

## While NATO Beefs Up Death Arsenal, Liberals/Stalinists Protest Only N-Bomb

# Neutron Bomb Uproar

For weeks preceding Jimmy Carter's April 7 decision to defer production of the U.S.' much heralded "enhanced radiation" weapon, the world was obsessed with the neutron bomb.

In the Netherlands, a Labor Party-led movement garnered one million signatures on an anti-neutron bomb petition and the Minister of Defense resigned in a gesture of protest. The secretary general of the West German Social Democratic Party (SPD) denounced the weapon as a "symbol of perversity." In virtually every European country, thousands demonstrated while the media reported in banner headlines each relevant augury of Carter's expected decision.

With the public outcry against the grisly N-bomb—labeled the weapon which "destroys people and not property"—the politicians found it a hot potato which they tried to pass on to someone else. Carter consulted his conscience and decided that explicit agreement by West European governments to deploy would have to precede a U.S. decision to produce the bomb. West German chancellor Schmidt, hearing the voices of his SPD ranks, insisted that the decision to produce must precede the agreement to deploy.

After this charade had run its course the imperialist war hawks began wringing their hands. Pentagon generals wondered anonymously what could have inducted Carter to take this step—was he some kind of religious pacifist nut? NATO commander (and former Nixon advisor) General Haig threatened to resign. West European governments grumbled about the "erratic" U.S. policy. But when all is said and done Carter's postponement of production will barely affect the development of the new weapon, and the imperialist arms build-up is mounting despite all the talk of a SALT-II arms limitation agreement with the Russians.

### What Is the Neutron Bomb?

The neutron bomb is simply a very small atomic fission bomb that releases most of its energy in the form of highly penetrating subatomic particles (neutrons). According to published reports, blast damage from the neutron bomb is confined to an area of 300 yards radius, while the intense heat generated by the explosion extends out approximately another 100 yards. (By way of comparison, a "small" one-megaton thermonuclear warhead has a blast damage radius of three miles and is capable of creating fires and inflicting third-degree burns as far as eleven miles from the center of the explosion.)

Beyond the 400-yard radius, extending outward to a range of 1,400 yards the neutron bomb emits large quantities of energetic neutrons that

readily penetrate buildings and armored vehicles without damage to these structures. The neutrons however cause massive damage to central nervous systems. People exposed to the radiation will be unable to function within half an hour and will die a lingering death, succumbing a day or so later to fits and heart failure.

Popular attitudes toward the neutron bomb are similar to the horror of chemical or bacteriological warfare. However, while the U.S. imperialists hypocritically refrain from widespread deployment of the latter agents because of their limited military utility, they are unlikely to renounce the neutron bomb which lends itself to a wide variety of military uses, including "surgical" counterrevolutionary measures around the world and in the U.S. itself. In particular, NATO sees the N-bomb as its answer to the overwhelming superiority of the Soviet bloc (Warsaw Pact) in tanks deployed in Central Europe.

As Trotskyists we are absolutely opposed to the U.S. and West European armed forces acquiring the neutron bomb, as we are to the capitalist governments' entire military programs. Not one man nor one penny should go to the imperialist military, whose targets are the degenerated/deformed workers states and the labor and left movements throughout the world! Instead of ever more "wonder weapons" from the merchants of death, we demand a program of useful public works to fight unemployment. This will not be won by lobbying liberal Democratic Congressmen for butter instead of guns, but only through class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

This places us on entirely different ground from the Stalinists, reformists and other enemies of class struggle who want to reform the U.S. military program to favor the "peace-loving" imperialists against Pentagon "hawks."



Left: Lance missile, carrier for N-bomb. Pacifists protest "anti-people weapon."

The Stalinists, who have been in the forefront of the clamor against the neutron bomb, tail the widespread revulsion against this weapon by catering to and spreading the ideology of bourgeois pacifism. U.S. Communist Party leader Gus Hall thus recently called for creation of an "independent" movement against militarism. This is simply one more example of the CPUSA's endless quest for a bloc with a "progressive wing" of the imperialist Democratic Party of Jimmy Carter.

### "Compromise"

All the while NATO has been inching toward a "compromise" which would seek to use the bomb to extract major Soviet concessions in the SALT talks.

Thus the U.S. would mandate production of the N-bomb while threatening its deployment should the Soviet Union deploy its new SS20 intermediate range ballistic missile in Europe.

Carter, however, torpedoed the "compromise" and ordered the March 20 meeting which would have ratified this blackmail postponed. The White House has made much of the "strong personal beliefs and... doubts about the morality of nuclear warfare" which prompted Carter's hesitation. More to the point however was the U.S. president's demand for an assurance that having taken the rap for producing the unpopular Dr. Strangelove weapon he would have the OK of his NATO allies

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### Moro Kidnapping:

## Make the Deal!

It seems the Italian Christian Democratic Communist-backed government wants Aldo Moro dead more than the Red Brigades do. Turning its back on Moro's desperate pleas, the Christian Democratic regime has refused to release the 13 anarcho-Maoists whose freedom the Red Brigades are demanding in exchange for the ex-prime minister's freedom. The Communist Party has been equally adamant in its call for no negotiations with Moro's captors.

The hard line is not designed simply to discourage future political kidnappings. If the Italian ruling class forces the Red Brigades' hand by refusing to negotiate, thus challenging them to kill Moro, the political climate will be prepared for massive repression of the "far left."

Notable among the self-serving appeals of ruling-class "humanitarians" is Pope Paul's appeal to the Red Brigades to release their prisoner in the name of "human compassion." Of course, the head of the Catholic Church made no such appeal to the Italian state for "human compassion" in dealing with its own leftist captives.

The 13 imprisoned Red Brigade militants, however misguided their program and activities, were seeking to struggle on behalf of the oppressed masses. We, as revolutionary proletarian communists, stand for their freedom

*continued on page 11*

# NYC Transit Ranks Said No to Contract—Strike Now!

## Courts Throw Out TWU Vote

As the press was reporting massive opposition among NYC transit workers to the proposed sellout contract, on April 25 a federal district judge threw out TWU contract-ratification ballots and ordered an entirely new vote.

The court action bought valuable time for Mayor Koch, Governor Carey and the bureaucrats of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) in their desperate effort to beat down the opposition and head off a strike. Not only would a subway and bus shutdown paralyze the center of U.S. finance, but above all the city rulers fear a strike by the powerful TWU Local 100 could open a new round of labor struggle here to reverse the draconian layoffs and job cuts forcibly extracted from the municipal unions in the previous round of "bargaining."

From the March 26 mass rally and union meeting, where TWU members unanimously voted to strike, to the numerous anti-contract rallies, demonstrations and meetings across the city which followed the April 1 sellout, the transit ranks have repeatedly shown their angry determination to fight. Last week newspaper opinion polls of the Local 100 membership indicated they had confounded all predictions by rejecting the contract, but even though they have already been working a month without a contract, transit workers are now supposed to give their misleaders another chance to wear down opposition.

The Guinan/Lawe bureaucracy of the TWU used every trick in the books to force the contract's acceptance. They only stopped short of actually prying open the ballot boxes and forging the votes when the courts came to their aid by simply stealing the vote. But worst of all was the treacherous action of the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers, who brought the ballot-box case to the capitalist court in the first place and then agreed with Guinan to throw out the vote!

Transit workers! You have had enough of this vote-rigging, vote-stealing flim-flam! You have already turned this rotten contract down and don't need another vote! The time to strike is now! No Contract—No Work!

The transit situation has been balanced on a razor's edge since April 1 when the Guinan/Lawe leadership agreed to the Transit Authority's (TA) insulting contract offer stipulating a measly 3 percent wage increase, "productivity" (i.e., layoff) clauses and schemes for hiring of part-timers. From the get-go Guinan has relied on scare tactics to defuse the opposition, first spending union money on newspaper ads which blamed the opposition on "outsiders." Then in a move to intimidate the ranks he worded the "no" box



Demonstration called by Concerned Transit Workers outside TWU office April 11.

on the ballot to read, "I Reject and Vote to Strike."

As it turned out the membership was not intimidated. But the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers was. Concerned Transit leader Henry Lewis, Jr. made this clear at the April 11 midtown rally when he announced, "We are not in any way, shape, or form calling for a strike." So rather than mobilize the ranks to throw back the Guinan/Lawe sellout, these phony "militants" went running to the bosses' courts.

Braintruster by long-time anti-TWU demagogue Joe Carnegie, they lined up for front men a couple of hot-shot "anti-imperialist" attorneys from the National Lawyers Guild (a "progressive" outfit which gives workshops on how to take the unions to court). Before a packed courtroom April 24 they challenged the TWU's voting procedures on the basis of—what else?—the anti-union Lardrum-Griffin Act, passed to enable the bourgeoisie to "clean up" the unions by outlawing militant labor action!

Certainly the lawyers had no problem finding a slew of evidence to back up their vote-fraud charge. They listed improper poll-watching procedures, the wording of the ballot and, most egregiously, the bureaucracy's blatant attempt to stuff the ballot boxes with the votes of the 25 percent of the TWU membership who do not even work under the TA contract, but are employed by other operating companies!

At the first hearing on April 24 the bureaucracy came out against the Concerned Transit Workers suit, insisting the counting procedures were completely fair. But something happened overnight—like a peek at the ballots?—which convinced the TWU officials it would be in their interest to call off the vote. Thus back in court the very next day Local 100 President John Lawe and TWU lawyer John F. O'Donnell announced the Concerned Transit Workers had caused "confusion" and left a cloud over the earlier vote. "It is important members feel the vote was fair and that there was no impropriety," O'Donnell magnanimously told the court as he recommended a brand new vote.

In welcoming O'Donnell's suggestion Judge Briant told Concerned Transit Workers lawyer James Reif, "You had a surprise victory," an opinion shared by all the labor reformists, black liberals and phony socialists. Thus the *Amsterdam News* (29 April) declared it a "stunning victory" while the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* (5 May)

announced the judge's decision was "A Victory for All New York City Workers." A victory? Instead of going out on an immediate strike in accord with the union's "no contract, no work" principle O'Donnell announced the new election would take "at least a month," and a full week later the *New York Post* (2 May) was reporting that the TWU had yet to prepare the new ballots for printing and mailing! By dragging out the voting procedures as long as possible the bureaucracy sees its best chance to demoralize and beat down the opposition.

But far more important than the results of the second balloting are the long-run effects of tying the future of the TWU to the whims of the capitalist courts—those same "neutral" bodies which just invoked the Taft-Hartley Act to try to break the miners' strike, who in conjunction with the bankers and Big MAC have been running the city unions for the past three years! In turning the growing rank-and-file opposition away from militant labor action toward reliance on the capitalist state, the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers sets up the unions for defeat. As if to prove it, one Committee leader, Mike Warren, even suggested in court April 24 that one candidate for "impartial" poll watcher would be none other than Mayor Koch, who has been running around firing city workers like crazy.

In taking the union to court over the TWU contract Concerned Transit Workers made no "mistake"—the group has been in the business of doing just that for most of the past decade. In fact its predecessor, Joe Carnegie's Transit Rank and File group, became notorious for its history of using the capitalist courts as a factional weapon against the union bureaucracy, sometimes with disastrous results. In 1972, for example, when thousands of TWU members were involved in a bitter struggle to turn down that sellout contract, Transit Rank and File played into the vicious anti-union sentiment of the time by going to court to try to decertify the TWU for its 1970 failure to sign a no-strike pledge as part of its historic defiance of the union-busting *Taylor Law* forbidding government workers to strike! At the present time this suit is before the State Supreme Court with the TWU lawyers now using it as yet another reason to hold up the second-ballot procedures!

In the late 1960's, playing on the total alienation of the black ghetto popula-

tion unions, Carnegie's associate Jim Haughton formed Harlem Fight Back and started suing the building-trades unions to win forced hiring of black workers. This scheme played into Nixon's hands as he was in the process of cooking up the Philadelphia Plan to slash the "high wages" of seasonal construction workers by using the battering ram of "affirmative action" to try to bust the unions. While Haughton's schemes opened the construction unions up to government attack, for Carnegie to imitate the process in transit was not only anti-labor but completely absurd from the point of view of the TWU ranks. Certainly the lily-white Guinan/Lawe leadership runs Local 100 like its private preserve. But for all its monumental cynicism and demagoguery, it is sitting atop a militant membership, largely black and Puerto Rican, which could easily dump the bureaucracy if it had a leadership committed to mobilizing the ranks to throw the sellouts out and unite the entire union around a program to fight the TA!

