



# Workers' Action

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## U.S. Capitalism in Trouble – **WORKERS MUST NOT PAY!**

Nixon's new economic program is a simultaneous declaration of war on the American working class and on the imperialist trade rivals of the U.S. It is designed to save the dollar and the competitive position of U.S. capitalists on the world market by making the working class pay for the inefficiencies of capitalism with new sacrifices.

The program is a statement of recognition by the U.S. ruling class that the long post-war period of U.S. imperialist dominance of the world—the "American Century"—has come to an end. With it has gone the era of relative class peace domestically which began with the McCarthyite witch hunt and lining up of the labor movement in lockstep behind the banner of the cold war anti-communist crusade. America is no longer world banker and sole world policeman; instead, it is one imperialist rival among many, and, as always in such rivalries, the fight is to the death. The outbreak of World War III, another global war for redivision of the world among the major capitalist powers, and for the military restoration of capitalism in the deformed workers' states, has been brought one step closer by Nixon's act. The scramble for alliances has begun. The main antagonism remains that between the most powerful of the competing imperialists—the United States—and the most powerful of the deformed workers' states—the Soviet Union. But the ruling bureaucracies of the Sino-Soviet states willingly endanger the remaining gains of their revolutions by competing against each other to sell their military-diplomatic influence to the highest capitalist bidder. Thus we see the Soviet Union presently lined up with Japan and India, China with the U.S., West Germany and Britain. It is the duty of the working class to defend the deformed workers' states, while at the same time opposing—by demanding and assisting political revolution in those states—the nationalist great-power treacheries of their leaders.

Nixon's program follows a period of several years of progressive weakening of U.S. capitalism's world position. Central to this decline has been the debacle of the Indochina war, which distorted the delicate balance of the permanent military economics which served for more than two decades to keep the economy relatively stable and crisis-free: the extra burden of the war, over and above the massive planned warfare spending and the long-term commitments it entailed, worsened the U.S. balance of payments position and created inflation at home. Thus U.S. imperialism's contradictions eventually overwhelmed all attempts to regulate them, and the U.S. and other imperialist powers find themselves sliding back to a period reminiscent of the 1930's—of international economic crisis and anarchy, accompanied by the drift toward world war. Only the conscious intervention of the world working class, through revolution to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism, can reverse this course toward the ultimate destruction.

### **Wage-Price Controls Only Work One Way**

The wage-price controls are for the purpose of holding down wages as part of an artificial incentive for the bosses for a new round of capitalist expansion and, of course, have nothing whatsoever to do with controlling prices. The Office of Economic Preparedness, supposed to enforce the freeze, is a miniscule agency only a fraction the size of the World War II Office of Price Administration. It has already admitted its unique "unpreparedness" to do any enforcing. Furthermore there are many exceptions, most important being the fact that the 10% surcharge on all imports is

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Lenin and  
Trotsky:  
Toward the  
American  
Revolutionary  
Party for  
the American  
October!



## LENINIST FUSION

Following five months of intensive discussion and collaboration the Communist Working Collective (CWC) of Los Angeles and the Spartacist League have announced their intention to unite at the forthcoming Labor Day Plenum of the SL, jointly participated in by the CWC leadership.

The CWC originated a year ago as a Maoist formation with forces drawn from the Revolutionary Union and the California Communist League. In the course of attempting to develop a revolutionary and scientific working-class orientation, the group came to realize that Mao Thought does not lead to a revolutionary strategy in an industrialized country. Consequently the CWC comrades decisively suspended directionless practical work in favor of a searching theoretical and historical inquiry.

Recognizing that Maoism is only a national variant of Stalin's outlook, the CWC, after months of study and internal struggle, came to understand that the key issue for communists was the alternative of Stalin's (and Mao's) "Socialism in One Country" or the Trotskyist "Permanent Revolution" as a conceptual driving force. In the light of Marxian fundamentals as developed by Marx himself and extended by Lenin, the CWC in its large majority and despite all prior prejudice was compelled to the Trotskyist position.

Rejecting the SWP out of hand, the CWC rapidly discovered the sterile incapacity and cynicism behind the pretenses of Wohlforth and his Workers League.

The CWC comrades have produced a brilliant analysis of recent domestic and Chinese Maoist thought in their soon to be published "Letter to a Maoist" as well as a comprehensive set of political theses paralleling the programmatic documents of the SL. In our next issue we will print the story of the striking political development leading towards the fusion with the SL.

The CWC-SL unification flows in part from the Leninist regroupment perspective of the SL which is crucial to building a revolutionary workers' party in the present period of flux in the radical movement opened by the sharpening crisis of capitalist imperialism and the overt intrusion of workers' struggles into the minds of militants. There is every reason to believe that this is far from the last in the regroupment process of splits and fusions now underway.

The SL had been systematically preparing for some months to bring out a regular monthly tabloid newspaper in view of the urgent responsibilities faced today by revolutionary Marxists and made possible by the SL's own growth. In agreement with the CWC and the Editorial Board of *Workers' Action*, beginning with October, a new Marxist working class newspaper (incorporating *Workers' Action*) will be published by the Spartacist League. *Spartacist* will continue as it is.

The deep fusion of cadre taking place in the CWC-SL unification strengthens this press expansion, as well as the geographic extension of the Trotskyist movement in the U.S. and the growth of new and enlarged revolutionary nuclei in the labor movement, and promises significant international impact in the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International.

## NPAC REPORT

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# MILITANT MURDERED



故戦士町田宗秀

琉球大学学生 24才

Machida Munehide - Murdered by Stalinists

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## WORKERS MUST NOT PAY!

to be passed on to the consumer, so that Americans will be forced to "buy American" whether they like it or not. This means that all imported commodities and anything with foreign-made parts in it, such as electronic components, will be going up in price. State and local taxes and sales taxes will also continue to rise. In addition, the way is clear for "special" exemptions for corporate price increases (Lockheed, university tuitions, etc.), either officially or on the sly, under the guise of "balancing" the economy and strengthening "weak" companies, etc., while wages, of course, remain frozen. Nationwide over 500,000 workers are covered by contracts which expire between now and November, while several million more won't get scheduled raises. These include workers in auto, steel, the post office, packinghouses, building trades, teachers, city and state employees and many more. As if all this weren't enough, a free gift is to be made to all corporate profit margins in the form of a 10% tax rebate incentive for new investment. This added burden on the workers' taxes is to be compensated for by laying off 5% of all government employees, all in the name of "fighting unemployment"! It is highly unlikely that this "incentive" will create enough jobs to "compensate" for this one layoff.

So it always is when the bosses attempt to cope with the problems their system has created for them. There is no such thing as "fair" wage and price controls under capitalism, no matter how "thorough" the enforcement, since the government which does the enforcing is controlled by the giant price-fixers themselves. The bosses can always find loopholes, exemptions, and illegal ways to raise prices while the worker is told to wait: he can't "decide" to sneak a wage hike for himself behind the back of the boss! The wage-price controls are strictly a weapon of the capitalist ruling class against the working class in order to give the capitalists a greater advantage in the struggle between the two classes, which continues every day unabated.

The present controls actually have a somewhat experimental character; there is little machinery available at present for enforcement of the wage freeze. Nixon is testing how much the bureaucrats will take before they feel forced to fight back—by means other than words. All the more reason for labor to yield nothing to Nixon's controls!

### Class Struggle Only Answer

The only answer to this assault on the living standards of the workers is the class struggle of the working class as a whole against the capitalists and their government—something which the

present leaders of the labor movement have been trying to forget for over twenty years. Now they are having it shoved down their throats. The program is so blatantly an attack on labor that even Meany and Woodcock have been forced to oppose it, although it was Meany who only a short while ago was calling upon Nixon to extend wage-price controls in the construction industry to the economy as a whole. Meany correctly said that Nixon's proposals amount to a "tax bonanza to American corporations at the expense of American workers." The California AFL-CIO considers the call for an end to strikes as "nothing less than a call for industrial war." Woodcock has threatened a strike (of course, safely in the future). While Meany says that "the workers get it in the neck again," he doesn't propose to do anything about it—except to "confer" with Nixon's flunkies. And though the head of Local 2222 of the IBEW has promised to "raise some hell" if phone company workers don't get their raises, it's been all talk and no action. These bureaucrats who have betrayed the workers time and time again are not to be trusted now just because for once they are talking tough. They only fight to save their own skins, and will gladly sell out the struggle against Nixon's program if they can reach even the most meager accommodation.

