

Nixon Flees, Ford Reigns

Ruling Class Tidies Up White House

Who Elected Ford?

Extradite Nixon to Hanoi!

AUGUST 12—It is sweetly ironic that by becoming the only U.S. president ever to resign from office, Richard Milhous Nixon, professional anti-communist, crook and elected representative of the American capitalist class, should finally achieve that which he has so long and so earnestly pursued: a "Presidential first." For the bourgeoisie, of course, Nixon's resignation is a preferred solution to the problem of easing a self-evidently paranoid thief and liar out of the presidency with a minimum of disturbance to the functioning of U.S. imperialism. As Nixon noted in his farewell speech, his continuation in office or a full impeachment "might be a dangerously destabilizing process."

With Nixon's "confession" last Monday (admitting to obstruction of the Watergate break-in investigation by attempting to induce the Central Intelligence Agency to persuade the FBI to halt its inquiry on grounds of "national security"), the president in effect threw himself upon the mercy of the American bourgeoisie. For the latter the question was how to most expeditiously remove the commander-in-chief of the leading imperialist power. For a moment there was a flurry of disagreement: the liberal *New York Times* wanted impeachment; the conservative *Wall Street Journal* advocated resignation. But all agreed on two things: an "orderly transfer of power" and speed.

The game now over for Nixon, the bourgeoisie desired nothing more than to sweep the whole Watergate scandal under the rug. A long impeachment hearing and Senate trial could only have had the effect of implicating still more eminent bourgeois politicians and revealing too much about the swindles and chicanery that are, in fact, the everyday content of bourgeois politics. Hence, after brief reflection, the entire capitalist establishment rallied behind Nixon's resignation and is urging that he not be prosecuted.

Thus, while his underlings are being shipped off to jail one by one, the man behind it all is to be allowed to slither off into the realm of lucrative corporate consultancies and ghosted memoirs (valued at \$1,000,000), retaining a \$60,000 annual "pension" and \$96,000 a year for "office expenses." Typically, the day after his resignation Nixon was reported to be meeting in California with his "financial advisors" Bebe Rebozo and Robert Abplanalp. This whole affair was made even more ludicrous by the debate as to whether this gangster had the "legal" right to pardon himself! (The *New York Times* concluded he did but that public opinion would not stand for it.)

Nixon Ousted for Crimes Against the Bourgeoisie

Although Watergate represented the most serious "constitutional crisis" since Reconstruction, the political repercussions growing out of the scandal have had an extremely narrow focus, concentrating on the person, not the politics, of the Nixon administration. Watergate has not reflected a major political rift within the ruling class. Indeed, the overriding

concern of the bourgeoisie throughout the crisis was that Nixon was becoming so discredited that he was no longer capable of administering an effective national government.

While political differences existed between Nixon and other ruling-class elements (e.g., on relations with the USSR), the impeachment/resignation drive was simply an attempt to modify the president's behavior toward the rest of the ruling establishment, but not to change the political complexion of the regime. This is apparent from the evident willingness of all wings of the liberal establishment to see Nixon replaced with the neanderthal reactionary Gerald Ford.

An impeachment based upon the notion of "illegal" war-making activities would have threatened, as did the Nuremberg decisions, to unmask the complicity of the entire U.S. capitalist class. Representative Walter Flowers, a Democrat from Alabama, in defending Nixon from a "bad rap" pointed out the obvious implications of such an indictment: "We might as well resurrect President Johnson and impeach him posthumously for Vietnam and Laos as well as impeach President Nixon for Cambodia. We might as well resurrect the memory of John Kennedy for Santo Domingo and the Bay of Pigs. President Eisenhower had his U-2 incident. President Truman in Korea" (*New York Times*, 31 July).

The results of the months of "arduous" work by the Committee are, in summary, the following: Richard Nixon obstructed the Watergate inquiry; he bullied his peers by subjecting them to the surveillance of the Internal Revenue Service and FBI (such surveillance is a routine feature in the life of any ostensibly socialist organization in this country); he failed to "control" his subordinates; and, finally, he ignored authorized subpoenas issued by the Committee itself.

Moreover, the fifty-six allegations of possible Nixon crimes, presented to the House Judiciary Committee on March 1 by its legal staff, were soon stripped of all charges stemming from his reactionary policies or which could be construed to imply that Nixon had committed crimes against the working people. The remainder was quickly distilled to articles which charged the president, in essence, with crimes against the class he represents—the American bourgeoisie.

These "horrors" should be contrasted with his merciless slaughter of many hundred thousands of



DAILY NEWS

Southeast Asians; his utter disdain for the welfare of the poor and working people in the U.S.; and his efforts to end "permissiveness" by encouraging murderous police and National Guard assaults. It is for the crimes which he perpetrated against the capitalist class that Nixon was ousted from the White House—his crimes against humanity await the tribunals of the working class.

Presidential "Privilege" Extended

The "momentous" Supreme Court ruling of July 24, hailed as a slap at presidential prerogative and as restoring the "separation of powers" instituted by the U.S. Constitution, actually explicitly authorized extensive and unchallengeable "executive privilege." This substantial widening of the scope of legally recognized presidential powers is merely the judicial acknowledgement of the fact that the world's most powerful and imperial bourgeoisie requires a strong executive arm in order to quickly and efficiently prosecute its aims.

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Between Purgatory and Limbo

The Internationalist Tendency, which was expelled en masse from the SWP over the 4th of July, remains suspended in mid-air while its Pabloist masters wrangle among themselves trying to decide what response to take toward the SWP's provocative expulsion. (For earlier details and political background, see "SWP Stages Mass Purge" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 49, 19 July.)

Apparently the present disintegrative potential within Pabloist revisionism is limitless. As the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) teeters on the brink of split between its reformist "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" (LTF) and its petty-bourgeois centrist "International Majority Tendency" (IMT) wings, the IMT itself is beginning to polarize. Behind these new divisions (which are now being brought to a head by the question of formalizing the split with the SWP's faction, the LTF) lie counterposed centrist appetites.

Like the SWP in the early 1960's, Ernest Mandel would like to build support campaigns to enthuse over guerrillaist and nationalist movements. The more active elements centered on the French Front Communiste Révolutionnaire (made desperate by its "severe organizational regression" in the last year) would like a more direct policy. Reportedly this division within the USec Majority is sharpening the enaemic factionalism within the British International Marxist Group, as IMG leader John Ross sides with Mandel while Tariq Ali lines up with the French, or so the story goes.

Thus faced with the threat of a split with the SWP, the USec Majority finds that the "New Mass Vanguard" that it's chasing is actually a couple of different animals. Mandel's "New Mass Vanguard" is perhaps compatible with the SWP's highly legalistic posture but the more tactically extremist elements' "New Mass Vanguard" is much too bristly for the poor tame SWP to swallow.

But twist and turn as they will, the disintegration of the United Secretariat, caught between its own multiple anti-

Marxist revisionisms and a rising line of working-class struggle, goes on. The USec has had open splits in Canada, Mexico, Australia, Peru and Spain. Since its 10th Congress this February which was supposed to stop this sort of thing, it has had splits in Argentina and now the United States. Meanwhile "cold" splits prevail in England and Denmark, and the German and Italian sections threaten to blow apart any minute. Today the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" reminds one, in the disparity between its pretensions and its rotten reality, of the Holy Roman Empire, which was neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire.

Historic Impulse Repeats Itself

When anti-proletarian revisionism came to flower in 1953 in the SWP, the well-known nationwide revisionist faction was led by Bert Cochran, Harry Braverman, George Clarke and Mike Bartell (supported by the European Pabloists). But the Cochran group had no supporters in the Buffalo or Los Angeles branches of the SWP. In those localities the revisionist appetites had already been corralled into two smaller independent factions, the Marcy and Dennis Vern-Sam Ryan groups respectively. With no opportunity for the success of get-rich-quick political schemes in that period the already jaded Cochranites went to pieces within a few years.

The Internationalist Tendency of today has no direct experience with that period, but as a tendency it is politically parallel to the Cochranites of that time and it is backed by most of the same old Europeans of Pablo's entourage, Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank and Livio Maitan. If the IT today reaches out to Milton Zaslow's Socialist Union, hopes to orient to the Youth Against War and Fascism and enthuses over the newly-discovered theses of Vern-Ryan on Stalinism, it does not do so out of historical memory but because this is in its political genes. Milton Zaslow used to be Mike Bartell; the Zhdanov-like Sam Marcy runs the Youth Against War and Fascism; and Vern-Ryan wrote the Vern-Ryan theses. Truly a case of déjà-vu.

Savage Red-Baiting of the IT

Even prior to its expulsion from the SWP the IT was subjected to threatening and sinister public smears by tools of the House Committee on Internal Security and the FBI. Thus anti-labor newspaper journalist Victor Riesel wrote in his 22 March column:

"It is easy to trace the terrorist international.... Today this is the United Secretariat of the Fourth International run by Germain-Mandel in Brussels. Its American affiliate is the Socialist Workers Party, still non-violent though it has a deviation called the International [sic] Tendency which believes in terror and its grim variations. It has

cells in New York and the Oakland-Berkeley area and points in between such as Bloomington, Ind., Houston, Texas, and in eight other cities."

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes stated on March 25, according to the *Militant* of 5 April, "that the SWP is not 'the American affiliate' of the Fourth International" and "that there are no tendencies, no 'deviations,' no 'dissidents' and no members in the SWP that advocate terrorism." Under the subheading "Agents Provocateurs" the *Militant* went on to quote Barnes: "It is not excluded, of course, that the FBI might 'discover' a 'member' who would echo slanders such as those made by Riesel" and "We know cops try to infiltrate our ranks." Thus the SWP "defended" its Internationalist Tendency, expelling it a few months later.

The government attack on the IT has resumed. In the *Congressional Record* of 24 July a Congressman Ashbrook states:

"...the Socialist Workers Party, the American Trotskyite organization, has expelled 69 of its members because they support the proterrorist majority of the Fourth International.... The group just expelled which calls itself 'The Internationalist Tendency' supports terrorism but has not engaged in such activity. The two leaders of the 'Internationalist Tendency' William Massey and John Barzman are now operating out of headquarters in Chicago....

"Last year the SWP through their surveillance of the 'Internationalist Tendency' secured a secret letter written from France by Barzman to his comrades in the United States.... Barzman's secret letter was published in the confidential Socialist Workers Party Discussion Bulletin and was reprinted by the House Committee on Internal Security in its hearing on 'The Theory and Practice of Communism,' part three-Expocuba. The letter re-

Stalinists, Nationalists Brutally Attack L.A. Socialist Collective

We reprint below excerpts from a press release by the Socialist Collective, a group of black socialist militants in Los Angeles, denouncing a vicious assault on its members inspired by the Communist Party and Republic of New Africa. This cowardly beating is only the latest in a series of anti-communist attacks on workers democracy by Stalinist and black and Chicano nationalist forces in L.A. Earlier this year the Spartacist League was undemocratically excluded from a conference on immigration by the CP-dominated CASA. As consistent opponents of gangsterism within the left, the Spartacist League vigorously condemns this brutal attempt to suppress the politics of the SC by means of physical coercion. We call on all left-wing, socialist and militant labor organizations to do likewise.

The SL has important political differences with the Socialist Collective. We do not believe that black nationalists are "fascists," since a real fascist movement in this country would be directed *against* the black population (including even the most reactionary nationalist and bourgeois black pol-

iticians). Neither do we count the cultist/personalist "Symbionese Liberation Army" as part of the left, as the SC did in an earlier leaflet. As socialists we oppose all forms of race-baiting, including the SC's referring to the Communist Party as "white folks." We reject the Maoist view that the rulers of the USSR are "State Monopoly Capitalists." The Soviet Union is not a capitalist regime but a deformed workers state, whose collectivist property forms must be unconditionally defended by Marxists, despite the counterrevolutionary policies of the parasitic bureaucrats who today rule in the Kremlin.

