

**As NPAC Prepares New Betrayals—**

# FOR LABOR POLITICAL STRIKES AGAINST THE WAR!

A survey of National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) meetings in major cities across the U.S. provides additional confirmation, were it needed, of the Spartacist League's characterization of NPAC as a popular front with the bourgeoisie which can only betray the working class and the anti-war struggle. At several meetings the SWP/YSA-dominated popular front has reaffirmed the policies exemplified at its infamous conference at Hunter College in New York over the July 4 weekend. The attitude of ostensibly revolutionary organizations to this pop front is a litmus test of their fitness for revolutionary working-class leadership.

**San Francisco**—At San Francisco State College on October 1 the Northern California section of NPAC again featured Senator Vance Hartke as keynote speaker, his role at the July New York NPAC Conference at which the SWP-led marshals savagely evicted members of the Spartacist League (SL), Revolutionary Marxist Caucus (RMC), Progressive Labor and SDS for protesting SWP-collaboration with the ruling class. Members of the SL and its youth section, the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY, formerly the RMC) attended the San Francisco meeting to voice outrage at the invited presence of the bourgeoisie. When the meeting began, an RCY member proposed a motion that no bourgeois imperialist speakers be allowed to speak before the body. The chairman ruled immediately that the meeting, advertised in the *Militant* as a "Regional Anti-War Conference," was actually "a rally, not a decision-making body!"

Father Eugene Boyle spoke on what "we" have been doing in Vietnam, and ended up by saying, "We better march strong and long." After him came the Secretary-Treasurer of the Stewards' Council of ILWU Local 10, presumably the "labor representative" for the SWP's popular front coalition at the meeting. He emphasized that what has to be built is "not unlike the NLF," i.e., a coalition of classes, and that it would be foolish to overlook those "other classes" outside of the working class which are "concerned about the war and its effects." The strategy, he pointed out, is to bring in these "other classes" in order to "broaden" and "deepen" the movement. But there are "other classes"—and class enemies. Certainly a section of the petty-bourgeoisie, indignant over the war, can be won to opposing imperialism around a working-class program. However, by our count, there is only one other decisive class in this society—the bourgeoisie—and that is precisely the class, in the person of Senator Hartke,

continued on page 2

**Labor Fakers Tie Workers to Rulers—**



**Class Divided: U.S. Workers Demand Import Curbs . . .**

**As Class Brothers in Tokyo Denounce Them**

# AMERICAN EMPIRE SHAKEN

Just as Hitler's coming to power in 1933 marked the end of the post-World War I period, so the dollar devaluation, the turn toward protectionist nationalism and the imposition of state wage control in the U.S. mark the end of the post-World War II era. America's victory and subsequent division of spheres of influence with the Soviet Union has, with certain exceptions (notably the Chinese Revolution of 1949), determined the international balance of power throughout the post-war period. The outcome of World War II not only shaped international politics, but stabilized American society by reinforcing a national psychology that the U.S. is a great and powerful and prosperous nation, immune from the misfortunes that befall foreigners. Now, a panicky ruling class is telling the American people that they must make sacrifices and accept discipline to keep the American place in the sun. The American working class is paying the price for the reverses suffered by "its" ruling class.

## **The Rise and Fall of the Dollar**

In the early post-war years (the so-called reconstruction period) U.S. imperialism used the economic and military policies of the American government to lay the basis for later penetration by U.S. corporations and banks into Europe. The World Bank, NATO, the Marshall Plan, the European Payments Union and the European Coal and Steel Community were established under American pressure and guidance and with American finance. Together they constituted a coherent program for American dominance over the advanced capitalist countries.

Their primary political aim was pacifying the militant European labor movements, particularly dangerous in France and Italy. Despite the vital services of betrayal rendered to imperialism by the Stalinists, U.S. policy aimed to build up social democracy as a counterweight to both the Stalinists and bourgeois nationalists of the Gaullist type. Thus in Europe and Japan American imperialist policies were implemented in the name of social-democratic reformism and liberal international cooperation.

Industrially, U.S. policy sought to create the basic productive infrastructure needed to re-establish Europe as a market for U.S. exports

continued on page 4

**PL THUGS ATTACK TROTSKYISTS IN  
SAN FRANCISCO**  
**Violence Covers  
Turn to Right**  
**STORY ON PAGE 3**

## **SPARTACIST NATIONAL TOUR FROM MAOISM TO TROTSKYISM**

Marvin Treiger, formerly of the Communist Working Collective now fused with the Spartacist League, is touring the U.S. for the SL. For details see pg. 7.



# Defeat NPAC: For Labor Strikes Against the War

*Continued from Page 1*

Lindsay Spoke at Oct. 13 NPAC-Supported Garment Center Rally in New York

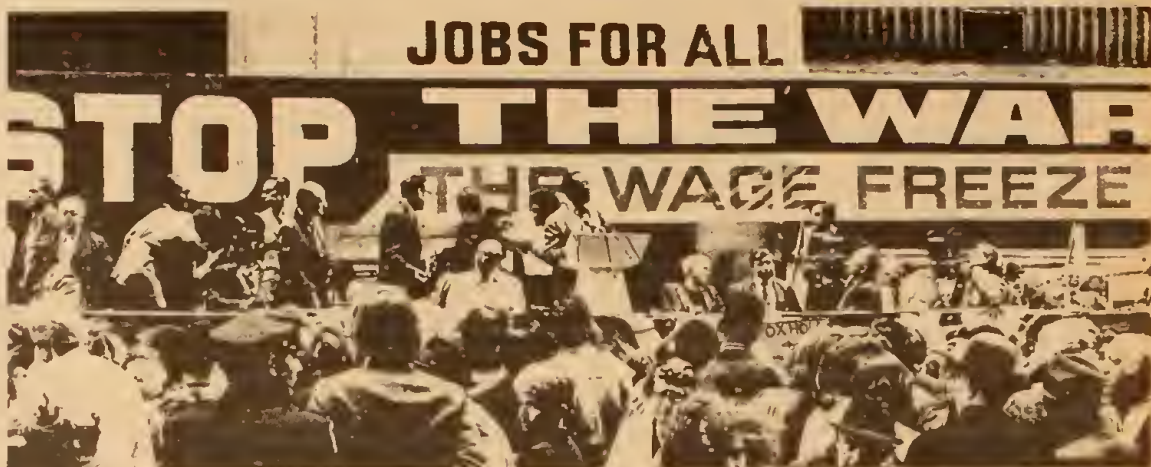
with which the SWP has allied. When an RCY'er asked, "So how come you're loading military cargo?" the ILWU bureaucrat evaded answering.

When Senator Hartke got up to speak, SL and RCY members stood up and shouted slogans such as "No bourgeois politicians!" after which they withdrew in protest. The SWP-YSA goons made it obvious that they were again prepared to defend their class collaboration with violence. To their credit, members of the International Socialists (IS) in the room also left at this point in protest. However, in typical "third camp" fashion, the IS continues to lend legitimacy to the SWP's class collaboration by maintaining a "left-wing" caucus in NPAC! Predictably, there was no sign at the meeting of any protest by the Workers League against Hartke's presence.

Los Angeles — On October 2, about 100 people attended the Los Angeles Regional NPAC Conference. In the opening floor discussion a motion by a Spartacist comrade, to include a workshop on national perspectives, was passed. Another SL motion, for 30-minute floor discussion on national perspectives to precede the workshops, and an IS motion for one-hour discussion of some IS proposals, were overruled by the chairman, Morris Starsky of San Diego NPAC. Subsequent speeches and regional reports are best described as crude peptalks ("April 24 will always be remembered," "We must make November 6 'a day that will never be forgotten,'"—John Williams, featured speaker.) Workshops were arranged according to every conceivable criterion save political views. SL/RCY members attended the National Perspectives workshop, in which their proposals, taken from the July 1971 Spartacist supplement, "For Class Action Against the War," won majority support. The workshop proposal was voted down in subsequent plenary session, amid contemptuous laughter from the SWP, and in its place was passed a proposal by an SWP member claiming to represent "Out Now," to continue the present single-issue orientation.

The IS at the L.A. conference seemed discomfited in their role of "relating constructively" to NPAC, i.e. as NPAC left cover. Their speeches made it clear that they opposed NPAC single-issue reformism, that working-class action alone could end the war, and that if NPAC continued the way it was going, they would have nothing to do with it. Yet an IS member said of the SL/RCY proposal that its five points constituted a "perfect transitional program" but were too "utopian" for the people in attendance. The IS clearly sought to push the conference to the left, but by pressuring NPAC to adopt a series of minimal measures without fundamentally scrapping its program and expelling the class enemy.

