

## NMU: Its True History; Its Current Crisis

by Dan Fried

NEW YORK -- As delegates walked into the recent national convention of the National Maritime Union held in the Joseph Curran Building, they were handed a slick two-color pamphlet entitled: "Target NMU -- An Open Letter to the Membership By Joseph Curran." The pamphlet purported to be a history of the NMU and its past internal battles.

Before the Convention, just in case the pamphlet did not do the trick, James Morrissey, leader of a rank and file opposition in the NMU, was attacked by three goons and was given the lead pipe treatment, ending up at St. Vincent's Hospital.

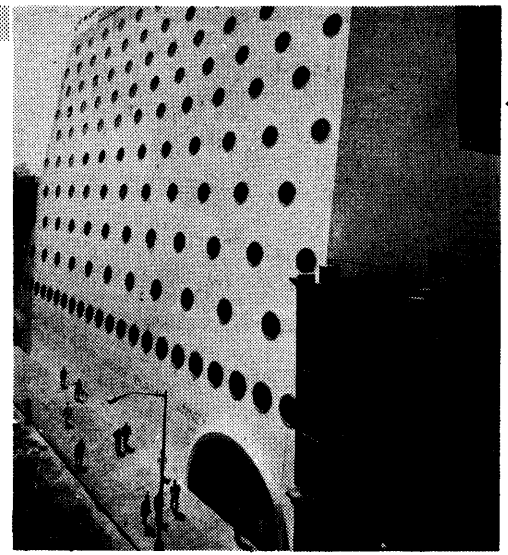
Why the pamphlet and why the lead pipe? Underlying both is a growing crisis both of the maritime industry and of the union itself. This is

a crisis that will not be covered up with either lies or lead pipes. Only the truth about the history of the NMU and the current situation in maritime will arm the ranks with the tools to save their very union.

### the morrissey opposition

Morrissey, veteran member of the NMU with a record of 26 years aboard ships, had been the victim of reprisals and attempted frameups ever since he ran for National Secy. -Treasurer against Curran last May, piling up an impressive 5,875 votes to Curran's 11,205 nationally and getting 47% of the vote in the Port of New York. In this election, less than half the membership voted and there is good reason to believe that this is partly

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THE JOSEPH CURRAN ANNEX IN NYC.

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# Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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Vol. 3, No. 6 - 48

Nov. 21, 1966

Ten Cents

## Who Killed NYC Review Board?

by Tim Wohlforth

The most important casualty of the recent elections was the Police Civilian Review Board in New York City. A coalition of the police with conservative and reactionary forces, armed with over a \$1 million, killed the board by a vote of 3 to 2. The votes to kill the board came from the predominantly white areas of Queens, Brooklyn, the Bronx and Manhattan, with its heavier Negro and Puerto Rican concentration alone favored the board.

Let there be no doubt about it. The board was killed because the PBA-Conservative Party coalition was able to run a vicious campaign of fear and implied bigotry while the opposition sat on its hands. Only those members of the Democratic and Republican Parties who were not standing for re-election--such as the famous three, Lindsay, Javits, Kennedy--campaigning for the board while both Rockefeller and O'Connor did their best to ignore the issue clearly seeking to corral backlash votes for themselves.

### danger

Even the active supporters did their best to decapitate the campaign. Senator Bobby Kennedy publically attacked the review board supporters for issuing a leaflet--the only effective one issued during the campaign--which warned New Yorkers of the dangers of a police state if the police go unchecked.

Was not this warning in order? Was not the whole campaign of the PBA and Conservatives based on the concept that the police are to be above control by the people whose servants they are supposed to be? Was it not revealed during the campaign that police officers were implicated in the

activities of the armed fascist Minutemen bands?

It is also noteworthy that Senator Kennedy made a special point of absenting himself in the middle of the Civilian Review Board fight in order to speak on the West Coast denouncing black militants as "racists". Clearly this man plans to play both sides of the fence. Now that the Review Board has been defeated we can expect even greater duplicity from the Kennedys and other "liberals".

### patrols

Now is the time to redouble our efforts despite this defeat. The Civilian Review Board had virtually no power anyway. The black people of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant and the Puerto Ricans of the city could do well to follow the example of their brothers and sisters in Watts and Detroit. In both areas, blacks have organized their own patrols to keep a watch on the activities of the police. Now that the police have been emboldened by this "vote of confidence" engineered by the reactionaries, such a patrol is a vital necessity for the minority peoples of New York City.



