

## No to the Union of the Left—For A General Strike to Smash Giscard's Austerity Program!

# One-Day General Strike in France

### 500,000 March in Paris

OCTOBER 11—In the most massive demonstrations since May-June 1968, the French working class took to the streets of all the major cities on October 7 to protest the projected austerity measures of Prime Minister Raymond Barre.

The call for a general strike issued by three major trade-union federations and two affiliated student federations, with the backing of the Communist and Socialist parties, was heeded by more than six million strikers nationwide. Over 200 demonstrations took place across the country, the largest being in Paris where an estimated 500,000 protesters were reported.

The October 7 one-day general strike considerably surpassed the last major working-class political strike mobilization in December 1973, which came in the wake of electoral gains by the popular-front Union of the Left coalition earlier that year. The present strike was a calculated show of strength by the left in preparation for the 1978 legislative elections, as President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's "presidential majority" has rapidly eroded.

Although the Gaullists still formally support the government, tensions between Giscard's Independent Republicans, the closely allied Center and the Gaullist UDR headed by Jacques Chirac have been severely strained in recent months, coming to a head in Chirac's resignation from the government in late August. Giscard wanted to place his supporters on campaign war footing by launching a stringent "anti-inflation" drive and reforming the antiquated French tax system.

Thursday's massive work stoppage was prompted by the announcement of the Giscard/Barre austerity measures which attempt to place the burden for the economic contraction upon the working class by driving down real wages. Faced with an inflation rate of 11-13 percent, over one million unemployed and a 2-percent decline in national income, the Barre plan seeks to effect a significant lowering of living standards through increases in sales taxes, raising the prices on controlled items (milk, bread, gasoline), lowering social security benefits and the imposi-

tion of a 6.5-percent wage increase "restraint."

### "Union, Action, Common Program"

The huge turnout Thursday reflected the heavy mobilization by the Communist Party-led CGT federation, the social-democratic CFDT and the national teachers union federation (FEN), as well as the militant determination of the French proletariat to defend its standard of living against the onslaught of government attacks and inflation.

During the course of the day, domestic transportation was cut by up to two-thirds, there were no newspapers published, mail went undelivered and garbage uncollected. Mass transit in industrial cities such as Lille and Marseilles was paralyzed, and industrial production was significantly curtailed as strike organizers estimated the action to have been 80-percent effective.

But despite the size of the demonstration and wide spread of the work stoppages, the most notable feature of the general strike was the tight grip with which the pro-Union of the Left forces regimented the processions. Their aim was to reduce the impact of the protest to that of a mass demonstration in support of the popular front. Thus the CGT contingents marched under the slogan of "Union, Action, Common Program."

Bringing up the rear of the march was the ostensibly Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), which characteristically acted as a left cover to the popular front, limiting itself to chants for dissolving the National Assembly, "Giscard out," and some economic demands, most prominently, "For a 40-hour week."

The bureaucrats called for a general strike at this time in part to cool off the



Part of the massive march in Paris last Thursday marking one-day general strike against projected austerity measures.

widespread working-class militancy which threatens to burst the Union of the Left straitjacket. Last spring the CGT tops were unable to stop repeated strike actions on the railroads. The rail union officials hoped the ranks' anger over deteriorating working conditions would eventually dissipate or be sidetracked into the usual series of futile revolving strikes. Instead they were finally forced to call a one-day general strike on the railroads.

Similarly, the explosive student strikes against projected educational cutbacks this spring (see "Mass Student Strikes Sweep France," *Young Spartacus*, June 1976) led to a nationwide campus shutdown and street confrontations with the police which went beyond the control of the CP's UNEF (ex-Renouveau) student group. Soon the bourgeois press was decrying the loss of influence by the "respectable communists."

Whereas the December 1973 general strike was a response to workers' struggles, this time the bureaucrats' call for a nationwide political strike was aimed at defusing in advance the expected militant worker and student opposition to the Barre plan.

### Facing 1978

More importantly, however, the strike provided the Union of the Left an opportunity to embarrass the government and gain credibility with the working class through a show of militancy, in preparation for the 1978

legislative vote. Last spring the Communist / Socialist / Left Radical popular front scored major electoral successes, winning 53 percent of the vote in cantonal elections. The popularity polls have recently shown Giscard's strength to be significantly waning.

Furthermore, the center-right "presidential majority" has begun to come apart. Giscard's present majority in the National Assembly rests above all upon grudging support from the 173 Gaullist deputies, rather than his own Independent Republicans and the Center, which together have only 120 out of the Assembly's 490 seats.

The strife came to a head last spring as the Gaullists concentrated their opposition to Giscard's mini-reforms in a massive assault upon a government bill introducing the capital-gains tax for the first time in French history. The law was finally passed under heavy pressure from the president, but not before the rebellious Gaullists had watered down the measure by tacking on some 600 exemptions and loopholes.

The showdown came on August 25 when Gaullist leader Jacques Chirac resigned as prime minister. Chirac has since launched a demagogic and aggressive campaign against Giscard's "rudderless" leadership.

Chirac's attempts to revitalize the Gaullist movement and expand its traditional electoral clientele is only one aspect of the pervasive jockeying for participation as the parliamentary

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### How Maoists Justify Alliance with Pentagon

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The Truth About Stalin and FDR

# OCI Goon Attack Against Vargaitees

On October 1, a well-prepared goon squad of the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), led by Charles Berg of the OCI Central Committee, viciously attacked members of the French Vargaite group, the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (LOR). The victims of this thug attack had been attempting to distribute a leaflet and sell their press in front of a large public OCI meeting at the Mutualité meeting hall in Paris.

The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, sharply condemned the attack in a letter to the OCI, which states:

"The attack seemed premeditated: one group of marshals hurried those who had come to attend the meeting into the hall while another group set upon the LOR members with unusual brutality."

*Rouge* (4 October), newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), printed a condemnation of the OCI attack along with a photo of an LOR militant who had several teeth knocked out during the assault.

Gérard Filoche, a leading member of the LCR, stated that he had witnessed the attack and would be willing to testify concerning it before the Commission of Inquiry investigating OCI charges against the Vargaitees and the OCI's use of violence against other organizations.

A member of another French group was also attacked when he cried out for "workers democracy" and attempted to step between the OCI and the Vargaitees. In addition, Comrade Lafitte of the LTF was present and interposed himself to demand, unsuccessfully, that Berg call off his goons.

The OCI has attempted to justify this wanton attack—identical to others in the past—on the grounds that the dubious Michel Varga is/ was an agent of the CIA and/or KGB, and that the Vargaite groups are "cops." Had the OCI produced conclusive proof of its charges, its unprovoked attacks on the Vargaitees would only be singularly stupid under the circumstances. Up to now, however, two and a half years after the OCI's irresponsible presentation of its original charges, it has failed to produce any further "evidence" against Varga. In the absence of definitive proofs, the OCI's repeated attacks on the Vargaitees amount to unadorned thuggery.

The international Spartacist tendency defends the principle of workers democracy and resolutely opposes gangster attacks within the left and workers movement. The fact that the OCI claims to be a Trotskyist organization only renders its perennial practice of Stalinist-style gangsterism and physical violence against political opponents even more despicable.

## Defend SYL, YSA, YWLL, RSB!

# Stop Young Republican Legal Harassment Against Madison Left!

MADISON, October 10—The Dane County (Wisconsin) district attorney is currently investigating the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) student organizations at the University of Wisconsin. The investigation is in response to a complaint filed September 30 by local right-winger Leonard Kachinski alleging that these groups are violating Wisconsin election campaign laws. Kachinski is treasurer of the College Republicans and head of Students for Ford on the University of Wisconsin campus.

According to Professor David Adamny, a political science professor here who is also a member of the State Elections Board, the law requires the registration of any group which collects or spends \$25 a year for political activities—defined in this instance as attempting to influence an election, either directly or indirectly. Even Kachinski has cynically stated that while he supports the law he feels "it restricts freedom of association too much."

The campaign laws specify a maximum criminal penalty of three years imprisonment and a \$1,000 fine for violations. The *Daily Cardinal*, the campus newspaper, first made Kachinski's charges public in a front-page article on Friday, October 1. He was quoted in the *Cardinal* as saying that he singled out these four groups for attack because they are the most active distributors of "widespread propaganda."

The Spartacus Youth League immediately responded to this anti-

communist attack by initiating a united-front defense effort on behalf of all groups named in the charges. The RSB and YWLL have so far refused to participate in a united defense both for sectarian reasons and on the false assumption that the best way to defeat right-wing attacks is to ignore them. The SYL and the YSA have been working closely together on campus to organize a defense of democratic rights against this attempted witchhunt.

In a joint statement issued to the press last week the two groups stated:

"Kachinski's and the District Attorney's investigation are an attack on the democratic rights of all left groups in Madison and represent an attempt to launch an anti-communist witchhunt. 'Investigations' and laws requiring the 'registration' of left-wing groups have long been used in McCarthyite endeavors to suppress, harass and intimidate those opposed to the social injustices inherent within the capitalist system. Such attacks inevitably have as their goal the suppression of political freedom and social struggle in general."

The YSA and SYL have called an on-campus press conference and public meeting for this Thursday at which representatives of all four groups have been invited to speak. Wide support has already been won for the struggle against this attack on democratic rights. A statement condemning the investigation and demanding that it be dropped is being circulated; the American Civil Liberties Union has been approached for assistance. A broad-based defense must be immediately initiated around the slogans: Drop the Investigations! Abolish the reactionary Registration Law! Stop the McCarthyite Harassment!

## Mao Corpse Gets a Crystal Box

# Down with Stalinist Necrophilia!

Of course they would display Mao's corpse in a crystal tomb. It is only the logical consequence of the Stalinist cult of the great leader, taking on its most degenerate form by embracing traditional religious idolatry of the dead body.

The millions of Russians who every year dutifully file past Lenin's cadaver in the Red Square mausoleum, and the millions of Chinese who will now do the same in the Forbidden City, are engaging in a ritual not fundamentally different from Christian pilgrimages to the bone fragment of a saint. The Russian Orthodox church embalmed its "saints" and placed them in open coffins to demonstrate to the backward peasants their "incorruptibility." The Bolsheviks made a special point of ridiculing this "proof" of the power of religion.

Engels, who was particularly sensitive on the need to combat religious attitudes among the working masses, instructed that his dead body be cremated and the ashes thrown into the North Sea. Lenin in the last years of his life became increasingly troubled about worship of his person, and likewise wanted his corpse cremated. But the Stalin/Zinoviev bloc disregarded these wishes in order to develop and exploit a cult of Lenin to secure its own positions.

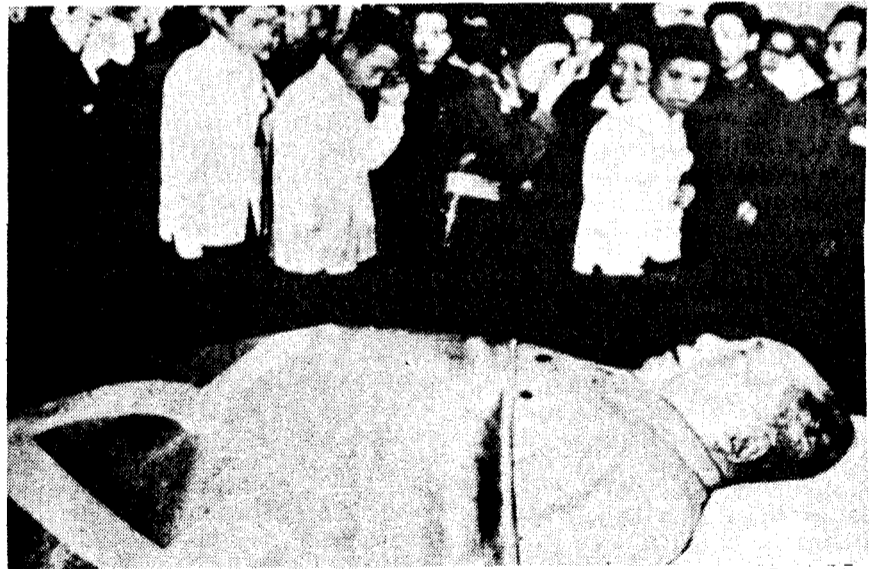
While displaying his body and parading as Lenin's presumed heirs, the usurpers gutted his revolutionary teachings and suppressed Lenin's political testament (which called for the ouster of Stalin). The true Leninists—the Left Opposition led by Trotsky—were purged and later murdered by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Marxists do not worship Lenin's mummified flesh in the Moscow mausoleum but rather seek to continue his revolutionary work of three decades, which lives in his collected writings and speeches. His revolutionary intransigence has inspired proletarian fighters throughout the world, despite the epigones' fundamental distortion of his program and their misuse of his name in the service of opportunism or outright counterrevolution. And Lenin's greatest achievement—the overthrow of capitalism in Russia and the creation of the first workers state in history—continues to exist, although bureaucratically degenerated under Stalinist rule.