Houston — About 200 people attended the Tri-State Regional Anti-War Conference (Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana) in Houston on September 26. The conference was run with an iron hand by ubiquitous but secretive SWP/YSA'ers. An SL member attended the GI workshop, reading to it a proposal titled "For a Revolutionary Anti-War Movement." Many of the GI's expressed interest in the proposal and expressed anger at the YSA former GI acting as floor leader for ignoring the proposal. When it seemed that control of the workshop had passed out of the hands of the leader, an SWP heavy came in to break up discussion and begin the plenary session.



Following the GI workshop report, a Ft. Hood GI made a motion for a multi-issue fall campaign with three basic demands: U.S. Out Now, Free Angela Davis and All Political Prisoners, and Support the Attica Rebellion. It received about 40 votes, but was defeated. A PL'er introduced a motion barring the ruling class and union bureaucrats from speaking at anti-war marches, and calling for more political discussion at the next conference. Supported by the bulk of the GI's, the PL motion won around 30 votes. The GI's were dismayed by the votes and responded with emotional appeals. The PL'ers seemed to have suddenly discovered that the conference was manipulated by the SWP and began to bait the organizers. They were outmaneuvered by the SWP heavies who labeled their attacks "red-baiting."

Little discussion was permitted on structural proposals. Many people felt they had no choice but to vote for the official motion, despite suspicions. The passage of a motion that the officially appointed coordinators be interim and that they be replaced as soon as the steering committee met indicated a pervasive awareness of SWP/YSA manipulation.

Boston — On October 3 the Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition (GBPAC), the Socialist Workers Party's local anti-war pop front coalition, held an Anti-War Workshop Conference at Boston University. The conference was simply a pep rally to build the sixth annual "Fall Action" against the Vietnam war, another "massive, legal, peaceful demonstration" on November 6. The SWP, firmly in control of the meeting, was dead set against any discussion on the class nature of the Vietnam war, or on their gangster silencing of communist critics at the July NPAC meeting in New York City. At the very beginning of the conference an SL member introduced a motion to condemn the class-collaboration of NPAC and its hoodlum suppression of those who had opposed the presence of bourgeois Senator Vance Hartke, but was ruled out of order.

Keynote speaker Ernest Demaio, Vice President of the United Electrical Workers put on his most "progressive" face, talking about the workers and the capitalists who exploit them, but cautioning that there were "honest men" for "peace" in government. This tired old line of the CPUSA was delivered by Demaio in such a demagogic way as to appear to the left of the "Trotskyist" SWP, who had brought in Demaio to illustrate the "increasing involvement of the labor community in the anti-war movement." After Demaio's speech the conference broke up into various workshops, according to "communities": Women, GIs, Students, Labor, Third World People, Gays, Religious Activists, etc.

The SL/RCY and supporters attended the workshop on labor unions and the war. Also attending this workshop were members of the Communist Tendency (CT), a left-wing minority faction expelled from the SWP. The CT distributed a leaflet titled "Only The Workers Can End The War," which denounced the SWP for abandoning Trotskyism and the class struggle against the Vietnam war and called for a struggle against the war based on factory anti-war committees, which would carry on strike and boycott activities and lead to a labor party to fight the bureaucrats and capitalists.

Ernest Demaio delivered another speech setting forth his perspective for the trade union movement: to fight to get unions on record for "peace," that is, cajole the bureaucrats to record a verbal opposition to war. John Craig of the Meat Cutters, John McCann, GBPAC Labor Coordinator, and Rex Weng, Vice President of the Massachusetts State Labor Council proposed forming a committee to coordinate labor activity against the war and organize a labor contingent on November 6. This is the SWP's version of a proletarian orientation! The bureaucrats' proposal ducked the whole question of the class-collaborationist character of the anti-war movement and the political character of the November 6 demonstration.

The SL introduced a series of six resolutions which condemned NPAC class collaboration and gangsterism and pointed the way towards a class struggle against the war. Debate over these resolutions dominated the workshop, with the SWP trying desperately to divert discussion to "concrete plans" for November 6, much as PL tries to limit discussion in SDS to "concretely building" the campus worker-student alliance, to avoid political discussion.

The SL/RCY and also the CT sharply attacked the SWP for obscuring the class nature of the war and the Stalinist betrayals of the NLF/PRG/DRV, and for building a classless popular front coalition of liberal imperialists, Stalinists, and labor bureaucrats. The SWP/YSA ignored repeated challenges to defend themselves politically; they could only bray about building a "mass movement" around a "single issue" to "pressure" the bourgeoisie into ending the Vietnam war. In hopes of becoming the mass reformist social democratic party in the U.S., the SWP not only tails the labor fakers, deliberately covering up their daily sell-outs to the capitalists, but also seeks to recruit workers into a movement led by their betrayers and by the same capitalist politicians who back wage controls! A "proletarian orientation" by itself, without a revolutionary working-class pro-

continued on next page



# PL Thugs Attack Trotskyists— **POLITICAL BANKRUPTCY** **and HOOLIGANISM**

San Francisco—On October 22, the first meeting of the "Workers Action Coalition" (WAC) created by the Progressive Labor Party broke up in a vicious unprovoked PL assault and beating of Trotskyists of the Spartacist League and the Revolutionary Communist Youth, the only other tendency present. The meeting, held in the ILWU Local 6 meeting hall, was advertised as a "Workers' Conference" to talk about "organizing in the unions and on the job," to fight against the wage freeze, and for "30 for 40" (30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay). The SL/RCY, in support of "30 for 40" as part of the whole Trotskyist transitional program for working-class action, attended to discuss the Trotskyist perspective for fighting Nixon's attack on the working class.

It was clear from the outset that PL's "Workers' Conference" was not intended to be a real united front, in which all working-class tendencies could participate with their own programs, while functioning together in united actions when minimal agreement exists (e.g. agreement on opposition to the wage freeze on the basis of independent working-class action instead of collaboration with so-called "progressive" sections of the bourgeoisie). Rather, what PL wanted was a fake coalition run by PL itself with PL-influenced unaffiliated workers, and all other working-class tendencies excluded. This became obvious when a PL'er told SL/RCY salesmen outside that no SL literature would be allowed inside the hall. Upstairs, a sign announced that the only literature allowed would be that of PL, the WAC, SDS, the Challenge Corps, ILWU Local 6 and "affiliated organizations"! Just before the meeting began,

PL's hypocrisy was further exposed when they allowed a black politician to hand out—inside the hall—a leaflet advertising the campaign of Yvonne Westbrook, a black woman running for San Francisco Supervisor under the sponsorship of the S.F. Federation of Young Democrats, Democratic Assemblyman Willy Brown and other bourgeois politicians. Thus, out of race guilt and Stalinist fear of left critics, PL excluded communist literature while allowing the bourgeoisie to slip in—through the front door! Besides the 13 SL/RCY comrades there were about 50 people present, mostly members and supporters of PL.

What was needed was a serious discussion of what kind of program communists should fight for in the working class. In an empirical move leftward, PL broke from the Stalinist conception of unity with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, but did not face up to Trotskyism. Lacking any concrete program for the working class, PL blindly gropes about for gimmicks veiled in ultra-left rhetoric. Now they have adopted the slogan of "30 for 40," once denounced by them as a hopelessly idealistic "Trotskyite" demand. But not understanding the meaning of the demand, PL pushes it as a "reform" rather than a transitional demand designed to raise the working class from its present consciousness to consciousness of the necessity for overthrowing capitalism. The only other programmatic points raised in the WAC program were a

so-called "People's Ballot"—basically an opinion poll on the wage freeze—and a march on November 20.

Perhaps aware of their programmatic deficiencies, PL supporters made it clear in the opening remarks that there would be no general discussion, only a couple of short speeches before people broke up into workshops to carry out the "real business" of organizing the WAC. Thus, the first speaker emphasized that the primary purpose was "to get new people involved" (on what basis?). He briefly outlined the attack taking place against the working class and noted that "30 for 40" is the only "reform" which can benefit workers: our problem is to unite the employed and unemployed and "fight racism" (yes, but how?).