The SC is sometimes reputed to be Trotskyist, an accusation that is entirely unfounded, as can be seen from its call in a recent leaflet ("Class Struggle in the Black Community") for the establishment of "democratic dictatorships of the proletariat and the peasantry" in Africa. Lenin raised this demand at the time of the first Russian Revolution of 1905, but later transcended it when he called, in his 1917 "April Theses," for "all power to the soviets"—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When the subject came up during the trade-union debate of 1920-21, Lenin first referred to the Soviet Union as "a workers' and peasants' state," but soon after corrected himself: "I should have said: 'The workers' state is an abstraction. In reality we have a workers' state with the following peculiar features, (1) it is the peasants and not the workers who predominate in the population and (2) it is a workers' state with bureaucratic deformations.'"

But whatever our political differences with the Socialist Collective, these are questions to be discussed in open debate within the workers movement, not "resolved" by such thug attacks. Moreover, the CP/RNA-inspired assault was a deliberate attempt to prevent any expression of independent working-class politics in the black community, just as the CP has sought to exclude opponents of its class collaborationism from the Chicano movement and Chile solidarity demonstrations.

For the CP this attack is the expression of a long history of bureaucratic suppression of political opponents to its left, extending back to its degeneration in the late 1920's as a

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vealed that Barzman has received advice and instructions from Alain Krivine and Gerard Vergeat. Krivine was arrested by the French government as one of the main instigators of the violence that led to the outlawing of the Communist League. Vergeat has among his other duties liaison with Arab terrorist groups and is attempting to organize an Arab Trotskyite organization. "One of the complaints made by Massey against the SWP was that—the SWP leadership has refused to put forth an adequate defense of the 'Internationalist Tendency' which has been the target of a series of attacks not only on the part of the House Internal Security Committee of the U.S. Congress, but on the part of a number of its pimp journalists.'... If Mr. Massey and his friends confine themselves to sitting around the coffee table and talking, obviously the authorities will take no action against them. But if they decide to translate talk into action, they will find that the authorities know where to locate them."

Clearly the defense of the IT against this campaign of witchhunting, red-baiting threats is an elementary obligation on the part of all sections of the labor and socialist movements, not least those who call themselves "Trotskyist." This is especially so because the IT cannot now even speak out in its own defense. Both the SWP and the IT's political leaders in the USec Majority are trying to keep the split a secret (after all, to date it's only been reported in *Workers Vanguard* and the *Congressional Record*). Furthermore and in any case the IT presently has no press of its own.

The Spartacist League states categorically that the comrades of the IT are not police provocateurs; they are genuine and dedicated socialists. We stand ready to enter into common action with any other section of the socialist movement in defense of their full rights and good name. We demand of the SWP similar action. ■

result of Stalin's usurpation of the Russian party and the Communist International. Along the way, the "grave-digger of the revolution" ordered the assassination of Leon Trotsky, several thousand Left Oppositionists and virtually all surviving members of the Bolshevik Central Committee which led the 1917 Russian Revolution. The shameless reformists of the Communist Party are today faithfully living up to their Stalinist heritage.

While various left groups who witnessed the bureaucratic expulsion of the Spartacist League from the March immigration conference in L.A. either remained silent (International Socialists) or suggested to the CP that there were "better ways" to suppress Trotskyist politics (the Socialist Workers Party's response), we hope that these fake socialists do not adopt the same criminally abstentionist attitude toward this Stalinist/nationalist assault on the Socialist Collective. Only by a principled struggle for workers democracy, by opposing all gangsterism and undemocratic exclusionism within the left, will it be possible for the revolutionary vanguard to raise the proletariat to a consciousness of its historic interests and tasks. Physical suppression of tendencies within the workers movement always serves the ruling class.

Socialist Collective Press Release

On Saturday, July 20, 1974, nine members of the Socialist Collective (seven men, one of which was crippled, and two women) were viciously attacked by some forty, armed men from several "Pan African" and poverty program, hustler-type organizations (under the guidance and directives of members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and the so-called Republic of New Africa). Consequent to the assault, one member of the Socialist Collective had to have six sutures beneath his left eye, another suffered from three cracked and two broken ribs, and an-

Catcalls Greet Democratic Governor

Jersey Hardhats Demand Jobs Now



UPI

TRENTON, N.J., 29 July—A throng of 25,000 construction workers from throughout New Jersey besieged the state capitol here today demanding jobs. With government statistics reporting a 30 percent unemployment rate among building tradesmen in the state and 20,000 fewer workers employed in the industry today compared to a year ago, the demonstrators were in a militant mood. "We want work!" chanted the crowd on several occasions. Signs included demands for "Work, Not Welfare," "We Need More Construction Now" and "End the Depression in N.J."

While the demonstration was tightly controlled by the union bureaucrats who called it (with the approval of contractors, who gave tradesmen the day off so they could attend), the workers roundly booed Democratic Party bigwigs who had been invited to speak. Governor Byrne, elected with AFL-CIO backing, received a chorus of catcalls when he attempted to put the blame for unemployment on Nixon and promised jobs by 1976. "Jobs, Not Promises," responded the hardhats.

The bureaucracy clearly staged this demonstration to dissipate burgeoning militancy among the rank and file. Following Nixon's 1971 wage freeze the construction unions—traditionally leaders in wage increases—knuckled under, accepting pay hikes substantially less than the current rate of inflation. So when controls were lifted this spring, angry construction workers unleashed a wave of strikes throughout the country. But while wages have gone up since May, so has unemployment, often dramatically.

Governor Byrne is quite right to point out that the problem is not limited to New Jersey. Neither is Nixon alone responsible. In fact, the current slump in the construction industry is simply the second front in the developing economic crisis that first hit auto production late last year. The problem cannot be solved without a frontal attack on the capitalist system and both of the bosses' parties.

The Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 (Mahwah Ford) attended the demonstration with signs calling for "Jobs for all—30 hours work for 40 hours pay" and "No gov't. interference in union affairs—For a workers' party based on the trade unions." The New Jersey AFL-CIO support for Democratic Governor Byrne and George Meany's current blubberings about what a great president the arch-conservative, anti-labor Republican Gerald Ford will make underline the fact that winning these demands requires a struggle to oust the present sellout pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy.

But the emphatic opposition to both Democratic and Republican Party politicians at this afternoon's rally shows that this perspective can win wide support in the current period of sharp governmental instability, mounting unemployment and grinding inflation. Not Ford in the White House, but new elections and a workers party!

other (a young woman) suffered a breakdown due to emotional distress. Others suffered from various injuries stemming from the cowardly ambush.

The attack was pre-meditated and well co-ordinated by Communist Party member, ex-[Los Angeles] *Sentinel* columnist and *Sepia* employee, Emily Gibson and by Ed Bradley, who is the National Treasurer of the Republic of New Africa. The attack was moreover politically motivated from the Communist Party's point of view, as they, through their black "cadre", i.e. Gibson, etc. fired up racist animosities of members from the now inactive African Peoples Party (not affiliated with the African Peoples Revolutionary Party), the Umoja Center, the Pan-Africanist Congress, and the professional poverty pimp gang known as the Sons of Watts: the nationalists were told by Emily Gibson that the Socialist Collective is an organization run by whites and were in fact agents of "white folks" who were sent into the black community to disrupt and destroy some fantastic nationalist notion of "Black Unity". Ignorant of the facts, fired up by emotions and blind fanaticism, the Pan-Africanists, in the name of black people(sic), savagely and pigishly brutalized the nine SC members. Ignorant of the facts, fired up by emotions and blindly misled by the Communist Party, which is a predominantly "white" organization, the fascists—and we don't use this term loosely (American black nationalists are known anti-labor, anti-communist, pro-capitalist thugs that have historically terrorized the revolutionary left), acted on the side of "white folks", i.e., the Com-

munist Party, against "black folks", i.e., the Socialist Collective. Politically, the nationalist attackers stood on the side of the State which itself has been trying (without success) to terrorize the SC. By attacking the SC the nationalists stood with the State Monopolist Capitalists of the Soviet Union whose policies the American Communist Party represent, and who have historically, in the name of the movement, repressed and suppressed independent working class activities against capitalism. Objectively, the Pan-Africanists, by attacking the Socialist Collective, attacked also the black community....

Since the Socialist Collective was formed early this year, it has had repeated political conflict with the Communist Party. During planning

meetings for a Chile demonstration to be held May 11, 1974, the Socialist Collective was excluded from meetings by Communist Party members and threatened with violence if the SC resisted. The incident of July 20th was the carrying out of that threat.

Until stated otherwise, the Socialist Collective is holding the Communist Party and the Republic of New Africa responsible for the July 20th assault.... We are therefore calling on all left, trade unions, socialists, "Pan-Africanists", Intercommunalists, and democratic organizations to stand with the Socialist Collective and condemn the Republic of New Africa and the Communist Party for using goons to attack nine Black Socialists in South Central Los Angeles.

Socialist Collective

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Food riot in New Delhi.



Protests Against Hunger and Corruption Plague Gandhi Regime

India is at present experiencing the convulsions of what is perhaps its most critical social crisis in the 27 years since independence and partition. In 1969, after a crushing defeat in the general elections, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi managed to successfully restore the credibility of her compromised and factionally crippled Congress Party. First demagogically denouncing a section of the Congress "old guard" as representatives of the vested interests, Gandhi then split from her scapegoats.

Taking advantage of the disillusionment with the ostensibly left alternative presented by Stalinist-led popular front governments in the states of Kerala and West Bengal, Gandhi proclaimed the post-split Congress Party now to be the party of "democratic socialism" and raised the slogan "garibi hatao" "Remove Poverty!" An ensuing wave of "Indira euphoria," expressed in the Congress sweep of the 1971 Parliamentary elections, was further sustained with the national chauvinism whipped up after Gandhi's victory over Pakistan in the Bangladesh war of 1971.

In the intervening period, however, the aroused illusions of the Indian masses have been cruelly shattered by the alarming and deepening economic crisis of the past several years. The stagnant national growth (a total of 7 percent in 1971-74, with an actual decline in 1972-73), uncontrollable inflation and spiraling unemployment (in the last year alone increasing to over 25 percent and 35 percent respectively), critical shortages of all basic necessities coupled with the monstrous growth of a parallel black market economy and flagrant corruption at all levels of government have produced agonizing hardships for the already

impoverished and desperate masses.

A partial indication not only of the growing rejection of the bankrupt "socialist" policies of the Congress but also of increased receptivity to reactionary caste, communal and linguistic polarization were the February state elections in the politically pivotal traditional Congress stronghold of Uttar Pradesh. While in 1971 the Congress polled 49 percent as against the combined 37 percent of the right opposition parties, in 1974 Congress slipped to 32 percent and the total right opposition vote climbed to over 49 percent. But the depth of the discontent and the complex shifts in the moods of the masses are revealed far more forcefully by the massive anti-government upheavals that have rocked the states of Gujarat and Bihar this year.

Popular Unrest in Gujarat

The struggles which were soon to engulf Gujarat had their origins in some isolated demonstrations opposing the sharp increase in dormitory meal costs by students of the engineering colleges at Ahmedabad and Morvi in early January. When their grievances were summarily dismissed and protests violently suppressed by the police, student demonstrations of support occurred throughout the state, leading to bloody clashes with the police and government closure of all colleges and universities.

At the same time the Fourteenth August Workers Committee, a front of leftist trade unions in Gujarat, issued the call for a January 10 Ahmedabad *bandh* (a political general strike involving the cessation of all public, commercial and industrial activity) in protest of rising prices and increased repression. Seeking to launch a massive

student movement around demands for lower dormitory food rates, a shake-up in the corrupt administration, reopening of the schools and ending repression, the student activists likewise called for a *bandh* for the same day.

This joint student/union agitation intersected an especially vulnerable state Congress regime. There was pervasive bitter recognition that the critical shortage of foodgrains following a bumper harvest in the wealthiest state of India was possible only because corrupt politicians, in collusion with hoarders and black marketeers, were failing to enforce the established system of state procurement and distribution of grain.

In addition, the local Congress Party was wracked by an internecine struggle between the Chief Minister Chimanbhai Patel and the party dissidents whom he had ousted from the previous

curity Force, Central Reserve Police and State Police.