The new delay in the transit contract is expected to affect the negotiations between the city and the Municipal Labor Coalition, representing more than 200,000 city workers. However, Koch has a reliable ally in Coalition leader Victor Gotbaum, who has been running around exposing himself at every opportunity. First Gotbaum insisted that city workers would settle for nothing less than parity with the TWU. Then after the initial TWU settlement Gotbaum bragged he would win city workers *more* than the 2-year 6 percent transit increase—the biggest joke of the season from the expert loser who could never win *more* of anything for anybody at any time. But as soon as Koch said he would not even match the TWU settlement with the city workers, Gotbaum was back in the press saying, "We're willing to compromise.... We didn't say we had to have the same as transit, just similar." (*New York Times*, 25 April). The antics of this flabby social-democratic joker are by no means funny, for they spell wage freeze, speed-up and layoffs for the 200,000 municipal workers he is betraying.

A chilling example of the price of refusing to fight came in a reported tentative agreement between the Newspaper Guild and union-busting *New York Post* boss Rupert Murdoch. Thinking it could keep its hands looking clean, the Guild agreed to palm off Murdoch's demand for a 30 percent reduction of the editorial staff (by firing at management's discretion, moreover) as "voluntary" layoffs. Thus with Guild "permission" the 145 affected members of the 450 reporters, editors and advertising and clerical workers in the *Post* Guild unit now have until May 21 to so "volunteer"!

At the present time Transit Workers are boiling mad. City workers can see the handwriting on the wall for another sellout (what happens when they have no more pension funds left to loot?) as Gotbaum babbles on. *Post* employees are watching their jobs being given away as union-busting spreads in the newspaper industry. Now is the time for action. The militant TWU ranks must break both from the Guinan leadership and the treacherous union-suers of the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers and take the lead in a powerful joint strike of all transit, municipal workers and newspaper employees that would reverse the inroads made during the bank-manipulated 1974-75 "fiscal crisis." ■

### WORKERS VANGUARD

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5 May 1978

# Swedish USec Face to Face with Trotskyism

"Like alchemists of the old days, they are looking for the saving formula," Christer F. told a recent Spartacist public meeting in Stockholm, Sweden. Comrade Christer was talking about the centrist Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet (KAF—Communist Workers League), Swedish section of the United Secretariat (USec), of which he had been a long-time member before finally rejecting the USec's brand of get-rich-quick opportunism and solidarizing with the principled Trotskyist politics of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). Comrade Christer recounted the story of his oppositional struggle in the rightward-moving KAF, which culminated at the KAF national congress last December with the KAF leadership's hilariously ineffectual efforts to railroad him and a cothinker, Comrade Gunilla, out of the organization.

It all began when the two left oppositionists submitted a document, "For a Trotskyist Program," in November during the pre-conference discussion period. Though centrists must be professional confusionists and abhor above all any attempt at programmatic clarity, the furor unleashed by the document is explicable only in terms of the precarious internal situation of the KAF. The USec's uneasy truce between the former International Majority Tendency (IMT) of Ernest Mandel and the faction led politically by the reformist American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been dutifully carried out in Sweden through the dismantling of Tendencies A and B. But disgust with the social-democratic SWP has not been fully expunged from the ranks of the KAF, which has historically been rather leftist within the USec spectrum. Thus the two oppositionists were heaping salt on still-open wounds when they wrote:

"Today the KAF assists in spreading illusions about the bourgeois state. The bourgeois state and its repressive apparatus are charged with failure to intervene on behalf of immigrants who are harassed, political refugees who are turned away, and 'terrorists' who are sent packing. . . . The Malmö local called for better behavior on the part of cops in connection with attacks on immigrants (*Internationalen*, 12 August 1977).

"This is indeed different from a few years back when the KAF protested against the SWP as the latter put forward the demand that police/military troops should be sent in to defend (sic!) blacks in Boston."

—"For a Trotskyist Program"

The document also castigated the USec for increasingly open abandonment of the Trotskyist principle of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism:

"Defense of the Soviet Union is abandoned—evidently it is acceptable these days to endorse appeals with Maoists and the bourgeoisie aimed directly against the deformed and degenerated workers states. The SWP is even permitted to fuse with a state capitalist grouping without protest from any leading organ."

In Sweden, a country which directly faces the Soviet Union across the Baltic Sea (the nearest major city to Stockholm is Leningrad), this is certainly no abstract question. The oppositionists noted that the cadres who founded the KAF in 1971 had been gained largely from the sizable Swedish Maoist groups through the posing of Trotskyist positions on such questions as the class nature of the Soviet Union.

The left critics' insistence on discussing the differences between the pro-IMT and pro-SWP wings of the

USec was certainly galling to the KAF leadership, which has tried to relegate them to the status of "merely historical" disputes (the USec's equation of "historical" with unimportant itself speaks volumes). But an even more sensitive subject raised by Christer and Gunilla was the question of the KAF's foundering trade-union work. After the dissolution of Tendencies A and B, a workerist current, Tendency C, remained to plague the KAF leadership's dreams of internal peace. Though this current was far from possessing a coherent critical analysis of KAF trade-union work, its formation reflected uneasiness within the organization over the KAF's turn from "putting the union up against the wall" to attempts to become a pressure group on the union bureaucracy, often through forming propaganda blocs with left social democrats or Stalinists. "For a Trotskyist Program," with its insistence that "KAF should have communists in the trade unions and not trade unionists in the party," put forward a strategy counterposed to that of the KAF: the need to construct an alternative leadership, based on a revolutionary transitional program, to oust the pro-capitalist labor "leaders."

The reaction of the KAF leadership to "For a Trotskyist Program" was not a political reply but an attempt to instigate organizational measures against the dissidents on the grounds that their views overlapped those of the Spartacist tendency. At the instigation of one Jakob Lundmark, head of the former pro-SWP faction, the KAF Political Bureau (PB) addressed a letter to Christer and Gunilla demanding they affirm that the KAF and the USec were "revolutionary Trotskyist organizations which stand for revolutionary politics and represent a continuity back to the Fourth International's founding Congress in 1938 and the early Comintern" (letter of 26 November 1977). The two comrades replied that the PB's demand for a loyalty oath was simply an attempt to expel them "solely on the basis of our political views and our political struggle." They noted they were being victimized for political "characterizations that were acceptable before this"—that is, before the bitter faction fight in the USec was shoved under the diplomatic rug.

In their courageous reply, the comrades exposed the USec rotten bloc, noting the former factions' public criticisms of each other and contrasting the PB's concern that they affirm the USec's "continuity" to the Fourth International with Ernest Mandel's infamous 1976 statement, "What do labels matter?" While noting the difficulty of judging any political current from a distance, Christer and Gunilla forthrightly refused to deny the "commonality" of their views with the iSt "on some questions."

The PB responded with a draconian recommendation that the two be expelled at the upcoming KAF congress. A special Commission of Inquiry was constituted and enjoined to discover some basis for this purge. The Commission began to take testimony from members of the several locals of which the dissidents had been members during their years in the KAF. Simultaneously, to provide a political cover, Lundmark distributed a turgid ten-page attack on Christer and Gunilla and the iSt, drawing heavily on the political distor-

tions of ex-Spartacist Bob Pearlman, now in the American SWP.

But the scheme backfired. The witch-hunting "inquiry" could produce not a shred of evidence of indiscipline by Christer and Gunilla, but only testimonials to their seriousness and disciplined functioning, as comrades who had worked with them in branches over the years testified to their dedication and active work as KAF members. Faced with the Commission's refusal to recommend that the comrades be expelled, the embarrassed leadership was abruptly forced to change its mind about taking up the question of disciplinary action at the congress. Despite a statement protesting the leadership's bureaucratic maneuver signed by 18 delegates, the matter was tabled to another "investigative" body which was instructed to look into such matters as the oppositionists' "uncomradely tone." But even this second, presumably more carefully picked, commission refused to cover for a purely political expulsion and again exonerated the two comrades.

The ferocious purge assault directed at Comrades Christer and Gunilla was a test of the KAF leadership's willingness to abandon the remnants of its left past to act as loyal flunkies for Mandel—a test which the KAF PB "passed" with flying colors. The leadership is moving to expunge from the cadres any left impulses remaining from the KAF in its earlier period. To their credit, some of the KAF cadres refused to be sucked into complicity with the leadership's cynical attempts to carry out the first political expulsion in the history of the organization. But the KAF has moved very far from the leftist impressionism of its younger days, and with the "help" of its international mentors of the USec it will rapidly complete its rightist consolidation.

In the months following the congress, the KAF has undergone massive disintegration. An internal bulletin noted:

"Education did not function. On the whole, members and candidates complain of lack of education. However, emphasis on pre-conference discussion went by the boards. The expectations of many people were transformed into disappointment. . . . Propaganda does not function in any meaningful way. . . . Recruitment is uneven. . . . we have a minimum of local intervention. . . . we are losing people in the trade unions."  
—Stockholm local bulletin  
No. 61

Members have been leaving the KAF in significant numbers. In fact, according to a leadership report to the Stockholm

local, only one functional trade-union fraction remained in the city: day-care center employees. The state-capitalist Tendency D quit and the workerist Tendency C retreated into passivity, apparently content to allow the leadership to do as it pleased in exchange for being left in peace to do "its" trade-union work. Thus the main winner at the congress was the pro-SWP wing; with the KAF moving ever more to the right in its capitulation to the petty-bourgeois "movements" like anti-nuclear power and its rotten blocs with social democrats and Stalinists, the reformist political logic of the SWP is gaining strength in the organization.

Explosive factional potential still lurks beneath the diplomatic ceasefire in the USec. But the SWP's social-democratic reformism cannot be effectively combated by the impressionistic centrism of the IMT. To the SWP's "strategy" of becoming the "best builders" of petty-bourgeois and reformist organizations under the "theory" that "consistent" democracy equals socialism, the IMT can counterpose only a verbal sleight-of-hand which terms the disgruntlements of disparate strata a "new radicalization" of a new "vanguard."

With all political discussion effectively blocked, with the organization in a shambles, with the IMT and SWP loyalists more than willing to join hands against any serious left opposition, Christer and Gunilla resigned from the KAF in February to pursue political discussion with the international Spartacist tendency. Through their work with the Stockholm Spartacist comrades and through such activities as the Stockholm public meeting on the KAF and the recent publication of the documentation of their oppositional struggle, the comrades demonstrate their commitment to assisting their former comrades of the KAF to find the road forward to the authentic Trotskyism of the iSt. ■

## France: May 1968, Ten Years After

Speaker: *Samuel Lewis*  
Editor, *Young Spartacus*  
Date: Saturday, May 6  
Time: 7:30 p.m.  
Place: Farrell Hall, 111  
Washington Place (just west of 6th Avenue)

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## Shut Down All IH Plants!

# Mass Pickets Trounce Scabs at Louisville Harvester

It's been a long time since the bosses tried to scab on an official strike at a major United Auto Workers (UAW)-organized plant. The strength of the union—built in the militant and often bloody picket-line battles of the 1930's—has kept management scabherding restricted to small and isolated UAW-organized feeder plants, such as the long fight at Essex Wire in Indiana or the ongoing strike at the Fleck Manufacturing plant in southern Ontario. So when International Harvester tried to keep production going at its major parts plant in Louisville, Kentucky through the use of management scabs, the company got a much deserved lesson: last week 1,000 UAW members turned out to repel the strikebreakers and shut the plant down tight.

The strike began April 13, when 1,400 members of UAW Local 1336 walked out in a sanctioned strike against Harvester's attempts to cut incentive pay nearly in half on certain production jobs and over accumulated health and safety grievances. Local president Larry Wells told *WV* that the workers were also angered about recent layoffs that were instituted out of line of seniority. Some 1,250 members of UAW Local 817, who work in Harvester's foundry at the same site, respected the strikers' picket lines along with eight craft unions.

The Louisville plant supplies key parts for other plants throughout the Harvester chain, and within days the strike began crippling production company-wide. Management brazenly decided to try to keep the plant open. Exploiting the UAW's regular policy of allowing managerial personnel into struck plants, Harvester brought in hundreds of foremen, many from out-of-state plants and kept production rolling.

Instead of aiding the striking workers in beating back this outrageous and dangerous precedent, the UAW International lent Harvester a hand by



UAW pickets stop scabs at International Harvester plant in Louisville.

