

"Peace" Fraud Exploded!

Nixon Launches Mass Terror Bombing

UPI photo



Members of the Saigon puppet army line up in front of 162 new M48 tanks rushed to Long Binh, Vietnam.

Little more than a month since his election victory, which was based on Kissinger's phony "peace is at hand" promise, Nixon has re-opened the bombing with the heaviest and most vicious raids of the war in Vietnam. Shrouding itself in secrecy, but using only the flimsiest and most transparent of lies for an excuse, this regime of savages has unleashed the entire B-52 fleet on the population centers of North Vietnam. The massive bomb tonnage—already many times more than the force of the Hiroshima blast—can have but one target: the obliteration of civilization in North Vietnam—"Bomb them back into the stone age."

The Fruits of Betrayal

The opportunity for this monstrous barbarity was handed to the U.S. by the gross betrayal of the Stalinist bureaucratic regimes in Moscow, Peking and Hanoi. Having refused to provide adequate, modern, military aid to the Vietnamese throughout the war, the Moscow epigones signalled to the world their willingness to let the Vietnamese be destroyed when they refused to protest the mining of Haiphong harbor and welcomed the mass-butcher Nixon to the Moscow summit meeting shortly thereafter. Peking, too, remained discreet. Hanoi's agreement to the terms of Nixon/Kissinger followed in due course, with no more than a hostile glare in the direction of its "fraternal" betrayers.

The Nixon acceptance of the deal was a delaying action designed to assure the "proper" outcome of the election. The ruling class wanted better "terms."

Though the original deal guaranteed the indefinite continuance of the Saigon regime, Nixon insisted that the sovereignty of the U.S. puppet-creatures be so visibly etched into the treaty that its acceptance would have grossly discredited the NLF/DRV.

But in the poker game of power politics, a deal is a deal. The U.S. is no longer world policeman, and accepting one deal only to re-open the war to obtain even harsher terms is an act of supreme imperialist arrogance which even the U.S. will have trouble getting away with in the present period.

The U.S. has lost its hegemonic dominance of the world imperialist camp. Its European and Japanese rivals are already dividing up portions of the former American empire. The U.S. is now simply the most powerful among several imperialist powers. As such, it still has great advantages, which the Nixon government has been putting to use. But the high-handed, dictatorial expectations of the U.S. bourgeoisie, acquired during its long, basically uninterrupted climb to the heights of world stewardship, are ill-suited to the balancing act of the present world configuration of forces.

Drive Toward New World War

Thus, lacking all self-restraint, the swinish masters of the U.S. under Nixon have taken a big lurch forward in the inevitable drive toward a third imperialist war. Like the imperialists of Germany before World War I, who decided to reconcile their competing appetites for plunder in a mad drive

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UAW Is Target in '73 Contract Battles

GMAD Rampage Continues

Woodcock Prepares Defeat for Auto Workers

In 1973 contracts for 4.1 million of the 10.6 million workers under major union agreements will expire. These contracts are in the most crucial capitalist industries: auto, railroad, rubber, electrical machinery, food, printing and publishing, gas and electric utilities, construction, trucking and airlines.

Thus the trade unions face a crucial battle in 1973. The U.S. capitalists, competing with each other and with the bourgeoisies of the other capitalist countries for profits and markets around the world, have already thrown down the gauntlet. Nixon has ominously warned that the "era of permissiveness" is at a close, and that he will not "indulge" his "children," the American people. In this he is joined by his liberal bourgeois colleagues in the Democratic Party, who will undoubtedly renew Nixon's authority to impose wage

controls, which expire on 30 April 1973.

Knowing Nixon will need their help to secure this renewal, the labor bureaucrats are already offering to make a deal. At the merest hint of cooperation from Nixon, George Meany led his AFL-CIO cronies back onto the National Productivity Commission, the business, government and "public" members of which are currently assessing opinion in the capitalist class to determine what form of controls can be gotten away with in the coming year to curb union demands. Meany and friends had walked off this Commission when they walked off the Pay Board. Now, in a private meeting at the White House, they have offered to end opposition to the controls in exchange for more "equity," i.e., a better show at "controlling" prices (*New York Times*, 21 December 1972).

As if to underline the point—in case anyone doubted—that there are no basic differences between liberal ex-pro-McGovern bureaucrats like Woodcock of the UAW and Nixon-backers like Meany, the UAW sent vice-president Greathouse to "represent" auto work-

ers at Meany's private White House meeting. Woodcock, in fact, is one of the few labor bureaucrats who never left the Productivity Commission, despite the UAW's pre-election pretense of militancy and opposition to the controls and the Pay Board (see *WV* No. 12).

Under the so-called "wage-price"

controls thus far, wage increases have been kept below the 5.5% annual limit, while food prices in particular have been allowed to soar to new heights, up 10% in 1972 alone. And if controls can't be maintained, the chief economist of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce,

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Letters

The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, Wellington.
11 December, 1972.

The Editorial Board,
Workers Vanguard.

Dear comrades,

In the article "Nixon Reaction Wins in Vietnam, U.S. Elections" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 14 there is a description of the quantitative increase of U.S. economic intervention in the deformed workers' states. It then goes on:

"Thus the continued rule of the Stalinist bureaucratic usurpers, in the Soviet Union and China... now directly threatens to lead to deep imperialist penetration undermining the nationalized economy itself. Aside from the unpleasant prospect of Soviet workers being directly exploited for the profit of U.S. investors, this threat will ultimately pose the question of the very existence of the basic conquest of the October Revolution, the state-owned planned economy. As the economy becomes more and more linked up with and dependent upon imperialist capital, the bureaucracy will more and more tend to become merely the administrators for the foreign capitalists. Only the construction of Leninist vanguard parties... and a program of 'preparing revolution to overthrow the world bourgeoisie and place the world economy in the hands of the working class, can prevent the eventual final betrayal and the ultimate return of the Soviet Union and China, etc., to direct capitalist rule."

You will note the omission from this paragraph of the Trotskyist position on the deformed workers' states. By this omission the possibility is posed of the gradual reversion of the workers' states to capitalism without a social counter-revolution, and conversely a bourgeois state could become a workers' state as a result of reforms. Were this in fact the case considerable reassessment of the Marxist analysis of the class nature of the state and of our shared revolutionary perspectives would be necessary. This oversight can undoubtedly be readily corrected in a future issue.

Warmest comradely greetings,
Bill Logan for
Executive Committee,
Spartacist League of Australia
and New Zealand.

Editor [*Workers Vanguard*],

I read with interest your article on the "elections" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 14) and agree essentially with your analysis and conclusions. However, I would like to comment on two ideas contained in your article in hopes of clarifying them for our benefit and the benefit of the revolutionary movement in general.

1. One point has to do with your abstentionist position on the left parties that were on the ballot. I, too, agree that it's a tactical question dependent upon whether these parties are capable of advancing the movement toward working class power. Voting for the sake of voting—whether socialist or capitalist—doesn't raise the class consciousness of the working class, in fact, it helps maintain illusions in the "peaceful, legal" road to socialism.

But there is another side to the question. It is true, as you say, that the votes for the CP and SWP candidates "were an index of a hunger for some kind of alternative." Most workers who have become politicized in the last 5 years are seeking *electoral* alternatives to the two major capitalist parties. To vote for a socialist or communist represents therefore a big step for these workers in the direction of seek-

ing leadership alternatives. They are not so much voting for the entire program of one of these parties as they are registering their vote for change, for a different system than the one they've got—for Socialism.

In this sense, it is incumbent upon revolutionary Marxists to guide the working class through its stages of development to full class consciousness. Until the working class is prepared to organize itself into mass organizations—labor party, communist party, or Soviets—a vote for the SWP, CP, and SLP, or any reformist working class party, rather than being a step backward, represents a real step forward in the changing consciousness of the workers. Any criticisms we have of these organizations will only sink in when the class as a whole is ready for organizational leadership, i.e., is ready to choose between the SWP, CP, SL, etc. But that will only be determined by what organization is rooted in the class, leading the workers on a day-to-day level, and gives the correct answers to their problems.

2. The second point has to do with one paragraph under the heading "Soviet/Chinese Subservience." I found to be confusing. It reads on page 3: "This competition [between the imperialist powers] will lead directly and inevitably toward a new, third world war for the redivision of world markets, with the

bureaucracies of the deformed workers states choosing sides between sets of international pirates on the basis of whose capital investments and trade their economies are most dependent on. Only the intervention of the international revolutionary proletariat can halt this process." (my emphasis)

This statement sounds like a new slant on the Pabloist theory of "War-Revolution" with the USSR, China, the deformed workers states and the colonial world on one side, and world imperialism on the other. The main difference, however, is that while Pablo saw the colonial bourgeoisie playing a revolutionary role (along with the Stalinist CP's), you, on the other hand, see only a completely reactionary role for the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states. Interestingly enough, this very same question arose before, during the discussions in the Fourth International over the "Buffer States."

Your statement fails to take into consideration the class lines which divide the imperialist states from the deformed workers states. What class basis would China, for example, have for lining up with Japanese imperialism against the USSR and U.S. imperialism? Any third world war would most likely be fought not only for the "redvision of world markets," but also to re-establish capitalism in China and the Soviet Union! Capitalist investments

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can penetrate just so far into the workers states before a new dual power is established, and then civil war would be combined with imperialist war. But in such a case the proletariat of China and the USSR would be fighting *side by side* against bourgeois restorationists from within, and imperialism from without.

The bureaucracies must of course take a position. In case of civil war, the bureaucracy will most likely be divided: one section lining up with the proletariat, and the other with the bourgeois restorationists. In the case of imperialist war, the bureaucracies will again play contradictory roles. Basing themselves as they do on the proletariat, the more farsighted will see in the war a threat to their privileges and oppose the imperialists; another section may line up with the imperialists against another workers state. But if the latter does occur, it will only be

IS/SL EXCHANGE ON VIETNAM

For Unconditional Military Defense of the Vietnamese Revolution!

The following exchange was initiated when former members of the Communist Tendency of the SWP, now representing the Boston International Socialists, delivered a proposal for a "joint" public meeting to the Spartacist League in Boston on 2 November. To center around the nature of the supposedly imminent peace settlement in Vietnam this meeting was proposed in the guise of a united front—a "united front" around the program of the IS! The SL's comments on the program of the IS, as well as our alternative proposal for a united-front contingent in an upcoming peace march, are reprinted below in our 13 November letter of response to the IS. No response was forthcoming from the IS, despite repeated attempts by the SL to solicit its participation on a principled united-front basis, nor has there been an answer to the political criticisms raised in the SL's letter. Elements of the former Leninist Faction of the SWP, in alliance with Harry Turner of *Vanguard Newsletter*, took part in the SL-proposed joint action.

Nov. 1, 1972

Dear Comrades:

The imperialist character of the impending "peace" settlement for Vietnam requires that all who profess to be socialists unite in action to expose this betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution. We therefore propose that a joint public meeting be held, each group under its own banner, with the following points of agreement to provide the principled basis for such a meeting.

1. No imperialist deals—no imperialist commissions.

2. Complete, immediate, and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops—disarm the ARVN.

3. For the military support of the NLF insofar as it defends the Vietnamese people from imperialist forces.

4. Immediate release of all war and political prisoners.

5. For the immediate expulsion of the U.S. puppets from the coalition government or authority.

6. For full democratic rights of the Vietnamese people.

7. Workers' control of production—land to the peasants.

8. Arm the workers and peasants—for workers' and peasants' defense guards to defend their organizations and their land.

9. No political support to the coalition government or the PRG—for a workers' and peasants' government.

International Socialists
Boston, Mass.

Spartacist League
Cambridge, Mass.
13 November 1972

International Socialists
Boston, Mass.

Dear Comrades:

While the Spartacist League completely concurs that the impending "peace" settlement is indeed a gross betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution, we cannot agree to your proposal for a united front public meeting. Your "nine points of agreement" which are to constitute "the principled basis for such a meeting" are in fact a call for a propaganda bloc around the question of the Vietnamese "peace" settlement. As the "nine points of agreement" proposed by the comrades of IS represent at once an adaptation to social patriotism and the Vietnamese Stalinists, are full of "third camp" vacillations, and fundamentally opposed to the internationalist, Trotskyist programmatic thrust of the Spartacist League, it would be deeply unprincipled for us to enter into such a bloc.

Instead, to the comrades of International Socialists we propose a bloc for

practical action to oppose this sellout by the Stalinists of the workers and peasants of Vietnam to U.S. imperialism. We propose that on the upcoming demonstration on November 18 against the Vietnam War we march separately, each under our own banners in a contingent politically based upon the demands of:

1. Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from S.E. Asia.

2. Unconditional exclusion of the bourgeoisie and its political representatives from the anti-war movement.

3. For the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution! Defeat to U.S. imperialism! No Coalition Government!

The "nine points" you propose to us vacillate on these fundamental class issues in such a way as to be politically unacceptable as the basis for a united front.

Most fundamentally, the International Socialists have an obligation to clarify their use of the term imperialist. Nowhere have you repudiated your historic position that Stalinism is a new form of class rule, that there is "Stalinist imperialism" as well as the imperialism of the bourgeoisie, and that politically both are equally reactionary. Nowhere have you rejected your historic position of refusing unconditional military defense of the deformed workers' states against the capitalist states. In the case of Vietnam you have timidly given military support to the struggles of the NLF against U.S. imperialism and its ARVN puppets by slurring over the social revolution taking place in southern Vietnam, by slurring over the fact that a deformed workers state is under attack by U.S. imperialism. Instead, along with the Vietnamese Stalinists, you have emphasized that the struggle in Vietnam is one for "self-determination." Comrades, what is your position? Your state capitalist and/or bureaucratic collectivist theories of Stalinism

temporary once it becomes clear that the real aim of world imperialism is to overthrow nationalized property relations.