When the victorious Soviet proletariat overthrows Stalin's heirs, one of its first symbolic acts will be to end the barbaric ritual display of Lenin's corpse.

As for Mao, given the labyrinthian intrigues in Peking (his wife, Chiang Ching, has reportedly been arrested as a "capitalist roader"), idolizers of the "great helmsman" might recall the fate of Stalin's corpse: first revered alongside Lenin's body in the mausoleum, it was disposed of in 1956 when the bloody dictator's crimes could no longer be covered up.

In any case, we can be confident that when the workers storm the Heavenly Palace to oust the bureaucratic rulers of the Chinese deformed workers state, they will hasten to bury Mao.



Economist

## CORRECTION

In our last issue (*WV* No. 128, 8 October 1976) we reported that overtime is voluntary in the agricultural implements section of the UAW. While this is true of Caterpillar and International Harvester, under the 1973 contract at John Deere overtime is compulsory up to three Saturdays per month. The same article incorrectly reports that the UAW is demanding a "39-1/2 for 40" time bank plan in Ag. Imp.; actually this plan is already in operation in the farm equipment section.

Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet

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## WORKERS VANGUARD

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## As Union Flounders

# NMU Officials Up Dues, Vote Selves 50 Percent Raise

### Stop West Coast Raiding!

### No to Organizing Imperialist Army!

The National Maritime Union (NMU) convention held last week at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City was a totally lackluster, stage-managed affair. Although the NMU is beset by an acute shortage of jobs and is facing a major federal grand jury investigation of its leadership and the prospect of renewed raiding among the already strife-ridden maritime unions, discus-



WV Photo

**Militant-Solidarity Caucus member Gene Herson talks with NMU official.**

sion at the meeting was perfunctory.

Even a mammoth 50 percent increase in membership dues—an issue guaranteed to provoke controversy if there were anything resembling full and free membership discussion—elicited hardly any opposition. Neither did the equally huge raises which the top officers graciously “accepted.”

The convention reaffirmed the union’s past policies of “creating” jobs by stealing them from other seamen. Among the planks in this program are, firstly, support for protectionist legislation under which foreign seamen who currently operate ships carrying much of U.S. commerce would be replaced by American seamen. One convention resolution called for a minimum of 50 percent of all oil imports to be carried on U.S.-flag tankers.

Significantly, the report of NMU president Shannon Wall said not a word about the key task of organizing foreign-flag seamen, which is the real solution to “runaway shipping.” Even the generally irrelevant International Transport Federation (to which the NMU belongs) is currently going through the motions of an organizing drive aimed at “flag of convenience” shipping, but Wall & Co. can’t be

bothered.

Another ominous development was the preparation for another wave of union raiding on the West Coast. The two labor speakers invited to the convention were Ed Turner, president of the Marine Cooks and Stewards (MCS), and Bill Chester, vice president of the International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU). A year ago the MCS and ILWU lined up with the NMU in a raid directed at two other West Coast maritime unions: the Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP) and the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Water-tenders (MFOU).

The imminent crewing-up of several new ships for the Pacific coastal trade, as well as the job-starved ILWU’s appetite for a number of container maintenance jobs currently under contract to the SUP, could well spur another outbreak of inter-union jurisdictional disputes. As if to whet the delegates’ appetites, Shannon Wall made a special point of once again floating the perennial rumor that the “Big U” (the liner *United States*) would be taken out of mothballs, to be put on a Los Angeles-Hawaii run.

At one time the NMU and ILWU, both heavily influenced by the Stalinist Communist Party (CP), worked in tandem. However, when the anti-“red” purges began in the NMU in the 1940’s, the two unions parted ways. Chester noted in his speech that this marked the first time that a representative of the ILWU had addressed an NMU convention in 30 years.

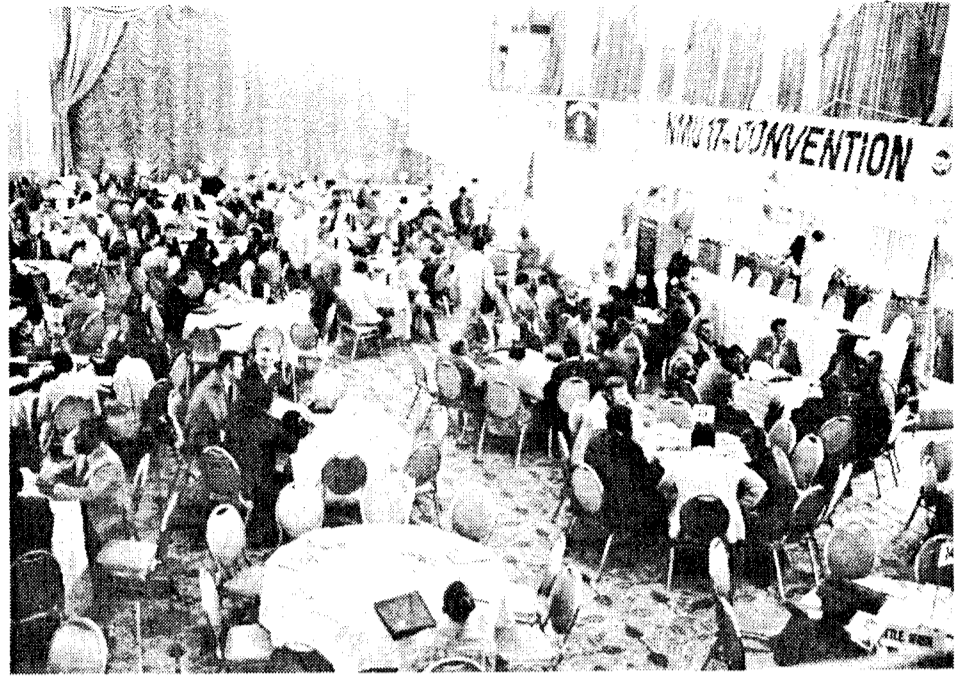
Another move in the inter-union maneuvering was the adoption of a constitutional amendment, motivated by the need for greater “flexibility,” which would enable the NMU to affiliate with any labor organization “now in existence.” This opens the way for an NMU link-up with the ILWU, which according to Chester is seeking re-entry into the AFL-CIO.

While previously the NMU leaders had sought merger with the other large seamen’s union, the Seafarers International Union (SIU), this perspective was at least temporarily scotched with the onset of jurisdictional warfare in 1975 between the NMU and the SIU-affiliated SUP/MFOU. In recent months the Wall regime has turned closer to the ILWU and MCS, even hinting at the possibility of affiliation with them.

Union militants would welcome the building of genuine maritime labor unity which could undercut the cannibalistic jurisdictional warfare on the waterfront. In particular, the cooperation of seamen and longshoremen has historically been key to the achievement of major gains such as the union hiring hall and the eight-hour day.

However, an NMU/MCS/ILWU merger, if constructed for the purpose of carrying out a more effective raid on the SIU/SUP/MFOU, would not be a step forward. It would only lead to further undercutting of union wages and conditions, with rival blocs offering successively more rotten sweetheart deals to the companies in order to secure contracts and jobs.

Another constitutional amendment



NMU convention in New York two weeks ago.

WV Photo

was passed delineating a line of succession for national officers in case they were removed from office by illness or some other “emergency.” This was clearly a reference to the prospect of prison terms for the national officers (including retired president Joe Curran) depending on the outcome of the federal grand jury investigation of corruption in the NMU.

The amendment specified that when such officials were again able to resume their responsibilities, they would be able to reclaim their union posts. The NMU bureaucrats would not like to suffer the fate of a Jimmy Hoffa, whose office was usurped by his former deputy while he spent time in jail! And fearing that their time in office may indeed be short, the union tops rammed through another pay hike for themselves: a 50 percent raise for all national officers except Wall, who modestly took a 60 percent hike, up to \$85,000 a year.

Meanwhile, the officials also took precautions against oppositionists within the union. A new constitutional provision increased the financial liability of members who unsuccessfully bring union officials up on charges. Another amendment spelled out a series of

Herson was rejected by the credentials and appeals committees (whose members are appointed) on the grounds that his shipping assignment ended more than 30 days prior to the convention.

A leaflet issued by the M-SC pointed out that the union leadership had issued a “clarification” of the 30-day constitutional rule in September (near the end of the election period), exempting dozens of delegates from the requirements of this provision but leaving just enough ambiguity to allow the bureaucracy to bump troublesome oppositionists. Even though he was re-elected at a second shipboard union meeting (after his first election was rejected by an NMU official on a technicality), and again at a *third* union meeting after he had gotten off the ship, Herson was the only elected delegate out of approximately 400 who was not seated!

### Organize the Army?

With the loss of jobs to automation and foreign-flag vessels, the NMU’s deep-sea membership has shrunk rapidly. In order to recoup the loss of its dues base, the union bureaucracy has organized thousands of shoreside workers in



WV Photo

**NMU president Shannon Wall, Bill Chester of the ILWU and NMU secretary-treasurer Mel Barisic at NMU convention October 4.**

offenses against the union. These include such items as “disorderly conduct in union meetings.” Another offense, worded broadly as “violation of national shipping rules, constitution or policies of the union,” carries expulsion from the union as the maximum penalty. Such provisions obviously reflect the union bureaucrats’ desperate fear of any and all forms of opposition.

The bureaucracy also orchestrated the exclusion of the one delegate elected on a class-struggle program: Eugene Herson, a member of the NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC).

recent years. For the most part, these workers are drawn from atomized and more backward, less union-conscious layers. A major target of NMU organizing, for example, has been the civilian employees of concessions and government departments on military bases—a particularly docile pool of labor.

The latest organizing perspective for the NMU is the U.S. armed forces themselves! It is not accidental that the social-patriotic NMU officials are interested in organizing military personnel at a time when the draft has been ended

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## Frenzied PBA Mob Threatens to Storm Jailhouse

# NYC Cop Rioters Get Kid-Glove Treatment

OCTOBER 11—"Scab!" "Don't sell us out!" "Strike, Strike!" "March to City Hall!" "Storm the Barricades!" The shouts of militant workers? No. These were the outbursts of the most immediate and dangerous enemies of the working people: the cops, armed and organized and running wild in the streets of New York City.

That these thugs are frequently seen as the most militant sector of the city labor force is a situation fraught with danger. Cops are the hired gunmen of the capitalist state, used to maintain bourgeois "law and order"—to "escort" scabs through picket lines, terrorize the ghetto and generally hold "the thin blue line" in defense of the social order based on private property. It is a sad and ominous commentary on the effect of years of class-collaborationist leadership in the city's municipal unions that many unionists mistakenly see these professional strikebreakers as fellow workers.

After another week of cops marauding in defiance of civilian authority, even the *New York Times* (9 October) has written of the "chilling spectacle," warning that "Society is threatened when unruly mobs of off-duty policemen grapple in the streets with their uniformed superiors." The Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA) continues to mass, armed and frenzied—stopping traffic and starting brawls, menacing the entire population in what is claimed to be a "labor dispute" over wages and time off.

