

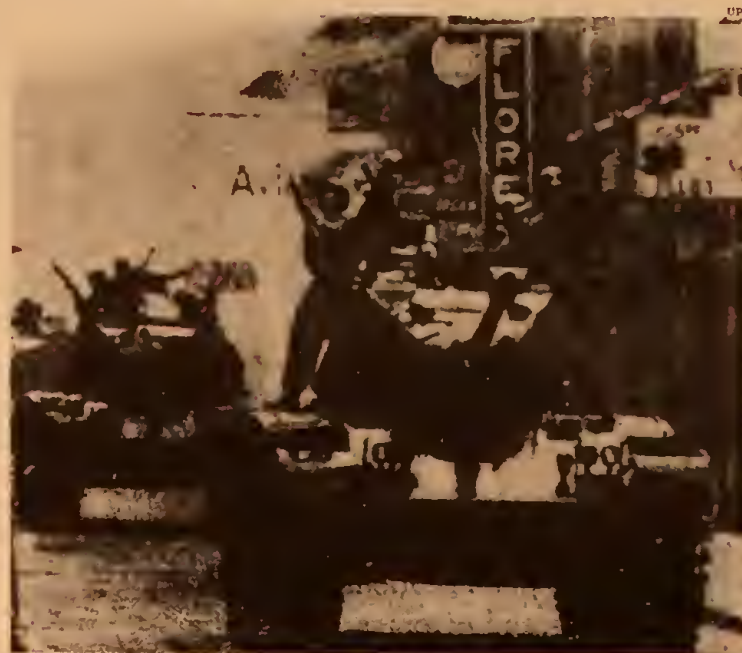
Workers, Leftists Face Massacre in Chile

The lives of thousands of labor leaders and rank-and-file militants, as well as revolutionaries from all over Latin America, are at stake in Chile today. We call on all workers organizations to mount militant protests against the reactionary junta, demanding the immediate release of the arrested leftists and workers who are daily being tortured and murdered. It is an elementary duty of class solidarity to offer international proletarian aid to these victims of a military coup aimed at crushing the Chilean workers movement.

The international working class has suffered a major defeat in this counter-revolutionary coup. For the Chilean workers the September 11 military takeover represents a decisive setback: recovery will take a matter of years. Internationally, the spectacle of the best organized, most conscious proletariat of Latin America suffering a bloody and ignominious defeat, lacking the capacity to launch a civil war in self-defense, can only dishearten large numbers of militants. Either the lessons of this tragic defeat will be learned by the labor movement or we shall pay the price of our blindness in blood—as is happening in Santiago today.

The Bloody End to "Popular Unity"

Allende's overthrow by the military was no accident. It had been prepared by everything the Popular Unity (UP) coalition ever did. Not once did this supposedly "Marxist" government attempt to touch the "sacred" armed forces or to arm the workers. Allende signed an agreement before he took office stating he would not permit the formation of "private" armed forces (i.e., workers militias) and would appoint only officers trained in the traditional military academies. In other words, he would not tamper with the bourgeois armed forces and the workers would remain without guns—what



Soldiers searching for snipers in Santaigo after coup.

better preparation for a bloody massacre!

Moreover, the Popular Unity coalition constantly preached blind faith in the supposed "neutrality" of the "democratic" military. In his "First Message to Congress" in December 1970 Allende proclaimed:

"The Chilean Armed Forces and the Carabineros, faithful to their duty and to their tradition of non-intervention in the political process, will support a social organization which corresponds to the will of the people...."

And throughout the world, reformists of every stripe held up Chile as the model of non-violent transition to socialism. There is no "peaceful road":

Chile is one more proof.

The reformists actually approved legislation to permit the military to seize any arms in the hands of civilians. (The law was, of course, applied rigorously against the unions and workers parties, while the fascists built up a tremendous arsenal.) The bill was introduced by the right-wing National Party and passed by the opposition majority in Congress early this year. Allende, who could have successfully vetoed the law, promulgated it instead. To make sure the UP understood exactly where the real power lay, the military almost immediately used the new law to raid a Santiago office of Allende's own party, the Socialists,

"in search of illegal arms." As a result of the UP policy the Chilean working class is now facing the full force of the army, navy, air force and carabineros with nothing more than a few light machine guns.

In the final days of Allende's Popular Unity government, sections of the proletariat were beginning to reject this pacifist-defeatist policy by forming the "cordones industriales" (workers committees in the industrial belts around Santiago) and the "comandos comunales" (local self-defense groups in the predominantly proletarian and lumpen-proletarian districts). However, for the most part these were armed with nothing more than spears. The day before the coup, troops of the air force attempted to raid the Sumar textile factory in Santiago and for the first time were repulsed by the resistance of the armed workers. As punishment for this "insult" to the "dignity of the armed forces" the factory has been bombed three times since the coup, with at least 500 workers killed, according to reports in the bourgeois press (*Newsweek*, 24 September).

Allende, however, remained consistent to the last. His first radiomessage after the beginning of the coup stated that "a sector of the navy" had rebelled and "I am awaiting now a decision from the army to defend the government" (*New York Times*, 12 September).

Popular Front

More than just believing in a non-violent road to socialism, the major Chilean workers parties (Socialists and Communists) believed it was possible to have a government of "transition" toward the dictatorship of the proletariat, in cooperation with parties of the bourgeoisie. This is the old Stalinist theory of a "two-stage revolution," with the UP government representing

continued on next page



SL/RCY demonstrate in Boston.

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the "democratic" stage. Thus the UP included the small Radical Party and the MAPU, a left-wing split-off from the Christian Democrats, and was based on tacit support from the Christian Democratic Party itself. (The parties of the UP originally constituted only 36 percent of the legislature, so that every bill passed during the last three years had the support of the CDP. The law nationalizing the copper companies was supported by all the bourgeois parties, including the right-wing Nationalists.) Later, as the Radicals and the MAPU split, their place as guarantors of capitalist stability was taken by military ministers.

The purpose of this alliance was to guarantee to the bourgeoisie that the UP had no intentions of transgressing the bounds of capitalism. This was also made abundantly clear in the UP program itself, which simply called for a few nationalizations, whose net result would be an improvement of the position of the Chilean industrial bourgeoisie vis-à-vis the imperialists. Even the land reform of the Allende government did no more than carry out the existing law passed under the CDP Frei government. Under this law peasants had to pay for all land received, and most of the large capitalist farms (producing the bulk of the meat and grain) were exempted.

The very purpose of the popular front is to deceive the workers into believing it is possible to improve their situation without overthrowing the bourgeois order, confronting the armed forces or breaking with the capitalist parties. The UP was not a workers government, not a "reformist government," but a popular front to tie the working class to capitalism and prepare just such massacres as are occurring now.

As the social tensions in Chile sharpened, the country was increasingly polarized between the working class and the capitalists. Many petty bourgeois who originally supported Allende went over to the bourgeois opposition. This was caused by the economic sabotage by the bourgeoisie: by closing their businesses, cutting off the food supply and transportation the capitalists were able to create terrific shortages and astronomical inflation. The workers were in part defended by the unions and other local institutions, such as price committees (JAPs). But the petty bourgeoisie was totally unprotected and, unlike the rich, could not leave the country. It was this that produced the rapid growth of the fascists, the large rightist demonstrations and the political atmosphere for the coup. Thus it was made clear that the key condition for the proletariat's winning the support of the most exploited sectors of the "middle class" is to pursue an energetic program of expropriation of the monopolies and transition to socialism. As the gap between the two fundamental classes widened, the UP's policies of "moderation" drove the petty bourgeoisie into the arms of reaction.

Early Warning

In the United States, of all the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations, the only one to take a clear stand against the popular-front UP government from the beginning was the Spartacist League. Immediately after the 1970 elections we wrote:

"It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."

—Spartacist,
November-December 1970

At that time, the opportunist Workers League wrote that "the workers must hold Allende to his promises..." (*Bulletin*, 21 September 1970), implying that it was somehow possible to move to socialism by holding a bourgeois popular-front government to its bourgeois program! The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party now speaks of the UP as a popular front, but in the first months of its post-election popularity the SWP sang a different tune: "...failing to recognize the positive elements in it, condemning it in toto out of some sectarian dogmatism, would mean suicidal isolation" (*Intercontinental Press*, 5 October 1970). In fact, the principled Trotskyist position of

article entitled "Allende support grows: Chile's right backing up?":

"Despite widespread speculation last week that the socialist Popular Unity government of Chile had entered a crisis from which it could not survive, it appears the immediate threat of civil war has been avoided.

"Chile's president, Salvador Allende stated that, 'There will be no coup d'etat, and no civil war because the great majority of the Chilean people reject these solutions'."

The CP during the last two months kept up a steady barrage of calls for coalition with the Christian Democratic Party, while the CDP in turn was supporting the work stoppage by truck

Maritime Caucus Calls for Chile Boycott

WHEREAS, the recent military coup in Chile was a severe setback to the international labor movement, and

WHEREAS, it is the duty of NMU members to demonstrate our solidarity with Chilean workers in our common struggle against business interests in all countries, and

WHEREAS, labor cannot seek redress through appealing to the U.S. government or the United Nations, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the NMU membership at this September N.Y. Port meeting go on record as supporting Chilean workers against the military junta, through such appropriate measures as economic and other assistance to Chilean workers' organizations and political refugees, and a boycott of Chilean ports.

—Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU, in
Beacon Supplement, 24 September 1973

intransigent opposition to the popular front was the only alternative to suicide.

Repeatedly we warned in our press that a disaster was approaching in Chile. In December 1972 we warned of a "counterrevolutionary onslaught before which the proletariat is defenseless...without the organs of dual power, without arms, without a vanguard" (*WV* No. 14). Again on 3 August we wrote:

"The Allende government must be replaced by a workers revolution...The ostensibly revolutionary left in Chile has failed to provide a clear opposition to the popular front...A bloodbath is today being prepared for the working masses of Chile. Only by struggling to build a revolutionary, vanguard party which bases itself on the politics of Lenin and Trotsky can this be averted and the revolutionary potential be realized. In contrast to centrists such as the MIR who constantly cave in to the popularity of the UP with their formulas of 'critical support' and presuring from the left, such a party would be one of irreconcilable opposition."

—*WV* No. 26

In a recent leaflet we again warned: "A bloodbath is being prepared in Chile as rightist forces attempt to create political and economic chaos as preparation for a counterrevolutionary putsch...Only a workers revolution can prevent this, and the first obstacle in its path is the popular-front Allende government itself." At the same time we called for a united front of all workers organizations to smash the rightist-militarist offensive and indicated the need to fight alongside troops loyal to the government against a reactionary putsch attempt ("Showdown in Chile," 4 September).

Stalinism and ex-Trotskyism

In contrast to this Leninist policy of proletarian independence from the bourgeoisie and united-front defense against counterrevolution, the Stalinist Communist Party not only continued to peddle its sugar-coated slogans of "peaceful coexistence" and the "Chilean road to socialism" but refused to acknowledge the deadly threat that was mounting before its eyes. In the 8 September issue of the West Coast CP weekly *People's World* we read, in an

owners, shopkeepers and professionals and thus preparing the way for the coup (which the CDP has since endorsed)! And to top it off, French CP leader Bernard Frajon, returning from Chile, held a press conference on 2 September in order to denounce the MIR and other left groups for raising such slogans as workers control and calling on soldiers to disobey orders of putschist officers, stating that these "absolutely crazy views" were aiding the right (*Le Monde*, 3 September)! Once again the Stalinists are gravediggers of the revolution.

The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party is today making an attempt to simulate Trotskyist orthodoxy by denouncing the popular front in Chile. However, it should be noted that the group it supports in Chile, the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR—Revolutionary Socialist Party) characterized the UP as "reformist" rather than as a popular front and did not call for its replacement with a workers government until late August (*Revolución Permanente*, 15-31 August).

Moreover while the SWP makes a

few genuflections in the direction of Trotskyism from time to time, its real policy is indicated by a recent leaflet in Boston (12 September) which stated:

"The Socialist Workers Party condemns this repression and calls on the American people and people around the world to come to the defense of the Chilean people and their democratic rights."

What a classic Stalinist formulation! Presumably the SWP will soon inform us about how the Christian Democratic Party, which supported the coup, is not part of "the people."

As Trotsky emphasized in his writings on France and Germany in the 1930's, when faced with rising bonapartism the working class can either support bourgeois democracy or go forward to socialist revolution. The SWP thus opts for the former, Stalinist policy. The whole of the Chilean bourgeoisie opts for a counterrevolutionary coup to crush the militant workers and the SWP prates about "repression" and the "Chilean people!"