Every war, is fought in the interest of classes: either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. Any future wars, imperialist, colonial, or revolutionary, will be no different. A new world war will be initiated and fought by imperialism for one purpose: to restore capitalist relations everywhere. In that sense a "re-division of world markets" will certainly take place.

The international revolutionary proletariat will, in the process of overthrowing capitalism, overthrow the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states too. In fact it must! Because if the revolutionary proletariat falls, the Stalinist bureaucracies and revolutionary communists alike will be swept away by bourgeois reaction in its insatiable drive to "redivide" the world to meet its bloodthirsty needs.

Comradely,
J. Melt

P.S. As you know the Panthers are running a campaign here in Oakland. I would like to know your position on it. Thank you.

EDITORS' REPLY

We are indebted to Comrades Melt and Logan for responding to *Workers Vanguard* No. 14. Both comrades make, each in his own way, the correct point in clarifying *WV's* partial and there-

fore incorrect handling of the question of the political and economic pressures of world imperialism upon the bureaucratically deformed workers states. These letters give us another opportunity to deal briefly with this question.

The USSR, the product of the Stalinist degeneration of the 1917 October Revolution, as well as those states in which capitalism was uprooted under Stalinist or other petty-bourgeois leaderships whose immediate social base resided in a military mobilization of the peasantry, is characterized by the class contradiction between the proletariat, whose state power is embodied, in a deformed way, in these states, and the bourgeois world order, which exerts a qualitatively deforming pressure upon them. This contradiction is manifested in the existence of a conservative and fundamentally nationalist bureaucratic caste which, in the interests of its own parasitic self-preservation, can in toto neither liquidate the economic gains of these revolutions in favor of a return to the capitalist mode of production, nor can it open the road to socialist development.

As Trotsky recognized, this caste which usurps the political power of the proletariat is, in the historic sense, fundamentally unstable, lacking the economic prerequisites, social cohesion and ideological superstructure which characterize a ruling class. Thus these states cannot endure indefinitely as deformed workers states. Either the decisive victory of proletarian revolutions internationally will sweep away these bonapartist regimes and permit

the construction of a socialist society on a world scale, or the intensifying inter-imperialist rivalries in this period of imperialist decay must inevitably destroy all of human civilization and which would certainly wipe out the gains of October through imperialist reconquest.

But, as Trotsky pointed out emphatically, to posit a peaceful transition back to capitalism for the deformed workers states would be merely to unwind the film of reformism in reverse. It will require a political revolution to establish direct proletarian political power in the deformed workers states; it would require a social counter-revolution (most likely in the context of the wrenching social disorganization of an inter-imperialist war) to return these states to direct capitalist exploitation.

In this context, it is clear that the paragraph quoted by Comrade Logan in his letter omits a crucial analytical step in explaining the very real threat of "deep imperialist [economic] penetration undermining the nationalized economy itself," which does indeed "ultimately pose the question of the very existence of the basic conquest of the October Revolution" (emphasis added). Any economic foothold gained by capitalist imperialism in the economic structure of the deformed workers states is a danger because it accelerates the pre-conditions for the crystallization, among a section of the bureaucracy, of the appetite to become a capitalist ruling class through social counter-revolution to return these

states to the capitalist mode of production.

The tendency of the Stalinist bureaucracies to polarize and fragment in situations of profound social crisis in which the fundamental class choice of modern society (the bourgeois or the proletariat) is posed was demonstrated most clearly in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, although Trotsky instantly anticipated this development when he spoke of embryonic fascist (Butenko) and Bolshevik (Riss) wings from within the bureaucracy itself. Yugoslavia, under the aged Marshal Tito, today stands near the brink of such social polarization as the result of two decades of increasing penetration by the world market.

Thus the process, assumed rather than stated in the *WV* article, is one of the gradual undermining of the foundations of the planned economy through the penetration of capital. In a situation of acute social crisis, quantitative erosion can be transformed into a qualitative historic leap backward, that transformation from quantity into quality requiring for its consummation the outbreak of civil war within the deformed workers states and the reconquest and consolidation of state power by the aspiring bourgeois elements and foreign imperialists.

The formulation to which Comrade Melt's letter correctly objects is one of qualitative overstatement. The narrow nationalist bureaucrats are subjectively fully capable of playing the power politics game, seeking immediate diplomatic advantages through alliances with one or another imperialist power at the direct expense of the other deformed workers states as well as of the international working class. Thus Stalin himself was certainly not averse to allying the Soviet Union (successively) with both imperialist camps arrayed for battle in World War II, just as the "de-Stalinized" Russian Stalinist bureaucracy aided capitalist India's side against the Chinese deformed workers state in the 1962 border war.

But faced with direct imperialist military threat to a deformed workers state, the element which must become decisive to its bureaucracy is the defense of its own state, including the proletarian state power, against imperialism (having however already called into question that defense through its destructive counter-revolutionary policies of class collaboration). It is by no means inconceivable that the outbreak of World War III would find the deformed workers states split between the contending imperialist camps and counterposed to one another; however the bureaucracies would be compelled at some point to recognize that one basic imperialist aim in such a war must necessarily be the overthrow of nationalized property relations (to which world capitalism can never be reconciled) wherever they exist, in the context of the bureaucratic polarization which Comrade Melt's letter describes.

The bureaucrats, whose appetite for gross and monumental counter-revolutionary diplomatic maneuvering is confirmed daily from Chile to Ceylon, are circumscribed by their objective social position as the simultaneous betrayers and defenders of anti-capitalist property relations within the deformed workers states.

In response to Comrade Melt's first point, we can only refer our readers again to "Fake Lefts Push Protest Vote for Socialist Lesser Evil" in *WV* No. 13, which adequately expresses our position.

It is the immediate responsibility of the *WV* Editorial Board to ensure that articles in the paper incorporate correctly and sufficiently fully the programmatic positions of the international Spartacist tendency, as currently codified mainly in resolutions of the SL/U.S. Clearly, we failed in this case to include the essential point which the two letters illuminate. Our paper is not a one-way street; it is gratifying and reassuring to function in the context of a vigilant Marxist readership.

would compel you to label the Vietnamese Stalinists as "imperialists" or puppets of Soviet and/or Chinese "imperialism" and would compel you to be neutral if you took your political conceptions seriously. *Where do you stand?*

Your "nine points" are filled with political evasions and "third camp" vacillations. You call "for the military support of the NLF insofar as it defends the Vietnamese people from imperialist forces." Do the imperialist forces include those of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV)? Or, do you call "for military support" in any manner of the DRV or its armed forces? Do the "Vietnamese people" include only those residing in the southern half of Vietnam? Your position is a "third camp" evasion of a firm stand on this fundamental question. Only the unconditional military victory of the NLF/DRV over U.S. imperialism can open the road to the victory of the Vietnamese revolution!

Marxists are irreconcilably opposed to the formation of any coalition government with the bourgeoisie, which would necessarily betray the revolutionary struggle and aspirations of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. The Spartacist League calls upon the Vietnamese Stalinists to break with class-collaboration and seize the power in its own name. We call for the political and economic unity of all of South East Asia under the dictatorship of the proletariat! All Indochina Must Go Communist! We call upon the Stalinist bureaucracies, running the various deformed workers states to give real military aid to the Vietnamese revolution. We say to the workers of these states: "The Stalinist bureaucracies are an obstacle to international communist unity against imperialism, an obstacle to the victory of the Vietnamese revolution! Victory of the workers and peasants in Vietnam, defense of the social conquests embodied in the

deformed workers states requires political revolution to oust these bureaucrats! This is the way forward."

In contrast, you have nothing to say to the Vietnamese workers and peasants, to the Soviet and Chinese working masses. You simply tall the maximal demand of the Vietnamese Stalinists in your call for "immediate expulsion of U.S. puppets from the coalition government." To tack on "no political support to the coalition government" does not help the matter. You implicitly accept the political division of North and South Vietnam. Your demands imply an impulse to pressure a treacherous popular front formation instead of calling for a clear break with the class enemy.

Indeed, we need only look at the International Socialists' performance in the popular front National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) to get an idea of what you mean by "no political support to the coalition government." In gross opportunism you entered the NPAC Pop Front as the "Mutitant Action Caucus," operating as a "left" pressure group. You solidarized with the ex-Trotskyist SWP in their physical exclusion of the Spartacist League and the Progressive Labor Party from the July, 1971 NPAC meeting for protesting the presence of the bourgeois politician Sen. Vance Hartke on the platform.

Comrades, in the absence of a call for a clear break with the bourgeoisie the call for the "Workers' and Peasants' Government" becomes transformed into nothing more than a figleaf for an opportunist adaptation to a reformist popular front government!

The demand for "immediate release of all war and political prisoners" must be placed in a class context. The correct demand is for the immediate release of all military and political prisoners held by the Saigon government and the U.S. military. The release of U.S. prisoners must be made contingent upon the total withdrawal of all U.S. forces. A blanket

call for the immediate release of all prisoners constitutes an adaptation to social patriotism.

The demands for "full democratic rights of the Vietnamese people" and "workers' control of production—land to the peasants" can only be met, according to the Trotskyist conception of Permanent Revolution by a socialist revolution leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry. Likewise the demand for "workers' and peasants' defense guards to defend their organizations and their land" is meaningless without the demand for socialist revolution. Who will arm the workers and peasants, and for what political ends? Does the IS call upon the Soviet and Maoist bureaucracies to give real military aid to the DRV/NLF, to lift the blockade of Hanoi? How can the workers and peasants "defend their organizations and their land" without ultimately seizing power? The IS has no answer.

We reiterate: your "nine points" show a cowardly vacillation and opportunism on the most basic issues of the Indochinese struggle. For us to accept your proposal would commit us to a fundamental betrayal of the working class internationally, and especially the workers and peasants of Indochina. For us to accept your proposal for a propaganda bloc on these "nine points" would require us to drag the irreproachable red banner of Trotskyism through the fetid centrist swamp of "third camp" social patriotism.

We are always willing to engage in principled united fronts and direct your attention to our proposal for November 18. But we will never accede to a propaganda bloc based on the opportunist politics of the IS.

Fraternally,
Spartacist League
Boston Local

From the Swamp of Social Democracy...

The IS School of Labor Reformism

A central tenet of New Left ideology, part of its rejection of the "old left," was the denial of the necessity of a conscious vanguard, i.e., a Leninist party of the proletariat, in mounting the assault on the capitalist system. To New Lefters in the 1960's the revolution was seen as a more or less spontaneous conclusion to a series of spontaneous outbursts, in which they participated directly or tailed along as an enthusiastic cheering squad of radical phrase-mongers.

These "spontaneous" movements were largely petty-bourgeois (Guevara's guerillas, Mandel's student youth struggles, etc.). New Left petty-bourgeois radicalism proved bankrupt to achieve reform, much less revolutionary change, in the face of mounting social crisis. The organizational disintegration of the American New Left in the late 1960's, most significantly SDS and the Black Panther Party, coupled with the rising tide of working-class struggles in the U.S. and Europe (French general strike in 1968, U.S. strike wave in 1970-71), caused remnants of the New Left to attempt to apply their old ideas to the new situation, completely missing the point as to the lessons of their failure.

The Turn to Spontaneity and Workerism

They have rushed to the working class, not with a Leninist strategy of building the party of proletarian revolution, but in order to bury themselves in the class, to rub elbows with militant workers, to participate in their way of life and fall after their just struggles. The petty-bourgeois radicals of the 1960's have been transformed into the labor reformists and "workerists" of the 1970's. What Lenin had to say about the workerists of his day, the Economists, is very much to the point:

"[to the Economists,] that struggle is desirable which is possible, and the struggle which is possible is that which is going on at the given moment. This is precisely the trend of unbounded opportunism, which passively adapts itself to spontaneity."

—Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?*

Typical of this "left" turn is the recent working-class orientation of the International Socialists (IS). In the 1960's the IS (then the Independent Socialist Clubs or ISC) scorned even the propagandistic mentioning of the working class as "sectarian," as it embedded itself in the ephemeral petty-bourgeois movements centered in Berkeley, California. One gross example of its petty-bourgeois orientation was the ISC's creation of the abortive Peace and Freedom Party, based solely on the war and race issues. At the founding convention of the PFP the ISC, while claiming to be for a labor party, helped vote down Spartacist proposals for a working-class program, including the call for a labor party, in order not to alienate the liberal Democrats upon whom the PFP was based, and whom the ISC sought to pressure into a "break" with capitalist politics through a non-class rejection of the Democratic Party. This vote precipitated the walkout of Spartacist and other pro-working-class elements from the PFP.

Hardly naive New Leftists, the ISC's pseudo-Marxist predecessors have a long (though completely unsavory) history in the working-class movement. Yet the ISC fought to prevent all talk of a working-class perspective in the mushrooming petty-bourgeois struggle of the time out of pure opportunism. When the turn to the working class became a fad in 1969-70, the IS was quick to sense the new wind blowing and began to re-orient. Suddenly Work-

ers' Power began to appear, and in late 1970 the IS moved its center to the Detroit area.

"Shop Floor" Economism

The general outlines of the IS strategy in the trade unions appeared in an article by Sy Landy and Kim Moody, "The Trade Unions Under Monopoly Capitalism" (WP No. 6, May 1970). Discussing at length union bureaucratization and the linking up between the bureaucrats and the capitalist state, the article proposes that workers must regain control of their unions through the organization of shop floor committees:

"The first step, therefore, is to organize shop floor workers' committees, controlled directly by the workers and independent of the union structure. Let the workers choose representatives who are free from the duty to enforce labor peace on management's terms...."