The meeting broke up into several workshops, in which political discussion took place for a short time in spite of PL obstructionism. In the "Wage Freeze Workshop," an SL'er discussed how the Nixon Administration must rely on the labor bureaucracy to enforce the freeze, and a basic communist strategy must be to throw out the bureaucracy. To do this, we must raise a comprehensive program—"30 for 40" by itself is inadequate. Trade unionists must raise the immediate demand for withdrawal of all "labor leaders" like Meany from the Pay Board, since their presence on the Board deliberately masks its function as a tool of the ruling class. An RCY'er listed other transitional demands, including strikes against layoffs, political strikes against the war, a workers' party opposed to the two capitalist parties and expropriation of industry under workers' control. The PL'ers clearly had no response except infantile ultra-leftism—"Let Meany sit on the Board if he wants, he doesn't represent anybody"; "we don't want a British Labour Party." Such ultra-leftism—in effect abstention from struggle in the fear it may become reformist—allows the bourgeoisie to go about its business of misleading the working class through such traitors as George Meany. It became obvious that the PL'ers had no concrete program to offer (except the "reform" of "30 for 40") and were soon reduced to talk about low-level programs such as improving food quality in student cafeterias (shades of PL's defunct campus-worker-student alliance!).

In other workshops, where SL/RCY'ers raised

continued on page 7

## For Labor Strikes Against the War

*Continued from Page 2*

gram and condemnation of pop-front "mass movements," inevitably leads to this result.

The SL resolution, supported by the CT, was defeated in the labor workshop by a 45-36 vote. A resolution by the National Caucus of Labor Committees received only 2 votes. In the later plenary session, an SL reporter made a minority presentation, and placed the SL resolution before the whole body. The chair attempted to rule the motion out of order, but was challenged. The body voted to uphold the chairman's ruling. At that point the SL and RCY walked out.

New York—Since the July national convention NPAC has held two New York "mass meetings" to plan for November 6, on September 30 and October 16. Both were held at the headquarters of District 65, RWDSU. The first meeting was chaired by District 65 president David Livingston, the second by CP fellow traveller and professional pacifist Brad Lytle, now of the PCPJ.

The meetings have been anti-climactic. Each has been attended by about 300. Although assorted union bureaucrats have been among the sponsors, the audience has been predominantly student radicals. SWP senior cadre have been conspicuous by their absence. The Workers League mobilized heavily for both meetings, with about 80 supporters; there was also a sprinkling of "Militant Action Caucus" members (i.e. Labor Committee and International Socialists).

Contrary to the Labor Committee whimperings (Solidarity, 15 October 1971) and the WL's constant cry of "Stalinism," both meetings were rather loosely run, with all tendencies given time to make political points and, at the second meeting, even have votes on programmatic motions. Content to have a majority of YSA voting cattle, the SWP let the discussions run amok, only getting upset on organizational questions. Thus when Steve Zeluck of the IS wanted to get on the New York coordinating committee, the peace bureaucracy were brought out to oppose his being allowed to participate in the administration of the pop front. Procedural suggestions for slight modifications of the agenda brought more fireworks than any political declaration or motion. The Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth proposed a motion "condemning the gangsterism of the NPAC marshals in physically expelling PL, SL and SDS at the July Convention, and all those who, like the WL, supported this

gangsterism." We also put forward a motion counterposing a working-class program for the anti-war movement to the NPAC Pop Front.

### For Class Action Against the War!

On November 6 in numerous cities thousands will march to protest the Indochina war. These protests, however "unforgettable" to footloose participants, will continue to be futile and entirely "forgettable" for the imperialist ruling class—for the existing anti-war movement has no social power, as Nixon, Senator Hartke, and the entire bourgeoisie well understand. It could not be otherwise, given the principle of welcoming the class enemy into the movement practiced for years by the SWP/YSA, the "best builders of the anti-war movement."

Liberal imperialists like Mayor Lindsay and Senator Hartke, politicians who now cheer Nixon's Phase II economic program saying he should have begun two years earlier, have graced the platforms of the anti-war movement the SWP/YSA is so proud to build. Joining them lately have been increasing numbers of "progressive" labor fakers like the notorious Victor Reuther, formerly employed by the CIA. The role of these bureaucrats in the anti-war movement is the same as in their unions—to sell out the working class and bind them hand and foot to the capitalist parties. All the enthusiasm of open reformists like the SWP/YSA and grovelling opportunists like the Workers League over the "new" presence of such traitors ("a very positive development"—Workers League on Reuther's presence at NPAC Conference) cannot cover up why these fakers come to the pop front anti-war jamborees. They do so to head off the pressure from their ranks for class action against the war, the wage freeze, and the whole twenty-five year pattern of abject bureaucratic sellouts.

SDS, which in the past denounced the presence of the ruling class in the anti-war movement, has drifted into a position similar to the IS's, "relating constructively." A recent leaflet proclaims "We support the Nov. 6 demonstrations to end the war & the freeze. We will bring as many people as we can to it. It is really important that students and working people get together to fight back. But if all we do is march we will accomplish nothing." Not a word on how "students and working people" can "fight back" with a pop front

movement which welcomes the bourgeoisie into its ranks. And not a word explaining why SDS now pledges its support in the face of its recent—and correct—opposition to the pop front.

### March With Us!

Only the working class, through its organization and action at the points of production can force an end to the imperialist Vietnam war. Only the working class through its independent political struggle can put an end to capitalism, the breeder of imperialist war. But the class-collaborationist anti-war movement organized by the SWP, shot through with social patriotism (Bring the Boys Home Now!) and bourgeois pacifism (Peace Now!), obscures and betrays the class struggle against imperialist war. This class-collaborationist anti-war movement must be politically destroyed! We are organizing a working class, anti-imperialist anti-capitalist contingent in several cities on November 6.

We will be marching with the following slogans:  
VICTORY TO THE VIETNAMESE! NO CONFIDENCE IN SELL-OUT "LEADERS" AT HOME OR ABROAD!

SMASH IMPERIALISM—ALL U.S. TROOPS OUT OF ASIA NOW! NO NEGOTIATIONS, NO TIMETABLES!

NO LIBERAL BOURGEOIS SPEAKERS AT ANTI-WAR RALLIES!

FOR LABOR POLITICAL STRIKES AGAINST THE WAR AND NIXON'S "WAGE-STRIKE" FREEZE!

BREAK WITH THE CAPITALIST PARTIES—FOR A POLITICAL PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS! ■



## Continued from Page 1

and an area for profitable private investment. Commercially, the U.S. desired an international free trade zone, to be dominated by U.S. exports and goods produced by U.S. enterprises abroad. Financially, the dollar replaced gold as the world's money, allowing more-or-less unlimited expansion of international credit by U.S. banks. The U.S. also aimed at establishing a regime of stable and freely convertible currency exchange markets to facilitate international transfer of profits and money capital.

U.S. policies were generally successful and culminated in the creation of the Common Market and return to general currency convertibility in 1958. Despite European nationalist illusions of a third political-economic bloc, American corporations quickly established dominance over the Common Market. Between 1958 and 1965 (when the Johnson administration imposed capital export curbs) U.S. capital assets in Europe increased from \$4 billion to \$14 billion, while the sales of American-owned firms grew from \$7.5 billion to \$19 billion. This investment was moreover concentrated in the technically advanced capital goods industries, with U.S. firms owning over 80% of the European computer industry and over 90% of the electronics industry.

The American corporate invasion led a section of the European bourgeoisie, exemplified by DeGaulle, to counterattack. They chose the weakest link of the U.S. imperialist system—the effects of the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit on the international monetary system. The great outflow of U.S. capital directly contributed to the deficit, while sales of U.S. firms abroad largely substituted for U.S. exports. Since the dollar was accepted as the world's money, the U.S. bourgeoisie was in effect buying out European capitalism with money printed on its own presses. The French government, strengthened by the actions of financial speculators centered in Zurich, sought to eliminate the privileged position of the dollar by converting their dollar holdings to gold and launching a political offensive to force the U.S. to correct its deficit and return the world to the gold standard.

In 1965, Johnson imposed restrictions on capital exports partly for balance-of-payments reasons and partly as a concession to the French. Far from weakening U.S. interests in Europe, these measures clearly demonstrated how deeply rooted U.S. corporations and banks had become in the European economy. U.S. investment continued to expand by plowing back European operation profits and borrowing from the U.S.-dominated European capital markets. In 1965, more than half of American investment was financed in the European capital market—American corporations were taking over European industry by tapping the savings of the workers and small proprietors traditionally ignored by European financiers.