BULLETIN SUPPORTERS UNFURL REVOLUTIONARY BANNER AT NYC PEACE RALLY but can the jobless?

## Johnson to Live With Unemployment

by Jeff Sebastian

The Johnson Administration has decided that it can live with the present rate of unemployment which has remained around 4%. What has not been determined is how the millions of unemployed are to live with it.

The Oct. 27 New York Times reports on a speech by Gardner Ackley, Johnson's chief economic advisor, indicating that no one responsible for high economic policy advocates further government stimulation to eliminate unemployment. These distinguished, well

paid gentlemen have measured the cost in inflation and found that it outweighs the cost in wasted human lives.

Mr. Ackley advocated better education, improved health, improved information on job vacancies and improved training in job skills as the solution to unemployment. The grim reality underlying all of these fine suggestions is that a policy of full employment is absolutely incompatible with capitalism and the enormous profits necessary to keep it going.

ribly clear. This summer unemployment among white youth 16 to 19 years of age was 12%. Among Negro youth the rate was 27%. The gap between Negro and white unemployment continues to grow rapidly. Lyndon Johnson is sorry. Nothing can be done.

Well, not exactly nothing. After the elections hundreds of thousands of new jobs will be opened up in Vietnam for American youths. Thousands will die to defend their right to be unemployed at home.

### cynicism

The cynicism of those who formulate the policy of the Administration is truly disgusting. They advocate tax increases. They advocate cut backs on government spending on poverty and welfare measures and they advocate wage restraint. Mr. Ackley indicated that productivity has been increasing by 3.7% and not the famous Johnson 3.2%. In short, the Administration has been lying in order to be better able to hold down wage demands.

Not one peep--We repeat not one peep can be heard (Continued on page 2)

### EDITORIAL

## SIDESHOW ON 41ST. STREET

On Saturday, Nov. 5th, over 10,000 people gathered on 41st Street in New York City for what was supposed to be a pre-election Anti-Vietnam War demonstration. However, not a single one of the independent and socialist candidates who were running on an anti-war program were given the platform to speak. Not a single one!

Allen Ginsberg did get the platform. Clad in white pajamas and wearing a red, white and blue top hat, this buffoon "entertained" the crowd with what was purported to be an Indian raga.

As everyone in the peace movement knows, the Socialist Workers Party bears a primary responsibility for the organizing of this circus. What the SWP obviously does not realize is that the Vietnamese people are fighting a life and death battle against our imperialist rulers. The very least we owe them is seriousness.

### burden

Full employment means increased competition among employers for scarce workers which drives up wages. Full employment means that employers will have to take on the burden of training workers in job training programs when certain skills are in short supply thus driving up their costs. In a period of soaring inflation and increased labor militancy full employment can only mean danger for the employing class.

What this policy means for the unemployed and in particular for the youth is hor-



# LABOR SCOPE

## A NEW GUIDEPOST?

The recent settlement with the railroad trainmen sets the new pattern -- the unofficial guidepost on wage increases is now 5 per cent. While the government has not formally abandoned its 3.2% guideline, the absurdity of it in the face of 3.5% price rises has forced them to retreat to 5 per cent for all practical purposes.

The problem with the 5 per cent figure is that it still means workers will fall behind the bosses in their "share" of the country's wealth -- even by Federal government figures and standards. As guidepost advocate A.H. Raskin of the N.Y. Times notes: "It neutralizes half of the damage that the increased cost of living has inflicted on the gains in worker purchasing power supposedly guaranteed by the guideposts." Thus workers will still fall behind productivity increases combined with price increases even if they are able to wrest 5 per cent out of the bosses.

The Teamsters are asking a basic 5 per cent increase combined with a full cost-of-living escalator. Should they stick to these demands when negotiations get serious, Hoffa will be charting a course other unions must follow if they are seriously to guard the interests of their members. Labor rank and file in the Teamsters as well as other unions will be watching Brother Hoffa closely in the coming period.

## NOW WESTINGHOUSE

Everything seemed to be more or less in order -- or so the GE and Westinghouse bosses and their friends in the White House thought. The IUE bit and signed a contract with GE which left the ranks in the lurch on their burning local problems. UE and the smaller unions followed suit. Some major IUE and other union locals stayed out in local disputes but these workers were either sent back to work under T-H injunctions or were weakened and isolated without real support from their international unions.

