

***'Evil, Yes!***

***Lesser, No!***

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**Who**

**Governs**

**McGovern?**

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**Progressive Labor Party Pamphlet**

**10¢**



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The experiences of the past decade have convinced millions of working people and students that the "official" view of U.S. society as "free and equal" is a Big Lie designed to hide the true character of the capitalist system. The facts of life have time and again exposed U.S. rulers as international imperialists and domestic racists and exploiters.

The system has been most clearly laid bare by its own war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. As Vietnamese workers, farmers, and students rebelled in the 1960's with increasing ferocity against the presence of U.S. imperialism in their country, U.S. rulers unanimously agreed to crush this rebellion with as much armed force as necessary. Despite the pious demagoguery of every U.S. president from Kennedy to Johnson to Nixon about "the struggle to protect freedom and democracy in Southeast Asia" or the "moral obligation to defend a weak ally against 'foreign' aggression," millions of Americans came to see the war as a profit-making venture for the rich. Rebellions against ROTC and war research exploded on thousands of campuses. Time and again workers struck in defiance of presidential pleas to defend the "national interest." The imperialists couldn't even induce "their" own army to fight consistently for them. On the front lines, thousands of working class soldiers refused to fight; many shot their officers—and mass rebellions against the brass broke out on base after base on Vietnam, Germany, and elsewhere.

Meanwhile, a massive movement of black working people and students was gaining strength against unemployment, bad housing, police harassment, on-the-job discrimination, and other forms of racism. For decades, schools and the media had presented a picture of black people as cheerfully stoic; poor but complacent; "happy with their lot." Black rebellions in Harlem, Watts, Newark, Detroit and elsewhere, rebellions that involved hundreds of thousands in direct, violent clashes with police, national guard, and, in some cases, the army—proved that this view was yet another Big Lie. Not only were black people—especially black workers—dissatisfied with their conditions, but

many were ready, willing, and able to help smash the system responsible for their oppression. The struggle of black workers reached new heights at Attica when thousands overcame incalculable odds to hold the entire capitalist state apparatus at bay for nearly a week. The class unity of black, white, and Latin American prisoners inspired millions—while the unabashed viciousness of Rockefeller's repression further served to expose U. S. rulers as racist butchers.

The struggle of black people against racism helped lead a broader upsurge of rebelliousness among the U.S. working class in general. As wage gains were eaten up by higher taxes, higher rents, and higher prices; as job in-security increased; as speed-up intensified, millions of workers walked off the job. Many of these strikes were wildcats, actions taken in defiance of the "official" union leadership. Some of the largest strikes brought workers into direct confrontation with the government, as in the case of the 1967 Newport News shipbuilding strike or the 1970 postal strike. As U.S. rulers began to feel the pressure, they saw they had to intervene more forcefully to reassert control over "their" working class. They could no longer trust Meany, Bridges, Woodcock, and other union czars to keep rebellious workers in line. The bosses decided to break the strike wave at all costs. Nixon's wage-freeze is the public expression of this decision. According to government propaganda, wages and prices are frozen, again, in the "national interest." In reality, however, as every worker knows, prices have skyrocketed; rents have gone up—and wages have actually been rolled back. Meanwhile, major companies like AT&T or General Motors gloat publicly in the pages of the Wall Street Journal that profits are near or even above a historic high-water mark.

Finally, millions of U.S. workers and students have been profoundly influenced by revolutionary struggle around the world. Tremendous battles waged by the Vietnamese people proved that the imperialists could be defeated. The fight for socialism in China, especially during the period of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, proved that the ability to over-



throw the profit system of exploitation was within the grasp of oppressed people everywhere. The worker-student rebellion and general strike of May 1968 in France proved that the need for mass struggle against the exploiters—and the possibility of waging it—were just as great in the advanced industrial countries as in the less developed nations.

All these developments and others have helped move the outlook of millions of U.S. workers and students in an increasingly leftward direction. The term "revolution" is now so widespread a part of mass consciousness that the rulers have been forced to co-opt it to describe everything from slave labor schemes to the virtues of a brand of toothpaste.

Under normal conditions, U.S. rulers hold political power by perpetuating the illusion that the two-party system offers a viable choice between different policies and programs. In school we are taught that the Republican party has historically been the rallying-point for the super-rich and affluent, and that it has stood for "free enterprise" and minimal government intervention in the economy. On the other hand, we are also taught that the Democratic party stands for "social change," progress and the rights of the oppressed: we are encouraged to support it as the party of the working class.

The thrust of this pamphlet will contain an attack on this view of the Democratic party and, particularly, on the candidacy of George McGovern. We want to make clear at the outset that we don't think Nixon and the Republicans are any better. They have frozen wages, broken strikes, laid off millions, cut back on welfare , intensified the bombing in Vietnam, increased police terror at home, and encouraged unbridled racism in the curriculum of schools and universities. But Nixon and the Republicans make no bones about representing the rich. Nixon may well speak of "fellow Americans" pulling together in a common cause: but by now most workers and students have few illusions about which class of people the Republican party serves. The point is that we in PLP believe that McGovern or any Democratic nominee will also act in fundamental opposition to the interests of workers and oppressed people if elected to the presidency. We believe they are doing so now and have done so in the past. Furthermore, we believe the "lesser evil theory" to be invalid: we are convinced the facts prove McGovern and the Democrats to be just as bad as the Republicans. We feel a thorough discussion of the truth about McGovern and the Democrats is vital at this time precisely because they are attempting to emerge in the public eye as the political leadership





of the working class.

By the 1968 presidential election, the Democratic party was in deep trouble. Its image had been badly tarnished. When the anti-war movement began to grow in strength, U.S. rulers saw that something had to be done to bring millions of rebellious student demonstrators and youth back into the fold. The candidacy of Eugene McCarthy was designed explicitly for this purpose. On November 17, 1967, McCarthy told the Wall Street Journal:

*"There is deep anxiety and alination among large numbers of people so we have demonstrations and draft-card burning and all the rest. Someone must give these groups entrance back into the political process. We may lose, but at least in the process of fighting within the political framework, we'll have reduced the alienation. This is absolutely vital."*

Thousands of the most militant, dedicated opponents of the war worked day and night for McCarthy because they believed the success of his candidacy was the best way to get the U.S. out of Vietnam. These were many of the same people who had so courageously led campus strikes, sit-ins, and demonstrations against ROTC, imperialist research, and war recruiters.

But U.S. rulers decided not to give McCarthy the nomination. Furthermore, his supporters at the 1968 Democratic convention were treated with police brutality that shocked millions around the country—most of whom wanted the U.S. out of Vietnam.

The 1968 Democratic convention convinced most of McCarthy's supporters—and nearly everyone else, for that matter—that there wasn't much room for dissent inside the Democratic party. Thousands turned away in disgust from the Great McCarthy Hoax. Millions became more skeptical about the possibility of ending oppression and war by voting the oppressors and war-makers out of power.

Top Democrats and others understood that this skepticism was fraught with dangers for the Democratic party and the system as a whole. They saw that something had to be done to rehabilitate the electoral process in the eyes of the many workers and students who had come to view it as a fraud. Democratic bigwigs met (Harpers, Jan 1970) to see what could be done to restore faith in their organization. The meetings included not only liberals like McCarthy and McGovern but also Humphrey, the representative of the party establishment, who—as everyone knew—owed his 1968 nomination to "traitional" back-room wheeling and dealing. These top Democrats saw themselves in a do-or-die situation. Accordingly, they mapped out a plan of internal reform (under McGovern's leadership) that ostensibly created an "open, grass-roots" caucus system for electing delegates to the 1972 Miami convention.

As of this writing (June 1972), McGovern appears to be the clear front-runner for the Democratic nomination. However, whether he wins or loses the nomination and whether he wins or loses the presidency in the fall, he and the Democrats have partially succeeded in attracting many students, young people, and workers who are fed up with the system, fed up with the war, racism, unemployment, the wage freeze, police terror, and boss rule—and who want fundamental changes in the society.

Many of the people now working in McGovern offices, canvassing for McGovern, and stumping for McGovern in various primaries are the same people who attacked ROTC buildings in 1967, fought police at the Democratic convention in 1968, demonstrated in Washington in 1970, and again manned

militant picket lines in April and May of 1972, when Nixon escalated the bombing of north and south Vietnam and mined north Vietnamese harbors.

As in the case of McCarthy four years ago, McGovern's candidacy has been explicitly designed to reverse this militancy and curb mass protest. When Nixon mined Haiphong, McGovern immediately urged his supporters not to react "in blind fury and damaging demonstrations." Instead, he called for electoral work for a "new agenda" in 1972. In other words, "vote for me and everything will be OK." On May 4, 1972, R.W. Appel of the New York Times pulled the cat a bit further out of McGovern's bag when he wrote:

*The goal of the American political system is to contain protest and rage within the electoral process thus keeping it from bursting into the streets as revolution. The goal of the parties is to provide a vehicle for such protest, and the Democratic reform rules, designed in large part by Mr. McGovern, were brought into being by the exclusion of a large part of the anti-war movement from the convention of 1968.*

The Progressive Labor Party is issuing this pamphlet now because we believe that mass action of the type described above and the millions of workers and students who carry it out provide the only real alternative for changing and ultimately ending the evils in our society. We too are fed up with the war, racism, the wage freeze, and oppression—but we are convinced that McGovern will do **nothing** to change these things, that his candidacy serves specifically to create the appearance of change without the reality, and that the movement to build his campaign is deliberately being pushed by U.S. rulers to divert the energies of workers and students down a dead-end street and prevent us from attacking and eventually overthrowing the system responsible for the misery of billions.

Instead of another politician bankrolled by bosses and puffed up with empty promises, we propose an independent alliance of workers, students, GIs, welfare clients, professionals, and others united in the understanding that true power lies in the hands of the working class and that true liberation can come only when all bosses have been overthrown.

