which is today its most vital part.... Pabloism is the substitution of a cult and a revelation for a party and a program."

After his initial hesitation in fighting Pablo, Cannon spoke in 1953 of being "at war with this new revisionism," and said that no one in the Party "contemplates any later relations in the same party with the strikebreakers of the Pablo-Cochran gang" (*Speeches to the Party*). Now, however, the OCRFI letter to the USec takes a different view on the destruction of the Fourth International wrought by Pablo in the 1950-53 period:

"The Fourth International was pushed into a dead end by Pabloism.... This bears witness to the need to examine anew the entire field of the international workers movement, to take into account changes which have come up, to correctly evaluate the new groupings and, in this framework, to proceed to examine the differences which arose in the Fourth International in 1950-53 and which have grown considerably since then."

—Correspondance Internationale
No. 8, July 1973

Despite the *pro forma* reiteration that the OCRFI would of course "not rally to a method, Pabloism, which we

still consider foreign to Marxism," the OCRFI in fact now espouses the "family of Trotskyism" view, that there are simply two (or more) "wings" of the Trotskyist movement which only have "differences" between them. If this is the case, then there can be no war against Pabloism, but merely fraternal criticism among slightly estranged members of the family—the door leading toward reunification stands open, and indeed beckons.

The Spartacist tendency, on the other hand, still stands by its position, expressed at the 1966 London Conference of the International Committee, that "the family of Trotskyism does not exist," a view which we shared at the time with the OCI.

Now the OCI, by including the SWP in the "family of Trotskyism," substitutes for the programmatic struggle against Pabloist revisionism a secondary, metaphysical notion of "continuity." Thus, the "reconstruction of the Fourth International" is reduced to holding a big family reunion. This can only lead to the formation of a reformist international grouping with the trappings of Trotskyist "orthodoxy," but whose content could be a latter-day version of Kautskyism.

THE OCI CAPITULATES TO JACK BARNES

The letter reprinted below also stands in sharp contrast to the OCI's former position on the SWP. The letter's author, François Forgue, a leading member of the OCI's PB, not so long ago attacked the SWP, and Barnes in particular, correctly pointing out that for the SWP,

"...the place of the working class in relation to the means of production is not decisive.... to this extent the working class... is of course no longer the class which leads the socialist revolution in the United States."

"Here we are in the midst of full-blown idealism and this boundless revisionism has broken any link with Marxism.... Barnes became an 'authority' in the SWP only when it gave in to Pabloism in 1963: this unbridled revisionism is the product of that capitulation."

—Correspondance Internationale
No. 1, May 1971

And in his *In Defense of Trotskyism*, the OCI's "official" account of Pabloism, Stéphane Just states:

"It was the Cuban revolution which revealed that the SWP leadership had given up building a revolutionary party

in the United States and that henceforth it fixed its goal as winning the leaders of petty-bourgeois movements to the program of the socialist revolution."

But now the OCI characterizes the SWP, which had "broken any link with Marxism" and "given up building a revolutionary party in the United States" as "Trotskyist"!!

It is clear that not everyone in the OCI is happy at the "tactical" turn to the SWP. At a public meeting in November 1973, Lambert was forced to admit that there were comrades in the OCI who did not think that the SWP was



SWP's Joseph Hansen

"Trotskyist," but that they were wrong.

And in the summer of 1973, a leading member of the OCI stated that it was obvious that the situation in the SWP was unstable, that it could not last for a protracted period of time, and that if there were not a major faction fight in the SWP within six months or a year, the SWP would become what the Spartacist League said it already was, namely a reformist organization. But the year—and more—has passed, comrades of the OCI, and where are the changes in the SWP? Not only are there no signs of a major faction fight, but the SWP bureaucratically expelled the only opposition which during that time had even attempted in an empirical, piecemeal fashion to make left criticisms of it. The SWP's career as a revolutionary

force has long since been over.

The OCI's turn to the SWP and the USec is basically a maneuver caused by the virtually total disintegration of its Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International: the Varga group (together with the Spanish and Moroccan groups) left in late 1972 when they were on the verge of being expelled, Lora's Bolivian POR appears to now have only tenuous organizational ties with the OCI, and there are serious differences with the other Latin American groups in the OCRFI.

The SWP, for its part, is interested in putting pressure on its factional opponents of the USec European majority by pointing out that it has other options open. Hansen must have enjoyed the spectacle of Rousset (who detests the SWP), chaperoning his tryst with Lambert. And if the maneuver makes Mandel squirm a little, so much the better.

But this meeting and letter should be a cause of great concern to the OCI membership, as they open the door to the possibility of an international OCI-SWP-PST bloc. Such an abomination would presage a still further shift to the right for the OCI, toward mainstream social-democratic reformism, in a bloc which would make the London Bureau of the 1930's seem like a nest of flaming ultra-lefts.

Both the SWP and the OCI originally played a leading role in the struggle against Pabloist revisionism, whatever their weaknesses. The SWP capitulated to Pablo's revision of Trotskyism in the 1963 reunification which produced the United Secretariat. Healy exposed himself as a political bandit in the mid-1960's. The OCI now appears to be in the process of capitulating to the SWP. It is therefore fitting to conclude by quoting Favre-Bleibtreu's 1951 letter to another one-time opponent of Pablo who had capitulated, Ernest Mandel: "Excuse us for not following you in this path, since for us the International is not built by maneuvering, and especially not by your ridiculous maneuvers."

Paris, 20 October 1974

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed we are sending you the minutes of the meeting which took place on October 15 in Paris between a delegation of the United Secretariat led by the SWP, including also two representatives of the FCR (France), and an OCI delegation.

First, the circumstances and composition of this meeting:

It was held at the request of the SWP leadership, of which some representatives were in Europe for a meeting of

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Left: USec's Ernest Mandel. Below, from left: Pierre Broué, Pierre Lambert of OCI.



Italy

Political Crisis and

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

MILAN, November 4—All the elements in the present world economic crisis, and its impact on capitalist democracy, stand out with exceptional clarity in Italy: hyper-inflation slashing real wages while unemployment mounts ominously; a prolonged parliamentary crisis with pressures both to bring the Communist Party into the government and to keep it out at all costs; an aggressive fascist movement; a large, yet totally ineffectual, New Left of anarcho-Maoist persuasion; and the counterrevolutionary intrigues of U.S. imperialism.

Inflation, Four-Hour Strikes and Squatters

Official figures give Italy an inflation rate of 25 percent, the highest in West Europe except for Portugal. Actually, such estimates understate the real price rises since they are based on government-set ceilings for food staples (bread, pasta, cooking oil). For the past year such items have frequently disappeared altogether from retail stores, being available only in the black markets. There have been food riots in Sicily and Naples staged by housewives who were unable to find price-controlled bread and pasta.

Earlier, in the summer, prices were running about 6 percent faster than industrial wages (on an annual basis) and inflation has accelerated during the autumn. In other words, the living standards of the working class are being sharply cut. The cost-of-living escalators now in effect have proven totally inadequate and unions are forced to demand an improved and, especially, more egalitarian system.

However, the means being used to obtain this is the traditional labor ritual of Italian and French Stalinists—the four-hour strike. Such strikes bring no real pressure to bear on the employers but do serve to dull the fighting spirit of the ranks.

With the economic situation of the masses growing ever more desperate and the labor movement doing nothing about it, there has been a wave of direct action by consumers. In Turin, commuters are refusing to pay bus and streetcar fares, while tenants pay electric bills with counterfeit money. In Milan a group of women took over a supermarket and managed to remove thousands of dollars worth of food before riot police broke it up.

The most militant defiance of bourgeois legality by consumers has recently come from squatters' movements. Many Italian cities, notably Rome, have extensive shantytowns while luxury and middle-class apartments are unoccupied because no one can afford the rent or cut through the bureaucratic red tape.