This week the cops' top brass—pressured by blistering attacks from the press for their tacit approval of the PBA's flagrant illegalities—made their first timid arrests of four cops. In reply more than 1,000 off-duty policemen marched on the station house at 51st and Lexington where the arrested cops were taken. There they confronted a phalanx of uniformed police four deep and accused the arresting officers of "police brutality"! The apparent confrontation of cop vs. cop was exposed at shift change, when many of the uniformed cops became the protestors while the protesting cops dressed up in their uniforms to "protect" the station house.

In this dangerous game one thing is clear: the cops are united in this show of force aimed at protecting their special privileges. The sergeants, who are not PBA members, will stand with the rest of the cops in any serious confrontation with the civilian city government, just as they stand against labor, blacks and the left.

To stress the cops' defiance of elected city government, PBA president Douglas Weaving sent a telegram to Mayor Beame threatening a police strike if the arrested cops were not released (*New York Post*, 7 October). In the telegram Weaving described himself as a "labor leader." However, such an action would not be a workers' strike, but rather an anti-labor mobilization aimed at accelerating the cops' bonapartist course. The interests of labor lie in the smashing of such a "strike"; the unions must give no aid or comfort to the cop mobilization.

The bourgeoisie advertises the social role of the police as "preventing crime." Hence the capitalist ideologues are the most scandalized by the present cop rampage. The *New York Times* (9 October) rails against these "law enforcers [who] put themselves above the law."

But this is just routine. The cops already make themselves judge and executioner on the streets of the ghetto.

Their racist dragnets and capricious brutality often provoke the uprisings which they put down murderously. These shock troops of racist "justice" are justly hated in the ghettos.

In fact the cops are the most consistent purveyors of crime on the streets. If poverty and social disorder are the sources of crime in the capitalists' rotting society, the cops are the vultures who feed off the fetid corpse. It is they who are the biggest traffickers in the drug trade—the most immediate cause of violent street crime—and who cash in on the payoffs from the protection racket, the numbers "game," prostitution and gambling.

The Knapp Commission demonstrated that an "honest cop" was a virtually non-existent species. Serpico's willing to spill the beans on their cohorts were hard to find, and it was shown to be a dangerous occupation to be off the payoff list in this criminal partnership between the cops and organized crime.

### Cops and City Labor

Every worker in New York City ought to be nauseated by the PBA's mimicking of the terminology of the labor movement. Every worker who understands that the cops' job is to break strikes and heads must view this mobilization with alarm. For if the cops win in this brazen display of organized intimidation it will only increase their confidence and bonapartist appetites.

The perilous illusion that cops are workers is fostered mainly by the treacherous labor bureaucracy. It is not only what it does—like advertising the cops as workers' "brothers," and seeking to set wages for firemen and sanitation workers at a fixed percentage of police salaries—which feeds this suicidal delusion. In a more important way, it is what the labor bureaucrats do not do—i.e., lead militant struggles—which most helps the cops to pass themselves off as trade unionists.

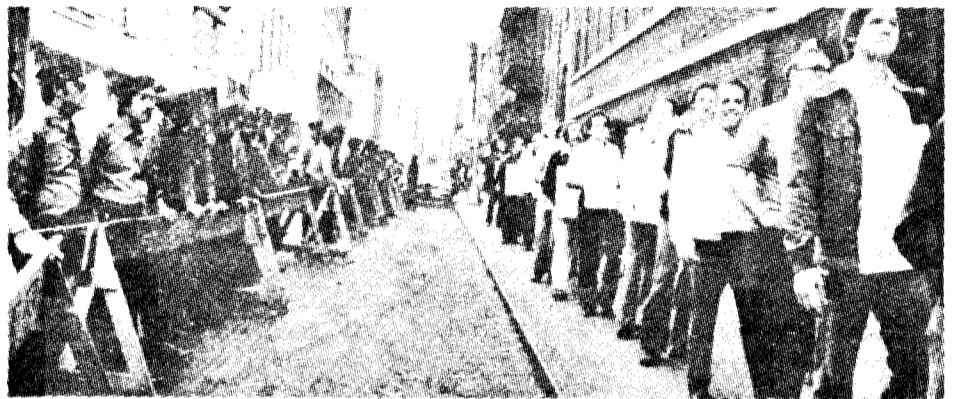
The hospital workers who were recently beaten up on their picket lines by these anti-labor goons have the evidence of the cops' real social role which all the labor skates' preachments cannot negate. But workers should not need to feel the clubs raining down blows on their heads to know the truth about cops. Had the city workers been engaged in militant struggles over the past two years' cutbacks in wages, conditions and job security—in other words, if they had had a class-struggle leadership—it would be impossible for the police to now pass themselves off as workers; the cops would be too busy trying to break the city workers' strikes and unions.

The union bureaucracy is also responsible for the cop mobilization in another way—one which poses a more far-reaching threat to working people than the cops' lawless rampages. The union misleaders' collaboration with the city in its offensive against the working class of New York City has created a vacuum of leadership which could facilitate many backward workers in turning toward the cops as leaders against the civilian city government which attacks their living standards. It is easy to imagine what such a mobilization of cops would mean in the context of a racially polarized city. The cops' favorite slogan, "Beame's a shrimp—[Police Commissioner] Codd's a fish," reflects an appetite to place themselves at the head of a fight against the city government.



New York Times

Off-duty cops confront on-duty police brass October 7 in Times Square.



Engel/New York Post

Cops demonstrating outside New York Times office September 28.

The delusion that cops are workers will disarm the labor movement not only against cop strike-breaking but particularly against bonapartist mobilizations against the "shrimp" in City Hall and simultaneously against the gutless unions. Such a potential future mobilization will be aimed at busting the unions and inaugurating race war against blacks.

The fake-lefts are not far behind the labor bureaucrats in peddling the lie that cops are workers. In the 1971 New York City cop "strike," the Communist Party gave the cops their blessing as part of the workers movement. But the most shameless example of pro-cop treachery came from the Workers League (WL), whose *Bulletin* (25 January 1971) featured a photograph of what the caption termed "dissident rank and file policemen raise clenched fist salute in protest against PBA sellout"—alongside the headline, "New York Labor Explodes."

The WL compared the cop "rank and file" with other "opposition groups" and saw the trigger-happy hoodlums as the leaders of a citywide labor struggle: "Objectively this action [the cop strike] supported by transit and housing authority police has triggered a whole fight on the part of the city labor movement against the attacks on wages, jobs and working conditions."

But the Spartacist League widely publicized the WL's scandalous pro-cop position on the 1971 cop "strike," causing these "dialecticians" no little trouble explaining this line to angry blacks and youth, and so today the *Bulletin* (1 October) denounces the cops as "front-line shock troops against the labor movement." Needless to say these political bandits have nothing to say about their 1971 line which painted cops as the vanguard of labor.

In 1917, during a revolutionary uprising in which even a section of the oppressive Cossacks of the Russian army was won to the workers' side or to neutrality, the police—nurtured on

years of class war against the working masses—remained faithful to the tsar. Trotsky observed how the masses reacted during the February revolution:

"Toward the police the crowd showed ferocious hatred. They routed the mounted police with whistles, stones, and pieces of ice. In a totally different way the workers approached the soldiers...."

"The police are fierce, implacable, hated and hating foes. To win them over is out of the question."

—L. Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*

That the sellout labor bureaucracy promotes the brutal, racist New York City cops as union "brothers" further incriminates them as the henchmen of the capitalists within the labor movement, the corruptors of the most elementary principles of trade-union tradition. Along with the "informational picket line," "authorized" scabbing, suing the unions in the bosses' courts, the people who gave you a prostrate union movement now offer you the "worker-cop."

But class-struggle militants will not stand for this betrayal and its potentially suicidal consequences. We look forward to the day when the working class, led by its vanguard party to victorious proletarian revolution, will wipe away the "thin blue line" that so zealously protects the most reactionary interests of the bourgeois order. Disarm the trigger-happy thugs who are now running wild on the streets of New York City! Cops out of the unions! ■

On the 20th Anniversary of the  
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WORKERS VANGUARD

# Extradite Artuković, Trifa and All Nazi War Criminals!

In recent weeks the U.S. government has indicated that it has been seriously investigating 91 suspected Nazi war criminals and was initiating deportation proceedings against about 14 of them. If actually carried out, this would represent a sharp reversal of policy. The U.S. has long refused demands by the Soviet Union and East European governments for extradition of these fascist cutthroats.

In one case, the Justice Department has gone to court in Detroit seeking to revoke the citizenship of Bishop Valerian Trifa of the Rumanian Orthodox Episcopate of America. Trifa is charged with falsely denying his role in instigating a pogrom against Bucharest's Jewish ghetto in 1941. Between 6,000 and 10,000 Jews were slaughtered by the fascist Iron Guard of which Trifa was then a student leader.

Trifa did not simply escape government notice in the past. He has been actively sheltered by the American ruling class. Over 20 years ago, his crimes were exposed in a Rumanian-language Communist newspaper, *Romanul-American*. But this anti-Semitic swine was valuable in whipping up anti-Communism among workers of East European origin and aiding McCarthyite purges in Detroit auto plants. In recognition of his services, Trifa was invited to make the opening prayer before Congress in May 1955.

In 1974 a number of Jewish organizations submitted a 500-page report on Trifa's sordid history to the U.S. Immigration Service. His response was to charge a "Communist plot of the government in Romania to seize control of the properties of the Romanian church in the U.S." (*Daily World*, 5 September 1974).

The Trifa case is similar to that of Andrija Artuković, founder of the Croatian Ustashi's Gestapo secret police (see "U.S. Harbors Ustashi Death Camp Butcher," *WV* No. 105, 15 April 1976). In 1959 the Immigration commissioner rejected extradition to Yugoslavia on the grounds that the request was "political in nature." Now, according to the *New York Times* (3 October) the State Department has "shown signs" of dropping its long-standing opposition to extradition of Artuković.

The presence of former Nazi executioners in the U.S. has been the subject of increasing protest and exposure since the 1973 extradition of Hermine Braunsteiner Ryan to West Germany to stand trial for crimes committed while she was a member of Hitler's SS. This obscure Queens housewife was revealed to have been the supervisor of the infamous Ravensbruck concentration camp in 1941-42 and supervising warden at the Majdanek extermination camp in Poland during 1943.

A few weeks after her extradition, the Immigration Service reported that another 37 suspects were under investigation. However, in contrast to the swift deportations of many hundreds of thousands of innocent immigrant workers every year, the government moved at a snail's pace in dealing with the former overseers of Hitler's gas chambers and crematoria. In December 1974 Vincent Schiano, chief trial lawyer of the Immigration Service, resigned protesting that his superiors were thwarting further prosecutions in order to protect certain important ex-Nazis.

One of them was Dr. Hubertus Strughold, retired chief scientist of the

aerospace medical division at Brooks Air Force Base in San Antonio. The government quickly clamped a lid on the case, calling off the investigation despite strong evidence linking Strughold to medical experiments on helpless inmates in Dachau. At that time, the so-called "father of space medicine" gathered his data through fiendish tests in which human guinea pigs were subjected to radical temperature and air pressure changes, dying in agony while their natural functions were closely monitored. Later the corpses were



UPI  
**Andrija Artuković, (above) now living in the U.S., (below) as head of Ustashi stormtroopers in Nazi-occupied Croatia.**

dissected.

When the Immigration commissioner announced in 1974 that "We consider the matter closed," representative Elizabeth Holtzman described the case as "strange" and suggested involvement by the CIA (*New York Times*, 23 November 1974). Creatures like Strughold, Artuković and Trifa have long been sheltered by the U.S. government, in part because some have been of direct use to the imperialists and also because many of the countries demanding their extradition are "Communist" states. In its boundless hypocrisy, the bourgeoisie rails against so-called "red terror" in the deformed workers states while drawing Nazi butchers to its breast and expelling foreign-born workers.

Washington has also taken its cue from the war crimes "investigations" carried out by West Germany. The investigation and prosecution of former SS and Gestapo killers in the Federal Republic have been stalled for years. Obviously fearful of revealing the skeletons in their own closets, successive Bonn governments have shown little

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# Sadlowski Says He'll Dump No-Strike Deal...in 1980

CLEVELAND Ed Sadlowski, candidate for president of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), said at a campaign support meeting here October 3 that he will support peanut boss Democrat Jimmy Carter in next month's U.S. elections. Moreover, Sadlowski admitted he would, if elected, negotiate the 1977 basic steel contract within the confines of incumbent USWA president I.W. Abel's no-strike "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" (ENA).