The French government, in league with conservative international bankers, continued its campaign to eliminate the privileged position of the dollar. Since this policy was based on the real weaknesses of the U.S. domestic economy and imperialist system, it was ultimately successful. The devaluation of the dollar would have occurred sooner, except that the wage increases following the 1968 general strike temporarily eliminated the competitive advantage of French capitalism. However, the catastrophic balance-of-payments deficit caused by the Vietnam war inflation and decline in U.S. productive investment finally allowed private speculators and international banking interests to topple the dollar and destroy the international financial system.

### The Capitalist Powers: Conflict and Collaboration

The intersection of American imperialism and the national economies of the major capitalist powers has differed sharply, and the differences are fundamental to understanding the present conflicts. At one extreme is the stagnant economy of Britain, which has lost its empire and many of its important industries to the Americans. At the other extreme is Japan, which has maintained the world's highest growth rate, reconquered economically much of the area it lost militarily in World War II, and kept out direct U.S. investment. The relationship of U.S. imperialism to Japan rests primarily on trade dependency. France and Germany occupy something of a mid-

dle position, with national economies stronger than Britain's, but subject to considerable penetration by U.S. capital.

### Sick Man of Europe

In the post-war period, Britain thoroughly deserves the title "the sick man of Europe." With an annual rate of growth of 2.5%, Britain has managed to match its economic performance during the Great Depression. In the vaunted British social-democratic welfare state, industrial working-class living standards have dropped from the highest in Western Europe to the lowest. In the post-war period, British exports have grown at 2.5% a year as against 12% for Germany and 17% for Japan. The chief factors behind British trade weakness are: antiquated industrial plant and infrastructure; an incredibly backward managerial apparatus (American-managed firms in Britain achieve a profit rate of 16% as against 12% for British-managed firms); and an extremely combative trade union movement, particularly at the shop-floor level, which has prevented speed-ups and unemployment-producing economic rationalization. The great power ambitions of its ruling class led Britain to a huge military budget and "independent nuclear deterrent," draining resources away from industrial investment and strengthening inflationary pressures.

Beginning in the mid-50's, struggling British firms began selling out to American interests. American firms now own about 15% of all British industry, and over 50% in automobiles, computers, and pharmaceuticals. Unlike the reluctant French and German industrialists, the British bourgeoisie embraced the relationship of dependency hoping that its unquestioned loyalty would win American support against the other capitalist powers. And in fact the U.S. has championed the particular interests of British capitalism against the Common Market powers, as in pressuring Germany to revalue the mark.

### French Maneuvering

Throughout modern history, France has played a political role out of proportion to its real economic-military underdevelopment. The political strength of the numerous and very inefficient French petty bourgeoisie, maintaining itself through protectionism and substantial tax advantages, long deprived France of cheap agricultural products and an abundant labor supply which would otherwise have flowed from the rural areas. Post-war French growth depended heavily on the liquidation of the large inefficient peasant-small proprietor sector accomplished with the aid of the German gun butt during World War II. A leading bourgeois analyst (Denison—*Why Growth Rates Differ*) attributed 20% of French post-war growth to increased labor productivity stemming from the out-migration of the petty bourgeoisie. Since France is often held up as a model of neo-capitalist planning, it is important to stress that French growth has had a large once-and-for-all element arising out of French backwardness, not modernity.

The post-Common Market American corporate invasion, which quickly took over the French telecommunications, agricultural machinery, oil distribution and office equipment industries, produced a strong defensive reaction in the French bourgeoisie. In order to topple the dollar by running large trade surpluses and simultaneously create a respectable military force, the Gaullist government imposed the severest program of austerity, wage control and general oppression of the working class movement seen in any major power in the post-war era. This pressure on the working class finally led to the explosion of May '68, after which the French ruling class relaxed its pressure and temporarily shelved its grandiose international ambitions. France today continues to present its historic contradiction of a ruling class with world ambitions, saddled with a relatively weak economy and an extremely combative working class and petty bourgeoisie. This contradiction encourages the French bourgeoisie to resort to maneuvers, threats and general disruption when it cannot oppose American imperialism through its inadequate real power.

### Der Wirtschaftswunder

The key to the German "economic miracle" of the 1950's was the imposed docility of the German labor movement. The Social Democrats deliberately subordinated wages for their large and centralized trade union movement to the needs of export industry. Low costs produced a large profit margin available for re-investment. Labor costs have amounted to only 60% of German industrial revenue, compared with 70% for Britain and 75%

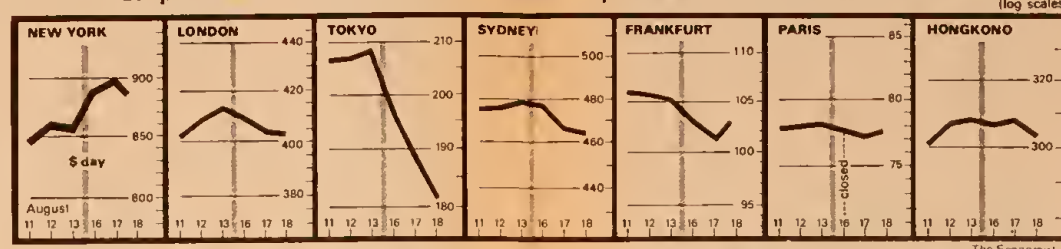
for the U.S.

Despite the special U.S.-British relationship, the relation between the American and German ruling classes provides the key to the American dominance of the capitalist world. It was the German government that blocked the French efforts to dethrone the dollar by accumulating unlimited dollar credits, thereby importing the American inflation into Germany. Under American pressure, Germany three times unilaterally raised the value of the mark, "voluntarily" surrendering the competitive advantage sweated out of the German workers. In the 1950's, German

American mainland and Japanese servicing of the large American army in the Far East. In this period, the U.S. ruling class made the unusual concession of allowing the Japanese government to virtually prohibit direct American investment, partly because at that time there was no great incentive for American enterprise in Japan.

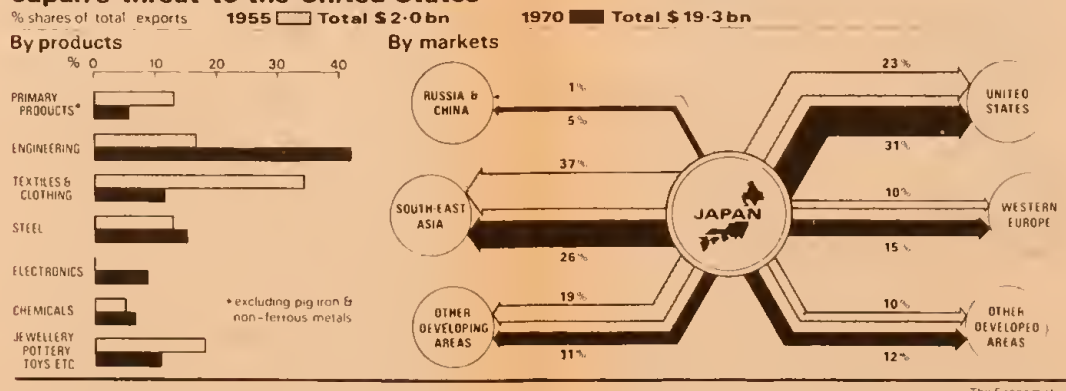
Japanese export competitiveness, like the German, rests on its labor system. Japan's strongly paternalist labor system is rooted in the feudal origins of Japanese industrialism. Guaranteed employment for life, workers demonstrate considerable loyalty to their employing firm. As

Graphs Show World Stock Market Responses to Dollar Devaluation



# AMERICAN EMPIRE SHAKEN

Japan's threat to the United States



total output and exports grew at a rate of 6.5% and 16% respectively; in the 1960's these rates fell to 4.5% and 9% respectively. The German bourgeoisie accepted these very real sacrifices, out of dependence on American military and political support for German reunification under bourgeois rule and for German ambitions in East Europe. The U.S. was prepared to underwrite German imperialist ambitions in East Europe in return for German support for overall American dominance of the capitalist world.