Westinghouse then offered its workers the same deal GE had offered and IUE and UE went right along. But, lo and behold, the IBEW -- the more conservative craft-

oriented union -- went out on strike! Not only did IBEW workers strike but they sent roving picket lines to nearby plants covered by other unions and closed down the plants in sympathy.

Of course IBEW has its separate beefs -- in particular its demand for a national contract as the other unions have -- but at the same time their strike action reflects the continuing militancy within the electrical industry.

The IBEW showed that it is possible for a small union to strike the big corporations even when other unions sell out. We will not remain silent, as the **Militant and Worker** have, on the UE's role in going along with the IUE settlement. The UE could have and should have given some leadership to the electrical workers precisely because

Association now that they formally became part of the AFL-CIO. We did not have long to wait for sad vindication of this warning. No. 46 of their organ "El Macriado" features an article entitled: "Farm Workers Say: 'Viva Pat Brown'".

El Macriado has a hard time justifying its support for a man who has done so little for the farm workers and so much against them. It seems Brown has offered to hold a special session of the legislature in January to pass a collective bargaining act covering farm workers. El Macriado does not explain why Brown did not do this earlier or why even now he does not support unemployment insurance for farm workers, a minimum wage law for farm workers, and why he continues to support importing braceros to scab on farm workers al-



CARTOON BY ANDY ZERMENO FROM EL MALCRIADO.

the IUE did not. We wonder what kind of support they have given their Lester, Pa. Westinghouse workers who have shut down that plant 16 times this year because of violations in work rules.

Ranks of all electrical unions must fight for a policy of: **NO NATIONAL SETTLEMENT UNTIL ALL LOCAL DISPUTES ARE SETTLED.** Only in this way can they break the back of the tyranny of the electrical giants.

## VIVA PAT BROWN?

In our first printed issue (Sept. 12th, 1966) we pointed out the great dangers facing the leadership and ranks of the United Farm Workers

ready heré.

El Macriado is new at this school of rotten politics and approaches it without enthusiasm. "In the past," it comments, "the politicians have bought farm workers' vote with promises and then betrayed them. It better not happen again." But it wil, El Macriado, and you know it will. That is why you include this warning.

On the next page, you state: "We do NOT support those 'Democratic' rats like Sisk, Cooley, Cobey, and the others who rule this Valley and are trying to keep us in slavery." But these slave owners are leading and influential members of the state machine Brown heads.

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printed entirely by union labor

Thus your support to Democratic Brown is a support to the party of your enemies.

## BRIDGES-HOFFA

Dear Editor:

In his column in the latest ILWU "Dispatcher", Harry Bridges has announced that any future relationship between his union and the East Coast longshoremen, the ILA, will depend on Jimmy Hoffa, head of the Teamsters Union and Bridges' ally for the last few years.

Some time ago, Hoffa proposed the joining of his union, Bridges' union, the ILA, Curran's National Maritime Union and possibly Quill's Transport Workers Union, into a Transportation Conference. This combination could be a good thing for the labor movement as it would "unite" unions in a basic industry which have militant rank and files. It would also be a challenge to the Meany-Dubinsky -- Lovestone -- Paul Hall faction in the AFL-CIO and would be openly defiant of them.

To put this plan into effect, Jimmy Hoffa would have to "beat the rap" in his Supreme Court fight. According to "Business Week", the earliest hearing of Hoffa's appeal is June, 1967 and maybe months later. If Hoffa loses he will go to jail and the "Transportation Conference" will be forgotten.

Both the Worker and the Militant remain silent on these developments and both never carry Teamster news items so as to be in a position to be on the "winning side." With Hoffa in jail, the IBT might get back in the AFL-CIO.

an ILA member

## MRS. MAGE'S BREW

The October general membership meeting of the SSEU (welfare workers) was largely devoted to discussion and approval of bargaining demands for the January contract. Member after member arose to propose improvements which were duly incorporated into the document. 'You like that?

Okay we'll stick it in here', seemed to be the attitude of Mrs. Mage, union president.

Many of the demands to be made for the contract are extremely important and must be struggled for.

Significantly lacking from the leadership was any real attempt to lead. It is one thing to make up a huge list of militant demands. It is quite another thing to make clear the real fight ahead and the issues which are most important. For example, will Mrs. Mage really fight for a shorter work week or is it just a demand to be tossed away early in the game?