Student Vanguard Emerges

Under the impact of this totally unanticipated and staggering explosion of mass fury, the leading student activists were jolted from their initial narrow student-centered demands and inspired to raise some banner of revolt that could rally and lead the anti-Congress upsurge. Students were called upon to form Nav Nirmān Yuvak Samiti (Youth Committees for Building Anew) and organize around the demands for the resignation of the hated Patel Ministry, an end to all government corruption and an end to shortages and inflation.

But the Youth Committees emerged in a unique political vacuum. The eruption of social turmoil brought to the

Aftermath of bloody Hindu-Muslim communal clash in Delhi, May 1974. Riot was provoked by para-military arm of the Jan Sangh, which controls the city government.



Ministry. Hoping to increase their constituency for a factional struggle against the Patel Ministry, these dissidents had organized an "Anti-Price Rise Conference" on January 5 in Ahmedabad which served to fuel the simmering discontent over inflation.

The agitation against price rises and corruption crystallized a deep sullen popular dissatisfaction. The successful Ahmedabad *bandh* instantaneously triggered large-scale rioting throughout the state; mob attacks on granaries, government provision stores and property; and local *bandhs* which spread to more than 70 towns. The government responded with the imposition of a month's curfew. During the next weeks these bread riots, political demonstrations and violent clashes with the police escalated despite the most vicious state repression, culminating in a massive 36-hour statewide *bandh*. Civil disorder became so prevalent that Gandhi was forced to clamp curfews on 43 towns and deploy in over 60 areas the Army, Border Se-

surface for the first time an almost universal alienation from the traditional left and right opposition parties based on the sentiment that these parties had all to some degree abandoned their professed scruples to unprincipled electoralism in their effort to replace the ruling Congress in the assembly and in Parliament. The leadership of the Youth Committees, which ideologically ranged from vague utopian socialism to frustrated conservatism, therefore established the Youth Committees as adamantly non-partisan.

As a result of their courageous militancy and idealistic fervor for some fundamental but vague "building anew," the students in the Youth Committees rapidly came to the head of the growing upsurge as the recognized leadership. It is essential to realize that formations like the Youth Committees represent a response to conditions of manifest social crisis and polarization by the volatile petty-bourgeois studentry, but lack the class basis and coherent program to become a stable,

independent instrument in the class struggle. As demonstrated by the 1971 JVP student-youth uprising in Ceylon, this year's student demonstrations in Thailand and the 1965 Indonesian student riots, such student movements ostensibly based on populism, nationalism, or even moral revivalism are quite capable under certain conditions of developing in a leftist, liberal bourgeois or even in an openly rightist direction.

With the powerful class organizations of the Gujarati proletariat still under their established Stalinist, social-democratic and Gandhian yellow-union leaderships, workers supported and entered the struggles essentially on an atomized, individual basis. Thus the student movement to a significant degree expressed the felt desperation and frustration of the urban petty bourgeoisie and lumpens. But it is precisely this large layer that has provided the social basis of the reactionary Jan Sangh, although the latter mobilizes not around populism, but on the basis of caste and communalism.

Fall of the Gujarat Government

On February 9 the beleaguered Patel Ministry, already weakened by the defections of all politically sensible Congressmen, was finally forced to resign, the state legislative assembly suspended by New Delhi and "President's Rule" (federal intervention) imposed on the state. Although the downfall of the Ministry fully satisfied Congress Party dissidents, who only desired a rapid return to political normalcy and the reconstitution of a new Congress Ministry, the political climate of Gujarat remained inflamed and the popular mood combative.

When the Youth Committees initiated a new campaign demanding the complete dissolution of the state legislative assembly, violent mass demonstrations once again broke out. Unable to suppress the anti-government upheaval that had already claimed 103 dead, 310 injured and 8,053 arrested, New Delhi was forced on March 15 to dissolve the state assembly, thereby completing the fall of the Congress government in Gujarat.

After almost delirious celebrations over this truly Pyrrhic victory in Ahmedabad, the mass movement simply dissipated, and along with it the amorphous Youth Committees. The student movement for "building anew" collapsed entirely, and its central leadership was to split several months later along cliquish lines and amid mutual recriminations of dishonesty and corruption!

During the Gujarat movement both the reformist and reactionary opposition parties—the social-democratic Socialist Party, the left-Stalinist Communist Party (Marxist), the right-wing Hindu communalist Jan Sangh (People's Party), the monopolist-capitalist Swatantra (Freedom) Party and the rival Syndicate Congress—could support to different degrees the classless demand for dissolution of the government, each hoping thereby to gain in the inevitable elections to the new state assembly.

The pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI), with the reformist theory of a "two-stage revolution" and its class-collaborationist corollary of strategic alliance with the "progressive" section of the national bourgeoisie represented by Indira Gandhi, could in the early stages of the agitation gingerly pursue a policy of calling for the resignation of the vernal Patel Ministry. As the CPI noted: "His image is so tarnished that no one—not even Congressmen—are prepared to defend him publicly" (*Link*, 3 February).

But when the demand for bringing down the entire Congress-controlled state assembly was raised, the CPI more than adequately demonstrated its servility before the Congress High Command by denouncing "the hand of inimical foreign agencies supporting

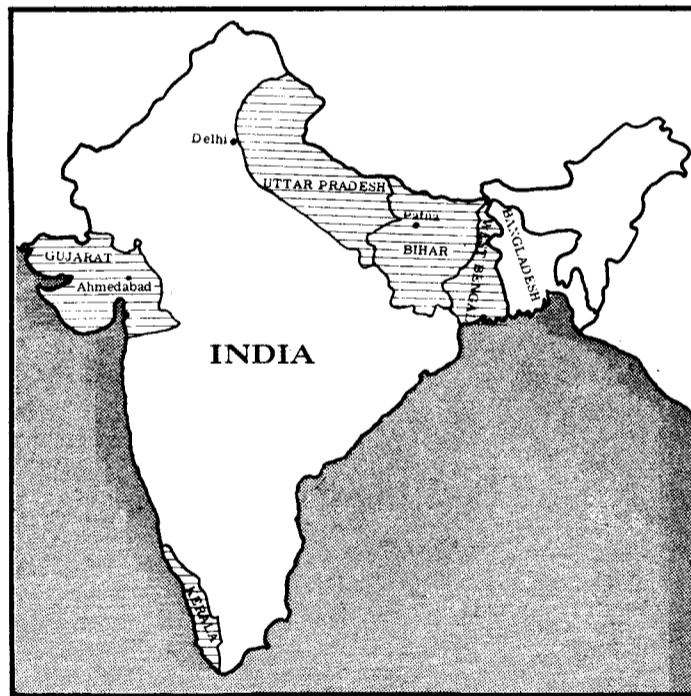
the fascist forces running the new phase of the agitation" (*Link*, 3 March).

Anti-Corruption Movement in Bihar

As the anti-government demonstrations reached their peak in Gujarat, a similar movement began to develop in the destitute state of Bihar. Jayaprakash Narayan—national hero of the 1943 anti-colonialist "Quit India" struggle, founder-leader of the Socialist Party and presently foremost figure of the reactionary-utopian Sarvodaya (Gandhian social uplift) movement—had initiated a moralistic anti-corruption campaign among the traditional politically-affiliated student federations in February. Narayan's exhortations for a "partyless democracy" led to the creation of the Chhātra Sangharsh Samiti (Student Action Committee) as the organizing center for a new student movement "uncorrupted" by any affiliations with political parties.

In early March the Student Action Committee and Jayaprakash Narayan's "Youth Peace Corps" jointly called upon students to "repeat Thailand and Gujarat in Bihar" by building an anti-corruption, anti-inflation movement to force the resignation of the badly factionalized and notoriously corrupt Ministry of Abdul Ghafoor. Shortly after, the Patna University Students' Union, controlled by the powerful student front of the reactionary Jan Sangh, called for a *gherāo* (forcible detention by surrounding) of the Bihar State Assembly in Patna on March 18.

Preceded by the news of the fall of the Gujarat government and by violent student demonstrations in Patna and Bettiah leading to the closure of all the schools, the Patna *gherāo* drew over 10,000 students. It ended in mass civil disorder, clashes with the Border Security Police and the imposition



India in crisis: Popular front governments elected in Kerala and West Bengal in 1969. Gujarat and Bihar recently experienced mass protests over food shortages, government corruption.

of military rule. The student agitation catalyzed widespread anti-government actions as in Gujarat, producing an all-Bihar *bandh* on March 23 and a huge march in Patna on April 8 in defiance of the curfew. When on April 12 the police fired indiscriminately into a peaceful demonstration at Gaya, mass outrage demanded an end to the state Congress government. While the Jan Sangh students had advocated the dissolution of the assembly from the outset of the Bihar movement, it was only now that Jayaprakash Narayan and the SAC adopted this demand.

As long as the dissolution demand had been confined to the Jan Sangh, the CPI did not actively oppose the growing movement to force the resignation of the despised Ghafoor Ministry. Thus, the Stalinists opined that "The resignation of the Ghafoor Ministry was the only way to save democracy [i.e., the Congress government]" (*Hindustan Times*, 23 March). But, following the same scenario as in Gujarat, as soon as the demand to bring down the state government received the authority of Jayaprakash Narayan and the mass backing of the SAC, the CPI was forced to mobilize its relatively strong forces in Bihar to prop up the isolated

Militants Protest Chile Death Sentences

On July 30 the Chilean junta announced draconian sentences for some 64 prisoners, including 56 Air Force officers and enlisted men. Four were condemned to death. Two days later a picket was held in front of the UN protesting the sentences.

As in recent NYC Chile demonstrations, the SL/RCY contingent was the largest in attendance. It is significant that only five days earlier the reformists (CP, SWP and hangers-on) had attracted several thousand people to Madison Square Garden to hear Mrs. Allende; but to stop the executions they mobilized only two dozen supporters. On August 5 the death sentences were commuted to 38-year prison terms.

VV PHOTO

government, organized a mass demonstration of nearly 100,000 in Patna marching under such slogans as "American Agent Jayaprakash Get Out of Patna!" and "Don't Disturb Democracy!"

The counter-demonstration of the Student Action Committee, led personally by Jayaprakash Narayan two days later, however, drew about one million and carried petitions for the dissolution of the assembly bearing two million signatures. The Stalinists were concerned only in demonstrating to the Congress that the CPI could indeed provide the extra force for the maintenance of Congress rule: "...had the CPI not valiantly fought the forces under Jayaprakash Narayan, the Congress would have surrendered long ago" (*Link*, 16 June).

As demoralization hung over Gujarat, the Bihari students continued to mount populist campaigns, and similar protest movements soon spread to other states. But the announcement in April of a nationwide strike by trade unions representing the two million workers of India's enormous state-owned railways came as a far more threatening challenge to the continued rule of the Congress government. Such working-class action would completely paralyze the failing economy, and thus constitute a political confrontation directly posing the question of state power.

TO BE CONTINUED

INDIA IN CRISIS

The Meaning of Recent Social Convulsions
An Eyewitness Account

Speaker: Charles O'Brien
RCY National Committee
Spartacist League

The New Stage of Capitalist Crisis • The Explosive Anti-Government Mass Upsurges in the States of Gujarat and Bihar • The Challenge of the Rail Strike and the All-India General Strike • The Isolation of the Gandhi Regime; the Growth of the Rightist Opposition • The Betrayals of the Stalinists and Social Democrats; the Role of Ostensible Trotskyists • The Road to the Indian Proletarian Revolution

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Slump/Inflation: No End in Sight

Italy's famous art museums are being closed and Italian families are now supposed to consume 10 percent less meat on orders from the international bankers. Rumors of a military coup needed to impose "austerity" flourish; so does talk of bringing the CP into the government to help sell the needed "sacrifices" to the working masses. In short, Italy has entered a period of sharp economic and political crisis in which bourgeois democracy and the capitalist order are called into question. It is generally recognized that the current situation has not been caused by the internal particularities of Italian society. Rather, Italian "austerity" and its threat to bourgeois democracy are the most acute manifestation of the world slump in the face of unprecedented global inflation.