### Japanese Resurgence

Immediately after World War II, U.S. policy intended to eliminate Japan as a world power and build up its client state China as the great Asian power. Under the guise of social reform, the American occupation government attacked the great industrial-banking clans, the zaibatsu, by promoting the interests of the Japanese petty bourgeoisie (with land reform, a strong anti-trust law, and cheap money policy). This policy was abruptly reversed with the Maoist victory in China. Beginning in 1948, the U.S. sought to strengthen Japan against China by stimulating the potentially strong Japanese export industry. Significantly, it was the American war with China in Korea that pulled Japan out of its long post-war depression by stimulating Japanese exports to the

a result, outside of public employment, combative trade unions do not exist. Cost of guaranteed employment, in turn, forces Japanese industrialists to continually expand sales and accept profit margins below international norms.

Until recently, the U.S. ruling class felt strong enough to open the American market to the aggressive Japanese export drive. Thirty per cent of Japan's exports go to the U.S., with a high concentration of technically advanced products. In the late sixties, protectionist sentiment built up, stimulated by the balance-of-payments deficit and American industries hurt by cheaper imports. Japanese competition in such key American industries as steel, auto and electronics was the immediate cause of the U.S. ruling class' turn toward economic nationalism and the consequent destruction of those institutions created by victorious American imperialism after World War II.

### Weakness at the Center

Basic to the current crisis is the weak performance of the American economy relative to the other major powers. Throughout the entire post-war period, the United States has had the most recessions, the highest level of unemployment, the lowest rate of productivity increase (except Britain) and the lowest rate of growth (except Britain and Belgium) of any advanced capital-

ist nation.

The widely expected "re-conversion" crisis following World War II was averted because of the extremely liquid condition of U.S. business and the purchasing power released with the end of the rationing system. The first post-war recession occurred when the demand generated by this deferred purchasing power petered out in 1948. Only the Korean War pulled the U.S. out of recession. Following the Korean War and a decline of over 30% in the federal budget, the U.S. experienced its second post-war slump and entered a period of stagnation.

Despite popular impression, the Eisenhower years were a period of economic stagnation. In addition to the 1953-54 recession, there were further slumps in 1957-58 and 1960-61. The growth rate for the 1950's was 3.3%, below the historic (1880-1960) norm of 4.0%. The gross (before tax) rate of profit declined steadily from 26% in 1950 to 14% in 1960. The accelerated capital outflow of the late 1950's further weakened the domestic economy, limiting investable resources and producing a serious balance of payments deficit. The Eisenhower administration attempted to meet the deficit with prohibitive interest rates which depressed the economy.

In the early sixties, the low rate of capital accumulation produced its own corrective. By then, new investment could embody many years of technical improvement and produce extraordinary increases in labor productivity. The market forces, strengthened by investment subsidies in the form of Kennedy administration tax incentives, led to the greatest capital spending boom in American history. Investment grew at an exceptional 11% from 1962 to 1966. Despite the predictions by liberals and some "Marxist" utopians about complete automation of the American economy, by 1966 the cost of additional investment offset the gains from increased productivity. In other words, a high rate of capital accumulation had, in the classic manner, driven down the rate of profit and so blocked further capital accumulation. In 1967, the level of investment fell, which should have produced a general economic crisis.

Crisis was delayed by the expansion of the Vietnam war. The military budget increased by over 30% between 1966 and 1968. Despite higher taxes, the war was primarily paid for by inflationary finance—the expansion of bank credit to the federal government. Full employment and a slow rate of investment drove up the money costs of production, and combined with a high level of money expenditure, led to an inflation rate unprecedented in the post-war period. This inflation quickly outstripped money wage increases, geared to the earlier, less inflationary period—and many union bureaucrats had bargained away full cost-of-living adjustments. Suffering falling real wages since 1966, the American working class was determined to "catch up." In a series of militant actions, highlighted by the Midwest Teamster wildcat in spring 1970, the long GM strike in fall 1970 and the steel settlement under threat of an expected strike in summer 1971, the organized working class pushed the rate of money wage increases up to 9% a year, an intolerable rate for U.S. capitalism in its weakened international position. Following the steel settlement, the Nixon administration was faced with the choice of trying to further depress the economy, hoping that rising unemployment would finally break the spirit of the unions, or imposing direct state wage control. He chose the latter.

### Labor Under Lock and Key

In the post-war period, wage-price control has been the key economic "reform" of social democracy and the liberal bourgeoisie. Its leading ideologist in the U.S. has been former ADA president John K. Galbraith. Conservative bourgeois opposition to direct state control is primarily a reflection of their lack of influence over the unions, which must be brought to support of controls if they are to be effective. In Europe wage-price control or "incomes policy" has usually been initiated by a social democratic government in the name of "controlling the anarchy of the market by a democratic government" or "socialist planning," with a veiled threat of increased unemployment if the workers don't go along. The influential conservative magazine, *The Economist*, supported Wilson's Labour Party against the Tories in 1965 on the grounds that Labour could better discipline the unions! Believing that American workers didn't require social-democratic demagoguery, Nixon justified wage control in a nakedly pro-capitalist manner, coupling it to investment subsidies, which have rightly been anathema to the labor movement.

That the American labor bureaucracy should buy Nixon's wage control lock, stock and barrel is hardly surprising; after all, Meany was calling for them when Nixon was opposing them. Moreover, Meany stressed that he thought wage and price controls should be administered to guarantee profits: "I want to make it perfectly clear that I haven't the slightest intention of trying to put people out of business. These people must have profits." (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 Sept. 1971) Meany's show of opposition was designed to make him look good with the ranks, and to make sure that Nixon didn't openly snub the labor leadership, but rather gave them a place of honor in administering the controls. The whole issue of an "independent" Pay Board was pure demagogic hot air. As Meany himself later admitted, the power of the Pay Board rested entirely with the Nixon administration, which created it, and could get rid of it if the decisions weren't to Nixon's liking. The Pay Board is an integral part of the capitalist state bureaucracy and can not conceivably be "independent" of that state. The conservative *Business Week* gave the show away when it wrote: "On the surface, labor and management appear to be at odds... But the difference seems to be more semantics than substance."

If the reactionary Meany, as expected, betrayed the interests of the workers, the "militant" Hoffa-Fitzsimmons leadership of the Teamsters and the "progressive" Woodcock leadership of the Auto Workers did so even more grossly. Fitzsimmons was the only major labor leader in the country to swear complete loyalty to Nixon the day after he announced the freeze, thereby exploding the myth of the tough, no-nonsense Teamster leadership determined to get the most for their men by any means necessary. Woodcock, touted by CP- and SWP-style reformists for the leadership of American labor, kept 100,000 aerospace workers on the job without a contract, when even bureaucrats like Tony Boyle of the United Mine Workers and Gleason of longshore (ILA) took their men out, forcing Nixon to publicly attack their unions.

The labor "left," originating in the old Stalinist machine (Fitzgerald of the UE, Livingston of the Distributive Workers, Davis of the Hospital Workers) has once again revealed its subservience to the bourgeoisie. While verbally opposing the controls, they have refused to attack the Meany-Woodcock leadership for administering them and launch a fight within the labor movement. They have refused to organize mass strike action against the freeze and controls. And they have adamantly refused to break with the Democratic Party, the principal political arm of the American ruling class.

The liberal Democrats have criticized Nixon mainly for not applying the controls sooner. In fact, Nixon has stolen the liberals' economic program, and aspiring Democratic candidates like McGovern are desperately trying to manufacture a non-existent opposition to Nixon's economic policy. Proposals like profit and dividend controls and excess profits tax are as meaningless as Meany's "independent" Pay Board. Profits are a residual, the difference between price and labor cost. If the government seriously intended to limit profits, it could easily do so through aggressive price controls alone, cutting prices as labor productivity expanded.

The controls have clearly demonstrated the essential identity of liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans as bourgeois politicians. Where fundamental capitalist interests are concerned, all bourgeois politicians will scrap "ideology" and party interests. Nixon thought nothing of alienating ideological conservatives like the Young Americans for Freedom. The Democrats are prepared to give Nixon the 1972 election by not opposing the basic thrust of his economic policy, despite the deep unpopularity of the freeze among American workers.

The immediate test of the controls will be over the previously scheduled increases and retroactive pay increases falling due during the freeze. Workers feel so strongly about these increases that even Nixon's kept labor leaders are forced to oppose cutting them. Nixon can allow retroactive payments during the three months as a sop to the labor movement, but going ahead with the scheduled increases would undermine the controls in the critical early phase. All experience of state wage controls (including World War II) indicates that the longer they continue the less effective they become, as workers become increasingly discontented and take the controls less seriously.

continued on page 6



# AMERICAN EMPIRE SHAKEN

*Continued from Page 5*

If the controls are not strongly enforced in the early period, they will be practically worthless for the bourgeoisie. The leaden conservatism of the labor "leaders" must be smashed—now! The 6% scheduled pay increase for the auto workers in late November will be a key test of the power relations between the Nixon administration, the labor bureaucracy and the rank-and-file.