The answer to the reactionary junta must be a renewed struggle against popular-front illusions, for a workers and peasants revolution to smash the junta and capitalism. The campaign for the defense of the workers and leftists whose lives are endangered by the bloody massacres must be focused on the working class, which alone has the social power to force the bourgeoisie to back off. Free the class-war prisoners in Chile!

Recent demonstrations in this country protesting the military takeover in Chile have centered on demanding that the U.S./ITT/CIA get out of Chile; that the U.S. not recognize the junta; and that the UN intervene. The U.S. government was certainly involved in the coup—it even admits knowing of it in advance. For that reason, to call on Nixon not to recognize the junta is positively ludicrous; the U.S. helped install it, so the U.S. might as well recognize it! On the other hand, to focus exclusively on the U.S.' role, as do the CP, SWP and the various Chile Solidarity Committees, amounts to absolving the Chilean bourgeoisie of all responsibility for the coup. Moreover, this is an apology for the Stalinists' counterrevolutionary policy in Chile of capitulating before the very same forces that produced the coup. Finally, to call on the UN to aid Chilean workers implies that this is some kind of neutral body, which could serve the proletariat as well as the bourgeoisie, rather than a den of imperialist robbers. You don't call on one thief to stop another thief.

The crucial lesson to be learned from the Chilean disaster, as in Indonesia in 1965 or the Spanish Civil War, is that the workers must rely on their own strength. Calling on the U.S. or the UN to oppose the junta, like calling on the popular front to introduce socialism, only ties the workers to their class enemy and ultimately leads to defeat. ■

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CHILEAN LEFTISTS ON ALLENDE

As the Popular Unity government of Chile repeatedly capitulated to the demands of the reactionaries, a number of groups to the left of the reformist Communist and Socialist parties grew rapidly. The largest of these was the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Left Movement), a left-Castroite formation. The MIR originally opposed any participation in elections and looked to peasant guerrilla war rather than proletarian insurrection as the road to power. However, after the UP election victory in September 1970 the MIR sharply reversed its position, capitulating to the popularity of Allende: "The electoral victory is a step forward for the masses in the defense of their interests..." (*Punto Final*, 13 October 1970). Consequently it took a position of "critical support" to the popular-front government: "...although we do not agree with every step of the Popular Unity... although we have differences with aspects of its policies, this does not signify that we come to a definitive break with the Popular Unity" (*Punto Final*, 9 November 1971).

As the largest organization to the left of the UP, the MIR could have provided a revolutionary pole of attraction to the thousands of workers who sought a socialist opposition to the government which was lowering their living standards and breaking their strikes. The copper miners, for instance, were forced into the arms of demagogic Christian Democratic trade-union leaders as virtually the entire left opposed their strike to maintain a sliding scale of wages. (Fidel Castro, who is now being held up by the SWP as a "revolutionary" in contrast to Allende, endorsed the UP government, invited the Chilean chiefs of staff to Havana and told the copper miners to work harder and demand less wages.) By its policy of capitulation to the Popular Unity, the MIR left these masses leaderless. It must therefore take a great share of the responsibility for the ultimate triumph of the reactionaries.

The so-called "United Secretariat," which is supported by the SWP, is now taking an "orthodox Trotskyist" position on the Chilean popular front. However, it was itself responsible for the formation of the pro-Allende MIR. This left-Castroite group was founded in mid-1965 as the result of a series of fusions initiated by the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers Party), Chilean affiliate of the USec. The fusions involved pro-China, pro-Cuba and left-Socialist groups which had split away from the dominant SP and CP. In order to accommodate these disparate tendencies, the MIR program made no mention of the Fourth International, Trotsky, permanent revolution, the Transitional Program or Stalinism; it explicitly supported the Chinese against the USSR and called for a Latin American "International" led by Cuba and based on guerrilla warfare! In the Central Committee of the MIR were the former POR leaders José Valdez and Humberto Valenzuela and two other former Trotskyists from the 1930's Left Communist Party, Oscar Weiss and Enrique Sepulveda. The founding conference of the MIR was hailed by the USec ("Revolutionary Marxist Party Founded in Chile," *World Outlook*, 17 September 1973), which continued to report its activities favorably until 1972, at which point these erstwhile allies quietly disappeared from the pages of (most) USec publications.

Recently the USec began mentioning another organization, the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR—Revolutionary Socialist Party), as its Chilean section. The PSR acted during the

first nine months of 1973 essentially as a left tail of the MIR, which was itself a left tail of the Popular Unity government. Thus the PSR called for the formation of a workers militia (something the MIR studiously avoided) and for extending the nationalizations

Socialist Party have traditionally been strong. The POMR resulted from a split in the earlier Organización Marxista Revolucionaria, which was affiliated with the French OCI and supported the centrist policies of the Bolivian POR during 1971. At that time, the

"Allende's biggest mistake was not giving us weapons. A lot of people, even women, would have fought."

—peasant woman on a cooperative farm near Talco, Chile, quoted in *New York Times*, 24 September

and consolidating the "cordones industriales." However, it did not characterize the UP regime as a popular front, instead labeling it "reformist" and calling on it to extend the nationalizations (see *Intercontinental Press*, 26 March 1973).

A recent issue of the PSR newspaper, *Revolución Permanente* (15-31 August) published a statement on its attitude toward the Allende government: "From 1970 until yesterday [August 9] the UP government was a reformist government of a multiclass (?) character, expressing an alliance of working-class reformism with residual sectors of the bourgeoisie," a formula which could mean just about anything. However, this is contrasted to the new government which included the heads of the armed services: "Upon assuming [power] yesterday the new cabinet changed to a great extent the character of the government, converting it into a government of open class collaboration...[because] working-class reformism has lost total hegemony in the alliance of classes."

In other words, according to the PSR, until August 9 the government was not one of "open class collaboration"; hence the PSR's failure to call for a workers government to replace the UP. (It should be noted that the phrase about "hegemony" of the reformist workers parties in the "multiclass alliance" is the same excuse given by the French Ligue Communiste for voting for the popular-front Union of the Left during the March 1973 elections.) The PSR policy thus not only contradicted Trotsky's warnings about the consequences of support for a popular front (even with the "shadow of the bourgeoisie") in Spain during the 1930's, but also the USec's own statement on Chile! (This, however, is not unusual. The USec last May called for intransigent opposition to the Cámpora government in Argentina, a policy which was not shared by either of the groups affiliated to the USec in Argentina.)

Another group in Chile which claims to support Trotskyism is the Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (POMR—Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party) centered in Concepcion, an industrial center south of Santiago in which both the MIR and the left wing of the

Bolivian POR concentrated on forming a bloc with the Communist Party inside the "People's Assembly" and failed to call for the overthrow of the bourgeois government of General Torres. Subsequently it joined a popular-front "Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front" with Torres and other nationalist army officers.

A statement by the POMR during last summer's government crisis in Chile (dated 7 August) included a number of demands for democratizing the CUT labor federation, workers control, a united-front military committee and an "independent political program for the working class." However, the only demand relating directly to the UP government called for "veto of the anti-working class ministers, workers election of the ministers and make them responsible to the mass organizations." This demand presumes that the government is a "workers government" in some sense, rather than a popular front which must necessarily tie the workers to at least a section of the bourgeoisie.

A third "Trotskyist" organization in Chile is the POR (Posadista) which, as its name implies, is affiliated with the fake "Fourth International" of Juan Posadas. Posadas split from his former friends of what is now the USec in the early 1960's, supporting the positions of Mao Tse-tung and calling for continental guerrilla war in Latin America. He has continued as a camp follower of the Chinese in more ways than one; Posadista publications, for instance, regularly refer to the "certainty of the ideas of Comrade Posadas." They also have taken up Mao's affinity for bourgeois nationalists, calling for a Latin American anti-imperialist alliance including Allende, Perón and the Peruvian military regime.

In Chile the POR (Posadista) characterizes the Allende government as a "Popular Government" and gives it full support, while pressuring from the left: "The government and the CUT, the trade unions, continue to be the principal instruments of the workers to carry forward these objectives" (which included "liquidating what remains of capitalism and developing workers power"). What is implicit in the formulations of the POMR and PSR is at least put down here in black and white

Chile CP Revises State and Revolution

The following are extracts from a speech by Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Communist Party of Chile.

"The state apparatus is the principal instrument of building the new society. In our country, it so happens that the popular government, which is set on bringing about deep-going revolutionary changes, uses a bourgeois bureaucratic state apparatus. This apparatus must be replaced. However, this objective cannot be achieved by creating a power alternative to the government but by reinforcing the latter, combating bureaucratic practices and establishing new production relations and diverse popular organizations that will gradually assume tasks and functions which this bourgeois bureaucratic apparatus cannot accomplish...."

"On behalf of the Communist Party, we wish to put on record the notable patriotic role played by the military ministers, above all General Carlos Prats González, who is in charge of the important and exacting office of Minister of the Interior."

"The armed forces were called on to perform ministerial functions so as to help, in common with the people, with all working men and women, in defeating the seditious movement of October and in guaranteeing that the March election, described by some spokesmen of the Right as 'a goal leading nowhere,' was held."

"The military institutions and those of their members who served in the cabinet for several months did their duty once again, earning thereby the people's appreciation and gratitude."

—El Siglo, 29 March 1973

(Lucha Obrera, 25 May 1973).

Thus all the groups in Chile claiming to represent Trotskyism failed to meet the crucial test, the ability to determine the class character of the UP government and to determine their attitude toward it from a revolutionary perspective. The lessons of Spain 1936-39 remained unlearned, and the working class has had to pay again, with its blood and the destruction of its organizations. ■



Workers' brigade armed with sticks in Chile.

GUARDIAN

Illegal Strikes Rock South Africa Black Workers' Resistance Flares in Racist Hell

The recent murder of 11 striking gold mine workers by the South African police is a clear indication of the bourgeoisie's alarm at the prospect of the continuation of a strike wave that has swept through the black proletariat since late last year. A wildcat (termed "riot" by the bourgeois press) began when the company rejected demands for a pay increase by 80 machine workers at the Western Deep Level Gold Mine near Johannesburg. The *New York Times* (13 September) reported that the workers had recently received a 46 percent wage increase. But instead of expressing their gratitude for their miserable wages of \$73 a month, the black miners responded by demanding a living wage. The police massacre came after the machine operators quit (which is illegal under South African law) and the revolt had spread to a barracks compound housing 8,500 miners. Government spokesmen later justified indiscriminate firing into the crowd by the need to stop the walkout from turning into a full-scale uprising.

This continuing strike wave is a tremendously important development in a country where 70 percent of the working class is black and "African" trade unions have been banned since 1953. Its vast scope and social power clearly demonstrate the vanguard role the proletariat will play in the South African revolution, particularly when contrasted to the failure of various pathetic attempts at guerrilla warfare. But the sporadic character and lack of direction to the wildcats underlines the burning importance of resolving the crisis of revolutionary leadership. South Africa is being rocked by a series of working-class uprisings and the entire left, from the moderate African National Congress to the reformist Communist Party and the left nationalists of the Unity Movement, all call for a guerrilla strategy for "national liberation".

With its huge black working class, South Africa will play a key role in carrying the socialist revolution throughout the continent, simultaneously wiping out every vestige of European colonialism, toppling the venal and repressive military dictatorships which reign over much of Africa and eliminating the petty-bourgeois "socialist" regimes (Tanzania, Guinea, Algeria) which oppress the working masses through a combination of revolutionary rhetoric and state-capitalist exploitation. Thus the creation of a South African Trotskyist party, based on the program of permanent revolution and firmly rooted in the working class, is a task of world importance.

The Flames of Revolt

Until recently the South African government, whether under pro-British "liberals" or Afrikaner conservatives, has consistently suppressed strikes by black workers with massive police terror. During the 1920's and 1930's, despite white trade unionists' refusal to build interracial unions and the government's attempt to destroy the large industrial and Commercial Union (which included several tens of thousands of black, colored and Indian workers), non-European workers periodically struck for higher wages and were able to maintain a few small trade unions. However, since the 1953 banning of multi-racial trade unions and prohibition of strike action by non-whites, the "climate of labor peace" of a concentration camp has reigned over the black proletariat. From 1957 to 1967 there were only 308 strikes involving non-European workers.