Several issues did arise which are quite significant. One was the executive board's motion to endorse several Democratic candidates Wilson and McKell for the elections on the basis of the fine service they have performed for the SSEU and the need for the union to become more politically involved. Several union officers, when questioned privately, admitted quite cynically that the endorsements were merely political payoffs. Of course they wouldn't say this in a leaflet to the membership.

The endorsements passed easily but, it was quite significant that Mrs. Mage saw to it that few on the left got the floor. Many SSEU officers will say privately that they are for a labor party, but publicly they will do everything in their power to strangle discussion on the subject.

Even more significant was a proposal by the leadership to demand draft deferments for welfare workers because of their valuable service to the "War on Poverty". This motion was passed by a majority of only three! Many members saw clearly the class issue involved and were revolted by the absolute refusal of the leadership to even mention Vietnam. Many of those on the right not only support the war but also the right of others to fight it for them.

## JOHNSON'S UNEMPLOYMENT

(Continued from page 1) from any of them on growing government defense expenditures which are providing the fuel for continued economic expansion. The real output of consumer goods has increased by only 1% since March. Many industries producing for consumers are showing serious

gaps between capacity and actual production.

### danger

Investment in these industries may decline markedly which could produce unemployment in many sectors. The recent rescinding of the investment tax credit will strengthen this tendency.

It must be emphasized that every one of these policies represents a danger to the working man. No one, absolutely no one in this government of the capitalists champions or interests. Waiting in the background is a whole arsenal of controls over wages and strikes if the war inflation should

make it necessary. Already the government is actively assisting employers in the increasing labor disputes and this is only the beginning.

It must also be emphasized that these policies hit working class youth, black and white with the greatest force. They are hit first

and hardest by automation, economic stagnation, unemployment and the draft.

The most pressing tasks of the day is to build a revolutionary youth movement which can fight the government's program alongside and in the labor movement as worker's mass struggles begin to heat up.

# Maritime: The True History of NMU and its Present Crisis

why joseph curran lies

(Continued from page 1)

due to a fear that Curran's 'secret' ballot is not always so secret and a resulting apprehension of the lead-pipe style democracy which seems to prevail in the NMU.

In the NMU, the efforts to 'return the union to the rank and file' have met with such a strong response, in part because the current eight year (yes, we said eight) contract which began in 1961 is little better than any garden variety sweetheart agreement. NMU members are well aware that under this contract the East and Gulf coast members have not had a wage increase for five years; that Curran and his cohorts did absolutely nothing to implement the wage re-opener-clause which supposedly allowed for the re-negotiation of wages this past June; that merchant seamen along with the rest of the U.S. working class now face an escalation of the cost of living along with escalation of the Vietnam war. Add to this the fact, spotlighted by Morrissey and the CALL, that NMU seamen get from \$151 to \$206 per month less than the new rates in effect for west coast seamen in the S. U. P., and it is easy to see why the NMU rank and file is sympathetic to the opposition to Curran & Co.

When we add to this the fact that maritime jobs have been shrinking as more and more American shipping firms hide under foreign flags and the U.S. Government does nothing; when we combine this with the recent introduction of automation on ships which will reduce even further able-bodied seamen jobs--we get some glimpse of the extent of the crisis facing the NMU, a crisis which no amount of pretty buildings covered with Curran's name can hide.

## curran rewrites history

Now let us take a look at history according to Joseph Curran. The pamphlet, entitled "Target NMU", circulated to every member of the union, purports to be a short history of the NMU but is really an attempt to prejudice the membership against any opposition to the leadership. The pamphlet shows that Curran and his gang are very nervous about the activities of the Morrissey group or any other group which campaigns on a

## Seamen Pay too High?

Last June, while on a luxury cruise aboard the S/S United States, NMU President Joseph Curran had the following encounter with some seamen working on ship, as reported in the Call, Sept. 1966:

A group of NMU members, employed aboard the "Big U", approached Curran while he was aboard and asked him, (somewhat humbly--as befits common men in approaching the King) how come the NMU members haven't received a wage increase in recent years. To which question, Curran--from the heights of his \$86,000 NMU-paid annual salary (second only to Jimmy Hoffa's among labor leader salaries)--replied, "You (that is, the NMU members) are paid too much already!"