With all wings of the labor bureaucracy and the liberals actively supporting the controls, many workers, despite misgivings, may initially "give the controls a chance." However, as workers experience their wages being held down, with profits and prices rising through endless loopholes, class militancy will destroy the Pay Board's effectiveness and probably force a rift in the official labor leadership. The American ruling class will then face a choice between smashing the power of organized labor, beginning with strong anti-strike laws, or returning to earlier economic policies, which would be very dangerous to U.S. imperial interests.

## *The Workers and World War III*

While Nixon says that his fight against inflation is in everybody's interest, the wage controls are primarily aimed at improving the international competitiveness of the U.S. economy. Their main thrust is similar to the investment subsidies via tax advantages, the higher tariffs and favorable changes in foreign exchange rates.

The international monetary system has broken down because the major powers, notably the U.S., will no longer obey the rules of the game when it works against them. The U.S. has taken an extremely aggressive stance against its main trading rivals. It is demanding the complete elimination of its balance of payments deficit entirely through reduced imports and increased exports, while strongly opposing restrictions on capital movement. The U.S. is thus demanding the right to strip the other capitalist nations of their trade surpluses while simultaneously buying up their industries. The U.S. is demanding the expansion of automatic international credit (so-called paper gold) to pay for its current deficit. It is demanding an exceptional increase in the value of the yen, which will hurt Japan in all its trade relations. To add insult to injury, the U.S. is pressuring Japan to lift its restrictions on foreign investment.

Britain and Germany are generally supporting the U.S., while dickering for particular advantages. On the other side stand Japan and France, demanding a major increase in the dollar price of gold, which would simultaneously devalue the dollar, undermine the U.S. role as world banker and move the world economy from easy credit toward a hard gold basis. The French, as expected, are also pushing for controls to limit U.S. capital exports.

While small concessions will be made (the U.S. will raise the price of gold a little, France will agree to increase international credit a little), the differences are too irreconcilable for a return to a stable international monetary system. The next period will be one of international financial anarchy, quite similar to the 1930's, with managed fluctuating exchange rates (Connally's famous "dirty float"), numerous ad hoc trade and capital controls, bilateral commercial and credit deals and the complete interpenetration of political and financial relations.

Although American economic nationalism will hurt all other capitalist nations, its clear primary target is Japan. The American bourgeoisie is determined not merely to control Japanese imports, but to roll back the existing Japanese inroads. If the existing tariffs and exchange rate changes are not sufficient to stem the flow of Japanese imports they will be made sufficient.

The American action has unquestionably dealt a major blow to the Japanese economy. The week after Nixon's announcement, the Japanese stock market dropped 20% and remains depressed. Japan's important textile industry is laying off workers. Their steel industry expects a drop in output for the first time in a decade, with the

Nippon Steel Corp., the world's largest, operating at 70% capacity.

In the wake of the American economic "Pearl Harbor," the Japanese ruling class is naturally fragmented and confused. One tendency, represented by the pro-American Premier Sato, is prepared to grudgingly capitulate to the Americans and work harder along the old lines. Japan's growing right, led by former Defense Minister Nakasone, is calling for the return to an independent great power status with an Asian sphere of influence. Even before the U.S. moves, Japan had been drifting into a rearmament policy, doubling arms expenditure in the current budget. Now the pressures for stepped-up rearmament have increased manifold, Sato is under heavy attack within the ruling party. In a piece of savage irony, the Japanese Defense Minister offered to help the U.S. balance of payments by increasing arms purchases from the U.S. and volunteering to send Japanese soldiers to Southeast Asia for "humanitarian" missions! The Japanese ruling class is moving toward a second attempt at establishing the "Asian Co-prosperity Sphere," with China again a main target. The economic basis for this has already been laid with heavy Japanese investment and trade in Southeast Asia.

Economic conflicts as intense as those between the U.S. and Japan could contribute to a major inter-imperialist war. And this war would involve all the world's powers, including the Soviet Union and China on opposite sides. We can see the beginnings of a Tokyo-Moscow-Paris axis, since the Soviet bureaucracy has long sought an alliance with anti-American bourgeois nationalism in the advanced capitalist countries. On the other side is likely to be the U.S., China, Britain and West Germany. A third world war, fought with nuclear weapons, would conform to Marx's prophecy that mankind is faced with a choice between "socialism or barbarism."

A criminal responsibility for the greatly sharpened inter-imperialist economic rivalries and the forces leading to World War III rests on the American labor bureaucracy, slavish in its support for U.S. foreign economic policy. When the big bourgeoisie favored free trade, the AFL and CIO with their kept unions in Europe were also free-trade. The AFL-CIO officially became protectionist, under pressure of the important Steelworkers, just about the same time the big bourgeoisie as a whole went over to protectionism, under the pressure of big steel interests. The unions in industries facing import competition have acted as aggressive publicity agents and lobbyists for protectionism, appealing to the worst chauvinist prejudices. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers even campaigned against Asian suits by calling them unsanitary!

Both management and the union bureaucrats, to justify low wages and unemployment, particularly in traditionally low-wage industries like textiles, apparel and leather goods, have exaggerated the effect of imports. But unemployment caused by import competition is real, and as socialists we fight it. But we do not fight it by transferring unemployment to workers in other countries. The key to fighting all forms of unemployment is increasing the total pool of jobs with a labor offensive beginning with a shorter work week and ending with the expropriation of capitalist property and institution of socialist planning. The labor movement must demand the organization of foreign workers to bring them closer to the standard of living of U.S. workers. Such a drive, similar to the fight to organize in the American South so long ignored by bureaucrats, shifts the focus of the fight for jobs from national chauvinism to an expanded fight on behalf of workers of all regions, against the bourgeoisie everywhere.

The international movement of commodities, unrestricted by the vested interests of particular bourgeois states, is an integral part of socialist internationalism. An exception is the backward countries where high tariffs may be necessary for national independence and to counter the monopolistic advantages of the imperialist pow-

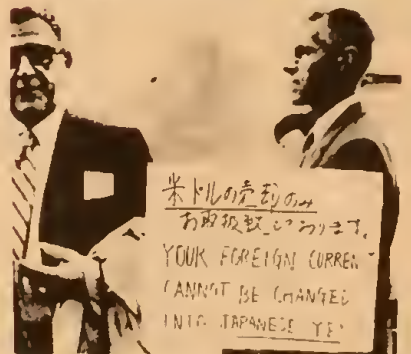
ers. However, in trade among advanced capitalist countries, labor support for protectionism is an alliance with one's own bourgeoisie against the workers of other countries. Furthermore, the full international division of labor benefits workers in the form of cheaper consumer goods.

By their gross economic nationalism, the American labor bureaucracy puts great pressure on foreign labor movements to create counter-alliances with their own ruling classes. American unions have continually ignored appeals from similar Japanese unions to present a common front on joint problems of trade competition and unemployment, thereby undermining the strong internationalist attitudes of the Japanese working-class movement. In an ominous development, Japanese textile magnates recently organized a demonstration of 30,000 workers to oppose legislation "voluntarily" limiting textile exports to the U.S.

A central task of revolutionary socialists in this period is to prevent the international eco-



**Britain's Rulers Took Devaluation Politely**



**... Japanese Were Not So Friendly**

omic crisis from generating a wave of social chauvinism within the world's working class movements, and combatting the bourgeois belief that workers can avoid impoverishment by supporting the imperialist ambitions of their own bourgeoisies. As revolutionists in the American labor movement we have particular responsibility because it is the American ruling class that is seeking to export its own recession. We must fight to reverse the American labor movement's commitment to economic nationalism and rally the world labor movement against a trade war that could lead to the third world war. Our fight will be absolutely futile if we do not from the beginning struggle to oust the bourgeois agents from leadership of the working class. We cannot possibly accomplish our internationalist task without annihilating the reactionary union bureaucracy, capitalism's tested servants. They will willingly, even eagerly, follow the ruling class on its course toward the mass murder of workers in world war.