Organized occupations of empty apartments have become frequent, with an estimated 60,000 squatters in the capital alone (*International Herald Tribune*, 11 September). In September Roman police attempted to evict one such group and in the process shot to death a young leftist militant; several cops were injured by rock-throwing tenants.

Deeply committed to the sanctity of private property, the reformist Communist and Socialist parties and the trade unions under their leadership have denounced food rioters and squatters, even condoning police action against them. While direct action "at the point of consumption" can make only a marginal, at best secondary, contribution to the struggle for workers power, such actions are important symbolic attacks on the capitalist order. The entire labor movement must defend occupations of empty apartments

by the poor, refusal by commuters to pay transit fares and similar actions.

Austerity and Unemployment

In July the U.S. and West German governments dictated an "austerity" budget to Italy. Their program involved increased taxes for the purpose of cutting real consumption by 5 percent. Christian Democrats and Socialists attempted to sell this to the workers by promising to use state credit to prevent bankruptcies and mass layoffs. At the time we predicted:

"Even if the CP maneuvers the workers into accepting their side of the bargain, the Rumor/Saragat government cannot stave off widespread bankruptcies... By fall, Italy will be in a severe industrial slump with ever-mounting unemployment."

—*"World Economic Crisis," WV No. 51, 16 August*

Italy now has one million unemployed and another half million working short time out of a labor force of 14 million (*Italian Trends*, October 1974). Fiat, Italy's largest private manufacturer, has placed 70,000 workers from its Turin plants on an indefinite three-day week. And the auto giant Fiat occupies an even more strategic role in the Italian economy than Detroit does in the U.S.

Moreover, unemployment is not being generated only by Italy's own collapsing industry. For the past decade, Italian "full employment" has been maintained by exporting 2.3 million workers (14 percent of the domestic labor force) to Northern Europe. Now, every day thousands of Italian workers board trains in Munich, Essen or Zurich to return jobless to their native land.

International Credit and International Counterrevolution

Italy will run a balance-of-trade deficit this year on the order of \$9 billion. Yet as of August government holdings of gold and foreign exchange amounted to only \$5.4 billion (*Economist*, 26 October). In other words, at the present rate Italy will be literally bankrupt in seven months!

The effect of the July "austerity" measures on the balance of payments has been negligible. International pressure for still higher taxes or stiffer wage controls could produce an immediate mass explosion. Moreover, by slapping higher tariffs on all manufactures (directly violating the Common Market treaty) Italian deflation is hurting North European exports.

Consequently the West German regime has softened slightly toward its southern debtor since the spring. A short-term Common Market loan for \$2 billion has been extended, and in August Germany lent Italy an additional \$2 billion. This loan has real teeth in it: at near-market-level interest rates, it uses Italy's gold reserves as collateral. (This is the first time since World War II that inter-government loans involved a claim on the debtor's gold reserves.) The Italians have bought time, at high interest, and not much time at that.

In reality it is not West Germany but the U.S. that is Italy's ultimate creditor. And whereas German loans are generally governed by short-term financial considerations, American credit is disbursed as part of a global counterrevolutionary strategy.

When Italian President Giovanni Leone recently visited Washington to discuss loans and possible Communist Party participation in the government, Ford stressed his commitment to "a stable, free and democratic Italy," i.e., the CP stays out (*International Herald Tribune*, 6 October). It is obvious that every dollar in U.S. credit to Italy is tied to demands for a strong bourgeois government. But can such a government

be established within the existing framework of parliamentary democracy?

Christian Democrat/Socialist Coalition on the Rocks?

Despite all the jokes about "musical chair" governments, Italy has been quite stable in the post-war period, much more so than France, for instance. Since 1948, when Truman threatened to invade Italy if the Communist Party/Socialist Party (CP/SP) coalition won the election, the Christian Democracy (CD) has always governed Italy.

A dozen CD bosses have held the top ministerial posts throughout the past quarter century. The only significant change occurred in 1962 with the "opening to the left," when the main social-democratic party, the SP, entered the coalition. (A small right-wing party, Giuseppe Saragat's Social Democrats, split from the SP in 1948 in order to break from the post-war SP/CP alliance. It has always been a virulently anti-communist sect whose main social base is the U.S. State Department.)

In the past few years the Christian Democracy has become increasingly



Brescia: Fascist bombs kill 8 in May.



Rome: Airport workers demonstrate against layoffs in October.

disorganized. Corruption, cliquism and factional strife dominate party life. Key to maintaining the CD electoral base and organizational unity is a patronage system which has become a major source of inflation. Every year the bloated state bureaucracy gets bigger while Italy's social services steadily deteriorate. The sheer parasitism of the governmental machine has caused Giovanni Agnelli, head of Fiat and of Confindustria (the industrialists' pressure group), to attack the CD for "unconscious socialism."

The most concerted recent attempt to arrest the progressive deterioration of CD authority came from right-wing party boss Amintore Fanfani last spring. Attempting to rekindle militant Catholicism as an ideological torch in the service of clerical bonapartism, Fanfani backed a referendum in May to repeal Italy's first—and quite restrictive—divorce law (see "Papal, Fascist Anti-Divorce Drive Defeated in Italy," *WV No. 45, 24 May*).

With aggressive support from the Vatican hierarchy and the fascist MSI, and only reluctant opposition from the CP and SP, the referendum was nevertheless defeated, by an unexpectedly large majority.

Coming after its victory over Fanfani, it was the SP's turn to try to

strengthen its place in the ruling coalition. In June it played games about making the "austerity" program somewhat less austere, but in the end capitulated to the CD. Come autumn the Socialists began talking about the need for more "consultation" with the trade unions, code language for bringing the CP into the government or at least negotiating to obtain parliamentary backing from the Stalinists.

In the past the SP has opposed the "historic compromise" of a CP/CD coalition since this would make the Socialists a redundant factor in Italian politics. However, now that it is clear that nothing the government can do will prevent mass unemployment, the SP is anxious not to take the rap alone.

Socialist leaders recognize that if they have governmental responsibility during an economic depression while the Stalinists take an oppositional posture, the none-too-stable SP electoral and trade-union base will melt away. Therefore they have given the Christian Democrats an ultimatum: either the CP comes into the government, or the SP goes out.

The coalition came apart on 3 October at the initiative of the Social Democrats who, having received their instructions from Washington, refused

nd Economic Disaster



PANORAMA

to go along with any talk of CP participation. Since then various premier-designates have been unable to put it together again. For the CD to drop the Socialists and try an "opening to the right" by bringing in the reactionary "free enterprise" Liberals would almost certainly provoke a mass explosion and wouldn't even provide a formal parliamentary majority.

There is, in fact, no parliamentary solution except new elections no later than next spring (another of the Social Democrats' demands). And that election will be dominated by the question of a "historic compromise" between the mass party of the working class and the leading bourgeois party.

The "Historic Compromise" With NATO

The Communist Party has had a strategic perspective of coalition with the Christian Democracy for years. In the view of the cowardly, ultra-reformist Italian CP, the lesson of Chile is that a "popular front" of Stalinists, social democrats and a minority section of the liberal or nationalist bourgeoisie (e.g., the Chilean Popular Unity or the French Union of the Left) is *too radical*. For Berlinguer what is needed is a coalition with the main bourgeois party, in which the latter is dominant!

With the economic crisis the CP has stepped up its campaign for coalition and has therefore drawn closer to the government. The Stalinist-led main trade-union federation, the CGIL, went along with the July "austerity" mea-

sures, scarcely even raising token protests. At the parliamentary level as well there is, in effect, a "corridor coalition" between the Communist Party and the government. "There has been informal cooperation between the CP and the government for some time," declared the party's number two, Giorgio Amendola (*Newsweek*, 21 October).