Riding the Inflation Tiger

Following a period of stagnation among the advanced capitalist countries, beginning in 1971 there occurred an exceptionally uniform and sharp worldwide boom. The unanticipated world demand quickly ran up against a bottleneck in primary product supply, with world food output actually declining in 1972. This is at bottom a reflection of the anarchy of capitalist production. Induced by physical shortages, the supply bottlenecks of primary products became and have remained essentially speculative and cartel-manipulated.

This trend culminated in the action of the oil cartel in quadrupling prices of crude petroleum last fall. The oil cartel is an alliance between the propertied classes in the Near East and a section of U.S. capital. (The repatriated profits of the oil majors, about \$2 billion, were the largest positively increasing item in the U.S. balance of payments during early 1974.) The dollar value of world oil imports has gone from \$20 billion in 1972 to a projected \$100 billion this year (*Foreign Affairs*, July 1974).

The fourfold increase in oil prices has had both a major inflationary impact and a contractionary effect on production, while playing havoc with the international financial system and radically altering the balance of economic power among the major capitalist countries. For the first time since 1958 there is a general worldwide slump, but this time with a major aggravating

factor—an unprecedented massive inflation throughout the capitalist world. National income in the major capitalist countries fell at an annual rate of 1.5 percent in the first half of 1974, with inflation running at 15 percent a year (OECD, *Economic Outlook*, July 1974).

The slump has predictably generated a dog-eat-dog trade war with virtually all countries trying to cut imports and expand exports through dumping. As the London *Economist* observed, recent relatively optimistic forecasts by various governments are based on the assumption that each country will increase its share of world trade—an obvious mathematical impossibility. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) arrives at the prediction that Japan, Britain and Italy can right their economies by assuming that West Germany and the U.S. would permit themselves a \$9 billion balance of payments deficit this year. Perhaps Santa Claus will help too.

Only quite recently have the ministers in the major deficit countries realized how truly grim their export prospects are, given the world conjuncture. Adopting the traditional "stiff upper lip," Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Denis Healey reportedly observed:

"There is concern in some Community countries that the pace of expansion in the U.S. isn't adequate to support the demand that is going to be necessary to world trade in the next year."
—*Wall Street Journal*, 16 July

Throughout the capitalist world, credit is now so overextended that even a modest contraction of production will cause widespread bankruptcies. In May it was announced that the Franklin National Bank, the twentieth largest in the U.S., was in deep trouble and had to be saved by over \$1 billion in Federal Reserve loans. Then in early June, Japan suffered its biggest bankruptcy in decades when Nihon Netsugoka, an appliance manufacturer, couldn't meet more than \$250 million in debts. The biggest shock thus far came later that month when Bankhaus I.D. Herstatt of Cologne, one of the largest private banks in Germany, fell with a rumored \$400 million in debt. International currency transactions were reduced to a bare minimum for days as ripples of the Herstatt collapse spread throughout the



DAILY WORLD, JAPAN PRESS SERVICE



JULIGER

Top: Japanese postal workers demonstrate last year. Bottom: Turkish workers strike at Cologne Ford plant, September 1973.

world: much of the loss was sustained by other banks, which were unable to collect on uncompleted international transactions.

Bankruptcies mean more than a quantitative contraction of output; they involve a fundamental disorganization of capitalist production and large unpredictable transfers of real assets within the capitalist class. For the bourgeoisie, a wave of bankruptcies is a far greater horror than either a sharp contraction of production or escalating inflation.

The relation of the capitalists to inflation has become that of the proverbial man riding a tiger. They are afraid to stay on and afraid to get off. Numerous pious statements to the contrary, all capitalist governments are continuing to expand money and credit in order to stave off bankruptcies. Interest rates, although high by absolute historical standards, are low relative to the current rates of inflation and continue to induce borrowing for speculative purposes.

With the partial exception of West Germany, the present policy of all the capitalist governments is to transform a classic crisis with massive bankruptcies into an orderly contraction of production centering on consumer goods and social services. This means a major redistribution of value from consumables to money capital through some form of austerity program—i.e., raising taxes, cutting social services and imposing state wage control. The

most austere of these "austerity" programs is now being imposed in Italy.

Italy: The Big Loser

With the greatest dependence on Near Eastern oil and the highest inflation rate in West Europe, it was predictable that the Italian economy would be in big trouble as a result of the oil price explosion. Furthermore, during the past few years Italy has had massive balance of payments deficits, in part because its wealthier citizens had taken to importing mink coats and antique jade as inflation hedges. As a result it is now the world's largest debtor, owing foreign banks some \$10.5 billion.

Italy's new austerity program was literally dictated by the finance ministers of its creditors, notably West Germany's Hans Apel. The program calls for \$4.6 billion in new sales taxes designed to cut consumption by 5 percent. At the same time, the Christian Democratic/Socialist coalition government is empowered to lend businesses and state agencies up to \$39 billion (*Wall Street Journal*, 8 July).

The Italian Communist Party has used the economic crisis to push its "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats, arguing that it would only be fitting for the dominant working-class party to take responsibility for slashing the workers' living standards. Rebuffed once again by the Christian Democrats, the CP and its trade-union federation accepted the need for "austerity" in principle, while criticizing the Christian Democratic/Socialist program as inequitable. Shortly after the "austerity" program was voted in parliament the trade unions, dominated by the CP, called some regional four-hour strikes to appease their ranks. However their real policy is acquiescence.

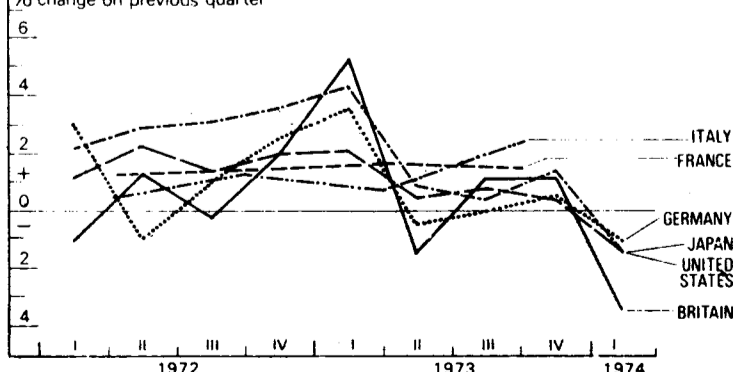
The Christian Democratic/Socialist coalition is trying to sell the "austerity" program as the only alternative to total economic collapse. As Premier Mariano Rumor put it:

"We know full well that we have asked heavy sacrifices of the Italians, but we must immediately tackle two great problems—to correct the balance of payments deficits and resolutely combat inflation and to guarantee the credit that is the oxygen for insuring produc-

All fall down

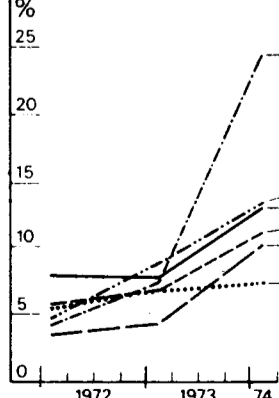
Gross national product

% change on previous quarter

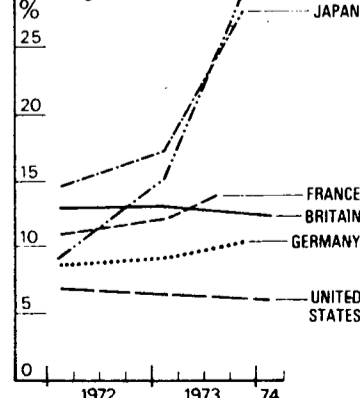


Cycling up % change on previous year

Consumer prices



Wage rates



ECONOMIST



Ohio public employees on strike in July.



Italian unions protest inflation, tax increases.

tion renewal, employment level and the policies of development and reforms."

—*Wall Street Journal*, 8 July

In effect, the Rumor/Saragat regime is proposing to workers the following deal: accept lower incomes via increased taxes and the government promises to sustain industrial employment through effective use of state credit. Even if the CP maneuvers the workers into accepting their side of the bargain, the Rumor/Saragat government cannot stave off widespread plant closures and bankruptcies. Any attempt to underwrite profit losses through credit expansion would further fuel the inflation, thus increasing the balance of payments deficit and bringing the international financial wolves down on Italy again.

The *Wall Street Journal* (19 July), in an editorial critical of Italy's economic policy, correctly asserted that higher sales taxes are not an effective substitute for a hard credit squeeze. By fall, Italy will be in a severe industrial slump with ever-mounting unemployment. The fragile agreement between international finance capital, the Italian coalition regime and the trade unions will be ripped apart.

West Germany: The Perils of the Strong

West Germany currently has the largest foreign exchange reserves in the world, some \$34 billion; the U.S. is next highest at \$15 billion (*Economist*, 22 June). West Germany is also the only major capitalist country with a rate of inflation below 10 percent. To be more concrete, West Germany has the largest foreign exchange reserves precisely because it has the lowest rate of inflation.

West Germany's booming trade surpluses are the direct result of a successful deflation policy undertaken last year. This cut economic growth from 9 percent (on an annual basis) in the first half of 1973 to zero in the second half (OECD, *Economic Outlook*, July 1974). The Schmidt/Genscher (Social Democrat/Free Democrat) regime in Bonn is now engaged in a campaign of self-praise lauding West Germany as a model of economic virtue and the Protestant ethic to be universally emulated. To quote Chancellor Schmidt:

"Germany's policy of economic stability is a mixture of initiatives in four areas: foreign currency, credit, taxation and budgetary measures in the classic sense of the phrase. This of course led to a fall off in domestic demand and small price increases in the home market... It is also clear that countries which did not restrict demand were indirectly pushing their economies into buying in Germany where prices were relatively lower."

—*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 22 June

What Schmidt does not say is that his capacity to opt for increased unemployment in order to deflate comes from the fact that a large fraction of those thrown out of work is not German. Unemployment is concentrated among

West Germany's 2.5 million foreign workers, who are simply shipped back home. Since last fall, the foreign workforce in Germany has decreased by 150,000, equal to about 30 percent of the official unemployment totals. These also contain a large fraction of foreign workers (*Economist*, 8 June). In good part, the political and economic problems of rising unemployment in Germany have been quite literally transferred to Turkey, Yugoslavia and Italy. That is the reason why stagnation-level unemployment is relatively painless for the German bourgeoisie.

Riding high on its trade surplus, the Schmidt/Genscher/Apel regime has been the prime proponent for global austerity, deflation and unemployment. However, there are limits to the degree that West Germany can drive its major trading partners into "austerity" and/or bankruptcy. Indeed, there are real limits to West Germany's ability to collect on its loans. (West Germany does not now possess the "extra-financial" mechanisms which U.S. imperialism periodically employs to collect its past-due loans in regions such as Latin America, for example.) Schmidt's Swiss banker policies run the risk of driving his trading partners into a frenzy of anti-German economic nationalism.

Schmidt's hard line on Italy and even harder line on Britain are already leading to the breakup of the Common Market, which has been a privileged German trade area. Actually, after cooperating with the Arab oil boycott against Holland and accepting Italy's reimposition of tariff barriers this spring, the Common Market has become pretty much of an empty shell.

At the time of Britain's entry we published an analysis of the Common Market ("Labor and the Common Market," *WV* No. 15, January 1973). In that article we polemicized against Ernest Mandel, theoretician/leader of the revisionist "Trotskyist" United Secretariat, for his somewhat agnostic neo-Kautskyan notion that the Common Market could evolve into a unified European capitalist government. We asserted that, on the contrary, a serious economic downturn would break the Common Market apart:

"Such mergers will crumble along with the rest of Mandel's pipedream (he expected the common European currency to continue) at the first general downturn as all the European capitalists scurry back to their nation-states in self-protection from each other."

The current break-up of the Common Market is simply a concrete manifestation of the Marxist precept that a global economic contraction intensifies inter-imperialist conflict.

Japan: The Oil Shokku and the Seiran-Kei

Hardest hit of all by the oil crisis is Japan. Economic growth plummeted from 13 percent (on an annual basis) in the first half of 1973 to 3 percent in the second half to -7 percent in the first

half of 1974. However, unlike West Europe, Japan has not yet confronted the labor movement with a deflationary/austerity program. The monopolies met the annual spring wage offensive with a 25 percent increase, roughly keeping pace with the inflation.