Williams/Louisville-Courier Journal

ordering foundry workers to join in scabbing on their own union brothers, claiming that respect for the picket lines violated an agreement with the company! A Solidarity House directive threatened the loss of insurance benefits and company disciplinary action if the foundry workers refused to comply. The UAW bigwigs also ordered Local 1336 to pull down its pickets at one gate to let the foundry workers in.

But the striking Harvester workers were not about to simply knuckle under to company scabherding and bureaucratic sabotage. Determined that their picket lines would not be overrun and with what one local UAW spokesman termed "considerable hard feelings" toward the International, over 1,000 strikers massed at the plant gates early Monday morning, April 24. Thirty Louisville cops were rushed to the scene as scabs began showing up in their cars, but according to Local president Wells, "I don't think over a couple of them got in the plant.... When they tried to run

into the pickets, that's where the trouble began. We had three pickets injured by cars hitting them and, at that point, our people defended themselves."

When the confrontation was over, company spokesmen whined that more than 20 cars had been seriously damaged and five scabs injured, a report that Wells said was "grossly exaggerated." Whatever the exact extent of the damage, Harvester got the point. The next day the strikebreakers were sent home, and no parts have been made since.

### Shut Down Harvester!

The battle in Louisville, which as Wells told *WV* has been inspired by the militancy and solidarity of the coal miners' recent strike, is sparking a wave of "miners fever" throughout the Harvester chain. Critically short of parts, the company has laid off thousands of workers at its Melrose Park, East Moline and Farmall plants in Illinois. In

each case, it has ignored seniority provisions and denied the laid-off workers both SUB and short-workweek benefits, trying to lay the blame on the Louisville strikers. But Harvester's schemes backfired—instead of dividing the workers, they have created a new mood of inter-plant solidarity in the union's ranks.

At the company's East Moline plant, the layoff for the second Monday in a row of nearly a thousand workers, out of line of seniority and without benefits, sparked a walkout that has kept the plant shut down for a week. Pickets showed up early at the plant gates, wearing hoods so they would not be recognized and disciplined. No one in any of the three UAW locals at the plant went to work. At Harvester's Fort Wayne, Indiana truck plant the firing of four workers two weeks ago led to an overwhelming strike vote. Likewise, strike authorization from the International has reportedly been requested

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## WV Hails Launching of Spartacist Britain

The Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Editorial Board of *Workers Vanguard* salute our British comrades on the occasion of the first issue of *Spartacist Britain*. *SpB* is the new, soon-to-be-monthly paper of the Spartacist League of Britain (SL/B), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt).

The stabilization of a regular and frequent SL/B press will be a central factor in the transformation of the British organization into a fighting propaganda group capable of sustained programmatic intervention into the struggles of left-wing activists, trade-union militants and campus radicals in Britain, as well as immigrant workers and foreign students. A continuing goal of *Spartacist Britain* is revolutionary regroupment through polarizing and splitting the fake-Trotskyist groups which abound on the British centrist spectrum. *SpB* is an important factor in the development of the SL/B toward status as a full section of the iSt. Its establishment also marks a shift toward increased iSt press capacity outside North America.

The first issue of *SpB*, dated April 1978, was a special 16-page issue

devoted to the documentation of the major factional struggle which split the Workers Socialist League (WSL) of Alan Thornett. Some two dozen supporters of the Trotskyist Faction (TF) emerged from the WSL in solidarity with the iSt. These resolutions—a main programmatic document and two supplementary documents on the Irish question and on the WSL's work in Turkey—demonstrate the principled basis for the fusion between the TF and the London Spartacist Group accomplished at the SL/B founding conference in early March. The "Tasks in Britain" document of the SL/B and a front-page article about the WSL fight (published simultaneously in *WV*) round out this special first issue of *Spartacist Britain*.

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**SPARTACIST BRITAIN**  
No. 1 April 1978 10p

**WSL left wing, London Spartacist Group fuse**

## The rebirth of British Trotskyism

**Spartacist League founded**

**In Defence of the Revolutionary Programme ...8**

# Strike to Protest Trudeau's Wage Controls!

## Wide Support for Militant Motion at Canadian Postal Convention

TORONTO—Last week the 38th convention of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) met in Quebec City under the ominous shadow of Canadian prime minister Trudeau's determination to implement new anti-labor legislation directed against government employees. The planned institution of new wage controls and increased restrictions on the right to strike for these workers is particularly resented by postal workers, who have been the target of a several-years' campaign by the government to cripple their unions through massive introduction of automation, layoffs, speed-up and the wholesale junking of traditional work rules. But despite successive government attacks, the convention demonstrated that the membership is not demoralized. Much to the distress of the conservative LCUC bureaucracy a significant minority of the delegates voted for a militant resolution calling for a general protest strike against the anti-labor legislation.

Trudeau's determination to extend wage controls for government workers is but a part of his vicious anti-labor offensive. Since 1975 Canadian working people have been saddled with general wage controls. Supposedly designed to curb inflation, they in fact only led to the driving down of workers' living standards as pay increases were slashed and prices continued to skyrocket at rates substantially exceeding those in the U.S. The Canadian bourgeoisie's decision to dismantle this highly unpopular and patently ineffective program was a cynical ploy undertaken on the eve of this summer's scheduled elections. With unemployment running at near-record levels, the bosses were less concerned about the threat of strikes by private sector employees. But Trudeau & Co. are absolutely determined to maintain wage controls on public sector workers and to use this as a wedge in the future against the rest of labor.

The immediate targets of the government's drive are the postal workers, who by virtue of their greater trade-union consciousness, demonstrated militancy and ability to cripple communications in Canada through a nationwide shutdown of the Post Office, represent the greatest threat among public employees to the government's attempts to establish a harsh labor peace. It was therefore not surprising that the first measure chosen by Trudeau to push through Parliament in his current anti-labor campaign was Bill C-45, which makes it illegal for postal workers to strike during a federal election. This bill, already passed, is designed to toughen up restrictions against strikes in the Public Service Staff Relations Act (PSSRA). Trudeau & Co. are also pushing Bill C-26—a proposal to legalize mail tampering by Canada's political cops, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police—as well legislation to end automatic indexing [cost-of-living allowances] of pensions for government workers before age 60.

Thus far the only response from LCUC president Bob McGarry, along with the leadership of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), has been to ask that the postal unions be brought under the reactionary Canada Labour Code (instead of the present PSSRA), by begging the government to make the Post Office into a semi-autonomous Crown Corporation. But

the Labour Code, while it allows negotiations over automation, contains restrictions on the right to strike almost identical to those under PSSRA. Postal workers stand to gain nothing by trading in one piece of anti-union legislation for another—the answer is to smash *all* the capitalist government's anti-labor legislation.

It is precisely the groveling of the trade-union bureaucrats that emboldens the Canadian bourgeoisie in its anti-labor drive. The current round of reactionary legislation is the direct result of the failure of Canada's union tops to smash the government's wage controls program in 1975-77. Rather than mounting a defensive general strike to defeat wage controls, the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) staged an ill-organized token "day of protest" on 14 October 1976 in order to dissipate the tremendous hostility to this anti-labor law among rank-and-file trade unionists. Having taken careful notice of the CLC's cowardice and the subsequent refusal of the trade-union bureaucrats to launch strikes against wage controls, the Trudeau government has now decided it can proceed with confidence against postal and other government workers.

Faced with dozens of delegates furious at its do-nothing stance, the McGarry leadership of the LCUC attempted to put on a left face at the convention. However, its emergency resolutions dealing with wage control and anti-strike legislation, while filled with militant-sounding rhetoric and vague threats of industrial action, in fact committed the delegates to nothing more than endorsing the limp past and future actions of the LCUC national executive and of the Canadian Labour Congress.

It was primarily the intervention of delegate Bob McBurney that exposed the LCUC leadership's unwillingness to take decisive actions against the government's anti-union campaign. McBurney, elected from Toronto Local 1, is a longtime steward in the drivers' section of his local. During the December CUPW strike in Toronto, McBurney sponsored a resolution calling for solidarity with the CUPW workers which unanimously passed the LCUC stewards body and was instrumental in mobilizing LCUC drivers to refuse to cross CUPW picket lines. McBurney was elected delegate on the basis of a class-struggle program which included demands for an end to class-collaborationist committees with the government; for a joint nationwide contract struggle of all postal workers to beat back the government attack; smashing all anti-labor legislation; for the right of self-determination for Quebec; and for the building of a genuine workers party—as opposed to the pusillanimous social-democratic New Democratic Party—to fight for a workers government.

In his speech on the convention floor, McBurney reminded delegates how LCUC president McGarry had enforced the criminal policy of crossing picket lines of members of other postal unions when they were on strike—thus deepening the craft divisions among postal workers. McBurney also challenged McGarry's cooperation with management in establishing "Intergroup"—a joint union-management committee



Toronto postal workers walk out in 1975 strike.

Cooper/Toronto Sun

whose real purpose is similar to the noxious "productivity" committees in steel and other unions. McBurney blasted this outright treachery: "There is only one way to resolve disputes between the employer and employee...and that is through industrial action." Pointing to the bureaucracy's consistent record of kowtowing to management, McBurney warned against placing any confidence in McGarry & Co.

McBurney's intervention set the stage for a real convention battle. When discussion was opened on the executive board's resolution on Bill C-45, a delegate from Toronto rose and put forward the bulk of the resolution introduced earlier by McBurney in Local 1 and passed there. The proposal put to the convention included the demand for a two-day general strike against the government's anti-labor legislation, and the floor fight which erupted proved to be the key struggle of the convention. Delegates from Quebec, Kingston and Toronto went to the mikes to speak in favor of it. Despite the unanimous opposition of the national executive a third of the delegates rose in support of this resolution when the vote was called. The LCUC bureaucracy was visibly shaken.

The sizable vote for the opposition motion in the floor fight testifies to the fact that the union leadership faces an increasingly militant and restless rank and file. The Toronto LCUC membership has already forced its local leaders to repudiate the treacherous Intergroup scheme. And despite the sabotage from trade-union leaders, rank-and-file postal workers have fought back time and again with a spirit of militancy and solidarity not seen for years.

Thus, last December in Toronto—which has been earmarked as the key initial target for the government's union-bashing spree—management provoked a sit down strike by members of the CUPW through its use of non-union labor for union jobs. When management responded by indefinitely suspending nine postal workers, including two executive board officials and four shop stewards, the CUPW local called an official strike. With powerful backing by postal drivers, members of the LCUC, the strike shut down most of Toronto's postal operations. Although two workers were later fired, the timely action by CUPW members and LCUC drivers staved off a much greater defeat.

In the wake of the Christmas-time strike, the Toronto press went on the

warpath. The reactionary *Toronto Sun*, (16 January), whining about "communist infiltration" of the Post Office, bleated: "The average citizen can't make sense out of the postal zanies—Revolutionary Marxists, Canadian Party of Labour, Spartacus group, and such. These guys make Moscow-line Communists seem staid patriots by comparison." The Canadian bourgeoisie has since increasingly teed off at Canadian postal workers, scapegoating them for every ill imaginable—featherbedding, resistance to automation, striking, socialist activity, etc. This culminated only a few weeks ago with the Conservative Party's release for "study" of its Ritchie Report, the essential proposal of which is that strikes be banned outright in the Post Office.

Underneath the rabid campaign of the press and the capitalist politicians stands real fear of the postal workers' demonstrated traditions of militant fights to win and preserve union gains. The bosses well remember that government workers won even the restricted right to strike only as the result of an "illegal" postal strike which smashed existing no-strike legislation. And it is fundamentally the failure of the bosses' several-years' campaign to qualitatively cripple and demoralize the postal unions, despite the treachery of the union bureaucracy, that stands behind the new round of anti-union legislation.

While seeking to mobilize the rest of labor in militant actions against the government's current and proposed reactionary laws, Canadian postal workers must prepare now for a nationwide strike of both unions. CUPW members have worked for almost a year without a contract while the federal government has spat on the LCUC settlement (which formally expires this June) by refusing to pass through contractually guaranteed cost-of-living raises. No more capitulation to the Trudeau government and its anti-union laws!