And that's about the size of the gulf between us and our absentee "leaders". At \$392-per-month an AB is paid "too much" while our absentee president, with his \$86,000 salary, his NMU-salaried chauffeur, his NMU-supplied limousine, his NMU-salaried assistant (hired to perform his job in his absence), is paid just right.

Or so he says.

What do you say?

program of union democracy and improvement of working conditions.

All such campaigns of the past are characterized as attempts by outside elements "who want to use this Union for some purpose of their own." According to Curran, "The Trotskyite group, like all the groups before them, put out the same pie-in-the-sky slogans, the same attacks on officials who were not part of their group for 'not doing a job'.

The truth of the matter is that NMU members who supported the Trotskyist position fought consistently for the interests of the rank and file and the union from the late 1930s until they were witch-hunted out of the industry by Curran and the Government in the late 1940s. Curran hides their true program--a struggle for union not government jurisdiction over hiring, for better condi-



ONE OF SHRINKING AMERICAN FLAG FLEET.

tions and wages on the ships, for union democracy, for complete independence from the government, against no-strike pledges. During most of this period Curran was a leading apologist for the policies these seamen fought. Considering the state of the NMU and the industry today the essentials of this program are still valid.

When Curran rewrites "history", his distortions, lies and omissions are intended to accomplish the same end as Stalin's rewriting of history --the creation of a mythology to protect the gang of bureaucrats from the questions and demands of the workers. In Curran's pamphlet, there is never any examination of the real programs and demands of the various oppositions nor any mention of the role of Curran himself in relation to the political groups and struggles in the NMU. Just as Trotsky had to write about the real history of the Soviet Union and about Stalin himself, serious militants in the NMU should know something of the real history of the union and Curran's activities.

## curran's stalinism

While Curran attacks the "communists" on various and contradictory grounds, he fails to mention that he, Joseph Curran, followed every twist and turn of the Stalinist (Communist Party) line from the time of the foundation of the CIO in the late '30s through to the end of World War II. Far from being militant or radical, the line of the Communist Party during the war of strikebreaking speed-up, incentive pay, etc., was simply a continuation of the line which was followed during the earlier period of the "Popular Front" when the CIO was being organized. During both these periods, the most conservative, class collaborationist policies were all justified on the grounds of anti-fascism and later, a war for democracy.

In April, 1938, Bridges of the West Coast Longshoremen proclaimed the slogan, "You can't strike against the government". This slogan characterizes the attitude and policy of the Stalinists and their followers like Bridges, Quill and Curran except for the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, when in accordance with the diplomatic needs of the Soviet bureaucrats they went into partial opposition to Roosevelt.

Curran's value to the Stalinists in their policy of "Popular Front" support to Roosevelt and all out support to the government war effort was enhanced by his prominent role in the maritime strikes on the west coast in 1936. This, together with his leading role in organizing the NMU, affiliating it with the CIO, in opposition to the reactionary leadership of the old SIU-AFL earned him the reputation as a 'militant'.

But Curran's 'militancy' meant nothing so long as he helped carry out the Stalinist policy during the war of collaboration with the National Mari-

time Commission and the Coast Guard in victimizing militants who tried to defend the interests of the seamen. Before the war ended, Curran, along with Bridges and other prominent supporters of the stalinist line, was calling for the permanent postwar no-strike policy.

After the war, a split developed among the top leaders, all of whom had either been open Communists or supporters of the Stalinist line. This was during the period of the great postwar strike wave and the NMU militants were anxious to settle accounts with the treacherous CP leaders who had consistently sold them out during the war.

To his credit, Curran was one of those leaders who responded to the pressure of the ranks in this period and at a New York NMU membership meeting on Feb. 18 spilled some of the beans about the conduct of the Stalinist machine of which he had been a key part, including revelations of Stalinist collaboration with the FBI in keeping tabs on the working seamen. In addition, "Curran revealed how Stalinist policy cost the NMU the key collective bargaining election in the Standard Oil tanker fleet." (see Art Preis, Labor's Giant Step, Pioneer Publishers, New York, 1964).

## witchhunt militants

This period of relative honesty and militancy on the part of Curran and other leaders like Reuther in the UAW was based on opposition to real crimes against the membership by the Stalinist leadership. But whatever honesty Curran displayed soon passed as Curran, having utilized the militancy of the ranks to take control of the union from the Stalinists, became an ardent leader of the government supported drive to purge all Communists, "reds" and militants from the CIO. Once again Curran was doing the government's and shipowners' bidding in policing the union. The uniforms had changed but it was still the same game.