We and many others are now actively involved in fighting for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, supporting strikes and other actions against the wage freeze, organizing against Jensen, Herrnstein, and other representatives of neo-nazi racism on campus, building tenants' unions for better housing—and many other campaigns. As communists, we believe that ultimately we need a revolution led by workers if we are to build a decent society with no wars, no racism, and true democracy for masses of oppressed people. We hope after reading this pamphlet you will want to know more about some of our ideas and that you will think again about whether George McGovern and the Democratic party can solve our problems.

#### MCGOVERN, THE LIBERALS, AND THE WAR

By now, every major U.S. politician with the hope of winning an election has come out with a program for finishing the war in Vietnam. In 1968, Nixon won the presidency largely on his promise that he had a "secret plan" to end the war. Humphrey was forced to pretend he had never spent four years as the Vice-Presidential court jester for the Johnson administration's bloody record in Vietnam. George Wallace said that he "prayed" for the success of the Paris negotiations. Even today,





What campaigns like McGovern's tries to contain and prevent

as Nixon increases the bombings and minings, he continues troop withdrawals.

George McGovern has ridden to fame largely on the claim that, whereas other politicians opportunistically began opposing the war only when they saw that most people wanted the U.S. out of Vietnam immediately, he took an anti-war position from the very beginning. His campaign literature boasts that "He's been right from the start."

On the most elementary factual level, McGovern is a liar. His campaign literature extols him for consistent opposition to the war from 1963. Yet in October, 1965, he made the following speech:

*We crossed the bridge a long time ago in Vietnam. It's too late to turn back now. Our nation has decided that we must stay and fight to stop the Communists from taking over. We have a commitment and we must stay there until the dispute is resolved. (Robert Anson, McGovern, p. 161)*

In the summer of 1964, the Johnson-Goldwater campaign shaped up apparent as a debate between a "sensible" Democrat who wanted at all costs to prevent a massive land war by U.S. troops in southeast Asia and a "war-mongering" Republican who wanted to "bomb the Communists back to the Stone Age" and send hundreds of thousands of soldiers to invade Vietnam. Then in August, LBJ went on national television to make an "emergency" presidential address. The north Vietnamese had fired on U.S. ships in the Gulf of Tonkin, he said. This incident posed a "grave threat to national security." He had given orders for immediate retaliation and was asking the Congress to pass legislation that would give him *carte blanche* to take whatever further military steps he deemed necessary. (Subsequent disclosures revealed the

"Tonkin" incident to have been a deliberate provocation engineered by the U.S. government in order to justify escalation.) This legislation came to be known as the "Gulf of Tonkin resolution." It passed overwhelmingly in the Senate and House. It gave LBJ legal cover to send hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops to Vietnam and to launch the greatest aerial bombing attacks in the history of warfare.

George McGovern voted for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution—as did Eugene McCarthy.

He now claims he was "deceived," and that he voted in error. His campaign literature plays down this "error."

However, three years later, in 1967—as anti-war demonstrations began to involve hundreds of thousands—McGovern voted against repealing the resolution. The same year, he voted against a resolution prohibiting the assignment of draftees to southeast Asia without their consent.

McGovern initially attracted national attention as an anti-war spokesman when he co-sponsored the Hatfield-McGovern amendment calling for a deadline to be set for total troop withdrawal. He hoped in this way to divert thousands away from mass action and into petition-gathering. As the amendment was voted down in September 1971, McGovern praised his work to his Senate colleagues:

*It helped to keep the nation from exploding this summer. It was the lodestar that inspired more mail, more telegrams, more eager young visitors to our offices . . . than any other initiative of Congress in this summer of discontent.*

*To demonstrate is an easy thing. It is much harder to stay at home and work quietly for peace. (Anson, p. 174)*

Not that McGovern opposes the maintenance of a strong U.S. military machine. On September 23, 1971, he said: "My friends,



this is a dangerous world, and we need strong armed services with strong morale." He adds that he "vigorously supports" the U.S. commitment to NATO for the "defense" of western Europe and that he "subscribes" to the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (San Francisco Examiner, 5-7-72).

In keeping with his support for "strong armed services," McGovern has consistently voted Yes to military appropriations for the war in Vietnam and the Thieu regime, for imperialist governments like Israel and fascist states like Haiti, Spain, and Iran that "happen" to be allied with the U.S. government.

Even McGovern's campaign literature bases its arguments about defense reduction on the claim that present defense spending is "excessive"—not that U.S. imperialism is bad:

(The McGovern) program includes . . . cutting back on wasteful programs like the B-1 bomber and Titan missile (which would be outdated by the time they're produced), and letting Europe assume more of the costs of its own defense. (McGovern leaflet)

Beyond McGovern's obvious lies, half-truths, and demagogic posturing, another question must be raised. Many people will say: "All right. We know he's a politician. We know politicians are fundamentally out for themselves and that they adopt positions in keeping with political expediency. But McGovern's expediency happens at this time to coincide more closely than other politicians' with the anti-war position held by the majority of people in the U.S. McGovern may not be perfect, but he's not as bad as the others on the question of Vietnam. At least he'll pull us out."

But will he? Is the faster troop withdrawal favored by McGovern—and we admit that he favors it—really the same as getting the U.S. out of Vietnam? In order to answer that question, we should first look into the fundamental nature of U.S. foreign policy in Vietnam and elsewhere.

Two contradictory lines of reasoning are offered to explain why the U.S. became involved in the Vietnam war in the first place. On the one hand, liberal politicians like McGovern and Fullbright before him tell us that the war was the result of blundering, tragic mistakes, and narrow-minded conservatism. On the other hand, the facts of life and the daily experiences of hundreds of millions of people show that the war is an integral part of a world-wide strategy of U.S. imperialism, a strategy vital to the survival of the private profit system in the United States.

For decades, U.S. foreign policy has been based on the need to protect and expand the interests of major U.S. corporations and banks. Put another way, U.S. foreign policy has consistently served to oppose any movement that threatens the economic interests of U.S. big businessmen and bankers.

In Guatemala in 1954, the nationalist Arbenz government raised the minimum wage from 26 cents to \$1.08 a DAY, and started a mild land reform that included the expropriation of 243,000 acres of uncultivated land from the United Fruit Company.

President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had the C.I.A. organize, train, and equip an invasion force that succeeded in toppling the Arbenz government and replaced it with a pro-U.S. dictatorship that halted land reform, returned the expropriated land to the United Fruit Company, disenfranchised 70 percent of the population, smashed trade unions, slashed wages, and abolished taxes on

the profits of foreign investors. (See N.Y. Times, 4-28-66, for verification of C.I.A.'s role).

In Iran in 1951, the government of Premier Mossadegh nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. A U.S.-directed coup overthrew Mossadegh. Iran's highly profitable oil was turned over to a four-nation consortium. The U.S. share was 40 percent. (David Horowitz, *Free World Colossus*, P. 187 ff).

On July 15, 1958, ten thousand U.S. marines landed in Lebanon with two assignments: First, to crush the rebellion against the overwhelmingly unpopular President Chamoun, a rebellion which the London Sunday Times labelled a "calculated defiance of authority by at least half the population." Second, to reverse a massively supported coup by Kassem in Iraq. The U.S. made clear that any action against Western oil interests in Iraq could lead to a joint U.S.-British invasion. (Horowitz, P. 192).

The list of examples could go on indefinitely. For instance, the history of 20th Century Latin America is filled with U.S. bribes, threats, and invasions aimed at defeating revolution. Why did the U.S. invade the Dominican Republic in 1965? Why did JFK organize the Bay of Pigs invasion against Cuba in 1961?

Three facts emerge with absolute clarity from all the politicians' gobbledygook and demagoguery. First, U.S. business needs to control the labor power and markets of the so-called "underdeveloped" countries. Second, U.S. business needs to crush any mass movement that threatens its long or short run interests—even if the movement is basically capitalist-oriented. Third, U.S. business needs to destroy mass revolutionary upsurge for socialism wherever it occurs.

No major U.S. politician—least of all McGovern—disputes the strategic implications of these three facts. McGovern is as well aware of the economic facts of life as anybody in Washington. He knows that:

Late in the 1950s—and with the increasing speed through the 1950s and up to the present . . . In industry after industry U.S. companies found that their overseas earnings were soaring, and that their return on investment abroad was frequently much higher than in the U.S. As earnings (abroad) began to rise, profit margins from domestic operations started to shrink; costs in the U.S. climbed faster than prices, competition stiffened as markets neared their saturation points. (Business Week, 4-20-63, p. 70)

After World War II, the so-called "developed" areas of Europe, Canada, and Japan absorbed the lion's share of U.S. industrial investment until roughly 1960. However, all this time, these countries were developing their own economies. They were no longer client states. They were emerging as serious competitors of U.S. business all over the world.

The following developments were apparent to any politician who needed to know the true international state of the U.S. economy—and McGovern, as a long-standing member of the Kennedy camp, was among the first to be aware of them:

1. The U.S. rulers' share of international trade was slipping. Their share of exports of key manufactured goods from major industrial suppliers declined 10 per-





***"The Senator is deeply interested in this particular pocket of poverty. Could we circle once more?"***

cent between 1954-6 and 1961. ("U.S. Share of World Markets for Manufactured Products," U.S. Dept. of Commerce, March 1964, pp. 2-10). The U.S. businessmen's share of markets in "underdeveloped" countries fell variously between 9 and 24 percent.

2. By 1962, the rate of profit on U.S. investments in Europe had begun to plummet. (Monthly Economic Letter of the First National City Bank, March 1967, p. 34).

3. Capitalist competition was increasing sharply in countries where U.S. businessmen were trying to invest capital and sell goods. To compete with other capitalist countries, the U.S. ruling class entered a period (a period in which it still finds itself) that requires intensified reliance on overseas production, with more and more use of the cheap labor "available" in the "underdeveloped" countries as well as the stepped-up depletion of the resources in these countries. (see *Business Abroad*: 2-5-68, 12-25-67; *Wall Street Journal*, 1-24-68).

When JFK was inaugurated in 1961, he spoke of a "New Frontier." He would have spoken more honestly if he had said the "last frontier," because eastern Asia—and particularly southeast Asia—provides the last frontier for super-profitable U.S. investment. Wages in Asia are the world's lowest: profits are therefore the world's highest. Indochina is vital to the conquest and maintenance of this

frontier: every U.S. administration from Roosevelt to Nixon has agreed to this point.