The creation of an international proletarian party is essential to the task of fighting chauvinism in the world working-class movement. Without such an international party the common interests of the world's workers appear unreal, permitting labor traitors to rally around their own ruling classes in international conflict. With inter-imperialist conflict boding nuclear catastrophe, the need for proletarian internationalism has never been more urgent. ■

—Joseph Seymour



Continued from Page 8

# LONGSHOREMEN UNDER ATTACK

this time because under its terms the companies would be required to observe the old contract, which they want to scrap. And so the ILA workers with the worst contracts are kept at work, while those with better contracts, who stand most to lose from the companies' offensive, are spared Taft-Hartley now so that the companies can ignore the superior terms of their old contract!

## Political Struggle vs. Narrow Unionism

Clearly, longshore workers need to link up with the rest of the working class in a general counter-offensive against the wage freeze and other capitalist attacks. Yet every step toward such joint political struggle is sabotaged by the union bureaucrats. The rank-and-file must organize their own caucus to throw out the labor bureaucracy and open the door to working-class unity on the basis of a working-class political program. Those who fail to recognize this necessary step will only end up as "left" covers for the bureaucracy. Such is the course of the unprincipled Workers League, who in their desire to gain influence by any means in the working class abandon the necessary working-class politics in favor of ordinary trade unionism, e.g., the aborted WL campaigns in auto and steel were built around the "central issue" of wages (in light of the massive layoffs in steel, wages turned out to be not so "central" after all). Since the ILWU strike began on July 1, not one of the WL articles on the ILWU in the *Bulletin* talks about the need

for a political caucus to throw out the bureaucracy; instead the *Bulletin* exclaims in the 12 July issue, "The ILWU has now taken the lead for the entire class..." and "Bridges must be forced to issue the call to the entire labor movement to join the dockers fight."

After several months' delay, the so-called Workers League issued a "program" for longshoremen (*Bulletin*, Oct. 11), embodied in the "ILA Committee for a Decent Contract." As the very name implies, the committee is patterned after the abortive WL campaigns in auto and steel, where, instead of political struggle, the WL raised quite ordinary trade union demands (the "central political question" was wages!) Similarly, the ILA Committee for a Decent Contract is formed around 7 points—wages, vacations, pensions, gang size, etc.—all quite important, but hardly political. The political points are listed later in the center-fold article, making it deliberately unclear whether they are positions of the WL only or are also positions of the ILA Committee for a Decent Contract. Yet even the political points, such as a call for defiance of Taft-Hartley, fail to mention the vital point of union opposition to the Indochina war, especially the need for labor political strikes against the war. No doubt this is because the WL, in its opportunist attempt to gain "influence" with bureaucratic tendencies, would find such a position embarrassing, especially in the long-time anti-communist ILA.

Like the Russian Economists Lenin attacked, the Workers League thinks that given an economic

crisis, any economic struggle of the working class automatically becomes a political struggle against the government, so the role of the WL is reduced to pressure demands on the bureaucracy for more effective trade unionism. It is of course true that under present conditions, economic demands cannot succeed unless the struggle becomes political. But the labor bureaucrat, knowing that raising the political consciousness of the ranks would mean his downfall, sets up barricades to the political road by keeping the ranks at the level of bread-and-butter trade unionism and appealing to the bourgeoisie for some deal to get him off the hook. Left to their own devices, the labor bureaucrats would even attempt deals with the fascists, as they attempted in Germany when Hitler came to power, rather than launch political struggle; thus they would lead the working class to utter destruction.

It is up to the communist worker-militants to raise the necessary political programs and organize political caucuses in the unions on that basis. Ironically, where the WL raises political points, they consist of demands on the bureaucracy to lead the political fight, "Bridges must be forced by the ranks to begin an immediate campaign to call a congress of labor to construct a labor party that can bring down Nixon in 1972." (19 July *Bulletin*.) Nothing about a caucus. The WL wants a labor party led by labor bureaucrats; this can only mean disaster, as the British workers are finding out.

The bureaucracy must be thrown out by the class-conscious ranks, not merely pressured and not merely replaced by younger bureaucrats. This requires a political organization, a caucus, to fight for power in the union on the basis of a working-class program:

1. GOVERNMENT STAY OUT OF LABOR STRUGGLES—NO RELIANCE ON THE CAPITALIST STATE—BREAK THE WAGE FREEZE; FOR A GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST NIXON'S WAGE PLAN—REPEAL ALL ANTI-LABOR LAWS SUCH AS TAFT-HARTLEY—RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS SUCH AS ANGELA DAVIS AND JIMMY HOFFA
2. FOR LABOR STRIKES AGAINST THE WAR: HALT THE FLOW OF ALL WAR GOODS—FOR IMMEDIATE, UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. TROOPS FROM S.E. ASIA—FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS SOLIDARITY; VICTORY TO THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION!
3. BREAK FROM THE CAPITALIST PARTIES—BUILD A WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS; TOWARD A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT!
4. END UNEMPLOYMENT—30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY, JOBS FOR ALL! A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS AND WAGES—FULL COST-OF-LIVING ESCALATORS IN ALL CONTRACTS—STRIKES AGAINST LAYOFFS
5. EXPROPRIATION OF INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL ■

## SPARTACIST NATIONAL TOUR:

Marvin Treiger, a leader of the formerly Maoist Communist Working Collective (CWC) of Los Angeles, which fused with the Spartacist League at its Labor Day Plenum (see *Workers Vanguard* #1, Oct. 1971) is currently touring the U. S. speaking on the theme:

## FROM MAOISM TO TROTSKYISM

The development of the CWC, whose study led it to the conclusion that only Trotskyism, embodied in the politics of the SL, represents the continuation of Leninism, outraged orthodox Maoists and bogus Trotskyists alike. Maoist Bob Avakian denounced the CWC comrades for "corrupting the youth"! Following is Comrade Treiger's tour schedule:

Los Angeles/San Diego	Oct. 23-Nov. 8	Houston	Dec. 10
San Francisco/Bay Area	Nov. 10-13	New Orleans	Dec. 12-14
Seattle	Nov. 15-18	Tallahassee	Dec. 16-17
Portland	Nov. 19-25	Tampa	Dec. 19-20
San Francisco/Bay Area	Nov. 27-28	Atlanta	Dec. 22-23
Los Angeles	Nov. 30-Dec. 2	New York	Dec. 25
Austin	Dec. 7-8		

For further information, call in your area: NY (212) 925-8234, New England (617) 891-6678, South (512) 477-3835, SF/Bay Area (415) 848-3029, So. Cal. (213) 467-6855, Midwest (312) 643-4394.

Continued from Page 3

## PL THUGS

## ATTACK TROTSKYISTS

a comprehensive transitional program, especially a workers' party, the PL'ers became enraged by their own frustration and inability to answer. Some spoke with irritation of "intellectual discussions" which "obstruct" the "real business" to be done. Soon a PL'er was sent around to each workshop to announce that "disrupters" in the meeting (pointing to SL/RCY comrades) who were talking about "transitional programs" and a "labor party" should not be recognized. An SL'er answered, "You're the one disrupting!" and was immediately threatened by someone holding a bottle in his hand. Finally, in the workshop on "organizing in the unions" an SL trade unionist raised her hand and spoke up in protest after her repeated attempts to get the floor were ignored, and was suddenly seized from behind by a PL'er—the same PL'er who led an attack on SL/RCY leafletters in Sacramento some months ago. Several people immediately joined the assault. When other SL/RCY'ers rushed to defend her, they were quickly grabbed and viciously assaulted. Many comrades were beaten up before they could even get to the exit and hallway stairs, where comrades were further beaten, kicked and pushed down the stairs. PL leader Fred Jerome could be seen among the assailants. Several comrades

suffered bruises and cuts, but by sheer luck no serious injury resulted. A few "independents," unfamiliar with either PL or the SL, left the meeting, horrified by the attack.

This assault is the logical conclusion of PL's political bankruptcy—its failure to break from Stalinist methodology. We warn PL: You cannot sustain yourselves with mindless activism and petty gangsterism! Marxist truth and social reality cannot be annihilated by thuggery. We will not be silenced! ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Monthly  
Published by the Spartacist League

Editorial Board: Liz Gordon, Marv Treiger,  
Nick Benjamin (managing editor).

Production manager: Karen Allen.  
Circulation manager: Janet Rogers.  
West Coast editor: Mark Small.  
New England editor: George Foster.