The meeting on Cleveland's near Southeast Side drew about 100 people, including supporters of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party (SWP), International Socialists, Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), Youth Against War and Fascism and steel workers sympathetic to their respective views. Once again Sadlowski demonstrated that his vague four-point program—job security, union democracy, health and safety, and "leadership"—is elastic enough to suit virtually any taste.

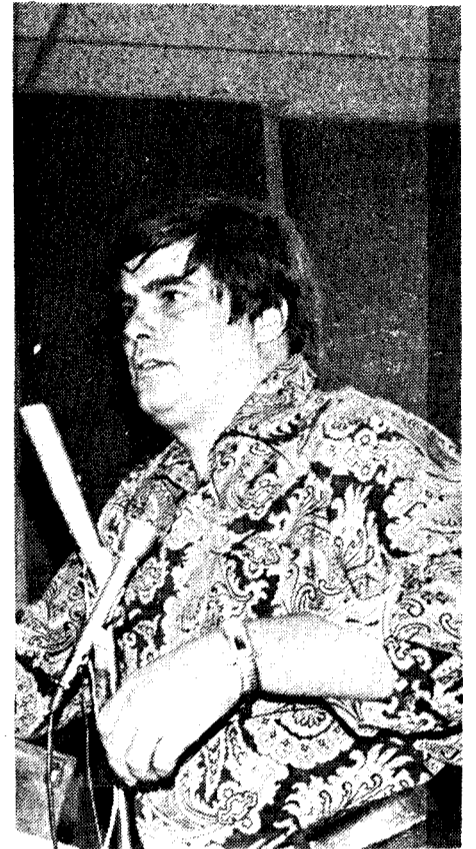
The candidate invoked the traditions of the 1930's and called for a struggle against racism. He came out for busing, against import quotas, for 30 hours' work at 40 hours' pay and threw in a little Wobbly-style rhetoric about "one big union" of all the workers. He even stated opposition to the anti-red clause in the USWA constitution. The fake-lefts in the audience nodded in appreciation.

But today's slick performance for the benefit of would-be revolutionaries and union militants was a far cry from Sadlowski's belly-crawling at last month's Steelworkers convention. There the candidate and his supporters shelved the left posturing entirely, not even publishing a platform around which to rally their delegates. When faced with virulent red-baiting by Abel and his flunkies, Sadlowski simply caved in, actually supporting a right-wing motion for special union trials to "get the commies" (on the grounds that this would let him clear his name of slanders that he is a red).

Even in the course of Sunday's performance, Sadlowski did some footwork fancy enough to do Jimmy Carter proud. Three weeks ago he had equivocated on the issue of the ENA, advocating a membership vote "to see whether they want to continue it" (*Pittsburgh Press*, 12 September), but here he proclaimed that ENA was "incompatible with my philosophy of trade unionism." Then, when pinned down by a question about how, concretely, he would handle the upcoming contract, Sadlowski apologetically answered that there is no legal basis to scrap the hated no-strike deal before 1980: "So in 1977, I'm not going to kid you. [the contract] will be negotiated under the guise of ENA."

Sadlowski was more consistent, if no less opportunist, on the question of the political independence of the labor movement. He is consistently against it. When pressed to say whom he was backing in November, "progressive" Sadlowski said that although Carter is "no Messiah for the working class," he preferred the open-shop Democrat to Gerald Ford.

Just as he uses "lesser evil" liberal politics to justify tying the unions to the capitalist parties, this phony militant



WV Photo  
**Ed Sadlowski**

advocates direct government intervention into the labor movement in the name of "union democracy." Sadlowski owes his post as director of the USWA's District 31 (Chicago-Gary region) to a Labor Department-supervised election in 1974. He is even braintrustered by Joseph Rauh, the same liberal lawyer who spearheaded Arnold Miller's suit in the United Mine Workers. At the campaign meeting here Sadlowski defended his position that rather than mobilizing the USWA ranks to stop the Abel machine's notorious ballot-stuffing practices, "Someone other than steel workers [should] conduct elections."

Although virtually the entire audience swallowed this sub-reformist claptrap without so much as a blink, two USWA members from Local 1014 (Lorain, Ohio) did challenge the ambitious bureaucrat-on-the-make on key issues of the class struggle in steel. These militants distributed a leaflet entitled "Why Ed Sadlowski Is No Alternative." Several Sadlowski backers, including one who sympathizes with the views of the SWP and a supporter of "Steelworker" (a newsletter backed by the RCP), asked that the leaflet not be distributed before the meeting. The two union brothers refused and, standing on the basis of workers democracy, continued to distribute their leaflet.

The leaflet itself cut through Sadlowski's militant verbiage, pointing out that his "union democracy" campaign is little more than a carbon copy of the campaign against "tuxedo unionism" waged by Abel in 1965 against then-incumbent David McDonald. It noted how Sadlowski does nothing to fight massive layoffs in his own District 31 bailiwick. The leaflet concluded with a statement of no confidence in Sadlowski and urged steel workers to build an opposition movement against both the Abels and Sadlowskis, to crystallize a class-struggle leadership in the USWA. This fighting impulse puts to shame the grovelling opportunism of the various left groups and their trade-union supporters who have hopped on the Sadlowski bandwagon. ■

# How Maoists Justify Alliance with Pentagon

# The Myth of "Browderite Revisionism"

## The Truth About Stalin and FDR

In recent years, as we have pointed out on numerous occasions, international Maoism has laid the ideological basis for an open, full-scale alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet degenerated workers state. By labeling the USSR as an aggressive, expansionist "social-fascist" power, the Maoists deliberately recall the Stalinist precedent of the alliance with Roosevelt's America against Nazi Germany. If anything, they go even further: a constant theme of Peking's criticisms of U.S. foreign policy is that it doesn't fully recognize the danger of Soviet "social-imperialism."

Within the U.S. Maoist movement the most forthright exponent of a "united front" with the American ruling class against the Russians is the chairman of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association, William Hinton, who, not being the head of a supposedly working-class, communist organization, can present Peking's line like it is:

"The whole world is facing the threat of a third world war forced by the demands of a rising new empire for hegemony.... New Munichs are already in the making. America's traditional leaders, even when confronted by this lethal threat, will find it very difficult to unite with the wide coalition of popular forces necessary to contain the Soviet threat.... Will American leaders choose the broad highway of united resistance, of collective security?"

—Guardian, 5 May 1976

Mike Klonsky's October League (OL) is no less loyal to Peking than Hinton. But it claims to be a revolutionary organization and has a rather different constituency than the People's Friendship Association. For the OL to embrace anti-détente militarists of the Reagan/Jackson/Moynihan stripe would be the kiss of death in recruiting radical workers, blacks and students/youth. The OL therefore has chosen to deny that Hinton speaks for China:

"Neither the Chinese Communist Party, nor the October League, nor any Marxist-Leninist party we know today calls for 'neutralizing' the U.S. or allying with the U.S. to build a united front against the Soviet Union alone."

—Call, 2 August 1976

It is the OL, not Hinton, that is distorting Peking's line. Among the numerous recent proofs that Peking supports the hard-line anti-Soviet militarists within the American ruling class is that among those foreigners specially invited to view Mao's body was former U.S. "defense" secretary, James Schlesinger, who was fired because he regarded Kissinger as too soft on Brezhnev.

However, the OL does not reject an alliance with U.S. imperialism in principle. Klonsky & Co. are merely waiting for a liberal, "progressive" imperialist politician, like Roosevelt, who can present an anti-Soviet crusade in a more populist manner. The OL also declares that even if they do enter a "united front" with the American imperialists, they will not "liquidate the class struggle" as did the CPUSA under Earl Browder's leadership in World War II:

"Today, the conditions for a united front against the Soviet Union which could include the U.S. imperialists do not exist. This is not to say that they will never exist in the future. But in any event, Hinton's view of such a united front, which puts the bourgeoisie in leadership and abandons communist

independence, is never applicable on principles. In this sense there is an historic parallel between Hinton's emphasis on unity with big American leaders and the revisionism of Earl Browder during the Second World War.

"During the war years, when a United front including the U.S. imperialists against the fascist Axis was the policy of the whole world communist movement (1941-45), Browder, as leader of the Communist Party in the U.S., liquidated the class struggle for the sake of closer 'unity' with the imperialists."

Ibid.

The notion that the extremes of class collaboration which the CPUSA undertook during World War II were Browder's individual deviation has played an important role in the history of American Maoism. The myth of "Browderite revisionism" and particularly its converse, the myth of William Z. Foster's communist orthodoxy and militancy, is even more important for Milt Rosen's Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and Nelson Peery's Communist Labor Party (CLP), with their stronger sense of CP traditionalism, than for the New Left-derived OL.

By blaming the dissolution of the CPUSA, its open electoral support to Roosevelt in 1944 and its aggressive enforcement of the wartime no-strike pledge on Browder, the Maoists seek to preserve Stalin's reputation as an untarnished revolutionary leader. By perpetuating the fiction of Foster's opposition to these policies, groups like the OL and CLP can claim continuity from a supposedly genuinely communist CP which only went sour in 1956 when it followed Khrushchev in criticizing Stalin.

### Stalin Dissolves the Comintern

These Stalin apologists all cite the famous "Duclos" article of April 1945 denouncing Browder's "revisionism," which cited as his most serious crime transforming the Communist Party into the "non-party" Communist Political Association in May 1944. But the article does not even mention the embarrassing fact that almost a year before the dissolution of the CPUSA, the Comintern itself was dissolved to further the unity of the "progressive anti-Hitlerite coalition"! There is every reason to believe that the dissolution of the Comintern inspired Browder to apply the same policy on the national level.

The Roosevelt administration (which shared its atomic bomb research with the British, but not the Russians) believed it could adequately counter the purely military might of the Red Army. American ruling circles were, however, genuinely worried that the mass parties directed by the Kremlin could exploit the defeat of the Axis in Europe and the Far East, and come to power. A constant theme of wartime diplomacy was that the Soviets could not expect Washington's good will unless they stopped "subverting" other countries. This aim was concretized in the demand for dissolution of the Comintern, an organization which (falsely) claimed continuity with Lenin's "general staff of world revolution."

For example in early 1943, Elbridge Durbrow, an important State Department official specializing in East Europe, wrote in an internal memorandum that any post-war agreement with the



Earl Browder at Madison Square Garden Communist Party rally, 1936. AP

Soviets "would have to include a very concrete and definite agreement that the activities of the Comintern would have to be liquidated" (U.S. State Department, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1943).

A few months later Secretary of State Cordell Hull made the same point in a conversation with the exiled Czech leader, Eduard Beneš:

"I then said that if Russia would definitely and formally prohibit any further activities under the direction of the Third International in the various nations of the world such as the South American nations, the United States and others, that single act alone would go further than all else to restore the most agreeable friendly relations between the people of Russia and other nations."

—Ibid.

On 23 May 1943 Stalin obliged the U.S. State Department and announced the dissolution of the Comintern. This act was justified as a measure to strengthen the unity of the "progressive anti-Hitlerite coalition":

"In countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition the sacred duty of the widest masses of the people and in the first place of foremost workers, consists in aiding by every means the military efforts of the governments of these countries...."

"At the same time the war of liberation of freedom-loving peoples against the Hitlerite tyranny, which has brought into movement the masses of people, uniting them without regard to religion or party, of the powerful anti-Hitlerite coalition has demonstrated that the general national uprising and mobilization of people for the speediest victory over the enemy can be best of all and most fruitfully carried by the vanguard of the working class movement of each separate country, working within the framework of its own country." [our emphasis]

—New York Times, 24 May 1943

The American ruling class was understandably pleased. Even the more sophisticated representatives of the American government, who knew the Kremlin still kept an iron control over foreign CP's, did not regard the formal dissolution of the Comintern as a trick or empty gesture. They considered the public repudiation of the Leninist principle of an international party, at the direct behest of the U.S. government, to be an important proof of a conciliatory foreign policy. The American ambassador to the USSR at the time, Admiral William Standley, wrote in an internal memorandum:

"... it [the dissolution of the Comintern] is a gesture toward cooperation and a

mark of confidence by the Soviet government in its allies.... I believe that for some time the Comintern has been basically an agency of Soviet national policy rather than of world international revolution and that this policy will be furthered rather than hindered by this action."