If Italian governments were selected purely on the basis of national political dynamics, it is likely that the Stalinists would already have entered the coalition. However, the final say on the composition of the Italian government is made in Washington as well as Rome.

The CP fully recognizes this. Having spent most of the past decade wooing Fanfani and Pope Paul, Berlinguer/Amendola and Co. are now turning their charms on Dr. Kissinger and his CIA operatives. In a major statement the CP explicitly committed itself to keeping Italy in NATO. Senator Arnando Cossutta declared that the Communists will "act within the framework of specific international, geographic and political reality" (*International Herald Tribune*, 3 September).

But the Stalinists' stated commitment to military defense of the West has so far failed to soften the heart of American imperialism. Washington's refusal to allow Communist Party participation in the government is prolonging the parliamentary crisis and sharpens the class struggle in the streets and factories.

The Return of Italian Fascism

During the past few months, the Italian public has been regaled with exposés of abortive fascist/military coups. Reportedly the most serious (though not the most recent) of these was the conspiracy organized in 1970 by Prince Valerio Borghese ("the black prince"), whom the press always refers to as a "fascist war hero"—a rare breed indeed. Prince Borghese's 1970 coup had its comic aspects (as did the Hitler/Ludendorff 1923 Munich "beer hall" putsch), being called off in part on account of rain.

What is quite unfunny about these plots is that well-placed military figures are implicated in them. Among those now being investigated for their role in the Borghese affair are General Fanali, then air force chief of staff, and General Miceli, head of military intelligence until this August.

The plottings of the generals reveal an important, usually overlooked aspect of Italian politics. Because they changed sides in the middle of World War II, Italian fascists were able to maintain an effective "old boys network" in the government, unlike their die-hard German counterparts.

Meanwhile the younger, more plebeian fascists are engaging in mass

terror. Early this year a bomb was thrown into an anti-fascist rally in Brescia, killing eight. Then in August the Brenner Express, an international train used particularly by vacationers, was bombed by Ordine Nero ("Black Order"), killing 12 random individuals. The purpose of such indiscriminate terror is to demonstrate the fascists' capacity to defy the government and, equally important, their covert support within the state apparatus.

The electoral instrument of Italian fascism is the MSI (Italian Social Movement), which has parliamentary representation roughly equal to the Socialists'. Its social base is among the petty bourgeoisie and the lumpen population, particularly in the cities and villages of the Mezzogiorno, Italy's depressed rural South.

To date the MSI's constituency has consisted of the traditional far right, including many monarchists and voters who broke with the CD because of the 1962 "opening to the left." With the present economic conjuncture, the situation is quite favorable to the growth of fascism as the petty bourgeoisie is driven to desperation by accelerating inflation and unemployment, particularly among youth having no established loyalty to the working class.

No less favorable to the growth of fascism than the present economic situation are the policies of the Italian left. The CP and SP are seen (accurately) as the defenders of an increasingly intolerable status quo. The anarcho-Maoist "far left," in turn, has no strategy beyond permanent disruption of the economy through wildcat strikes, squatters' actions, etc. The stage is set for a tragic replay of the victory of fascism in the 1920's.

Dangers of "Workers Control Fetishism"

Of all the advanced capitalist countries, Italy's "far left" is both the largest numerically and has the greatest influence within the working class. In the last elections, the centrist parties PSUP and LI Manifesto received about 3/4 million votes although they failed to obtain parliamentary representation.

The Italian "far left" is exemplified by Lotta Continua, a loose anarcho-Maoist organization given to "third-worldist" enthusing abroad and syndicalism/spontaneism at home. Yet although for the past five years Italy has had the highest level of strikes and other mass struggles in West Europe, the "extra-parliamentary left" has failed to build an authoritative proletarian party.

One would think that this period would have been exceptionally favorable to the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard. However, under the inspired leadership of Livio Maitan, the Italian section of the self-styled "United Secretariat of the Fourth International,"

the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR), is as weak if not weaker than USec sections in several smaller, relatively stable countries (Sweden, for example).

In 1968, while theorizing about Nasserite Egypt's being a deformed workers state (created by a "cold" revolution) and the guerrilla road to power in Bolivia, Livio hit upon the brilliant tactic of entering the Communist Party in Italy. At a time when tens of thousands of left militants were breaking from the CP in the direction of Maoism and syndicalism, Livio took the Italian USec group into a party already hated by virtually every single militant who could possibly have been won to Trotskyism in the past five years.

Having thrown away an exceptionally favorable period to build a Trotskyist vanguard by entering the most right-wing Stalinist party in West Europe, now, during the most acute conjuncture economic and political crisis in 25 years, Maitan's GCR decides to adapt to syndicalism! Its Italian perspectives document for the coming period ("For a General Anticapitalist Mobilization!" *Inprecor* No. 8, 19 September) has a central "workers control" fetish.

Workers control is presented as a stage which, in a direct, linear and pacific way, leads to a workers government (which the USec conceives of as a "reform" government of the bourgeois state). In reality, workers control can only be a constant struggle (dual power at the point of production) against bourgeois authority, whose interests are represented by private armed guards, the fascists, the police and army.

Proof of the fundamentally syndicalist character of the GCR is its lack of any concrete policies toward discrediting the CP (and splitting away its working-class base), suppressing the fascists or confronting the bourgeois state power. The off-hand dismissal of a fascist danger is worthy of the most stupid, philistine syndicalist: "The greater success the workers are able to achieve in the coming struggles, the more unfavorable conditions will become for any fascist or protofascist initiatives."

In actual fact, under conditions of rampant inflation and mass unemployment, victorious economic struggles by the organized labor movement do not weaken fascism but give it fuel. The bourgeoisie sees the need for extreme measures to reimpose "law and order." And the desperate petty bourgeoisie, lumpen and unemployed are receptive to demagogic fascist attacks on the labor movement as the cause of economic collapse and inflation.

Fascism triumphs in a period when the working class is disrupting the normal functioning of a capitalist society, but is not moving to overthrow it. Workers control of production, if it is unrelated to a strategy for taking state power in order to institute socialist economic planning, creates optimum conditions for the growth of fascism.

A Revolutionary Program for Italy

A General Strike for a Sliding Scale of Wages—Repeal the July "Austerity" Measures.

The trade unions' ritualistic four-hour general strikes are totally ineffectual in securing the gains demanded, blunt the combativity of the workers and exasperate non-proletarian sectors of the population. The trade unions must call a real general strike (not limited in time) to secure full, immediate and uniform compensation for inflation to all workers—the sliding scale of wages. Such a strike must also demand repeal of the tax increase imposed on the

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Turin: Fiat workers protest compulsory short time last month.

Elections in Chicago-Gary Steel District

Ed Sadlowski: Out-Bureaucrat on the Make

CHICAGO, November 13—Labor Department-ordered voting now in progress in the Chicago-Gary region in the United Steelworkers will select the next director of the USW's District 31. The incumbent darling of the Abel bureaucracy, Sam Evett, is being challenged by a staff man and former Local 65 official who broke ranks, Ed Sadlowski.

Sadlowski called in the U.S. government after a previous election was stolen from him through massive ballot-box stuffing and fraud. He is free with liberal, populist rhetoric but hard to pin down on specifics. Although Evett is clearly "Abel's man," his campaign being financed by "contributions" from International appointees, Sadlowski offers nothing of the class-struggle program needed to bring fundamental change to the steel union.

The Sadlowski story has been played out many times before: an "honest" union official breaks with the incumbent team, leading a "rank-and-file revolt" to "clean up the union." Once elected the "maverick" is miraculously tamed, and things go on much as before.