Japanese capitalism is desperately trying to get out of trouble by the time-tested method of an export drive. By a credit crunch to lower domestic trade, the government has forced manufacturers to dump on the world market in order to sustain some kind of cash flow. Thus far the tactic has been successful, with Japanese exports rising 11 percent in the first half of 1974 compared with a mere 3 percent in the second half of last year (OECD, *Economic Outlook*, July 1974). However, Japan's so-far successful export drive will not go unnoticed nor unpunished. The U.S. and West Europe will not tolerate being swamped with cheap Japanese manufactures. Japan cannot export its way out of trouble this time.

During the past three years, Japanese capitalism has suffered major blows at the hands of U.S. imperialism, not least being the collusion of the oil majors, State Department and Persian Gulf sheikdoms. To date Japan's only response has been to increase its export competitiveness even more. But in the long run, for the Japanese ruling class the attempt to counter American global political-military power solely with ever-lower export prices is unbearable. It will not be borne much longer.

Recently the militarist-revanchist section of the Japanese ruling class has emerged from the underground to become an open faction in the governing Liberal Democratic Party. In July 1973 some 32 right-wing parliamentarians, displaying a flare for melodrama, signed in blood the "Seiran-Kei Manifesto," which contained among four other demands:

"Revise the materialistic trend and normalize education in order to enhance national moral principles...
"Challenge the priorities of national defense and security on the principle that self-preparedness alone is the way to peace..."

—*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 13 May 1974

Behind the ultra-right and seemingly bizarre Seiran-Kei stands the powerful and respectable faction of Takeo Fukuda, who recently resigned as finance minister in order to attempt to oust and replace Tanaka as premier. The Japanese ruling class has a bitter historical memory of what global economic contraction and trade war mean for its country. The views of Takeo Fukuda, the next likely premier of Japan, on the state of the world are of great interest to revolutionary Marxists. He has been reported as saying:

"In a way the world economic situation today resembles that which prevailed before World War II. While strenuous efforts were being exerted by countries after World War I to avoid a further major conflict, the world economy,

especially after the Hoover moratorium, deteriorated into chaos. Efforts for global cooperation failed to bear fruit, egocentrism was rampant and the world economy moved relentlessly toward regionalization and the formation of economic blocs. This was, in broad sweep, the situation that prevailed before World War II, and in which I find a resemblance in the world economic situation today."

—*Ibid.*

United States: The Stumbling Giant

Whether the present world economic contraction turns into a full-blown depression depends above all on the U.S. And the American economy gives every sign of dragging the world into a depression.

The U.S. seemed headed for a typical cyclical contraction in the spring of 1974. The oil crisis caused an earlier uneven contraction, with certain sectors (auto, housing construction) falling to depression levels while others (e.g., steel, coal) operated at flat-out capacity. The factors presently keeping a floor under output—overcoming bottlenecks, rebuilding depleted inventory levels and completing investment projects already underway—should exhaust themselves by early 1975, thereby leading to a further sharp contraction. A recent survey by the authoritative Conference Board indicated that investment appropriations have already fallen slightly in money terms (for the first time in nearly three years), which means an enormous drop in real investment commitments (*Wall Street Journal*, 30 May). Thus by early 1975 investment should plummet.

Despite Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns' Jeremiah-like pronouncements about inflation, the Fed is continuing to expand credit to stave off bankruptcies. The \$1.2 billion lent to the Franklin National speaks a lot louder than any amount of talk about deflating. A July 10 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* shoots down the notion that money is tight, observing that bank deposits are increasing at a rate of 8 percent annually. Insofar as it has a choice, the U.S. ruling class is still opting for 10-plus percent inflation as opposed to running the dangers of a real credit squeeze.

One major reason for ruling-class complacency about inflation is that the union bureaucracy had done its job so well in suppressing the ranks that real wages have fallen 5 percent since last summer. However, the bureaucracy's class peace broke down this March, producing a strike wave of major proportions. So government circles are now talking about "the wage offensive" and "cost-push inflation," laying the basis for the reimposition of state wage controls.

The Nixon/Ford administration only a few months ago disbanded the control system despite some half-hearted opposition from Senate liberals. However, it soon reversed itself and is now asking Congress to revive the "Cost of Living Task Force" to apply pressure against large wage settlements. If such pressure doesn't work—and it won't—the government will move toward re-establishing the control system, probably beginning with a total wage freeze. When that happens, the struggle within the labor movement to prevent the Meany-Woodcock bureaucracy from reimposing the 1971-1973 anti-labor class peace will decisively shape the economic and political life of the country.

Labor and the World Conjunction

The capitalist world economic conjunction is the worst since the late 1940's. Output will continue to fall, while the rate of inflation cannot drop significantly and may well even rise. It is impossible to predict the precise mix of unemployment and inflation in the major capitalist countries since this depends upon the outcome of future

continued on page 8

NMU-SIU Tops Prepare Sellout Merger

The leadership of the National Maritime Union is currently mounting a drive to ram through a bureaucratic merger with the Seafarers International Union on terms which pose a threat to the remaining democratic rights and hard-won union gains of NMU seamen. While Shannon Wall (Joe Curran's handpicked successor as head of the union) bargains behind closed doors with the SIU's Paul Hall, resolutions are being pushed through NMU port meetings around the country endorsing the leadership's handling of merger negotiations—about which the ranks know nothing.

However, the class-collaborationist basis for the drift toward maritime "unity" in recent months has been clear from the beginning. In 1972 maritime leaders were so concerned about the fate of "several companies which were fighting to stay alive" that they issued a joint statement of their determination not to strike, no matter what, since "many of them [the companies] would go under from the mere threat of a strike," according to Curran (1972 NMU "President's Report"). This is the "unity" of surrender, not of struggle. The "Principles" on which the NMU-SIU merger are to be based include an

affirmation that the interests of seamen and shipping companies are the same!

In addition to likely losses on economic issues (wages, pension requirements, vacations), the biggest questions facing NMU seamen in the proposed merger deal with racism and democracy. While the NMU has many black and Puerto Rican members in all departments, the SIU only began to integrate its crews and membership after civil rights laws were passed. As far as internal democracy goes, the NMU's record is not good: red purges in the 1940's, ouster of dissident local officials, clubbing down oppositionists in the streets. However, the Hall machine in the SIU, which more closely resembles the Mafia than a union, prefers wholesale bureaucratic measures including expelling an entire port.

In the NMU it has been left to the Militant-Solidarity Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in the union, to point out the dangers of the course the union has been on under Curran and Wall. While the latter worry about how to keep the shipping companies from "going under," the M-SC raises the call for expropriation of the shipping lines under seamen's control. In



From left: Gleason (ILA), Curran (NMU), Meany and Hall (SIU).

contrast to the bureaucrats' flag-waving and support for protectionist legislation, the M-SC calls for international organizing and the creation of an international maritime union.

The NMU and SIU have "competed" with each other for the favor of the companies by steadily lowering manning scales; the Militant-Solidarity Caucus demands instead the establishment of a four-watch system with no loss in pay (an old NMU demand which would amount to "30-for-40") to create more jobs. And on the merger question, an M-SC resolution (*Beacon* supplement, 29 July) calls for trade-union unity while correctly pointing out that the NMU-SIU merger, on its present basis, must be opposed.

The resolution, which according to an M-SC spokesman has been raised

at some port meetings in contraposition to the Wall-Hall "Principles," calls for minimum conditions for a merger, including no loss of economic benefits or democratic rights for any group or section of the unions; open negotiations with participation by an elected rank-and-file committee; a democratic vote on the terms of merger after full publicity; and that it be based on principles of trade-union struggle rather than a bogus "partnership" between labor and capital. "Unity at any price" can mean defeat as surely as can division and disunity. A real unity of maritime labor (one international maritime union including seamen, longshoremen, tugboat and canal workers) must be a step toward the greater unity of the workers against the common class enemy. ■

Continued from page 7

...Slump/Inflation

class battles and international conflict. It is clear that a deep economic crisis coming in a period of generally rising class struggle, particularly in Europe, can lead to revolutionary situations. The Transitional Program of the Fourth International, written in 1938, is a strategic document which is valid for the epoch of imperialism, i.e., of capitalist decline. Many of its particular demands, formulated in an earlier period of sharp economic downturn, are of special relevance today. The following demands, arising out of the concrete conjuncture in the various major capitalist countries, must be raised by the labor movement if the workers are not to suffer a sharp reduction of their living standards:

● **EXPROPRIATE THE OIL MONOPOLIES UNDER WORKERS CONTROL—NO COMPENSATION!** The collusion of the oil majors with the Arab and Iranian ruling classes to quadruple petroleum prices within one year is one of the most purely destructive and gross exploitations of monopoly power in the history of capitalism. Swelling with profits during a world slump, the oil companies are universally hated. Politically they have become the weakest link of U.S. monopoly capitalism.

Millions of American working people who do not generally support the socialization of industry remember the maddening forms of gas rationing last winter and would like to destroy Exxon, Texaco, Mobil, etc. The complicity of the government in the "energy crisis" hoax, ordering a doubling of prices for domestically produced crude oil ("in order to attract investment"), is a convincing argument for workers control rather than administration by the bosses' state. Moreover, only the most die-hard advocates of capitalism would today argue for any compensation to these robber barons.

While this is a partial demand in response to a particular situation, com-



"In a way the world economic situation resembles that which prevailed before World War II."

—Japan's ex-Finance Minister Fukuda

munists would seek to develop agitation for the expropriation (without compensation) of the oil companies under workers control into the opening salvo of a general attack on capitalist private property. Of course, the nationalization of the oil companies would not in itself lead to a rational organization of energy production and use. The Labor Committee's campaign for nuclear fusion power is a typical Marcuse technocratic reformist scheme. Who is to develop and organize fusion power—governments of Nixon/Ford, d'Estaing and Tanaka? Socialist economic planning—i.e., production for use and not profit—begins only after the establishment of proletarian state power.

Nevertheless, the expropriation of the oil majors would lay the basis for the total socialization of production, not least as an attack on bourgeois

"We know full well that we have asked heavy sacrifices of the Italians...."

—Italy's Premier Rumor



ideology. No less important would be its internationalist value, cutting a few of the fingers from the stranglehold of American imperialism on the rest of the world.

● **FULL CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS FOR ALL FOREIGN WORKERS!** The systematic exploitation of foreign workers is increasingly undermining the trade-union organizations and democratic rights of the European proletariat. Key to West Germany's economic strength is the super-exploitation and systematic transfer of Mediterranean labor. The Schmidt/Genscher government can today demand that the rest of Europe deflate to correct balance of payment deficits because its own "reserve army of the unemployed" has no political rights: if they cause trouble the *Gastarbeiter* can simply be sent back to the poor Mediterranean lands. Thus a

Europe-wide campaign for full and immediate citizenship rights to all foreign workers is not only called for on the grounds of working-class internationalism and democratic principles, but is also strategically necessary in order to fight the Europe-wide "austerity"/unemployment programs of the bourgeoisie.

● **OCCUPATION OF CLOSED-DOWN PLANTS—NATIONALIZE THEM UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!** In the next several months literally millions of Italian and British workers will be laid off indefinitely as entire industries are shut down. It is essential that the labor movement does not "wait out" the slump, while pressuring the government to stimulate the economy with impotent Keynesian measures. The workers must take over closed-down plants and demand that they be expropriated.

The British Labour government is formally committed to widespread nationalizations and an anti-deflationary fiscal policy. The Italian Christian Democratic/Socialist coalition has promised to minimize industrial layoffs, providing the unions will accept increased taxes. Thus the political conditions in Britain and Italy are such that a wave of plant seizures organized by the unions would not simply be crushed by the armed forces of the state. This is not, therefore, an adventurist tactic. Furthermore, a wave of plant seizures demanding nationalization would polarize the reformist parties, a crucial element for the construction of a mass revolutionary vanguard party.