### Politicians and Bureaucrats

While most trade union leaders, reflecting strong pressure from the ranks (refusal to return to work by striking West Coast longshore workers, N. Y. phone workers, etc.) have opposed the freeze, hardly any politicians, Democratic or Republican, have opposed it. Where are our "friends of labor" now? They are selling out to Nixon in the interests of their first and only loyalty, the capitalist system. This is why workers need a political party of their own responsible only to them.

Government threats to fine unions which violate the controls by striking are nothing less than a threat to destroy the union movement. The union bureaucrats—who would be nothing if they had no unions to sell out—are being forced to fight, but only partially, sluggishly, defensively, compelled by their role as perennial sellouts to fear militant class action by their members as much as they fear Nixon's assaults. Yet labor must realize that it has at least the mechanisms to fight the bureaucrats, who must at some point protect the unions from destruction or lose their power base. But labor has no leverage to apply to the politicians, who are simply and directly the agents of the class enemy. The "friends of labor" of yesterday are cheering Nixon today. Tomorrow they

On the night of June 19 the Okinawan student Machida Munehide was slain in a brutal lynching and more than a dozen of his comrades seriously injured in an attack by a large gang of heavily armed Stalinists on a dormitory of Ryukyu University. The Spartacist League has sent the following message to the comrades of the slain militant:

9 July 1971

Japan Revolutionary Communist League (Kakumaru)

Dear Comrades,

The Spartacist League joins in expressing deep-felt rage and sorrow at the brutal, calculated murder of the Okinawan student militant Machida Munehide by the counterrevolutionary Stalinists made desperate by their exposure in the struggle against the imperialist Okinawa Reversion Agreement.

Violence and assassination of revolutionists have always been the ultimate recourse by reformists, Stalinists and all revisionists facing exposure and defeat: Comrades Luxemburg and Liebknecht in the January 1919 Spartacist struggles in Berlin; Andres Nin and a whole layer of proletarian militants by the Stalinist GPU in the Spanish Revolution; Comrade Trotsky by Stalin to silence the greatest revolutionary mind of the period; the Vietnamese Trotskyist militants by the Stalinists in 1945 thus laying the direct basis for 25 years of betrayal in Indochina. Your comrade Machida numbers now among our honored dead.

One week ago in New York the Socialist Workers Party of revisionist betrayal aided by goons of the Stalinists and trade union bureaucrats and by the jackals of the Healyite Workers League savagely and pre-meditatedly attacked our comrades and the ex-Maoists of the Progressive Labor Party as we protested imperialist U.S. Senator Hartke's speech to the anti-Vietnam war conference organized by the SWP. It was only an accident that no militants were actually killed by the assault. In the U.S., too the line has been drawn in blood.

Violence and murder only harden our determination to press forward to the proletarian revolution. In the course of this struggle we must and will utterly destroy the revisionists of all stripes by, in Comrade Trotsky's words, "setting the base against the top."

In comradely solidarity,

James Robertson,  
for the Central Committee  
of the Spartacist League

will be the first to call for smashing the unions themselves, and sending American labor back into the conditions of the last century.



George Meany, head of A.F.L.-C.I.O., backed the use of anti-inflationary wage and price controls.

### CONTROL PRICES, NOT

WAGES: Nixon's wage-"price" freeze is a deadly serious threat to labor's right to fight its exploiters. After making their verbal objections, the union bureaucrats will fall in line and back up the government. The rank and file must expose and oust these bureaucrats in order to win the fight against government control of the unions, compulsory arbitration, no-strike laws and wage freezes. We need to fight inflation, but at the capitalists' expense, with real price controls on all consumer goods, rents, medical care, etc.

**NO TAX CREDITS FOR BIG BUSINESS:** The new so-called "job-development credit" is just a bonanza for the capitalists. They netted \$4 billion a year from the recent depreciation allowance, while this tax rebate bequeaths them another \$5 billion. With the U.S. industry running at only 70% capacity, the new tax credit won't create any jobs but will most likely throw more workers out of work. The government uses the tax mechanism to collect the workers' wages and pass them back to the capitalists.

**STRIKES AGAINST LAYOFFS:** Steel workers won a new contract only to find themselves laid off by the thousands. The union bureaucrats have accepted layoffs, turned their backs to low-seniority workers, most often blacks and Latins, and looked to the government to provide more

(continued on next page)

Berkeley—A symposium on the theme of "August 6 and International Anti-War Struggles" was held in Berkeley, sponsored by the Anti-Stalinism Study Group (ASG), in solidarity with the International Anti-War Assembly of the Zengakuren (Revolutionary Marxist) in Tokyo. Since 1963, these international gatherings have been held annually on Hiroshima Day by the Zengakuren "for the purpose of building a true international antiwar movement from the standpoint of overthrowing imperialism and overcoming Stalinism." A number of American anti-Stalinist left groups were invited to speak.

**NPAC: Class Collaboration**

In the introductory presentation, a young Japanese-American woman from the ASG pointed out that the commemoration of Hiroshima Day was not based on petty-bourgeois pacifism, or Stalinist "peaceful co-existence" and class collaboration, but rather looked to revolutionary international working-class struggle to overthrow world imperialism, the root of such horrors as atomic war. She emphasized that a successful international anti-war struggle must not cater to petty-bourgeois pacifism and nationalism, but can be successful only from the internationalist standpoint of "anti-imperialism, anti-Stalinism." In this context she correctly condemned the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) for its tailing of nationalist tendencies and its class collaboration with the ruling class to bring about "peace" — as exemplified by the July 2-4 New York NPAC meeting where bourgeois Senator Vance Hartke gave a "keynote address," and communist protestors were violently evicted. The NPAC is dominated by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and allied with the Stalinist Communist Party. The SWP was invited to the August 6 meeting, the ASG woman noted, but they answered that they could not "spare" anyone just then.

Especially valuable was her examination of the class roots of imperialist war in contrast to the opportunist prattle from NPAC and other groups about racism as a fundamental consideration for imperialist policy. She declared: "There is no basis whatsoever to believe that the U.S. government involved itself in a world war because it hated the Japanese or the yellow race. The governments of the advanced capitalist countries in their competition to dominate and exploit markets and labor on a world scale are driven by the laws of the capitalist system, not fundamentally by racism." NPAC's sole emphasis on the "racist nature of U.S. war policy" is based on NPAC's political appetites: "In wanting to build a mass Popular Front for the peace movement through sheer numbers, regardless of political content, the NPAC sees the potential of sucking in various minority

# August 6 Commemoration Condemns Stalinism and NPAC

groups who are presently strongly influenced by nationalist tendencies."

The ASG viewed NPAC as nothing more than another means for strangling the development of revolutionary class consciousness by masking the true nature of the war-making imperialist system. The ASG speaker stated: "The NPAC has no intention whatsoever of launching an anti-war movement that would forthrightly attack the bourgeois ruling class which exploits all else for its own interests. . . . The NPAC resolutions must represent all the groups in the Popular Front, thus necessitating statements reflecting the least common political denominator of all groups represented. And what is the least common denominator in a Popular Front in which even our class enemies are invited to participate? Obviously, it is limited to crying 'Peace! Peace!' or one step further — 'Peace Now!' There is a well-known 'non-exclusion' clause of the NPAC, establishing the principle that everybody desiring peace can join NPAC. Not only does this resolution allow NPAC to throw us all together with the very people who are formulating the war policy, including even the self-styled 'liberals' in Congress such as Vance Hartke, but it specifically aims at pretending that there are no class antagonisms in American society. Instead, they propagate the image that a lot of people desiring peace will somehow, by marching hand-in-hand with the very people who are responsible for war policy, bring a true resolution to the situation in Southeast Asia!"