The methods of securing this labor peace include a pass system which makes 80 percent of the population legally equivalent to aliens in the country of their birth; the highest per-

centage of prisoners in the world (12,126,000 convictions for violating pass regulations in the last ten years!); and labor contracts which force workers to leave their families on tribal reservations, confining the laborers to compounds for a year at a time. The government refused to give legal recognition to African trade unions, permitting only useless "works committees" which can do no more than petition for government arbitration; yet since 1953 only 18 of these have been established. Gold mining, the largest employer and key industry in the South African economy, pays its black workers (90 percent of its labor force) one quarter of the official poverty wage level and 1/19 of the rate for white workers. The profits of the gold mining corporations during 1972 were five times the total wages bill for black workers in the industry!

The apartheid system of job reservation, however, is increasingly being undermined as an acute shortage of skilled labor has developed. In the metal industry, whites accounted for 70 percent of the work force thirty years ago, but only 10 percent today. Thus sectors of the industrial bourgeoisie are now interested in modifying the color bar to open some semi-skilled jobs to non-whites—in order to hold down the rise of white workers' wages (currently about 150 percent of the negotiated rates). Harry Oppenheimer, head of the giant Anglo-American Corporation mining complex, recently warned that "further delay in selecting and training Africans [for positions previously reserved for whites] would lead to continued disproportionate increases in the rate of pay of the existing skilled and semi-skilled labor force." A Natal employers' conference held in Durban last November called for granting trade-union rights to non-Europeans.

In this relatively favorable labor-market situation, a series of strikes has erupted during the last year and a half, affecting every section of the country. A three-month strike during 1972 by 13,000 mine workers in Namibia (Southwest Africa), a UN mandate area ruled by South Africa, was settled by a wage increase and some slight improvements in working conditions. Then in the port city of Durban, from January to March of this year, strikes broke out at more than 100 work locations, involving over 30,000 workers and for a time paralyzing the local economy. In the weeks following, wildcats spread to Johannesburg, Pretoria, Capetown, Port Elizabeth and Kimberly, affecting stevedores, bus drivers, municipal workers, building trades, textile, garment and baking industries. Several hundred thousand workers were involved, and despite the cautious response of the government, more than twice as many strikers have been arrested in the last two years as during the previous ten. It was notable that in Durban, scene of violent racial conflicts between Africans and Indians in 1959, unity among the non-white workers reigned during the strike movement.

The government initially encouraged peaceful settlement of the strikes, partly because of the tight labor market, but also because they were virtually unorganized and leaderless, making them difficult to suppress without a massacre. It even announced in May that legislation giving many Africans the legal right to strike for the first time since 1942 would be introduced. On the other hand, this right would not extend to "essential services," public utility and government bodies, and a 30-day "cooling-off" period is required. Because of the continued existence of pass regulations, the fact that many mine workers are foreigners from Mozambique, the labor-contract system, the lack of organized trade unions and strike funds, it is unlikely that such legislation will



SECHABA

Police fire tear gas on workers in Durban, South Africa during February strike.

significantly alter existing conditions. Also, most of the large wage increases granted earlier this year have already been eaten up by galloping inflation. Nevertheless, the strike victories—whatever their direct impact—may well represent the first breach in the solid wall of repression since the Sharpeville massacre of 1960.

The Labor Aristocracy

Due to the Nationalist Party government's apartheid policies, most white workers today hold either supervisory or skilled and semi-skilled positions, and because of the color bar they have always held a tremendously advantaged position in terms of wage levels (today white workers' average wages are 13.8 times the average black wage). This disparity separates white workers from the bulk of the proletariat, causing them to see their interests opposed to those of the rest of the class and more in harmony with those of the white bourgeoisie. From the early 1900's on, most of the bitter struggles by white unions were for the maintenance of the color bar and the establishment of job-reservation schemes. Most white workers in South Africa are thus part of what Lenin called an "aristocracy of labor."

White workers in South Africa are faced with a fundamental choice—to stand either with their white masters or with the non-white proletariat and peasants. As black workers organize, this question will be posed repeatedly in different forms: respecting and aiding strikes by non-white workers, organization of multi-racial unions, abolition of the color bar, abolition of the pass system and the compulsory labor-contract system. Communists can aid the process by posing the question clearly, using every opportunity to campaign for labor solidarity and against class collaboration and white supremacist ideology. This struggle, moreover, will not take place in isolation from the cyclical variations of the capitalist economy. In an economic downturn the racist ideology of class collaboration will lead to a drastic reduction of the living standards even of the more privileged sectors, and the temptation for the bosses to use low black wages to drive down those of white workers will become overwhelming.

Already some of the most reactionary trade-union bureaucrats are beginning to "see the writing on the wall." Art Grabbelaar, general secretary of the Trade Union Council, recently remarked: "If employers and TUCSA did not help organize African unions it would lead to dangerous frustrations [which] would build up and lead to a rejection of the privileged white group's

policies and ultimately lead to violence for changing the present situation." This is no sudden outbreak of class consciousness, of course. Another labor faker, Gert Beege, a supporter of the extreme right-wing Reconstituted National Party (which complains that Vorster is too soft on racial matters made this clear: "There is no job reservation left in the building industry and in the circumstances I support the [single] rate for the job as the second best way of protecting our white artisans."

Such sentiments reflect the deteriorating position of white labor as against the bulk of the working class through the eyes of the labor bureaucracy, the agents of the bourgeoisie. A revolutionary leadership would attempt to overcome such sentiments among the mass of white workers by putting forward a program which centered on raising the wage levels of non-white workers to the "European" rate, while fighting against any reduction in the rates of white workers and demanding a sliding scale of wages and bours to provide jobs for all. Such a program would center upon a struggle to establish united multi-racial industrial unions in which every vestige of racial discrimination is eliminated.

This is not impossible—nor is it guaranteed. During the 1930's the Communist Party was able to establish a few multi-racial unions and there were occasional instances of white unions' support for strikes by black workers in the same industry. However, these unions were soon destroyed by the racial arrogance of the white workers, and for thirty years there have been no significant instances of interracial working-class solidarity. The magnitude of the task makes it clear that what is required is a political struggle in the unions on a revolutionary program: Any concessions to reformism will lead directly and immediately to betrayal of the interests of the class. The crucial task of establishing unions for the 5,000,000-strong black industrial proletariat must likewise be done on a class-struggle program, rejecting any form of state aid or regulation and particularly any form of cooperation with "liberal" capitalists like Oppenheimer, whose fondest dreams are to fatten their profits by smashing the white unions and driving all wages down to the current starvation-level of black workers.

The Communist Party from "White South Africa" to "National Liberation"

The South African Communist Party has the dubious distinction of being one of the few CPs which were fundamentally deformed from the very begin-

ning, even before the Stalinist counter-revolution in the Comintern. Shortly after its inception, the CPSA played a leading role in the 1922 miners' strike on the Witwatersrand, also called the "Red Revolt." The predominantly Afrikaner, exclusively white union struck against low wages and mine owners' efforts to introduce black workers into certain jobs previously reserved for whites. While the CP had some reservations about the racist aspect of the strike, it nonetheless supported it, arguing that the struggle to maintain the color bar was "reactionary in form and progressive in content." The slogan adopted by the strikers was "Workers of the World Unite for a White South Africa," and the CP acted essentially as the left wing of a white-supremacist movement. CPSA spokesmen wrote of the strike as the "most glorious event in the history of white civilization" (*International*, 2 June 1922). A few days later a CP trade-union leader wrote an article directed to police and armed civilians on the government's side: "Are you prepared to serve idiotic capitalists as their stupid underlings and accomplices in suppressing your fellow Afrikaners? It is their intention to replace us and also you with cheap black labourers" (*International*, 20 March 1922)!.

In 1927 the CP continued its policy of adapting to the backward consciousness of white workers and the labor bureaucracy by turning down the application of a non-European union for membership in the Trade Union Council. Bill Andrews, founder and future chairman of the CPSA and leading member of the TUC executive board, drafted the rejection of the application by the Industrial and Commercial Union. He argued that the white unions would be swamped by the 100,000-member ICU, and even if a smaller membership figure were substituted, important white unions would still be driven away. The statement went on to declare that the native masses would be used "to drag us down as nearly to their level as is possible."

With the onset of Stalin's famous "Third Period" of imminent world revolution in 1928, CP policy abruptly flip-flopped to the opposite extreme, calling for a "native republic," still under bourgeois rule, as an intermediate step before socialism. The chief South African proponent of the "native republic" slogan wrote:

"To be revolutionary, a national movement in conditions of an imperialist yoke need not necessarily be composed of proletarian elements, or have a revolutionary or republican programme or a democratic base."

—J.A. La Guma, "A National Revolutionary Movement of Black South Africa," 1928

This position was opposed by the majority of the CPSA, 1,600 of whose 1,750 members were non-whites. However, it was carried out under Comintern orders for the next six years, with little success in winning white or non-white workers.

The slogan of a bourgeois native republic, which held out little to black workers and less to their white class brothers and sisters, was unceremoniously dumped with the onset of the "popular-front" period in the mid 1930's. Since then the CPSA has followed the reformist logic of the pop-front line without wavering. Its string of betrayals included the abandonment of a united-front campaign against the extension of racial pass laws to the Cape province in favor of supporting an amendment to the pass law offered by a liberal Capetown counselor. During the 1950's the CP policy was characterized by support for the Progressive Party, a liberal, anti-color-bar party which is bankrolled by Harry Oppenheimer of the Anglo-American trust.

The current CP "support" for guerrilla warfare is of the most platonic kind. Its fundamental policy is support for the conservative-nationalist African National Congress, which serves as a convenient "popular-democratic-patriotic-national liberation front" group to enable the CP to simultaneously control the black masses and assure the bourgeoisie of its harmless intentions in case of a revolution-

ary upsurge. Thus in his trial in 1966, Abram Fisher, a prominent CPSA leader, stated:

"Neither at that stage [1950] nor at any stage since then has a socialist revolution been on the agenda in South Africa....I...believe that socialism in the long term has an answer to the problem of race relations—that is, a socialist state. But by negotiations, other immediate solutions can be found...."

"We of Umkhonto [military arm of the ANC, supported by the CP] have always sought to achieve liberation without bloodshed and civil clash....We hope that we will bring the government and its supporters to its senses before it is too late, so that the government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war."

—What I Did Was Right, 1966

This reformist whining not only misleads the masses concerning the nature of the South African state (calling on it to come to its senses!) and the goal of the class struggle ("democracy" rather than, heaven forbid, socialism), but it also suggests that revolutionary violence is somehow more abhorrent than the violence that has been committed against South African workers and peasants, particularly the non-white masses, throughout the years. The betrayals of the Communist Party and its reformist distortion of Marxism-Leninism are no academic question. They are the reason why today the African masses are without leadership, why tremendous workers' revolts such as those of last year have produced nothing beyond a slight liberalization of Nationalist Party rule. The alternative in South Africa today is not civil war or democratic peace, but mass murder or socialist revolution! And the building of a Trotskyist vanguard party is the key to the latter.

South African Trotskyism

The Trotskyist movement in South Africa during the 1930's was relatively small compared to the CPSA (it claimed 100 members at the time of the Founding Conference of the Fourth

Guma and Gool on the one hand, and the CPSA on the other, over the leadership of the NEUF. La Guma reportedly wanted to bar whites from holding office, while Gool did not oppose whites but only "the present reactionary and reformist policy" of the CP. The Trotskyists of the Workers Party supported Gool and denounced the CPSA leaders of the NEUF in their newspaper, the *Spark*. (H. and R. Simons, *Class and Colour in South Africa*, 1989).

The December 1941 SWP *International Bulletin* stated the "Fourth International group" in Capetown consisted of 25 people, but that they dominated discussion at NEUF meetings while the Stalinist CPSA was trying to expel them. Their program called for a workers and peasants government in addition to a number of democratic measures aimed at eliminating racial discrimination. Finally, in March 1946 *Fourth International* there is a brief note from the International Secretariat instructing the Organization of the Fourth International to fuse with the Workers Party. After this we have no information regarding a specific Trotskyist organization in South Africa.

However, over the years there has continued to exist a group of nationalist "coloured" intellectuals who have drawn on Trotsky's polemics against Stalinism in order to fight the reformist Communist Party. The most prominent of these is L.B. Tabata, the principal leader of the Non-European Unity Movement since its foundation in 1943. The Unity Movement is a left-nationalist opposition to the ANC which has been consistently supported by the CPSA. Thus it led the 1948 anti-pass-law campaign which was sabotaged by the CP-ANC coalition.