"Such an organization of shop floor struggle on a permanent basis can begin to shift the balance of power from management and the union bureaucracy to the workers on the shop floor, and this shift in power can be the basis for re-establishing union democracy and moving towards workers' control of production."

But the problem has not been the form of trade union organization, or its lack of "closeness" to the rank and file, but the lack of a cohesive, conscious vanguard, rooted solidly in the working class, able to seize the opportunities and lead the working class to power. This is the lesson of Leninism, demonstrated in Lenin's struggle

of profound scientific knowledge." Under capitalism "the vehicle of science is not the proletariat but the bourgeois intelligentsia," some of whom can be won to the proletarian cause (like Lenin and Trotsky). Antonio Gramsci, who made contributions on the role and development of communist consciousness, also noted that trade-union types of proletarian organization are "specific to the historical period dominated by capital...that they are in a certain sense an integral part of capitalist society, and have a function which is inherent in the regime of private property."

The proletariat develops only trade-union consciousness through spontaneous struggle. No matter how militant, it is limited to the confines of bourgeois ideology and to action within a capitalist framework. A Marxist, scientific world-view, making possible a revolutionary program for struggle, is brought to the working class from without by conscious communists.

It is no accident that *What Is to Be Done?* links the devastating criticism of the Economists with an assertion of the need to build an organization of professional revolutionaries, a vanguard party. The party is the concrete embodiment of communist consciousness; without it, there can be no talk of successful revolution. As Gramsci noted:

"The decisive element in every situation is the force, permanently organized and pre-ordered over a long period, which can be advanced when one judges that the situation is favourable (and it is favourable only to

gling for power and leads the IS straight to betrayal.

Against this opportunist strategy the Spartacist League counterposes the building of caucuses in the trade unions on the basis of the transitional program—in practice, not on paper—as a strategy to consolidate the forces of Bolshevism in the working class. Only struggle around a full program, which poses the interests of the workers in a class framework, attacking the root of the problem, rather than the symptoms, can begin to assemble the cadres for intervention in struggle to topple the bureaucracy and mobilize the working class for the revolution.

The IS and Shachtman

The historical roots of IS politics reach into the Shachtmanite movement, which in its final years was only a branch of American social-democracy. After an initial "left" phase during World War II, the Independent Socialist League of Max Shachtman, Hal Draper and Co. hardened into an increasingly right-wing, anti-Leninist and anti-communist organization which quickly welded itself to the bureaucrats in the trade unions and to the imperialists' foreign policy. The final culmination, under the pressure of isolation and the Cold War and witchhunt, was capitulation and the total liquidation of the ISL into the wretched Norman Thomas, pro-State Department Socialist Party in 1958, on the latter's terms. When the New Left emerged in the 1960's Draper, Sy Landy (current IS National Secretary) and others broke off to form the ISC.

To see the thread of continuity with Shachtmanism and social democracy is the key to understanding IS' politics. The methodology is one of the crudest empiricism; its response to every pressure is capitulation. Just as the Second International embraced national chauvinism and social patriotism in 1914, so did Shachtman crumble under the pressures of bourgeois public opinion, rejecting communists' most elementary responsibility to defend the Soviet workers state, despite its bureaucratic deformation, against imperialism in World War II. IS' third-camp position is the heritage of Shachtman's "bureaucratic collectivist" theory—the cover for his definitive break from revolutionary Marxism in favor of reconciliation with the U.S. bourgeoisie.

So does the IS capitulate to every pressure, even the most petty—to the point of contradicting itself shamelessly. Thus we see the IS contorting its "theories" to arrive at a contrived formulation about self-determination as the justification for supporting military victory in Vietnam by the Stalinist NLF/DRV. With the popularity of the NLF among petty-bourgeois radicals (itself a reflection of bourgeois defeatism rather than of class solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution) the IS is too opportunist to defend a neutralist stance toward the Vietnam war, although that is precisely what its "theories" should require. The denunciations of "Soviet imperialism"—so useful for the third-campers during the Cold War period—are now counterproductive from the IS' opportunist point of view. Therefore, in regard to Vietnam the IS prefers to support a victory for "Soviet imperialism," rather than defend its third-camp neutrality in the Vietnam war to the contemporary left.

To the extent that the ISC ever had working-class politics, it was Shachtmanite politics of the worst sort. One of Draper's few virtues, not shared by the IS, was his belief in the necessity



IS "rank and file" conference: collecting trade unionists on a lowest-common-denominator level

against the trade union spontaneists and Economists, documented in *What Is to Be Done?* Significantly, nowhere in the above WP article is there an assertion of the need to build a Leninist party!

As for program, the article throws in a bodge-podge of union demands: one-year contracts, open the books, 30-for-40, and special emphasis on the "unlimited right to strike." While the IS has now expanded this (on paper) to include the call for a labor party and other political demands, its central strategy remains: shop floor organizing divorced from the need to build a Leninist party. As such the IS strategy amounts to pure-and-simple trade unionism on the basis of whatever will "get the workers into motion," the implicit assumption being that motion by itself will impel the workers toward revolutionary politics.

There is nothing revolutionary about trade union struggle *per se*. In *What Is to Be Done?* Lenin correctly quotes Kautsky to the effect that socialist consciousness arises "only on the basis

the extent to which such a force exists and is full of fighting ardour": therefore the essential task is that of paying systematic and patient attention to forming and developing this force, rendering it ever more homogeneous, compact, conscious of itself. One sees this in military history and in the care with which at all times armies have been predisposed to begin a war at any moment."

—Gramsci, *The Modern Prince*

With this in mind one sees that the IS' low-level shop floor organizing approach is fundamentally anti-Leninist. The IS, for instance, does not conceive of trade-union caucus activity as necessarily representative of the party and its program in the trade unions, even while providing a strategy for immediate advances in day-to-day struggle. Instead, IS-backed trade union caucuses are always coalitions of socialists with left-wing trade unionists, would-be bureaucrats, etc., on the basis of a common denominator program. This reliance on petty-bourgeois and bureaucratic forces replaces any notion of strug-

to know one's own political history, which led him to put out an ISC pamphlet containing a series of articles from the old *Labor Action* of the ISL. In one crucial article in this "Independent Socialist Clippingbook No. 1," Shachtman outlines his labor policy:

"Our comrades soon learned how to make it clear that their ideas are in fullest harmony with this true interests of the unions, that they differ from other unionists only in that they are socialist unionists who represent a movement that does not seek to weaken or replace or dictate to the unions but to help in every possible way to achieve their own stated objectives so that, thus fortified, they can advance to objectives of a higher and more durable kind... We long ago ceased to counterpose the socialist movement to the labor movement, or to set up the former as the latter's rival. Socialism in this country will advance only to the extent that it is an effective and respected educational and political force among all democratic elements in the country, but primarily and above all a force in the labor movement. Short of that, it will be a sect, a big sect or a small one, a good sect or a bad one, but a sect nonetheless. And to become such a force, it must work not on the labor movement but in it, loyally and responsibly, with utmost comradeliness, sympathetic understanding, patience, and without a trace of supercilious demands, ultimatums, hostility and 'outsidedness.'" [emphasis in original]

—from *Labor Action*, "Socialists in Trade Unions—The ISL Experience," 1958

Trotsky noted and emphasized the dual nature of trade unions—on the one hand, basic organizations of the workers for economic struggle; on the other hand, disciplinary organs for the capitalists through the intermediary of the reformist union bureaucracies. Resolving this contradiction by smashing the class-collaborationist bureaucracy and replacing it with revolutionary leadership, which was a necessity for Trotsky, is an alien concept to the IS. Shachtman effectively erases this duality, seeing a socialist program as completely harmonious with trade unionism. Inherent in trade unionism as an ideology is an acceptance of capitalism; the task of communists is to enable the working class to transcend narrow trade unionism. Tactically, of course, it is necessary to work within the only organizations the workers have at present, the unions—to work within them in pursuit of communist policies, recognizing that the inherent contradiction between trade unionism and revolutionary politics can be resolved only when workers no longer must sell their labor-power in the capitalist market.

Trotsky said in *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* that it would be fundamentally incorrect to dismiss out of hand the possibility of the existence of independent trade unions in the imperialist epoch, positing instead that:

"Impossible are the independent or semi-independent reformist trade unions. Wholly possible are revolutionary trade unions which not only are not stockholders of imperialist policy but which set as their task the direct overthrow of the rule of capitalism. In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution. In this sense, the program of transitional demands adopted by the last congress of the Fourth International is not only the program for the activity of the party but in its fundamental features it is the program for activity of the trade unions." [our emphasis]

The present-day trade union bureaucracies are not only stockholders of imperialist policy but the very existence of trade unions as organs for proletarian struggle is threatened by the attempt to gradually incorporate them into the capitalist state.

IS members are masters at excusing individual betrayals. Refusing to recognize or admit the political implications of their acts, they excuse them as tactical, a result of the need to be "realistic." Individual IS members frequently avoid taking responsibility for the policies of the

organization as a whole by claiming that they personally disagree with a particular policy. This organizational Menshevism gives the lie to their avowals of their "democratic centralist" functioning, but reveals something deeper as well: to the IS, hard Bolshevik discipline is an inhuman anathema which must be combatted to preserve personal softness and the ability to adapt politically whenever popularity dictates.

The IS' opportunist changes in position lead to political dishonesty: not only does IS reflect a slimy evasiveness about its present practice, but about its political history as well. It adamantly refuses to come to grips with its past. Worshipping the political "here and now," they see no need to explain their political development—to frankly acknowledge and repudiate past errors, providing an explanation of their roots in the interests of political clarification and avoiding the repetition of the mistakes of the past. Without such an attitude toward their own history, the IS reveals its own unseriousness and cynicism toward the role of consciousness; unless errors are clearly confronted, they are revealed to be not mistakes, but betrayals.

An article in *Workers' Power* (No. 68, Nov. 24—Dec. 7, 1972), eulogizing the deceased Shachtman, went so far as to claim that Shachtman's role in guiding the ISL into the Socialist Party (which the article refuses to refer to in specific terms) was a capitulation made possible only after a break with a phantom group, referred to only as "us," supposedly representing the future IS: "To do so, he broke with us, with his past, and with revolutionary Marxism." This is a fabrication designed to cover the cowardly political records of the leading ISC/IS cadre. The "us" can only refer to the fact that at least Draper (unlike Landy or Weir) wrote one dissenting document and verbally objected, without organizing a struggle, to the SP entry. But Draper's objection purposefully contained no alternative, since he preferred personal retreat to a hard fight for the revolutionary Marxism from which Shachtman had departed (much earlier, of course). Thus despite Draper's prominent position in the organization, there were no delegate votes and no support whatsoever for his objection at the 1957 ISL convention, which ratified this capitulationist course. Later Draper, too, joined the SP.

This reference to Draper is deceitful, too, since usually the IS tries to deny its Shachtmanite history with the dodge, "Draper is no longer in the IS." (When he was in the IS and IS, the line was that he was just another member for whose political actions the organization was not to be held responsible.) But Draper quit (in January 1970), he was not expelled, and there has never been any public IS evaluation of Draper's and Shachtman's political histories. Draper found the IS' pseudo-radical workerism a little too upsetting for his tastes, but there was no fundamental difference in outlook. In fact, the IS still lavishly pushes pamphlets and books by both Draper and Shachtman.

The fact that members of the Draper group such as Anne Draper held important posts in the labor bureaucracies was always accepted by the IS. Indeed, their politics leads ultimately to such practice. Even today the IS maintains friendly relations with the Draper group.

Current IS Policy

While there are differences in tactics between the present IS "majority" of Sy Landy and Co. vs. the "minority" of Geler and Co., there is essential unity on fundamentals, which is why there is no large-scale fight in IS over its concrete trade union practice. The central thesis which permeates the organization is the idea that the primary role of the Marxists right now is to set the workers in motion through the mechanism of shop floor committees. This will, somehow, provide the environment for building a party in the vague future, i.e., never.

The Menshevik theory of stages is no more applicable to building a Bolshevik party than it is valid as a strategy for bringing the proletariat to state power. The "democratic phase," accompanied by economic reforms, and the ultimate socialist goal cannot be programmatically separated. The mobilization of workers in economist struggle around reformist illusions under the control of left-posturing bureaucrats does not set the stage for building the party, but is an obstacle to its construction. The attempt to assemble Bolshevik cadre now is considered "sectarianism," "ultramism," etc. by the IS. Thus the document "IS Labor Perspectives" by Brian Mackenzie, which was adopted by the 1972 IS Convention, states:

"The Spartacist League, which also has a marginal presence in industry, is more serious. In some respects their political positions are quite close to ours. Yet, the Spartacists insist on applying these positions in a purely sectarian fashion. Disciplined trade union caucuses in which membership is based on total agreement with a rather long program characterizes their union work. There is an intellectual matter of winning workers to a program, rather than one based on intervention and leadership in an expanding struggle. The Spartacists cut themselves off from workers without socialist consciousness, that is, almost everyone, and from continuous action possibilities. They isolate themselves unnecessarily. For this reason the rank and file groups organized by the Spartacists do not have the potential to lead a dynamic rank and file movement. We favor united front action with Spartacist-led groups, but we are not for building these groups—since this would mean placing potentially active rank and file militants under the sectarian discipline of the Spartacists."

Since the IS considers it "sectarian" to insist on the transitional program as the basis for a caucus, even though they claim to adhere to it, then presumably the shop floor committees are organized on something "less sectarian," i.e., more popular and respectable, namely ordinary trade unionism. This of course is exactly what is meant and it comes out over and over in the practice of IS supporters in the unions.