As the strategic section of public employees, postal workers must initiate the fight against federal pay controls and anti-strike legislation by striking now, demanding a big wage boost, full cost-of-living protection, no layoffs through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay, and a closed shop. Such a policy, combined with an aggressive campaign to mobilize the Canadian labor movement against attempts by the government to break such a strike, is the only way forward. ■

Since last June the value of the dollar has plummeted sharply against the so-called "strong" currencies—15 percent against the West German mark, 20 percent against the Japanese yen, 28 percent against the Swiss franc. This sharp devaluation has naturally accelerated a tendency to move away from the dollar as the basic currency of international capitalism. Thus the cartel of petroleum exporting countries (OPEC) is considering denominating the price of oil in a mix of major currencies rather than in dollars as it is at present. More significantly, at the Copenhagen Common Market summit in April, West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt proposed that member countries settle accounts with one another *only* in their own currencies and also intervene to prop up weak currencies, like the Italian lira, only in Common Market denominations. In other words, Schmidt proposed to transform West Europe into a mark zone, using dollars only in extra-European transactions.

The Carter administration has blamed the huge U.S. balance of payments deficit and resulting dollar devaluation on purely conjunctural factors—the high cost of oil imports, the stagnation of the West European economies which limits demand for American exports. However, far more profound factors are involved in the current and indeed recurrent dollar crisis. The "Great Dollar Slide of 1977-78" marks a further phase in the decline of American dominance in the capitalist world, a dominance achieved through its victory in World War II and the suppression of the post-war revolutionary wave in West Europe and Japan.

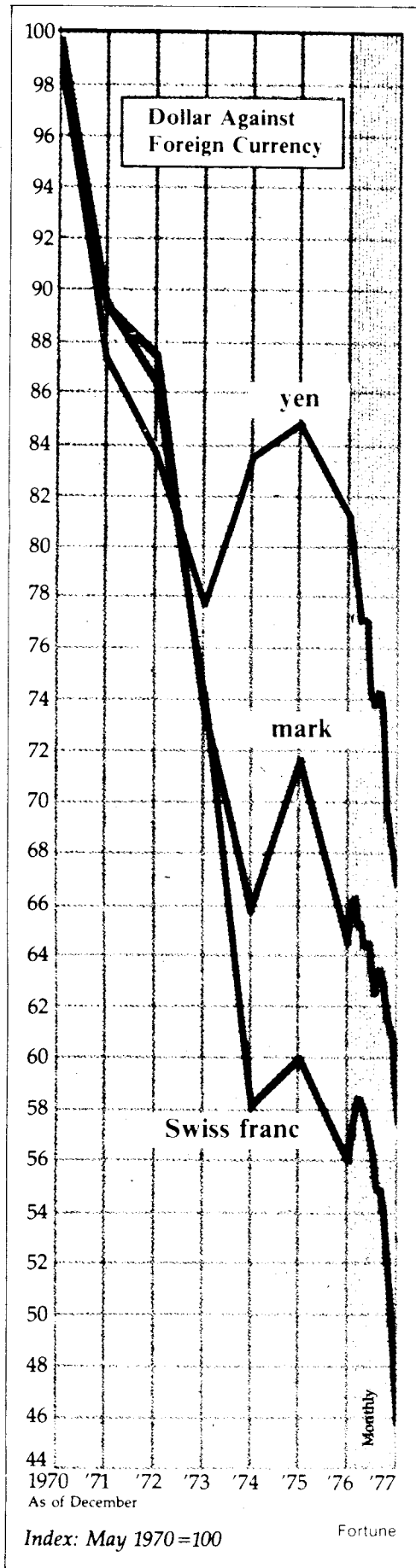
### The Historic World Money Crisis

The recurrent devaluations of the American dollar since 1970 are not only an expression of the relative weakening of the American economy, but also of a fundamental crisis of the imperialist financial system. The continual international monetary "crises" are clear and dramatic proof of the Leninist assertion that since August 1914 the nation-state system has become a fundamental barrier to the expansion of production. World War I destroyed once and for all the gold standard, which fixed the value of national currencies in terms of gold. All imperialist powers financed the war through domestic inflation, eliminating the link between their currencies and a universal standard of value.

After a period of international monetary chaos, the sterling standard was established in 1925 by making the British pound convertible into gold at a supposedly stable price. The sterling standard broke down under the impact of the Great Depression. The 1930's were a period of international financial anarchy, continual competitive devaluations and widespread trade protectionism. At the Bretton Woods conference in 1944 the U.S. established the dollar standard by making its currency convertible into gold for governments (not private parties) at \$35 an ounce. This standard lasted until Nixon's 15 August (1971), when the U.S. was forced by its declining economic position among the imperialist powers to drastically devalue the dollar.

Fundamentally the gold standard *cannot* be replaced by a national currency. The "strong" key currency always eventually becomes the weakest in the system. Because its currency is "as good as gold," the key country can run large balance of payments deficits with little restraint. And the capitalists and government of the key currency country naturally exploit this advantage. The key country inevitably floods the world with its currency far in excess of its gold holdings and of foreign demand for exchange reserves. The other capitalist countries are then faced with the hard choice of forcing devaluation of the key currency—which means sacrificing their own competitive advantage (making their exports relatively more expensive,

# BEHIND THE DOLLAR CRISIS



Dollar sinks against other currencies.

thus threatening an adverse effect on their balance of trade), reducing the value of their reserves and (by abandoning the previous standard) throwing the system into chaos or accumulating ever more of the key currency, a policy which feeds domestic inflation. Eventually the contradiction reaches a critical point and the system collapses.

The British pound sterling standard lasted but six years (1925-31). Because of the overwhelming economic and military superiority of the U.S. as it emerged from World War II, the dollar standard lasted far longer. Nonetheless, it too collapsed of its inherent contradictions. During the 1950's and 60's the U.S. ran a balance of *trade* surplus but a continual balance of *payments* deficit. This was due to massive capital investment in West Europe as well as the colonial world. By accumulating dollars in the 1960's, the West European ruling classes were in effect subsidizing the American takeover of their own productive assets. Gaullist France sought to counter this by converting all its dollar holdings into gold. By the late 1960's foreign dollar holdings exceeded many times over the U.S. gold reserves at the official gold price.

The gradual decline in the productivity of U.S. industry relative to West Europe and Japan was reinforced by the inflationary financing of the Vietnam War. In 1971 the U.S. ran a balance of trade deficit for the first time since 1893! In August of that year Nixon abolished the convertibility of the dollar at the official \$35 gold price, devalued against the other major currencies and slapped on a tariff hike (the latter directly violating U.S.-sponsored international treaties). So...end of dollar standard!

One last attempt was made to preserve fixed exchange rates. This was the Smithsonian Agreement of December 1971, which Nixon hailed as "the greatest monetary agreement in world history." At the time we wrote:

"...the differences are too irreconcilable for a return to a stable international monetary system. The next period will be one of international financial anarchy, quite similar to the 1930's, with managed fluctuating exchange rates... numerous *ad hoc* trade and capital controls, bilateral commercial and credit deals and the complete interpenetration of political and financial relations."

"American Empire Shaken,"  
WI No. 2, November 1971

Nixon's "greatest monetary agreement in world history" collapsed a scant 14 months later with another dollar devaluation. Since March 1973 exchange rates have been determined by market supply and demand speculation, influenced by various and conflicting efforts of government intervention. This system or rather non-system is called "managed fluctuating exchange rates" in official pronouncements and "dirty floating" by its wide spectrum of critics. Today exchange rates are governed neither by purely market factors nor by any kind of systematic and predictable government policy. Government intervention in the foreign exchange market, like all other economic policies, is the temporary outcome of conflicting capitalist interests (e.g., financiers versus industrialists), the pressure of the labor movement and inter-imperialist rivalries and alliances. Moreover, exchange rate policies are governed not only by narrow, short-term economic considerations but also by strategic political and military factors.

Some neanderthal right-wing economists like Milton Friedman advocate freely fluctuating exchange rates with no government intervention. Under this kind of *laissez faire* regime, speculation would lead to such wildly gyrating exchange rates that it would be impossible for importers or exporters to project prices, costs and profits. A truly free market for foreign exchange would thus lead to a qualitative contraction of international commerce and an acceler-

ated tendency toward regional blocs and national autarky.

If the establishment of freely fluctuating exchange rates is impossible, so is the restoration of the pre-World War I gold standard. Under the nineteenth century gold standard a country running a balance of payments deficit had to contract its money supply, cutting wages and prices. Today the labor movement in the advanced bourgeois-democratic countries (and even under many bonapartist regimes in the backward capitalist countries) is too strong to allow the imposition of such cuts in money wages. Today bourgeois austerity programs aim at holding money wage increases below the rate of inflation. The classic gold standard could only be restored by an international counterrevolution which de-

conjunctural situation another key factor is involved: the long-term erosion of American industrial competitiveness. Between 1968 and 1977 the U.S. share of world exports declined from 19 percent to less than 14 percent (*Business Week*, 10 April). Since 1974 the value of U.S. exports has increased at an annual rate of 9 percent while imports have risen at an annual rate of 13.5 percent (*Economist*, 1 April). Moreover, the entire increase in value of U.S. exports since 1974 comes from higher prices, not greater volume. In other words the real volume of American exports has remained unchanged for the past four years.

While publicly deploring the falling value of the dollar, the Carter administration has in reality adopted a policy of competitive devaluation, one of the

quarter of this year the U.S. gross national product fell, albeit slightly, for the first time in three years.

While all administration officials, even Blumenthal, have to pay lip service to a "strong" dollar, liberal Democratic academics can frankly defend competitive devaluation. Thus, Paul Samuelson, the country's leading liberal economist, writes in his regular *Newsweek* (27 March) column:

"Had Chancellor Schmidt and Prime Minister Fukuda been given their way by President Carter and Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal, the U.S. interventions to stabilize the dollar would have left us tens of billions poorer today and we'd be having a 1978 crisis of sharp parity readjustments. To back up our dubious interventions, the Fed would have had to clamp down on the money supply, numbing the forces of recovery in building and

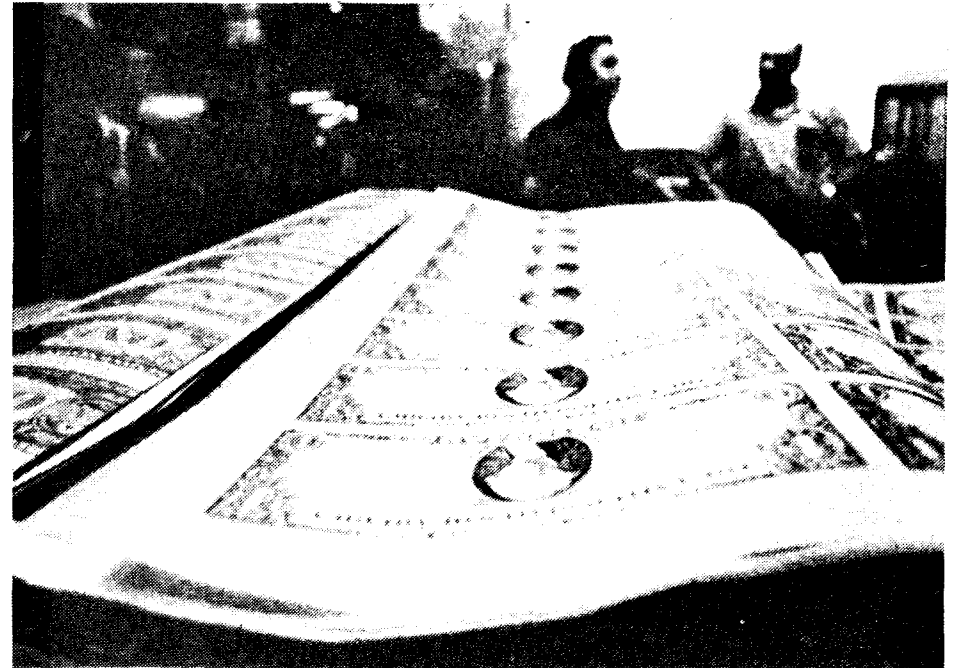
U.S. economy. Thus the Carter-backed dollar devaluation has produced a rift between manufacturing and financial interests.