I. W. Abel was himself elected USW president in 1965 on just such a program, promising to throw out McDonald's "tuxedo unionism" and to "return

18 NOVEMBER — The Labor Department has announced Sadlowski the victor over Evett in the USWA District 31 election by a 2-1 margin.

the union to the rank and file." Since then Abel has repeated every betrayal ever committed by his predecessor, even going one better by giving up the strike weapon.

No Opposition to the Abel Machine

Evett's slogan—"tough and independent"—is a joke. Never having worked a day in a steel plant, Evett was until 1973 the office boy of Joe Germano. Joe, in turn, was installed as District 31 director by McDonald in a rigged 1942 convention election. Evett is merely a tool of the International.

Sadlowski also poses as an independent. His lawyer, Joseph Rauh (legal eagle of the Yablonski, Miller appeal to the government against Tony Boyle's corrupt UMW regime), likens him to the "greats" such as Walter Reuther and A. Philip Randolph. According to Rauh, the latter distinguished themselves by keeping their fingers out of the till.

Various supposed socialist groups are also pandering to the Sadlowski myth of honest trade unionism. A special issue of *Labor Today*, paper of the Communist Party-backed Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, features a long interview with the challenger, expressing only the mildest hesitation about his lack of program. The October League's *Call* supports the District 31 Right to Strike Committee, which supports Sadlowski. The International Socialists express the common view of

all these fake lefts, saying, "A Sadlowski victory will be a clear defeat for Abel" (*Workers Power*, 31 October-13 November).

One person who does not see it that way is... Ed Sadlowski. Nowhere has he made serious criticisms of the International bureaucracy and its policies. On the question of the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" Sadlowski's program is silent. Yet by negotiating secretly with the companies and then forcing the ENA down the throats of the membership (USW members cannot vote on it, nor do they have the right to vote on contracts), Abel has given away the right to strike until 1980!

Sadlowski's program also steers clear of any mention of the so-called "consent decree," the Abel/company plan to piece off black workers and other victims of decades of discrimination with token cash payments and a very limited opening-up of rigid departmental seniority (accomplished, moreover, by allowing the courts to overturn the contract). Even on the unpopular contract, Sadlowski blames Evett and not Abel!

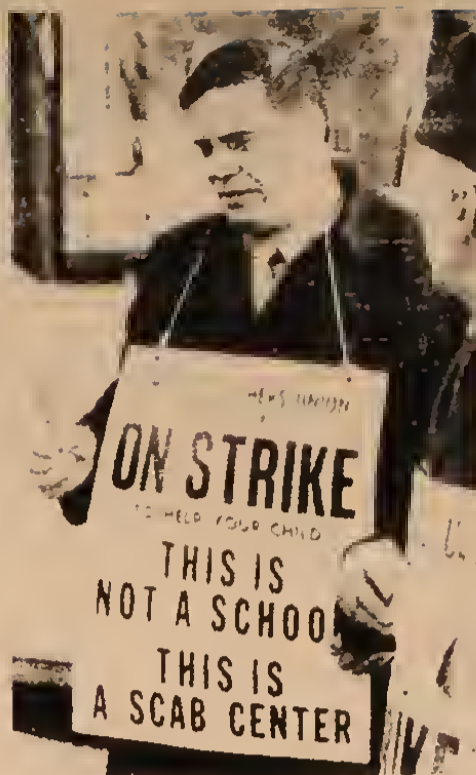
It is the old story of an out-of-office bureaucrat with a lot of "militant" rhetoric and no real program beyond the perennial "honesty" and "union democracy." His election, promises Sadlowski, will uproot corruption forever: "Erased for all time will be vote stealing, intimidation of voters... and the misuse of union funds.... No longer

"Down With the Butcher Dayan!"

CHICAGO, November 5—The mass murderer and Israeli general Moshe Dayan was met by about 50 militant anti-Zionist picketers when he came to speak at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, this evening. The demonstrators demanded "Israel Out of the Occupied Territories" and "U.S. Hands Off the Middle East." Countering the current wave of anti-Arab hysteria, the picketers made a noticeable impact on the audience with their spirited chanting and signs.

The militants who responded to a call by the Spartacist League for a Chicago-wide united-front demonstration against Dayan included several Arab students and a contingent from the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6. Among the slogans raised were "Down with Zionism, Fight for Socialism," "Not Jew Against Arab, But Class Against Class" and others. Upon the appearance of a half dozen jackbooted Nazis foaming that "communism is Jewish," the picketers responded with vigorous chants of "Smash the Fascist Scum" and "Smash Fascism Through Workers Revolution."

Not one of the other left tendencies



Ed Sadlowski

will you be ashamed by the acts of your leaders."

The "Taming" of the Militant

If elected, Sadlowski will find Abel's support to Evett no barrier to "reconciliation." Abel set the precedent when, following his victory over McDonald (who was strongly supported by Meany), he quickly became the right-hand man of the AFL-CIO chief. Like Abel, Meany, Woodcock and Miller, Sadlowski accepts the "reality" of the capitalist system, only asking for a little "more" of the pie. Wages should be adjusted, he says, to "what that industry is capable of producing and the profit they're making on what they're producing."

"Left" rhetoric is best for fooling the "left," most of which is more than willing to fall for it. Sadlowski's *Labor Today* interview is filled with folksy populist verbiage ("Jerry Ford's a bad-news guy for the working class") and is the only place where he criticizes the ENA in writing. But Ed is willing to unite with anyone who supports him. (Even *Labor Today* says the only reason he ran on a slate with blacks and Latinos in the Local 65 election was, "He counted the votes.")

One of Sadlowski's key supporters is another staff man, Ray O'Malley, who was once appointed by Germano to be spokesman for a "Steelworkers Against Communists" committee. Later he was appointed to a "reaffiliation" committee to screen unions which had been expelled from the Chicago CIO for "communism." O'Malley still dis-

agrees with Sadlowski's opposition to the Vietnam war, but both agree that this is essentially irrelevant in union affairs.

Government Control of the Unions

Government intervention is really the core of Sadlowski's "union democracy" program. He rails against the corruption of the regime (in his district), but does not call for the regular election of all staff officials, immediate recall provisions for all officeholders, workers' wages for union leaders, mandatory roll call votes on all major issues at conventions, access to the union periodicals for all union tendencies and other specific provisions which would guarantee real workers democracy.

Many reformists resort to bringing the bosses' courts into union affairs because, they argue, it is the "only way" open to fight the vote-rigging, blatantly dictatorial bureaucrats. These fake militants have no faith in the power of the rank-and-file workers to impose their will. The aftermath of the 1973 election between Evett and Sadlowski shows what a phony argument this is.

Following Evett's "victory," a union trial was held in Local 1066 in which seven officers, including the Local president, were convicted of forging at least 680 ballots for Evett, barred from holding union office and fined a total of \$14,000. On appeal, the International Executive Board drastically reduced the punishments, although it did not dare to overturn the convictions. But rather than mobilizing the membership to make the Local decision stick, Sadlowski turned to the Labor Department.

The government of the ruling class does not need to steal elections in order to subordinate the labor movement. The liberals, like Sadlowski and Miller, can be just as effective an instrument. It is often these "reformers" who do the most to extend direct government control over union affairs. A class-struggle opposition would demand complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state and would refuse to cross the class line by suing the unions in the courts.

Fighting for workers democracy, for an end to discriminatory hiring and seniority practices, for the right to strike, against wage controls and union participation on government boards, militants must rely on the ranks of labor—not the class enemy—to achieve victory against the current misleaders. Steel workers must organize a caucus with such a class-struggle program, to oppose the Abels, Evetts and Sadlowskis, and break with the twin capitalist parties (along with their lieutenants, the labor bureaucracy) by fighting for a workers party and a workers government. ■



WV PHOTO

in Chicago deemed it important to protest the visit by this butcher of Arabs and Jews. As the Zionist propaganda machine and U.S. government are preparing public opinion for a new, fifth, Near East war, these armchair "revolutionaries" prefer to stay at home rather than confront the reactionaries.