Subscription: \$1 yearly (11 issues). Bundle rates for 10 or more copies. Address: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Telephone: WA 5-8234. Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

**SUBSCRIBE  
NOW!**  
**\$1.00 yearly**

INCLUDES SPARTACIST

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

**WORKERS VANGUARD**  
BOX 1377 • G. P. O. • NEW YORK • N. Y. 10001



# LONGSHOREMEN UNDER ATTACK

On October 1, the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) struck, joining the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), which had been on strike for three months. Nixon moved quickly to eliminate the threat to the ruling class of the first massive nationwide dock strike in U.S. history. On Oct. 6, he invoked the Taft-Hartley law against the ILWU, ending the joint strike which union bureaucrats themselves had avoided for three months.

The strikes were triggered by the massive capitalist attack on the working class. Faced with stiffening competition from the rest of the capitalist world, especially Japan, the U.S. ruling class must seek to save its profits by driving down the wages of American workers and increasing productivity through automation and erosion of union powers.

On the docks, the installation of containerized cargo and LASH systems has meant the loss of thousands of jobs. An ILWU publication points out that from 1968 to 1969 containerized cargo on the West Coast jumped from 13% of the total tonnage to 40%; as a result, labor costs per ton decreased from \$5,737 in 1966 to \$4,389 in 1970 while freight rates have soared. Thus the shipping companies of the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) have pulled in profits while employment for longshoremen has dropped steadily. Thanks to the treachery of the Bridges leadership, the 1961 and 1966 5-year no-strike contracts of the ILWU permitted this "modernization" to take place at the dockers' expense in jobs. (See *Workers Action* #9, July-Aug. 1971 for details.)

Nixon's wage-price freeze—actually a wage freeze—is a bold new capitalist attack on the independent power of the unions. The fact that the ILWU and ILA are involved in major industrial strikes in the middle of the freeze puts the unions in the important position of sounding board for working-class opposition to the freeze. Hence the outcome of this struggle will have far-reaching effects on the future course of struggle for the working class as a whole.

## **Bureaucratic Sabotage**

Unfortunately, but typically, the brief nationwide dock strike did not occur because of any elemental class solidarity between the ILA and ILWU leaderships. Rather, the joint action occurred in spite of the bureaucratic manipulations of the leaders to avoid confrontations with the employers and the government; it occurred because of blatant employer attacks and massive rank-and-file unrest. On the East Coast, Gleason of the ILA, like the rest of the spineless labor fakers such as Woodcock, was willing to go along with the freeze and stay on the job under the old contract, which expired Sept. 30, until the freeze is over; the employers, however, were not satisfied and wanted to take away gains from the old contract, such as the Guaranteed Annual Wage, thereby forcing the ILA on strike.

Bridges has attempted to counter the PMA offensive by a narrow single-union struggle, at all times attempting to avoid the inevitable political struggle against the capitalist government. His strike program itself already accepts defeats of the union and proposes compromises, e.g. —he proposed to prevent further manning cutbacks rather than restore the basic gang of six men; he proposes to modify Section 9.43 rather than abolish it. (Sec. 9.43 allows the use of "steady men" who work steadily for one company rather than being hired out of the union hall on a daily basis; thus it undermines the union hiring hall, a major source of union strength.) On the key container issue, the Bridges program demands that all the container "stuffing" work, with some exceptions, be brought to the docks under ILWU jurisdiction. Since much of this work has been done by the Teamsters and other workers, the narrow Bridges program poses a jurisdictional dispute—which the PMA has been making use of by pointing to existing contracts with the Teamsters. President Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, meanwhile, has lined up with Nixon in support of the freeze and has called for binding arbitration of the container issue. Needless to say, these bureaucratic traitors could not conceive of a joint struggle of longshoremen and Teamsters against the capitalists to preserve jobs and working conditions. The



Newark Longshoremen Picket at Beginning of ILA Strike

ILWU could initiate such a joint struggle by demanding that all container work not performed by longshoremen be performed at longshore pay rates, manning scales, etc. The successful fight for a shorter work week at no loss in pay would create many new jobs for both unions.

Like all labor bureaucrats, Bridges has strained himself to soften the impact of the strike on the employers so as to avoid a confrontation with the government and to appear "reasonable" in the eyes of the liberals. This has only encouraged the employers and the government to take harder stands in the face of apparent union weakness. Throughout the strike, the ports of Vancouver, Canada and Ensenada, Mexico were allowed to remain open; naturally, scab cargo has increased through these ports so much that the union now might ask the locals there to begin boycotting "hot" cargo. Neither military nor passenger ships were struck. Bridges has also released from the docks cargo which had been unloaded from ships prior to the strike. But the employers are apparently standing firm on their wage offer and length-of-contract demands. To facilitate his dealings, Bridges excluded from the negotiating sessions rank-and-file members of Local 10 on grounds they might cause some "disturbance"; the fact that Local 10 members have been very militant, especially regarding Sec. 9.43, is no doubt the real cause for the bureaucratic move. An elementary demand by rank-and-file members must be to open up the negotiating sessions to all members.

There is a persistent rumor that Bridges has compromised on the container issue by agreeing to acceptance of a royalty tax on all containers not stuffed by longshoremen. As we have pointed out, such monetary penalty clauses are worthless in the long run if they allow the capitalists to eliminate jobs, thereby undermining the union's strength; this should have been the lesson of the 1961 ILWU contract!

## **Political Confrontation**

In his attempt to prevent a confrontation with the government, Bridges exempted military cargo from the strike. All the noble liberal denunciations of the war emanating from the Bridges leadership have proven to be empty rhetoric. In fact, the armed forces are even paying for part of the upkeep of the hiring hall to ensure the smooth flow of military goods! The anti-working-class war in Indochina goes on while Nixon pursues a war against the working class at home as well, and the labor bureaucrats retreat. Instead of calling for a general labor defense of the ILWU as part of a counter-offensive against the freeze, Bridges merely pleads for a special exemption for his own union.

Yet the ruling class is not satisfied and wants to discipline the working class even more; the ruling class at least knows the ILWU is a test case. Thus Nixon sent in a special "mediator"

and even stepped into the negotiations personally with the threat — soon carried out — of a Taft-Hartley injunction. Attempting to play off the ILWU against the ILA, Nixon held off on an injunction briefly, hoping that Bridges would complete the betrayal and get the ILWU back to work, leaving the ILA out alone.

Bridges of course is an old hand at stabbing fellow unionists in the back for the government. In 1944, in support of the no-strike pledge and wage freeze, the Bridges leadership endorsed the handling of scab goods during the Montgomery Ward strike. This policy was also endorsed by the Stalinist Communist Party as part of the CP's general policy of collaboration with the ruling class. Following the 1944 precedent, the CP paper *Peoples World* has not published a single criticism of Bridges' treacherous policies during this strike. As an elementary act of class solidarity, rank-and-file longshoremen must demand that both the ILA and ILWU stay out together, defying government injunctions, until each union has settled all grievances.

## **Political Struggle vs. Narrow Unionism**

It did not take long for Nixon to break the joint action of East and West Coast longshoremen—given the help of "progressive" Bridges of the ILWU who whipped the men back to work under the excuse of the Taft-Hartley injunction. Of course, Bridges assured the ranks that the fight would continue "on the job" (!), but when Los Angeles-Long Beach dockers resisted returning because of the hiring of steady men, the court quickly ruled against the union while Bridges continued to pressure the men to go back. In mid-October employers in Seattle and Tacoma fired 42 longshore gangs for using slowdown tactics, and Bridges quickly rushed in to warn the ranks that "a slowdown won't work." The Bridges leadership stands more nakedly than ever as traitors to the working class—yet the rank and file, betrayed and disorganized, has as yet been unable to mount an effective counter-offensive.

Nixon has so far not invoked Taft-Hartley against the ILA—at the request of the New York Shipping Association. The Association and Nixon's mediators seek a settlement by the ILA on the companies' terms. The employers' optimism is enhanced by the fact that most of the ILA's Gulf ports, except Beaumont, continue to be worked. The guaranteed annual wage for ILA members in the port of New York (and in attenuated form in other East Coast ports), does not exist in the Gulf ports. The drive by the companies to eliminate the guaranteed annual wage, to realize fatter profits from technical advances, does not directly affect the Gulf longshoremen, and the ILA bureaucrats have agreed to work those ports during the wage freeze so long as the old contract is observed. Nixon does not want to invoke Taft-Hartley at

continued on page 7