Despite the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat's consistently uncritical reporting of the Unity Movement, it has nothing whatsoever to do with Trotskyism. The ten-point program drawn up in 1943, and not altered since, is entirely democratic (equal franchise, equal education, inviolability of person, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, equality in the

warfare and to criticizing their one feeble attempt (in 1966) as individual terrorism rather than mass action.

Despite the enthusiasm for guerrillaism of the United Secretariat and its friends of the South African Unity Movement, guerrilla warfare as such is a petty-bourgeois strategy having nothing in common with Trotskyism. Rather than relying on acts of sabotage or even the mobilization of masses of peasants, Marxists seek to organize a powerful workers insurrection. Even a successful guerrilla struggle is incapable of establishing proletarian democracy, relying as it does on another class, and in the most favorable circumstances can establish only a deformed workers state (such as China, Cuba, North Vietnam) where the working class is excluded from political power.

A Marxist-Leninist party in South Africa would begin with a program of proletarian internationalism. Trotsky declared that even in backward countries only the working class supported by the peasantry can solve the democratic tasks of national liberation and agrarian revolution, and that these cannot be solved without quickly passing over to the socialist phase of the revolution. How much more does this hold true for an industrialized nation such as South Africa where the proletariat constitutes the majority of both the white and non-white populations. A fundamental critique of the CP's reformism would stress not only its philistine homilies concerning a non-existent "peaceful road to socialism," but also its alliance with sections of both the white bourgeoisie and the conservative black petty-bourgeoisie in the form of, respectively, the Progressive Party and the ANC. Instead of the Stalinist program of a two-stage revolution requiring a prior "democratic" stage, it would pose the Trotskyist Transitional Program which calls on the working class to lead the poor peasants in the solution of both democratic and socialist tasks, through a workers and peasants government.

The difficult national-racial question will undoubtedly loom large in the future South African revolution. The only "native republic" which could resolve this question in the interests of the exploited and oppressed non-white masses would necessarily also be a "workers republic." Thus proletarian revolution, which would begin the transition to socialism by expropriating and destroying the bourgeoisie as a class, will overwhelmingly center on the black proletariat.

Should a revolutionary crisis develop in South Africa before the working class seizes power in the major industrial countries of Europe and North America, there could well be a protracted race-class civil war following an uprising by the black proletariat. It is not excluded that a majority of white workers may line up behind their capitalist masters and in opposition to the vast majority of the working class. In such a situation, revolutionary Marxists would firmly place themselves on the side of the oppressed black workers, while continuing to fight for a multi-racial workers and peasants republic.

There are, of course, other possibilities. Should the South African revolution follow successful proletarian uprisings in the advanced capitalist countries, the struggle could be considerably less destructive, with the bulk of the white workers united with the rest of their class. Or (what is much less likely) there could be a black revolt under bourgeois leadership, in which case socialists would be obligated to give military support while seeking to replace the existing leadership and transform the struggle into proletarian class war.

In all cases, however, the key to success is intransigent revolutionary struggle to unite the vast majority of the working class around the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution and under the leadership of the Bolshevik-Leninist party—the struggle, in short, to reconstruct the Fourth International. ■



South African soldiers on duty during strike wave earlier this year.

NEW YORK TIMES

International in 1938). However, it did have a certain influence among a section of "coloured" intellectuals in Capetown who had broken with the CP. One of these, James La Guma, had been expelled around 1930. In December 1935 he and Cissie Gool set up a National Liberation League whose program included no socialist demands, not even labor demands such as a minimum wage, and reserved a place in their national convention for "kings, chiefs and princes" of Bantu tribes and clans, always with a "predominantly non-European leadership."

The NLL held a conference with various non-white trade unions and left-wing political parties in March 1938 to form the Non-European United Front which opposed all color bars and supported working-class solidarity. There was a dispute between La

civil and criminal code, etc.). Not only does this program not mention socialism or transitional demands, but its call for revision of labor legislation does not even include raising the minimum wage for non-whites and the section on the land question does not even call for a bourgeois-democratic land reform! It is simply equal exploitation for all (see *World Outlook*, 14 May 1965).

Since 1966, the Unity Movement, along with the CP and the ANC, has endorsed "guerrilla warfare" as the strategy for national liberation. However, its fundamental call is for a "united front" based on "a minimal programme acceptable to all of us" (*Unity Newsletter*, November 1966). The Unity Movement's criticisms of the CP and ANC are limited to pointing out their purely verbal commitment to guerrilla

The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited

(Editor's Note: The recent wave of virulent anti-Trotskyism being spread by various Maoist groups relies on the standard Stalinist weapons of lies and distortion, and above all on ignorance about the true history of the communist movement. The present series, replying to the articles on "Trotsky's Heritage" in the New Left/Maoist Guardian, serves as an introduction to this history and a brief summary of the principal issues separating Trotskyism from Stalinism.)

The ghosts of the Mings and Manchus in the Forbidden Palace must be chuckling familiarly over the plotting of the disloyal heir apparent against the emperor. They no doubt believe that a new dynasty rules in Peking, one rather like their own. However, Marxists have the advantage over such ancient spectres in recognizing that the intrigues in Mao's court are, in the last analysis, generated and shaped by the pressures of the imperialist world order on an isolated and backward nation that has broken out of the capitalist system. The internal struggles within the Maoist bureaucracy, even in their most bizarre, personalist manifestations, are inextricably interwoven with the fate of the Chinese revolution and the socialist future of humanity.

Coming to power through a massive peasant uprising which destroyed capitalism in China and established a deformed workers state, the petty-bourgeois nationalist elite led by Mao was determined to restore China's status as a great power. During the 1950's the pressure of imperialism forced the Maoist bureaucracy to remain within the USSR-led camp. However, as it became increasingly clear that the Kremlin's rulers were determined to prevent China from attaining its place in the sun, the Chinese bureaucracy broke with the Soviet bloc. Once China had cut adrift from its moorings to the Soviet Union, the conflict between China's material backwardness and the great-power aspirations of its rulers produced a convulsive factional struggle in the late 1960's (the Cultural Revolution). The outcome of that struggle has been the transformation of Mao's China from an ally of the Soviet Union against American imperialism to a semi-ally of American imperialist diplomacy against the Soviet Union.

The Economics of Utopian Adventurism

The Cultural Revolution was directly related to the failure of the Great Leap Forward (1958-60) and its impact on Mao's standing in the party. The Great Leap Forward, in turn, arose from the impossibility of imposing orthodox Stalinist industrialization policies during China's First Five Year Plan (1953-56). The Stalin model of industrialization consisted in devoting the bulk of economic surplus to large, modern heavy industrial complexes. The food for the increased urban working class and agricultural raw materials are extracted from the peasantry through forced collectivization. This necessarily involves sacrificing total agricultural output and food consumption in order to increase the agricultural surplus available to the growing urban population. During the 1930's, the Russian food consumption fell 15 percent and there were widespread famines among the peasants, notably in the Ukraine.

However, China was simply too poor to apply the Soviet method for rapid economic growth. Compared to the Soviet Union in 1929, China in 1953 produced roughly one-half as much food per person. A reduction in food output comparable to that which occurred in Russia during the 1930's would literally have produced mass starvation in China. The conflict between China's poverty and orthodox Soviet-Stalinist industrializa-



Mao Tse-tung (left) and Lin Biao applaud Red Guard demonstration in Peking, August 1966.

7/ MAO'S CHINA: FROM STALIN TO NIXON

tion came to a head in 1956, when rapidly expanding investment created shortages in consumer goods and raw materials leading to inflation. Instead of plowing through as Stalin had done, the Chinese bureaucracy abandoned the First Five Year Plan and retrenched. In 1957 investment was actually reduced and workers were laid off and shipped back to the countryside.

As often occurs under Stalinist regimes, economic retrenchment was associated with political liberalization (in this case, the Hundred Flowers Campaign). However, the aroma of blooming flowers was not at all to the bureaucrats' liking. The scope and depth of discontent which the Hundred Flowers Campaign revealed alarmed the Maoist regime. The bureaucracy felt it necessary to reassert its authority and impose greater discipline and an enforced sense of national purpose on the masses.

Another important source of the Great Leap Forward policy arose from the contradictory state of agricultural collectivization. In contrast to Stalin's Russia, the collectivization of agricultural production through 1956 had a large voluntary component. This was possible because the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) enjoyed considerable moral authority among the peasants through its victory over the landlords and the egalitarian distribution of land. The peasants had real influence over the scale and pattern of production in the cooperatives. However, the local party cadre who administered the cooperatives were expected to maximize output, which meant plowing back a larger share of income and putting in more labor time than the peasants

would agree to voluntarily. Thus the rural party cadre were required to expand agricultural production without having the power to do so. Consequently there was pressure from the party ranks to transform the cooperatives into de facto state farms where the peasants could be ordered about.

These pressures culminated in the Great Leap Forward of 1958. The heart of the Great Leap policy was the amalgamation of cooperatives into mammoth, self-sufficient production units (the communes) of several thousand families. It was expected that the commune system would liberate enormous quantities of labor which would be used to expand industry by handicraft methods, to produce heavy industrial goods by primitive techniques (e.g., the backyard steel furnaces) and to carry out huge water conservation projects. Commune members were to be paid solely on the basis of labor input, in effect transforming the peasants into wage laborers with no property claims on either their land or direct product. The Great Leap was sold to the peasantry in a manner approaching religious millennialism. China would catch up with the West in a few years and achieve full communism within 15 years. In brief, the peasants were told that after a few years of heroic sacrifice they would be living in a paradise on earth.

Whatever its practical effects in accelerating economic growth, the "communist vision" behind the Great Leap Forward was one of reactionary utopianism. Instead of communism's resulting from the international division of labor of several advanced workers states (and the elimination of scarcity),

Chinese-style "communism" was to be brought about by the primitive labor of millions of peasants (i.e., the equal sharing of poverty). But so long as there is massive poverty, the economic basis for the creation of a parasitic bureaucracy—and ultimately a return to capitalist exploitation through counterrevolution—will remain. The Chinese leaders are not-unaware of this fact for, despite their absurd claim that China is a socialist state, each new "anti-party clique of black-minded, crime-steeped traitors" being thrown out of office is claimed to have been preparing the way for a return to capitalism. Socialism means the abolition of classes by the abolition of the material basis for class exploitation—economic scarcity. For Marxists, the proletariat is the bearer of socialism not simply because it is a victim of deprivation and oppression, but because it embodies the highest technical achievements of mankind, the material basis for a real cultural revolution. For Marxists communism means the replacement of a hundred peasants by a tractor; for Maoists, communism means the substitution of the labor of a hundred peasants for the (unavailable) tractor.

In practice, the Great Leap was an unprecedented attempt at the militarization of labor. The bureaucracy worked the peasants to the limits of physical endurance. The hellish conditions created by the forced-draught pace of production can be seen in the fact that it was necessary for the Central Committee to issue the following directive to the communal party cadre:

"But in any event, eight hours for sleep and four hours for meals and recreation, altogether 12 hours, must be guaranteed."

anted and this must not be reduced."
—Peking Review, 3 December 1958

It is now universally acknowledged that the Great Leap Forward led to an economic collapse unique in the history of the Sino-Soviet states. The exact magnitude of the production decline remains unknown because the regime has never published any economic statistics for the years 1960-63, which is itself a telling sign of economic catastrophe. However, reasonable estimates are that food crop output fell 15-20 percent between 1958-60 (*Current Scene*, January 1964), while industrial output fell 30-40 percent between 1959-62 (*China Quarterly*, April-June 1970).

The precise reasons for the catastrophe caused by the Great Leap are numerous. Bad weather was indeed a factor, although the Maoists have turned it into a total alibi. The regime, believing its own hopelessly inflated statistics, actually cut back grain acreage sown in 1959. Commune managers diverted labor to the glamor projects of backyard steel smelting and irrigation, devoting too little to basic farming. In the hysteria to produce output statistics, quality control was totally abandoned. Most of the communal steel was unusable and more than half the reported newly irrigated land was non-arable. The drive for commune self-sufficiency resulted in attempts to grow crops (e.g., cotton) under impossible geographic conditions. The abrupt cut-off of Soviet aid in 1960 was an important factor causing the decline in heavy industrial production.