The reformist SWP was too busy celebrating its election-day "victories" to even notice, while its erstwhile comrades of the Internationalist Tendency

stayed away in fear for their safety since the SL, so they claimed, could not adequately defend its picket line. Though it was the only group to so much as attend the planning meeting, the RSL (with its usual degree of seriousness) declared the demonstration unsupportable since "Israel Out of the Occupied Territories" was a "Zionist demand"! Cowardice and criminal passivity are more likely reasons for these fake lefts' abstention. ■

Continued from page 5

SWP-OCI Discussions

the United Secretariat or the Executive Committee. The SWP leadership presented it as a response to the fact that on several occasions (in particular during comrade P. Broué's trips) the OCI made it known that it was agreeable to an exchange of views between the leaderships of the two organizations. Explicitly, they defined it as a reply to our International Bureau's letters of May and July 1973, as the minutes note. During a preliminary meeting, the SWP representatives indicated to us that the United Secretariat had agreed to a first informational discussion on the condition that the discussion would not be strictly bilateral, but that the USec would be represented as such, specifically by representatives of its French section, the FCR.

Hence a delegation which was in fact a delegation of the "International Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" under the "supervision" of two leading members of the FCR. The meeting consisted of: Hansen, Barnes, M.A. Waters (SWP); Ridell (LSA-Canada); Pierre Rousset and Olivier (FCR). The OCI was represented by Comrades Lamhert, Just, Raoul, François and Vespa. Rousset's presence is significant, as he belongs to the most extreme tendency in the USec majority and he is the one the SWP polemicized with harshly over Vietnam.

Only the initials are contained in the minutes, which are distributed more widely than this letter, addressed only to the leaderships of the organizations affiliated with the Organizing Committee.

The course of the meeting is quite clear from reading the minutes, which saves us superfluous commentary.

We merely want to add here some conclusions and make a proposal.

The conclusions which follow from this meeting are:

1) By its very existence the meeting is a verification of the correct character of the tactical steps taken by the International Bureau to intervene in the crisis of the USec. More basically, it is a confirmation of the correctness of the "open conference" method.

2) It is another expression of the intolerable degree differences within the USec have reached.

It is, so to speak, the "objective" development of the crisis which today leads the organizations affiliated to the United Secretariat to agree to a meeting (whose limits must be recognized) in which their fundamental disagreements are expressed.

3) As you will see, one of the characteristics of this meeting is that it took place based on our interlocutors' acceptance of the framework defined by the proposals made in our letters.

We were the only ones to speak in the name of an international mandate: we were intervening in the framework of the mandate established by the decisions of the International Bureau [of the OCRFI] in favor of international discussion. Facing us were delegations from different organizations without any common mandate except to listen to us.

4) Hansen's remarks on the need to preserve an area of political exchanges and common actions, independently of decisions with regard to a substantive discussion, correspond to the fact that:

—on the one hand, by mentioning the possibility of "common actions" in particular with the FCR in France, independent of the political differences and prior to the discussion of these differences, the SWP, as it stated, intends to preserve a link with the USec;

—on the other hand, by insisting on an organization-to-organization exchange of internal bulletins, on activities such as those concerning [...], the SWP reserves for itself the right to pursue discussions whatever the decisions of the USec majority may be.

5) There can be no question of indulging in risky speculations on possible

outcomes of this meeting. What is sure is that the dislocation process within the USec can be slowed but it cannot be stopped. What is sure is that maneuvers will multiply on all sides to stop the principled discussion.

For example, in Argentina, where it appears that Moreno is being obliged to take up this discussion, he is trying to short-circuit it by proposing to Política Obrera a 1963-style unification without discussion. But in the conditions which exist today, for us, for the comrades of PO, this maneuver is a springboard from which to act even more forcefully to impose a discussion of principles on the national and international scale.

Thus this event reinforces the importance of our own political intervention: the European Conference, the preparation for a Latin-American Conference become even more important.

It is within this framework that we make the following proposal:

The International Bureau as such must now invite our interlocutor at this meeting, the SWP (and through it the organizations of the USec and the USec itself, if it wishes), to attend our European Conference (not the meeting of the International Bureau, of course) as observers.

Such an initiative will stress that our desire to carry out—without prior organizational measures and in whatever form may be arrived at—the discussion that intersects the questions of principle lying at the origin of the crisis of the Fourth International corresponds not to a maneuver, but to a specific orientation toward rebuilding the Fourth International.

The USec refused to involve us in the discussions preparatory to the Tenth World Congress; for our part we are not afraid to involve it in our discussions.

We request that you take a position on this proposal so that we can extend an invitation quite soon and make it an element of the political struggle.

Since the French post office is currently on strike, do not hesitate to give us a short message by telephone.

Fraternal greetings,
François

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Narrow Margin in S.F. Vote: Proposition "L" Defeated

SAN FRANCISCO, November 6—The viciously anti-labor Proposition L (also known as the Feinstein Amendment to the city charter) went down in defeat at the polls today. If passed the measure would have frozen the wages of almost two thirds of S.F. city workers by tying them to levels prevalent in open-shop areas of the state. This would have set an important precedent, leading, among other things, to moves for government wage controls elsewhere in the country.

The final vote was relatively close: Yes—90,425; No—102,285. This was due to the fact that the local union bureaucracy relied exclusively on electoral means to defeat Prop. L. Banking everything on their Democratic Party "friends of labor" in the "Citizens United to Stop Proposition L" (headed by racist Mayor Alioto and Sheriff Hongisto), S.F. labor leaders did everything in their power to prevent militant labor action against the amendment. And not only did the anti-labor measure come close to passing, but another member of the city's Board of Supervisors—Barbagelata—is already at work on another wage-freezing "proposition" for next year's ballot!

The defeat of Proposition L came in the context of a Democratic Party sweep, both locally and nationally. While Meany and his cronies may rejoice at their near-"veto proof" Congress, it is no aid to working people. In California Democratic governor-elect Brown and State Senator Moscone have an equally threatening alternative to Prop. L: compulsory arbitration of all government workers' contract disputes.

The Spartacist League campaigned relentlessly during the last three months to mobilize Bay Area workers, particularly city workers in San Francisco, for independent strike action against the Feinstein Amendment. On October 7 and again the day before the election the SL/SYL initiated united-front demonstrations around demands for the unrestricted right to strike, full collective bargaining rights and opposition to compulsory arbitration for city workers. At an October 19 rally called by top labor bureaucrats, signs calling for a "General Strike to Stop Proposition L" were carried by at least a quarter of the crowd of 200. The general strike contingent was organized by the SL-initiated Labor Action Committee to Stop Proposition L (LAC).

Proposition L was defeated despite the efforts of the union leaderships. Had

they undertaken vigorous mass mobilization and strike action against the measure it would have been possible to decisively defeat the wage-cutting proposal. Such militant action could have convinced the bourgeoisie it was better off not putting Prop. L on the ballot in the first place. But, as the city workers' near-general strike last March demonstrated—not to mention the entire history of the labor movement in recent decades—the role of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy was to hold back, not lead, the ranks.

Not only did prominent local union tops like ILWU president Harry Bridges and S.F. Labor Council head Jack Crowley oppose strike action, they failed to build even their own rally. Several union locals which gave endorsements to the LAC demonstration on November 4 also failed to build for that demonstration. This, of course, is to be expected.