Placing newly nationalized firms in the hands of the state bureaucracy in no way guarantees a full employment policy. The extensive nationalized industries in Britain and Italy are run according to capitalist profitability principles. To reverse this practice requires the organization of workers control as a counterforce to the state bureaucracy. Only nationalization under workers control can limit and partly reverse the massive unemployment which is soon to ravage the international working class. ■

Left Flounders Over Watergate

AUGUST 11—More than a year ago we pointed out what everyone knew all along but leading bourgeois politicians and news media claim to have discovered only in the last few weeks, namely that the president was indeed behind it all:

"Obviously Nixon is directly responsible for the whole Watergate affair and the subsequent cover-up attempts."
—WV No. 22, 8 June 1973

In the eyes of the capitalist class, we noted, Nixon's crime was using tactics against his bourgeois political opponents which were regularly reserved for (and used with impunity against) communists, blacks and unionists. However, for the working class the crimes of the current capitalist regime go far beyond Watergate.

Communists are the most consistent defenders of democratic rights. We oppose the lynching of blacks, copterror, anti-union legislation—and we opposed the continuation in office of a crook and mass murderer like Nixon. While revolutionary socialists would certainly have voted for impeachment in Congress, if the bourgeoisie had attempted to remove this criminal from the presidency according to "constitutional" procedures, impeachment represents neither a class answer to the crimes of the bourgeois regime, nor even a particularly democratic one. For Nixon's crimes against Indo-Chinese peasants, Chilean leftists and union militants, and working people throughout the world, IMPEACHMENT IS NOT ENOUGH!

We wrote last year that "For socialists to call today for impeachment of Nixon can only mean a desire to have another bourgeois ruler whether Agnew or a liberal Democrat" (WV No. 22, 8 June 1973). As it turned out, impeachment would have meant, as resignation did mean, putting Gerald Ford in the White House—an arch-conservative, racist, anti-labor Republican whom no one voted into the office of vice president (Nixon appointed him)! Neither impeachment nor resignation raised the necessity for independent working-class political action; in fact, after a brief interlude with Ford, they could only have led straight into the open arms of the Democratic Party.

Following the "Saturday Night Massacre," when important bourgeois forces first began to consider impeachment, the Spartacist League wrote:

"Socialists should support a congressional move to impeach Nixon. But impeachment is not enough!... Consequently it is necessary for the working class to reply with a political general strike of the organized labor movement to force new elections, so that labor can present its own candidate against the twin parties of capital."

—"What Labor Should Do About Watergate," WV No. 34, 7 December 1973

In contrast to this Leninist position, supporting "democratic" demands for the removal from office of a paranoid criminal while tying this to the need for independent working-class political action, various ostensibly socialist groups in the U.S. were all over the map on Watergate. Some, like Progressive Labor, expressed utter disinterest in the whole affair. But for the most part the dominant theme was vacillation and confusion. Doubtless the various fake lefts would now like to forget their class-collaborationist policies, muddleheaded vacillations and know-nothing abstentionism. But before they call on Ford to resign or take out a quick court suit, it would be useful to check the record on the impeachment issue.

Workers League Asks "Dictator" to Resign

After Nixon fired Archibald Cox, the Twice-a-Week Adventists of the Workers League once again trumpeted the coming of Armageddon in blaring headlines: "We Will Not Accept Dictatorship," announced the *Bulletin* (23 October 1973). A WL Political Committee

Statement raved on: "By defying the courts and disbanding the Watergate investigation Richard Nixon has moved to establish a one-man dictatorship in the United States." This "military coup" was accomplished by "having in practice abolished the three branches of government."

And how did these supposed Trotskyists respond to this unprecedented catastrophe? "Resign," they meekly requested. They dressed up this ultra-reformist demand with a ritual call for a labor party. And they dressed it down for the streets of Harlem, where they apparently believe that only "right-on" reformism is appropriate: "We want Steak! No more Beans! Nixon's Got To Split the Scene!" (*Bulletin*, 10 May 1974).

Imagine WL leader Tim Wohlforth's delight when his program became, last October, the program of George Meany and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Meany called on Nixon to resign partly in order to spare the capitalist class any further embarrassment, but mostly to deflect attention from his own previous support of Nixon and the Administration's wage-freezing policies, and of course to increase his own clout within the Democratic Party.

However, for the political bandits of the WL this was yet another golden opportunity to "critically" support the reactionary labor bureaucracy—thereby creating illusions about Meany/Woodcock. This is nothing new for Wohlforth. When Meany refused to support McGovern in the 1972 elections, because the latter was too "leftist," Wohlforth treated this as a step toward breaking with bourgeois politics ("AFL-CIO Tops Threaten Labor Party at Miami" read the front-page banner headline of the 17 July 1972 *Bulletin*!).

However, in the case of Watergate what started out as the policy of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy actually ended up being the policy of the *Wall Street Journal*, James Buckley, Barry Goldwater and finally all those bourgeois politicians who wanted to spare the nation the "destabilizing" consequences of impeachment! Nobody can accuse the Wohlforth League of not doing its part to make Jerry Ford president.

SWP Abstains on Impeachment—Brings Court Suit

The stable element in the Socialist Workers Party's shifting policy on impeachment was a desire to be "part of the movement." It was of course too much to expect a straightforward political statement on the SWP's position on impeachment from its "socialist *Newsweek*," the *Militant*.

Throughout 1973 the SWP wrote numerous articles on Watergate which "proved" in great detail that the Nixon gang was somewhat less than democratic. The *Militant* saw Watergate everywhere breaking illusions in bourgeois politicians. It implied that the impeachment movement was part of that undefined "radicalizing process" the ex-Trotskyist SWP sees everywhere "growing over" into socialist revolution:

"For when masses of people lose their illusions in the honesty of the government, it becomes harder for the capitalist minority to pretend its rule is in the interest of the majority."
—*Militant*, 4 May 1973

So since endless exposures of Watergate dirty tricks were apparently the way to organize for socialism, the SWP utterly failed to raise a program to link opposition to Nixon to independent working-class political action. Instead, the SWP launched its "socialist" court suit.

In an interview on Watergate earlier this year, SWP national chairman emeritus James P. Cannon was amused by the policy stated in *Workers Vanguard*:

"A. Do you know what they say on the headline? 'Impeachment is not enough!' (Laughs.)"

"Q. He has to be hanged by the thumbs, or something?"

—*Intercontinental Press*, 19 January

So, apparently impeachment was indeed enough for Cannon and the SWP.

But no! As the impeachment campaign gained momentum in mainstream bourgeois circles the April issue of *Young Socialist* (newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance, the SWP's youth group) suddenly discovered that "the impeachment movement is a diversion":

"Impeach Nixon some say...."

"But it's not very hard to see why these solutions fall woefully short of what is needed. Is Gerald Ford any better than Richard Nixon? Most people don't think so."

And if "most people don't think so," then neither does the SWP.

In the *Militant's* recent Watergate series, the SWP's consistent non-position on impeachment is as clear as a barrel of tar: "Impeachment in no way goes beyond the framework of bourgeois democratic forms decreed in the U.S. constitution." Well, what about it? Does the SWP support impeachment or not? And, above all, what is your alternative? Does the SWP Watersuit "go beyond the framework of bourgeois democratic forms"?

Stalinists Reinforce the Two-Party System

Stalinists, both of the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking varieties, took the impeachment issue as an opportunity to once again give implicit support to the Democratic Party. Labeling Nixon a fascist, they simply tailed behind popular sentiment for impeachment. The

Maoist Revolutionary Union's populist variation on the theme was to vaguely demand "throw the bum out." However, now that the bum has been thrown out, it turns out there is a new capitalist bum to take his place.

Particularly embarrassing for U.S. Stalinists is the fact that Nixon was a lot more popular with the bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking than with American workers. As a result, the Russian and Chinese workers were kept in ignorance of the Watergate issue almost until Nixon's last day in office. Moreover, the Kremlin bureaucracy characterized Nixon's attackers as "enemies of détente." This attitude by the CPSU placed the U.S. Communist Party in a rather difficult position. Wishing to tail the "progressive wing of the bourgeoisie" (which was out to remove Nixon) at home, at the same time they remained slavishly loyal to the Russian bureaucracy's diplomatic maneuvers (which aimed at protecting Nixon from anti-détente detractors). The hardpressed CPUSA resorted to a double line, often varying its Watergate position from one day to the next ("the people are demanding impeachment" today became "the impeachment movement is a conspiracy of anti-Soviet monopolists" tomorrow). Gus Hall's May Day speech, reported in the *Daily World* of 3 May, managed to reflect both lines simultaneously:

"The cold warriors are not against Watergate...Nixon must be impeached, but the people must be aware of the phony ultra-Right impeachers... They do not want to impeach Watergate. They want to impeach detente."

Like the WL and SWP, although more openly, the CP and RU fail to go beyond the limits of bourgeois liberalism to pose the need for proletarian revolution. ■

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...Nixon Flees

The limits to "executive privilege" suggested by the Nixon tapes ruling are not precisely specified and are by any standard quite "permissive." According to the Court decision: "Nowhere in the Constitution, as we have noted earlier, is there any explicit reference to a privilege of confidentiality, yet to the extent this interest relates to the effective discharge of a President's power, it is constitutionally based" (*New York Times*, 25 July). What was once "nowhere" is now, it seems, everywhere.

The wiretapping high jinks of Henry Kissinger indicate the extent to which the "Nixon affair" can be seen as the harbinger of a relaxation of Federal watchdogging. Kissinger's immediate threat to resign and his tearful hysterics over the "unjust" implications concerning his involvement in wire-tap surveillance were immediately placated by a dotting Senate which quickly passed a resolution stating Kissinger's "integrity and veracity were above reproach" (*New York Times*, 14 June).

Last week Kissinger was "cleared" of charges that he misrepresented his role in the wiretapping episode in hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Of course, the committee did note, in passing, certain "inconsistencies" between Dr. Kissinger's testimony and FBI reports. These "inconsistencies" turned out to be the fact that Kissinger had denied initiating any wiretaps, while an FBI memorandum unambiguously stated that the then national security advisor to the president had ordered a whole program of illegal surveillance directed at members of the National Security Council.

Labor, Nixon and the Democrats

The most immediate beneficiaries of the Watergate scandal/Nixon resignation are, of course, the Democratic Party and its loyal supporters, the American labor bureaucracy. All indications point to a Democratic Party sweep in congressional elections this

fall and in the 1976 presidential elections. Thus Meany and Woodcock may be near to realizing their dream of a "veto-proof Congress" with a "friend-of-labor" President. But this arrangement will not bring about the nirvana of class collaboration these venal traitors to the workers movement hope for.

The Democratic Party is above all a party of the American imperialist bourgeoisie, obligated to carry out the dictates of that class. U.S. imperialism, caught between the jaws of the vise of renewed inter-imperialist rivalry and facing a situation of international economic chaos, can only move to squeeze more and more blood out of the U.S. working class. There will be precious few sops to toss to the trade-union bureaucracy in the coming period. The stage is thus set for a sharp struggle to break the hold of the Meany and Woodcocks on the trade unions and to lay the basis for a workers party committed to a program of class independence, to a program of class struggle that will put an end to the capitalist system once and for all.

The resignation of Nixon and accession of Ford to the presidency are a defeat for the labor movement, which should have used the occasion of the Watergate crisis to force new presidential elections in which the trade unions fielded an independent labor candidate opposed to the twin parties of capitalist oppression.

The result of this defeat is that there is every chance that Nixon will go scot free, living off his fat pension and expense account bled from the labor of the working class. Impeachment is too good for Nixon. A far more just reward for his crimes would be extradition to North Vietnam to face a jury of his victims. However, it is a foregone conclusion that the U.S. capitalist class, which daily condemns hundreds of men and women to long terms in the most revolting prisons for literally nothing more than stealing a loaf of bread, will do no more than possibly slap Nixon's hand. A true accounting of the crimes of Nixon and his class against humanity does indeed await the tribunal of the workers revolution, which will sweep the entire capitalist order into the dustbin of history. ■

SWP, NOW Sabotage Houston Nurses' Struggle

HOUSTON—In recent months much has been made in the radical press of the newly founded Coalition of Labor Union Women. While opportunists of all stripes instantly volunteered to be the "best builders" of this budding "mass movement," the Spartacist League alone warned that CLUW was set up and controlled by the labor bureaucracy for its own purposes. In particular, we pointed out:

"Rigidly controlled at the top by International union officials hoping to develop a vehicle by which a few women trade unionists can maneuver up the ladder to personal success without threatening the trade-union bureaucracy, CLUW's main activity will be to funnel the restlessness of rank-and-file women workers into reformist, government-engineered dead ends.