Back in 1954, *U.S. News and World Report* said in an article entitled "WHY THE U.S. RISKS WAR FOR INDOCHINA: IT'S THE KEY TO CONTROL OF ALL ASIA:"

*One of the world's richest areas is open to the winner in Indochina. That's behind the growing U.S. concern . . . tin, rubber, rice, key strategic raw materials are what the war is really all about. The U.S. sees it as a place to hold—at any cost. (4-4-54).*

In 1953, Eisenhower agreed. (The *N.Y. Times* quoted him to this effect 13 years later on 7-26-66). So did Henry Cabot Lodge ten years later. (See *Boston Globe* 2-28-65). And Senator Gale McGee of Wyoming summed up the view of the main section of the U.S. ruling class when he said:

*That empire in southeast Asia is the last major resource area outside the control of any of the major powers on the globe. (Speech to U.S. Senate, 2-17-65).*

A simple statistic will tell volumes. In south Vietnam, skilled construction workers earn twice as much money as the average manufacturing worker. In 1960, south Vietnamese skilled construction workers received a wage of 36 cents an hour.

Faced with the possibility of raking in the profits produced by this kind of exploitation, liberals and conservatives in the U.S. ruling class fell over each other to guarantee that the "New Frontier" in southeast Asia was covered with dollar signs.



The only real issue for the U.S. bosses was how best to ensure their rule in Vietnam. First, they tried to rule indirectly, by attempting to prop up a tottering French colonial regime. Virtually the entire Vietnamese people were waging war against the French colonialists, and the U.S. government was footing 80 percent of the military bill just to make sure the French could field an army. By 1954, the French had been defeated. The Vietminh, which had led the Vietnamese people's struggle against them, with enormous popular support, agreed to negotiate a settlement at Geneva. The actual details of the settlement are unimportant, although the U.S. government was later to violate them countless times. What counted to the point of view of U.S. imperialism was that the Vietminh agreed to withdraw troops to the north for two years. This gave the U.S. government time and maneuverability to implement the plan devised by then-Senator John F. Kennedy: install an anti-communist puppet government bought and paid for by the U.S.

The chicanery and brutality employed to install the Ngo Dinh Diem regime by now are legendary. What counts most is that by 1956, the Vietnamese people saw that the Geneva agreements of 1954 were a betrayal of all they had fought for. They regrouped and began fighting again—this time to get rid of both Diem and his U.S. bosses. Despite the efforts of the U.S. "advisors," despite the pressganging of thousands of Vietnamese youth into military service for the imperialists, despite the vast repressive force built up by the U.S. in Vietnam during the 1954-5 period, and despite the feverish efforts of the Michigan State Advisory Group and other "scholarly" institutions to help Diem exercise his fascist rule—the **VIETNAMESE PEOPLE FOUGHT BACK, GAINED STRENGTH, AND BEGAN TO WIN MAJOR VICTORIES.** By his inauguration, President Kennedy saw that Diem was falling. He got economist Eugene Staley and General Taylor to adopt the Staley-Taylor plan for "special war." This plan provided for 16,000 "strategic hamlet" concentration camps to imprison 2/3 of the population and for an increase in south Vietnamese armed forces under the beefed-up direct leadership of more U.S. "advisors." By the time the U.S. had thrown away their puppet Diem in 1963, "special war" was being put into effect.

"Special war" failed, too—ignominiously. With overwhelming support from millions of Vietnamese workers, farmers, students, and intellectuals, the National Liberation Front went on the offensive in 1964, driving the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN: the south Vietnamese puppet army) out of vast areas. It wiped out most of ARVN's strategic reserves. An official U.S. report released April 1, 1964 admitted that 42 percent of south Vietnam's villages were under uncontested NFL control, with the rest "contested." (For more details on this period as well as the entire war in Vietnam up to and including the 1970 Cambodia invasion, see PLP pamphlet **Vietnam: Defeat U.S. Imperialism!**)

The conclusion that must be drawn from the above facts is inescapable. When Lyndon Johnson cooked up the Tonkin Gulf provocation in August, 1964, when George McGovern, William Fulbright, Eugene McCarthy, other liberals, and "conservatives" voted in the Congress to pass the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, **THEY ALL KNEW THAT THE U.S. HAD BEEN BADLY DEFEATED IN ITS EFFORTS TO IMPOSE IMPERIALIST RULE ON VIETNAM BY PROXY. THEY KNEW THAT THE ONLY RECOURSE AVAILABLE TO THEM WAS TO INTENSIFY TERROR BOMBING AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, TO SEND AN INVADING FORCE OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF U.S. TROOPS IN THE HOPE OF WINNING A WAR OF CONQUEST.**

The U.S. government knew it couldn't win with an ARVN

whose desertion rate was **ridiculously high.** They knew they needed U.S. troops en masse to bolster sagging morale in Saigon. Also, they hoped that the air bombing over north Vietnam, the invasion of the south, and the threat of an invasion of the north, would pressure the leaders of north Vietnam and the NFL to negotiate.

Initially this strategy led to greater and greater fiascoes for U.S. imperialism on the battlefield. The NLF grew in numbers, strength, and influence among the Vietnamese people. Its fighters routed the cream of the U.S. armed forces, the Green Berets and the Marines. Rank-and-file U.S. working class soldiers began rebelling by the thousands. Hatred of U.S. imperialism increased among millions throughout the world. At home, a swelling anti-war movement opened up a second front against the imperialists.

U.S. rulers appeared to have only one choice available to them: either withdraw or be smashed. Ultimately, however, they found a reprieve from the most unlikely source—NFL and DRV leaders, with the backing of opportunists in Moscow and Peking.

During the various phases of struggle within Vietnam—against the French colonialists before and after World War II, against the Japanese fascists during World War II, and against the U.S. imperialists after 1954, two schools of thought have affected the direction taken by the Vietnamese people's movement. One says: our main aim must be to drive out the foreign invaders. In order to do so, we need a coalition of all patriotic elements. Vietnamese workers can ally with Vietnamese bankers and factory-owners; Vietnamese farmers can ally with Vietnamese landlords: the alliance is based on the overwhelming need to get rid of the French, Japanese, or U.S. imperialists. We can deal with internal conflicts among Vietnamese afterwards.

The second school of thought says: Why did we oppose the French colonialists, the Japanese fascists, and the U.S. imperialists in the first place? Because they were all exploiters. The vast majority of us stand to suffer immeasurably from the private profit system—no matter who runs it or what language they speak. Our experiences in struggle prove that we can win. What do we need Vietnamese bosses for afterwards? What do we need any bosses for? The logic of our struggle dictates that we pursue it to the end, that we reject the business-as-usual theory of "national independence," and that we fight until we have won **socialism.**

**The leaders of the NLF and DRV consistently pursue the first line of reasoning. By 1967, they had retreated from their initial position that they would negotiate with the imperialists only after the imperialists had withdrawn all their troops from Vietnam. They now said:**

*After the unconditional cessation of U.S. bombing raids and all other acts of war against the DRV, the DRV and U.S. could enter into talks and discuss questions concerning both sides. (U.S. News and World Report, 4-3-67)*

DRV and NLF leaders rejected the successful strategy of relying on people's war to destroy imperialism and instead adopted the outlook of waging war to conduct negotiations. Their own opportunism and pressure from the Soviet Union had led them to lose confidence in the desire and need felt by millions of Vietnamese people to overthrow imperialism and exploitation once and for all.

Theodore Draper pointed out that the "Soviets had clearly influenced Ho Chi Minh and his colleagues to come down from their four points." (*New York Review of Books*, 5-4-67).



U.S. rulers had been following developments in the Soviet Union with intense interest. By the mid-1950s, they saw that Soviet leaders headed by Khrushchev, had succumbed to U.S. imperialist pressure and that they were consciously bent on restoring capitalism to the Soviet Union. The more astute members of the U.S. ruling class understood that the new "red" capitalists in the U.S.S.R. were no longer bent on overthrowing the private profit system and imperialism but that instead they had become fierce competitors, **within the context of continuing imperialism.** Competition might be sharp; under certain circumstances it might lead to intra-imperialist war by proxy (as in the Mideast, over control of the oil resources); but when the question was one of reversing revolutionary movements, **THE SOVIETS WERE ANXIOUS TO DEAL.** In mid-1967, at the height of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, LBJ met with Kosygin at Glassboro to divide up the world's markets and, incidentally, come to terms on the question of Vietnam.

Given the strategy they were pursuing, north Vietnamese leaders found themselves boxed in. They had abandoned the long-term outlook of fighting a people's war that would attack the enemy only from a position of **relative** numerical strength and had instead adopted a plan of battle that involved slugging it out toe-to-toe with the imperialists. In order to carry this plan out, they needed modern equipment for positional warfare—equipment they could not manufacture and that the Soviet bosses were all too willing to supply in return for the political clout it gave them in Hanoi. As Draper pointed out and as dozens of other sources attest, the Soviets were doing their utmost to get the north Vietnamese and NLF leaders to make a deal with the U.S. imperialists. They saw the inherent dangers for world-wide imperialism in the titanic struggle taking place in China during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They knew that the longer millions of Vietnamese workers and farmers were engulfed in daily battles with U.S. imperialism, the greater chances were that new leadership would emerge from their ranks to propose a perspective of continuing the fight until socialism had been won.

This was an outcome neither the Soviets nor U.S. bosses wanted.

Once the DRV and NLF leaders had made it clear that they were fighting to gain maneuverability for eventual negotiations, a serious debate began to take place within the U.S. ruling circles. Liberal "doves" led by Kennedy, Fulbright, McCarthy, McGovern, and others understood that the Soviets had abandoned the goal of socialism and restored capitalism. They saw that NLF and DRV leaders were really nationalists disguised as communists. The "doves" drew the right conclusions from the fact that so-called communists within the NLF advocated a program that welcomed all investment in an "independent" south Vietnam. The "doves" understood first that the DRV-NLF didn't want to win socialism in Vietnam but rather hoped to reach an accommodation with U.S. imperialism by making a deal that would permit Ford, Chase Manhattan, Esso, Coca-Cola, etc. to set up shop in Saigon in return for the withdrawal of U.S. troops and the establishment of a "left"-tilted nationalist government.