The house organ of the American finance aristocracy, the *Wall Street Journal*, has waged a vociferous campaign against the "malign neglect" of the dollar. In a 19 December 1977 editorial, it warns the Carter administration in Cassandra-like terms:

"...the falling dollar means that the U.S. will suffer faster inflation than most of the world, with all the domestic economic and social consequences. The value of the dollar is nothing to neglect, either benignly because of some misguided religion about free markets, or malignly because you think a cheaper dollar will give exporters an edge in foreign competition. Whatever the theoretical economics, surely the experience of the industrialized nations since



**Money as universal standard of value (gold) is not the promissory note of national state credit. Soviet Chervonetz, South African Kruggerand, British New Sovereign (above) retain their value as the American dollar (right) plummets against other currencies.**



Somos

stroyed the trade unions, and might not be feasible even then.

Although the dollar has fluctuated widely against other currencies and gold since the March 1973 devaluation, it has still remained the basic unit of international trade and finance. There has, however, been a gradual tendency for the West German mark to become the second reserve currency. While in 1970 foreign banks held only \$700 million in marks as reserves, by 1976 the figure had risen to \$7.7 billion (*Business Week*, 27 March). The present plunge in the dollar's value threatens to turn the retreat from the dollar as the world's basic currency into a rout.

### Carter's "Malign Neglect" of the Dollar

The Carter administration has focused blame for the huge U.S. balance of payments deficit and falling dollar on the high cost of oil imports. Since the Arab states and oil monopolies are hardly popular with the American people, they are easy targets for all of the country's economic ills. While the four-fold increase in the world price of oil since 1973 has created serious problems for the advanced capitalist countries, it does not account for the exceptional U.S. trade deficit this past year. The U.S. imports a smaller percentage of its oil than West Europe or Japan, the latter country now running a large trade surplus.

The basic cause of the present large American balance of trade deficit is that the U.S. has recovered in part from the 1974-75 world depression (although the unemployment rate is still higher than in 1973), while West Europe and Japan have not. In 1977 industrial production in the U.S. increased about 5 percent; it increased only 3 percent in Japan, remained more or less constant in West Germany, France and Britain and fell 5 percent in Italy (U.S. Department of Commerce, *International Economic Indicators*, March 1978). Given this conjunctural pattern, it is natural that the U.S. would tend to pull in imports and find it hard to export.

However, in addition to the present

standard "beggar my neighbor" measures of the 1930's Depression. European business circles have accused Washington of manipulating exchange rates for competitive advantage. For example the conservative West German *Bonner General-Anzeiger* wrote: "The dollar's downward slide is the result of a manipulation to help balance continuing export weakness" (quoted in *Wall Street Journal*, 19 December 1977). In fact Washington has not actively intervened to devalue the dollar; it has just passively let the market and speculation take their course—straight down. This policy has been labeled "malign neglect" by Fritz Leutwiler, head of the Swiss central bank.

Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal, the chief architect of the "malign neglect" policy, denounces his numerous critics, who urge deflationary measures to "defend" the dollar, for risking a recession:

"We don't believe that a recession in the United States is the right way to deal with the dollar problem. I hope no one seriously suggests that the United States should follow policies getting us back to that situation as a means of solving the dollar problem."

—*Business Week*, 3 April

The Carter administration has told the critics of "malign neglect" not to worry so much, because the dollar's downward slide will be reversed in due course by the imminent recovery of the West European economies. This "waiting for the West German boom" scenario was presented, for example, in early March by Charles Schultze, head of the Council of Economic Advisers: "Our growth rate won't be that much further ahead of our trading partners this year because they are going to be growing faster" (*Wall Street Journal*, 6 March). This is not so much wishful thinking as a cynical cover argument to justify competitive devaluation. In fact, Schultze's prediction that the American and West European growth rates will be closer together this year may turn out to be the case, but in exactly the opposite direction than he projects. While there is no sign of a significant upturn in the West European economies, in the first

private investment. Production would presumably be lower than it now is."

The claim of the liberal devaluationists, like Blumenthal and Samuelson, that the recent plunge of the dollar is in the best interest of American working people is false. Even leaving aside their chauvinist attitude toward workers in Japan or West Germany, these liberals ignore or deny the inflationary impact of the sharp dollar devaluation. While the U.S. is less dependent on imports than any other major capitalist country, domestic prices are not insulated from exchange rate changes. Dollar devaluation means that the price of all foreign goods in the U.S. market must rise. Volkswagen, for example, has raised its prices five times since last April. Moreover, American products which compete with foreign goods will also raise their prices. For example, last December General Motors boosted the price of its sub-compact Chevette by \$100 despite weak demand. Since this sub-compact competes mainly with West European and Japanese models, GM could raise its price and still hold a competitive advantage. Competitive devaluation, like outright trade protectionism, means inflation.

The American capitalist class is by no means solidly behind Carter's "malign neglect" of the dollar. Far from it! If on the one hand the dollar devaluation gives General Motors a competitive edge against Volkswagen, Chase Manhattan will lose billions if Saudi Arabia or Kuwait shift accounts to the Dresdner Bank or Bank of Tokyo to preserve their value. A significant share of the profits of the major American banks comes from financing trade between third countries and holding foreign short-term capital. For example, when Brazil imports electrical equipment from Sweden, this transaction is probably not in cruzeiros or kroner but in U.S. dollars and is probably cleared through accounts in one of the big New York banks. American financial interests have a vital stake in preserving the dollar as the basic medium of world commerce and investment, even if this requires a slower growth rate for the

World War II shows that a falling currency foretells not economic health but economic sickness."

We need hardly add that for the *Wall Street Journal* the economic health of the United States is measured by the next quarter's profits of Chase Manhattan and Morgan Guaranty Trust.

The ruling-class dispute over Carter's "malign neglect" of the dollar is at bottom part of the continuing argument between inflationists and deflationists, the two basic currents of bourgeois economic policy since the Great Depression. The labor movement has generally supported liberal Keynesian inflationists who promise a higher growth rate and reduced unemployment. In reality, the working class has nothing to gain by tolerating inflation in the expectation of minimizing unemployment. Accelerating inflation, as in 1972-73, will always lead to a crisis and sharp downturn. As Leon Trotsky wrote over 40 years ago:

"In this period of social crisis, of economic shocks, inflation and deflation are two complementary instruments for throwing on to the people the cost of decaying capitalism. Bourgeois parties organize formidable discussions on the question: is it better to cut the workers' throats with the saw of inflation or with the simple knife of deflation? Our struggle is directed with the same energy against the saw and against the knife." [emphasis in original]

"The Belgian Dispute and the De Man Plan,"  
*Writings 1934-35*

### Carter's Turnabout Toward Deflation

Without admitting that the past devaluationist policy was mistaken, Carter has recently reversed himself and seems half-seriously trying to prevent further decline in the dollar's value. There is widespread speculation that Blumenthal, the hardliner behind the "let the dollar plunge" strategy, will be axed as Wall Street has been screaming for his head for months. Carter's turnabout toward "defending" the dollar is probably motivated by real pressures from financial interests, worry about the accelerating inflation, a desire

continued on page 8

# Dollar Crisis...

(continued from page 7)

to avoid a major fracture with his important West German ally and perhaps concern for the stability of international monetary arrangements.

The much publicized sale of \$300 million in gold over the next six months is a trivial measure, not even worth anything as a stop-gap. However, it is being interpreted as a token of a broader shift in economic policy. In the past few months there has been a significant turn toward a deflationary U.S. monetary policy. While in the last quarter of 1977 bank reserves increased at an annual rate of 10.6 percent, in the first quarter of this year the rate slowed to 4.4 percent (*Business Week*, 1 May).

The fact that Carter *intends* to deflate the economy in part so as to stop the dollar's slide does not mean that this will necessarily happen. Capitalist politicians must claim and indeed believe that they can control the economy through fiscal and monetary policy. They cannot run for office saying that there is little, if anything, they can do about inflation or unemployment. However, in reality the basic direction of the economy is *not* decided in Washington, but is the sum total of innumerable capitalist decisions each designed to maximize their own profits or at least cut losses. High interest rates and reduced bank reserves will not under all circumstances lead to a contraction in borrowing, consumption and investment, just as "easy money" will not automatically stimulate the economy.

Under the present conjuncture, however, a tightening of credit probably will have a contractionary effect on the economy. The U.S. recovery from the 1974-75 depression was fueled by personal consumption expenditure increasing faster than real income. This has meant an enormous rise in personal indebtedness. During the 1976-77 two-year period both outstanding consumer installment loans and mortgages for family houses increased by over 30 percent (*Federal Reserve Bulletin*, March 1978). Under these conditions a tightening of credit must lead to a contraction of consumer spending.

It is not a coincidence that the first quarter of this year saw both a sharp fall in the expansion of bank reserves and a decline in the gross national product. Carter's economists have called the first quarter fall in output a fluke caused by the coal strike and bad weather. The coal strike and cold weather might cause production bottlenecks, but can hardly account for the fall in real consumption expenditure. The increase in consumer durable purchases was only \$2 billion at an annual rate (a decline in real terms), down from an \$8.4 billion rate in the last quarter of 1977 (*Wall Street Journal*, 20 April). Moreover, in the first quarter inventory accumulation spurted over 20 percent, indicating weakness in final demand, not production bottlenecks. (*Ibid.*) While business investment may continue to expand, Carter's deflationary monetary policy must depress home building and auto and other consumer durables markets.

## Of Dollars, West German Marks and NATO

"They are obstinate. But we are obstinate too" (*Business Week*, 27

February). So spoke Count Otto Lambsdorff, West German economics minister, about his negotiations with the Carter administration. And indeed recent Washington-Bonn economic negotiations resemble a scene from a gangster movie. Schmidt threatens to kill the dollar if the U.S. doesn't deflate. Carter threatens to let it die. Carter and Blumenthal trumpet virtuously about the American rate of growth and preach that Bonn must stimulate its economy. Schmidt complains that the cheap dollar is killing West European industrial exports, and backed by London and Paris he demands of the U.S. higher interest rates, tighter credit, a reduced budget deficit and tariffs or quotas on imported oil.

Despite much grousing, the West German government has in fact intervened in the exchange markets to keep the dollar from dropping precipitously. Between November and February the West German central bank purchased \$11 billion in American currency and short-term capital, although since then it has been more niggardly in accumulating this unwanted paper. Otmar Emminger, head of the West German central bank, spoke nothing less than the truth when he stated:

"If we hadn't intervened, it would have fallen into the cellar and we would have had real turbulence in exchange markets, because for days and even weeks there wasn't any demand for dollars."

—*Wall Street Journal*, 14 March

Why has the West German government, however reluctantly, poured billions into the exchange markets in order to keep up the value of the dollar? Bonn officials, like Emminger, claim only the loftiest of motives—a desire to maintain the stability of international financial arrangements. But this is only one and not the most important one of Bonn's motives for supporting the dollar. Since the appreciation of the mark increases the cost of West German goods in the world market, Bonn's foreign exchange policy is in part an export subsidy, not different in principle from a tax rebate on export earnings. However, West Germany's primary reason for lending (or giving) the U.S. billions is not in the narrow sense economic.

The German capitalist class aspires to reconquer the eastern part of their country from the Soviet bloc. Hitler's heirs in the ministries of Bonn and banking houses of Frankfurt calculate that in order to reverse their defeat in World War II they require a military alliance with American imperialism. It is their counterrevolutionary alliance against the Soviet degenerated workers state that is the central element in U.S.-West German relations. Not only in recent months but since the late 1960's, massive German lending to "defend" the dollar has been the price extracted by Wall Street for keeping a nuclear-equipped American army on the Elbe. One of the reasons that the German ruling class reacted so strongly to Carter's decision not to go ahead with the neutron bomb is that they had in a sense just shelled out more than \$11 billion for it.

Any analysis of the dollar crisis which ignores the link between *deutschmark* diplomacy and NATO is seriously askew. The 24 April issue of *Intercontinental Press* published an article, "The Headlong Plunge of the American Dollar," by Ernest Mandel, theoretician/leader of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec). As a piece of economic analysis Mandel's article is essentially correct. He understands that the present dollar crisis is not purely conjunctural but expresses the long-term decline in American industrial productivity relative to the other major capitalist countries.

But Mandel's analysis of the foreign exchange policies of Washington, Bonn, Saudi Arabia and the like is limited to purely economic considerations. For

example, he attributes the support of West Europe and Japan for a "strong" dollar basically to a desire for international monetary stability:

"What frightens the imperialist world is not so much the fall of the dollar in and of itself. In the last analysis, capitalism has survived the decline of the pound sterling and any number of other monetary and financial catastrophes. What frightens them is that there is no other currency ready to take the place of the dollar, the way the dollar had previously taken the place of the pound sterling as the main reserve currency."