Curran had already revealed how the most bureaucratic practices of the Stalinist machine were justified in the name of a war for democracy. Now, he was to show better than any other CIO leader how the most undemocratic practices imaginable were to be justified in the name of "anti-Communism".

Curran's lead-pipe 'democracy' of today is simply a continuation of his practices which he perfected in the 1949 purge in the NMU. To paraphrase Curran's prefaced remarks to his pamphlet, history is indeed a rough teacher, Mr. Curran, and these are its lessons for the ranks of the National Maritime Union.

## A Page From History

Absent from Curran's "history" was this instructive chapter, Art Preis describes how Curran took over in New York in 1949:

Despite the hordes of city police and detectives who did their best to intimidate the members, Curran at first sustained several defeats at New York membership meetings. However, on November 25 Curran initiated a putsch. Members who arrived that day at the NMU hiring hall found all but one entrance sealed and a large concentration of police surrounding the entire block. They were lined up and permitted to enter only one at a time and forced to surrender their union books. Those who were identified with any opposition to Curran were pointed out to the police, their books were taken away and they were forcibly ejected from the hall.

On December 1, at a New York membership meeting which was packed with an estimated thousand supporters from other ports, Curran secured a vote approving removal of 15 local NMU port officials and union patrolmen who opposed him. Some 400 police and detectives swarmed over the auditorium. They stood shoulder to shoulder, forming a cordon across the front of the hall and along every aisle. Several hundred Curran men has also been deputized as "masters-at-arms." Curran jammed through a vote to sustain his action against the 15, with 1,714 voting for the trial committee's recommendation; 566 opposed; and 1,700 abstaining.



## logic of peaceful coexistence

# US and USSR Flirt While Vietnamese Die

by Fred Mueller

On October 7, Lyndon Johnson made a major foreign policy speech stressing the serious intentions of the U.S. government to develop improved relations with the USSR and the East European countries. No doubt in certain circles this speech was taken as a "step forward", and as being "in contradiction" with present U.S. policy in Vietnam. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

The U.S. ruling circles have a consistent strategy and policy which includes "soft" as well as "hard" postures. They hold out the carrot of friendship to the Soviet bureaucracy, knowing this bureaucracy desires above all to be left alone. They hold open the possibility of coexistence which

## Twin Cities Vietnam Committee Dumps Leadership of YSA-SWP

by Robin Hill

MINNEAPOLIS -- On October 13 the Young Socialist Alliance suffered a solid organizational defeat in the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam elections. This defeat, including the loss of chairmanship and rejection of all YSA-SWP member candidates, was especially significant since YSA had played a leadership role within the Minnesota Committee for the past year.

Previously, during the preparation for the March 25 and 26 International Days of Protest, a majority of the MCEWV voted for "Bring the Troops Home Now" as the slogan under which to march. One-half year later both the exclusive use of this slogan and its proponents were rebuffed by the election of five members of an "independent caucus" to six of the positions filled.

### ysa's role

This "independent caucus" was united in an effort to end the organizational hegemony of YSA over the committee. It represented not only individuals independent of formal political associations but also members of S.D.S., DuBois Club and A.C.F.I. The formation of this caucus was in reaction



FRENCH YOUTH DEMAND PEACE THROUGH REVOLUTION AT LIEGE RALLY.

in the short run can strengthen the position of both the imperialists and the bureaucracy at the expense of the working class. To the revolutionary fight-

ers in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and anywhere else in the world, the imperialists put forward only the policy of war, of destruction. Here they want no hint of compromise.

### hungary

It is symbolic that the latest moves of the imperialists come near the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian worker's revolution. A recent speech by Robert Murphy, who was the U.S. Deputy Undersecretary of State in 1956 and is now the president of Corning Glass International, underlines the basic community of interest between the bureaucracy and the imperialists. This is of course not an absolute or total identity but a common interest against the working class. Murphy says:

"Looking back and trying to visualize myself in their (the USSR) shoes I think I would have done the same thing. They did it well. There was no hemming and hawing. When you do a dreadful thing like that, it's best to do it all at once. A policy of gradualism--such as we are following in Vietnam--can only be costlier in lives and money."