However, the overpowering truth is that it was the gross violation of the peasants' property interests and rigid militarization of labor that were the fundamental cause of the economic catastrophe. The peasants rebelled against the commune system in the only way they could—refusal to produce. That peasant incentives were at the heart of the Great Leap's failure is attested to by the Chinese bureaucracy itself. In its retreat, the regime was forced to make major concessions to individualistic, peasant appetites. In this sense, the Great Leap Forward was decisive. It dissipated the moral capital the Communist Party had achieved in the civil war and through the egalitarian distribution of land. After 1960, the peasants could no longer be moti-

vated by social ideals or promises of future plenty, but only on the basis of hard cash.

Mao's Demotion and the Great Limping Backward

Mao was uniquely responsible for the Great Leap Forward. And of all the party leaders, he alone continued to defend it. He even defended the backyard steel furnaces, while observing that China's lack of railroads made it difficult to apply the ingots produced for any useful purpose. While the rest of the party leadership realized the Great Leap had failed because it grossly violated the peasants' self-interest, Mao claimed the failures were caused by the "errors" and "excesses" of the local cadre. Thus Mao never rejected the principles underlying the Great Leap.

Since he kept defending a policy that had led China to the brink of mass starvation, it was predictable that Mao would come under attack by other sections of the bureaucracy. In 1959, Defense Minister Peng Teh-huai, an orthodox, pro-Russian Stalinist, launched a direct attack on Mao for alienating the masses, producing economic chaos and fostering unnecessary friction with the Soviet Union. While Marshal Peng's frontal assault failed and he was purged, it weakened Mao's stature.

During 1959-61, as the disastrous results of the Great Leap became more and more apparent, Mao lost much of his authority among the leading cadre. He was nudged out of the central leadership and was replaced by a grouping led by Liu Shao-chi (Mao's long-time number two), Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping (the CCP secretary-general) and Peng Chen. Mao and his supporters (Lin Biao and Chen Po-ta) were reduced to a left-critical tendency within the broader party leadership. The changes in the central party leadership were hidden from the public, although two of Peng Chen's subordinates (Wu Han and Teng To) published thinly disguised attacks on Mao, which later served as the pretext for launching the Cultural Revolution.

To recover from the Great Leap, the Liu regime embraced a Bukharinite economic policy with respect to both agricultural and industrial production. The communes were disbanded and re-

placed with the lowest level of collectivization, the "production brigade" of about twenty families. The free market was encouraged, as were private plots and private ownership of livestock. In 1962, the private grain harvest in Yunnan was larger than the collective harvest. In 1964, in Kwelchow and Szechuan there was more private than collective tilling.

In 1961 the government placed a total ban on new industrial construction. The pace of industrial expansion was to be geared to the freely marketed surplus coming from the peasants and production brigades. Under Chinese conditions, allowing industrial development to be determined by the growth of the peasant market is profoundly anti-proletarian in the most elemental sense. In 1964 China's leading economic planner, Po I-po told Anna Louise Strong that the regime intended to reduce the urban population by 20 million (Strong, Letters from China).

The return to a market economy combined with the CCP's sharp decline in popular authority created powerful disintegrative tendencies within the bureaucracy itself. Personal greed, careerism, the defense of narrow vested interests and regional war-lordism became rife. During the Cultural Revolution it was reported that in 1962 the Shanghai and other regional parties requested grain from Chekiang, one of the few surplus regions. The first secretary of the Chekiang party is reported to have replied, "Chekiang is not a colony of Shanghai.... I have pigs to feed" (*China Quarterly*, October-December 1972). This response typifies the relations between different sections of the bureaucracy in this period.

Mao has represented the national messianic-utopian wing of the bureaucracy. He was therefore deeply disturbed by the growing decline in discipline, unity and sense of national purpose within the party cadre. In 1962 he set up a pressure group, the Socialist Education Committee, with the dual purpose of restoring the party cadre's sense of elan and of limiting the trend toward peasant individualism in economic policy. The efforts of the Socialist Education Committee proved impotent against the strength of bureaucratic routinism.

In view of the Cultural Revolution, it is necessary to emphasize the considerable overlap between Mao's policies and those of the Liu-led party center in 1961-65. While Mao was in favor of greater agricultural collectivization, he firmly supported policies which strengthened the social weight of the peasantry as against the working class, such as the transfer of the urban population to the countryside. Mao has always tried to liquidate the Chinese proletariat as a distinctive social group and dissolve it into the rural masses.

There was no significant difference between Mao and Liu over their attitude toward the proletariat. This was demonstrated by Mao's defense of the "worker-peasant" system during the Cultural Revolution, despite its deep unpopularity and negative economic consequences. This viciously anti-proletarian policy (instituted by Liu in 1963) required peasants to do industrial work during the slack season. They were paid less than the permanent workers, did not receive the extensive social benefits available to the regular workers and were not allowed to join the unions. In turn, permanent unionized workers were replaced by "worker-peasants" and forcibly shipped to the countryside! The "worker-peasant" system well conforms to Mao's "ideal" of a communist society and is an ineffective mechanism for holding down wages to increase state accumulation. The "worker-peasant" system was the single most important cause of labor unrest during the Cultural Revolution. The Maoists not only defended the system but suppressed the contract labor organizations which had emerged spontaneously to defend the "worker-peasants."

Nor is there any evidence that there were significant differences between Mao and the rest of the CCP leadership over foreign policy before 1965. It was Liu and Teng, not Mao, who organized

the campaign against "Khrushchevite revisionism." Many of today's Maoists should consider that they were won to the Chinese line by the "anti-revisionist" campaign led by Liu, Teng and Co., after they had nudged Mao out of the central leadership.

Indonesia and Vietnam on the Road to Washington

During a party plenum in 1962 Mao revealed that Stalin had not trusted the CCP in the late 1940's, suspecting it of potential Titoism. Mao further related that while he sought to gain Stalin's trust, the CCP never sacrificed its independence. However, the Cold War polarization, particularly the Korean War, left China little choice but to become part of the Soviet-led bloc. During the mid-1950's the CCP sought to develop its own tendency within the Soviet bloc, actively maneuvering among the East European parties on a more-independence-from-Moscow line. As an important by-product of these activities, Mao's regime played a key role in pushing the Russians to crush the 1956 Hungarian uprising, then in justifying this internationally.

Part of the "Spirit of Camp David" (the Eisenhower-Khrushchev peaceful coexistence) was the understanding that the Kremlin would police the expansion of Chinese national power. The main instances of this and likewise the main events leading to the Sino-Soviet split were Khrushchev's attempt to get China to abandon its military pressure on the Taiwan Strait islands in 1958; Soviet reneging on its promise to supply China with the capacity to produce nuclear weapons; and the USSR's pro-India "neutrality" during the 1960 Sino-Indian border war. China's increasingly strident political attacks on the Soviets led them to retaliate by cutting off all economic aid in 1960. This may be taken as the official date of the split.

Following the break from the Soviet camp, Chinese foreign policy consisted of an attempt to line up the "Third World"—a term defined to include Gaulist France!—against the two superpowers. In this period Chinese foreign policy registered some episodic diplomatic gains. However, in 1965 the Third World suddenly became off-limits for Chinese diplomats. A number of "friends of China" were toppled by military coups, notably Nkrumah, who appropriately was visiting Peking at the time. In the wake of these right-wing coups the Second Afro-Asian Conference, which the Chinese had expected to turn into an anti-Soviet forum, was cancelled. However, the truly crushing blow was the overthrow of Sukarno in Indonesia, which resulted in the bloody physical liquidation of the pro-Chinese PKI, then the largest Stalinist party not holding state power.

The rightist coups that swept Asia and Africa in 1965 demonstrated that the strength of U.S. imperialism lies not solely in its direct military power, but also in its organic ties to the propertied classes throughout the world. Whenever the class struggle reaches a certain intensity, the colonial bourgeoisie breaks its flirtations with Peking or Moscow and embraces the American ruling class as the main defender of the capitalist order in this epoch.

With China's Third World grand strategy buried under the decapitated bodies of the Indonesian workers and peasants, a new danger threatened China—the U.S.' escalation in Vietnam. The manifest impotence of the "Third World" in protecting China, combined with U.S. imperialism's bombing its doorstep, caused sharp differences within the bureaucracy. A group around Liu, Peng Chen and People's Liberation Army Chief of Staff Lo Jui-ching wanted to halt the deterioration of relations with the Soviet Union and arrange some kind of military united front with the Kremlin over Vietnam. The Mao-Lin grouping wanted to continue to escalate the split with the USSR and to avoid another Korean War situation above all else.

In a sense the first battle of the Cultural Revolution was fought out in the

continued on page 12



Maoist solution to "low consciousness."

While the clandestine "True Work of Lenin" opposition group was crushed by Stalin's secret police, it was significant for its orientation to the working class and considerable programmatic continuity with Leninism. It has two important weaknesses, which taken together could indicate a syncretist leaning: the failure to mention the need for a Leninist vanguard party; and its call for trade-union soviets, which amalgamates the trade unions to the state.

1948 Manifesto of "True Work of Lenin" Opposition Group

What are the goals of the communist resistance movement in the USSR?

Struggle against the system of government which rests upon the bureaucracy and the army and can be eliminated only by political revolution.

Establishment of direct democracy, in the form of a government of workers' and peasants' soviets, first step toward a classless society.

The bases of a soviet socialist republic are necessarily the soviets of industrial enterprises and kolkhoses [collective farms], which concentrate in their hands the legislative, executive and judicial powers, and are elected by all the workers under universal suffrage and with a secret ballot. All members of the soviets can, in case of verified incapacity, be removed by the same electoral process, and the period of time during which they will exercise their functions is not tied to a predetermined legislative period.

Every industrial enterprise is represented by the trade union relating to its particular branch of industry, the trade union being headed by a trade-union soviet. The latter is elected by the soviets of all the enterprises represented by the trade union. The trade-union soviets in turn meet to elect the supreme workers' soviet, which constitutes the highest legislative and executive authority.

The kolkhoses, on the other hand, must be grouped by district, and the peasant soviets elected by each co-operative elect the district soviets, which in turn elect the supreme peasants' soviet, whose task it will be to exercise the highest functions, alongside the supreme workers' soviet.

The professional bureaucrats must be replaced by peasants' and workers' commissions responsible for all the administrative, economic and social tasks necessary to the maintenance and development of society.

The permanent army, with its career officers, will give way to a workers' and peasants' militia, whose only superiors will be the soldiers' soviets elected by the armed forces.

In order to attain these objectives, it is necessary to sweep out the monstrous oligarchy of all-powerful bureaucrats and ambitious military men whose sole interest is to exploit the soviet people and to rob them of their political rights in order to remain in power. Only their downfall will open the road to communism.

—Samizdat I

Soviet Dissidents: Between Leninism and Liberalism

The week-long secret political trial earlier this month in Moscow of Pyotr Yakir and Viktor Krasin and the current tug-of-war between "western public opinion" and the Soviet bureaucracy concerning the fate of Andrey Sakharov and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn illuminate the contradictory position of the Soviet bureaucracy which is determined to silence its internal critics, at the same time extending the "ties with foreign imperialists" which it accuses the oppositionists of establishing. The historical irony of the situation consists in the fact that the gravest danger to the existence of the Soviet system is posed, not by the socially impotent critics of official policy, but by the bureaucracy itself, zealous guardian of its own privileges. The bonapartist bureaucracy trusts only itself to play the balancing act of increasing bourgeois influence in the Soviet Union and undermining the planned economy, while at the same time preserving nationalized property forms. Not Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn, but Brezhnev and Kosygin are the fiercest enemies of socialism and the objective agents of Western imperialism!

Plagued by economic problems and forced into a significant trade alliance with American imperialism, the bureaucracy is intent on consolidating its home front and ensuring that only its own agents will be allowed to have "ties with foreign imperialists." Thus, the regime is bent on destroying the oppositionist intellectual currents. The immediate target is the underground journal, *Chronicle of Current Events*; the bureaucracy has threatened new arrests for every new issue that appears (it has not appeared since October 1972).

The real "crime" of Yakir and Krasin was, as the Soviet government newspaper *Izvestia* (29 August) reported, that "the defendants knocked together the so-called Action Group for the Defense of Human Rights, seeking to create the false impression that some sort of political opposition existed in the U.S.S.R." The Action Group, set up in May 1969, simply called for the defense of civil liberties supposedly guaranteed by Article 125 of the 1936 "Stalin Constitution" of the USSR. Yakir also called for a posthumous trial of Stalin, a proposal which would undoubtedly send shivers up and down the spine of the bureaucracy, since a thorough reckoning with the crimes of the ex-"great Father of the Peoples" would also implicate most of today's Soviet leaders.