IS Blocs With Opportunists

An examination of IS trade-union practice, even limited in scope, is useful not simply as an exposure of individual betrayals, but primarily insofar as it allows one to generalize as to the nature and logical conclusions of IS politics—to see the thread of common appetites and methodology that binds together into one swamp a most politically heterogeneous collection of monsters.

Its betrayals are obscured by the fact that its practice contradicts its program and socialist principles to which it pays regular and even articulate at times lip-service. These social-democrats capitulate to both threats and opportunities to tail-end the workers and future bureaucrats. The IS bargains away the principles to which it pays lip-service in exchange for a safe arrangement with reformist forces toward which it may exert some pressure—mildly, of course. Its program is a paper ornament behind which it hides its actual practice.

The IS' vigorous and uncritical support to the United National Caucus (UNC) in the UAW is a good example of this. The UNC is a bodge-podge of many different half-formed tendencies, combining cynical, opportunist ex-radicals such as Art Fox with individual careerists and frustrated bureaucrats like Simms and Kelly. Its membership is not defined by programmatic agreement, yet *Workers' Power* coverage of the UNC limits its "criticism" to tactful suggestions from time to time.

The UNC's practice is limited to gimmicky, agitational campaigns around particular democratic demands, completely ignoring its semi-radical, paper "program." At the last UAW convention the UNC limited its intervention to pushing for the referendum election of officers as opposed to elec-

tion by delegated conventions, a meaningless measure which is popular with a significant cross-section of local UAW leaderships. Most recently, the UNC has concentrated on an effort to end retiree voting in union elections through legal action against the union in the bourgeois courts, making use of a reactionary court decision restricting union control over pensions (see *WP* No. 12).

The demand for referendum elections will only increase the bureaucrats' control over the elections, and the use of the bourgeois courts against the union is utterly reactionary, giving the capitalists one more handle with which to intervene in internal union affairs. These measures are useless to the workers, but helpful to the UNC, which, by proving that program is to it entirely secondary, thereby proves that it can be no more than a new bureaucracy on the make. For the IS, of course, neither of these issues is sufficient to call for hard criticism and a split, since it is not interested in providing working-class leadership, but seeks only to help place a slicker, smoother, more "left-wing" set of fakers into office in the labor movement!

IS sponsored a forum in New York City following the UAW Convention for Art Fox, who was the sole speaker. Fox made much out of the ouster of Western Regional Director Paul Schrade, saying a major rift in the bureaucracy was emerging which represented a great opportunity. He said he might critically support the Schrade wing in the bureaucracy, would admit Schrade to the caucus "if he does what he says" (return to the shops to reform the union), and mentioned secret feelers from Schrade to the UNC. Prominent IS spokesmen asked Fox to advise them on how to orient toward "splits in the bureaucracy," and when Fox threatened to walk out of the meeting to protest one IS member's response to political attacks from NCLC members in the audience, the IS forced its own member to shut up and sit down in order to preserve the "non-sectarian" atmosphere and pacify the arrogant Fox!

What unites the IS with Fox, Fox with Woodcock, etc., is a common thread of social-democratic trade unionism, which oozes out of *Workers' Power*:

"Woodcock's reputation and mark in history will be the same as Reuther's unless he is willing to break with the past and lead the fights that those who pay his wages want him to make... For top leaders to be able to feel the presence of the ranks at all times there has to be a new structural design for the unions." [emphasis in original]

—*Workers' Power* No. 54

Having failed to break Woodcock from his past (the Socialist party), the IS is looking for some other bureaucrat or would-be bureaucrat to latch onto (Schrade?, Fox?) to revitalize the reformist trade union movement. When (and it is only a matter of time) the UNC, in pursuit of its "main chance," engages in some gross new betrayal, the IS may find itself compelled to back off and seek to hide its full complicity, but without changing its fundamental opportunist policies one iota.

Perhaps the most blatant example of the rottenness of the IS-type strategy is in the West Coast CWA Local 9415. There the IS supports the *Bell Winger* (BW), a newsletter with a few supporters in place of a caucus based on a program. BW explicitly rejects a political struggle to throw out the bureaucrats on the basis of a transitional program like that of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a political caucus in the same local. Disingenuously defining themselves as "just a few people putting out a bulletin for our fellow workers... [with] no pretense of being the leadership of anything," the BW was initiated by former MAC supporters who claimed to agree with the transitional program supported by the MAC. Yet the BW does not struggle for this program. Instead, it pushed low-level trade-union demands and attacks the

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Capitalist Conspiracy in Europe-Labor and the Common Market

The defeat of the Common Market referendum in Norway is a victory for the international working class. Throughout Europe the EEC is profoundly unpopular with the working masses, who correctly see it as a device to solve the acute economic problems of the monopolies at the expense of the exploited. This hostility would have long since destroyed the bourgeois Common Market, and opened the road to a united revolutionary mobilization of the European working class, if it had been clearly expressed at the political level by the dominant workers' parties. However, the agents of the bourgeoisie who lead the Communist, Socialist and Labor parties of Western Europe have managed to distort, fritter away or simply ignore the mass rejection of the EEC at every crucial point. Thus the struggle against the bosses' Common Market, for a united socialist Europe, is at the same time a determined battle against these treacherous misleaders of the working class.

The Rich Man's Club

Since Marxists have generally regarded the international integration of capitalism as providing the material basis for socialism, it may not be obvious why the destruction of the Common Market should be a major goal of the European labor and socialist movements. In the imperialist era, alliances between capitalist states, including their economic aspects, are directed against other states, advanced as well as backward states. The Common Market is essentially an unstable alliance between French and German capitalism on the basis of the most reactionary economic policies. Common Market trade policy is highly protectionist, particularly in defending backward French and Italian industry from the imports of backward countries. Thus, while 25% of the U.S. textile and clothing consumption is imported from backward countries, less than 10% of Common Market consumption is. And textiles is a critical industry for backward countries, one of the few that can effectively compete with the advanced capitalist countries.

An important "achievement" of the Common Market is the Common Agricultural Policy which is thoroughly reactionary. Designed to benefit the big European grain producers, notably the French, who have rallied the remnants of Europe's peasantry to their cause, the Common Agricultural Policy means artificially high food prices supported by government subsidies and an impenetrable tariff. Thus, Common Market food prices have normally been 50% higher than in Britain, even though Britain imports most of its food. Adjusting to the Common Agricultural Policy has been the most important single cause of the current rampant inflation in Britain.

The Common Market is a plan for the economic integration of West Europe on explicitly capitalist grounds. Article 52 of the founding Treaty of Rome calls for "freedom of establishment" and "the right to engage in and carry out non-wage earning activities." Article 67 calls for the abolition of "restrictions on the movement of capital." Any workers' party which signs or endorses the Common Market agreement is explicitly committing itself to maintain a capitalist economic system. With the British Labour Party's acceptance of the Common Market, the

right wing of the Labour Party finally succeeded in invalidating, in effect, the famous Clause IV of the Labour Party constitution (adopted in the revolutionary high tide of 1917) calling for the nationalization of the key sectors of the British economy.

A workers' revolution, or even a sufficiently left-wing reformist government under capitalism, would face massive economic retaliation from the rest of the Common Market. It is true, of course, that any anti-capitalist or even reformist government is subject to international capitalist reprisals. However, by entering the Common Market, a nation links its economic structure more closely to the other capitalist member-states and encourages foreign investment, thus making it more vulnerable to international capitalist reaction.

Fragile Partnership

The Common Market is based on agreement between the parties to undertake their plunder and exploitation jointly as long as the current expansionary wave lasts for all concerned. As soon as one or more of the participating capitalist classes begins to suffer from the effects of free trade competition with the others, however, the entire edifice will collapse and protectionist nationalism will reemerge.

Already the more nervous bourgeois forecasters in Europe stand in fear of the coming American economic offensive in the European market (viz: the French arms manufacturers are looking for a deal with their European counterparts to ward off an expected U.S. dumping of new arms as the Vietnam war absorbs less), and of increasing competition for shrinking markets between the European "partners" themselves, leading inevitably to new crises. This process will bring collapse to the Common Market bazaar tent, along with a general economic slump and increased class struggle. As the crisis develops, it will be the same social-democratic parties and their CP allies which will form the last bastion of defense of the capitalist order itself, as did the CP in France in 1968. Recognizing the dual nature of these parties as workers' parties with bourgeois leaderships, the revolutionary vanguard must seize every opportunity to set the base against the top, carrying on a merciless criticism of the sellouts by these misleaders of the working class.

U.S. Imperialism and the Common Market

The two political bases for the Common Market's existence were the desire by the U.S. to strengthen West European unity against the Soviet Union and the desire of the French ruling class to take advantage of Germany's political weakness stemming from its defeat in World War II. While the Common Market facilitated U.S. investment in Western Europe, American government support for the Common Market was based on strategic political considerations. The American ruling class wanted to suppress that historic economic conflict between the European powers for fear it would disrupt the military alliance against the Soviet Union. John F. Kennedy said this quite openly:

"The success of our foreign policy depends in large measure upon the success of our foreign trade and our maintenance of Western political unity

depends in equally large measure upon the degree of Western economic unity."

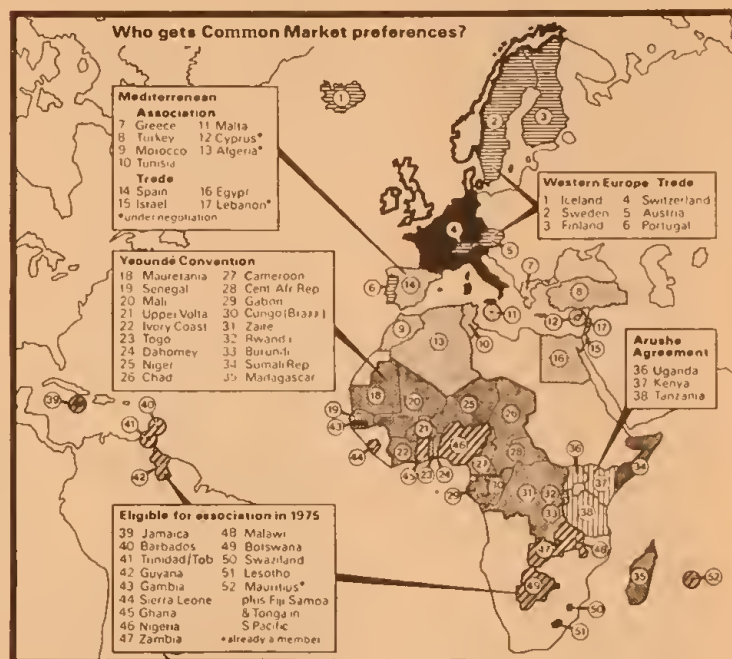
In its early period, the Common Market was very much part of American-dominated Europe. Thus, Walter Hallstein, then head of the Common Market Commission and the ex-foreign minister of West Germany who engineered the diplomatic isolation of East Germany, could tell a group of NATO parliamentarians in 1962:

"European integration is at present limited to economic subject matter, but potentially is a major political contribution to the strength of the Free World. That, not a common stake in 'imperialism' as Premier Khrushchev alleges, is the true link between the

ing the trend, increased the tendency of U.S. capitalists to finance their ventures on the European money market (see "American Empire Shaken, WV No. 2, November 1971). Partly reacting to the American investment invasion, Gaullist France pursued a semi-neutralist foreign policy, which involved pulling out of NATO. Johnson's 1965 measure was a partial concession to France, but in general, U.S. capitalism is increasingly less able to make short-term economic sacrifices to secure long-term strategic goals.

Challenge to the U.S.

The U.S. has fought a basically unsuccessful battle to prevent the expan-



The Economist

EEC and NATO."

Over time, U.S. political support (including support for British entry) has eroded, while its opposition to Common Market economic policy has increased. There are several reasons for this, centering on the growth of the European imperialists as economic rivals of the U.S. Having decided to put Europe and Japan back on their feet in 1947-48 in order to forge the Cold War alliance against the Soviet Union and preserve capitalism, the U.S. is now faced with the loss of its hegemonic position as the dominant imperialist power. Instead it is merely the strongest among many rival imperialisms. This is reflected in the shift in world trade during the post-war period. Between 1947 and 1965, the U.S. (and Canadian) share of world trade dropped from 27% to 18%, while that of Western Europe as a whole rose from 34% to over 40% (these figures are modified by the fact that foreign trade is more important to the economies of the European countries than it is to the U.S.).

But while Europe experienced recovery, the U.S. continued its initial heavy investment in European industry, its capital assets increasing from \$4 billion in 1958 to \$14 billion in 1965. The imposition of capital export curbs by Johnson in 1965, rather than revers-

sion of the Common Market's commercial sphere of influence through tariff manipulation. Gradually the U.S.-dominated free trade area under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) has been undermined as the Common Market has set up its own area of special agreements, based primarily on the former colonies of the European countries. The current French campaign to turn the Mediterranean into a Common Market lake is probably over-ambitious, partly because it is a direct challenge to U.S. foreign economic policy. The proliferation of preferential trading and associate agreements, which began with 18 former African colonies, chiefly French (Yaounde Convention), and is now taking in most Mediterranean countries and some Caribbean countries, angers U.S. capitalists especially because it tends to include preferences for European capital investment as well as trade, and because it is extending beyond the "traditional" imperialist spheres of influence of the European countries: i.e., the "Six" of the Common Market are doing a little poaching on what the U.S. considers to be "its" territory. If successful, these agreements would destroy GATT, further marking the decline of the American empire. "If the EEC keeps this up,"

said a Nixon Administration trade expert, "they will have a system that effectively fences out all competition from the U.S. and Japan." (*Newsweek*, 27 November 1971)

This is the context behind the talks on European security which are already in a preliminary stage in Helsinki, the strategic arms limitation and balanced force reduction talks (SALT and MBFR), and the planned trip of Nixon to Europe next summer to discuss trade. The Nixon Administration is attempting through these negotiations to play its Western "allies" off against the Stalinist deformed workers states by utilizing the considerable relative superiority which U.S. capitalism still enjoys. Lying chiefly in the greater size, resources and technical superiority of the U.S. corporations, this relative superiority will enable the U.S. to move more massively and more rapidly than its rivals into the newly-opening market in the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states. European capitalists are already having panicky visions of U.S. automobiles, made with cheap labor in Eastern Europe, flooding West European markets. Shortly after the huge wheat deal, which alone quadrupled Soviet-U.S. trade (to about \$1 billion), the U.S. announced impending agreement on another deal which dwarfed even it: three U.S. companies would build a \$10 billion natural gas piping system to transport \$45 billion in natural gas from Siberia.