In a word, the "doves" wanted to take advantage of the enormous breathing space offered to U.S. imperialism by the emergence of revisionism as a dominant force within the old international communist movement.

When we use the term "revisionism," we do not mean to hurl epithets or curses. Revisionism exists. It is the main obstacle that holds back hundreds of millions of people in their fight to

climb out of the morass of capitalist oppression. In essence, it is the theory and practice of capitalism as advocated by those who **claim** to be revolutionary communists. Reduced to its simplest terms, revisionism contains four principal ideas:

1. **NATIONALISM**, the idea that the main force both uniting and dividing people in the world is nationality or "race," not class. In Vietnam, nationalists advocate the unity of all Vietnamese workers, farmers, students, and bosses. But what difference does a boss' nationality make to a Vietnamese construction worker who receives 39 cents an hour or to a Vietnamese farmer who probably makes less than half that salary? Similarly, in the U.S., why should millions of super-exploited





black workers view themselves as any less oppressed because a few black bosses "make it" to the New York Stock Exchange? Nationalism is a capitalist idea.

2. **ALL-CLASS UNITY.** This idea breathes the same air as nationalism. It takes many forms. One resolution put forth by the south Vietnam 'Peoples' Revolutionary Government' calls for a regime to

*encourage industrial and trading bourgeoisie to contribute to the development of industry, small industry, and handicrafts. (Proceeding of the South Vietnam Congress of People's Representatives, p. 55).*

.. The same resolution notes that:

*Industrialists and traders are entitled to freedom of enterprise, and to resist any oppressive competition by foreign monopoly capital. (Ibid.)*

The only restraint to the development of capitalism here is the protection of the domestic variety against the potential "excesses" of foreign investment. But **everything** capitalism does is excessive. Another example: prior to the 1970 General Motors strike, GM bosses were trying to get workers to speed up production on their new Vega—a model specifically designed to compete with small imports—particularly Japanese Toyotas and Datsuns. The bosses flooded plants with disgusting racist caricatures of Japanese people and the slogan "Don't let them get ahead of us." What common cause can the workers of the Lordstown Vega plant (known for the fastest speed-up in the U.S.) possibly have with GM bosses? All-class unity is a capitalist idea.

3. **U.S. IMPERIALISTS—OR ANY CAPITALISTS—AREN'T THE IMPLACABLE ENEMIES OF WORKING PEOPLE EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD. THEY CAN BE "DEALT WITH."** The experience of the Vietnamese people after 1954 proves eloquently that this is a lie. The Geneva agreements disarmed the Vietnamese people, paved the way for the U.S. to install the fascist Diem, and led directly to greater warfare than before. Alliances made by Indonesian "communists" with Indonesian bosses and Soviet and other imperialists led directly to the slaughter of hundreds of thousands in 1965. French imperialists suck more billions from the backs of Algerian workers than it ever did when Algeria was a French colony. The idea that imperialism can change or that there are "good" and "bad" imperialists is a pro-imperialist idea.

4. **THE WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF EVERY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD DON'T NEED REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST IDEAS IN THE FOREFRONT OF THEIR STRUGGLE AND DON'T NEED TO FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM.** The experience of billions of people in every country of the world over the past hundred years proves that socialism is precisely what workers and oppressed people **everywhere** need. Millions fought in Europe to get the Nazis off their backs. They were led by once-mighty communist parties that have now degenerated into a class of new, "red" bosses. But the class struggle continues to rage in all these countries. In Poland in 1970, masses of workers invaded the office of the Polish Communist Party putting forth class grievances and singing the **Internationale**. For more than a decade, the greatest revolutionary upsurge in the history of the world during the Great Proletarian Revolution attempted to rid Chinese workers, farmers, and students of the new "red bourgeoisie" that had restored capitalism in China. This struggle failed, but it taught billions around the world the lesson

that the international working class cannot survive unless it ultimately wins socialism. (See special issue of PL magazine for thorough discussion of the Great Proletarian Revolution and the reversal of workers' power in China.) Communists who advocate anything less than socialism—workers' power—are really fighting for capitalism, no matter how militant they sound.

U.S. "doves" saw that the DRV-NLF leadership in Vietnam favored nationalism, all-class unity, a "soft" approach to imperialism as a system, and compromise on the goal of socialism. The doves knew that their goose was cooked on the battlefield. The surviving Kennedys, McCarthy, Fulbright, and McGovern all saw that the modern forms of "gun-boat" diplomacy—reliance first on the fascist Diem, then on "special war," and finally on massive troop invasions—had only served to intensify the debacle of U.S. imperialism. They saw the PRG program of capitalism in Vietnam under the cover of leftwing demagoguery as the only hope for salvaging maximum profits in Vietnam.

These were essentially the terms of the "dove"- "hawk" debate. The "doves" wanted rapid negotiations leading to a deal that would send U.S. troops home and pave the way for U.S. factories and banks in Vietnam. The "hawks" wanted the same results but were in less of a hurry to sit down at the bargaining table. Ultimately, the "doves" won on the first point. Negotiations began in 1968.

The substance of the issue has not changed. Today, as the negotiators continue to haggle at the bargaining table, playing a chess game with thousands of U.S. and Vietnamese worker-soldiers, the question reduces itself to the **appearance** of the pro-capitalist coalition government that will rule south Vietnam after U.S. troops pull out. Nixon and other "hawks" want a right-wing nationalist government that includes Thieu. McGovern, Kennedy, and the other liberal "doves" want a "left-wing" nationalist government that excludes Thieu but includes some of his leading supporters. The DRV-PRG revisionists want to deal on the liberals' terms.

McGovern and Nixon represent differing points of view—but the difference is one of tactics, not principles. Both the liberals and the conservatives understand that U.S. imperialism cannot survive if it fails to make an accommodation with the revisionists. The main disagreement concerns the degree to which the revisionists can be trusted and the rapidity with which the agreements can be reached. The liberals have been clamoring for years that U.S. imperialism can deal with China. They have long understood the pro-capitalist content of Chinese foreign policy (alliances with the worst fascists and nationalists in Pakistan, Africa, the Mideast, etc.). They knew that the end of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution signalled a defeat for the most revolutionary forces among the Chinese people and the consolidation of Mao-Chou leadership that would ultimately restore capitalism to China. Nixon went to China—and the liberals applauded him for it. They had wanted to get there sooner. McGovern is trained as a teacher of capitalist history. He doubtless remembers the "Open Door" policy of the early 20th Century, when treaties allowed U.S. capital unlimited access to the labor power of hundreds of millions of Chinese workers.

The liberals also want an accommodation with the Soviet revisionists. Nixon's recent trip to the Soviet Union is merely a continuation of the process set in motion during the Johnson-Kosygin Glassboro meetings in 1967. Here again, the liberals might have wanted to deal sooner; they might have wanted a more sweeping deal, but both they and the conservatives start from the same basic assumption. They all agree that the world's





markets must be redivided in keeping with changes that have occurred within the imperialist camp. They all agree that the Soviet Union and China are imperialist forces to be reckoned with—and they all agree upon a fundamental outlook of attempting to iron out differences in the coming period by negotiation rather than head-on confrontation.

The difference between liberals and conservatives sharpens more over the question of dealing with "minor" revisionists. The Soviet Union and U.S. imperialists have decided that where differences cannot be resolved peacefully, warfare should be conducted by "proxy—" between client states. Periodic flare-ups in the Mideast between pro-Soviet Egyptian bosses and pro-U.S. Israeli bosses reflect this decision. So does the recent struggle between India and Pakistani bosses over the question of Bangla Desh.

The results of the Bangla Desh struggle prove that the liberals have a more profitable plan for advancing the cause of U.S. imperialism. Bangla Desh was a supercolony for West Pakistani bosses, populated by millions of workers who were forced to work for even lower wages than West Pakistani or Indian workers. The sharpest class struggle on the Indian subcontinent had taken place there. Indian and Soviet bosses wanted to control their labor power. Nixon and Chinese chiefs sided with the West Pakistan ruling class, headed by an open fascist, Yahya Kahn. The Soviets sided with the Indian bourgeoisie. Indian workers are as horribly oppressed as Pakistani workers—but the Indian government (which touts itself as a "Western-style democracy"), the pro-Soviet Indian

Communist Party (which exerts its revisionist influence over millions), and the nationalist ideology and organization of Sheik Mujibur Rahman in Bangla Desh provided a more effective political cover than U.S. planes and Chinese AK-47s in the hands of Yahya Kahn.

Result? The U.S. and Chinese bosses were clobbered, along with Yahya; Soviet and Indian bosses and their pal the Sheik are laughing all the way to the bank—and the workers of India, West Pakistan, and Bangla Desh are suffering under worse exploitation than ever.

Teddy Kennedy knows a good thing when he sees it. He immediately flew over to the newly independent Bangla Desh, shed public crocodile tears over the atrocities committed during the struggle, criticized Nixon, and called for U.S. recognition of Bangla Desh. He and his other liberal friends understand that "gun-boat" diplomacy will not work anywhere. They have learned from the revisionists that the most efficient way of imposing capitalist rule is not through terror but rather through leaders whose demagogic appeals to the aspirations of the masses can win some measure of temporary popular support.

Thieu is undoubtedly the most hated Vietnamese in Vietnam. Teddy Kennedy and McGovern know that Nixon can no more accomplish the goals of U.S. imperialism with Thieu than JFK could with Diem. Kennedy, McGovern, and all the liberals know they have good reason to trust not only the "big-time" revisionists in Moscow and Peking but also the "small-timers" in Hanoi and elsewhere. They are furious at Nixon's vacillation on the deal offered by the DRV-PRG. They know that his present



hawk tactics of mining harbors will fail and can lead only to the next step up the ladder of escalation: the use of tactical nuclear weapons and a land invasion of north Vietnam. The liberals would not hesitate to do either of these things if they thought them to be necessary and feasible—but they know this is not the case.