What the whole episode demonstrates clearly is the need for a class-struggle alternative in the unions which can challenge the existing sellout misleaders. The various supposedly socialist groups which tailed after the bureaucracy and its Democratic Party friends over Proposition L (a list which includes the CP, SWP, IS and RU) and union caucuses such as the Concerned Muni Drivers and United Trade Unionists, which adopted the same policy, have demonstrated their inability to lead the struggle forward to victory.

In contrast, in addition to the SL/SYL, the Committee for a Militant UAW, Militant Action Caucus of the CWA and several militants from the Amalgamated Transit Union, ILWU and CWA worked to build the demonstrations and general strike contingent sponsored by the LAC. The Class Struggle League also participated in the LAC.

Although the Chamber of Commerce-backed Proposition L was defeated, attacks on city workers are far from over. Even the pay raise won by the strike in March is still being held up by a court suit. There is talk now among militant rank and filers of a new offensive by San Francisco labor next spring. A new explosion of labor anger is indeed possible at any time, but the key to success is the question of leadership. It is indispensable to build the kind of class-struggle leadership which can counter the inevitable sellouts by the Bridges-Crowley labor fakery and put forward a program for victory. ■

Continued from page 12

Chrysler...

of its workforce.) The resolution also called for opening the companies' books to show their real profits, no forced overtime, an immediate wage increase and full cost-of-living protection. A committee against layoffs was proposed to implement the resolution.

Although submitted by 10 union members in DAP, this program was never brought to a vote, according to workers interviewed by *Workers Vanguard* after the meeting. Unit president Hank Wilson reportedly favored another, reformist proposal supporting Woodcock in his efforts to get more jobs (!) and calling for spreading the work around. In a leaflet for the meeting, Wilson had called for freezing wages (!), prices and profits by forcing Congress to meet the workers' demands.

It is important that auto workers understand that they cannot rely on the bosses' government to solve the

capitalist economic crisis. It will not and cannot!

Militants must put forward a program hitting at the heart of the problem, capitalist property, and mobilize the ranks in militant struggle for their class interests. In the face of massive layoffs it is both urgent and necessary to take over the plants, demanding they be expropriated without compensation by the government, and to organize workers control of production.

These demands must be raised in the context of a national campaign for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and for union unemployed committees. They must be part of a full transitional program ranging from immediate economic demands to the need for a political alternative—an independent workers party based on the unions, to fight for a workers government—to counter the defeatist "program" of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy.

In times of economic crisis it is starkly demonstrated that all the reformist gimmicks amount to one and the same thing: betrayal and defeat for the working class. ■

Fitzsimmons Sabotages New York UPS Strike

NOVEMBER 18—On Thursday striking drivers for United Parcel Service in New York held a mass rally, attended by more than 600 Teamsters from the New York-New Jersey area, outside UPS corporate headquarters on 43rd Street. Their demand: job security.

The 4,300 members of IBT Local 804 have been out since August 28 in a determined struggle against the company campaign to replace inside full-time workers with part-timers. Now UPS threatens to shut down its operations in the metropolitan area altogether if the union does not accept its "final contract offer" by November 20.

The company "proposal" involves the construction of new package-sorting and exchange centers employing part-time workers. Current full-timers would be phased out over a period of ten years. The new scheme would be more "efficient" primarily because part-time workers receive no medical or pension benefits and are paid \$2/hour less under the terms of the contract.

UPS management has been crying over an alleged \$8 million loss in the New York area during the year ending August 31. (Nationwide, however, it reported a \$57 million profit for 1973.) Local 804 president Ronald Carey requested that financial data be supplied to back up the company's claims, but reportedly accepted the UPS offer that the data be checked by an outside accounting firm in conjunction with the company's own auditors. These firms will never reveal the real secrets of the capitalists' financial dealings. What is needed is a democratically elected workers' committee to inspect the UPS books!

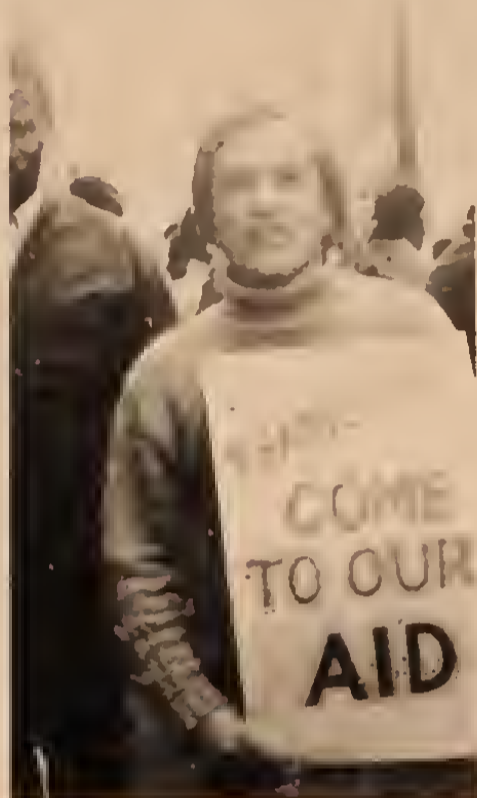
Carey also said that Local 804 would "reassess its position" if UPS could actually substantiate the \$8 million loss (*Wall Street Journal*, 14 November). What does this mean? The workers must not sacrifice for the mismanagement of the companies and the endemic failures of capitalism. If UPS cannot pay union-scale wages then it should be expropriated—without a cent of compensation to the owners.

Local 804 has a history of standing up to the International bureaucracy. In return, IBT president Fitzsimmons has typically refused to support the New York strike, hoping to weaken and isolate the Local. Not until the fifth week of the strike did the International call for an embargo at New Jersey and Connecticut facilities where New York freight was being diverted.

Fitzsimmons has willingly gone along with similar agreements for the use of part-timers between UPS and other Teamster locals across the country. According to Carey, the International tried to turn him around by pointing out that the Local would be getting more initiation fee money from the

turnover of part-time workers than from steady full-timers. Carey quoted one International official as asking, "What's the big deal, Ron? You'd be getting double money, double dues..." (*Daily World*, 13 November)!

Carey, who has a militant reputation in his own local, has done nothing to push for a nationwide strike. This would break the isolation of Local 804 and instantly bring the company, presently so arrogant, to its knees. Moreover, at today's union meeting Carey said he had



Picketer at UPS in New York. WA PHOTO

not put up pickets in New Jersey because he was afraid other locals would cross the lines and because violence might result, giving Fitzsimmons an excuse to put the Local into receivership.

To run away from a fight to oust the pro-company Teamster bureaucracy means defeat. And putting in another, tougher-talking bureaucrat to replace Fitzsimmons will not make a qualitative change. Hoffa certainly sold out plenty of local struggles in his time. What is needed is not a new clique but a leadership committed to a policy of militant class struggle.

While a nationwide UPS strike could have brought a settlement in New York weeks ago, it is doubly crucial now in the face of the company's threatened lockout.

—Open UPS books to workers' inspection!

—For a nationwide UPS strike in support of Local 804!

—For a class-struggle leadership of the IBT! ■



Teamsters Local 804 strikers have been abandoned by Fitzsimmons. DAILY WORLD

Unemployment Benefits Denied

U. S. Steel Lays Off Workers Over Coal Strike

Last week United States Steel announced layoffs totalling 13,700 workers as a result of the coal strike. Company spokesmen added that several furnaces would be closed down since it was a convenient time for making needed maintenance repairs.

What U.S. Steel did not tell the press was that it is denying SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) payments and apprentices' retention benefits to its laid-off employees. The contract, says the company, does not require payments in case of a labor dispute.

Despite a contract clause requiring management-union agreement in order to suspend SUB payments, the USW has so far done nothing about this.

Even more ominous are reports from steel union officials in both Ohio and Indiana that state unemployment benefits may be denied, under laws which rule out payments in the case of strikes.