—U.S. State Department, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1943

### Browderism: American Popular Frontism

To call Browder's wartime pronouncements a "revision" of Marxism and Leninism is to do an injustice to Eduard Bernstein and Nikolai Bukharin. Browder did not merely seek to "revise" Marxism, claiming to adhere to some basic principles. He openly put forth anti-socialist, liberal populism. The following typical statement is from his speech to the founding convention of the Communist Political Association in May 1944:

"The most disturbing influence against our national unity for victory is the expectation that peace between nations will be the signal for the outbreak of great class struggles within the nation...."

"Our post-war plan is directed to achieve national unity for the realization of the perspectives laid down in Teheran.

"That means, first of all, that we must find a program that will unite the democratic, progressive majority of the American people, from all classes, and that we shall not permit that majority to be split up and thus give the opportunity for the anti-Teheran forces to rise to power."

—Communist, July 1944

The basic line which Browder is defending here was common to all Stalinist parties throughout the world. At the level of practice, the most important aspects of Browder's wartime class collaboration was open electoral support to Roosevelt, formal dissolution of the CPUSA, and the complete suppression of class struggle and the fight for democratic rights. Furthering the war effort involved all-out support to the no-strike pledge and opposition to A. Philip Randolph's march on Washington to end Jim Crow in the army.

Neither before nor after the denunciation of "Browderite revisionism" did the international Stalinist leadership criticize the CPUSA's support to Roosevelt, to the no-strike pledge or its toleration of racism in the armed forces. The dissolution of the CP was voted unanimously (including Foster, who presided



Sovfoto

U.S. millionaire Joseph Davies being greeted in Moscow by Stalin in 1934 after Roosevelt instituted diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

over the liquidationist plenum) and had good Stalinist precedent in the liquidation of the Comintern. The later case against Browder was centered on the way he presented the line, not on basic party policy itself.

Moreover, the Kremlin fully endorsed Browder for well over a year. Browder's seminal speech on the "spirit of Teheran" was published in January 1944; the dissolution of the CPUSA was in May 1944. The famous "Duclos" article was published in April 1945. Nor can this be explained by faulty communications. As we shall see, Georgi Dimitrov, head of the dissolved Comintern, explicitly endorsed Browder's "Teheran" thesis against Foster's objections. Another member of the presidium of the liquidated Comintern, the French CP leader André Marty, then serving in De Gaulle's cabinet in colonial Algeria, wrote to Browder that his speech on Teheran was "beautiful." Throughout 1944 the CPUSA press contained much

Browder-like garbage by foreign Stalinists, including one Jacques Duclos.

Moreover, everyone knew that Stalin supported Roosevelt in the 1944 elections. A bourgeois historian gives an account of the rather comic consternation in the White House that Stalin (like Browder) would openly endorse the president's candidacy:

"Democratic sensitivity over the communist issue became so great at one point that the Administration took the unusual step of indirectly asking Stalin not to endorse Roosevelt.... Samuel Rosenman, the President's speech writer, expressed fear to Joseph Davies that any intimation from Moscow that Stalin favored Roosevelt's election might hurt the Democratic Party. Davies offered to send a personal message to the Soviet leader conveying this concern...."

—John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947*

Since the early 1930's, Browder had been faithful to every turn in Moscow's line. He was party leader during the

"Third Period," when he dutifully denounced Roosevelt as a "social-fascist," and during the left turn (in the U.S., though not in Germany) of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. The extreme form in which he voiced class collaborationism reflected not so much Browder's political personality as his objective role as leader of the American CP.

In Europe, both before and after World War II, the CP-instigated "popular fronts" with capitalist parties also included mass social-democratic parties. Thus, it was possible for the Stalinists to color their alliances with the European bourgeoisie with a certain amount of "progressive" and sometimes even vaguely socialist rhetoric. But the American social democracy was politically insignificant, and Roosevelt's Democratic Party had no need of CP support to win office. An alliance with the Democratic Party could only be justified on the basis of explicit liberal populism.

The CPUSA was not a mass party. Its very legality was subject to the whim of the Democrats. Browder, whom Roosevelt released from prison in 1942 (after locking him up the year before), was hardly in line for a cabinet post. Thus the CP could not even claim to influence government policy, but had to openly state its faith in Roosevelt's good will.

Browderism was the logical expression of Stalinist "popular frontism" under conditions where the working class, in its mass, supports the liberal bourgeois party and the CP is not a contender for governmental power.

### The Myth of Foster's Left Opposition

When Jay Lovestone was expelled from the CPUSA in 1929, William Z. Foster was the most authoritative, experienced and prominent leader of the party. He was the natural choice to replace the Bukharinite Lovestone as general secretary. However, Stalin did not want authoritative national leaders with their own following and deprived Foster of his expected promotion to party leadership. Instead Moscow favored the dark-horse Earl Browder, once Foster's lieutenant, who had been a second-rank figure in the 1920's.

Foster bitterly resented Browder's rise to power and sought to undermine his authority. In both the first "popular front" period (1935-39) and during the war, Foster sniped at Browder from the left without opposing any of his substantive policies, which were dictated from Moscow.

Browder's extreme class-collaborationist line became increasingly unpopular among the party's trade unionists as the war progressed. By 1944 it was obvious that the Allies would win. The mass of workers saw no reason to make sacrifices when the Sloans, Fords and DuPonts were becoming visibly wealthier through armaments production. The CP's aggressive support for the no-strike pledge and for labor discipline was running into mass resistance in the shops. By 1944 the CP was being outflanked from the left not only by the then-revolutionary, Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, but also by slick Rooseveltian social democrats like Walter Reuther.

However, Foster's left criticisms of Browder had nothing to do with advocating militant class struggle. No leader of the CP denounced labor militancy during the war more forcibly than did Foster. When John L. Lewis called a coal strike in the spring of 1943, Foster wrote:

"If Mr. Lewis... had given support to Roosevelt's seven-point program for economic stabilization, the miners and other workers would not be finding themselves in their present difficult economic situation."

—quoted in Art Preis, *Labor's Giant Step*

Foster personally took to the coal fields to lead a back-to-work movement.

Not only did Foster fully agree with Browder's policy on the unions, but he

supported the dissolution of the party. He also favored open electoral support to Roosevelt.

In fact, Foster avoided *all concrete* issues in favor of an abstract criticism of Browder's theoretical premises and projections. Foster argued that Browder underestimated the reactionary nature of U.S. monopoly capital and consequently the danger of American imperialism. In short, Foster objected to what Browder was saying, not what the CPUSA was doing.

The core of Foster's position is presented in a telegram to Dimitrov in early 1944:

"Agree Browder general estimate Teheran except serious underestimation danger American imperialism. Disagree several points application to America including joint Republican-Democratic Presidential election ticket which would either eliminate Roosevelt or weaken support. Disagree with estimation of progressive role of American big business which minimizes danger of reaction in United States.... Agree national unity also after war with responsible strike policy but disagree with continuation of no strike pledge after war. Agree that socialism is no issue in America now or immediate post-war period but cannot ignore socialist lessons of USSR."

—quoted in Philip J. Jaffe, "The Rise and Fall of Earl Browder," *Survey* (Spring 1972)

Dimitrov advised Foster to withdraw his opposition. Like the loyal Stalinist hack that he was, Foster duly followed Moscow's "advice." At the time of the founding convention of the Communist Political Association, Foster's speech was indistinguishable from Browder's whom he frequently cited as authority:

"Therefore, with Roosevelt continued in office and backed up by the labor movement, the U.S., after the war, would continue a collaboration with its present war allies, to maintain world peace and to work upon the gigantic tasks of economic reconstruction.

"But, obviously, the decisive masses of the people in Europe, Asia and America are not yet prepared to adopt socialism. Hence, the capitalist system in order to live, to meet the crying needs of the people and move toward an era of prosperity, spoken of by Browder in his report, must adopt many new and drastic economic and political policies."

Both Browder and Foster fully agreed with "peaceful coexistence" internationally and class collaboration domestically. Their differences were essentially verbal—how to explain and justify this policy. Closer to empirical truth, Browder asserted that Roosevelt represented the decisive elements, or at least the vanguard, or American big business. Foster insisted that Roosevelt was a populist opponent of American monopoly capital, whose representative he claimed was the Republican/Dixiecrat coalition.

Browder recognized that there was only a quantitative difference between the Democrats and Republicans (Dewey fully supported the wartime alliance with Russia). Foster preferred to present the Republicans as virtually pro-fascist and as extreme imperialist militarists.

In short, Foster's opposition was centered on the charge that Browder was *soft on the Republican Party*. Thus Browder, Foster argued, deprived the CP of the opportunity to present its support for Roosevelt as an attack on the American ruling class.

### The Attack on "Browderite Revisionism"

As we have seen, the international Stalinist leadership fully supported Browder's line for more than a year. The individual ultimately responsible for unmasking Browder's "revisionism" was neither Foster, nor Duclos, nor Dimitrov, nor even Stalin. It was Franklin D. Roosevelt.

At the Teheran conference in December 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill made vague promises to allow a Soviet sphere of influence in East Europe. At the Yalta conference in February 1945, they tried to renege on

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Editorial in *The Worker*, May 2, 1943, began: "The President's action in having the government take over the mines is essential to the safety of the nation. There can be no dispute about it."

# Hospital Threatens to Deport Foreign Doctors

## Victory to NYC Interns' Strike!

OCTOBER 10—A strike of interns and residents at three New York City hospitals—Albert Einstein, Flower Fifth Avenue and Brookdale—continued this week in the face of threats of vicious reprisals from the hospital administrations. At issue in the strike which began October 5 is the hospitals' refusal to continue to recognize the Committee of Interns and Residents (CIR) as the doctors' bargaining agent.

The strike is the third to hit New York's hospital system in as many months: District 1199 of the National Union of Hospitals and Health Care Employees struck the city's voluntary hospitals last July, followed a month later by a strike at municipal facilities by Local 420 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Frenzied managements have responded by threatening those doctors who respect the picket lines with firing and blacklisting.

The voluntary hospitals got the pretext they were looking for to go after the CIR when the National Labor Relations Board ruled last March that interns and residents are students, not workers and therefore the hospitals were not required to bargain collectively with them. As the CIR's September 30 contract expiration date neared, most of

**OCTOBER 12—At press time a strike of the Committee of Interns and Residents (CIR) still had 100 percent support from doctors at New York's Flower Fifth Avenue and Albert Einstein hospitals, despite the breaking of the strike yesterday at Brooklyn's Brookdale Hospital.**

At Brookdale the strike from its outset was only 60 percent effective with the bulk of the hospital's house staff in the Department of Medicine refusing to support it. In the face of vicious administration threats of firings and blacklistings the CIR pulled down its line there Monday when it failed in a last-ditch effort to pull out the department.

The defeat at Brookdale will surely embolden the hospital managements and threatens as well to reopen the question of CIR recognition at the rest of the city's hospitals. All NYC hospital unions must strike now to defend the embattled interns and residents, as well as to reopen their own wretched contracts!

the voluntaries notified their house staff that they would no longer recognize the city-wide union and that the staffs would have to negotiate on a hospital-by-hospital basis. This, despite the agreement of the municipal hospitals (the NYC Health and Hospitals Corporation) to recognize the CIR.

However, as it became apparent that the interns and residents were prepared to strike, most of the hospitals capitulated and recognized the union. Einstein, Brookdale and Flower Fifth Avenue were the holdouts.

The struck hospitals have so far refused to even discuss a contract with the CIR, even though the union's demands in terms of salaries, fringe benefits, work hours and patient care items are minimal. Even the CIR's cringing willingness to accept a "no-strike" contract with binding arbitration has thus far failed to entice the administrations into talking.