In the first place, the deal is all but made. The liberals want to get rid of Thieu—and they are right. Better to rule with a PRG leader like Mme. Binh who has some semblance of respectability among the people and who will guarantee the flow of dollars from Saigon to Washington. In the second place, the liberals know that nuclear weapons won't fundamentally alter the political or military situation in Vietnam—and that their use would inevitably provoke enormous, militant anti-imperialist outrage by millions throughout the world. Finally, both the liberals and Nixon know that their tactical maneuverability is sorely hampered by the fact that **they can't get "their" own army to fight for them.** The liberals don't want to invade the north; they think they can win with local Vietnamese revisionists; and they are appalled at the prospect of growing rebellion within the army and another massive upsurge of anti-war action at home.

**These are the considerations that lead McGovern to promise troop withdrawal from Vietnam within 90 days of his election. He and the liberals want the troops out so U.S. bosses can get down to the business the troops were sent to Vietnam for in the first place: BUSINESS.**

From the vantage-point of short-term gains for U.S. imperialism, McGovern's plan is more efficient than Nixon's because it will provide quicker temporary stability for U.S. bosses to invest and profit in Vietnam.

In the long run, however, the social contradictions that brought U.S. imperialism to Vietnam will intensify. More capitalism will not solve the problems of the Vietnamese workers, farmers, and students: it will exacerbate them.

The "peace" McGovern advocates is peace only for U.S. bosses. No matter who becomes the new "president" of south Vietnam, the class war against Vietnamese workers will go on; only the battleground will change. As the Vietnamese people see imperialism expand into their factories, their farms, their communities, and their schools; as they see the capitalist exploitation against which they have fought for decades augment—they will rebel once again. They will learn the bitter lesson of past defeats. They will repudiate the revisionists and choose leaders from their own ranks who are committed to winning socialism.

These developments are as inevitable as the passage from night to day. The Vietnamese people will once again take up people's war against imperialism. When that happens, the imperialists will have only one choice: re-invade Vietnam on an even greater scale.

McGovern and other liberals will no more hesitate to carry out this invasion than their pal JFK hesitated to implement "special war" as the plan for controlling Vietnam.

We in PLP believe that the ultimate resumption of people's war in Vietnam is a necessary and desirable goal. We believe that life has shown the only "deal" workers can make with imperialism is to crush it. We attempt to accelerate this process by supporting workers and revolutionaries around the world in class struggle against the bosses and by calling for the defeat of U.S. imperialism at home.

We should not be fooled by McGovern's call for "peace" or by the illusion that we will be less badly off with him than with Nixon. The withdrawal of troops from Vietnam gives the im-

perialists more maneuverability to put down workers' rebellions elsewhere in the world—including the U.S. McGovern will not hesitate to use troops anytime he feels they are necessary—against Arab or Israeli workers, against Latin American workers, or against U.S. workers on strike and in ghettos.

McGovern and the liberals have chosen sides in the class struggle. They are for the bosses.

Their tactics may vary, but they are for war—against the international working class.

They are not a "lesser" evil.

#### McGOVERN, RACISM, AND THE WORKING CLASS.

... "Until you've actually sought the support of people of conflicting and varying backgrounds, you don't realize that you seldom have the luxury of taking a black and white position on issues. Politics is a compromising business."

—George McGovern, April 28, 1972

... " . . . I have a virtual horror of people putting labels on me. I don't like to have my freedom of operation restricted by ideological demands."

—George McGovern, Quoted in  
New York Magazine,

6-5-72.

**U.S. workers are hurting. Real wages continue to decline more rapidly than ever since the "freeze." Unemployment still hovers around 6 percent, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics: in reality, it is much higher. Rents are skyrocketing. On the job, murderous speed-up has intensified. City and private hospital services for workers have been drastically cut back in the past year. Police terror is a daily phenomenon, particularly in black and Latin ghettos. More and more workers find themselves forced onto welfare rolls, either because they cannot get work or because their salaries cannot guarantee a minimal subsistence income. Meanwhile, bosses are attempting to slice as many as possible from welfare rolls. On July 15 the New York Times ran an article claiming that Jule Sugarman, New York City's notorious racist welfare boss, had "achieved" a rejection rate of 27 percent on relief cases and planned to "level off" at 30 percent.**

McGovern and the Democrats know that they cannot mount a serious electoral campaign unless they offer convincing arguments about their ability to solve the problems of working people.

McGovern's campaign literature and speeches have promised everything from the moon to pie-in-the-sky.

He promises tax reform. Yet recently he toned down his earlier "anti-big business" image, saying:

... "I have not suggested that (tax) reform can be achieved without careful consideration by the Congress of each step to be taken . . . I have not suggested the imposition of an income ceiling at \$500,000 or any other level . . . I have not suggested that the present corporation tax rate of 48 percent be increased to the old rate of 52 percent . . . I have not suggested the elimination of tax exemption for bonds issued by state and municipal governments. . . . I have not suggested the imposition of excess-profits taxation on general corporate income of a cyclical nature . . . I do not suggest that a ceiling be placed on inheritances



at \$500,000 or any other level." (Ad taken out by McGovern in the Wall Street Journal, 5-22-72)

On May 22, when this ad was published, McGovern was a few short days away from victory in the California primary. The New York primary was barely a month away. He appeared headed for the Democratic nomination. He already had backing from dozens of big businessmen, including:

Henry Kimmelman, real estate magnate in Florida and Virgin Islands

Ruth Handler, president of Mattel Toy

Charles Swibel, president of Marina Management Co.

Stuart Mott, GM heir, U.S. Sugar Corp. heir

Wiley Fairchild, Mississippi building contractor

Louis Wolfson, jailed stock swindler

Jubal Parten, Houston oil millionaire

Ralph Ingersoll, newspaper magnate

Frank Lautenberg, president of Automatic Data Processing Co.

Belmont and Robert Towbin, investment bankers

Robert Townsend, president of Avis, an ITT subsidiary

Robert Brown, vice-president of Arcata National Corp.

Henry Niles, president of Baltimore Life Insurance

A. Affaroni, vice president of Syntex  
James Kerr, president of AVCO, director of Republic Steel, chairman of Carte Blanche, vice-chairman of Aerospace Industrial Ass'n.  
(see *Congressional Quarterly*, 4-8-72; *New York Times*, 3-30-72; *Poor's Dun and Bradstreet*).

McGovern needed backing from other major sections of the U.S. ruling class if he was to win the primary and have a chance of defeating Nixon. He had to show that his various economic reforms were no more than empty phrases designed to pacify or win over the rebellious workers and militant youth who wanted to see fundamental changes in the system.

The McGovern "income redistribution" plan is a case in point. The McGovern Encyclopedia promises;

..... as much as \$92 billion in additional revenue to the Treasury... This Income Redistribution plan could replace welfare; middle income taxpayers (\$4,000 to \$12,000) would be eligible to receive from the Federal government an income supplement. The proposal is not limited to any single formula. The annual payment might be as much as \$1,000 per person or \$4,000 for a family of four.



McGovern's "new plan" for welfare is just like the sign says: "Good for the rich...Bad for the poor..."



The *Encyclopedia* claims this plan would eliminate the "welfare mess." Two points should be made, however. First, McGovern has already assured Wall Street that he plans no drastic taxation on major corporations. Therefore, any additional money would have to come mainly from the pockets of working people. Secondly the plan is an absurdity, even on its own terms. The Bureau of Labor Statistics now claims that a family of four needs a minimum annual income in the neighborhood of \$12,000 in order to live above the poverty level. McGovern's plan would "guarantee" one-third of that to welfare clients, if it were carried out. McGovern promises that a worker's family would get the difference between what the worker earned and \$12,000, but this is ludicrous, because if the corporations aren't taxed, then the money will have to come from the same workers McGovern is proposing to "help."

The true meaning of this plan is as simple as it is vicious. The rulers want to slash welfare rolls. They also want to tighten civil service budgets by axing as many state and municipal employees as possible. In New York City alone, thousands of caseworkers are about to be either laid off or transferred. Clerks, who receive salaries barely higher than welfare payments, will assume the caseworkers' work—without an increase in pay. Clients will be forced to do the work of clerks in order to get their regular welfare checks. This is the essence of Nixon's "Family Assistance Plan" in New York and other major cities. It is nothing less than superexploitation for clerks and slave labor for clients. Nixon has put "teeth" into the slave labor plan by adding the notorious "Brownie Points," a program of deliberate racist harassment directed against welfare clients and designed to justify the removal from welfare rolls of those who don't meet government standards. Thousands of workers and clients have united in militant actions against Nixon's vicious racist scheme.

The substance of McGovern's welfare reform is the same as Nixon's: slave labor and cutbacks.

What kind of jobs is McGovern going to provide for the millions to whom he will be "generously" giving \$1,000 each? In August 1971, he praised Nixon's "enlightened" welfare reform plan (Playboy interview, 8-71). Rhetoric aside, McGovern agrees completely with the idea of laying off hundreds of thousands of workers and forcing clients to scab on their class brothers and sisters. This helps divide the people and will bring billions in profits.

McGovern's campaign literature is filled with self-adulation about George the friend of the working class:

... "The development of a healthy labor movement in this country has not only provided a balance to corporate business power, but has also created a national climate for the social and economic development which has contributed to the high standard of living enjoyed by most Americans." (McGovern Encyclopedia)

First of all, whose high standard is he talking about? In the second place, whose "health" is he worried about, workers' or bosses'? Consider:

- McGovern has an unblemished record of supporting Taft-Hartley injunctions to force striking workers back on the job. He also voted for the "right-to-work" section of the Taft-Hartley law, a major union- and strike-busting piece of legislation. He now says he "regrets" this move.

- McGovern voted to send striking West Coast longshoremen back to work in the fall of 1971. Small wonder. His campaign backer Ruth Handler told *Fortune* in February, 1972 that

... "Our special problem at Mattel Toy was the West Coast Dock strike which before Christmas cut off shipments of toys and accessories made in our plants in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Japan."