The U.S. will attempt to blackmail the West European bourgeoisies into providing more favorable terms of trade for the U.S. through a limited threat of U.S.-Soviet cooperation. U.S. negotiators at the arms talks, particularly MBFR, are in a good position to ensure a favorable balance of military forces in Europe for the Soviet Union, through an extensive withdrawal of U.S. troops, which European rulers oppose. The holding of the conference on European security in the first place is seen as something of a diplomatic victory for the USSR, which has been calling for it for years, although it is mainly a function of the capitalist drive to exploit new markets. The U.S. will wield its diplomatic club so as to extort concessions from the European capitalists without handing any qualitative victories to the Soviet Union.

France vs. Germany

In addition to the original U.S. grand design, the Common Market is a product of the French bourgeoisie's attempt to take advantage of the disparity between German economic strength and political and military weakness. The forerunner of the Common Market, the European Coal and Steel Community, originated from Allied occupation of the Ruhr steel complex. There is no doubt that the French bourgeoisie would have opposed returning the complex to direct German sovereignty. On one level, the Common Agricultural Policy is a subsidy to a section of French capital reminding one of the post-World War I Versailles reparations exacted from Germany.

However, since the fifties, German economic strength has gradually overcome the effect of its defeat in World War II. The balance of power in the Common Market shifted slowly, but clearly, to the disadvantage of France. British entry marks a partial victory of Germany over France. The fragility of the German-French economic alliance was clearly demonstrated during the 1971 international monetary crisis which destroyed the utopian project of a unified West European currency system. The Germans unilaterally up-valued the mark and forced the French to devalue the franc, thereby demonstrating that when the fundamental interests of its member states conflict, Common Market agreements are worth less than the paper they are printed on.

Reformist Betrayals

There are few more significant proofs of the rotten reformist leadership of the West European labor movements than its failure to combat the Common Market. While in the first years of the Common Market, the

French and Italian Communist Parties ritualistically denounced it, they never mobilized their mass base against it. And paralleling Soviet support for Gaullist-style neutralism, the West European Stalinists have adopted an attitude of benign neutrality toward the Common Market. The Social-Democratic labor parties of Europe are being relied upon heavily to drag the working class along by the nose.

In Denmark, the Social Democrats managed to secure a "yes" vote for entry into the Common Market, but only at the expense of desertion of the party by the core of its working-class base. A trade union bureaucrat was

capital investment. The election also confirmed the German ruling class' partnership with the U.S., in which the German mark has been re-valued upwards (a sacrifice of competitiveness on the world market) several times and backing given to the dollar in exchange for U.S. support for the Ostpolitik.

German workers, however, are paying for this partnership and the economic expansion through very heavy inflation. West Germany has the highest inflation rate in Europe, 6.4%, up from 2.7% during Brandt's three years in office alone. (The Common Market countries generally have high rates of

Party's policy toward Market entry must begin with the fact that the Wilson leadership's opposition to entry is completely phony. The Wilson leadership is just as committed to British entry as the Conservative Party and did everything possible to get Britain into the Market while the Labour Party was in power. In fact, pro-Market Labour politicians regularly bait Wilson that it was he who won them over to British entry in the first place. The Wilson leadership only came out against joining the Common Market after it had been voted out of office, i.e., when the Labour Party could "oppose" entry in words without affecting entry in fact. Wilson's "opposition" to Market entry is designed solely to recoup the popularity the BLP lost while governing and to prevent the anti-Market campaign from being dominated by the Labour left and reds. (An opinion poll in 1971 showed 73% of the British population opposed to entering the EEC). Even now, the Wilson leadership is careful the Labour "opposition" does not present a real threat to British entry. While the Trades Union Congress (TUC) voted to oppose entry on principle, the Wilson-Benn leadership pushed through a resolution at the last Labour Party conference merely to re-negotiate the terms of entry.

But this was not enough for these traitors. When the pro-Market wing of the BLP, led by Roy Jenkins, threatened to break party discipline in the October 1971 vote on affiliation in the House of Commons, Wilson okayed it in exchange for a promise to support the leadership in filibustering against the specific enabling legislation later on. Then, when the filibuster was staged last March large numbers of Labour MP's, including several party leaders, were conveniently absent at the voting, leading to the collapse of the maneuver.

The TUC resolution opposing Market entry on principle is a victory for the British working class, but a hollow one. The leadership of the British labor movement has a history of supporting noble-sounding socialist resolutions at conferences and then ignoring them (the 1959 Labour Party conference resolution in favor of unilateral nuclear disarmament being a classic example). The leadership of the British unions must be forced to stand up for its "principles." The British working class has shown its ability to overcome parliamentary cretinism and resort to industrial action when its fundamental interests are attacked. Common Market entry is a fundamental attack on the British working class; the trade unions should meet British entry with a general strike. By demanding that food prices be reduced to pre-Market levels, the British labor movement can attack the Common Market at its weakest point and gain widespread popular support for an anti-Market strike.

French CP Defends the Fatherland

The French CP provided a virtually identical example of sham opposition, adding to it a typical Stalinist "theoretical" explanation. Faced with a surprise referendum on the expansion of the Common Market by Pompidou, the CP leadership called for a militant-sounding campaign on the slogan, "No to the Europe of the Trusts." However, the CP was in the middle of negotiations for an electoral alliance with leaders of the Socialist Party, who had for years favored the EEC in general and British entry in particular. Rather than fighting it out over this crucial class issue, the CP agreed to let the SP call for abstention, while formally calling on its own supporters to vote "no." A month later they signed the joint, popular-front program with the SP, naturally leaving the question of the EEC unresolved.

Even more interesting is the CP's justification for its reluctant "no" vote. It seems that the expansion of the Common Market is one of the "dangerous aspects" (as opposed to the "positive aspects," perhaps?) of Pompidou's foreign policy, because it is "contrary to independence and the national inter-

continued on page 10



British anti-Market demonstration: 73% oppose entry.

France Nouvelle

then brought in as premier to help prevent a deepening of this split and subordinate the workers' movement more securely to the government policy.

In Germany, the election between Brandt of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and Barzel, witch-hunting anti-communist of the Christian Democrats (CDU-CSU), was a key test for U.S. as well as German strategy and Common Market policy. Brandt ran on his record in office of opening up ties to the East: *Ostpolitik*. With a little help from the Soviet Union and the East Germans, who granted new concessions just before the elections, Brandt won handily and secured the parliamentary majority (together with the small, bourgeois Free Democrats) required for the passage of his treaties. Rather than a shift to the left, Brandt's election was simply a confirmation of the German bourgeoisie's plans to penetrate its old markets in Eastern Europe once again, this time through deals with the Stalinist bureaucrats, who are desperate for capitalist trade, technology and even

inflation compared to the U.S.—France: 6%, U.S.: 3%. Barzel attacked the inflation, but supported the same basic policies, which rendered his criticisms irrelevant. Brandt won support in the working class by appearing to be moving left, away from the Cold War hysteria represented by Barzel (whose political history is strikingly similar to Nixon's). The bourgeoisie stuck decisively with Brandt (except for the right wing represented by Barzel's chief ally, Franz Josef Strauss) because of the SPD's demonstrated ability to tame the demands of the workers through the trade unions upon which the SPD is based. If Barzel had been elected with inflation continuing, the trade union bureaucrats would have lacked a good excuse to keep holding down the wage and other demands of the workers.

British Labor and Entry

However, it is in Britain that the clash between the labor movement and Common Market has been most intense. Any attempt to understand the Labour

Continued from page 1

...UAW

Carl H. Madden, warns that the government must be prepared to curb "monopoly labor power." Clearly the U.S. capitalist class is gearing up for a decisive confrontation to break the back of working-class resistance, and in this endeavor they have the complete cooperation of all the misleaders of labor!

Bureaucratic Response to GMAD

Crucial to the battle in 1973 is the contract of 750,000 auto workers in the UAW, which comes up for negotiation in July. Already in 1972, the UAW faced a determined assault led by the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD). Aggressively pushing its policy of speedup and harrassment, GMAD provoked major strikes at Lordstown and Norwood, Ohio, by deliberately violating national and local contracts, laying off hundreds of workers and forcing the rest to work long hours of overtime at back-breaking speed. By focusing their attack on the workers in one plant at a time, the GMAD "efficiency experts" goaded them into isolated, demoralizing strikes, hoping to exhaust their morale and resources before the 1973 negotiations begin in earnest. The international played directly into this strategy, deliberately leaving the locals at Lordstown and Norwood unaided, in order to avoid a nationwide showdown with GM—they did not mobilize even as little as one additional local to back up these strikes.

The UAW leadership's behavior in these strikes is completely consistent with everything it stands for. These bureaucrats consider themselves in partnership with the giant corporations, not as representatives of the workers against the companies. Their concern is to help make U.S. industry more competitive on the world market so that workers, as well as the companies, will presumably receive a share of the "prosperity." But that is not the way it works in a system in which the interests of profit are necessarily counterposed to those of the workers. This was revealed in an interesting comment made by UAW vice-president Irving Bluestone in a *Newsweek* interview (23 October 1972) in which he conceded to GMAD the right to lay off workers, provided the bureaucrats were consulted first! "There's a certain amount of manpower they had a right to save. But this in effect was recanting what they had told us," said Bluestone. In a period of large-scale unemployment and foreign competition, the program of U.S. capitalism can only be more unemployment, more work from ever fewer people at as low wages as they can get away with paying. There can be no "partnership" with the imperialist bourgeoisie except that which is based on precisely this kind of betrayal in favor of all the essential interests of the bosses.

The strikes achieved nothing—even Woodcock was forced to admit that Norwood was at the same place it had been six months earlier. The UAW let Lordstown and Norwood become sacrificial lambs, patsies for GMAD's union-busting experiments. But around the country, militants at other GMAD plants came up against the same company tactics. Moreover, plants such as those in Mansfield, Ohio and St. Louis, which were getting restless to go on strike themselves, would have been much more likely to cripple all of GM in a long strike. The bureaucrats needed new tactics to prevent such a confrontation while creating an illusion of militancy.

"Apache Strategy"

Local bureaucrats, including many committeemen (plant floor representa-

tives), returned from meetings with the international misleaders in Detroit toward the end of the Norwood strike full of enthusiastic reports that a series of short mini-strikes, provided they were "legal" (according to the contract), would bring GMAD to its knees over Norwood, speedups, safety violations, and its disciplinary layoffs (DLO's) and firings. This "Apache strategy" was the best thing from the international in years, so they sang the song.

In fact, the Norwood workers were quickly and quietly sold out shortly afterwards. In its own terms, the "Apache strategy" was never carried out. Local leaderships called off strikes at the last minute, and only a few plants held short strikes. They returned to work with nothing settled, often in complete disregard of expressed desires to continue striking by the workers, as at St. Louis. GM was able to transfer work to other plants in the system by working them overtime. Sales and production are at record levels for GM, as they are throughout the auto industry. In spite of seven strikes, GM missed its October production goal of 497,000 cars by only 11,000—hardly a crippling blow.

But for Woodcock and his two-faced local minions, the "Apache strategy" was successful. Bluestone was quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* (17 October) as saying that the strategy had probably "helped avert walkouts" at GM's Van Nuys and Flint Buick plants. Furthermore, it had the advantage of curbing the rising line of local militancy without dipping into the international strike fund, since no benefits are paid until after the first week of a strike. The "Apache" strikes were never intended to last longer than this, and to be sure that they didn't, the bureaucrats made clear in advance that they did not intend to have the strikes arrive at any agreement with the company. Thus these "strikes" were designed to be completely demoralizing; simply consisting of loss of income for a pre-arranged total lack of accomplishments! This helped to make 1972 one of the most "peaceful" years in "labor relations" since 1946, and set GM workers up for acceptance of rotten terms in the 1973 contract, and without a strike, since the bureaucrats have decreed that it must be Ford's "turn" if there is a strike over the next contract.

"30 for 40" and the Contract

The UAW tops have begun to toss around the proposal for "36 for 40" as a sop to militants in the union, and to anyone who might be influenced by the outside petition campaign for "30 for 40" of Progressive Labor (PL). The bureaucracy's bastardized version of "30 for 40" is cynical rhetoric designed to cover up its intention to capitulate on whatever wage guidelines are set by Nixon's Pay Board and to continuing selling out the struggle against layoffs, unemployment and compulsory overtime. While the proposal for a shorter workweek is pointed to as a major aim in the Ford negotiations, the international has no real intention of fighting for it, as revealed by vice-president Bannon, who "outlined as one possibility for cutting work time, a 10% reduction in working hours, emphasizing that this was an idea for discussion and not a collective bargaining proposal..." (UAW *Solidarity*, November 1972, our emphasis).