Yakir and Krasin confessed to having ties with foreign anti-Soviet organizations, notably the Posev, a publishing arm of the fascist NTS organization in Western Europe. Whatever the methods used to gain such confessions (involving interrogation over a period of 15 months, a violation of Soviet law), and whatever the personal strength or weakness of Yakir and Krasin, the charges are an obvious frame-up. The NTS is notorious for being infiltrated by the Soviet secret police, the KGB, which for years has as standing practice supplied the NTS with manuscripts by Soviet dissident authors, in order to turn around and accuse the authors of having ties to "foreign anti-Soviet agencies." Yakir, on the other hand, has reportedly testified against many of his former associates of the Action Group, a cowardly and criminal act which can only be condemned.

The workers movement throughout the world has a vital interest in achieving a return to proletarian democracy in the USSR. It was only by murdering Trotsky and virtually the entire generation of old Bolshevik ca-



Krasin (left) and Yakir after recent trial.

dres that Stalin was able to consolidate the untrammelled power of the bureaucracy and to move toward accommodation with the imperialists. As during the popular-front period in the 1930's (when Stalin decreed the execution of leaders of the Spanish workers movement as part of his vain attempt to achieve an alliance with France and Britain), so again today, the peaceful coexistence of Brezhnev and Nixon takes place at the cost of the proletariat.

We resolutely condemn the new witchhunt in Moscow precisely in order to defend the conquests of the October Revolution. It is necessary to draw a class line between revolutionary opposition to Stalinism and the bourgeois anti-communism of such "friends of the workers" as the *New York Times*. As Leninists we sharply oppose the peaceful coexistence fantasies of the Sukharovs and the mystical Russian nationalism of the Solzhenitsyns—which are simply more consistent versions of the policies of the bureaucracy itself. We must distinguish between liberal reformist currents which, like Dubcek in Czechoslovakia in 1968, seek to reform the bureaucracy; outright capitalist-restorationist elements (particularly some of the nationalists); and tendencies and individuals seeking to return to the path of Bolshevism.

As Trotskyists, we begin from our fundamental program of unconditional defense of the USSR, a degenerated workers state, against imperialism, and call for political revolution to remove the bureaucracy which is the principal threat to the achievements of the October Revolution. Only a return to norms of proletarian democracy, not only freedom to express dissenting political views but also the establishment of full power in the hands of the soviets (workers councils), and the building of a Bolshevik-Leninist party can lead forward to socialism instead of backward in the tail of the bureaucracy toward accommodation with imperialism.

The Post-War Opposition

By the end of the 1930's the last remnants of every organized anti-Stalinist opposition in the Soviet Union had been liquidated. Former members of the Workers Opposition, the Trotskyist Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninist), the Democratic Centralists, and the Zinovievists may have maintained tenuous personal ties through the early 1930's (there were certainly groupings of Zinovievists in Leningrad at this time), but the massive purges sparked by the murder of Kirov on 1 December 1934 ended in the

physical extermination of all these elements. Most tragic of all was the elimination of the Bolshevik-Leninist cadre in the forced labor camps—cadre who represented the continuity of Leninism in the USSR and the sole viable alternative to the bureaucratized Communist Party as the leadership of the first workers state. With the outbreak of World War II the Trotskyist program ceased to penetrate into the USSR even from the outside. The *Bulletin of the Opposition*, which began publication in July 1929, published its last issue in August 1941. The extent of its circulation and influence in the Soviet Union during its twelve years of existence is, in any case, unknown.

During World War II the Stalinist bureaucracy significantly relaxed its repressive measures, striving to unite all elements of Soviet society, from peasant to patriarch, behind the war effort. Badly frightened in the first year of the war by Nazi victories and initially pro-German sentiment manifested among sections of the Ukrainian kolkhoz peasantry, the bureaucracy was forced to promise the population future concessions; for example the bureaucracy fostered the rumor, widely believed among the peasantry, that the collective farms would be disbanded with the end of the war, as a gesture of appreciation for the peasants' part in the conflict against aggressors.

After the crippling purges of the 1930's the relative liberalism of the war years encouraged the revival of oppositionist currents. A group called "The True Work of Lenin" (*Istinniy Trud Lenina*), organized in 1948, called for a struggle against the system of government based on the bureaucracy and army and for a political revolution and a government of soviets of workers and peasants. It advocated international revolution and condemned Stalin's post-war annexations. Moreover, it had no illusions about post-Stalin "liberalization," formulating the thesis of "the era of peaceful coexistence between Malenkov and Eisenhower at the expense of the proletariat" (see *Samizdat I*, published by the French OCI as *La Vérité* No. 546, 1969). This program circulated clandestinely among students in Leningrad, Kiev, Odessa and Moscow and won hundreds of adherents. The group was broken up in 1950 and its members arrested.

Subsequently, at the Vorkuta forced labor camp, the Leninist students joined with a group of former Red Army officers organized in the Democratic Movement of Northern Russia and launched the massive Vorkuta strike of 1953. With Stalin's death and the



Galanskov

Ginsburg

Litvinov

Siniavsky

Daniel

Grigorenko

uprising in East Berlin that same year, the prisoners in Russia's camps expected the imminent crash of the Stalinist system and amnesty for themselves. The disappointment of both expectations led them to revolt. The tremendous strikes of 250,000 prisoners in the coal mines of the Vorkuta region resulted in a few concessions, but the majority of prisoners did not win amnesty until 1956.

The Impact of the 20th Congress

The crushing of the post-war political movement of students and political prisoners was also accompanied by a return to orthodoxy in the arts and sciences. Zhdanov's anti-Semitic assault on intellectuals and artists and Stalin's boorish attacks on philosophers, linguists and biologists signalled a planned campaign against any manifestations of intellectual and political independence from the bureaucracy. Only after Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party in 1956 did the oppositionist movement revive, this time with the covert (and sometimes open) support of the liberal wing of the bureaucracy itself, especially of its military component, which had never forgiven Stalin his crippling purges of the army leadership in the late 1930's and his blunders in World War II.

Except for radical student groups such as the Union of Communards, which opposed the one-party system, the new opposition movement was marked by its origin as a response by intellectuals to the bureaucracy's own feeble denunciation of Stalin and his crimes. In the 19th century, the debate between progressives and reactionaries often took the form of counterposed analyses of the character and legacy of Peter the Great; similarly, in the late 1950's and on into the early '60's, the debate between "neo-Stalinists" and "liberals" took the form of defense vs. condemnation of Stalin. With the 22nd Party Congress in 1961 the "liberals" seemed to have gained the upper hand, and a whole series of documents exposing the Stalin era was discussed in top party, literary and military circles. The bureaucratically-sponsored anti-Stalin campaign reached its peak about 1962 and from then on declined.

The intellectual reformers believed that a thorough exposé of Stalin would bring about increased democracy and respect for personal rights in the Soviet Union. They became discouraged when even the liberal wing of the bureaucracy showed hesitations at publishing the numerous historical and literary works exposing the Stalin era which were being written or planned, and at rehabilitating all of Stalin's victims. Disillusioned, the anti-Stalin intellectuals turned to the already flourishing *samizdat* movement, which allowed them to express themselves freely on all literary and political questions, in their own self-published (i.e., non-censored) journals. Among the first *samizdat* literary journals were Ginsburg's *Syntax* (published in 1959), Osipov's *Boomerang* (1960) and Galanskov's *Phoenix* (1961 and again in 1966).

With Khrushchev's ouster in 1964 and the cautious rehabilitation of Stalin by Khrushchev's successors, the situation began to look black for the "liberals." In April of 1965 there was a demonstration of students in Moscow's

Pushkin Square, calling for freedom of the press and expression, and for the liberation of Brodsky, Osipov and Bukovsky, imprisoned for their *samizdat* writings. Seeing that the democratic opposition movement had gotten out of hand, was growing and spawning new groupings, the bureaucracy decided on a hard crackdown. A campaign against writers, students and religious figures was launched in the summer and fall of 1965 with the arrest of Siniavsky and Daniel. But the Siniavsky-Daniel trial sparked numerous protests from writers, students, scientists and others, pleading for reform of the Criminal Code, and for legality based on the nominally democratic "Stalin" Constitution of 1936. In January 1967 Galanskov, who described himself as a "social-pacifist," and Ginsburg were arrested and tried for *samizdat* activity, and their trial also provoked letters of protest, with almost 700 signatures. The first issue of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, dated April 1968, was devoted to the trial. The opposition which came together around the Ginsburg-Galanskov case was strongly influenced by the "Prague Spring" movement of Dubcek. Activated by the Czech example, which claimed to give socialism a "human face" through bureaucratic reform, Alexis Kosterin, an old party member, came out in open opposition to the Soviet bureaucracy and regrouped around himself World War II general Piotr Grigorenko, the prominent anti-Stalin historian Piotr Yakir and others. Kosterin, Grigorenko, Pisarev, Yakhimovich and Pavlitchuk sent a letter to "the communists of Czechoslovakia" and the Czech people, expressing their solidarity with the Czech party:

"Observing the activities of the new leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, we feel more and more admiration for its courageous, wise and inflexible struggle to restore the prestige of the Party, which was pretty much compromised as a result of the catastrophic policies of its previous leaders."

—*Samizdat 1*

The invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 shocked the liberal intellectuals and forced many of them into a more sharply anti-bureaucratic stance. They saw that even the supposed liberals, such as Kosygin, solidarized with the invasion; at the same time it seemed to them that the "evil" pro-Stalin wing of the bureaucracy, personified by Brezhnev and Suslov, had gained much ground. As repressions intensified the intelligentsia responded defensively. At Kosterin's funeral on 14 November 1968 the forces came together which one year later formed the Action Group for Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. One of this group's first acts was to send an appeal to the United Nations Committee for the Rights of Man, detailing repressions in the Soviet Union. The following year saw the founding of the Moscow Human Rights Committee, whose aim was the defense of the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens. This group is linked to the bourgeois civil liberties group, the International League for the Rights of Man (headquarters in New York City).

The bureaucracy began its campaign against the liberal intellectuals around the *Chronicle of Current Events* in December 1971 when the Central Committee of the Party voted to suppress the *Chronicle* and the *Ukrainsky Vysnyk*, a Ukrainian self-published

journal. The *Chronicle* is an underground publication which reports on every type of opposition in the Soviet Union, including nationalist and religious activities, petitions to the UN and defections to the West. Its danger to the bureaucracy consists in its systematic exposés of violations of civil rights in the USSR and in its popularity in the West, where it is used as a propaganda tool by anti-communists.

The campaign against the *Chronicle* was launched with searches, interrogations and hundreds of arrests. Some oppositionists, such as Chalidze, a founding member of the Moscow Human Rights Committee, chose forced exile (Chalidze has now become a professional anti-communist in the U.S.). Yakir, a leader of the Action Group, was arrested in June 1972 and recanted after several months of questioning (and probably torture). Krasin was arrested in September of last year.

Leninism or Liberalism?

The most striking characteristic of the visible post-1956 opposition, besides its liberal, classless outlook, is its total lack of continuity with the earlier movements of the 1920's and '30's and even with the underground groups of the late '40's. This can be explained in part by the systematic physical elimination of the cadre of the earlier movements and by the almost total absence of documents and writings of earlier, anti-Stalinist oppositionists. Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed* is apparently unknown to the present generation of Soviet dissidents, as is the concept of a degenerated workers state. Also significant, however, are the origin of the new liberal opposition as an appendage to the bureaucracy's own denunciations of the Stalin cult and the relatively privileged social position of the well-established intellectuals and scientists who are the leaders of the movement.

The much-celebrated "socialist intelligentsia," which the bureaucracy paints up as the devoted servants of the working class, is actually a petty-bourgeois stratum with close ties with the bureaucracy and with the bourgeois intellectuals and scientists of the West. The opposition lacks ties with the masses of workers and collective farm peasants and indeed does not see them as a revolutionary force. The clearest statement of the opposition's hostile attitude to the masses is Andrei Amalrik's book, *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* Amalrik counterposes the primitive nature of the masses to the sophisticated individualism of the intelligentsia:

"...two ideas that the masses understand and accept—the idea of force and the idea of justice—are equally inimical to democratic ideas, which are based on individualism...."

"Summing up, it can be said that as the regime becomes progressively weaker and more self-destructive it is bound to clash... with two forces which are already undermining it: the constructive movement... of the 'middle class' (rather weak) and the destructive movement of the 'lower classes,' which will take the form of extremely damaging, violent and irresponsible action once its members realize their relative immunity from punishment."