The Progressive Labor Party had not been invited to participate in the symposium, as the ASG would have regarded their presence as conflicting with the anti-Stalinist nature of the gathering. A better policy would have been to invite all groups opposed to collaboration with any section of the bourgeoisie in the anti-war struggle. Despite its Stalinist methods, such as gangster assaults on other left groups, PL is actively opposed to any alliance with the bourgeoisie, as in NPAC. Stalinism, like all revisionism, is at bottom characterized by the attempt to tie the working class politically to sections of the bourgeois class and its agents. Thus if Stalinism is seen as something more than just a curseword, PL despite all its

limitations and contradictions certainly merited invitation more than the class-collaborationist SWP—although, of course, PL's sectarianism would probably have prevented them from speaking together with "Trotskyites."

The purpose of inviting any group to a united front such as the ASG's Hiroshima Day rally must be twofold: to "strike together against the common enemy" where a sufficient basis of political agreement exists; and to further clarification within the revolutionary movement through an examination, within the context of existing solidarity in the struggle, of differences. PL's participation in the symposium should have been solicited as an opportunity to compel its cadres to recognize that PL's current hodge-podge of neo-Stalinist and crypto-Trotskyist positions is insufficient to combat class-collaboration (the essence of Stalinism) which they correctly recoil from in the anti-war movement.

The first guest speaker was Gene Goldenfeld for the Communist Working Collective of Los Angeles. Beginning as a Maoist group about a year ago, the CWC abandoned Maoism-Stalinism and adopted Trotskyism. The speaker pointed out that the present anti-war movement is dominated by reformists and fake Marxists, and that a true anti-war movement requires the international mobilization of the working class to disarm the imperialists. He punctured the revisionist myth of "socialism in one country," citing the rapprochement between Washington and Peking. He emphasized that the CWC upholds the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism. Recognizing the treachery of the Stalinist bureaucracy, he pointed out that it is even more important than ever that the non-capitalist countries maintain defense against imperialism, including the manufacture and deployment of nuclear weapons. However, he concluded, their only ultimate defense is social revolution in the imperialist world and workers' political revolution in the Stalinist countries. The CWC spokesman also announced the coming fusion of the CWC and the SL at a Labor Day Plenum.

**"Third Camp"**

The next speaker was Ernie Haberkern, from Hal Draper's Independent Socialist Committee, a group which recently split from the International Socialists which Draper had founded in the early 1960's. Haberkern proclaimed ISCo support for "the revolutionary third camp against the two competing imperialist powers"—capitalist imperialism and "Stalinist imperialism." He held the key question to be whether we appease the imperialists (of both varieties) or organize mass opposition. Although he criticized the present anti-war leadership for not helping to politicize the U.S. working class, he cautioned that their failure was not all "their fault" since one must contend with objective conditions which cannot be changed at will. His indirect "objective" apology for the NPAC leadership exposed the consistent anti-working-class orientation of the Draper tendency. Their intense and long-standing antagonism toward independent working-class struggle dictates an endless search for some "third camp" road — inevitably petty-bourgeois schemes like the Peace and Freedom Party. Anti-communism in the guise of anti-Stalinism led them for years to call for "Negotiations Now" for Vietnam; not until 1968 was the "Withdraw Now" position popular enough for their support. Even now, they dare not call for military victory to the NLF, for fear of siding with Stalinism. But it is precisely Stalinist treachery in containing and suppressing revolutionary movements which makes Stalinism dangerous, not any mythical drive for "imperialist" expansion.

The next speaker was Tom Condit of the International Socialists. Speaking of the early years of the American anti-war movement around 1960, Condit mentioned how the Zengakuren struggles had injected a new lesson of militancy in the anti-war movement; at the same time, he cautioned, illusions of "student powerism" and "student vanguardism" blossomed in the U.S. On the question of nuclear weapons, Condit argued that, unlike

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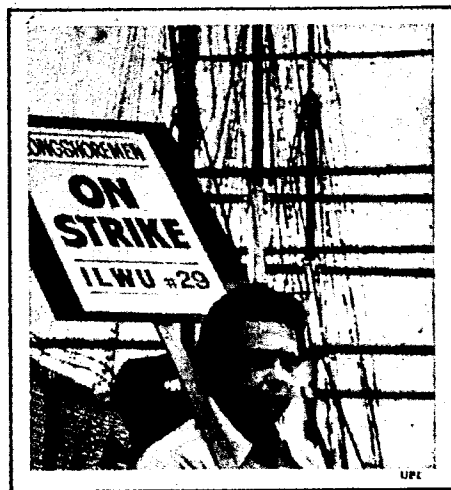
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## WORKERS MUST NOT PAY!

jobs. The unions must fight layoffs directly by threatening to close down operations entirely in the face of layoffs—those already laid off must be rehired.

**END UNEMPLOYMENT—30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY. A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS AND WAGES. FULL COST-OF-LIVING ESCALATORS IN ALL CONTRACTS:** Despite the tremendous increase in productivity, the work week hasn't been shortened since 1920. The way to fight unemployment, including competition among workers in a shrinking job market, is to create more jobs by shortening the work week at no loss in pay. The sliding scale of hours would divide available work among all workers—the sliding scale of wages links wages to the cost of living, with a guaranteed minimum and no ceiling.

**EXPROPRIATION OF INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL:** At the heart of the problem of inflation, unemployment and other econom-



West Coast striker: No return

ic ills is production for private profit and not social use. Workers must fight to enjoy all the wealth they produce, by controlling industry themselves and taking it over without payment to the capitalists—in direct response to the phony "nationalization" schemes proposed by the government.

**FOR A WORKERS' POLITICAL PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS:** The Democrats planned the wage freeze that Nixon carried out, as the UAW pointed out. The Democratic and Republican parties stand more and more exposed and hated—with Nixon leading the campaign of the two capitalist parties against the working class, the workers more than ever need their own political party to represent their interests. The political answers of the working class leaders and misleaders have to be tested in reality—the needs and interests of the working class cannot be won and protected by economic militancy alone. We need political action by the working class to fight for workers' power! ■

## Workers' Action

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The beating and political exclusion of supporters of Progressive Labor, SDS and the Spartacist League from the Socialist Workers Party-dominated National Peace Action Coalition Conference over the July 4th weekend represented not only the resurgence writ large of Stalinist-style gangsterism within the U.S. left, but another qualitative shift for the SWP on the road to simple reformism. The SWP has put itself on record that henceforward class collaboration with the imperialist liberals within the present Popular Front will be maintained at all costs; the initiation ceremony has been consummated by an act of shameful violence against revolutionaries. The NPAC Conference will have long-lasting and far-reaching consequences.

Although the SWP's conduct was no more than a linear continuation of its previous anti-war policies, the NPAC Conference is a political milestone. The SWP was compelled by the logic of its courtship of bourgeois liberals to exclude communists and would-be communists — compelled to go over to the offensive physically. The Workers League grossly revealed its recurring appetite to be the left-sounding attorney for the SWP. The Labor Committees and International Socialists, who have in the past been able to cover their appetites toward the Pop Front by abstract and polite criticisms of the SWP, were faced with an unyielding choice: inside with the Pop Front, or outside with its opponents. Predictably, they vacillated, but chose sides: they condemned as "undemocratic" the violent exclusions—but remain within the discipline of NPAC. For PL, the Conference sharpens its contradiction between subjective anti-collaborationist impulses and its inherited Stalinist tradition, forcing a resurgence of cop-baiting of the SWP as the last refuge of those who dare not face up to revisionism politically.

### Ring to the Defense

The NPAC Conference is important because it drew the lines in blood. In the July 16 *Militant*, SWP hack Harry Ring tries to brazen it out with a falsification of the facts rather than an attempt to defend his organization politically (only the Workers League offered political rationalizations for the SWP). Just as the traditions of Leninism and the October Revolution were so strong in the Soviet Union that they compelled Stalin and his followers to maintain lip-service to them while destroying their very basis, so the SWP's once-Trotskyist heritage of political struggle with opponents would not allow its leadership to admit: we threw those people out because their irreconcilable hostility to class collaboration was a real threat to the Pop Front. Instead, Ring speaks of "screaming, biting, kicking disrupters" and commends the NPAC marshals for their "disciplined restraint." If we may be permitted an analogy without being accused of creating an amalgam, this description is better suited to a Police Review Board whitewash of a cop riot than to a "socialist" newspaper. A Spartacist League leaflet written a few hours after the Friday night expulsions and distributed the next morning described the events as they occurred—the sudden charge of SWPer Fred Halstead and his "Light Brigade," the beating of Spartacist supporters as they sought to walk out of the meeting—and no one present at the Conference the next day challenged this description; they had witnessed it, after all.