To be sure, countries as dependent on foreign trade as West Germany and Japan have a real stake in world monetary order. However, the German capitalist class has not subsidized the American economy for the past decade simply in order to secure stable exchange rates. Any analysis of the dollar-mark exchange rate which abstracts from the Washington-Bonn anti-Soviet alliance is fundamentally flawed.

Propaganda, as Trotsky once observed, does not consist in saying everything one knows about a given subject. A short article on the recent dollar crisis cannot cover all the important factors involved. However, that Mandel writes an article dealing with U.S.-West German economic relations without mentioning NATO or the Soviet bloc may be more than a matter of misplaced emphasis.

During the past period, particularly with the rise of Eurocommunism, Mandel's USec has abandoned in practice the Trotskyist principle of defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against the capitalist-

imperialist powers. It has, for example, hailed Soviet dissidents such as Bukovsky and Plyusch, who support Carter's "human rights" campaign, as the vanguard of socialist democracy in the USSR. By ignoring the Cold War aims which strongly affect U.S.-West European economic relations, Mandel's article avoids the embarrassing question of Soviet defensism.

Since World War II inter-imperialist rivalry arising from conflicting economic interests has been mitigated and limited by common hostility to the Soviet Union. This is particularly true in the case of West Germany. The relative weakness of anti-American economic nationalism à la Gaullism among the German capitalist class stems from its overriding hostility toward Soviet Russia. This is not to say that NATO and the other U.S.-dominated alliances can survive indefinitely in the face of growing economic conflicts among the major imperialist countries. Even for the German ruling class there is an upper limit to the amount it will pay the Pentagon for services rendered.

Inter-imperialist economic conflicts must eventually erode and break up the U.S.-dominated anti-Soviet alliances. Such a development will not lessen but rather heighten the dangers of a third imperialist world war. To the extent that the recent dollar crisis intensifies inter-imperialist rivalries and economic nationalism, it sends out alarm signals warning of the urgent need for the working class to sweep away the irrational and destructive world capitalist system. ■

## NMU Militants' Statement on Canal Treaties

### Hand It Back to the Panamanians Now!

The Militant-Solidarity Caucus, an opposition group in the National Maritime Union (NMU) which is running two candidates for office in the current national union elections—Eugene Herson for National President and Jack Heyman for National Secretary-Treasurer—has issued the following statement regarding the Panama Canal:

"The Panama Canal treaties constitute an attack on the NMU members and all working people, in Panama and elsewhere! Our union is the largest union in the Canal Zone, with thousands of canal workers, line handlers, deckhands, dockers and others. These treaties cooked up by the Carter government and tinpot dictator Omar Torrijos license the U.S. government to deploy troops in perpetuity in Panama to keep the Canal "open, neutral, secure, and accessible." It is a direct statement of their intent to crush any struggle by these workers through military strikebreaking. Thus, it is particularly incumbent on the NMU to rally the labor movement to smash these vile treaties.

"The Canal treaties do not alter one bit the subordination of the Panamanian working people to the U.S. corporate powers that has existed over the past 75 years. The treaties' guarantees of "political independence or sovereign integrity" to the Republic of Panama are a thorough farce. This standard formula of international hypocrisy has never deterred the CIA, the Marines and the paid assassins of the U.S. government from instigating and carrying out bloody executions and slaughters in Chile, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic and other Latin American states. But this "guarantee" is a transparent joke in the case of the Panama treaties, since they provide for U.S. control and occupation of the Canal Zone—the lifeblood of the Panamanian economy.

"The debate in the Senate was a fraud. Despite all the bickering over "reservations" and "amendments," all of these capitalist politicians—Democrats and Republicans alike—stood four-square for maintaining the Canal as a strategic outpost of U.S. capitalism. The real essence of this policy was stated by Senator Hayakawa: "We stole it fair and square." Coming fresh on the heels of Carter's invoking of Taft-Hartley against striking coal miners, the organized robbery in Panama once again demonstrates the savage enmity of the Democratic Party Carter government for working people, both here and abroad.

"The Shannon Wall administration of the NMU, along with George Meany and the rest of the American trade union bureaucracy, has not uttered a word of criticism of these pacts. As the loyal handmaidens of Carter and the corporate-controlled U.S. government, they tolerate and usually champion such anti-labor, imperialist treaties. In sharp distinction, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus demands that the Canal be handed over immediately to the Panamanians, with no compensation to the U.S. government and with no reduction in wages and benefits for the Canal workforce. All U.S. military bases must be dismantled now. But the Caucus emphasizes that only if the Canal is ripped from capitalist control by the Panamanian working people and operated under a workers and peasants government, will it genuinely provide for the needs of the broad masses of Panamanians.

"We further call on the NMU to take the lead in repudiating support for the Democratic and Republican parties of big business. The trade unions must fight to build a workers party that will struggle to eliminate the predatory American capitalist and imperialist system which oppresses working people here and abroad."

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## Margolis...

(continued from page 12)

operators full voting members. Margolis continued her efforts to organize this division despite the refusal throughout the campaign of Local vice president for traffic, Letha Lane, to authorize Margolis to enter the traffic buildings.

With Margolis' election militant telephone workers for the first time will be represented on the floor of a national CWA convention. Together with the fight for jobs, the MAC program calls for international labor solidarity (break all ties with the CIA-backed AIFLD) and a workers party to fight *both* capitalist parties. It will indeed be a rarity to hear such demands in this cold-war union where even the rare "opposition" delegates never brought forward a program going beyond shop-floor militancy.

Even when it was not yet able to get convention delegates elected, the MAC caucus for years has been fighting for its program at CWA conventions. At the 1973 Miami convention Gerald Kirkpatrick, then-president of Local 9410, disturbed by the militancy in his local, initiated a union-wide witchhunt and red-scare by introducing the so-called "19-2C" amendment. This would have allowed the Beirne/Watts bureaucracy to purge from the union all dissidents whose literature dared to criticize any part of the union leadership. But MAC's aggressive leadership of the united-front "No-on-19-2C" campaign at Miami was key to winning the delegates to defeat from the floor this amendment which threatened the rights of all union members.

Though his gag-rule scheme was defeated, Kirkpatrick was successful a year later in driving many militants from the San Francisco Local, not least because of their own stupidity. During the 1974 contract fight supporters of the Progressive Labor (PL)-backed Workers Action Movement and the Revolutionary Union-supported "Traffic Jam" group at first refused to fight on the union floor for MAC's motion for an industry-wide contract strike. Then, only two weeks later, they convinced several dozen militants to "take a walk" which ended in a precipitous wildcat strike. In cahoots with the company Kirkpatrick easily smashed this action. The company then took advantage of the radicals' isolation to fire ten of the wildcat leaders and place most of the rest of the participants on final warning.

MAC mounted a vigorous defense of the victimized militants, but the disastrous effect of the wildcat (which PL persisted in calling a victory) was to usher in a period of demoralization and political quiescence which the Local is only now beginning to overcome.

The following year Margolis, one of the few vocal militants still on the job, was fired in a company frame-up shortly after she had testified at a California Public Utilities Commission against Pacific Telephone's proposal to charge for directory assistance calls. After a year-long fight she won her job back, a virtually unprecedented occurrence in phone, re-invigorating the fellow union members who had fought hard to defend her. Since that time Margolis has been a recognized leader in the Local, winning steward elections both at Bush Directory Assistance and Geary Garage, although both times the cringing executive board refused to certify her.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of Margolis' election as convention delegate was the number of Local members who voted *only* for the MAC candidate leaving the eight other slots blank. A test of MAC's support as well as an indication of a potential for renewed struggle in the Local, the election was also a test of the other oppositionists. Thus one of the few PL supporters not blown out during the 1974 wildcat—John Smrekar—received only 34 votes, the lowest of all the candidates.

The modest victory represented by Margolis' election was a testimony to MAC's eight-year record of principled struggle in the CWA. The Militant Action Caucus has repeatedly demonstrated its serious, militant leadership, in sharp contrast to the slew of phony oppositionist groups who (until they disappeared from view) oscillated wildly between capitulation to the bureaucracy and going around the union altogether in adventurist job actions, when they were not going to the bosses' courts against the union. It was MAC's class-struggle program and mobilization of the union ranks which enabled Margolis to win the fight for her job and now break through the company/bureaucracy conspiracy and win a convention delegateship even at a time when the bosses thought they were riding high. As the MAC election leaflet states, "The election of Jane Margolis will be a step in forging a new class-struggle leadership that can turn CWA into a strong union." ■

## Stearns...

(continued from page 12)

the UMWA already at his Leatherwood and Scotia deathtrap mines.

The Stearns strike is at a critical point. Earlier this month, the first coal since July 1976 was shipped out of the mine by over 30 scabs who are escorted in daily under armed guard. Production has ceased for the time being, after the April 20 shooting death of one of the scabs, but eleven new strikebreakers have been hired in the last several days and production is expected to resume soon.

The killing of the strikebreaker as he returned home after a day of scabbing, and reports from other scabs that they have been fired on, has served as an excuse for stepped-up cop harassment of the striking miners. Despite intense questioning and house searches, however, no one has been charged for the shooting. The strikers are justifiably enraged at the state police harassment of union men and protection of company gun thugs. Pointing to the name of the deceased fink crossed off the list of traitors kept in the Whitley City local hall one militant bluntly stated, "That's one good scab." And at the picket site near the mine, fresh sandbags have been piled up in front of the

strikers' makeshift shelter in case of renewed attacks from the company's well-armed "security" guards.

Facing down cop intimidation and resisting bureaucratic sabotage, the Stearns strikers remain determined to win. "We started this thing 21 months ago," Phillip Tucker told today's rally, "we're not going to quit now." The strike supporters cheered Darrell Vanover when—recalling the fines, arrests, beatings and jail sentences that have been meted out to the miners—he said, "We've got a circuit judge that lied to us. We've got a governor that lied to us. I've got news for [Kentucky governor] Jullian Carroll. We're tired of his tactics. I say *they're* outside the law."

At the end of the rally, which included entertainment by a Tennessee country band and a lunch prepared by the Stearns Womens Club, a member of the Club announced a march through the streets of Stearns. With the exception of District 19 IEB representative Eddie Sturgill, not one of the union's high-ranking officials was in sight as the marchers headed through the small town chanting "Stearns coal is union coal" and stopping at each scab's house along the route to curse and ridicule the strikebreakers. The march proceeded to the Justus road—entrance to the Stearns mine where Kentucky state police blocked the way. After cursing

## I.S. Trips Over Class Line, Again

# Court Upholds Bureaucratic Purge in CWA

The Militant Action Caucus of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) has a long history of opposing government intervention into the unions, not least when so-called "dissidents" drag the union and its officers into the bosses' courts in the name of "union democracy" or "fighting corruption." Those would-be opponents of the entrenched bureaucracy who despair of mobilizing the ranks and instead turn to the "good graces" of the anti-labor government end up strengthening capitalist control of the labor movement. This elementary lesson, which should be a starting point for class-struggle unionists, was recently underscored in a federal court of appeals decision in New York upholding the right of union officers to purge dissident subordinates.

The case stemmed from an incident in 1977 when Dave Newman, a steward in New York's giant CWA Local 1101, wrote a newsletter criticizing the local leadership for not preparing a strike over last year's phone contract. Local 1101 president Ed Dempsey responded by throwing Newman out of his elected position. Instead of mobilizing the union membership against this bureaucratic high-handedness, however, Newman raced to get an injunction against the union and argued in court that the Landrum-Griffin Act protected his actions.

Newman initially got his injunction and was reinstated. Later, however, the federal court of appeals reversed the earlier decision and, in a precedent-setting decision, ruled that stewards are "agents of Local management" and can be removed for violating the "responsibility of officers"—such as, for example, disagreeing with their higher-ups.

In the 3 April issue of *Workers' Power*, newspaper of the International Socialists (I.S.), CWA Local 1101 member Ilene Winkler vehemently protests this ruling and its "potentially disastrous effect throughout the labor movement." But Winkler has no words of censure for Newman, who brought the case into court in the first place, beseeching the pro-company judges to decide the norms of union democracy.

This is not surprising since Newman was associated for years with the now defunct United Action group, which always received the fulsome praise of *Workers' Power*, including when it took the union to court. Shortly before it splintered and collapsed, for example, United Action threatened to take Dempsey to court for bringing union charges against four of its supporters. Winkler also "forgets" to mention that United Action (and the I.S.) supported Dempsey's election in 1972, only to see this hack turn on them and the rest of the New York CWA membership.