By the end of the first week of the strike there was reportedly 100 percent participation on the lines at Flower and at Einstein, with 60 percent of the doctors out at Brookdale. When the



Interns picket Flower Fifth Avenue Hospital during interns' strike last week. Dr. Jay Dobkin, CIR president, is at left.

walkout first began, many department chairmen and attending physicians initially refused to back it, arguing that union representation was "unprofessional" and implying that it was beneath the house staff's dignity to organize against 80-100 hours of work per week (often 30-40 hours straight without sleep), and pay rates that often work out to less than the minimum wage.

However, all pretext of "professionalism" quickly evaporated as firings were threatened, members were told they would be dropped from residency programs and department directors threatened to withhold recommendations for job placements. At Brookdale, foreign doctors who are liable for deportation if they lose their jobs were individually singled out and "reminded" of their tenuous position!

One reason the doctors' strike has been dragging on is that scabbing by the major hospital unions has kept the hospitals running. Although the CIR has called for support from other hospital employees, its own wretched history of scabbing on these unions' strikes leaves it in a bad position to ask for help. During the 1199 and Local 420 strikes this past summer, the CIR leadership instructed its members to cross the lines and give "support from inside" by only doing their doctoring work but refusing to fill in for the struck workers.

So scab they did, with the sole exception of a group of CIR members at Montefiore Hospital in the Bronx. When the Montefiore doctors refused to cross 1199 picket lines, the hospital fired two physicians and suspended seven others, most of whom had been active in organizing efforts supported by the Progressive Labor Party (PL). A second picket line was then thrown up at Montefiore in their defense, yet even then the CIR refused to call out the rest of its house staff at Montefiore, ordering its people to cross the picket lines of its own members!

The Montefiore doctors were eventually successful in winning reinstatement, but because of their isolation were forced to accept very harsh terms. The doctors accepted a settlement stating they would be fired the next time they walked out—which explains why Montefiore is not participating in the present strike.

The bureaucracies of the New York hospital unions have given the same message to their members: do not respect the principle of labor solidarity

and anyone who honors a picket line does so at his own risk. Last summer District 1199 head Leon Davis walked the picket lines at Montefiore and demagogically swore the union would stay out to defend any hospital worker victimized for respecting the lines. Yet when the PL-supported doctors were suspended, Davis completely reneged on his pledge.

Last week at Brookdale some 75 District 1199 members who attended a rally in front of the hospital to support the CIR strike heard their union spokesman first correctly point out that if the CIR is defeated, District 1199 will be next on the administration's strike-breaking agenda. The spokesman went on to say that 1199 would "support" the strike anyway it could, "within the bounds of the contract." In other words, it would not instruct 1199 members to respect the lines, since its contracts are

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## France...

*(continued from page 1)*

election campaigns approach. So far, the Communist Party (PCF) and the Left Radicals have clearly cast their lot on a Union of the Left victory in these elections.

After coyly returning a couple of the president's winks, the Left Radicals have resisted the Giscardian attempts to seduce them into a "center-left" coalition. Instead they have remained as the organizational representative of the bourgeoisie in the popular-front bloc, assuring the PCF and Socialist Party (PS) that their "fidelity... to the Union of the Left is beyond doubt" (*Le Monde*, 18 September).

The PS, however, has left open the possibility of a rapprochement with Giscard. This came to the fore over whether the Union of the Left would present a single slate of candidates in next spring's municipal elections. The PCF favors a common slate and its proposals to that effect have been accepted by two local PS federations.

However, emboldened by a relatively heavy PS vote in the 1976 cantonal elections, François Mitterrand and the national Socialist Party leadership have postponed any formal commitment while awaiting the unraveling of the



Sauer/Paris Match

### French Prime Minister Raymond Barre

governmental crisis. In an unmistakable bid for the prime ministership, Mitterrand declared on the eve of the Chirac resignation, "I think that the president and I can both aid the French people... at the same time and each in his own place, should the need arise" (*Le Point*, 6 September).

### "Far Left" and the Popular Front

The endless maneuvering among the parties of the Union of the Left has been reflected among its "far left" hangers-on, each seeking to carve out a niche on the periphery of the popular front. The most ambitious of the maneuverers has

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been the left social-democratic Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU) which has sought to convince the PCF and PS that only a broader coalition (i.e., one including the PSU) can insure victory at the polls in 1978. Certainly the PSU's utopian-reformist program of "self-managing socialism" and sub-reformist demands like "struggle against the fiscal privileges of the bourgeoisie" will be no obstacle to joining the popular front.

True to its Pablist world view, the centrist LCR is constantly on the prowl for get-rich-quick schemes to catapult it to instant mass influence. Having currently set its sights on the "broad



Paris Match

### Former Prime Minister Jacques Chirac (center).

vanguard" of the PSU, the LCR made it clear that it was not about to let "petty" questions like program or the heritage of Trotskyism stand in the way of "success" (see "Mandel Offers to Renounce Trotsky, Fourth International," *WV* No. 117, 9 July 1976).

So far, however, the results have been meager indeed. The big coup was agreement by the Avignon federation of the PSU to present a joint candidate with the LCR "against the candidate of the right" (with a call for a vote to the PS candidate on the second-round run-off). However, alarmed by the tiny 1.6 percent vote which the joint candidate drew, the PSU national leadership reprimanded its Avignon federation. It simultaneously reasserted that to characterize the Union of the Left's Common Program as "class-collaborationist" and to call on the PCF and PS to form a government are not acceptable in the PSU's "language" (*Rouge*, 20 September).

Feeling pangs of rejection, the LCR lashed out against its social-democratic would-be allies: "Is the PSU willing to be on common lists with the Left Radicals? Is the PSU willing to accept references to the Common Program?" (*Ibid.*). The Ligue has a lot of nerve asking such questions! In 1973 it called for a vote for the entire Union of the Left (including the bourgeois Left Radicals) in the second round of parliamentary elections; and although it later criticized itself for supporting the candidates of the Left Radicals the LCR leadership has once again stated its willingness to vote ("critically," of course) for the popular front.

While the LCR criticizes the PSU's failure to see the class-collaborationist nature of the Common Program, the right-centrist OCI has temporarily put on its "orthodox" hat and condemns the LCR for failing to see the popular-front character of the Union of the Left.

However, both the OCI and LCR only succeed in proving their mutual opportunism and capitulation before the popular front, the LCR softer toward the Stalinist wing, the OCI more enamored of the social democrats. While in 1973 the OCI still preserved a fig-leaf of orthodoxy by voting "only" for the reformist workers parties of the popular front, in the 1974 presidential elections it voted on both rounds for

Mitterrand, the single candidate of the bourgeois Union of the Left.

And while the LCR states its readiness to merge with the PSU even if it means giving up affiliation to the United Secretariat and cutting out references to Trotskyism, the OCI has made it a practice that wherever the leading tendency in the workers movement is social democracy, OCI supporters in those countries essentially liquidate into the social-democratic parties (e.g., Britain, West Germany, Portugal, English-speaking Canada).

### Down with Parliamentary Cretinism!

In the context of this pot-calling-the-kettle-black "debate" on the popular front being waged in the pages of *Rouge* and *Informations Ouvrières*, it is noticeable that the slogans being raised by the LCR and OCI in the current governmental crisis have been essentially interchangeable. Both seized upon the results of the cantonal elections to demand the ouster of Giscard's "minority government." Both have called for dissolution of the National Assembly.

Not only does this amount to parliamentary cretinism in a situation that demands above all turning the token one-day work stoppage into a militant general strike to smash the austerity plan; it is also a thinly veiled call for placing the popular front in power, although the LCR and OCI slogans are carefully limited to negative demands. Sometimes they are even more explicit, as when the LCR states:

"the PCF and PS [what about the Left Radicals?] signed the Common Program on the basis that they said they were ready to govern.... Why, then, don't they call for the dissolution of the Assembly and for [new] elections...?"  
—*Rouge*, 23 September

Both the OCI and LCR, it is true, sometimes mention in smaller headline type a call for a PCF-PS government. However, they do not raise this demand in such a manner to sharply counterpose a revolutionary workers government based on dual power organs of the working class (such as strike committees in a general strike situation) to the small change of a parliamentary government of PCF and PS ministers. On the contrary, they present the demand in a purely parliamentary manner.

A general strike can be a powerful weapon of the proletariat. In this case the union and PCF/PS bureaucrats made sure that nothing got "out of hand," that the action was essentially a token protest (although massive in size) and that it was clearly focused on class collaboration. A Trotskyist vanguard must struggle to defeat the misleaders of the working class (the reformists and the centrists), thereby opening the road to a real offensive against the capitalist attacks and the formation of a workers government of soviet power.

—For a militant general strike to smash the austerity plan!

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LOS ANGELES

## UAW...

(continued from page 12)

contract were rejected, the next steps would be decided by "you people." "Wherever you want to go, that's where we'll go." Hidden behind this facade of democracy is the fact that the ISTC leaders don't know what to do next. Nor did the ISTC have any strategy for linking up with production workers which is key to winning any major gains.

Simply prolonging the Ford strike, although essential at the level of basic trade-union militancy, will not win fundamental gains for auto workers. What is needed is a strike against all auto and agricultural implement companies in the U.S. and Canada. Given the state of American society, such a strike would go beyond typical union bargaining to become a major struggle against the capitalist class as a whole.

Nor will auto workers make fundamental gains as long as Woodcock & Co. make the decisions behind the auto workers' backs. Strike committees must be elected to put the power to bargain and run the strike in the hands of the membership.

At the official Local 600 Tool and Die meeting, International skilled-trades representative Don Liddell and Local 600's Bob King attempted to sell the national, local and unit agreement to 500 restive tradesmen. Liddell and King were interrupted repeatedly by angry workers. One member walked nearly the length of the hall with the contract at arm's length while holding his nose.

The bureaucrats were booed when they described the settlement as decent, and when the floor eventually opened for discussion, every speaker but one denounced the contract. As Al Gardner, chairman of the ISTC, came to the podium, the hall was hushed. But though Gardner spoke uninterruptedly for 20 minutes, he merely criticized the package and called for a no vote.

Approximately 1,500 skilled workers attended the Local 600 Maintenance and Construction unit meeting. Local president and national bargainer Mike Rinaldi gave a lackadaisical report on the national package and was also interrupted continually. He didn't even bother to call for a "yes" vote, but did describe the tentative agreement as the best ever.

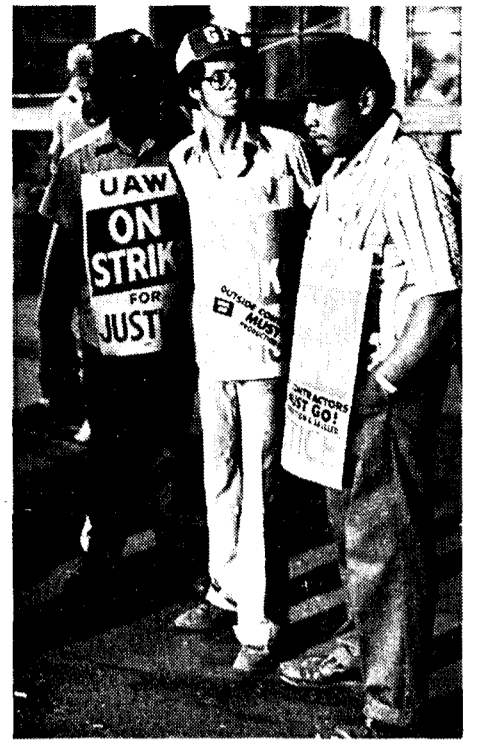
Here, too, the sentiment of the ranks was negative but diffuse. One militant reminded the workers of the 200,000 jobs lost since 1974, including 1,000 from the Rouge engine plant. He criticized the Reuther/Woodcock one-at-a-time strategy and the massive scabbing, and described the holiday plan as a farce which wouldn't create new jobs.

Rinaldi's response was to demand an apology for the scabs who had done only "essential" work behind the picket lines. One Rouge dock worker yelled out that this was an obvious lie since he had been asked aboard the *Henry Ford II* to unload it.