What occurred Friday night at NPAC was a political expulsion, an exclusion of tendencies. Ring's version reads:

"... the committee emphasized that the issue

of political exclusion was in no way involved and that people were to be kept out only on the basis of their disruptive activity and that no one was to be excluded on the basis of their political views and association."

Ring can "emphasize" anything he wants, but this is simply a lie designed to soothe the queasy stomachs of SWPers who know from history what a purge means. The marshals guarding the doors Saturday and Sunday kept people out precisely on the basis of their political associations. Thus several Spartacist supporters who had not been present on Friday night were refused admission to the later sessions because they were known to be "with" Spartacist—and this was the reason given them by the guards. And the account carried in the July 14 *Guardian* states:

"Although the marshals were reportedly instructed to exclude only those whom they could identify as disrupters from the previous night, many people were stopped and questioned about their political affiliation or were barred because they were carrying a large amount of PL literature ... On the final day the same tight security procedures were carried out. Half a dozen PL supporters who had gotten into the

cal betrayal and not added gangsterism. In desperation, Ring is forced to cite the utterly discredited Workers League, a group whose own defense of gangsterism in the service of petty factional appetites and blatant dishonesty is one of the few things the rest of the U.S. left can agree on. That "the only one of these groups that supported the motion to commend the marshals, and offered to help was the Workers League," as Ring is forced to note, speaks volumes about the WL and about the uncomfortable position the SWP finds itself in.

SWP credibility on the NPAC events is, however, vastly enhanced by PL's well-known history of gangsterism. Even when PL has observed the basic norms of proletarian democracy—as at this Conference—their appeal has been limited by substitutionism. PL's frequent impulse, arising partly out of their empirical confusion and inability to explain their zig-zags, is to interpose themselves physically in place of the necessary, lengthy, arduous and complex political task of winning the masses away from bourgeois ideology. They must be won away from their misleaders through political education and example; in a period of wide-spread mass bourgeois delusions, it is insufficient—and often objectively damaging—merely to proclaim oneself the revolutionary (or truly pro-working-class) tendency by attempt-

# SWP SEALS ALLIANCE WITH BOURGEOISIE IN NPAC — REVOLUTIONARIES BEATEN

auditorium were ejected after being identified. By this time the outside picket line was watched over by city police in riot gear."

As a sidelight, it must be noted that all tendencies which remained inside with their "plague on both your houses" rationalizations share responsibility for the exclusions. Scolding PL and Spartacist supporters for their obstreperous tactics, these groups pretended these, and not politics, were the actual basis of the screening at the door. Even if we could believe for a moment that these groups were seriously persuaded that the guards were not exercising political scrutiny, we can only remark that naivete of this sort would of itself be a sufficient reason why the Labor Committees and IS are not to be taken seriously.

### Only the Workers League . . .

Faced with the fact that every tendency apart from the SWP felt compelled to separate itself in some way from the SWP's blatant conduct—even the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (dominated by the Communist Party) workshop offered a motion condemning the marshals—Ring attributes it to "blind factional animosity." This is ludicrous; the IS, for example, having just decided to "relate constructively" to NPAC, would have loved to show themselves merely friendly critics, had the SWP confined itself to its politi-

ing to physically displace the class enemy in the minds of the misled.

### Defeat the Pop Front!

But what is crucial, at bottom, is not the lies of Harry Ring, but the politics these lies serve. As the Spartacist League leaflet stated, we are not looking for the sympathy of liberals who applaud the Pop Front but want to bemoan the SWP's "excesses." The main issue of the NPAC Conference is not the extremes to which the SWP was forced to go to defend Senator Hartke's "right" to speak. For, as Marxists have always known, the class character—of a meeting, of a political formation, of a state—stands higher than simple democratic rights at some point. On a democratic basis, the SWP had the right to expel "disrupters," sure; just as a racist meeting has the right to evict black protestors who are interfering with George Wallace. Even had the SWP been able to keep "order" without violence and political exclusion, the basic consideration would remain, and no criticism of the left oppositionists for their tactics can nullify it: to challenge the legitimacy of a ruling-class politician addressing an anti-war conference is a political statement. The fact that the anti-collaborationists did not initiate the physical violence, or charge the platform, etc. is true but is only secondary; the fundamental question was that the NPAC Conference was a Popular Front with liberal imperialists, and our revolutionary duty is irreconcilable opposition to it. ■

## West Coast NPAC Defends Beating of Communists

Berkeley—On July 20 about 100 people attended a meeting of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) on the Berkeley campus. The meeting had been called to report on the recent New York meeting of NPAC on July 2-4 and to announce the planned Fall anti-war campaign.

It was obvious from the beginning, though, that controversy would center on the violence, which occurred at the New York meeting, where NPAC marshals, led by Fred Halstead of the SWP severely beat up and evicted members of the Spartacist League, the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus, Progressive Labor Party and SDS, who had protested the presence of the ruling class

(Vance Hartke) and labor traitors (Victor Reuther) in the anti-war movement.

At the beginning of the Berkeley meeting, it was announced that a representative of PLP would be given four minutes to present their viewpoint, since they had requested such time at a previous steering committee meeting. When a Spartacist member requested floor time also, he was referred to the question-and-answer period; a motion made to allow Spartacist and RMC a speaker also was defeated by a vote of 32 for and 48 against.

The initial presentations, dominated by the YSA, were reports from NPAC and allied groups,

especially La Raza Unida Party. Tito Lucero of La Raza gently chided "sectarians" for trying to present Marxism to Chicanos, who he said are not ready to assimilate Marxism and can now only understand nationalism, which "unites" them. But it is this nationalism, which the SWP-YSA fails uncritically, that is leading the Chicanos into the blind alley of "unity" with the bourgeoisie. There is no "unity," for instance, between Chicano farm workers and Alex Garcia, the CP-backed Democratic "friend of labor" from Los Angeles who voted for the anti-farm worker bill

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# NPAC: FAKE TROTSKYISTS AID SWP IN POP FRONT BETRAYAL

The Workers League has rendered all forms of anti-Trotskyism invaluable service by its conduct at the NPAC Conference. Many would-be revolutionary youth honestly believe that Trotskyism equals class-collaboration. That they believe so is only partly due to decades of Stalinist slander. In recent years the prime responsibility rests squarely on the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), particularly its conduct in the anti-war movement. It no longer requires any Moscow Trials-style slander to convince radicals of what is now the truth: that today the leading self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" organization is class-collaborationist to the core, and has behaved so in the anti-war movement since 1965. The Workers League's contribution to this has been to enhance the credibility of the SWP leadership as "Trotskyist," calling for unity discussions, joint commemoration of the anniversary of Trotsky's death, etc. They have pursued these overtures for the past year. But at the NPAC conference, they moved a step further: they assisted the SWP marshals in the beating and political exclusion of Progressive Labor, SDS, and the Spartacist League for their shouting down of Senator Vance Hartke and Victor Reuther! Wohlforth further commended the marshals for their behavior, promising the physical support of the WL again whenever necessary. This in the name of Trotskyism! What is an anti-war militant to think when he is beaten by not one but two "Trotskyist" organizations (one claiming to be in the forefront of anti-revisionist struggle) for his shouting down a leading capitalist politician and a red-baiting labor bureaucrat? And thus anti-Trotskyism appears logical to militants who have been beaten, in the name of "Trotskyism," for disrupting bourgeois speakers.