On several other occasions, McGovern has also voted to send striking railroad employees back to work.

- Nixon has sent Congress an Emergency Strike Bill designed to end "crippling" national strikes in major industries. This bill provides for both labor and management to submit a "final offer" to a Presidential panel which would then dictate a settlement. In essence, it is the rulers' plan to intervene directly in strikes where rank-and-file militancy is so great that it can no longer be adequately diverted by labor misleaders. The U.S. ruling class has learned its lesson from the 1970 postal strike, when hundreds of thousands of workers all across the country walked off the job in defiance of their national union "leaders," the threat of injunctions, and the National Guard. **McGOVERN'S SILENCE ON THE EMERGENCY STRIKE BILL IS SO SCANDALOUS THAT EVEN MAJOR LABOR FAKERS ARE FORCED TO CRITICIZE HIM PUBLICLY FOR IT.** (See *New York Magazine*, June 12, 1972, p. 12). But some silences speak volumes.

- "Prairie Populist" McGovern has consistently supported large corporate farming interests and opposed those of small farmers and sharecroppers. In 1967, he voted against a bill that would have limited to \$10,000 the amount an individual farmer could collect in direct cash subsidies. In 1965 McGovern sent a letter to Seafarers International President Paul Hall outlining his position on a piece of Federal legislation. It turned out that this six-page letter was identical with a farm industry statement delivered to the President's Maritime Advisory Council by the Great Plains Wheat Company.

- The most blatant bit of McGovern economic hypocrisy concerns the wage freeze. As we have tried to point out, the so-called "freeze" is in reality a wage rollback designed by U.S. rulers to augment profits and at the same time break the back of the strike movement. McGovern's demagoguery here consists in attempting to make his wage freeze position appear to favor workers against corporations:

*George McGovern was the first candidate to call for a wage, price and dividend freeze to take the brunt of the recession of the working man (Leaflet issued by McGovern for President Committee, New York)*

In the first place, McGovern has not exactly provided militant leadership against skyrocketing corporate dividends. In the second place, he went on record with the view that "A freeze on profits is totally inappropriate." (*Congressional Record*, 11-10-71). In the third place, McGovern's pro-worker disguise has fallen away to such a great extent by now that the exposure of his true pro-boss identity has begun to embarrass key forces in the liberal establishment:

... McGovern is opposed to price controls, favoring instead a voluntary approach to keeping inflationary pressures within reasonable bounds. He opposes income ceiling on high salaries, but is for a hard approach to the inflationary impact of wage increases. This stance certainly raises questions about McGovern's populism. (Article in *Village Voice*, 6-8-72).



McGovern was quick to reassure the Wall Street Journal that in his view

*... The strength of the American economy is due mainly to the dynamic growth of the private sector led by the corporations and other businesses. It is sound public policy to create the conditions for business to function effectively. (McGovern ad in WSJ, 5-22-72).*

Given McGovern's real record on strikes, the wage freeze, and welfare reform, one is hard-pressed to find an iota of substantial difference between his policies or programs and Nixon's. Millions of U.S. workers are fighting tooth and nail to prevent the erosion of their hard-won standard of living. The government is attempting to use the Pay Board to erase major wage gains won by striking workers before and since the freeze. In a one-week period at the beginning of June, the Pay Board both invalidated a settlement won by hotel and restaurant workers in Washington, D.C. that would have raised their hourly wages from \$1.60 to \$2.25 and also overturned another wage hike won by members of the Philadelphia, Pa. Butchers' Union. Furthermore, hundreds of thousands of state, county, and municipal employees have been owed back pay—totalling up to \$750 per capita for months. The Pay Board is still "deliberating" over this question. McGovern's response to this situation:

*I would end the war very quickly, then call for a reduction in military spending, and then let the wage-price boards die. I would let the controls authorization run out next April 30. (Interview with Business Week: "McGovern Cools His Radical Economics," 5-27-72 .*

Even if he's telling the truth about ending the wage freeze by April '73—and absolutely **nothing** indicates that President McGovern would hesitate to continue the freeze if he and the

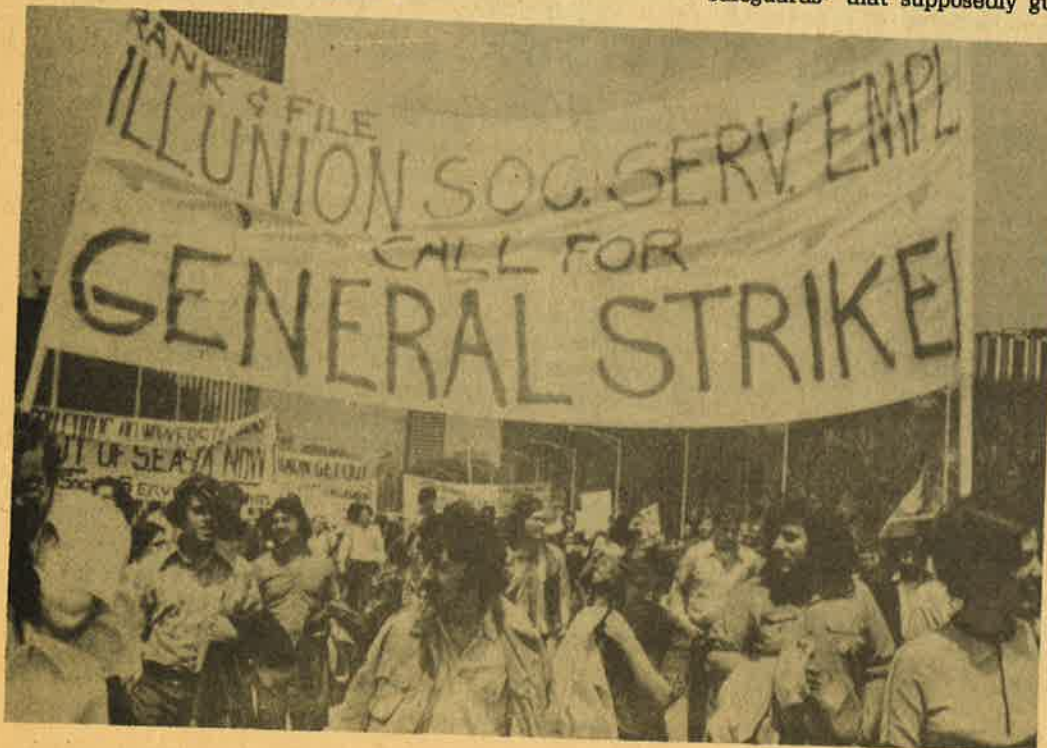
ruling class deemed necessary—Candidate McGovern doesn't even bother to **promise** that the Pay Board will honor contracts guaranteeing wage hikes that workers have fought for and won. What about AFSCME workers' back pay? Presumably, McGovern wants us to believe that stealing their \$750 will help them fight inflation!

Who's he kidding?

Closer to home, McGovern is a well-known racist in his own back yard. For decades, the Indians of South Dakota have suffered horribly from exploitation and brutality directed against them by the Federal government. McGovern ignored the May 29, 1971 killing of an Indian named Herbert Farmer by a St. Francis, South Dakota policeman. He has ignored the long-term harrassment and expropriation from the Cheyenne River Sioux in Eagle Butte, South Dakota (see Akwesasne Notes, 12-71). moreover, he does nothing to stop the systematic use of Indians as low-paid workers by corporations receiving government aid. For example, AVCO—which is owned by McGovern contributor James Kerr—pays Montana Indians \$1.80-hr. to produce machine gun belts on a deserted SAC airbase. For this "humanitarian" service, AVCO received a \$750,000 Federal grant for "Indian training" and a \$2.2 million grant for an Indian "community college."

The American Indian Movement, a group formed to fight the special oppression of Indian people, has documented over 2,755 cases of racism by the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Dakotas, Colorado, and Nebraska. They singled out Aberdeen, South Dakota—McGovern's own stomping grounds—for particular criticism.

More generally, McGovern's racism with respect to welfare clients and unemployed workers is paralleled by his endorsement of police brutality against them. He voted for the 1967 Washington, D.C. Crime Bill and the 1968 Omnibus Crime Bill calling for more dogs and cops on the streets and the cancellation of a few of the already meager "constitutional safeguards" that supposedly guarantee the people immunity



The real answer to bosses' wars and wage freezes .....



from government harrassment, such as the "no forced confessions" provision of the Miranda decision. McGovern also voted for the "Long Amendments" to the so-called "Civil Rights Act" of 1968. These laws are designed to crush violent struggle by masses of workers against the system. They were formulated when the rulers saw the need to respond to the wave of working-class rebellion that was sweeping black and Latin ghettos after 1964. The amendments call for prison sentences of up to 5 years and fines of up to \$10,000 to be levied against the leaders of rebellions. Historically, such laws have been used to railroad communists and other militant organizers.

McGovern has also backed a "nice guy" bill for "recruiting, training, and paying neighborhood youths to assist police in community relations." Liberals justify such measure as methods to "improve" the police. But the real aim of these programs is to induce working class youth to act as a cover for police action against workers, thus giving the rulers' state a more popular disguise. This plan is the home-front version of "pacification," "special war," or "Vietnamization."

Finally, McGovern is openly wooing the police in his drive to win support. He told cops-to-be at New York's John Jay police institute that he favored a "policemen's bill of rights," in other words, that he wants legislation granting special favors to the boxes' most brutal and racist agents. Some of the rookie cops he addressed at John Jay were later to break into a Muslim mosque in Harlem and shoot several people for no reason.

U.S. rulers may disagree somewhat on the tactics of maintaining and expanding imperialist rule abroad. Their unanimity is much greater, however, concerning the best methods for sucking maximum profits of the back of the U.S. working class. The general outlook is for more government intervention in all forms of workers' struggles to win better conditions and a higher standard of living.

In every case, this intervention will favor bosses, no matter who is president.