The slogan "30 for 40" was originally raised by the Trotskyists as a concretization of the demand for a "sliding scale of hours," through which work would be divided evenly, the workers would benefit from improvements in productivity and unemployment would be eliminated, at the expense of the capitalists. Always trying to avoid a serious fight for this anti-capitalist demand, the UAW bureaucracy under Reuther counterposed the slogan of "Guaranteed Annual Wage" (GAW), which in effect meant little more than glorified dole for everyone, and in practice meant only increased unemployment payments for auto workers (Sup-

plementary Unemployment Benefits—SUB) and no real struggle at all against unemployment itself.

The struggle for a sliding scale of hours is fundamentally anti-capitalist, and raises revolutionary implications pointing towards a socialist reorganization of society, but only if it is linked to other essential corollaries and the demands of the transitional program. As proposed by the bureaucracy, "36 for 40" is simply a proposal for slightly altering the calculation of overtime pay, since it is not accompanied by a struggle against compulsory overtime. As proposed by PL, "30 for 40" is converted into a phony panacea through isolation from the broader program in which it was raised. For instance, every auto plant in the country has thousands of unresolved grievances, reflecting not only speedup but also the other results of capitalist exploitation of labor. Without the demand for workers control of production, beginning with a non-negotiable insistence that the speed of the line be in the contract, "30 for 40" is a reformist gimmick just one step removed from Woodcock's propaganda. PL has always insisted on raising only those demands it thinks can be won under capitalism, thereby rendering its verbal support of socialism a farce—completely abstracted from any real struggle to achieve it. It is thus reduced to enthusing over elemental militancy and winds up tail-ending the bureaucracy: playing advisor to local bureaucrats and begging Woodcock to make "30 for 40" a contract demand.

Economism of the CP/YWLL

Like ostriches, Woodcock and Co. bury their heads in the sand in the face of the coming attacks on labor, trying to call a ceasefire in the class struggle just as the capitalists are gearing up for the battle. And while they claim to provide alternative leadership, all the ostensibly revolutionary and socialist groups in the U.S. wind up, like PL, with their heads up the tail of the Woodcock ostrich. The CP and its youth group, Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) are particularly consistent in this respect, making little pretense of opposition to the bureaucracy. The CP's *Daily World* always plays up the phony tactics of the "liberal" labor fakers, advertising them as though they were genuine. "Hit-Run Strikes Meet Challenge of GM Speedup," proclaimed its 19 October headline. Similarly, the CP supports Woodcock's fake call for "industrial democracy" under the slogan, "humanize the production line." Woodcock's position is

not "solve" brutal and inhuman working conditions, since exploitation will remain, always intensifying.

The assembly line is inhuman not because the workers are psychologically "alienated," lacking a sense of participation or bored with the nature of the productive process. The workers' discontent reflects the actual power relationship—they are forced to sell their labor power and enter into bondage to the capitalist, hence the term "wage slavery." "Alienation" refers to the forcible expropriation by the capitalist of the fruits of the workers' labor. Even the most well-meaning capitalist is forced to "dehumanize" the work through speedups, lengthening the working day, etc., in order to maximize this expropriation and successfully compete with other capitalists.

The working class must struggle to wrest control over the entire production process from the hands of the exploiters under the slogan, "for workers control of production." But the demand for "workers control" is also completely useless to the workers, and serves only as a diversion to the struggle, unless it is part of a program to expropriate all of industry and put the working class in power, under the slogan for a "workers government." This perspective is never raised by the CP/YWLL. Instead, it restricts its work to pushing for narrow, piecemeal reforms, which never challenge the power of the capitalists. The YWLL strategy was summed up in its paper, *Young Worker* (March 1972):

"To gain the confidence of the workers...whether they are young, old, black, white or Spanish-speaking—one important thing is to give leadership on economic issues. That way you create a base to draw out the most advanced workers who are willing to move on political issues."

These latter-day Economists were answered long ago by Lenin, who pointed to:

"...the basic error that all Economists commit, namely, their conviction that it is possible to develop the class political consciousness of the workers from within, so to speak, from their economic struggle, i.e., by making this struggle the exclusive (or, at least, the main) starting point... Such a view is radically wrong."

Lenin attacked them for:

"...reducing the working-class movement and the class struggle to narrow trade-unionism and to a 'realistic' struggle for petty, gradual reforms... in practice it meant a striving to convert the nascent working-class movement into an appendage of the liberals."

—What Is to Be Done?

The "Dump Nixon" campaign and the CP's open support for McGovern in the last election were just the most recent manifestations of this betrayal Lenin pointed to. And it continues to involve virtually uncritical endorsement of the Woodcock liberals in the labor movement; presumably these are what the same issue of *Young Worker* defends, in a polemic against "Trotskyite" criticism, as "...those few labor leaders who do want to fight back!"

The ostensibly Trotskyist Workers League (WL) has such a deep opportunist orientation toward the trade union bureaucracy that it is completely divorced from virtually any political consistency. Thus during the last election, the WL tried to orient toward both the pro-Nixon and pro-McGovern wings of the split labor "leadership." Halling Meany's neutrality statement as a break from capitalist coalition politics, the WL criticized the CP and the liberal bureaucrats for trying to maintain the link with the Democratic Party, ignoring the real racist and pro-war motives of Meany's disguised support to Nixon. However, the WL also echoed the CP's concentration on Nixon as labor's "main enemy," going easy on the Democratic Party by not mentioning it.

This is now reflected in the way the WL raises the demand for a labor party, which, for the WL, is never a tactic of the revolutionary vanguard party, but always a part of the real interests of the trade union bureaucracy, which it is the duty of the WL to push the bureaucrats



The Woodcock ostrich.

simply a cover for union participation with management on such things as committees to control absenteeism, i.e., a pretense at workers' "participation" in the system of their own exploitation. This barks back to Walter Reuther's demands that the union bureaucracy have the right to participate in running war production so as to make prosecution of the imperialist World War II more efficient. In the context of support for Woodcock's strategy clearly expressed by the CP (see *Daily World*, 2 November 1972), "humanize working conditions" can only mean a few reforms to make exploitation more tolerable. Such reforms can-

into adopting. The WL's *Bulletin* (11 December 1972) reprinted without criticism the following motion adopted recently at the UAW local at the Southgate GMAD plant in Los Angeles:

"Therefore be it resolved that we call on leaders of the American trade unions, the AFL-CIO, Teamsters, UAW and Independents, to immediately convene a Congress of Labor to formulate policy and program in order to prepare to answer Nixon's anti-union program.... This Congress of Labor must begin right now the organization of a labor party using all the resources of the unions for the next election.... Be it finally resolved that you Brother Woodcock and the entire International executive board of the UAW use the prestige of your office to call for a Congress of Labor...."

Now that Nixon has just been elected to a second term promising to lead a vicious, all-out assault on labor, such talk of a "labor party" is cheap, and could be rhetorically adopted by the extreme left wing of the bureaucracy without much difficulty. Already the CP, wincing at the miserable showing of its former hero, McGovern, is daring to engage in a little self-criticism of its own role in the election and call for a more "independent" stance. This WL-backed plea to Woodcock, whom the WL formerly attacked as worse than Meany, is thus the most dangerous sort of opportunism. Woodcock actually must base his very strong ambitions in capitalist politics on pseudo-leftism and the appearance of militancy. Such a labor party, formed by a section of the present labor bureaucracy, on the basis of its pro-capitalist program, could only serve to tie the workers more firmly to class-collaborationist politics.

BWC Pushes "Third World" Bureaucrats

The demise of the Panthers as an ostensibly revolutionary organization, and the shrinking into right-wing nationalist irrelevance of DRUM and other League of Revolutionary Black Workers caucuses in the UAW in Detroit, left a gap which James Forman's Black Workers Congress (BWC) is attempting to fill (see WV No. 10, July-August 1972). The BWC's eclectic inability to break from myopic black nationalism, despite a pretense of pro-working-class "socialist" politics, however, prevents them from clearly perceiving even what it is they are struggling against. Thus, the BWC-backed United Black Workers (UBW) caucus at the Ford plant in Mahwah, New Jersey gave blanket, uncritical support in the last local union elections to "most Third World and black candidates," as their paper, *Black Voice*, explained. Conflating the workers' class enemy with the more backward, racist sections of the working class itself, the UBW chose to ignore the fact that the black and Spanish-speaking candidates, as well as the whites, completely lacked a working-class analysis and program around which to fight.

After helping to elect the new set of officers, the UBW openly admitted that "90% of these officials have betrayed the trust of the people..." (*Black Voice*, November 1972). But the UBW, still blinded by color, professes these bureaucrats another chance to betray the workers they represent: "Those of you who wish to clean up your s---t and start doing the job you were elected to do have a little time to start T.C.B." Rather than counterposing a revolutionary alternative to the reformist, racist trade union bureaucracy, the BWC/UBW program is merely a cover for the incorporation of more black faces into that bureaucracy.

The UBW made a similar error in giving credit to Imamu Baraka (formerly Leroy Jones) for "providing the black community of Newark with an alternative to the hopelessness it was feeling," i.e., black Mayor Gibson. This was the same "brother" Baraka and Mayor Gibson who tried to bust the Newark Teachers strike by breaking the union with vicious race-baiting and goon-squad attacks against the

Continued from page 1

... Bombing

to fulfill all of them, the U.S. ruling class seems bent on its own destruction—and that of the rest of the world with it.

In a speech after the resumption of the bombing, Soviet party chief Brezhnev hinted, ever so gently, ever so mildly, that Nixon's action released Moscow from its half of the bargain. For the first time (!), Brezhnev stated that "Soviet-American relations" depended heavily on the outcome of peace negotiations in Vietnam. Brezhnev also called for the first time for "a basis for some form of business relations" between East and West Europe. The U.S. is entering a crucial period in competition with its European and Japanese rivals for trade and investment opportunities in the deformed workers states (USSR, China, East Europe) and elsewhere. The European capitalists will not hesitate to take over, if they can, should the Soviet Union become reluctant to push ahead with plans for big deals with the U.S. (such as the unprecedented \$55 billion Siberian natural gas pipeline project). In addition, the weakened diplomatic position of the U.S. will hinder the efforts it is planning to bring pressure to bear on the European capitalist states for trade concessions by playing East off against West in Europe. Any significant setbacks in the world imperialist economic rivalry will bring the usual aggressive response from the U.S., which is uniquely unaccustomed to setbacks or even the slightest thwarting of its supreme imperialist will.

The Nixon government represents a step in the direction of bonapartism. In its vicious terror bombing, beefed up police expenditures, attacks on the (bourgeois) press, invasion of opposing (bourgeois) parties' offices, it represents an appetite for "strong government." However, this still takes place within the framework of formal bourgeois democracy and, if successful, spells a continuation of this form of capitalist government over the next period. What use does the bourgeoisie have for the uncontrollable antics of some psychopathic Nazi when it can get right-wing politicians like Nixon "legitimately" elected? With Nixon in

power, and the cowardly labor bureaucrats meekly cringing before every new union-busting move of the bosses, the bourgeoisie has no need at present for a reactionary mass political movement (i.e., fascism) to smash the working-class movement.

Bourgeois democracy has always been simply the most secure and efficient form of rule by the bourgeoisie. An election every four years or so—under circumstances easily controllable by the capitalist class and its superstructural institutions—is only a slight false front on the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

War on "Permissiveness"

Nevertheless, under Nixon, the ruling class seeks to make this dictatorship more efficient and the "democracy" a little less onerous. Sensing the grovelling prostration of the established leadership of the working class on all political and economic questions, and the defeat and demoralization of the miniscule left and impotent liberal critics, the bourgeoisie is emboldened to strip away even the veneer of bourgeois morality covering its rape of society. Disowning even its most established and trusted liberal apologists and spurning deals with labor bureaucrats even for the sake of sanctifying official wage controls, the government under Nixon stands arrogantly asserting its sovereignty on the basis of naked power alone. Nixon's warning of the end of the "era of permissiveness" expressed this. The ruling class has simply announced its intention to crush any defiance of its will, whether by black students in Baton Rouge or by Vietnamese Stalinists in Hanoi. In addition, through Nixon the bourgeoisie seeks to politically discipline the press, mass media and academic institutions, to enable the state to shoot down dissidents in relative secrecy and prepare new national chauvinist moods as a basis for future war hysteria.

War on "Permissiveness"

Thus, for having agreed to terms, but not to open prostration, the bureaucrats in Hanoi are to watch their cities and people be destroyed. For having dared to gather and protest the secret, early-morning arrests of their brothers, the black students of Baton Rouge are to be gunned down in cold blood. And for having been viciously assaulted by the police, the victims of Attica are to be tried by their tormentors while their murderers go free! (The brief rebellion at Attica, hope-

lessly doomed from the beginning, was a thousand times more peaceful than the vicious, hysterical suppression it evoked. It was the only chance for freedom and the only real "rehabilitation" the beleaguered prisoners are ever likely to receive.)

Meany, Woodcock, and the rest of the labor lieutenants of capital, in choosing this moment for their traitorous offer to bargain with Nixon (in private!) over the terms for new wage controls, are worse than despicable.

Thus the Nixon regime represents the extreme intolerance to opposition of the masters of American corporate wealth. But unlike the era of the "American Century," the world now has more than one set of would-be imperialist masters, and the pretenders to the throne are just as arrogant, just as violent as oppressors, and all searching hungrily for the soft underbelly of the U.S. empire. Since the international monetary crisis and declaration of trade war in 1971, the U.S. has won the first round. But Nixon's current die-hard line may forfeit the advantage, as well as drive the world closer to world war.

Build a Worldwide Vanguard Party!