### Production Workers

The turnout at the production workers' meeting was considerably smaller. Less than 200 attended the Dearborn Assembly Plant meeting to hear unit president Hank Wilson claim that he was disappointed with the contract. Nonetheless, he recommended ratification, warning of the danger of a long losing strike. "It takes top leadership to fight Woodcock," Wilson told a *WV* reporter at the Ford Council meeting Thursday. "I guess I haven't got the courage."

Only 300 attended the unit meeting of the Dearborn Stamping Plant, but those who did saw the bureaucrats of today jockeying with the aspiring misleaders of tomorrow. Supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party-backed Auto Workers United to Fight (AWUF)



WV Photo

### Auto workers on strike at River Rouge in September.

patrolled the union hall to keep outsiders away. When an AWUF supporter slugged a leaflet from a tiny socialist group, a *WV* salesman protested and the attacker answered, "That's right; I'm doing the bureaucrats' work."

Inside, the meeting was notable primarily for the incompetence of UAW Local 600 secretary Bill Brown and unit chairman Willie Washington. Brown was utterly incapable of controlling the angry, mainly black workers in the hall.

Three times Brown tried to surrender the podium, saying that people were free to reject the sellout, only to be ordered back to the stage by angry workers demanding explanations. When Washington called for the sergeant-at-arms and no one responded, he declared the meeting adjourned and left the room.

Leadership of those remaining fell by default into the laps of the AWUF. The AWUF had *nothing* to say, except to convince the already convinced workers that the contract should be voted down.

Even though they spoke from a podium covered with a giant picture of Jimmy Carter, AWUF members could not bring themselves to say a single word about unemployment, racial discrimination or Woodcock's commitment to the Democratic Party. A call for a "new day, a new spirit" and two more explanations of the contract's shortcomings finally drove all but a few from the meeting.

Apart from their almost identical bunglings, the AWUF and ISTC were outstripped by the workers who already knew the contract was a sellout. These groups have thus demonstrated their incapacity to lead the workers. A class-struggle opposition is required to raise a transitional program and strategy which attacks the source of the problems facing auto workers—capitalism.

What the Ford strike and contract fiasco have proved is that the present crop of shortsighted, mealy-mouthed pseudo-oppositionists have no more of an answer than the in-power bureaucrats.

—Reject the Ford contract settlement!

—Strike all auto and agricultural implement companies in the U.S. and Canada!

—For elected strike committees!  
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# Bay Area Demo Against Ford/Carter

SAN FRANCISCO—Over 2,000 demonstrators greeted the second Ford-Carter "debate" here October 6 in a virtual dress parade of the Bay Area left. In an atmosphere reminiscent of 1960's New Left peace crawls, the Spartacist League's large banner calling for "Oust the Bureaucrats, For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government" stood out for its emphasis on independent working-class mobilization against the twin capitalist parties.

Despite the large turnout, there was no semblance of unity between the various groups (each had a separate police permit and picket line), due to the fragmentation of San Francisco's large radical milieu, increasing conflict between Maoist groupings, and the opportunist appetites of such groups as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to pursue "special interest" groups.

The various picket lines strung out like sideshows before the Palace of the Legion of Honor presented a smorgasbord of the "left"—everyone from anti-Indira Gandhi protesters sitting impassively in lotus position to guerrilla theater actors dressed up as Ford and Carter kicking around a large rubber ball (planet Earth), opponents of Congressional appropriations for the Trident submarine and B-1 bomber, the "Ad Hoc Committee Against U.S. Involvement in the Third World," and groups supporting various national liberation struggles.

A "Pro-Life" contingent also appeared to chant (mocking pro-abortion feminists) "Unborn sisters are our sisters too," and three Nazis briefly raised the sign "Jews Go To Hell," before being led away by police as a dozen indignant leftists attacked their racist filth.

The SWP, in a coalition with the National Organization of Women (NOW), limited itself to demanding



Demonstrators greeted Ford and Carter outside Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco on October 6.

legal abortion, downplaying even its own reformist presidential campaign. Given the recent Congressional legislation prohibiting federal subsidies of abortions for poor women on welfare or Medicaid, the SWP's continued refusal to fight for free abortion on demand is particularly disgusting. As the Spartacist contingent entered the demonstration area, SWP marshals quickly formed a cordon, informing SL supporters they could not enter, since SWP/NOW had a parade permit and could exclude anyone they wanted to.

The largest grouping was that of the "October 6th Coalition," an amorphous ad-hoc conglomeration including Progressive Labor, the Communist Party, and various New Left groups, among them Bay Area Gay Liberation. The Coalition emphasized "U.S. Out of South Africa" and support to armed struggle in southern Africa, ending with

a rally confined to low-key anti-imperialist rhetoric from ZANU and African liberation support groups.

Conspicuously absent was the Bay Area labor movement. A 300-member contingent from the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) pulled out early, as their exclusively anti-Ford rhetoric was swamped by "too many leftists," according to one AFGE marshal. But the assembled reformists, nationalists and constituency group protesters peddling their shopworn wares in front of the phony "debate" cannot break labor from their traditional misleaders. Only the SL's struggle to dump the bureaucrats, break with the Republicrats and form a workers party with a class-struggle program can mobilize the working class in its own historic interests and provide a real alternative to the tweedledum-tweedledee parties of imperialism. ■

## NMU...

(continued from page 3)

and the army is being "professionalized." At such a time the non-conscript armed forces are composed of the most reactionary and anti-labor elements, ferociously loyal to the capitalist order.

Militant workers do not ignore the special grievances and problems of conscripted soldiers, the cannon fodder of the imperialist war machine. But trade-union organizing—for higher pay and better conditions, so they can kill more effectively for Uncle Sam—is not the answer. The armed forces are not part of the labor movement but instead are the central component of the bourgeois state apparatus whose function is to protect capitalist property relations.

The NMU bureaucracy cannot ignore this obvious fact. In its view: "Providing union representation under conditions such as the military must be ready for—including combat—is nothing new to us... the testimonials to our members and our Union by Presidents and military commanders—are the answer to those who think union representation and military operations are incompatible" (President's Report). Thus the bureaucrats promise beforehand to enforce military discipline in support of the imperialist war aims of the bosses!

The Militant-Solidarity Caucus attacked this social-patriotic scheme in a leaflet distributed at the convention entitled, "Organize Maritime Workers, Not the Army!" It pointed out:

"While labor might support draftees who protest over grievances and demand democratic rights, it is a grave mistake to become involved with, much less support, efforts to organize on a trade union basis in the military, because this would lead to enforcing discipline and making the military more efficient as a weapon in the hands of big business."

—Beacon supplement, 5 October

In the maritime industry, international solidarity is a burning necessity to combat the shipowners' perpetual search for non-union cheap labor sources around the globe. But this task cannot be achieved by a rotting bureaucracy which parrots the nationalism of the U.S. ruling class. Class-struggle leadership can only be provided by those, such as the M-SC, who counterpose working-class solidarity to all forms of parochialism in the labor movement (nationalism, protectionism, jurisdictional raiding, etc.), and who stand resolutely for the class independence of the labor movement from the capitalists and their government. ■

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Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta.

Informations Ouvrières

## Browder...

(continued from page 7)

that promise, at least as far as the major East European nations were concerned. They insisted that reliable bourgeois, pro-Western parties be included in the post-war East European governments.

At Yalta Roosevelt and Churchill pressured Stalin into expanding the Communist-dominated Lublin government in Poland by including the anti-Communist, Pilsudskite "government-in-exile" in London. They further induced Stalin to agree that the future Polish government should be determined by a free election.

The composition of the Polish post-war government was the first major battle of the cold war. Browder's error was that he continued to sing of "the spirit of Teheran," not realizing that the "spirit of Yalta" was a very different tune.

There is a recent well-documented and fairly objective account of the Browder affair written by Philip J. Jaffe, a long-time fellow-traveler ("The Rise and Fall of Earl Browder," *Survey*, Spring 1972).

Jaffe makes a good case that the article attacking Browder which appeared in the French CP journal, *Cahiers du Communisme*, in April 1945 was not written by Jacques Duclos. It was written in Moscow and published through the French CP press so as not to give the American ruling class the impression that the Kremlin dictated to the CPUSA. The article appeared in France a few weeks before Roosevelt's death. Its impact in the U.S. was reinforced by the first acts of Truman, who sought to overcome his lack of authority by "getting tough with the Russians."

In terms of concrete policy, the main focus of the "Duclos" article was an attack on the formal liquidation of the CPUSA. The article explicitly endorsed electoral support to Roosevelt in 1944. It said nothing about trade-union policy or anything concrete about the class struggle in the U.S. Like Foster's earlier

criticisms, the "Duclos" article consists of an abstract polemic against the notion that American monopoly capitalism can be progressive.

Why did the Soviet leadership decide to criticize Browder at this particular time and on these particular grounds? The Russians realized before Browder did that the Roosevelt administration had adopted a harder line on East Europe. In terms of influencing American politics, this meant pushing the few influential Democratic doves, like Henry Wallace and Joseph E. Davies, against the increasingly hawkish American government. The new line expressed in the "Duclos" article is revealed when it praises Henry Wallace, former vice



William Z. Foster

International Publishers

president and then secretary of commerce, as a true opponent of American monopoly capital:

"In the United States, the omnipotent trusts have been the object of violent criticism. It is known, for instance, that the former Vice President of the United States, Henry Wallace, has denounced their evil doings and their anti-national policy."

—Political Affairs, July 1945

The basic line of the "Duclos" article was that the CPUSA should withdraw its all-out support to the Democratic administration in favor of the minority of bourgeois politicians who wanted friendly relations with Moscow. The "Duclos" article was the first harbinger of Henry Wallace's Progressive Party.

All the rhetoric about monopoly/finance capital was simply a cover for the real issue: "which bourgeois politicians to support" and "when." Any bourgeois politician "friendly" to the Soviet Union was, by definition, an opponent of monopoly capital, and any anti-Soviet hawk a spokesman for the trusts.

Jaffe argues that the purpose of the "Duclos" article was not to oust Browder from party leadership, much less bring about his expulsion. He claims

that Foster exploited the Kremlin's criticisms of Browder to destroy a hated rival. To back up this hypothesis, he reports that Dimitrov told the Yugoslav CP leader Eduard Kardelj that "it was too bad how the Browder affair turned out." If Browder had immediately engaged in self-criticism, as his lieutenant Eugene Dennis did, Jaffe argues he could have kept his leadership post:

"After 25 years of experience with him, Moscow had every reason to be confident that, handled properly, he would in his own way have modified his position and ultimately fallen into line. Many believe that might have happened, and I am one of them."

As an experienced Stalinist politician, why did Browder resist an obvious quarter-left turn, thus leading to his own political destruction? As a result of America's successful military alliance with the Soviet Union, the CPUSA had gained significant respectability and influence during the war, particularly outside the workers movement. Browder knew that a serious worsening of U.S.-Soviet relations would repel the party's broad periphery of Rooseveltian liberals. Faced with the onset of the Cold War, Browder's reaction was to deny it, keeping to the old "progressive, democratic anti-Hitlerite coalition" line. By sticking his head in the ground when the Cold War came upon him, Browder got it cut off.

The condemnation of "Browderite revisionism" coupled with Foster's ascension to power raised expectations among the CP's worker militants that the party would now adopt a real class-struggle line. Foster quickly disabused these left elements in the CP. His main attack on "Browderite revisionism" contains a reaffirmation of the "national unity" line and a denunciation of "ultra-leftism" in the party:

"According to these comrades, we are going to, or should, denounce the war against Japan as imperialist, condemn the decisions of Teheran as unachievable, drop the slogan of national unity, call for a farmer-labor government, give up the wartime no-strike pledge.... bring forward the question of Socialism as an immediate issue, and generally adopt a class-against-class policy.... Our party, if I know it, is not going to take any such Leftist course."