## SWP Degeneration

The Workers League's present bloc is sealed in blood at a time of a qualitative degeneration of the SWP. For years, the SWP, despite its deepening revisionism, has clung to non-violence within the movement. Its role in the anti-war movement was one of deception and manipulation designed to prevent any turn toward the working class which would upset its bourgeois allies. Yet the NPAC Conference was the first time it attempted to silence left opposition with brute force. Until NPAC the SWP, even in extreme political degeneration, remembered — if only as a reflex — some of the lessons from the years in which it was built as a revolutionary party, defending itself against continual Stalinist hooligan attacks. Now the SWP has finally capitulated fully to the non-proletarian organizational methods which are appropriate to its non-proletarian politics: gangsterism against left criticism. The Workers League must have found its role alongside the SWP marshals congenial, since the WL and its mentor, Gerry Healy's SLL in Britain, have practiced and publicly defended violence against their opponents for years (see WA #9, "Government, Goons, and 'Left-Wing' Hypocrisy").

## PL: Proletarian Impulse

Stalinism, like all varieties of revisionism, is at bottom class-collaboration. Despite the Trotskyist label, the SWP today stands much further from the class program of Leninism than ex-Maoist Progressive Labor. This should not be so difficult for the Workers League to understand; in the 1930's, sections of social-democratic parties stood far to the left of the degenerated "Communist" parties, and Trotskyists responded to them accordingly.

Progressive Labor is not a Trotskyist organization, in either origins or program. While proceeding from revolutionary proletarian impulse (unlike the SWP), impressionist confusion and sectarianism abound in PL's analysis and methods. PL equates Victor Reuther and his ilk with Senator Hartke and the capitalist class — to them a "boss" is a "boss." We disagree. We



Vance Hartke



Tim Wohlforth



Harry Ring

maintain that Victor Reuther is not a part of the capitalist class, but rather an arch-enemy within the working-class movement. To PL, our position may seem to be a semantic quibble, but it flows from important political differences—for example, the recognition that a labor union is not simply a bosses' organization like for example the Democratic Party. We did believe that Reuther had a right to speak at the conference—and also the "right" to be denounced and heckled. But he had no more right than any other worker or anti-war activist to a privileged presentation of his views as an "official" spokesman for "his" class.

The marshals had PL-SDS beaten and excluded not for a gangster attack on the conference, but because they successfully embarrassed the SWP's prize "anti-war" Senator and heckled its prize labor bureaucrat. Under these circumstances, it was an elementary duty to defend PL-SDS against expulsion. To have aided the marshals, as the WL did, or have remained "neutral" (the course of the IS and Labor Committee) would have enabled the SL as a body to attend the next day's plenary session, but any points we could have made after such a betrayal would have been meaningless. Spartacist was indeed denied entrance as a body on the next day. The SL joined PL-SDS in picketing the meeting in protest against the exclusions. We did not support or participate in the adventurist attempt later on Saturday to force entrance into the meeting—during which a number of PL-SDS supporters were severely injured by the large contingent of police called by NPAC.

## Workers League Lies

The account of the Conference printed in the July 12 Bulletin is shot through with contradictions and plain lies as the WL attempts to demonstrate some principled basis for its pact of blood with the class-collaborationist SWP.

The Bulletin begins its obfuscation of the events



Spartacist Supporters Shout at Hartke

from Challenge

of the Conference with its account of one of the first incidents:

"The SDS speaker said speakers like Hartke and union bureaucrats 'will sell us out' and 'what we need is a student-workers alliance. They've got the money and we don't need them.' Their alternative was to build student struggles around ROTC and strike support for workers. 'The Spartacist League which is working in SDS presented almost an identical motion.'"

Now, what the Spartacist League proposed—by reading a motion from the floor, which was never recognized by the chair or voted—was that ruling class politicians like Hartke be summarily excluded from the Conference, and that the Conference dispense with the "keynote speeches" and immediately begin floor discussion. Nothing about ROTC. Nothing about a student-worker alliance, a PL strategy for narrow campus struggles which Spartacist has criticized since it was first propounded. The WL, of course, presented no motion at all, remaining perfectly quiet and proper throughout Hartke's speech.

Regarding the Saturday discussion of the marshals' actions in beating and excluding the protesters, the Bulletin reads:

"Wohlforth reaffirmed the Workers League

position to defend the SWP any where at any time against Stalinist hooligan attacks." Well and good, Now Wohlforth merely has to show where the "Stalinist hooligan attacks" occurred at the Friday night meeting at which the expulsions took place. This is done nowhere in the two articles devoted to the Conference. This is because the only Stalinist violence which took place that night was the attack by the marshals, led by SWPer Fred Halstead, on the tendencies which were militantly demonstrating their opposition to the Pop Front!

## Workers League Evades

The Bulletin continues:

"... a hysterical Carol LaRouche (Labor Committee) demanded that the convention go on record to repudiate a statement by Hartke at a news conference that 'PL is just as responsible for the war as Nixon.' This motion was not a principled one but was a maneuver to force the SWP to vote with them and PL/SDS. Coming at the time it did it was aimed at diverting the discussion from Stalinism and giving a cover to PL... Harry Ring, seeking to get around this situation, actually ended up putting forward a motion in the anti-war movement which took a clear class stand on the war. He stated: 'If Hartke said this I want to disassociate myself from it. But this would tend to destroy the coalition.' He proposed the following motion: 'To repudiate any declarations that PL is responsible for the war. It is Nixon and the class that he represents who are responsible for the war.' A few minutes later he attempted to change the motion to eliminate the phrase 'and his class'...."

The fate of these motions is important, and it indicates that the Bulletin glosses over what actually took place. A vote was taken on the Labor Committee motion, more or less ignoring Ring's motion, and it failed, with the WL, abstaining. This left the SWP in a terrible position. The SWP-NPAC voting cattle, following out the "line" of Hooray for Hartke, Down With PL, had committed the organization to a position that was not only blatantly anti-communist but so idiotic that it would be a laughing stock among even pro-imperialist liberals. Wohlforth, glorying in the role of SWP left cover, rushed to the microphone to bail the SWP out, by reintroducing the Ring motion which was intended (although the SWP floor leaders were too slow to pick it up) to separate the SWP from Hartke's ridiculous statement without mentioning Hartke, which would have threatened the Pop Front which the SWP had at all costs to preserve. The Ring motion was then, of course, passed, with nobody much knowing or caring whether the phrase "Nixon and his class" was in or out. Because, whatever the Bulletin would like to pretend, it mattered very little; what difference does it make if "Nixon and his class" are criticized once it has been made clear by deeds that any attempt to break the anti-war movement from the living embodiments of that class will be beaten back by any means necessary, including violence.

## Wohlforth Discovers a Principle

By Sunday the WL had swallowed Harry Ring, the SWP goons, Senator Hartke, Victor Reuther, and a host of lesser liberal lights and labor fakery. What they could not stomach—the only thing in the entire brutal liberal-dominated Conference — was the refusal of the chair on Sunday afternoon to let the WL motion stand for a vote. Then, and only then, Wohlforth discovered "principles," pulled up his political pants, and walked out!

One of the Bulletin NPAC articles concludes regarding breaking with Stalinist class-collaboration:

"The SWP can make such a break if its leadership chooses to do so. The Workers League

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## FAKE TROTSKYISTS AID SWP . . .

will of course give it every assistance despite continuing differences on many fundamental positions if it will even begin to take such a course."

Since the WL did, in fact, give the SWP "every assistance" until it rejected the WL's own motion for consideration, we must assume the SWP's behavior up to that point is Wohlforth's idea of beginning of a working-class turn—Hartke, goons, CIA-trained labor traitors, and all.

On the face of it, the WL's grovelling pledge is absurd. "The SWP can make such a break"—how?—"if its leadership chooses to do so." The statement applies, with equal profundity, to any organization. Why is a reformist organization reformist? Because its leadership chooses to be so. When will it move to revolutionary proletarian politics? When its leadership chooses to do so. The SWP leaders must consider Wohlforth's appeal hilarious, if not very alluring.

Unmentioned by the Bulletin, of course, is the WL line on the April 24th march in Washington. There the WL denounced "anyone who brings one body in front of the platform" as a class-collaborator. The difference between April 24 and the NPAC conference? At April 24th the WL held a separate rally. At the NPAC conference they sat in the meeting and supported its leaders. That's the difference.