In Nixon's term of office, he has frozen wages, broken strikes, slashed welfare, instituted racist slave labor for clients, and increased police terror in ghettos.

McGovern can make all the promises he wants. His record proves that if he becomes president, he will freeze wages, break strikes, slash welfare, expand racist slave labor for clients, and increase police terror in ghettos.

McGovern and the liberals are just as much for capital and against labor as are Nixon and the Republicans.

McGovern and the liberals are not a "lesser" evil in Vietnam. They are not a "lesser" evil at home.

#### "DEMOCRACY" IN THE McGOVERN CAMPAIGN

(Most of the material in this section was drawn from an article by a disillusioned McGovern volunteer that appeared in the February 24, 1972 issue of *Pacific sun*, published in Marin County, California.)

One of McGovern's proudest claims is that his campaign is being run democratically, that the delegates on his slates to the Democratic Party convention in Miami were chosen by the people and represent the people—and hence, there will be no need for masses to protest the type of electoral fraud that occurred in Chicago in 1968.

However, experience shows that there is no real democracy in Honest George's campaign. The major decisions are still made by a handful of people subservient to the wishes of a few millionaires in the liberal wing of the U.S. ruling class. This fact

is amply demonstrated by a look at one of the so-called McGovern "grass-roots" caucus meetings held to choose delegates to Miami.

Between four and six hundred people attended the 6th Congressional caucus meeting in Marin County last winter. The meeting was held to nominate delegates for Miami and choose representatives to attend the state steering committee in Los Angeles the next day, where the delegate slate would be approved. Any registered Democrat was eligible to run as a delegate and to vote. Although the caucus was only an "advisory body," McGovern and the Democrats encouraged the presumption that caucus choices for Miami would be overridden only to meet quotas for women, minority group members, and youth.

First order of business at the meeting was to "ratify" one Miami delegate whom McGovern had already chosen—June Oppen Degnan, long a financial power in liberal Democratic circles. Some people at the meeting were upset that they had been asked to provide a "democratic" cover for Denan's ratification, but most agreed that "a candidate is entitled to at least one choice."

There was more protest, however, when the caucus was asked to ratify Becky Watkin, co-chairman of McGovern's Marin County campaign, and Frances Shaskin, chairman of the San Francisco campaign, as representatives to the next day's steering committee meeting in Los Angeles. This meeting was to have final word on delegate selection for Miami. When a person at the back of the room moved to open nominations for other people to go to L.A., staff members and other big shots in the campaign argued that such nominations would be out of order and unnecessary, since all the L.A. meeting would do was to ratify persons already chosen by the caucus.

People protested, some arguing that the important final decision-making role of the L.A. meeting required representatives to be elected by the caucus if they were to truly represent it. Phil Drath, an experienced Democratic Party pro, said "rules were rules," and the caucus should trust the campaign officials. Watkin actually stated in front of all that she didn't care what the caucus did—she was going to L.A. anyway. Eventually, Watkin and Shaskin were ratified.

After delegate nominations had been closed, Watkin and Shaskin used a recess to add to the ballot the names of two persons who hadn't been nominated—William Bennett, of the state Board of Equalization, and one Alan Becker. When this move was challenged after the caucus reconvened, Watkin said she had "forgotten" to nominate them and was having the names printed on the ballot for "expediency," because she assumed the nominations could be reopened.

During the discussion, one member predicted that since Watkin and Shaskin had placed those names on the ballot, Becker and Bennett would be delegates after the L.A. meeting, no matter how few votes they received. He moved the caucus vote be binding on the L.A. delegates, and that they be allowed to make switches only for the purpose of filling quotas. His resolution was passed by acclamation as a "sense of the caucus" resolution. Nevertheless, his earlier prediction about Becker and Bennett was to come true.

Most of the 13 "caucus nominees" after the balloting were men. Since the delegate slate as a whole had to be 51 percent women, it was obvious some changes would be made in L.A. Two of the thirteen caucus nominees were minority group members. But when Watkin, Shaskin, and J Degnan (who nobody even knew was going to L.A.!) returned, the final Miami slate was lily-white and contained the names of two



persons not included on the original list of 13—Becker and Madleine Haas Russell, both wealthy contributors to the McGovern campaign.

People were furious! Bill Cavala and Bill Lockyer, big shots in McGovern's northern California campaign, were phoned at the San Francisco office. An explanation was demanded and a meeting set up for the following week. But the northern California staff withheld information on the meeting from volunteer workers—from both those who were upset about changes in the 6th district slate and other volunteers angry about similar changes in Oakland's 7th Congressional caucus. The paid staff was thus able to prevent Marin and San Francisco volunteers from learning that many in both groups were outraged at the way the caucuses had been overridden. One phone call asking about results of the L.A. meeting was ignored by a paid staffer who remarked that the caller was "just a volunteer."

At the meeting in Marin, the staff told varying stories. One was that there had to be more women on the slate. It was pointed out, however, that at least two women from San Francisco had placed higher in the balloting than Russell. Then Lockyer and Cavala claimed the finafce chairman had "hit the roof" when he learned no big campaign contributors were elected from the caucus. Finally, it was later admitted privately by a San Francisco headquarters staffer that the decision to put Russell and Becker on the delegate list had been made even before the L.A. meeting took place.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY 'DEMOCRACY'—NEW YORK STYLE

The June 5 issue of *New York Magazine* printed a cover with the smiling faces of Walter Cronkite, McGovern, Shirley Chisholm, Humphrey, Shirley MacLain, Larry O'Brien (National Democratic Party Chairman), Jerry Rubin, and even Colonel Sanders. All were shown standing on a lush Miami beach. Printed above their heads in bold blue and red letters was the caption: "Getting Ready for Almost Anything in Miami—COME ON DOWN!" The feature article in the same issue by Richard Reeves said: "This convention promises to be the most open and potentially exciting one since the things were invented in 1831 by the AntiMasonic Party. It should be a watershed event in American politics; it could be the making or breaking of the oldest political organization in the Western world, the Democratic Party of the United States." Reeves went on to add: "The Democrats are trying to set up what will be the largest, youngest, blackest, femalest, most unpredictable convention ever."

Given such advance bally-hoo, one would expect the New York McGovern campaign headquarters to bend over back-

wards in encouraging its volunteers to go to Miami and present their views on programs, issues, and platforms. Only such an approach would be consistent with the grass-roots character of McGovern's public image.

Two factors quickly intervened, however, to bring about chicanery similar to what had taken place in the Marin county 6th Congressional Caucus.

First, the New York State Democratic primary was scheduled for June 20. By then, McGovern's New York volunteers would temporarily have "outlived their usefulness" until the time came to press them into service for the campaign against Nixon. Secondly, many had begun to show signs of major disaffection. As McGovern drew closer and closer to the nomination, more and more McGovern workers—the same people who had been marching to end the war, attacking ROTC buildings, and striking universities over war research and racism—were outraged at his public elbow-rubbing with some of the most hated ruling class forces in the U.S. and his blatant rightward tilt. McGovern visited George Wallace in the hospital and told reporters he could accept Wallace in his cabinet. McGovern visited police in Queens, N.Y. and told them: they would have a "friend in George McGovern" if he got to the White House." (*New York Times*, June 16). McGovern toned down his more radical-sounding rhetoric and publicly declared himself a friend of big business.

McGovern staffers and Democratic party regulars were frightened to death of a rebellion within the ranks of their own supporters. (See Evans and Novak, *New York Post*, 6-17-72. They began to drop all pretense of internal democracy within the McGovern campaign and the Party as a whole.

A McGovern volunteer asked a staffer for help in organizing other volunteers to go to the Miami convention. He was told: "People should stay away from there. The greater the number of non-delegates in Miami, the greater chances are for a riot."

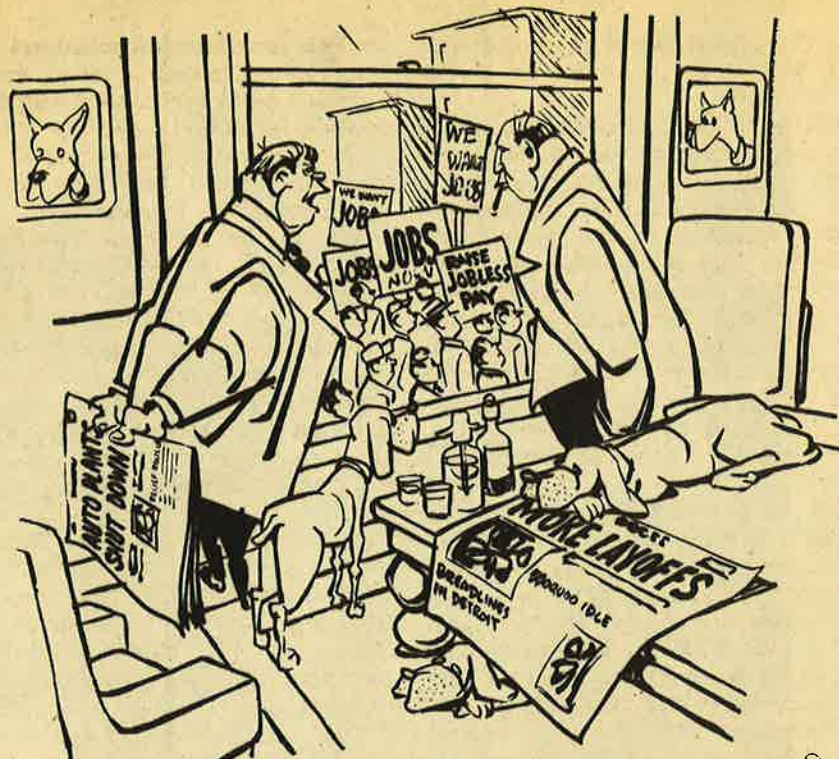
Democratic State Committee Platform hearings were scheduled for June 22, two days after the primary.

Such an event should serve as a showcase for the Democrats' new, democratic image. Theoretically, hundreds or even thousands of rank-and-file trade-unionists, unemployed workers, students, tenants, professionals, and others would know well in advance where the hearings would be held so they could come and make clear their views on the war, racism, the wage freeze, housing, unemployment, transportation, medical care, and a host of other issues vital to the survival of millions.