The current democratic movement has in fact never looked to the workers as the instrument of social change. As the liberal wing of the bureaucracy turned against it, some actually began

to look to bourgeois forces to carry out desired reforms. The clearest example of this tendency is the political history of Sakharov. As early as 1958 Sakharov had pacifistic misgivings about the Soviets' acquiring defensive hydrogen weapons (*New York Times*, 10 September 1973). Sakharov (promoting a common theme of the liberal opposition) called for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, in the belief that the beneficent influence of the "democratic" West will pressure the "Asiatic" Russian bureaucracy into liberal reforms. (Solzhenitsyn referred to the recent crackdown on internal opposition as the "Chineseization" of Russia.)

In his 1972 *Memorandum* to Brezhnev Sakharov proposed, among other "reforms," a unilateral declaration by the Soviet Union of refusal to be the first to use weapons of mass destruction, permission for arms inspection teams to visit Soviet territory, a less "aggressive" policy in the Near East and Vietnam and for peaceful settlement and compromise, with the use of UN troops to insure "stability" in these areas. (The *Memorandum* also illustrates the close programmatic connection, in the oppositionist movement, of "peaceful coexistence" with the desire for the return of private enterprise to the Soviet Union by calling for more independence for economic enterprises from state planning and increased opportunities for private enterprise in "the service industries, the health service, small trading and education.") In a Postscript, dated June 1972, Sakharov added, "...As before, I consider that it will be possible to overcome the tragic conflicts and dangers of our epoch only through the convergence and mutual adaptation of capitalism and the socialist system..." (*Chronicle of Current Events* No. 26, 5 July 1972).

In the course of the Nixon-Brezhnev détente, Sakharov was forced to give up the idea of peaceful coexistence:

"For a long time I believed that the East-West rapprochement, peaceful coexistence, would provoke beneficial changes at home. I was mistaken. During Nixon's last visit, the situation has only worsened. The authorities prove themselves even more intractable, because they are discovering that within the framework of the détente they can defy western public opinion, which more and more avoids taking an interest in the blows to liberty in the U.S.S.R."

—*Informations Ouvrières* No. 605, 4 April 1973

More recently Sakharov has "cautioned the West against a rapprochement with Moscow unless it was accompanied by democratic reforms that would lead to a more open society in the Soviet Union" (*New York Times*, 7 September 1973). The SWP has now discovered that Sakharov is not a socialist, that "he equates the Stalinist regime with socialism and condemns both" (*Militant*, 14 September 1973). But Sakharov's direction has been clear at least since 1972, when the SWP was still commenting uncritically on his activities!

Sakharov's use of peaceful coexistence to pressure the bureaucracy into reforms was not peculiar to his wing of the movement—the more "radical" Yakir sent a letter to Pompidou and Brezhnev, declaring that peaceful relations between France and the USSR were hindered by the persecution of dissenters in the latter country (*Chronicle of Current Events* No. 22, 10

continued on page 14

SWP Uses Watergate Methods Against Trotskyists

DETROIT—Taking time out from their international faction fight and legal suit against Nixon for his Watergate-type harassment of them, the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party recently expelled three of its members using evidence gathered with its own (rather inept) brand of "dirty tricks." Among other things, the SWP had four of its members hiding in the bushes around the Spartacist League summer camp in August and instructed a YSA member to act like a Spartacist sympathizer in the time-honored agent-provocateur manner. The victims, Irene Gorgosz and Michael Milin, both of the Detroit branch, and Gerald Clark of the Oakland-Berkeley branch, were the three signers of the "Declaration of Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency" submitted to the SWP pre-convention discussion. The charges brought against these comrades were "collaboration with the Spartacist League" and double recruiting. At the three sham "trials," the charges against these comrades were patently only pretexts for a political expulsion, exposing the hypocrisy and intriguing of the SWP majority.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency (RIT) had stood counterposed to both the International Majority Tendency (IMT) and the SWP majority-led Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (see *WV* No. 28, 14 September). The "Declaration" wages a broad attack on the SWP's deepening immersion in reformism and petty-bourgeois "movements" in the face of an intensifying capitalist crisis and working-class restlessness. At the same time its criticisms of the IMT are fundamental:

"The International Majority Tendency in standing for the petty-bourgeois guerrilla road in the colonial world—which even if successful could at best lead to a deformed workers state, and at the expense of a working class centered revolution—has reaped with the PRT-ERP the inevitable consequences: that for such guerrillas, a Mao or a Castro, not a Trotsky, is their legitimate ideological hero and inspirer. In Europe, the IMT's latest fad is the phrase 'new mass vanguard' and the revolution guaranteed within five years. These quick remedies are not one bit superior to the concept of 'red universities' as the bastions of revolution, or 'from the periphery to the center,' since for many years they lamentably failed to turn Stalinist and reformist bureaucrats into involuntary revolutionaries through the tactic of 'deep entryism.' And for the United States, the IMT has been content to endorse the whole past work of the SWP, suggesting only that it might have been given a somewhat more radical cover."

—"Declaration of Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency," *SWP Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 31, No. 22, July 1973

In contrast the RIT stood on the general line of the two documents submitted by Gerald Clark: "The Only Road to Revolution is Through the Proletariat" (*SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 1, April 1973) and "A Program for Building a Proletarian Party: In Opposition to the Centrism of the Party Majority" (*SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 14, June 1973). Starting with the premise that the "question of building a mass, proletarian World Party of Socialist Revolution" is the "central task facing revolutionaries throughout the world," the first document traces the betrayals of both wings of the United Secretariat fight on the questions of Vietnam, Latin America, Cuba, the Middle East and strongly argues for the adoption of the Leninist conception of a democratic-centralist international.

The second document authored by Clark deals with the SWP's policies regarding students and the "new radicalization," nationalism, community control, the chicano and women's struggles, the antiwar movement and democratic centralism. In each case the

document counterposes to the SWP's abandonment of Trotskyism a revolutionary proletarian approach to these questions. It emphasizes the critical necessity of the application of the Transitional Program as opposed to adaptation to the present consciousness of the "masses" and demonstrates historically the importance of democratic-centralist functioning in regard to party-building and youth-party relations.

A third important document, "The Fight in the United Secretariat: Reformist Appetite Versus Guerrillaist Centrism" by Michael Milin (*SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 28) examines the legalistic, class-collaborationist approach of the SWP on the one hand and the capitulation of the IMT to insurrectionary nationalist Stalinism on the other hand. Each side, while seeking to establish for itself orthodox Leninist credentials in contrast with the other, at the same time shrinks from fundamental criticism of the other side for fear of exposing its own past opportunism:

"The central revision of revolutionary Marxism by the international majority is the separation of the class organization of an insurrection from the society emerging from it. A revolutionary workers state, in which the working class democratically governs on the basis of collectivized property, can only be established if the armed forces of the labor movement itself play the dominant role in overthrowing the capitalist state....

"For many years, the SWP leadership was not only an ardent advocate of guerrilla war, but engaged in idiot enthusiasm over the Castro regime and Fidelista movement. The SWP's self-styled orthodox turn against guerrillaism is part of its rightward motion in adopting a reformist program acceptable to sections of the liberal bourgeoisie."

—"The Fight in the United Secretariat"

It was for these politics that the SWP expelled the three RIT comrades.

Snakes In The Grass with Binoculars

The trial of Milin and Gorgosz was highlighted by the revelation that the SWP was modelling its intelligence-gathering methods on old cowboy-and-Indian movies. The charge of "collaboration with an opponent organization" was proven on the basis of Milin's and Gorgosz's admitted attendance at certain sessions of last month's SL summer camp. However their admission was not sufficient, for the Detroit executive committee took the trouble to plant four spies for direct observation on the camp grounds during the entire duration of the camp:

"The method used to 'get' these two comrades was the method of Watergate. Surreptitiously sneaking into the woods surrounding the camp, the accusers spied on people whose only crime was that they were there and disagreed with the program of the party majority. Crawling on their bellies 'for the party,' comrades Kelly, Bechler, Fruit and Wallace, equipped, one assumes with binoculars and other assorted James Bond do-it-yourself spying devices, scanned the campsite in the hope of recognizing the 'disloyal' elements in the act. I could just imagine the look on comrade Kelly's face as he spotted not one, but two, three, many ex-SWPers in the crowd: comrades he once collaborated with when they were members of the party. But all that crawling around had its rewards: they spotted two faces they recognized, comrades Milin and Gorgosz. A job well done comrade Kelly! Maybe now they will give you a seat on the National Committee."

—Clark to SWP Political Committee, 27 August 1973

As an additional reward the SWP might recommend its four intrepid woods-

men for an appropriate Boy Scout merit badge.

The Detroit exec had also gone to great lengths to find the exact camp location. While the camp itself was widely publicized and open to a broad range of interested people, the location was given only to those serious about attending. Stating that "it was a source of information [it] might want to use in the future," the exec refused to reveal how it discovered the location.

This unsavory activity was not the only devious tactic used by the SWP to "expose" the two "disloyal" elements. The two comrades were also charged with double recruiting on evidence provided by a majority agent, YSA member Steve Beumer. Professing to RIT supporters in July and August his intention to quit the YSA and his interest in the SL, this comrade miraculously abandoned his differences, went over to the majority and was accepted into party membership a mere two weeks after the Oberlin SWP convention in early August. In fact it was the party majority that engaged in double recruiting in order to procure an agent to work in its interests!

By the SWP's bureaucratic anti-Leninist norms, members of the YSA must be treated as members of an opponent group. SWP members function under party discipline within the youth organization. Thus the youth are treated as political infants incapable of making intelligent decisions. While they are privy to internal party discussions (a good percentage of the Oberlin SWP Convention attendance was composed of non-party youth), they are expected to refrain from taking a position on the party's disputes! It was this paternalist, front-group attitude toward the YSA which impelled the party and youth leaderships to rid themselves of the troublemakers in the RIT before the youth pre-convention discussion scheduled for this fall.

"Dirty Tricks" versus Principled Political Struggle

This was not the first time that agents provocateurs were used by the SWP/YSA majority in order to create charges sufficient (in their eyes) for the expulsion of a dissident minority. In July of this year three YSAers were expelled for "political solidarity with SL" (see *RCY Newsletter Supplement*, August 1973). In their case much of the prosecution's evidence was supplied by a majority agent who, again professing interest in the politics put forward by the three in branch meetings, encouraged their expressions of sympathy to SL/RCY politics. The method of entrapment, well known to the FBI and narcotics agencies, can do nothing but promote cynicism and suspicion among the SWP/YSA ranks. Apparently SL politics are so threatening to the SWP that it is willing to use all types of "dirty tricks" to root out a suspect.

These tactics, which are used in place of open political struggle, have led to a fear of all political opposition and an atmosphere where intelligent discussion of opponent tendencies is necessarily reserved for guilty closet meetings. In fact the SWP ranks are treated to precious little "official" analysis of other organizations. Those rare references to other groups are usually superficial characterizations leading, for instance, to the lumping together of the SL and Workers League as "sectarian" or "ultra-left," a gross distortion of these two groups, whose main similarity at this point is the fact that both were expelled from the SWP in the early sixties. SWP/YSA members find themselves disarmed, then, in the face of opponents; they have only cynicism or nervous half-serious repetitions of vague generalities at their

disposal for polemics. It is not surprising, therefore, that exposure to the real politics of the SL or of groupings moving toward the SL, politics which represent the continuity of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, is a serious threat to the reformist leadership of the SWP.

Prosecution Lies Exposed, Defendant Proclaimed Guilty Anyway

The Gerald Clark case was a manifest bureaucratic contrivance. Clark had been a member of the SWP for four years, a YSA member before that. As organizer of the Hayward, Cal. branch and a delegate to the 1971 SWP convention he was one of the few to vote against the "Youth Radicalization" document. His documents for the 1973 convention were deep-going criticisms of both the SWP majority and the IMT.

One of the SWP's eagle-eyed spies reported that Clark had attended at least the first four days of the SL summer camp. Clark had little trouble proving to everyone at the trial that he had not attended the camp at all. Its first charge completely discredited, the SWP leadership fell back on its second line of defense—you guessed it, Steve Beumer. At the Oberlin SWP convention, Beumer had approached Clark and the other RITers telling them that he was dissatisfied with the YSA. He asserted that he was interested in knowing more about the SL, at which point Clark mentioned that the SL was holding a summer educational camp. Beumer then tried to get Clark to attend the camp, but the latter wouldn't consider it!