The New York Times marked the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution with a long article which almost eulogized recent developments there. It applauded the flexibility of the regime and lauded the reforms which have taken place. The struggle of the Hungarian workers and their continuing antagonism to the bureaucracy went unmentioned in the Times. The capitalists could not have indicated any more clearly on the anniversary of the heroic uprising that they will ally themselves with the bureaucracy against the prospect of revolutionary workers' rule.

### vietnam

What is the response of the Stalinist regimes to these latest moves? It was not long in coming. A meeting of government representatives from the USSR, the East Europe states, Mongolia and Cuba is reported to have agreed on the need to soften North Vietnam's stand on peace negotiations. These exper-

to the organizational role of YSA on the Minnesota Committee.

The part YSA played was an extension of their role in the November, 1965 antiwar convention -- that of stifling basic political discussion by organizational maneuvering. Even if meant to bring about the "broadest possible unity" their tactics instead resulted in such repugnance that a majority of the "independent caucus" indicated that they would leave the Minnesota Committee if YSA leadership was not ended. Whatever the quality of YSA's tactics the political perspective on which they were based was little more than a mystery for the majority of independents.

The lac of prior political discussion was most evident on election night. YSA produced a "statement of purpose" for the MCEWV (previously presented at a Sept. 15 meeting) as their platform for election. This list of statements (which most of the individual "independent caucus" candidates supported, but not as exclusionary of other views) explained with the most perfunctory comments, was supposed to present a political position on which to elect YSA candidates.

Since no real basis for political debate had been laid in the previous year, nor was the time allotted sufficient for discussion of differences with this "position paper" it became just another organizational ploy. In short, YSA's "principled" political line became a facade behind which stood a year of repressing political controversy.

### united front

Currently the MCEWV faces the problems of building towards a United Front. On our part we will offer an analysis of YSA's "position paper" in our next issue -- contrasting it to a Trotskyist position dealing with the war in Vietnam.

ience betrayers of revolution would obviously like to cooperate once again. Their hesitancy does not reflect any change of heart, but simply the tactical difficulties they face inside the workers' movement.

At present there is pessimism about the possibility of convincing Hanoi or the National Liberation Front that negotiations with the imperialist invaders on anything else than the points already advanced by the Vietnamese will do any good. Thus the Times sadly reports, "...If persuasion failed, Hanoi's decision would have to be respected. No blackmail, such as suspension or reduction of arms shipments, is being considered, it was said." Perhaps this should read, "is now being considered."

### finland

A further indication of the shift to the right by the Stalinists is the news from

Finland. The Finnish Communist Party, controlling 22% of the vote, has entered the bourgeois government. Its support of widely unpopular tax increases and other anti-working class measures is embarrassing the Cp but the word is that Moscow's instructions are to stay in the Cabinet come what may. The aim is to show that the European CPs can be relied upon as responsible partners in the administration of capitalism, that they are not interested in power but in administering capitalism in exchange for a policy of "peaceful coexistence."

Even apart from any secret diplomatic maneuvering, it is clear that precisely at a time when the U.S. is stepping up its criminal war in Vietnam the Stalinists, while forced to give a certain minimum aid and verbal support, are taking the pressure off the imperialists in every other way possible.

### resist

The Vietnamese workers and peasants are going to have to resist the counter-revolutionary pressure of the Soviet bureaucracy as well as continuing their heroic battle against the imperialists. We have to help them in their struggle in every way we can. The international workers' movement must see the real role of Stalinism and must seek to increase, not decrease the pressure on the imperialist army.

## Fourth International Writes

To A.C.F.I.

Dear Comrades,

At its meeting on October 30th, the International Committee discussed, among other questions, the Bulletin published by the A.C.F.I. We regard it as an extremely important step forward to have begun publication of this printed paper in the United States. This paper will carry forward to a new stage the work of the organization, in the struggle to make the Bulletin the organizer of those who intervene in the struggles of the working class on the line of the Fourth International.

We know that this step forward represents a tremendous sacrifice on the part of all the comrades, sacrifice which flows from the determination which they share with us to build the revolutionary International. The International Committee congratulates the comrades of the A.C.F.I. and sends them warm revolutionary greetings on the establishment of the Bulletin as their organ of struggle. We are



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sure that the Bulletin will play a great part in the class struggles in the United States and the building of a conscious leadership in these struggles.

Yours fraternally,  
Cliff Slaughter, for the International Committee of the Fourth International.

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