—Political Affairs, September 1945

Foster's opposition to a "class-against-class policy" in favor of "national unity" is the very essence of abandoning revolutionary Marxism for reformism. The issues of the Browder/Foster dispute—whether or not Tom Dewey's Republican Party was part of the "progressive, democratic anti-Hitlerite coalition," and whether and when to push Henry Wallace against Harry Truman—have nothing to do with communist politics. These are suitable issues to quarrel about only among stupid, opportunistic Stalinist hacks. ■

## Interns Strike...

(continued from page 8)

written in accordance with the anti-labor Taft-Hartley law forbidding "secondary" strikes.

Strikes by the several hospital unions can be successful only if the picket lines are respected by all employees and the facilities are solidly shut down! This vicious cycle of scabbing must be broken and the hard-fought principle of the labor movement reaffirmed that a picket line means "Don't Cross!"

The hospital administrations leaped at the opportunity to bust the CIR. The unfavorable NLRB ruling, the petty-bourgeois "professional" consciousness of the doctors as well as their widespread contempt for the other hospital unions were all factors encouraging management hardliners. A defeat at Einstein, Flower and Brookdale will

quickly unravel the "agreements" with other voluntaries.

Of course, as in all hospital strikes the administration and the bourgeois press are indulging in a flood of crocodile tears lamenting patient deaths which may ensue. But even these papers have not been able to black out the statements of doctors who recently quit municipal hospitals because they could not stand by and watch the mounting patient deaths resulting from the city's draconian cuts in service and personnel.

Since the vast cutbacks and layoffs in hospital workers began a year and a half ago, interns and residents have been increasingly used to fill the cracks in the vastly overloaded hospital system, such as doing the work of technicians. There is an urgent need for a city-wide strike of all hospital unions to reopen the District 1199 and Local 420 contracts and demand the end of speed-up, a full cost-of-living escalator, and recall of all laid-off workers. A leadership must be forged in the hospital unions to win the workers to the fight for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, for free medical services and the nationalization of health care, and to a full transitional program to politically mobilize the union ranks to throw out the scabbing misleaders who are responsible for one strike defeat after another. ■

## Nazis...

(continued from page 5)

taste for settling accounts with the minions of the Third Reich.

As of 1975, there were reportedly 3,000 known Nazi murderers in the country who had not been indicted and who can escape prosecution after 1979 under the statute of limitations. Last year it was revealed that a West German state attorney general, totally distrustful of his government's intentions, supplied the tip to Israel in 1957 that Adolf Eichmann was living under an assumed identity in Buenos Aires (*New York Times*, 29 August 1975).

The U.S. government must not be allowed to drag out these proceedings amidst a mountain of red tape and bureaucratic evasion, or to cover its complicity by extraditing a mere handful of the scores of known Nazi war criminals. These fascist vermin must be handed over to those who survived the Nazi holocaust to pay the price for their infamous crimes! ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Despite Widespread Opposition

# UAW Tops Ram Through Sellout Ford Contract

DETROIT, October 11—Just past 4:30 p.m. last Thursday, applause and cheers broke the boredom at the United Auto Workers (UAW) Ford Council, where local and unit presidents from Ford plants across the country were endorsing Woodcock's tentative agreement with the Number Two automaker. Moments later, union tops and the 175-member council, decked out in winking Jimmy Carter buttons and gold peanut lapel pins, emerged to tell reporters of their near-unanimous support for the package. One skilled-trades representative presented a minority report, but the tame council supported Woodcock with only about a dozen dissenting votes.

Woodcock, of course, was not worried about a rejection from the local bureaucrats. In fact, Solidarity House distributed a self-flattering 12-page brochure of the agreement's "highlights" to reporters even before the council's official approval. Woodcock is worried about the next step, however, as 170,000 strikers voted on the agreement yesterday. Despite Woodcock's boast that the contract "charts new paths" and "sets new standards," it in fact meets none of the needs of auto workers and may be rejected. Ford tradesmen vetoed the 1973 contract but were overridden by the bureaucracy. This time around, Woodcock, Fraser and Bannon claim that the strike will continue if the contract is turned down by the skilled-trades minority.

In the past period, the skilled trades have been more militant in rejecting rotten auto contracts than production workers. Should a skilled trades "no" vote prolong this strike, this would present an opportunity to extend and deepen the struggle to benefit the *entire* union membership. As advocates of industrial unionism we oppose the existing UAW voting system which gives the minority of skilled craftsmen the right to veto the majority. However, the decisive question at present is voting down the sellout contract which the UAW bureaucracy is trying to shove down auto workers' throats. Only when the Woodcock regime is ousted by a militant, class-struggle leadership which can fight for the interests of all auto workers will the skilled workers voluntarily give up their privileged franchise and accept a fully democratic voting system.

### A Penny Per Hour New Money and Five Fewer Christmas Holidays

Despite record profits by car manufacturers, the auto settlement is less than that won by trucking, rubber and clerical workers this year. Woodcock's much-publicized reduced worktime program provides no new time off during the first year, only five days in the second, and seven in the third. To be eligible, a worker must have one year's

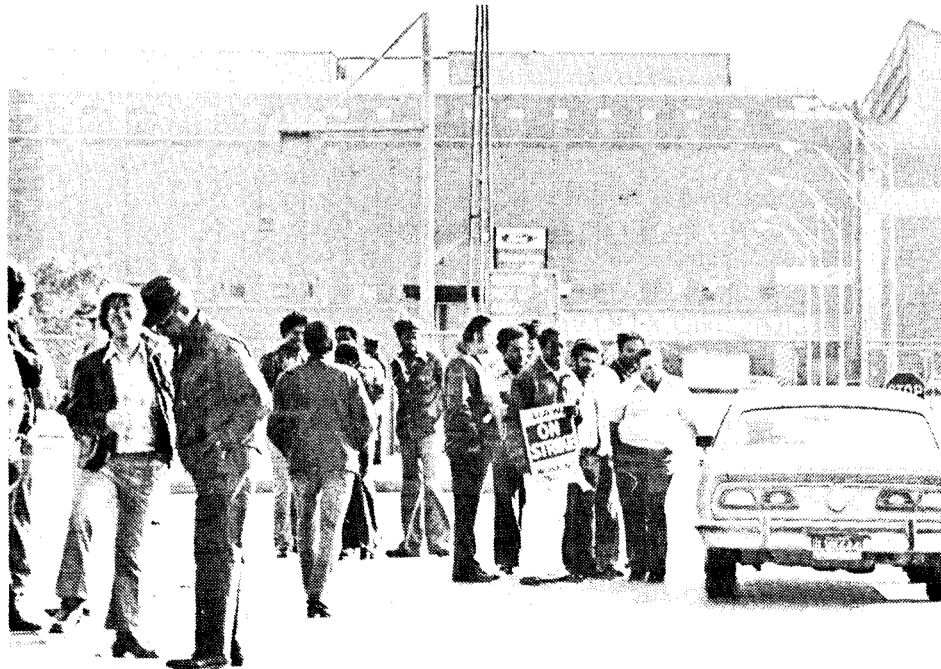
OCTOBER 12—UAW Solidarity House reported this evening that the Ford contract was narrowly approved by the skilled trades units of the union. The figures reported were: Production, for 35,192; against, 22,026. Skilled, for, 8,957; against, 8,468.

There will doubtless be challenges of the vote, given the heavy opposition to the contract among tradesmen, and particularly in light of the massive irregularities in vote counting of skilled trades balloting in 1973. Nevertheless, the Woodcock bureaucracy immediately began ordering the membership back to work.

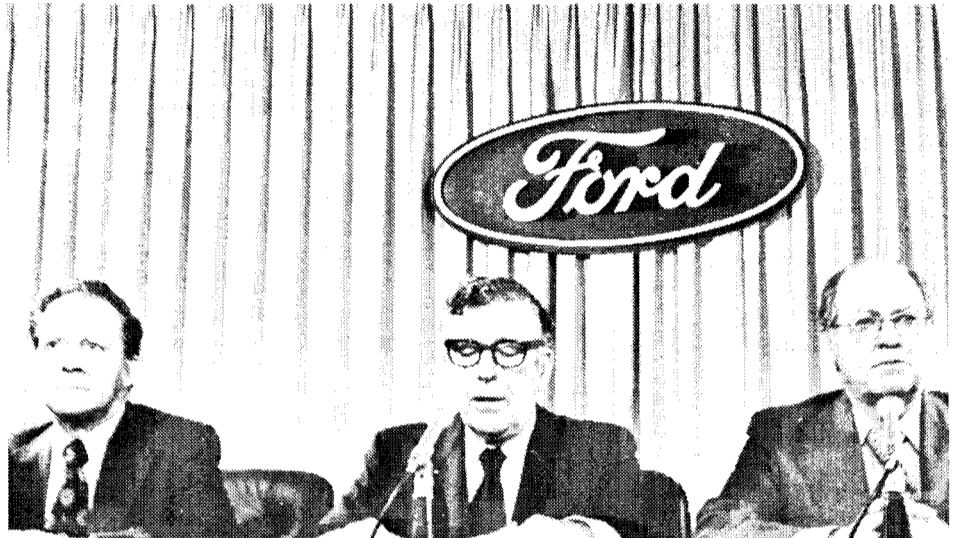
seniority and attend work the days before and after the holiday. *In return, five paid Christmas holidays were eliminated over a three-year span!* And with massive amounts of mandatory overtime being scheduled, auto workers will still be averaging far more than 40 hours a week!

Meanwhile, the cost-of-living allowance (COLA) was not improved. The wage increase remains the traditional 3 percent per year. A claimed 20-cent increase in the first year for production workers includes 9 cents diverted from last quarter's COLA, and 10 cents diverted in 1973 to pay for the dental plan—in other words, *1 cent per hour new money!*

Retirees will get no COLA on their pensions. They will instead receive a one-time \$600 bonus—paid out of the active workers' COLA. More money will be paid into the SUB fund, but this is mainly through establishing a separate SUB fund for higher seniority workers. Thus relatively less SUB money will be available to lower seniority workers—mainly women and racial minorities—who are the first to be laid off.



Pickers outside Ford River Rouge complex during strike.



Woodcock announcing settlement October 5 at Ford headquarters in Dearborn. At right, Ken Bannon, UAW Ford department head.

### Selling the Contract

Woodcock still must win approval of the pact at Ford Canada and the other auto companies. GM has been the most hard-nosed in bargaining and could well precipitate a strike. In response to a question from *WV*, Woodcock stated lamely that if strike action is necessary at GM, the impotent Apache strategy, where only a few plants at a time are struck, might be used.

Currently, however, the bureaucracy is concentrating on selling the Ford contract to the rank and file. A nationwide deadline of Tuesday, October 12, was established for the locals but copies of the contract were not available; only the slick brochures were distributed to workers. Unit meetings were hastily scheduled at which local, regional and International representa-

tives sang the praises of the proposed agreement. A full-page (UAW-paid) ad appeared in the *Detroit Free Press* counseling acceptance. The theme of virtually every bureaucrat was that a prolonged strike would win nothing.

The voting procedure itself was designed to discourage examination of the sellout and to insure a low turnout. Local 600 elections are normally spread over three days, but 27,000 Rouge workers were supposed to vote on a three-year contract in one day in the local hall. As a result, only about 10,000 local members actually cast ballots.

From the beginning of the strike, the bureaucracy has attempted to demoralize the rank and file, asking for piddling demands and then fighting for these only in a half-hearted manner. As the skilled-trades votes were tallied in Local 600 Sunday night, Bob King, chairman of the Tool and Die unit, denounced the "big heroes" who rejected the sellout he had recommended. Stamping the floor and clenching his fists, King told his assembled flunkies to crash the picket lines "if you see them [the skilled tradesmen] picketing." King and his cronies agree with Woodcock that a prolonged strike is useless. "Vote no and picket in the snow," King said.

### Skilled Trades Opposition

The strongest opposition to the contract is expected from skilled tradesmen. Six hundred workers from a dozen Ford locals came to a meeting Friday night called by the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC). The terms of the sellout were described accurately enough, but no alternative program was put forward. The entire strategy was summed up by ISTC spokesman Pete Kelly: "We've got to reject the Ford contract and send them back to the table."

Finally, Kelly promised that if the

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