*Workers' Power* is shocked by the court ruling and moans, "What Happened to Free Speech?" Naive reformists always seem surprised when the capitalist state reveals its true face. But the purpose of the Landrum-Griffin Act which Newman sought protection from was *never* to defend militant unionists' rights. This bill was consciously conceived as a way to open up the unions to the government's prying, snooping and regulation of internal union affairs. When the courts interpret such laws to stifle union democracy, they are doing no differently from when they issue anti-strike injunctions or jail picketers.

All CWA members and militant unionists must fight this federal court decision strengthening the union bureaucrats' power to muzzle their critics. They should also condemn those fake-oppositionists who invite the courts to make such decisions—and then pathetically yelp at the results. But some people never learn. Newman is now planning, and *Workers' Power* is uncritically publicizing, an attempt to continue the "fight"... by appealing to the Supreme Court. It is now the Nixon-appointed-dominated, increasingly conservative "high court" that these traitors ask to determine who can hold union office. While these fake-militants and fools continue their self-defeating reliance on capitalist "justice," phone workers must look to the Militant Action Caucus to lead the necessary battles against Ma Bell, the CWA bureaucracy and their allies in the legislative halls and courtrooms. ■

"Carroll's pigs," the rally headed back to town before breaking up.

Faced with the allied forces of the company, courts, cops and scabs, the miners in Stearns are well aware of the need for outside support. "If we were just fighting Blue Diamond, they'd be under the sod by now," one miner commented, "but we're fighting the government." The same militant proposed a solution: "Monday morning I'd like to see the miners come out. What better way to get publicity? If you want to bring the strike to national attention, call a five-day memorial period."

It is exactly this action which brought Duke Power to its knees in the long Brookside strike. But when *WV* asked organizing director Jim Varney if a union-wide work stoppage, which is even provided for in the UMWA contract's memorial-period clause, had been discussed, he answered lamely, "I'm not sure that that is the answer."

The answers to Blue Diamond's strikebreaking will not be forthcoming

from the discredited UMWA leaders. Coal miners, however, must not allow the Stearns strikers to be isolated and defeated. The coal operators are watching this strike intently as a test case of the union's ability to organize the drastically increasing percentage of non-union coal which threatens the power and very existence of the UMWA.

What is needed in Stearns is *mass action* by the union to defend the embattled strikers. Mass pickets and demonstrations by the militant ranks of the UMWA would keep the scabs out and the state troopers at bay. Kentucky's District 19, which voted heavily against all three of Arnold Miller's takeaway contracts, has a particular obligation to stand by the Stearns strikers. And the heat must be kept on the UMWA tops for solidarity strike action which is the key to victory here and to organizing non-union mines throughout the region. Don't falter now—the coal operators' eyes are on this crucial battle! ■

# Neutron Bomb...

(continued from page 1)

to deploy this weapon in Europe. Having failed to obtain this assurance, Carter made his alleged decision "against" the neutron bomb, while ordering that NATO weapons, in particular the army's Lance missile and 8-inch cannon, be prepared to carry it. As an administration official put it: "Carter's decision puts us 90 percent down the road toward where we would have been with a complete green light" (*Newsweek*, 17 April).

While bourgeois politics certainly have their bizarre aspects, there is no humor to be found in the neutron bomb controversy. Contrary to the beliefs of its various pacifist and Stalinist opponents, however, this is not owing to the particular properties of this "ultimate capitalist weapon." What is disturbing about all of the attention that the bourgeoisie is giving to a small fission warhead is that it ignores the major effort being mounted to overhaul NATO's juggernaut—its forces aimed at the Soviet heartland.

## U.S. Beefs Up NATO Forces

A 1977 U.S. government interagency study painted a very gloomy picture of NATO's forces in Central Europe. The study concentrated on the two-to-one advantage that the Warsaw Pact enjoys in tanks and its three-to-two advantage in manpower. It also noted that superior Soviet supplies reduce the amount of warning time that NATO forces would have in case of attack.

The study prompted an August directive by Carter that NATO forces be strengthened, a directive which was implemented in Defense Secretary Harold Brown's 1978 report to Congress and his 1979 budget. The latter is being touted as the "NATO budget." The 3 percent real increase in funds called for in the 1979 proposal is intended largely for expenditures in Europe—for new weapons and for greater integration of imperialist military activities. Of particular import is the emphasis on tank warfare. Brown plans to spend \$4.7 billion over nine years to produce a new tank, the XM-1, and projects additional massive expenditures on laser-guided anti-tank missiles, tactical intelligence devices and tactical aircraft.

More ominous than any specific budgetary item is the accompanying

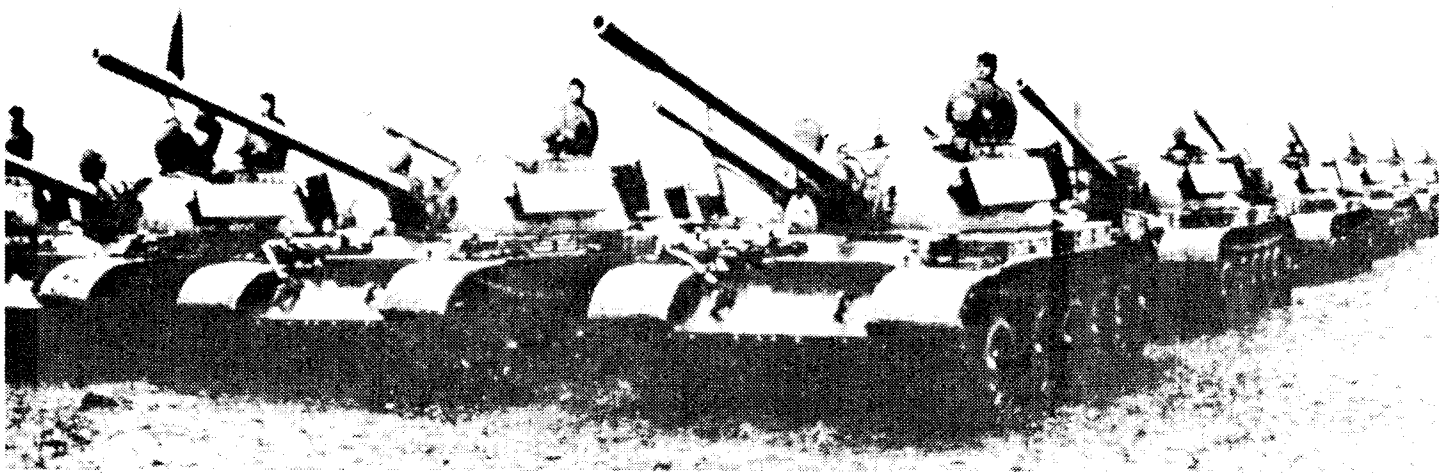
rhetoric. For the last year, in article after article in such semi-official publications as the *Atlantic Council Quarterly* and *Orbis*, major bourgeois political and military figures have been describing in increasingly desperate language the balance of forces in central Europe—and in increasingly threatening language the necessary response.

Thus a recent book by a Belgian general entitled *Europe Without Defense* holds that a conventional attack by the Warsaw Pact would place

architects of the Vietnam War, Sam Huntington.

## Neutrons Over Nuremburg

For the military strategists of imperialism, obsessed with the vision of the war for the West being waged against Soviet Panzer divisions on West German or Belgian soil, development of an anti-tank weapon with minimum "collateral" damage became paramount. The neutron bomb seems ideally suited.



Sunday Times (London)

NATO commanders want neutron bomb to offset overwhelming Soviet tank superiority (above) in Central Europe.



Graham Finlayson/Fortune

British tanks in West Germany.

Russian troops on the Rhine within 48 hours. Liberal senator Gary Hart went even further, claiming that the Soviet forces have "virtually a free ride to the English Channel." Even more graphic was the picture painted by influential senator Sam Nunn, who is emerging as the Henry Jackson of conventional and tactical nuclear warfare:

"What confronts NATO across the inter-German border is not 935,000 [Warsaw Pact] troops but 935,000 Pact troops organized, deployed, trained and equipped for a Blitzkrieg, and governed by a doctrine based on surprise and a postulated rate of advance of 70 kilometers per day."

Most ominous of all was a speech Carter gave at Lake Forest University in March in which he more or less threatened to match the Russians weapon for weapon. The speech was drafted by one of the

However, as the Carter/Schmidt shenanigans demonstrate, the effort to hone the NATO sword is not all that simple. The U.S. capitalist, his dollar still declining against the West German mark, has repeatedly condemned the refusal of its European allies to increase military expenditures. The European bourgeoisies, for their part, are highly critical of what is viewed as the sabotage of their security by the U.S. at bilateral summit meetings with the Soviet Union. In addition the Greek/Turkish rivalry has led to a paralysis on NATO's southern flank.

Despite these inter-imperialist tensions, however, there is a consensus among the imperialist powers (and China and the Maoists) that a major Western rearming is necessary. And contrary to the views of the pro-Soviet Stalinists, this attitude is not restricted to a nefarious band of war hawks. It is indicative of the degree to which bourgeois opinion has moved rightward that the abandonment of any weapons system, even for a more effective weapon, is viewed as a major surrender to the Warsaw Pact. Hence the flak over the B-1 and neutron bomb.

## Imperialist War Preparations

The mounting imperialist military preparations, prepared for by Carter's "human rights" propaganda offensives, while focused on Europe is actually quite general in scope. To begin with Carter, who campaigned with a promise to cut defense spending, now proposes to raise this spending to \$173 billion by 1983. In addition to the NATO buildup,

Brown's 1979 budget calls for a specialized "rapid reaction strike force" stationed outside of Europe, consisting of two army airborne divisions and a marine amphibious division totaling 100,000 men. Such an army would enable the imperialists to make brief forays into the Persian Gulf, Saudi oilfields or sub-Saharan Africa. At the same time, Carter has announced at least a year's delay in his promised withdrawal of troops from South Korea.

More significant is the inexorable movement of the Pentagon toward a "nuclear first-strike capability" against the Soviet Union. For some time U.S. air force generals have been clamoring for the production of a new generation of ballistic missiles with accuracies far exceeding those required for the destruction of a city—i.e., the sort of accuracy required to destroy a Soviet intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) in its launching silo. Thus Brown has given the go-ahead for production of the MK-12A warhead and quintupled funding for an ICBM fired from a mobile launcher, the so-called MX missile.

The stated rationale for the latter decision is an alleged increase in the ratio of Soviet to U.S. land-based strategic forces. This is a transparent fabrication. For one thing, it is the Soviet Union which should be worried as its ICBM force is predominantly land-based and in a low state of readiness. Furthermore, as *New York Times* military analyst Drew Middleton noted in a 10 October article, the expenditure of at least \$30 billion for such increased mobility in land-based ICBM's is outlandish, as the U.S. imperialists currently admit to possessing 656 very mobile missiles aboard submarines. MX's real selling point is that it will carry seven to fourteen independently deliverable and extremely accurate warheads as compared to the three aboard the currently deployed Minuteman III ICBM.

At the same time the Pentagon is intent upon developing a battery of Buck Rogers-type weapons to attempt to eliminate both the Soviet submarine force and intelligence satellites. In selling the latter the most bizarre fabrications have been concocted. Thus in October of 1975 there were numerous front-page stories of Soviet "killer rays" which had temporarily blinded U.S. satellites. Months later it was revealed that these rays emanated from a large fire on a Russian natural gas pipeline.

## Stalinists Push Bourgeois Pacifism

Against this military build-up the demands of the anti-neutron bomb protesters are the height of folly—and of course occupying their place at the head of the purveyors of pacifist illusions are the pro-Moscow Stalinists.

Neutron bomb or no neutron bomb, U.S. imperialism possesses 7,000 tactical nuclear warheads on the European continent—and it will use them. The only serious argument of the "anti-neutron bomb movement," the argument that provides a meeting ground for

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Stalinists, the pope, pacifists and liberals, is that the neutron bomb lowers the "nuclear threshold," i.e., its lesser collateral damage makes it more likely to be used.

If one is a Rand Corporation strategic analyst for whom war is simply the continuation of game theory by other means, perhaps this makes sense. But for the imperialist generals war is quite definitely a life-and-death matter, and there are no holds barred. In fact, the new army field manual dictates that tactical nuclear weapons *dominate* NATO battlefield strategy and calls for each commander to fire large numbers (50 or more) of high-yield nuclear devices.