In fact, however, top Democratic bosses kept the location of the platform hearings a jealously guarded secret. Not only did they fail to issue public literature advertising the hearings—they even refused to divulge any information to callers. One







"WHY ALL THIS FUSS ABOUT BEING UNEMPLCYED...?  
I HAVEN'T WORKED A DAY IN THE LAST 20 YEARS!"

welfare worker who phoned Democratic State Committee offices every day for a week to find out where the hearings were being held was given the following answers: "Phone us in another week; we'll give you the name of the New York Hotel;" "Niagara Falls;" "Write to Democratic National Committee headquarters in Washington and ask them;" "Miami;" "We still don't know."

#### THE ALTERNATIVES: HOW WE CAN WIN

The fact that every major liberal candidate serves only the interests of U.S. bosses shouldn't really surprise us. Under capitalism, the electoral system has never functioned in the interests of working people and students. Politicians of all stripes—conservative, middle-of-the-road, or liberal—have always been controlled by the handful of rich in this country who own 90 per cent of its wealth and whose money and approval any politician needs to remain in office.

We have not tried to argue that all of the rulers see things in a monolithic way. Nixon may want to continue bombing before signing a deal with Vietnamese leaders, while Kennedy-McGovern want the deal now. Rockefeller may want to perpetuate the illusion of democracy for the people, while Morgan favors more rapid moves to fascism. IBM may think its foreign interests are best protected in certain countries by use of economic "aid," while I.T.T. may want to topple any regime that isn't openly right-wing. The rulers always argue among themselves over whether their interests are best served by the carrot or the stick at any given time.

As we have tried to show, however, the handful of people who own the major banks and corporations and the politicians who represent them agree unanimously that the state apparatus must be used to protect their class interest at all times and at all costs. They differ on tactics, never on aims.

By now, most people in this country and around the world understand that U.S. bosses are their enemies. The bosses know this. They also know they need political candidates who will create the illusion of serving masses of workers, students, and others who want changes in the system. In every case, as these candidates rise to higher prominence, their "popular" disguise falls off and their pro-ruler essence is progressively unmasked by their own actions. McGovern is not an exception: his present maneuvering follows the law of politics under capitalism, as did the maneuvering of the Kennedys, LBJs, McCarthys, and others before him.

The bosses also know that each time a "lesser" evil is unmasked as an equal evil, they must keep another "lesser" evil waiting in the wings. Teddy Kennedy is playing this role for them now—the same Teddy whose brother JFK helped implement "special war" and then paved the way for 500,000 U.S. troops to invade Vietnam.

Finally, if all else fails, the bosses think they can stay on top by promoting cynicism among the people. Thousands who had worked vigorously for McCarthy because they viewed his candidacy as a viable method of getting the U.S. out of Vietnam returned home disgusted and discouraged after 1968. Others are now deserting the McGovern campaign. If Teddy Kennedy comes on to center stage, many of his initial supporters will turn away in revulsion as they see that he too is just another wolf in sheep's clothing.

The rulers would prefer us to endorse them enthusiastically. However, they can get along quite well with our cynicism. If we are convinced that nothing can change, then imperialism, racism, the wage freeze, unemployment, and the million other forms of profit-making exploitation of workers will go on untrammelled.





**VENEZUELAN STUDENT PROTEST....**

**McGovern's foreign policy would keep workers enslaved in countries like these.**



But this cannot happen. Workers and oppressed people everywhere must fight back in order to survive. The class struggle rages every day in every place where exploitation exists. The people of Vietnam fought back after the 1954 sellout: they will do so again. Millions of Red Guards fought to topple China's "red" ruling class. The prisoners of Attica rebelled and temporarily overthrew their tormentors. Workers in hundreds of industries have defied laws, wage freezes, injunctions, and traitors within their own ranks to strike for improved conditions. More and more students are stuffing racist lies about non-white people down the throats of the Jensens, Shockleys, and Herrnstains who teach them.

Betrayal never works. The people always regroup and fight back, because capitalism cannot solve the problems it creates.

As we have said before, the Progressive Labor Party believes that if the people are to insure themselves of a better life, the

working class must take power away from the bosses, by destroying capitalism's laws, bureaucracy, police, and army: the entire capitalist state apparatus. We need a system run by workers and their allies among progressive students and professionals. We need socialism.

The bosses won't give it to us. Their actions in Vietnam prove that their ruthlessness is **unlimited** when they fear a threat to their power or profits. They will not leave Vietnam peacefully—they must be driven out. **They will not give up their power over us peacefully—especially not by elections they control.** We will have to fight them every step of the way. The war will be long and difficult. It will extend to every front.

**But we can win. We can win because we are the many and they are the few. We can win because billions of people in every corner of the world need socialism as much as they need air to breathe. Nothing can stop class-conscious workers on the road**



A couple of veteran "lesser evils..."



to revolution.

The Progressive Labor Party hopes to become the party that workers, students, and others will look to for revolutionary leadership. We believe the American people will turn away from McGovern, Kennedy, and other liberal fakers, not only because the politicians oppose revolution, but also because they cannot and will not help the people win improved conditions even *within* the system. As communists, we attempt to bring our ideas to every arena of class struggle—every battle in which people fight for a better life. We are convinced that unity between communists and non-communists is vital to the growth of a militant reform movement in the trade unions, on campus, in the communities, and elsewhere.

Instead of following the dead-end course charted by McGovern and the liberals, help organize to win better conditions for workers:

1. Join the Workers Action Movement (WAM). WAM is a nationwide organization of workers in trade unions, unorganized workers, and unemployed workers dedicated to leading the fight for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. 30 for 40 and a big wage boost can make a major dent in unemployment, reverse speed-up, and bust the wage-freeze. But the bosses won't give it to us. We'll have to fight hard to win. We can win by organizing a nation-wide rank and file movement that fights for the shorter work in every major industry, union, and shop. Write to WAM for 30 for 40 petitions. Help build rank and-file solidarity by supporting all workers' strikes.

2. Build on-the-job caucuses that fight to bring the unions back to the workers. We—the rank-and-file—are the union! We have the power to make things run or to shut them down. Everything depends on us. But our fight against the bosses is often held back by misleadership within our own ranks. George Meany's one "contribution" to the fight against the wage freeze was to raise his \$70,000 salary to \$90,000. He and the Woodcocks, Bridges, and Van Arsdales have to go! We need workers' power in the unions to advance the fight against the boss!

3. Join groups like National Welfare rights Organization (NWRO) in Chicago and Workers and Clients Against Layoffs and Cutbacks (WACALAC) in New York to fight against the rulers' racist slave labor schemes, stop welfare slashes, and build unity between employed and unemployed.

4. Join Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). SDS is the only nation-wide, campus-based organization of black, Latin, Asian, and white students that fights racism, organizes to get U.S. imperialism out of southeast Asia, and allies with workers. In the past school year, SDS led actions from Harvard to Berkeley to expose and defeat the neo-nazi line that black and Latin people are "genetically" or "culturally" inferior to white people. Because of these campaigns, Harvard's Herrnstein has been condemned by thousands across the country;

Berkeley's Jensen has been forced to run to Australia for cover; and Stanford's Shockley no longer has official sanction to teach his "master race" theories. SDS also provided key leadership in organizing strike movements against dozens of pro-imperialist college administrations when Nixon re-escalated the Vietnam war.

5. Join groups like the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR) and organize to end the rotten health "care" that kills thousands of workers every year. In New York, MCHR members have been active in fighting Saul Krugman, the Racist Beast of Willowbrook, who for years has been conducting "experiments" that infect child mental patients with hepatitis. Fights must be built against other such concentration camp practices, such as California's plan to give lobotomies to militant black prisoners. Struggle must be launched to win improved medical benefits for workers.

6. Help build an alliance among parents, teachers, and students to oppose racist textbooks, testing, and tracking in high schools, end police terror, and stop the overcrowding that makes the schools like jails.

7. Organize to defeat harrassment and racism directed against GIs. Support GI rebellions against the war. Help build the campaign to defend Pvt. Billy Dean Smith, a G.I. charged with "fragging" in an attempt by the brass to discourage all GIs from fighting to smash imperialism.

8. Build rank-and-file organizations in the communities to end rent control repeal, win improved low-income housing, stop skyrocketing mass transit costs, get rid of dope-pushers, and make our neighborhoods safe again by smashing the racist alliance between cops and crooks.

The time to fight is now! The politicians give us empty talk, then rob us blind and send us to die in bosses' wars. We need action—working-class action. We urge you to climb out of the liberal trap and join us in one or more of the above campaigns. Even if you decide to continue working for McGovern or to vote for him, try to join with others inside the campaign in fighting for anti-racist, pro-working class demands like a constitutional amendment for 30 for 40, an end to the wage freeze, the withdrawal of all U.S. troops and businesses from southeast Asia, and the abolition of racist textbooks in schools and colleges.

Write to tell us of fights you are involved in that we can join.

"Lesser" evil liberals and "greater" evil conservatives wear different masks to cover the same face. We have been fooled long enough by the bosses' four-year farce. Only a working class-led rank-and-file movement can win struggles such as those outlined above and go on to achieve socialism. Only united, militant, independent action—not boss-dominated elections—can bring about a decent society.



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# CHALLENGE

*The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper*

June 29, 1972 Vol. 9, No. 3

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

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## ***RANK & FILE GAINING GROUND:***

# Workers' Caucuses Shake Up Bosses

p. 3



**WORKERS TAKE OVER....**Quebec general strikers halt Montreal cops at Notre Dame Hospital picket line (above) while police car (right) shows effects of working-over disbed out by Sept-11es strikers in province-wide walkout in April. Sept-11es workers seized the city and jailed the cops (see pp. 12-13). This kind of unified, militant action broke the bosses' racist and nationalist divisions and propelled all workers further along the road to LASTING power--Socialism.

***New York Hospital Workers' Goal:  
UNITE AND STRIKE!***

pp. 5-7