The denial of unemployment benefits by the companies and state governments would leave these workers without any form of income whatever! This atrocity must be vigorously protested in the course of activities in support of the miners' strike.

Steelworkers, in particular, must:

1) strike all operations of companies refusing to pay benefits to laid-off workers as a result of the strike;

2) support the mine strike by refusing to shift coal from plant to plant or to handle any scab coal brought in during the strike; and

3) demand strike action by the entire labor movement against decisions by state governments to deny unemployment benefits to laid-off workers.

Continued from page 12

... UMW Contract

the power of a nationwide coal strike could not be used to organize the unorganized sections of the industry.

The demand for expropriation of the energy conglomerates, raised by the UMW during the "gasoline crisis" earlier this year, would help undercut opposition to the strike from consumers and other workers who may suffer hardship because of it. This is particularly true given the current spectacular profits of these "robber barons." Three of the nation's largest coal producers—Pittston, Consolidation and Island Creek (subsidiaries of Kennecott Copper, Continental Oil and Occidental Petroleum respectively)—had total profits of \$78.6 million in the third quarter of 1974 compared to \$2.4 million in the same period of 1973, a gain of 3,275 percent (*New York Times*, 12 November)!

The tentative agreement has so many obvious loopholes and inadequacies that even Miller's popularity with the ranks may be unable to save it. One union aide commented after the deal was announced, "I'm scared to death that we are vulnerable to misconceptions, because this is a tough contract to explain" (*New York Times*, 15 November).

If the contract proposal is rejected by the bargaining council, the prospect of a strike of three weeks or longer (ratification by the membership would take about 10 days) may well bring federal intervention. President Ford has been "hinting" that he will use the Taft-Hartley Act to force miners back to work in that case.

The UMW has a long no-contract-no-work tradition. Miners should stick to this principle and not let themselves be intimidated by Ford's sabre-rattling. The slogan of the 1944 coal strike against government wage controls is still valid: "You can't mine coal with bayonets!"

In the case of an extended strike, the bourgeois media will certainly seek to mobilize public opinion against the union. As this would be a key test case in the struggle over who will bear the costs of the current capitalist economic crisis, it is crucial that the miners receive energetic support from the rest of the labor movement. This means refusing to move any coal during the strike, whether a matter of unloading foreign coal in ports, transporting it by rail or barge, or even shifting coal between steel plants. In the event of government intervention it will be urgent for the unions and labor/socialist organizations to build mass mobilizations against federal strikebreaking. No to the sellout Miller deal! Victory to the miners' strike! ■

The Berlin Committee of supporters of the Declaration of Common Work in Germany by the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists has changed its name and constituted itself as the Trotskyist League of Germany. Beginning in January 1974, the Berlin Committee began publishing *Kommunistische Korrespondenz* on

the basis of essential programmatic agreement between the German comrades and the comrades of the SL/U.S. and the SL/ANZ. At the European Summer Camp, the Berlin Committee subscribed to the Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency and became a sympathizing group of the international Spartacist tendency.

The formation of the Trotskyist League of Germany marks both the development of the Berlin Committee into an organization which will be active in West Germany on a national scale as well as its integration into the international Spartacist tendency.

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Death Squadrons Murder Argentinian Leftists

oppose Perón in the September 1973 elections. Instead the Stalinists supported the "anti-imperialist" general. Although its offices have been repeatedly attacked by the authorities and right-wing gangsters, the CP continues to affirm its adherence to the bonapartist regime.

Not without a share in this guilt are the supposed Trotskyists of the PST (Socialist Workers Party) led by Nahuel Moreno and Juan Carlos Coral. Having offered in late 1972 to vote for Peronist candidates if the Justicialist ticket were made up of at least 80 percent workers (instead of the actual 25 percent), the Moreno group announced in May 1973 that it would support all government acts in the interests of the workers and offered its "proletarian solidarity" to Cámpora (*Avanzada Socialista*, 30 May-6 June 1973).

The fact that it did run its own candidate in both 1973 elections has not stopped the PST from seeking out every opportunity to declare solidarity with the Peronist regime. The most scandalous instance was a joint declaration with the CP and six other bourgeois parties on March 21 supporting "in all instances the institutional process" and condemning "those who in one way or another seek to change it" (see "PST Caught Red-Handed," *WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974).

This document, openly betraying Marxism by declaring the PST's support for bourgeois "law and order," was a considerable embarrassment to its U.S. allies, the reformist Socialist Workers Party, and gave the SWP's factional opponents in the so-called "United Secretariat" (USec) an easy club with which to beat them. (The PST is the Argentine sympathizing section of the USec.) Moreno and Co. subsequently sought to sweep the scandal under the rug by claiming the PST never actually signed the document (despite the fact that *Avanzada Socialista* reported the signing and failed to correct its "editorial error" for three months?).

Yet only three days after the "correction" appeared in AS, the PST signed a second "Declaration of the 8": The text declared that, "consistent with our attitude of support for the process of institutionalization in the country" the signers reaffirmed the need for "legal mechanisms of constitutional continuity" (*Política Obrera*, 10 July 1974).

The second declaration was interesting for what it revealed of the PST's real motivations. It was issued after Perón's illness became known and the question of succession arose. Yet none of the rightists ever opposed "constitutional continuity" (i.e., the accession to the presidency of Maria Estela de Perón): The PST, CP and bourgeois liberals were afraid that they might later be accused of fomenting disruption at the time of the "great national tragedy." In other words, it was a declaration of cringing cowardice and political support for "Peronism without Perón."

But this is not all! If twice, then why not thrice? Following the passage of an "anti-subversive law" at the end of September, a new "multi-sectoral" conference of the "opposition" parties with the Argentine president was held on October 8. The meeting was universally interpreted as a show of support for the regime, and at the meeting Coral of the PST did not denounce the new "security law" which outlaws strikes. He did, however, denounce ("categorically") the "terrorist and guerrillaist forms of violence." He also declared that the PST "will fight for the continuity of this government, because it was elected by the majority of the Argentine workers and because it per-

mits the exercise of some democratic liberties..." (*Avanzada Socialista*, 15 October).

In the past, Política Obrera, which is a member of the "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" led by the French OCI, has denounced the betrayal of the PST in signing the joint statements. But this time, PO not only failed to denounce the PST opportunism directly but did not even mention that the Moreno group took part in the meeting? Why this sudden change? Because the PST and Política Obrera are conducting formal political discussions. Part of the deal, implicit or explicit, seems to be that there will be no public criticism of each other.

Such arrangements would be appropriate when two groups had determined fundamental bases for political unity and were conducting joint action in preparation for a fusion. But the PST has during the past two years repeatedly betrayed Argentine workers by its de facto "critical" support for the Peronist regime at a time when the latter is outlawing strikes, unions, newspapers, organizations—in short, extirpating every expression of working-class independence. PO has correctly denounced this in the past; now it seeks "discussions" and stops all public criticism.

Elsewhere in this issue we report the initiation of formal discussions between the OCI and the American SWP. PO's capitulation to the social-democratic PST in Argentina shows what betrayals will result from these moves toward fusion with the Pabloists. ■

Italy . . .

Italian people by German and American finance capital.

Expropriate Fiat and All Closed-Down Plants—No Layoffs—For Workers Control!

Four-hour protest strikes at Fiat to restore the full workweek are not only ineffectual, but probably benefit management, which wants to reduce output. The trade unions must organize the occupation of plants imposing mass layoffs or short time. If such firms are privately owned, as is Fiat, they should be expropriated without compensation.

To transfer private industry into the hands of the reactionary government bureaucracy would have limited benefit for the workers. The unions must organize workers control at the shop floor, particularly to prevent layoffs or short time. Workers control must not be seen as a reform granted by the government or, in the syndicalist manner, as an isolated action at the point of production. It is an unstable condition indissolubly linked to the struggle for state power.