"...In contrast to the SWP [Socialist Workers Party], Spartacist League supporters have attended regional CLUW meetings in order to counterpose a class-struggle program to the fake militancy and demagogic rhetoric which prevail at these conferences.... Covering for CLUW bureaucrats, as does the SWP, only propels the struggle backward."

—WV No. 40, 15 March 1974

The first part of this statement was amply borne out at the March 23-24 national conference of CLUW, where the union top brass successfully maneuvered to prevent the meeting from defending the United Farm Workers against the Teamsters' scab operations in California. The second part, concerning the treacherous role of the bureaucracy's leftist cheerleaders, is now being confirmed in the most disgusting manner.

An excellent example of how tailism leads to betrayal is the SWP's despicable covering for AFSCME bureaucrats in Houston. The latter have effectively sabotaged a struggle against victimization and for better working conditions and patient care by nurses at the Jefferson Davis Hospital.

Female Bureaucrats Undercut Struggle

Like most public hospitals serving working-class and poor neighborhoods, Jefferson Davis is overcrowded, understaffed and poorly equipped. Up to 75 babies a month are born outside the delivery room in unsterile conditions. In addition, the pay is substandard, even for Southern conditions, and barely 52 percent of the eligible workers are unionized (in Local 1550 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees).

When 44 hospital employees organized a "sick-out" in May to protest the abysmal conditions at Jeff Davis, the AFSCME bureaucracy did nothing to aid them. After the protest collapsed, the organizers (nine registered nurses) were fired for "unprofessional conduct." None of the RNs at the hospital are members of the union because management had led them to believe that they were ineligible for membership.

Now, more than two months since the firings, nothing has happened except that a "blue ribbon committee" has been appointed by the hospital administration to "look into" the situation. However, when the fired nurses went to the Houston organizing committee of CLUW to obtain support for their fight, they were met by vicious attacks by AFSCME staffers Liz Kimmel and Wilma Oliver.

At the June 25 CLUW meeting, following the nurses' presentation Kimmel attacked them for their "audacity" in taking an "illegal" action and for not going "through channels," while commenting that nurses traditionally think they are "too good" for a union. The nurses angrily responded that they had sent a letter to the union (as well as to the hospital administration) and that



Nurses at Jefferson Davis Hospital.

AFSCME had never done anything to organize the RNs.

CLUW/SWP Back Bureaucrats

At this point a militant oppositionist in the United Auto Workers proposed that an organizing drive be launched among the hospital workers, the only effective defense of the fired nurses, and that CLUW take a firm position of support to the nurses' struggle. Although the nurses responded favorably to the proposal, the CLUW leadership immediately rushed to the aid of the AFSCME bureaucrats. Debby Leonard, a member of CLUW's national steering committee and former SWP candidate for governor of Texas, was chairing the meeting and did her best to cut off discussion and move on to the "real business" of the meeting. This turned out to be setting up publicity committees and deciding on the date for the next meeting.

Leonard's main argument for inaction was that since Houston CLUW was not yet officially chartered it could not take positions on anything. However, by the next CLUW meeting on July 16 her position was reversed (since "everyone is asking where we stand") and she came in with a written statement. However, she refused to let the meeting as a whole consider the statement, because it would "cause too much discussion." Instead the issue was shunted off to a subcommittee where she and the ever-vigilant Kimmel would come up with a version "satisfactory to all."

At the subcommittee meeting three days later Kimmel first tried to prevent the UAW militant from attending, then insisted on deleting the demand for rehiring the nurses. Her substitute was calling for "a clear and honest investigation... which we feel must vindicate the nurses and lead to their rehiring." Leonard at first sought to retain the demand for rehiring (after all, she introduced the motion), even appealing to Kimmel's self-interest by offering to swear (on a Bible!) that at least some of the fired nurses would join the union if they were reinstated. But Kimmel refused to budge, so Leonard finally gave in. Her last stab at a justification of this capitulation was that "if the investigation doesn't vindicate the nurses, then we'll know it wasn't a clear and honest investigation, and we'll demand another investigation!"

SWP Capitulates to Red-Baiting and Exclusionism

Parallel to CLUW, a separate Coalition to Defend the Nurses had been largely dominated by the SWP. How-

ever, the SWP's current gubernatorial candidate, Sherry Smith, managed to create such hostility by her organizational maneuvering as chairman that the nurses, at the instigation of NOW (National Organization of Women), finally deposed her. However, prior to her demise Smith managed to capitulate to the mounting anti-communism by solidarizing with an attempt by Judy Sterling, one of the nurses' leaders, to ban the sale of radical papers at coalition events.

The insistence by a Spartacist League supporter that such a ban was the same kind of tactics used by management against labor and by the trade-union bureaucracy against oppositionists precipitated a battle which won over most of those present. Thereupon Smith, true to form, switched gears and declared it would be a "terrible mistake" to ban paper sales.

Smith's ouster was only the beginning of the SWP's fall from grace, however. On July 22, Sterling (who announced her intention to join NOW) moved to expel the SWP and other socialist and communist groups, on the grounds that the same groups the SWP had urged them to court (NOW, Urban League, black churches, lawyers, press, etc.) were now telling the nurses to get rid of the reds.

SL supporters argued strongly against this anti-communist exclusion, and walked out in solidarity with the

SWP when the latter was expelled. However, the SWPers have since crawled back into the Coalition "as individuals." According to Nancy Roberts, another of the nurses' leaders, the basis of the SWPers' re-entry was agreement to identify themselves only as members of the coalition; no sales of radical press at any coalition events; no money to be collected except under the nurses' control; no statements in the name of the coalition without the nurses' approval; and, finally, if the nurses decide that anyone is participating in the coalition to further his own aims, he will be "ejected"!

Perhaps the most agonized of all those involved in this amazing spectacle of capitulation and sellouts has been the ill-fated Internationalist Tendency, which was expelled from the SWP last month (see "SWP Stages Mass Purge," WV No. 49, 19 July). Forced to maintain the fiction of "loyalty" to their alma mater, even though everyone knows that they have been bounced, ITers have had to follow every twist and turn in Leonard's and Smith's paths of betrayal, siding with SWP supporters in CLUW and the Coalition and failing to raise a class-struggle fight for the hospital workers.

To the IT comrades we say: this is not the last such betrayal your masters in the "United Secretariat" will force upon you—the bitter lessons of this fiasco must not be lost! And to those "leftists" who are currently acting as the "best builders" of CLUW, we warn you: the sellout of the Houston nurses in order to retain the support of the AFSCME bureaucracy, like the "compromise" on the UFW-Teamster dispute at the Chicago CLUW conference, is only one of your many future betrayals if you do not break with reformism and pose a class-struggle alternative to this bureaucratic swamp! ■



SWPer Sherry Smith

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- DETROIT**
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- HOUSTON**
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Mazey Uncovers "Red Menace" in UAW

DETROIT, July 30—The Auto Workers Ford National Council meeting that ended today went along normally for the most part. The usual UAW officials attended. They narrowly passed a bureaucratic proposal to deprive giant Local 600 (River Rouge)—where so much trouble was had over the last contract—of its proportional weight in the Negotiating Committee. They voted down a motion that would have required Sub-Councils to meet near their locals. Woodcock defended Israel. And David Mundy, the Local 600 official who last November shot a worker in a dispute over the contract, said that members of his unit voted down the contract because they hadn't suffered enough (!) and were misled, but that everything had now been set straight.

But then the local officials were given a special treat: a run-down on the "assorted New Left groups that are trying to find a home in our union," delivered by Reuther's old "house socialist," International Executive Board member Emil Mazey. He was asked to do this because of work stoppages ostensibly led by these groups and the need to keep the officials informed.

After stating that he still considered himself to be "philosophically" (!) a socialist, Mazey's entire speech was devoted to "informing," all right. More specifically, his job was to finger the socialists of today to bureaucrats (like the deranged Mundy!) who will use every conceivable underhanded maneuver to red-bait, frame-up and run these militant unionists out of the plants. For example, in this spring's local UAW elections, union officials of the Ford local at Mahwah, New Jersey, were caught handing out red-baiting smear leaflets that had been typed on a company typewriter (see *WV* No. 43, 26 April!).

Mazey pointed out that politics is

nothing new in the UAW: why, every shade of left political grouping had been there in the early days, including the Communist Party, Socialist Party and "Trotskyites." However, he neglected to mention that the grip of the old-line AFL craft-union bureaucrats had been broken largely because of the leadership of these groups in *creating* the UAW, organized on industrial lines, and *building* it through militant strike tactics. The key Flint sitdown strike of 1937, for instance, was led by supporters and members of the CP and SP.

According to Mazey, new groups like Workers Action Movement and Progressive Labor came to the officialdom's attention only after the Mack Avenue wildcat strike last August. The Mack Avenue shutdown was smashed by an early-morning mobilization of one thousand UAW officials (led by Mazey, Olga Madar and other International Executive Board members) who cooperated with police and ushered workers into the plant through picket lines. The "philosophical socialist" Mazey defended this notorious strikebreaking goon squad on the grounds that the workers had a right to go to work and the strike was "illegal!"

What about the sit-down strikes that built the UAW, Brother Mazey? Were they "legal"? What about "the right to go to work" (read scab) which the companies insisted on then?

Blaming Mack Avenue on WAM/PL, whom he called "a band of lunatics," Mazey indicated that he had no interest in getting the jobs back of the many workers who are still fired as a result of the strike!

A clearer admission of that would be appreciated, Brother Mazey! Just how do you pick whose job to defend and whose not to? Does company "ad-



Emil Mazey

DETROIT FREE PRESS

vice" have anything to do with it? Or is it FBI reports that you rely on?

Mazey passed on to the recent Dodge Truck strike in Warren, Michigan, which he blamed on the Revolutionary Union. In this he aped the red-baiting Detroit press, which had run an "exposure" of the Maoist background of one of the strike leaders.

For the most part, however, he had only friendly criticism and warm words for the Communist Party, which "critically" supported the last contract and backed Woodcock for re-election at the UAW convention in June. The CP's Detroit correspondent, "Billy" Allen, was a "loveable guy," he said. (Not surprisingly, "loveable" Billy Allen had supported Mazey's goon squad last summer!) However, Mazey handed

some ammunition to Local 600 bureaucrats who might want to bait the CP's shop paper, *Ford Worker*, by saying that it was written by Allen, who is, of course, an "outsider."

"Then there's this group, the Spartacist League," said Mazey. Seeing no need to discuss the Socialist Workers Party, International Socialists, or Workers League, Mazey did feel compelled to enlighten the assembled bureaucrats about the authentic Trotskyists of today, adding that he regularly reads *Workers Vanguard* "because almost every issue carries something on the UAW." In order to explain the SL, Mazey went back to the Russian Revolution and Trotsky's opposition to Stalin's anti-internationalist "theory" of building "socialism in one country."

After attempting to bewilder the delegates with erudite name-dropping of various splits from Trotskyism (Oehlerites, Johnsonites, Stammmites, etc.), most of which have ceased to exist, he got to the point: the SL was "roughed up" by "some of our people" for distributing literature outside a plant in Cleveland, and it then picketed Solidarity House "chanting slogans against the UAW." Since the slogans were "against" the UAW, the SL is presumably not a legitimate part of the labor movement.

Just what were these slogans that were "against" the UAW? "Defend the UAW! Defend workers democracy!" was the chant at the picket. It was a united front demonstration protesting the Cleveland incident and other goon squad attacks by UAW officials against left groups. The demonstration was open to all groups "who stand in solidarity with the auto workers against the companies...and who support militant, democratic unionism... provided only that no attempt is made to utilize the protest in direct support of any action which crosses the class line by using bourgeois cops or courts against the union" (*WV* No. 30, 12 October 1973).