### The CIA's Man Arrives: "A Very Positive Development"

Consistent with the WL's chosen role as attorneys for the SWP, the Bulletin tries to provide a political justification, in pseudo-class terms, for the SWP. The core of the position is this:

"Clearly the position of the disrupters was that Reuther and Meany were the same and that Reuther as well had no business at the conference. But Reuther is a leader of one of the largest working class organizations, trade unions, in the United States. He not only has the right to be at such a peace conference; his presence at such a conference is a very positive development.

"It is true that Victor Reuther is a labor bureaucrat and as such is aligned with the bourgeoisie politically and in other ways.... But he is at the same time part of the leadership of a trade union. His presence at the conference is a reflection of the movement of the working class against the war....

"The action of PL-SDS-Spartacist represents a petty-bourgeois revolutionism which is completely hysterical in character and totally hostile to the working class...."

There are so many things wrong with these few sentences that it is difficult to know where to start; they add up to the most powerful example of why we consider the WL, in fundamentals, to be similar to the condition known as gonorrhoea.

To begin with, the anti-collaborators were not disrupters according to the criteria established by workers' democratic standards, and it is significant that of all the groups at the Conference, only the WL and SWP held that they were.

As explained earlier, Spartacist never held that Reuther and Hartke were "the same," and the WL well knows it. Reuther is "only," in DeLeon's excellent phrase, the "labor lieutenant of capital" within the labor movement, while Hartke is a direct representative of capitalism. PL sees no difference at all, and put out a leaflet attacking us for this conception (it is instructive that PL seems to be capable of understanding our position, but not so the WL!). The Spartacist leaflet produced Friday night and distributed heavily for the next two days carried a long paragraph explaining this. From the WL vantage point of sucking up to labor bureaucrats, however, it is no wonder they chose to obfuscate our position; they hope no one will think to ask them: admitting the legitimate class distinction between Reuther and Hartke, then, why didn't the WL boo Hartke?

Actually, Reuther has been quite slow getting onto the "peace" bandwagon; the CP, through its various connections, fronts, etc., has been holding conferences of "progressive," "anti-war" la-

Berkeley—On Saturday, July 17, the Bay Area Spartacist League and the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus sponsored a picket of the Socialist Workers Party's Granma Bookstore on Telegraph Avenue. Among the participants were members of the Anti-Stalinism Study Group, a San Francisco organization associated with the Japanese Revolutionary Communist League. About 20 people carried signs and chanted slogans.

The picket was called to protest the severe beating and political exclusion by SWP-led marshals of the Spartacist League, Revolutionary Marxist Caucus, Progressive Labor, and SDS from the NPAC Conference in New York on July 2.

"No member of the ruling class which created this war has a place in the anti-war movement," a Spartacist spokesman said. "Only the working class, through such actions as anti-war strikes, can end this war favorably for working people. By allying with the bourgeoisie, and sealing this alliance in blood, the SWP-YSA has lost all vestiges of socialism, and exposed themselves as treacherous reformists in the working-class movement. Other groups were similarly exposed: the Workers League, which helped in the beatings; and the International Socialists and the Labor Committee, which equivocated."

The picketing group carried such signs as "No Bourgeois Politicians in the Anti-War Movement!" and "Better Red than Fred!" They picketed for several hours and chanted such slogans as "Reuther, Wohlforth, SWP—Running Dogs of the Bourgeoisie!"

bor bureaucrats for years. Far from being something new, such maneuvers are hoary with old age. Sellout bureaucrats like Reuther or DC37's Victor Gotbaum go to those jamborees as a cheap way of expunging a little tarnish from the necessary "progressive" image, then use this outside constituency to consolidate and strengthen their roles inside the union structure to further isolate and smash militant oppositionists in their own unions!

The Bulletin writes:

"It is easy to shout [Reuther] down; it is another thing to replace him and Woodcock and the rest of them as a leadership of the UAW. That task requires a long struggle during which the Reuthers and Woodcocks are exposed time and time again in the course of actions."

Fine. But what was Spartacist doing at NPAC, but making an effort to expose Reuther, by shouting "Labor Strikes Against the War"—the one tactic in which labor can act independently of capitalist politics and bring its real strength to bear against the war. This demand is the one thing that Reuther and his ilk will not call for, for it would show that labor has had it in its power for years to bring Yankee imperialism to its knees, and has not done it precisely because of the ties of the Reuthers, Gotbaums, etc. to their capitalist masters. And what was the WL doing at NPAC? Their silence as Spartacist chanted its slogan was deafening; the WL main motion to the Conference, despite its call for a labor party, was notable by its lack of mention of the struggle within the working-class movement against the labor bureaucrats who keep labor impotent in anti-war struggles and tied to the capitalist political parties.

There is more. The Bulletin's description of Reuther is so carefully abstract that it could fit almost any labor bureaucrat over the past twenty-five years. Is Reuther then just any run-of-the-mill faker with an ossified heart of gold? An SDS leaflet handed out at the Conference gives a more accurate description of the man: a chief witch-hunter of all "reds" and militants in the unions in the late 1940's; a chief prop of the CIA-funded American Institute for Free Labor Development, which worked to set up anti-communist union leaders in Latin America; for 11 years a collaborator with Jay Lovestone, the CIA's man in the AFL-CIO International Union Department! It is the presence of this man which the Bulletin hails as "a very positive development," presumably justifying its front-page headline, "Working Class Breaks Through at NPAC Conference."

The WL's attempt to present the "disruption" by Spartacist and PL-SDS as a frenzied attack by the hysterical petty-bourgeoisie on the labor movement (in other words, as the petty-bourgeois radicalism which can become a basis for facism) is a miserable failure, revealing only the utter shamelessness of the WL in its ever-recurring attempts to suck up to the treacherous mis-leaderships of the anti-war and labor movements.

## Communists Picket SWP



### Toward Marxist Consciousness and Unity:

## SPARTACIST-CWC SUMMER CAMP

A four-day political summer camp with the theme of "Building the Revolutionary Workers Party" was held in the Big Basin Redwoods area of California on August 12-15. The camp was jointly sponsored by the Spartacist League and the Communist Working Collective. The CWC originated in Los Angeles as a Maoist grouping which over the past year was forced to seriously re-evaluate the roots of Maoism and Stalinism, and thereby arrived at Trotskyism as the key to socialist revolution. The CWC is now in the process of fusion with the Spartacist League, and the camp served as a vehicle to solidify the unity, as well as heighten political consciousness. The pleasant surroundings allowed for considerable informal discussion among the comrades and sympathizers who attended—about 60 people by the weekend.

Among the topics discussed were: "Applying the Transitional Program," "Marxism and Philosophy," "Tasks of the Spartacist League," "Communist Work in the Trade Unions," "From Maoism to Trotskyism," and communist orientation toward the black struggle. Members of the Anti-Stalinism Study Group were also present; an ASG comrade gave a presentation on "Japanese Revolutionary Struggles," after which there were movies on the struggles of the Japanese Revolutionary Communist League (Kakumaru).

### RMC Conference

A Western Regional meeting of the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus was held preceding the Spartacist-CWC summer camp on August 11 at the same location. The RMC, which was initiated in December 1969 by Spartacist as a working-class oriented caucus in SDS opposing the social-work approach of Progressive Labor, has since grown considerably, and with the decline of SDS, the RMC has begun to take on the independent character of a Trotskyist youth group. The Western Regional Conference included RMC members and sympathizers from the San Francisco Bay Area, Seattle, Sacramento and Los Angeles. The main focus of discussion was the draft documents on RMC Perspectives and Organizational Rules, in preparation for the first national RMC Conference to be held in New York on Sept. 2-3, when the RMC is projecting to become a youth group affiliated with the Spartacist League.

Greetings were sent to the RMC Western conference by the Spartacist League, the Communist Working Collective of Los Angeles and the Anti-Stalinism Study Group based in San Francisco.