The workers and peasants of Vietnam have fought valiantly for decades—more than heroism! They are uneasy, the "peace" terms did not sit well with them. They were betrayed by their leaders, only to be assaulted more violently than ever by the imperialist butchers. Without a party which politically embodies the lessons of past class-collaborationist betrayals of the Stalinists—1945, 1954, 1972—without a party which seeks political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy in the name of international communist unity, the working masses will be betrayed, in the face of mounting assaults, to suffer defeat after defeat.

The American working class, victor of many of the world's bloodiest labor struggles, has been guided to defeat and impotence by the path of social patriotism and trade-union economism. Without a party which can smash both class collaboration and "workerist" opportunist cretinism, it will remain tied to the global chariot of its slave-masters, the imperialist bourgeoisie, until dragged into the next holocaust.

The Nixon administration, locked in again to a hard line on Vietnam, emboldens its imperialist rivals to chip away at the U.S.'s international position. The shifting webs of imperialist alliances, facilitated by the Sino-Soviet bureaucracies' prostration, can attain only temporary equilibrium. Only the forging of the world party of the proletariat—the Fourth International, rebuilt with the program of Trotsky—can reverse the tide toward ever more brutal class oppression and imperialist war. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Labor and the Common Market

ests." Lest anyone should imagine that the CP preserves any vestige of Leninist proletarian internationalism, the CP explains:

"The European conceptions of the French Communist Party, as with any responsible policy concerning the national interests of France, attempt... to determine the scientific ways and means of authentic national independence. We refer to the thesis of the *Communist Manifesto* where Marx indicated that the liberating struggle of the workers begins in the national framework... The founders of scientific communism stood opposed to national nihilism. For them the fatherland is a powerful factor in the class struggle led by the proletariat."

—"Le manœuvre européenne de M. Pompidou," *France Nouvelle*, 28 March-3 April 1972

This is a fundamental betrayal of the most elementary principles of Marxism, a betrayal common to all Stalinists, who seek to accommodate to the "progressive sectors" of the bourgeoisie. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels wrote, "In form, though not in substance, the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is primarily national." To make their meaning even clearer, they state, "the workers have no country." Revolutionary

internationalism, not reactionary French chauvinism (or any nationalism), is the only basis for consistent, working-class opposition to the bourgeois Common Market. The CP position is a direct reflection of the class interests of the wealthier sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, who are threatened by the domination of the big trusts and are in need of national protectionism for their enterprises. The CP makes clear that its opposition to the Common Market is *not* on the basis of principle: "[CP] hostility to the Treaty of Rome... is naturally accompanied by a positive alternative.... This refusal to imperialist integration and supra-national institutions necessarily requires... a revision designed to democratize the EEC, where workers' and democratic formations must be represented with real rights." The CP position is not "down with the bosses' Common Market," but for a petty-bourgeois Common Market!

This betrayal on a fundamental class issue is, of course, typical of international Stalinism since its inception. It was Stalin himself who branded the slogan, "For a Socialist United States of Europe" a Trotskyist position. This led naturally to the French CP's "defense of the fatherland" position in

World War II, to the refusal of the West European CPs to oppose the Marshall Plan in its post-war years, to the French CP's support to French colonialism in Algeria, and to the recent declaration by Enrico Berlinguer, head of the Italian CP, that it is not necessary to demand immediate withdrawal from NATO! It is the same logic which led the reformist social-democrats throughout the world to support their own bourgeoisies in World War I—the logic of class collaboration.

Smash the Bosses' Common Market!

Both the impulse toward supra-national capitalist institutions and toward proletarian internationalism share one objective base—that the national state now constitutes an obstacle to the expansion of production. It is, therefore, a question of fundamental importance for the socialist movement whether capitalism can overcome its national limitations or whether these limitations must lead inevitably to inter-imperialist war, with the concrete possibility of the annihilation of the human race. When this question attained decisive political importance for the socialist movement, in the Second International, Kautsky answered it with the theory of ultra-imperialism. The theory of ultra-imperialism projected the peaceful integration of the international monopolies leading to the creation of a genuinely international bourgeoisie and an effective (capitalist) world state system:

"Cannot the present imperialist policy be supplanted by a new, ultra-imperialist policy, which will introduce the common exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital in place of the mutual rivalries of national finance capital? Such a new phase of capitalism is at any rate conceivable."

—Kautsky, quoted in Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*

For Kautsky, the role of the proletarian socialist movement was to act as a pressure group on the more progressive, far-sighted sections of the bourgeoisie. The concept of ultra-imperialism was the theoretical basis for Kautsky's pacifist-reformist policy toward inter-imperialist war. Lenin compared Kautsky's view with that of the English liberal J.A. Hobson, who sought to console the English middle class after the exhaustion of the Boer War with a vision of new, united world imperialist order (he called it *inter-imperialism*) which could ensure peace.

Ernest Mandel, leading spokesman for the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat and bourgeois academia's candidate for the foremost "Marxist" theorist, has emerged as a somewhat agnostic believer in ultra-imperialism, at least regarding Western Europe. Just as Kautsky contributed nothing new to the pious wishes of the liberal Hobson except the new prefix, "ultra-" instead of "inter-," so Mandel adds nothing to Kautsky except another new prefix; this time it is "super-imperialism." Mandel's *Europe vs. America* contains the following speculations on a possible "super-imperialist" capitalist united states of Europe:

"Once private property becomes extensively internationalized it cannot be effectively defended within the framework of a French, German or Italian state. European Capital demands a European bourgeois state as an adequate protector and guarantor of profit.... As soon as the EEC finds itself in the grips of a general recession, 'European' companies will therefore be forced to demand anti-recessionary policies on a 'European' scale. In other words, they will tend to demand that national governments lose their right to take decisions in critical areas of economic policy and hand these powers to the supra-national authorities of the European Community."

Mandel's reasoning is as follows. Since international economic and political integration is in the best historic interests of capitalism, it is, therefore, possible. This is rationalism gone berserk! It is also in the best historic interests of capitalism to expand production in the face of a falling rate of profit. In the most general sense, it would be in the best historic interests of the bourgeoisie to carry out the program historically associated with revolutionary Marxism thereby eliminating working-class discontent and this very possibility of proletarian revolution! But it cannot, and neither can the various national bourgeoisies, in the epoch of imperialist decay, amalgamate their economic and political interests.

The belief that the Common Market is leading to a bourgeois European state is a utopian fantasy fit only for EEC bureaucrats, pacifist potiyannas and revisionists like Mandel, who are taken in by superficial phenomena. Superficially, the Common Market appears to be heading toward greater political integration, since the first summit meeting of its new nine-state membership in October reached new agreements on legal and fiscal policies and declared a "European Union" with a parliament based on universal suffrage to be a goal. However, the real material bases for this pompous illusion are, if anything, *weakening*. Mandel assumes that the need to meet American competition will increase the tendency toward supra-national companies and capital accumulation, which will in turn require political union. He admits, however, that the term "multi-national corporation" is misleading, since many remain clearly under the control of the original families in their base countries (the twenty biggest are all in this category). For

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...IS Labor Reformism

MAC for "hassling with other small groups in a clique-like and know-it-all fashion." (5 September 1972) In order to be certain it is not being "sectarian" (meaning politically consistent), *BW* went so far as to print a "Minority Position on McGovern," calling for votes for the Democrats in the last elections (*BW-Yellow Pages* joint issue, 30 October 1972):

BW has tried to artificially counterpose itself for petty organizational advantage wherever possible, as it did in the fight for the election of shop stewards by presenting a motion whose essence was identical to the MAC's long-standing motion, instead of waging a unified fight with the MAC on this issue. While MAC supported the *BW* motion, which passed, *BW* refused to support the MAC's (see *WV* No. 14, December 1972). *Workers' Power* then has the effrontery to accuse the MAC of "sectarianism"! In fact, the actual sectarianism of *BW* was (and is) merely a cover and protection for their opportunist bloc with would-be bureaucrats in the Committee for Elected Shop Stewards.

The *BW*'s attacks on the MAC have intersected nicely with those of the Blasingame bureaucracy, aimed at isolating and discrediting the MAC. This reached the lowest level of atrocity in a gangster physical attack on MAC leaders after the 21 November membership meeting. The 30 November issue of *BW* belatedly claims to unconditionally defend the rights of opposition caucuses, including the MAC, but then goes on to direct at MAC a caution against "irresponsible" criticism: "...criticism must be made in a way that cures the sickness and doesn't kill the patient." The article goes on to query, "If we can't deal with differences among ourselves, how can we expect to work together against the company?" Thus *BW* thinks that there is a way of resolving differences with the parasitic bureaucrats short of their ouster, and assumes that the bureaucrats' goal is to fight the company! Talk of unity from the mouth of *BW* refers only to unity with the bureaucracy. Criticism that "cures the sickness and doesn't kill the patient" can only be interpreted to mean that the bureaucrats can be cured, i.e., pressured into ceasing to be bureaucrats. In effect the *BW* apologizes for the bureaucrats' gangsterism.

Thus the IS has come from the Peace and Freedom Party to the working class. While its politics look superficially different, it has made no break with the past. This organization will adopt any position that will allow it to be in the mainstream of the movement for the moment—black nationalism, feminism, and now workerism—every petty-bourgeois current has its effect on the IS. Its appetites have broadened somewhat, whetted by the thought of the gains to be made by tying its wagon to the massive power of the working class. But all links between the IS and the class pass through the bureaucrats: IS' policy is a "sensible," "respectable" approach, applying pressures on the right bureaucrats and bureaucratic aspirants, at the right time and place—bumbly beseeching the "labor lieutenants of capital" to move over and make room for workers' power, or at least for a few IS advisors.

In this period of generalized rank-and-file discontent and rising class struggle the mammoth labor bureaucracy is no longer monolithic and stable. Its central core, having exhausted its historic usefulness, has responded to new labor rebelliousness by moving to the right of the liberal bourgeoisie. As a whole it is increasingly fragmented and isolated from its base. This allows the possibility for a new leadership to come to the head of mass labor struggles, displacing sections of the bureaucracy and threatening its continued existence, qualitatively altering the relationship of forces in the labor movement. The question is whether the bureaucracy will be defeated by communism or by renewed labor reformism, i.e., by revolutionists or by a new bureaucracy of slicker labor fakers. The IS has already opted for the latter.

While on the surface starting from different and polar points of departure, the Stalinists and social democrats employ the same methodology and arrive at fundamentally similar class-collaborationist practice—poison to the workers movement. No less than those of the Stalinists and labor bureaucracy, the politics of the social democrats, in their right (SP) and left (IS) variants, must be decisively defeated in the labor movement as an obstacle in the path of proletarian revolution. ■



Pirelli—head of failing half of Dunlop-Pirelli, a crumbling "European" company.

Mandel, true "interpenetration" of capital occurs when two or more companies merge into one across national lines without dominance on either side. Yet it is precisely these mergers, such as Dunlop-Pirelli and Fiat-Citroën, which are proving most unstable. Inevitably, one "partner" or the other proves stronger, while the weaker attempts to maintain existence on the basis of the original equality. Thus the Dunlop-Pirelli combine, in which management is by consensus between the two original companies, is shaky because Pirelli's losses are threatening to submerge Dunlop's profits. Such mergers will crumble along with the rest of Mandel's pipe dream (he expected the common European currency to continue) at the first general downturn, as all the European capitalists scurry back to their nation-states for self-protection from each other. Thus Mandel merely aids in the spreading

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

War witchhunt which decisively cut the ties between the labor movement and the radicals and established in power the bureaucracy which runs the unions today, the reporter noted the emergence of a new generation of young workers, with a heavy component of blacks and other minorities, in basic industry and the brittle character of the heavy-handed union tops, socially isolated from the workers and lacking the reformist sophistication of their European counterparts.

The reporter stressed the need to build caucuses on the basis of the transitional program. Rejecting the workerist conception of work in the class, the SL sees the programmatic ally-based caucus as a link between the vanguard and the class, carrying out the unique political line of the party in the labor movement and ultimately winning real authority for the vanguard in the class. At the same time, the SL must intervene directly to reinforce the work of its fractions through sustained sales of WV at the plants.

The party press is an important component of our trade union work. The press functions as an organizing tool and reinforces the work of the party fractions in all aspects of work. The accretion of human resources and the increase in SL intervention into all areas of social struggle have made both necessary and possible the struggle to achieve a regular bi-weekly *Workers Vanguard* within a year. The SL press will retain its highly polemical and propagandistic character. It is aimed at the advanced workers and militants of the domestic and international left and seeks to further the process of revolutionary regroupment as well as individual recruitment. It does not call

itself a "mass press"; as Trotsky wrote in 1935:

"This task cannot be effectively solved except as a function of the growth of the organization and its cadres who must pave the way to the masses for the newspaper—since it is not enough, it is understood, to call a publication a 'mass paper' to have the masses accept it in reality."

—"What Is a 'Mass Paper'?"

Our conception is directly counterposed to that of the Workers League, for example, which uses a paper as a substitute for winning political authority through real struggle. Unless the press reflects the actual intervention of the party, it cannot be concrete and can only win for itself discredit from militants.

The trade union reporter also noted that most of the ostensibly revolutionary organizations are currently on a workerist kick. The intensification of inter-imperialist rivalries and the need of the bourgeoisie to cut costs through increased exploitation of labor has led to a heightening of the class struggle, compelling the left to again take notice of the working class. These opportunist organizations are now tailing after the workers with all the zeal that earlier characterized their attempts to locate the main revolutionary force in students, lumpens, the colonial peasantry, etc. Thus the SL's union work will increasingly intersect the presence of such tendencies.

Because of time limitations at the conference, an additional national gathering devoted to SL work in the labor movement was scheduled.

Which International?