It is a time-tested aspect of Stalinist misleadership to concentrate on the currently least popular weapon as the focus for its "pro-peace" front groups and as the UN prepares for its May session on disarmament, the CPs are milking the neutron bomb for all it's worth. (A "weapon against people not property"? Well, so is the bow and arrow.) What is forgotten in the "neutron bomb hysteria" is that what generally makes a weapon unpopular in the bourgeois circles of which Stalinists are so fond is its effectiveness. The ABM "victory" gave us MIRV; the B-1 "victory" gave us Cruise. After each of these "victories," the imperialist military posture was in fact improved.

## SALT

Part and parcel of this is the criminal Stalinist hoax of the possibility of reforming the bourgeoisie's arsenal of terror, of exchanging guns for butter—the "disarmament talks."

Contrary to the reformist illusion, disarmament agreements are either meaningless public-relations gimmicks or part of the imperialist military offensive. Under the terms of the SALT I agreement the U.S. tripled its inventory of strategic warheads by MIRVing its ICBM's. Carter's SALT offensive of last year called for a virtual cessation of Soviet strategic arms programs, and the outline of the SALT II agreement yet to be finalized will allow the U.S. to load its B-52's (or 747's) with deadly Cruise missiles, deploy the ultramodern Trident submarine and increase the number of its strategic launchers as well. Even under these terms, Henry Jackson has vowed to lead a (probably successful) fight against ratification.

Similarly, at the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction negotiations, the United States is seeking to strengthen its military posture. These talks have been stalled since 1975 when NATO proposed that in return for its removal of 1,000 tactical nuclear weapons and 29,000 U.S. troops, the Soviets should remove an entire army from East Germany!

Giving backhanded support to the Stalinist peace gimmicks are the reformists of the SWP. Last year, in an

exchange with veteran SWPer Morris Starsky, SWP theoretician emeritus Joseph Hansen sought to place equal blame for the arms race on the USSR and the U.S.—essentially abandoning the Trotskyist call for unconditional military defense of the former. Perhaps somewhat embarrassed, the SWP has not-all-that-transparently sought to step back from this egregious betrayal of Trotskyism in an article in the 17 March *Militant* entitled "U.S. versus USSR: Who Is to Blame for the Threat of War?" In the article David Frankel attempted to place the "blame" on the U.S.

However, in the face of masses of pacifists and liberals even the slickest left reformist is prostrate. First, according to Frankel, a real revolutionary government would accept "slight military disadvantages in the interest of helping to clarify the political issues facing the masses around the world." Such a government would, for example, encourage "a movement of hundreds of thousands in opposition to nuclear power."

What idiocy! Frankel is in effect shamefacedly advocating that the USSR (and China) give up certain "slight" military advantages to cater to the pacifist anti-technological delusions of sections of the petty bourgeoisie, best exemplified by the motley Clamshell Alliance. Perhaps Comrade Frankel will someday inform us what "slight military disadvantages" the USSR should accept vis-à-vis the imperialists. Does he agree with his comrade Joe Hansen that the USSR should unilaterally begin disarming to "expose" the imperialists? Perhaps Frankel wants this "initiative" to continue until the imperialists can launch a successful nuclear first strike against the USSR. That would really concretely expose the predatory war aims of American imperialism, wouldn't it? Or would he perhaps feel that Jimmy Carter was rather ineptly carrying out his anti-Soviet "human rights campaign" that his party so shamelessly tails?

In fact, encouraging grossly reformist, pacifist movements and accepting military disadvantage is precisely what Stalinism does—and in a big way—from its withdrawal of forces from the western borders of the USSR prior to World War II to SALT negotiations today.

To a revolutionist, Stalinism's crimes include the acceptance and promulgation of bourgeois "disarmament" and "détente" schemes which put the deformed and degenerated workers states at a military disadvantage. Thus as an integral part of the Trotskyist movement's defense of the gains of the social revolutions embodied in the Soviet, East European, Chinese, Cuban and Indochinese deformed workers states, revolutionaries have an obligation to denounce these schemes and expose those pro-imperialist reformists who foster them. Above all, the successful defense and extension of the gains of the 1917 October Revolution requires construction of Trotskyist parties in the Soviet Union and deformed workers states, to lead the working masses in political revolution to oust the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracies. ■

## Illinois Judge Jails Fire Department



Don Hogan Charles/New York Times

Striking firemen are brought back to jail after work shift at the firehouse.

Apparently not satisfied with traditional means of dealing with striking workers—such as scab labor, retaliatory firings, strikebreaking thugs—Judge William Caisley of the McLean County, Illinois Circuit Court has ordered 22 striking firemen jailed for 42 days. The firemen, who constitute three-quarters of the fire department of Normal, Illinois, have been imprisoned since March 31.

Eighteen of them are released, however, when they are needed to fight fires. In alternate 24-hour periods they are locked in either the jail or the firehouse and let out only when the fire alarm rings.

This outrageous attack upon the most elementary democratic rights of the firemen clearly exposes the hypocrisy of the claim of the bourgeois courts to act as a neutral arbiter in labor disputes. The sight of labor negotiations at which the firemen face the town's bargaining team from behind steel bars graphically illustrates the "even-handed" nature of bourgeois "justice."

This atrocious attack must be stopped at once! Free the firefighters!

## Harvester...

(continued from page 4)

from UAW Local 6 in Melrose Park, where the parts shortage has caused heavy layoffs which have also been made ignoring seniority.

Harvester's across-the-board attacks demand a company-wide response: the UAW must strike the entire IH chain. The corporation's blatant strikebreaking is only the latest of its mounting offensive against UAW workers. For the past few months, Harvester has been on a campaign of speed-up and harassment aimed at reversing historic union gains.

The agricultural implement section of the UAW has traditionally had a better contract and superior conditions to those of the UAW-organized auto and truck plants. This reflects its origins in the Communist Party-led Farm Equipment Workers as well as the relatively greater stability of the industry due to its production of capital goods for an international market. For example, all overtime is voluntary, and production standards are specified in the contract as unchangeable without the union's con-

sent. This has in the past kept speed-up at a much lower level than in the auto plants.

Faced with a contraction in market demand, Harvester is out to smash these hard-won standards. Union representatives have been fired, job standards torn up and draconian new shop rules introduced. The layoffs in violation of seniority which underlie the Louisville strike have been common at many plants.

What is needed to stop Harvester's offensive is a UAW strike of the entire company. This is particularly urgent now that IH workers are demonstrating militant solidarity with the Louisville strikers in the face of the company's denial of layoff benefits. While Solidarity House tries to drive UAW members back to work across picket lines, union militants must demand company-wide strike action to win an end to speed-up, full benefits for all those laid off due to the Louisville strike, no discipline for the East Moline wildcatters, reinstatement with full back pay for those fired in the current harassment campaign and victory to the Louisville strikers. Shut down International Harvester!

## Moro...

(continued from page 1)

without conditions. And Moro's execution by the Red Brigades would in no way serve the socialist cause, and would instead be used to justify increased reactionary state terror against leftist militants.

The abduction of Aldo Moro was a stupid act of individual terrorism. Nevertheless Marxists must denounce the reactionary "anti-terrorist" hysteria being whipped up against the Red Brigades, with the complicity of various "far left" groups who refer (without a shred of evidence) to the kidnapping as a rightist-manipulated plot and "neglect" to demand freedom for the prisoners now being tried in Torino. The only people who today have an interest in opposing the exchange proposed by the Red Brigades are those who expect to gain by murder and continued impris-



Epoca

Renato Curcio, leader of Red Brigades, in Torino courtroom.

onment, like the Communists and Christian Democrats who are seeking to build up the capitalist repressive forces for a crackdown on the "far left."

Free the 13 anarchist militants!  
Free all left-wing political prisoners!  
Make the deal!

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## UMWA Tops Oppose Mass Picketing

# Stearns Miners Must Not Stand Alone!

WHITLEY CITY, Kentucky, April 29—Striking coal miners, their families and supporters rallied today at a wooded campground a few miles north of here in the 21st month of a bitter fight for union recognition at the Stearns Justus mine. But in addition to their disappointment at the small turnout of 350, the embattled miners were frustrated when they heard leaders of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) “unveil” a strategy doomed to failure. Aside from hollow assurances of their “100 percent” support, the only thing union secretary-treasurer Willard Esselstyn, director of organizing Jim Varney and Kentucky district officials had to offer was the promise of a publicity campaign “...to educate Blue Diamond stockholders.” Esselstyn himself expressed the International’s policy with unintended irony: “There is only one way to lead your people and that is to stand behind them.”

The Stearns miners had been led to believe that district and International UMWA officials were mobilizing thousands of miners to come to today’s rally in a show of solidarity and strength. But having starved 160,000 coal miners into accepting a miserable national contract, the UMWA bureaucrats were not about to flex any union muscle on behalf of the Stearns strikers, who have been left to twist slowly in the wind in the wake of the strike against the major coal operators. Rather than bringing in miners from across the coalfields for



UMWA strike supporters march in Stearns, Kentucky.

desperately needed reinforcements, the UMWA leadership has in fact adamantly opposed mass picketing at the struck Justus mine.

Last February, UMWA president Arnold Miller fired several organizers here and transferred chief organizer Lee Potter to Denver, reportedly for failure to stop the hundreds of roving pickets who bolstered the Stearns picket lines twice during the national strike. Though Potter was recently reinstated by the

union’s International Executive Board (IEB), organizing director Varney told *WV* that the union officialdom is still opposed to mass picketing. “We have no intention of bringing anyone in. We will comply with the court order [limiting pickets to six per gate] to the fullest extent.”

The media-pressure strategy outlined for the Stearns strike is a carbon copy of that used against the Duke Power Company in the 13-month Brookside

strike in Harlan County in 1973-74. It proved a dismal failure there even though Duke was a major public utility much more vulnerable to public exposure than the small, largely family-owned Blue Diamond Coal Company. Blue Diamond’s principal stockholder Gordon Bonnyman has used hired guns, scabherding state police and injunction-issuing courts to fight off the unionization of his three mines and has broken

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WV Photo

## Militant Action Caucus Victory

# Margolis Elected CWA Convention Delegate

SAN FRANCISCO, April 28—Official election results for national convention delegates from Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), announced here tonight, reported the victory of Militant Action Caucus (MAC) candidate Jane Margolis. Margolis, a PBX installer and former Local 9415 (East Bay) executive board representative for traffic, received 299 votes and was elected as one of the S.F. Local’s nine delegates out of a field of 35 candidates. Local 9410, the largest northern California local, will host the CWA convention which begins June 12.

The MAC campaign highlighted two key demands—a CWA-wide strike for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to fight layoffs and opposition to the International’s support for the Bell Telephone monopoly. Margolis was the only voice of militant opposition in an otherwise lackluster election. In a local once a hotbed of political struggle, the other eight victors were all former delegates or present local officers and

executive board representatives, members of the select club of Local 9410 bureaucratic flunkies. Although she finished ninth, Margolis’ vote total was not significantly different from the rest of those elected except the three local officers. Significantly, 50 Local 9410 members “bulleted” their ballots, voting only for the MAC candidate.

Moreover, Margolis won in the face of constant company harassment throughout the election period. During this time the MAC candidate, alone among the nominees, was prevented by security guards from distributing her campaign literature in key traffic (operator) locations. This is not the first time the Bell System has tried to silence MAC candidates. Several times the company has tried to ban their literature on the grounds that it is hostile to AT&T: MAC calls for nationalization of the telephone company without compensation! Ma Bell was not wrong in singling out Margolis as the only candidate who represented a real threat,

but its heavy-handed censorship did not intimidate the CWA ranks.

In an industry where the predominantly female traffic and largely male craft departments have been historically pitted against each other, it was significant that Margolis’ support was evenly divided among both divisions. This reflected the long struggle of the Militant Action Caucus for union programs to defend and upgrade women workers, while giving no quarter to union-busting affirmative action schemes, and MAC’s fight for strike action to protect the jobs of plant workers threatened by speed-up and automation.

In addition Margolis received much support from new hires in traffic, the high-turnover section traditionally most subject to company harassment and intimidation. While the union leadership is habitually lax in collecting the \$2 initiation fee necessary to make new

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Jane Margolis

WV Photo