Down With the Christian Democrats—For a CP/SP Government!

In the main the Italian working class still looks toward a parliamentary solution to its problems and felt needs. It is essential to destroy workers' illusions in the CP in the context of a concrete struggle against class collaborationism. Revolutionaries must constantly agitate against CP entry into the CD-led coalition and for the CP to take power together with the other



Italian CP head Enrico Berlinguer.

main workers party, the SP, and the trade unions.

Smash the Fascists—For Workers Militias—Toward a Workers Government!

After the bloody experience of Chile and the exposure of fascist-military activity in Italy, millions of workers realize that a CP/SP government, elected to office in opposition to the Christian Democracy, would face imminent counterrevolutionary violence. The defense of the labor movement against reaction must be prepared now by establishing workers militias based on the unions. The immediate task of such militias is the suppression of fascist terrorism.

Given the collapsing Italian economy, the struggle against fascism cannot be pursued by purely military means (although that is indispensable). To win over the non-proletarian exploited masses, the struggle for workers power must be associated with a program of socialist economic planning and the liberation of the Italian people from clerical obscurantist rule of the Italian bourgeoisie. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Miller Sells Out Right to Strike Over Grievances

Opposition Mounts to UMW Contract Deal

NOVEMBER 17—United Mine Workers' officials reached agreement with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association last Thursday, a mere three days after the strike began. Both sides had feigned toughness in the negotiations—the operators calling for a seven-day week, the UMW bargainers threatening to pack up and go home. In reality, both have been concerned mainly with "selling" the results to the union rank and file.

Coal miners, angered by the grinding down of their living standards and continuing needless deaths in the pits (39 since negotiations began on September 1), looked forward eagerly to a strike. They hoped to make use of their currently strong bargaining position (stockpiles are low and demand high) to wrest major gains from the profit-rich energy conglomerates.

UMW tops are now concerned that their settlement may have been "too early" to allow the workers to "blow off steam." By "giving" the ranks a token two-week strike, they hoped to obtain uncontested ratification of whatever deal was negotiated. But news reports indicate that the bargaining council will not approve the settlement in its present form, raising the possibility of a strike of three weeks or more and of direct government intervention.

The "package" produced by UMW president Arnold Miller is an insult to every working miner. Although union officials claim it represents a 49.7 percent overall increase in benefits, wages would only go up 15 percent during the next three years, *plus a maximum of 6 percent from the phony cost-of-living escalator.*

Miller's big "achievement," a first-ever c-o-l clause, covers only *half* the losses to inflation—up to a ceiling of 6 points per year on the government consumer price index. With a total wage increase of 21 percent (all gimmicks included) over three years, miners will actually be losing money if inflation is more than 7 percent yearly. (The current rate is *double* that figure!)

The fringes negotiated in most cases merely bring mine workers benefits



78 dead at 1968 mine explosion.

which are standard in unionized industry. For the first time they would get paid sick days, although only five per year. The pension will rise to \$250 a month by 1977 (it is \$150 at present), a figure which is still sub-poverty lev-



Pennsylvania UMW strikers block entrance to power plant.

el without Social Security.

In return, Miller dropped the demand for the right to strike over grievances and health/safety issues. District 29 (southern West Virginia), the largest and most militant region in the UMW, has indicated it will not accept a contract without this key provision.

While groups like the International Socialists were engaged in largely uncritical cheerleading for Miller (only logical, since they earlier supported him for union president), the Spartacist League warned that the darling of liberals and fake radicals would "sacrifice" the right to strike over safety conditions

(see WV No. 56, 8 November). As shown by Miller's campaign against wildcat strikes last year, he does not want this right at all, since it only puts the leadership on the spot.

The UMW tops' betrayal on the bread-and-butter issues, while important, is dwarfed by their failure to use this excellent opportunity to make really significant gains. For instance, more than 30 percent of bituminous coal still comes from non-union fields. As demonstrated by the five-day "memorial" last summer in support of the strikers in Harlan County, there is no reason why

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SUB Fund Endangered

Chrysler Threatens National Shutdown

DETROIT, November 16—The Chrysler Corporation announced yesterday it is contemplating a move unprecedented in the history of the auto industry: it may close all but one of its U.S. assembly plants for the entire month of December. This would directly affect up to 30,000 employees, in addition to the 14,000 Chrysler production workers already on indefinite layoff. Industry sources estimate that a national shutdown would idle another 50,000 in supplier plants.

Last month the company's suggestion that its Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant would be permanently closed sent shock waves through Detroit. Unemployment locally is already above 10 percent and Chrysler, with several major auto assembly plants and other manufacturing units in the area, is the largest private employer here.

In October management held out the possibility that laid-off Jefferson workers could transfer to an assembly plant in Newark, Delaware. Soon afterwards, however, half of that unit's workforce was placed on temporary layoff. Today Chrysler announced that its entire Newark operation will be closed "until further notice."

Corporation officials also said that the second shift at Jefferson will be permanently cancelled beginning Monday. This is aimed at stretching out the shutdown, thereby lessening the likelihood of an explosive response from the workers. A final decision on Jefferson's future awaits the return of Chrysler president Lynn Townsend from vacation in Hawaii (!), however.

Behind the snowballing layoffs and plant closures in auto stands a worldwide crisis of the capitalist economy. Massive inflation has cut sharply into purchasing power and profits. To the traditional boom-bust cycle of capitalism has been added the impact of shortages in primary products, manipulated by cartel action. With profits plummeting, companies simply curtail production and sack the workers.

The conjunctural crisis is striking most sharply in auto. During the first ten days of November, car sales fell by 38 percent (compared to last year), the worst drop since 1959 (*Wall Street Journal*, 14 November). Chrysler claims to have lost \$8 million last quarter and to now have a 112-day supply of 1975 models on hand.

Production cutbacks are traditional

in auto during winter. Usually plants are closed between Christmas and New Year's—a paid holiday under the union contract. But by laying off for the entire month, the company will save \$20 million in vacation pay alone.

Moreover, this enforced "holiday" could sink the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits fund altogether. Created to cover seasonal layoffs, it cannot cover sustained, large-scale shutdowns. The *Detroit Free Press* today reports that the Chrysler fund had already shrunk from \$102 million in September to \$80 million in October. By January 1 it may no longer exist.

The "liberal" Woodcock bureaucracy of the United Auto Workers has no answer to layoffs. When rumors of closing Jefferson were first "floated," UAW Chrysler division head Doug Fraser could only promise to "do everything possible to persuade [i.e., beg] the company not to close the plant" (UAW press release, 18 October).

Even lower-level bureaucrats with a more "radical" image have nothing to offer. At a recent press conference, Jordan Sims, president of Local 961 (Eldon Gear and Axle) and leader of

the United National Caucus, called for a one-day strike, a demonstration at Chrysler headquarters and a special UAW convention on layoffs (*Detroit Free Press*, 15 November). But his "solution" was a time-worn "share-the-work" (i.e., "share-the-layoffs") scheme, eliminating overtime, working one week on, one week off, a shorter work week (what about pay?), etc.

Indicative of the great interest in fighting layoffs was a meeting on November 10 called by the Jefferson Avenue Revolutionary Union Movement, a group supported by the Communist Labor Party, to protest the threatened plant closure. But JARUM had no answers except vague appeals to "cast away illusions" and "prepare for struggle." Unemployed committees, it suggested, could fight housing evictions, as during the 1930's.

At a union meeting today for the Dearborn Assembly Plant of Ford's River Rouge complex (Local 600), however, a resolution was put forward by militants calling for an end to all layoffs by fighting for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay (30-for-40). (DAP has been hit by a layoff of 18 percent

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