# August 6 Commemoration Condemns Stalinism and NPAC

*Continued from Page 3*

previous weapons, nuclear weapons have only one function — to destroy whole populations; as such their possession cannot be in the interests of the working class. On this issue, Condit essentially agreed with the Draper tendency despite his organizational separation; he in effect denied defense to the Sino-Soviet states. To deny these countries nuclear weapons is an open invitation to imperialist nuclear attack or blackmail. The U.S. imperialists especially have not hesitated to use such weapons aggressively where they could do so with impunity, e.g., Hiroshima and Nagasaki. A section of the U.S. ruling class wanted to use nuclear weapons in Indochina as early as 1954, but were constrained by the possibility that the Soviet Union — i.e., the nuclear power of the Sino-Soviet bloc — might not extend its lack of solidarity with revolutions abroad far enough to permit a nuclear attack on Vietnam. While such weapons in the deformed workers states are no substitutes for defense through working-class struggle, they do buy time as a deterrent.

Spartacist League speaker George Foster endorsed the CWC statement and reiterated the need to politically smash NPAC. He compared NPAC's recent violence against communists with the treachery of Ebert and Noske, German social-democratic leaders who served the German bourgeoisie in 1919 by crushing the Berlin workers' uprising and conniving in the murder of the revolutionaries Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. He pointed also to the pernicious role of the pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League, who solidarized with NPAC in the violence. He stressed again the revolutionary obligation to defend the deformed workers states—including nuclear weapons. But only political revolution against the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies, together with the worldwide overthrow of imperialism, can ultimately safeguard and extend the revolutionary gains persisting in attenuated form in the deformed workers states.

A spokesman for the Workers League spoke on the need to "reconstruct the Fourth International." An International is especially needed, he said, to fight nationalist deviations such as American pragmatism. He carefully avoided discussion of the evening's controversial issues; what is important, he said, is not "this or that position" of various organizations, but their method. In this way, the WL spokesman sidestepped defending its treacherous role in NPAC. What "method" led to that betrayal?

After these speeches, there were brief statements of greetings to the meeting from the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (Kakumaru), the Zengakuren, and the International Socialists. The joint JRCL-Zengakuren greeting denounced the Stalinist line of "peaceful co-existence" and mentioned the recent murder of a JRCL student in Okinawa, resulting from a general anti-Trotskyist witchhunt launched by the Stalinists. The greeting noted, "We hear that in America also, the organizations which are carrying out the struggles of the true vanguard of the working class have met with violent hostility from the Stalinists, the labor union bureaucrats in the pay of the imperialists, and the corrupt 'Trotskyists' who have fallen into pro-Stalinism."

"The struggles of the Russian Left Opposition, the struggles of the Trotskyists in the Spanish and Chinese revolutions, and the blood-drenched uprising of the Hungarian workers who took up the struggle to overthrow Stalinism from within, even though their struggle ended in defeat—these bloody struggles were destined to go down in defeat and drawing the necessary lessons from them, we have raised high the banner of 'anti-imperialism, anti-Stalinism,' under which we commenced, and are now carrying on, the struggle for the liberation of the working class of the whole world." The Spartacist League recently sent greetings to the JRCL for August 6, with a message of solidarity against the Stalinist atrocity, reprinted elsewhere in this issue.

The meeting then heard a reading of the ASG's statement, "Revolutionary Anti-War Struggles in Japan," in the main a history of post-war Japanese anti-war struggles, and the origins of the JRCL (Kakumaru). In the course of this reading

was raised the Kakumaru faction's general slogan of "anti-imperialism, anti-Stalinism" and an earlier slogan, "Down with US-USSR Nuclear Testing!" These slogans reflect a failure to grasp the nature of Stalinism as a contradictory phenomenon — i.e., the Stalinist rulers represent a counter-revolutionary bureaucratic caste sitting on top of revolutionary gains. The simple equation of Stalinism and imperialism implied in the first slogan leads to abandonment of the defense of these gains — reflected in the nuclear testing slogan. Despite its different origins and development, the ASG's position on this may align them in practice with the "third camp" ideologues — a dangerous disorientation from the road of Trotskyism.

Later, the group watched movies of the Japanese workers' and students' struggle, and the meeting concluded with the singing of the Internationale in Japanese and English.

For those interested in the views of the JRCL, we recommend the ASG's English-language periodical, Tsūshin, Box 8724, Emeryville, Cal. 94608.

"Trudeau's imposition of the War Measures Act last year reflects the gravity of the crisis in Canada and the tendency toward the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

—Tim Wohlforth, Bulletin, 19 July, 1971

If Wohlforth is right, Canada may even go capitalist if the "tendency" persists.

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## West Coast NPAC Defends Beating of Communists

in the California legislature. The La Raza speaker following Lucero carried nationalism to its logical conclusion by denouncing the whole meeting as a gathering of "white European oppressors"!

A young woman presented the NPAC report, in which the violence in New York was defended on the principle that left groups have the right to hold meetings. Yet the only "disruption" she could cite was the chanting during Hartke's and Reuther's speeches. But as SL and RMC spokesmen pointed out, chanting is a far cry from a physical attempt to attack the speakers, take over the stage, etc.—it certainly was no "provocation" for the savage physical attack which the SWP does not deny initiating.

A woman from PLP presented a basically correct class analysis of the N.Y. meeting: Hartke is a representative of the class enemy, the capitalist class, and has no business in the anti-war movement; we care as much about his "free speech" as he cares about the Vietnamese—nothing! Though PL falsely equates Hartke and Reuther (in fact, Hartke is the bourgeoisie, Reuther its agent in the working-class movement), they correctly note that Reuther was a long-time CIA collaborator who always betrayed the UAW rank-and-file. The Coalition which the SWP built with

Stalinist help is rotten class collaboration. Ironically, the PL spokesman ended by adding, "Just one more thing—our group has absolutely nothing to do with the Spartacist League!" How embarrassing for PL to fall on the right side of the class barricades with... the Trotskyists! Despite the fact that they have empirically abandoned many sacred tenets of Maoist Stalinism—the alliance with the "progressive" national bourgeoisie, the theory of stages, the adulation of the North Vietnamese leadership and now even the Chinese leadership—they tenaciously cling to the ghost of Stalin, to the point of roughing up Spartacist and RMC salesmen, as happened recently in New York and San Francisco. Such is the last defense of Stalinism and sectarianism stripped naked of theoretical defenses.

### Spartacist Denounces Class Collaboration

When the floor opened for discussion, a Spartacist spokesman elaborated on the class nature of the SWP betrayal. The SWP, he emphasized, had sealed its alliance with the bourgeoisie in blood by savagely evicting communists, just as surely as Ebert and Noske, German Social-Democratic leaders, had served the German bourgeoisie in 1919 by crushing the Berlin workers' uprising and murdering Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. He concluded saying, "And you call yourselves communists! It's disgusting!"

### WL Votes With Class Collaborators

A woman from RMC who was an eye-witness to the New York violence described in detail how the attack had been initiated by the NPAC marshals: the only "disruption" was the chanting of slogans. She made a motion as follows: "This NPAC meeting must repudiate collaboration with the class enemy, and it must repudiate gangsterism within the movement. These issues cannot be separated. Only in this way can a real struggle against the imperialist Vietnam war go forward." An amendment by a Spartacist member added that the meeting should specifically repudiate the actions of the NPAC marshals in New York. She noted also that the betrayal of the SWP had been facilitated by the fake-Trotskyist Workers League, which in a gross frenzy of opportunist appetites, joined in the beatings and expulsion of the anti-collaborationists. The Workers League members present at the Berkeley meeting remained silent throughout the discussion, apparently unable or unwilling to defend their organization's despicable conduct.

The joint Spartacist-RMC motion was defeated by a vote of 49 to 19, with the Workers League and YSA voting against the motion and PL abstaining.

At the end of the meeting, a Workers League member suddenly introduced a motion to "denounce counter-revolutionary Stalinism," referring in particular to the CP-type class collaboration of NPAC and the possibility of imminent betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution by the Stalinists in Indochina, Moscow and Peking. In light of the Workers League's enthusiastic support to the SWP in violently evicting the communists from the New York NPAC meeting, their motion was ludicrously out of place and hypocritical—but on its face supportable. The motion was defeated with the help of the YSA—which showed how far the SWP-YSA stand from even formal tenets of Trotskyism, as well as how little they have been swayed by the WL's fulsome overtures and pledges of support.