A comic sidelight to the work of the conference was provided by the distri-

of pacifist illusions among the European working classes. This is indeed one of the goals of the Common Market bureaucrats.

For a United, Socialist Europe!

The Common Market is in no sense progressive. It is originally the product of U.S. imperialism's mobilization against the Soviet Union. It is an arena in which the European national bourgeoisies bilk one another and the rest of the world. It is a vehicle for capi-

talist collaboration against the European labor movements, which have shown little international solidarity.

Despite the national divisions of the capitalists, the increasing interconnectedness of the world market and international socialization of the means of production are real. The greater rationality of large-scale, centralized units of production and distribution is offset under capitalism, however, by the even greater irrationality of the competition between world-wide oligopolistic monsters driven for the sake of profits only. Thus unity under capitalism is not only a myth, which will be shattered in the first serious economic downturn, but must necessarily be directed against the working class, as each national capitalist class attempts to become "competitive" through a policy of "rationalization." This requires rigid wage freezes, massive devaluations, strike-breaking, the liquidation of whole industries, large-scale unemployment and inflation. It is hard to shove such policies down the throats of organized workers, so the bourgeoisies in the respective countries are forced to resort to center-left and labor governments in order to implement them. Such viciously anti-working class governments have been in power in Britain and Italy, and now in Germany, and it is this role which a CP-SP-Radical popular front coalition will play in France if elected.

Only unity on a socialist basis, accomplished by proletarian revolution and the expropriation of the giant monopolies, can institute rational world-wide economic development without exploitation. A socialist united states of Europe can only be created on the basis of the most vigorous struggle against the capitalist Common Market and all it stands for. And only under united control by the workers themselves can the productive capacity of Europe be put at the service of the entire world's working peoples. ■



WV photo

bution of a leaflet to the participants by the "Vanguard Newsletter" of Harry Turner and the "Class Struggle League" (formerly Leninist Faction of the SWP). The leaflet criticized the SL for its "ultimatic posture" that principled union work requires the building of caucuses based on the full transitional program. In an attempt to square the SL's past and present work in the labor movement with Turner's chronic characterizations of the SL as "petty-bourgeois" and "student-oriented," the leaflet characterized the SL's emphasis on colonization of the unions as "camouflage" to impress student radicals (perhaps then, Turner, the SL will make the proletarian revolution—think how much that would impress them!). The leaflet was titled, "Build the World Party of Trotskyism!"—no doubt its authors considered very clever their evasion of the question, which world party of Trotskyism?, since the LF/CSL calls for a "Fifth international" while Turner presumably still stands for the reconstruction of the Fourth!

The international report noted that the SL is in the process of concentrating in the national center several highly qualified comrades constituting the necessary division of labor to achieve for the first time the ability to carry out systematic and sustained international work. SL/U.S. comrades and foreign supporters have produced two issues of a French edition of *Spartacist* and have already translated the SL "Declaration of Principles" into French, German and Spanish. In addition, large quantities of international material have been translated into English for the information of the SL membership.

The conference reviewed the SL's international work over the past period and discussed and adopted tactical proposals for the SL's continuing struggle for the program and perspectives necessary for the rebirth of the Fourth International. As a part in this perspective, the conference ratified the intention to seek to transform the *Spartacist* into the organ of the international Spartacist tendency.

A fraternal representative from the Spartacus Bolshevik-Leninist group of Germany presented the greetings and views of her organization to the conference, and much of the ensuing lively discussion focused upon the question of the class character of the German SPD. The SL has offered the Spartacus B-L group space in the *Spartacist* to further present their views on this question. The German representative also presented her organization's views on democratic centralism and their impressions of the positions and work of the SL.

Black Commission

An important part of the work of the conference was the holding, between conference sessions, of commission meetings, which included Press, Colonization, Black Work, Trade Union and Financial. In particular, the commission on Black Work noted the breakdown of the stranglehold of black nationalism, as exemplified by the split and disintegration of the Black Panthers. This development—the displacing of separatist ideology and petty-bourgeois

multi-vanguardism in the face of general class motion—opens renewed opportunities for the recruitment of black workers and young militants to Trotskyism. The SL, which had earlier carried out successful exemplary work in this field, was cut off from consolidating and deepening this work by the rise of black nationalism; we must recognize our loss of continuity with the theoretical and practical aspects of this work for most comrades. The key to a breakthrough is the recruitment of an initial black nucleus, a process which has already begun and will continue, especially in the labor movement and through polemical intervention among black radicals. The development of hardened black communist cadres is the key to re-developing exemplary mass work among blacks, a crucial precondition for the struggle for class unity in this profoundly racist country and thus an urgent responsibility for the proletarian vanguard.

Communist Work Among Women

The reports and lively discussion on the woman question stressed the virtual hiatus in communist work among women and noted that the SL had in the course of its own work been forced to rediscover and apply the experience of the Communist international, especially of its Russian and German sections, as the model for our own intervention. The conference noted that while the struggles of any particular section of the oppressed, other than the proletariat itself, necessarily have an episodic and partial character, it is a principled responsibility for the communists to seek to intervene in these struggles as a principled communist pole, in clear opposition to petty-bourgeois utopianism and bourgeois ideology. The conference reaffirmed Lenin's insistence on the need to seek special organizational forms, linked to the party, for work among oppressed women, noting that the program for such organizations must be the full transitional program of the party which embodies the crucial needs and historic tasks of the entire proletariat.

The SL's intervention into the petty-bourgeois women's liberation movement on this principled basis has been responsible for the recruitment of many serious activists who—repelled by both the economist abstentionism of tendencies such as the Workers League and by the pandering to anti-class feminism on the part of the SWP and IS—found in the SL program the concrete application of their subjectively working-class impulses. The conference affirmed its determination to continue this field of exemplary activity through the publication of the journal *Women and Revolution* under the supervision of the SL Central Committee, noting that in the current period the SL's work on the woman question will have a dual aspect: as part of our polemical approach to the ostensibly revolutionary left and as an important component of our program for the labor movement.

Following the organizational reports and the election of the incoming Central Committee, the conference was adjourned with the singing of the *Internationale*. ■

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE



WV photos

Toward Construction of the Leninist Vanguard!

The third National Conference of the Spartacist League, highest body of the organization, was held November 25-27, following a National Conference of the SL's youth section, the Revolutionary Communist Youth. The conference was attended by 178 members and disciplined supporters, which marked a twofold increase in attendance over the heavily-attended expanded Central Committee Plenum of September 1971. The conference provided fresh evidence of the continuing transformation of the SL into the nucleus of the vanguard party and demonstrated the organization's increased ability to intervene as the communist pole in major arenas of political struggle: the trade unions, the black and women's movements, the campuses, the ostensibly revolutionary organizations, the international movement.

Unprecedented Growth

The report from the Credentials Committee noted the unprecedented growth of the SL/RCY over the past year, as evidenced by the fact that 67% of the members of the organization had joined within the past year. However, 61% of those attending the conference identified themselves as former members of an ostensibly revolutionary organization. Most of these were from SDS, the Buffalo Marxist Collective, PL and its periphery, the Communist Working Collective or local New Left and Maoist groupings. Other organizations represented by ex-members were the SWP/YSA, the IS, the Black Panthers, the Socialist Party/YPSP, the Revolutionary Union, the Communist Party, the Black Student Union, the SLP, the Labor Committee and the IWW.

The conference delegates repeatedly noted that this wave of recruitment brings with it a challenge to the organization to transform these comrades—through political struggles, involvement in the labor movement and critical study of the history of the Marxist movement—into fully-rounded communist cadres rooted in the living continuity of Leninism. Without this undertaking the SL, painfully thin in tested and experienced cadres, can only squander this precious human capital.

Many of these new comrades joined the SL/RCY as part of a series of regroupments from the Maoist/New Left milieu, beginning with the fusion with the former Communist Working Collective of Los Angeles in September 1971. Following the CWC fusion, the politics of the SL won hegemony over the semi-syndicalist Mass Strike group of Boston and pro-working-class women's groups in New Orleans and Oakland. In addition, 10 comrades from the Socialist Workers Party/Proletari-

an Orientation Tendency/Leninist Faction were won to the SL over a period of several months. At the conference leading members of the Buffalo Marxist Collective—which had just fused with the RCY—applied for SL membership as well. Several members of the Cleveland Marxist Caucus also attended.

These regroupments were in the main the result of the SL's intersection with subjectively pro-working-class groupings of New Left-derived ex-students who were pragmatically attempting to implement a proletarian perspective. Leading comrades of the BMC, for example, had been associated with Progressive Labor, whose hard but deformed proletarian line had forced an empirical break with the Stalinist theory of "two-stage" revolutions. It was in the context of political confrontation with mainstream Maoism, PL and the social-democratic Labor Committee that the BMC comrades began an investigation of Trotskyism, rejecting the cynical and sterile pro-bureaucratic opportunism of the Workers League to embrace the program of the SL as the expression of authentic Trotskyism. The East Oakland Women intersected the SL primarily in the labor movement itself, while the New Orleans grouping was first attracted to Trotskyism primarily on the basis of the SL's exposure of the bankruptcy of Maoism as a "revolutionary" strategy, as well as by the SL's anti-feminist intervention in the women's liberation movement. The SL's demonstrated ability to win over subjectively revolutionary and serious young comrades from diverse political backgrounds in principled regroupments stands out in sharp contrast to the stark failures of the fake-Trotskyist WL.

Political Report

The main political report to the conference discussed the evolving world relationship of forces characterized by the intensification of inter-imperialist rivalries and the U.S.'s loss of uncontested hegemony as the economic and political policeman of world imperialism. The reporter noted that the bureaucratic leaderships of the deformed workers states are hampered in their appetites to simply play the power-politics diplomatic game by their social position as bonapartists representing the interests of the world bourgeoisie but resting atop the economic conquests of a workers state.

The continuing transformation of the SL is intimately linked to the transformation of the international working class: the emergence of the new generation of young workers whose outlook has not been shaped by World War II and the monumental betrayals of the mass-

based Stalinist leaderships from Greece to Belgium in its aftermath. In the U.S., the anti-communist hysteria which gripped the labor movement during the "Cold War" period appears mainly irrelevant to the young workers. The reporter characterized the present situation as "a profitably uneven period" for the SL of a generalized leftward shift internationally. The "new Nixon" policy has apparently bought some time for the U.S. ruling class by defusing the war issue, thus allowing domestic fears and racial tensions to come to the fore, but within the context of the generalized crisis-ridden instability of the bourgeois order, which had exhausted its possibilities of economic development at least since 1914. The predominant mood as evidenced in the U.S. elections was a shift to the right and the threat of a new anti-red campaign to highlight the end of "permissiveness"; however at the same time the intensification of exploitation as the bourgeoisie drives to compete on the world market, combined with seething social discontent over racial oppression and the war, means that sharp class struggles will continue to increase.

The report noted that many of our regroupment opportunities over the past year have been a result of the "crisis of Maoism"—the Nixon-Mao alliance sorting out the U.S. Maoists into two components: the potential revolutionaries vs. the virtual "U.S.-China friendship associations" which are the analogues of the old Pop Front CP apologists for the Russian bureaucracy.

In the current period, variants of radical workerism are becoming the predominant anti-Bolshevik current, replacing petty-bourgeois multi-vanguardism. The inability of the main core of the SWP/POT/LF grouping to transcend centrist workerism was characterized as a defeat for the SL, undercutting our intention to establish the SL as the Trotskyist alternative in the minds of dissidents breaking from the revisionism of the SWP.

"Freedom of Criticism"

Just as the SWP dissidents represented the only significant opposition in eight years to emerge within the SWP, so the several ostensibly anti-Pabloist groups internationally which have emerged from the United Secretariat represent the post-war accumulation of subjective Trotskyists in several major industrial countries, but lacking real continuity in the Leninist movement. For instance, several groupings have taken up Lenin's formulation from 1906 (when he was still a revolutionary social-democrat, not yet a communist) of "freedom of criticism, unity of action." This is to negate

the experience of the October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International. For a Bolshevik, this formulation is applicable to a united front, not to a democratic-centralist party; the impulse toward its resurrection flows from a workerist impulse which looks to the non-party workers to intervene to correct the party—at bottom a clear denial of the concept of the vanguard.

A key point of centrist disorientation continues to be the question of communist policy toward mass reformist working-class formations. There are those who continue the old Pabloist-type "deep entrism" policy (whose variants include the OCI's position of calling for a "strategic" united front at the expense of program and for a workers' government without Bolsheviks); the "no entrism" posture of denying the working-class component of the mass-based reformist parties is merely opportunism standing in fear of itself, a New Leftist reflexive reaction which wishes away the need to shatter the authority of the established organizations in the eyes of the workers through polarization and split.

Remarking that the Spartacist tendency had been born over an international issue—Pabloism as manifested in the Socialist Workers Party's capitulation to Castroism—the reporter stressed the urgency of the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International. "The SL/U.S. urgently requires disciplined subordination to an international leadership not subject to the deforming pressures of our particular national situation," he stated, noting that although the Bolsheviks had been able to make the October Revolution before the birth of the Communist International, had they not been struggling for that International they would have been just another collection of Mensheviks.

Trade Union Work

The recruitment of new forces and the stabilization of a monthly press has enabled the SL to undertake further colonization and concentration in industry; the percentage of SL/RCY comrades involved or becoming active in this work has already more than doubled. The trade union report reviewed the current work of SL fractions in the labor movement and noted the increased opportunities for SL exemplary work in the labor movement, aimed at demonstrating the capacity of our political line to focus and lead mass struggles, despite our present inability to directly vie for leadership of the class as a whole. Referring to the past experiences of communists in the unions and to the legacy of the Cold

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