Mazey attempted to assume a "left" posture by concluding with an attack on Nixon and Chou En-lai. The hypocrisy of the hard-cop anti-communist Nixon toasting the Chinese revolution almost made him "puke," said Mazey. Need we add any comment about our own reaction to the hypocrisy of this strike-breaking "philosophical socialist"? ■

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...Phone Sellout

living escalator, an end to absence control and at least 20 paid sick days. There must be a uniform national wage scale, strikes against layoffs, reduction of the workweek to thirty hours with no loss in pay. Rather than the agency shop, phone workers need a closed shop with a union hiring hall to stop the racist hiring practices of the company, which has traditionally slotted women and minorities into the lowest-paying jobs.

One of the lessons of the bitter 1971-72 phone strike in New York was the inadequacy of militant trade unionism as an alternative to the sell-out policies of the International bureaucracy. Local 1101 threw out Carnivale and replaced him with the "militant" Dempsey. Yet Dempsey has failed to oppose the "national bargaining" scheme eliminating local ratification of the contract. Their fundamental support for the Democratic Party and capitalism ensures that when it is a question of directly confronting the companies and their government fake militants like Dempsey will line up on the side of the International.

The present disorientation of the militant Local 1101 membership stems in good part from the inability of the several local opposition groups to break from all wings of the labor bureaucracy. The Maoist Revolutionary Union is currently on a leftist kick, warning in its press of the dangers of supporting "opportunists out-of-office" in the unions. However, the RU-supported

Final Warning caucus has yet to make any public self-criticism of its support for Dempsey in the 1971 union elections. The United Action Caucus, supported by the social-democratic IS, is still naively calling on Dempsey to build the "big-city alliance" he promised in 1971!

But the most wretched expression of workerist capitulation belongs once again to the syndicalist Bell Workers Action Committee. Its latest contribution was to advise workers to vote *either yes or no* to strike, depending on whichever best expressed their personal feelings! With its politics based on tailing the present consciousness of the workers, earlier this year the BWAC called for "human communication" and sympathy (as opposed to fines) for scabbing operators because they were women. Now it solidarizes with those backward elements who call for dropping out of the union and refusing to strike as a "protest" against the bureaucracy. In fact, only the sellout bureaucracy and the company benefit by a vote not to strike; the union and every member in it is weakened by such abstentionism.

What is needed is to build a national class-struggle opposition caucus in the CWA based on the program of the Oakland/San Francisco-based Militant Action Caucus. This group has been in the forefront of opposition to "national bargaining," and last year it led a campaign which successfully defeated the 19-2C proposed national bylaws amendment, a gag rule clause which could have been used against anyone who "brought the union into disrepute." The MAC's policies are based on the understanding of the need to provide a full, political opposition to the pro-capitalist policies of the bureaucracy. ■

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...Transit Strike

back with a vicious red-baiting attack against militants "who are plotting to take over the union with a new leadership led by a labor party." He also insisted that cops rather than the "untrustworthy" rank and file guard the ballot boxes, a demand that was booed down by the membership. After his blustering had fallen flat, Cordeiro stalked out of the hall leaving the remaining members to pass the motion for rank-and-file guards of the ballots. The best he could get was a standoff with cops, rank and filers and ballots all spending the night together in the local hall.

Although many members of the AC Transit local have become disheartened both by the length of the strike and by the sell-out tactics of their "leaders," a large section remains committed to winning a militant strike. The International's bullying and Cordeiro's hysterical red-baiting have, for the time being, actually weakened the influence of these betrayers over the membership.

The present standoff is only temporary, however, and unless a class-struggle opposition is crystallized in the union the bureaucracy will eventually succeed in imposing its will on a demoralized rank and file. Such an opposition would struggle for a militant strike program, including in particular the call for a Bay Area-wide transit strike. With Muni bus drivers reportedly walking out this Monday and AC Transit and airport bus drivers already on strike, this is a key demand

to unite the workers in struggle against the companies.

Given the ATU bureaucracy's willingness to sacrifice the escalator clause and its sabotage of the strike, demands for full cost-of-living protection with a substantial wage increase, for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and for a democratically elected militant rank-and-file strike committee responsible to the membership are also necessary elements in any program for victory in this struggle.

However, to achieve real success it is necessary not simply to win a strike but to replace the present pro-company misleaders of the unions with a new leadership committed to consistent class struggle. This requires, both in the ATU and elsewhere, the formation of caucuses with a program of transitional demands, including calling for expropriation of the corporations without compensation under workers control, for workers control of "public" industries, for free mass transportation and for a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government. ■

Bay Area Forum

THE LABOR UPSURGE AND THE AC TRANSIT STRIKE

Guest Speakers: Two AC Transit strikers

SL Speaker: Paul Collins
Auspices: Spartacist League

Unitas House Sat., Aug. 17
2700 Bancroft Way 8 p.m.
Berkeley

WORKERS VANGUARD

IBEW STRIKES WESTERN ELECTRIC

CWA Phone Sellout Under Attack

AUGUST 10—Local walkouts following the announcement of a last-minute settlement between the Communications Workers of America and the AT&T telephone monopoly have gathered momentum as tomorrow's deadline for local bargaining approaches. Several key locals are now calling on their members to cast a "no" vote on the national contract. Rejection of a similar contract by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which has struck 10 Western Electric plants around the country, is a further blow against CWA tops' hopes of ramming through acceptance of their sell-out deal.

The IBEW's subsequent call on CWA workers to reject the contract and

flation. Even with the miserable cost-of-living formula, the proposed contract amounts to a *wage cut* for every CWA telephone worker.

Watts' main concern in the bargaining has been to prevent the outbreak of big-city wildcats such as occurred after the 1968 and 1971 contract settlements. During the secret negotiations CWA members have been kept completely in the dark about the union's demands. Throughout the country important locals have refused to call meetings during the bargaining period and even after the announced settlement (which is to be voted on by mail ballot).

To dissipate rank-and-file enthusiasm for a strike the union leadership

racies in several metropolitan locations. In Los Angeles a group of chief stewards and executive board members has recently been holding joint meetings of dissidents in three telephone unions (CWA, IBEW and ORTT, a local traffic union). The group's emphasis thus far appears to be to channel dissatisfaction away from militant action locally (which they themselves would have to lead) into a nationwide rejection campaign.

In San Francisco, Local 9410 President Kirkpatrick is still refusing to call a contract meeting, despite receipt of a petition for a special meeting signed by 450 members. This is well over twice the number stipulated by local bylaws. The petition was jointly circulated by the Militant Action Caucus, Workers Action Movement and Traffic Jam. MAC denounced Kirkpatrick and suggested that people who violate membership rights should be thrown out of the union.

This call for membership action

against acts of betrayal by the local bureaucracy stands in stark contrast to the syndicalist Bell Workers Action Committee in New York Long Lines. The BWAC threatened to turn in Local 1150 President Candopoulos to the U.S. Department of Labor when he refused to convene a special meeting. Militants must oppose such anti-labor "tactics," for the only interest of the capitalist government in "cleaning up" the unions is to draw them still further under state control.

Need for a Class-Struggle Opposition

Bargaining must be taken out of the hands of the bureaucrats and controlled by democratically elected rank-and-file strike committees. The entire national CWA must stay out until every local issue is resolved. Instead of Watts's pitiful settlement, militants must demand an unlimited full cost-of-

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Western Electric strikers at Kearny, New Jersey

indications of local militancy in New York, Detroit, Cleveland, L.A. and the Bay Area may yet force a nationwide strike, despite the phone union bureaucracy's best-laid plans. The much-touted "national bargaining," which former CWA President Beirne termed a "historic" achievement, had been designed to keep firm control of bargaining and ratification in the hands of the International.

In Detroit the main Bell Telephone building remained struck for most of the week following the July 28 announcement, as a result of successive walkouts by several of the six CWA locals in the city. Local 4001 demanded "amnesty for all" and threatened a city-wide strike on August 11 after management fired several workers for allegedly smashing company windows. Similar walkouts occurred in Cleveland and by the week's end they had spread to southern California and San Francisco as well.

A Settlement With Nothing for Anybody

Although several weeks ago CWA President Glen Watts had set a floor of 14 percent, the settlement's 7.1-10.7 percent wage increase was only a fraction of a percentage point higher than the previously rejected company offer and far below the current rate of in-

cooked up a lengthy local-by-local mail ballot strike authorization vote, even though the result was a foregone conclusion (7-to-1 in favor of a strike, with an 18-to-1 margin in New York City). Another 10 days were allotted for local bargaining, to be followed by an additional two weeks for final ratification. Moreover, those locals which cannot be cooled down by these drawn-out delaying tactics will most likely be given authorization for local strikes. This exposes as a complete hoax the bureaucracy's demagogic claim that "national bargaining" would put the strength of the entire union behind the local bargainers.

Thus New York Local 1101 was left to negotiate alone against management's demand for a layoff clause which would allow the company to bounce anyone with under ten years of service, regardless of seniority. Despite the necessity of mobilizing the local during this period, President Ed Dempsey has refused to even call a union meeting, at the same time attempting to hang on to his "militant" image by verbally opposint the national contract.

Big-City Militancy Spreads

There have been signs of increasing rebelliousness within local bureauc-

For a Bay Area-Wide Transit Strike!

OAKLAND, August 9—Top bureaucrats of the Amalgamated Transit Union have linked arms with the East Bay's AC Transit Company and the State of California in an effort to smash the six-week-long strike by the members of ATU Local 192. In particular, the unholy union/company/state alliance is seeking to do away with a unique, compounding cost-of-living escalator agreed to by a sleep-dazed AC Transit Company negotiator two years ago (see WV No. 50, 2 August). This clause was one of the few "escalator clauses" in the country which provided anything approaching real protection against inflation during recent months.

The Local's president, Ed Cordeiro, announced a "tentative" settlement on July 29, confidently predicting that work would resume after the ratification meeting two days later. Although Cordeiro employed the usual devices to ram through this "deal" (at the ratification meeting workers were given no time to study and discuss the proposed contract), the sellout was so blatant that the ranks erupted in vehement booing.

Under the old c-o-l formula, AC Transit workers' pay went up by 36 percent since 1972. However, in the face of galloping inflation, the proposed three-year contract would have raised wages by only 8.6 percent per year, while adding an inadequate dental plan and Martin Luther King's birthday as a holiday. The negotiating committee actually granted management's request for the elimination of any contractual protection against arbitrary firing for lateness. The membership present rejected this rotten package by a solid 3-to-2 margin.

The International Orders a Re-Vote

Immediately the labor skates of the union's International bureaucracy demanded a re-vote claiming that members were coerced into voting "no"

and that the balloting "lacked secrecy": (In reality the ballots had been guarded by a rank-and-file committee.) Meeting on August 1, the local Executive Board voted to accept the membership's decision. However, ATU International President Dan Maroney then ordered a re-vote, invoking Section 129 of the union's constitution.

The State Conciliation Service, agent of reactionary Governor Ronald Reagan, was summoned by Maroney to "supervise" the vote while the International prepared a panoply of tactics designed to confuse and browbeat the rank and file into accepting the sellout proposal: instead of voting after discussion in the union meeting, three consecutive union meetings were held while the balloting proceeded across the street; in addition, the union bureaucrats distributed \$50 strike benefit checks with each ballot ("remember where that came from" was the obvious message); finally, the International conveniently "neglected" to inform the members that the Local 192 Executive Board had gone on record against the re-vote.

However, militants in the union had gotten out a leaflet exposing the class-collaborationist tactics of the ATU leadership, condemning government interference and pointing out the need for a new union leadership based on a class-struggle program. The leaflet called for a fight to maintain past benefits, an end to all forms of binding arbitration and 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay.

The militants demanded the formation of a rank-and-file committee to guard the ballot box and steps by the union to organize a Bay Area-wide transit strike to win their demands. In spite of the railroading tactics of the International the membership again rejected the sellout, but this time by a margin of only 66 votes. The militants' action undoubtedly prevented the adoption of the sweetheart contract.

Local 192 President Cordeiro fought

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