The central problem remains: before the working class can move forward it must sweep aside the class-collaborationism exemplified by the SWP-YSA and its current rear guard, the Workers League, and firmly establish the principle of proletarian democracy. ■

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## Big Talk, Small Results

# CWA STRIKE

### Beirne's Convention

The 33rd Annual CWA Convention which opened June 14 in Kansas City was characterized by union president Joseph Beirne's attempt to consolidate his increasingly restive ranks. Although most of the contracts with the Bell System expired at the end of April, Beirne in this election year made sure that any strike action was held off until after the convention and elections, saving his certain swell of unpopularity over the contract settlement until after he was safely elected.

This convention, like the rest, was staged, right down to lighting arrangements, to make Beirne and his cronies look good. On the convention's first day a band was on hand to liven up the proceedings. A "spontaneous" demonstration showed his membership's satisfaction with the vote for a strike (205,431 out of 287,440 ballots returned). The vote in fact was to "authorize the International Executive Board to call a strike"; when or how to call it the members weren't asked.

Despite the showmanship, Beirne said a lot about political and social issues. He had to. Many of his remarks were clearly intended to head off radical caucus opposition. He said a great deal about political awareness and involvement, which in specifics simply meant working harder for COPE. At his traditional "Union Builders Rally" on the first night of the convention, he even mentioned a third party—but not a labor party ("because then we'd be in a minority") but a consumer party; he mentioned the names of Lindsay, McCarthy, and Muskie. He complained that since 1968 he had received a very chilly reception from management, and attributed this to new top-level company personnel. A more plausible explanation is that the company knows how much he has undercut his own power base since 1968 by demoralizing his membership.

Beirne complained that big corporations were running the executive branch of the government. In his first attack in memory on Kennedy, he said, "Nixon isn't the only one [who interferes with bargaining]; Johnson and Kennedy did it too."

It was evident from the beginning that Beirne didn't have the delegates eating out of his hand. He is an excellent speaker, a quality which has a lot to do with his control of the Union so far, but even that wasn't quite enough this time. Although he probably knows better, he ended his speech at the Union Builders Rally four times. Each time people rose to their feet clapping and started rushing out, and he could feel that they weren't with him so he'd get them to sit down and he would end it again. Finally he gave up and really ended.

There was a real "Big Brother is watching you" atmosphere at the Convention. The Convention was set for three days, although for years they have been four or five days, almost always five days in an election year because the elections take up a whole day. This year Beirne didn't want to give anyone much chance to raise motions. There was little opposition to the leadership's resolutions, but several openly or implicitly anti-union motions and statements placed on the floor. Most involved fairly petty issues like implementing a decision made several years ago to rotate seating arrangements, but they reflected a general distrust and feeling of being run over by the bureaucrats. One of the motions provided that the raises for Beirne and the Executive Board become effective only after an acceptable contract from Bell—it was tabled.

Calculated to impress potential radicals at the Convention was the speech given by Tom Jackson of the Union of Post Office Workers of Great Britain (which includes the telephone workers). With a substantially more class-conscious membership, Jackson is more accustomed to radical-sounding statements than Beirne—he needs them more. He spoke about his union's attempts to organize workers in Rhodesia as dealing a blow to

### Beirne Orders Strikers Back

British imperialism, and noted that their strikes in Britain are by definition against the government, since the telephone as well as postal service is nationalized.

Three motions were made to strengthen the strike; one was voted down and two were taken off the floor. The first was to borrow \$100 million to finance the strike. An immediate objection to consideration took it off the floor. The second motion, presented later by the same delegate, was to "seek an alliance with other unions in the industry to strengthen the strike." The maker of the motion said that "together we can achieve more quicker" and "we should bury the hatchet in the Company instead of each other." An attempt to table was defeated, but the Secretary-Treasurer made a disgusting personal attack on the delegate and several people spoke from the floor to the effect that "There may be unions we don't want to associate with. Some try to raid us, and we shouldn't cooperate with them." (Not mentioned was the fact that CWA is trying to raid them.) The motion was defeated. The third motion was to set up a loan fund for members to borrow from while on strike; objection was immediately made to its consideration, and it was taken off the floor.

No one spoke against the foreign policy resolution, although a handful voted against it. The resolution is an appropriate one for a union with the CWA's cold warrior history. In a time of widespread sentiment against the Indochina war, the resolution warns of the "continued growth of Soviet military power and political influence" which "pose a serious threat to world peace" and sees the "paramount goal of American foreign policy" as "preservation of peace with freedom."

Bill Moultrie, active in CWA for 12 years, and a leader of the 1968 wildcat in Michigan, who lost his job through the collusion of CWA officials and Bell, was not allowed to attend the Convention as a visitor, even though the public is allowed to attend. But the Bell System management personnel were allowed to attend, even without guest badges!

After the Convention officially adjourned Beirne announced the strike date and delivered his closing speech. An important part of his remarks was the instruction to get lower management to support the strike. He said, "Many of you know the foremen well enough to talk to them as a friend." He told us to ask them how they could in good conscience scab, and he gave a new definition of a scab—"When they go in to do their own job they're not scabbing; it's when they do our job that they become a scab."

### Strike

The Company insulted the Union by making all its contract offers at the last minute. The Company tried to present a final offer on July 13, but the strike preparations had already been put into gear so the CWA leadership was "unavailable" to Ma Bell. It is universally believed and almost without doubt correct that the Company's July 13 offer is the one the CWA leadership settled for. The membership nationwide seems to be angry about the settlement but they are especially up in arms about being forced to go back to work without having voted on it. On July 14, Beirne said that he couldn't stop the strike without a membership vote. Yet five days later he announced the vote of the International Executive Board to end the strike. The whole state of New York is still out, and locals in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Florida, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Arizona, Wyoming and California stayed out for



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various periods after they were supposed to go back to work.

In 1968 locals were given about 72 hours in which to hold a ratification vote and get the results to CWA Headquarters in Washington D. C. This meant that in most cases membership meetings were held and the proposed settlement was discussed and voted on there. This year, in spite of the leadership's contention that CWA is broke, the vote is by mail ballot.

Although the official settlement includes a 12.4% wage increase this year retroactive to May 1, and 3% each of the next two years, many operators (those at the bottom of the payscale) at least are getting less than a 10% increase this year. The settlement includes a yearly cost of living increase that will pay a small percentage of the rise in the cost of living. The decisive part of the settlement as far as the leadership is concerned is a "modified agency shop" whereby all new employees hired after July 18th would have to pay dues to CWA. Those who were not members prior to July 18th still do not have to pay dues. The clause included an escape clause that allowed current members to quit up until July 27. This allowed Beirne to get more money with which to operate and at the same time allowed him to let the fed up members quit without feeling their loss financially. He would much rather have them out of the Union at this point than to have their inevitable "No" votes on his contract settlement. The Company notified people of the escape clause.

Since the strike the Company has fired and harassed people. In one place they sent home without pay all the operators who were below the office average in speed and told them to "think about your job" and come back when they felt they could do better.

### Sellout Unionism — How Long?

The type of unionism typified by Beirne and the whole CWA leadership, and symbolized by the June Convention, can not be sustained indefinitely. Such tactics as we have described, while giving the appearance of rock-hard unity of the leadership exercising full control of the rank and file, in reality generally imply the opposite: such flummery exposes the weak position Beirne actually occupies, in that now he finds recourse to such maneuvering necessary. The era of phony leadership, verbal militancy, rock-bottom economic sellouts, collaboration with Bell's paternalistic union-busting tactics and the squeezing out of radical unionists may well come to a screeching halt as a result of rank-and-file wildcats against the contract sellout. One consequence of the Nixon New Economic Policy, which had a whole plethora of the "labor lieutenants of capital" running about screaming like stuck pigs, is that it radically boxed in the space needed by the bureaucrats for maneuvering against their memberships—to carry out the self-same policy now as before blatantly exposes their true roles of anti-working-class collaboration with the companies and their class interests.

But this exposure of Beirne and his cronies who run the CWA as class-collaborationist enemies of the rank-and-file communications workers is not an automatic one, and the motion created in the ranks by the wildcats will dissipate into skepticism and wild flailing about unless the lessons are learned and a conscious programmatic thrust given to militant struggles. The communications industry does not exist in a social vacuum, and any radical change within the Union, to be effective must contain a thrust into the American class system itself. ■