However, the trial body made it clear that the formal charges were irrelevant. Clark was really being charged with political agreement with the SL and not organizational collaboration. Clark asserted that he was not an agent of the SL and, in fact, disagreed with it on important questions. The two major documents that he submitted to the pre-convention discussion should adequately answer any questions the SWP majority might have about his political beliefs.

These clearly political expulsions were motivated by the SWP's almost pathological fear of Spartacist politics. They enabled the SWP to rid itself of a known dissident and an irritating left-wing tendency, i.e., an open political struggle expose the reformism of the SWP leadership. ■

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Defend the Detroit Teachers' Strike!

The Detroit teachers' strike, like similar public employees' strikes in every major city in the country during recent years, is a defensive response to the budget-slashing and union-busting policies of the federal, state and municipal governments' attempts to solve the crisis in public financing that is always one of the first indications of capitalism's woes.

Already, Detroit-area teachers have been threatened with mass firings and replacement by substitute and unemployed teachers. In addition, the Detroit Board of Education threatened a strike-breaking injunction (although backing down only two days into the strike in the face of a resolute rank and file). However, the teachers in suburban Birmingham were recently forced back to work with a similar injunction—the first successful use of such a strike-breaking measure against any Michigan teachers union since 1966. This, combined with Gov. Milliken's rumblings of new and tougher anti-strike laws in the near future spell an ominous attempt to smash the rising militancy. City or state attempts to crush the strike would pose the virtual destruction of the union. In case of an injunction the Detroit union movement must answer with a citywide general strike to defend the teachers' right to strike.

Meanwhile, the mealy-mouthed platitudes about "unity" from Detroit AFL-CIO's "leader" Tom Turner are belied by his complete lack of action (aside from feeble offers to mediate between the Board and the school unions). This is strikingly similar to the cowardly performance of the Philadelphia AFL-CIO, which first threatened a general strike to defend last year's teachers' strike there and then at the crucial point backed down. Equally damaging was the complete bureaucratic isolation

of the Detroit teachers union from the short-lived UAW strike. Anyone with even an inkling of the need for class solidarity could see the necessity of a fighting unity of both unions against the government-employer offensive and state wage controls. But as far as the labor bureaucrats are concerned, the two strikes might as well be occurring on different planets.

The Riordan "leadership" typifies the crucial limitations of the "liberal" business unionism of the AFL-UAW wing of the union bureaucracy (not to mention the overtly reactionary, racist, war-mongering central leadership of the AFL-CIO epitomized by George Meany). Michigan has traditionally been a hotbed of teacher militancy, with 47 teachers' strikes in 1967 alone. No thanks to the teachers of the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT), however, who have done all within their power to cynically divert that militancy into powerless protests. In response to the firing of over 200 non-contract teachers in February 1971, Riordan initially called for a one-day walkout from which she immediately backed down in order to bureaucratically suppress the overwhelming sentiment among the ranks for a potentially uncontrollable full-fledged strike. Six months later, she accepted a contract under the Phase I guidelines which allowed for no pay increase whatsoever. This situation has lasted to this date because that same contract was held over in 1972, along with a provision that it could expire in April to facilitate the early school closing which the Board had threatened "for lack of funds." Similarly, when custodians struck for two days last May, Riordan refused to instruct the ranks of the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) to observe the picket lines, though most

did, treating it instead as a question of individual conscience. This do-nothing policy has led since 1967 to a sharp decline in pay and working conditions, successful contract violations by the Board and a drastic increase in class size.

The current demand for a 9.7 percent wage increase is completely inadequate to keep up with the skyrocketing inflation rate, and the demands of the leadership say nothing about the ever-increasing number of unemployed teachers (currently at a rate of 10 percent). Also, the long history of surrender by the DFT bureaucracy has "stiffened the backs of school system negotiators who have become accustomed in the past two years to telling teachers how much they would get and being able to make it stick" (*Detroit Free Press*, 6 September). The School Board's current tack is to push for "accountability," a scheme whereby pay increases and job security would be linked to annual evaluations by supervisors, an ideal method for weeding out the most militant teachers and destroying the union in the process. Rather than giving into the Board of Education's pleas of poverty or reluctantly going along with a strike for wage demands that will not even begin to cover the pay losses under the current contract, the DFT needs to take the offensive and fight for a program which can really answer teachers' needs and unite the working class in support of the strike: For a real cost-of-living escalator and a major pay raise; for the division of available teaching hours among all employable teachers with no loss in pay, and the drastic reduction of class sizes; no "accountability," a demagogic attempt to make teachers responsible for the failures of the capitalist education system.

The existing oppositional groupings within the American Federation of Teachers have all proved incapable of providing a consistent class-struggle alternative to the Riordan-Shanker-Selden leadership of the DFT/AFT. The Committee for Responsible Unionism (such a respectable name!), affiliated with the United Action Caucus of the AFT and supported by such ostensibly Marxist organizations as the Communist Party, the International Socialists and the Socialist Workers Party, confines itself to simple minimal reform demands, without the perspective of replacing the bureaucracy through the mobilization of the ranks around a revolutionary program.

To get an idea of where this reformism can lead, one only has to look at the record of the CRU's friends, the CP, IS and SWP, who all blocked with "community-control" forces in the 1968 New York teachers' strike to urge scabbing and actively worked to defeat the strike. Their excuse was the Shanker leadership's insensitivity to social oppression and its capitulation to racist demagoguery; their reason was the popularity of "community control"—a slogan pushed by the Ford Foundation to attack union-protected job security and the union itself. The Spartacist League called for Shanker's ouster while defending the strike against union-busting.

Noticeably absent from the current propaganda of the CP, IS and SWP is their now discredited "community-control" position. These fakery will even shelve their own reformist program when it doesn't seem popular. However, the tiny Black Teachers Caucus is trying to sow discord between the community and the union by calling for scabbing, just as black nationalist groups did during the 1971 Newark teachers' strike. The negligible response thus far to the BTC call for strikebreaking (in a city with a predominantly unionized black workforce,

including well over 40 percent blacks in the DFT) is a further indication of a healthy defeat for reactionary nationalism.

With the welcome demise of fraudulent community-control schemes, the question of busing has become a real focal point of racial conflict. Busing is, of course, a hopelessly inadequate response to deeply rooted problems of segregation and racial discrimination. But the basic democratic right of equal access to educational opportunity demands of socialists, who claim to advocate working-class unity, clear support for this minimum step toward equality. Groups like the Revolutionary Socialist League, whose recent publication *Socialist Teacher* condemns busing as insufficient, without defending it as a minimal democratic gain, simply capitulate to racist, segregationist sentiment.

The RSL now criticizes the reformist UAC in its general pamphlet, "The AFT in Crisis." Nonetheless, it fails to mention the UAC-affiliated CRU in its Detroit strike issue of the *Socialist Teacher*. Instead, this supposed "only Trotskyist organization ever," calls for an alliance of "public employees, parents and workers organizations to call for national funding of schools through a tax on corporations and banks"—a typical reformist scheme. It is necessary to raise instead transitional demands, like expropriating the corporations and banks, which point to the only *fundamental* solution to problems of wage freeze, deteriorating schools, unemployment—namely, socialist revolution.

The recently formed Rank and File Caucus, supported by the Workers Action Movement and Progressive Labor Party (which also advocated scabbing in the 1968 strike) pushes a vague call for "unity with parents and other workers" without calling for the concrete mobilization of other unions in strike action. The usual WAM reforms again characterize their program.

The other left organization whose supporters are active in the DFT, the National Caucus of Labor Committees, is a crackpot group which sees work-study programs as a CIA plot (!) and poses no alternative to the Riordan leadership because it sees the DFT, like all unions, as a hopelessly useless institution for working-class defense.

The betraying misleadership of the labor bureaucracy is today the key stumbling block between the working class and its socialist future, and it must be replaced by a revolutionary leadership. Thus, a key task of Marxists in this period is the formation of militant class-struggle oppositions in the unions, armed with a program which not only defends the workers' immediate gains and interests, but also leads the workers movement to a political struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

- For complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state! Down with the Public Employees Relations Act and all anti-strike legislation.
- For a sliding scale of wages and hours! An end to unemployment and deteriorating living standards.
- Against racism and discrimination! Full equal access to all hiring, training and transfers for all blacks; other minorities and women. Free 24-hour childcare so that all can work. An end to tracking and all other racially and sexually discriminatory programs in the schools.
- For teacher-student-worker control of the schools! Expropriate industry under workers control.
- Break with the capitalist parties! Build a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government. ■

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In the Fall of 1973 *Women and Revolution*, a Marxist journal dealing with issues of particular significance to the struggle for women's liberation, will make its reappearance as a publication of the Woman's Commission of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League.

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MAO...

PLA high command. Under the pretext of "professionalism-versus-politics," it was in reality a struggle over policy toward Vietnam and a Soviet military alliance. Lo Jui-ching wanted to actively prepare for a possible massive ground intervention into Vietnam. Lin fact, a call for "people's war" was, in fact a call for the de-escalation of the Vietnam war back to low-level guerrilla fighting so as to avoid the danger that China would be drawn into another Korean situation. Lin's victory over his chief of staff was a victory for China-first military isolationism.

The decisive point came in early 1966 when the formally pro-Chinese Japanese Communist Party attempted to work out a military united front of Communist powers over the Vietnam War. A joint Chinese-Japanese CP statement on Vietnam was negotiated which did not attack the Russians for "revisionism," thereby opening the door for Sino-Soviet collaboration. At the eleventh hour, Mao sabotaged the agreement and openly attacked the party leaders, notably Peng Chen, who were responsible for it. Mao was determined not to provoke the Americans' suspicion by a show of solidarity with Russia. Under the pretext of fighting "revisionism," Mao thus informed U.S. imperialism that as long as China was not directly attacked, it would not intervene even in the face of the most murderous attacks against the workers and peasants of other countries. Thus the détente with the U.S. was not simply a right turn marking a retreat from the Cultural Revolution. Mao's appetite for an alliance with American imperialism, in order to better prosecute the struggle with his "principal contradiction" with "Soviet Social-Imperialism," was in fact one of the essential underpinnings of the "Cultural Revolution."

There was a clear connection between the factional line-ups over domestic and foreign policy. Because the Liu-led center was prepared to let the bureaucracy sink into careerist routineism and creature comforts and to let the economy expand at the pace of a peasant cart, the party center could envision defending China only within the general Soviet military sphere. Because Mao and Lin were determined that China would be a super-power second to none, they were determined to mobilize and discipline the bureaucracy and masses to overcome China's material backwardness as rapidly as possible.

The Anti-Proletarian, Anti-Cultural Revolution

In brief the Cultural Revolution was an attempt to mobilize the masses to create the material conditions for Chinese great-power politics on the basis of national messianic fervor. To do this, the Maoists had to purge an increasingly conservative and self-interested administrative bureaucracy. For this task, Mao turned to the PLA officers and to peasant student youth. Once it had been purged of pro-Russian conciliationalist tendencies it was natural that the officer corps should find itself in the Maoist camp. The officers' social position led them to be more concerned with the long-term strength of the Chinese state than committed to local vested interests. In addition, they were removed from the direct pressure of the Chinese masses and naturally favored extracting a larger economic surplus for armament production. The Chinese student youth were, in the main, the bureaucracy of tomorrow. They were the inheritors of the Chinese government and wanted that government to be great and powerful and its subjects hard-working and frugal. The vested interest of ambitious educated youth is in the future of the petty-bourgeois stratum. For that reason they easily

embrace utopian ideals and attack those whose workaday concerns prevent those ideals from being realized.

With the support of Lin and the PLA command, Mao easily ousted his main factional opponents—Liu, Teng and Peng—in 1966, before the Cultural Revolution was taken into the streets. The wholesale purge of the bureaucracy proved more difficult. In the end, it proved impossible. To understand how the entrenched bureaucrats resisted the Cultural Revolution it is necessary to see what happened when the Red Guard "proletarian revolutionaries" confronted the Chinese proletariat—on the other side of the barricades!

Whatever illusions the Chinese masses may have had about what the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution meant, it rapidly became clear that it did not mean more for the proletariat. Under the slogan of combatting "economism," the radical Maoists made it very clear they intended to hold down wages and intensify labor. During 1966 there were a number of labor struggles culminating in the January 1967 Shanghai general strike and nationwide railway strike, the greatest clash between the Chinese proletariat and Stalinist government to date.

The railroad workers were one of the most self-consciously proletarian sections of Chinese society, with their own housing centers and schools. The Cultural Revolution was particularly hard on the railroad workers because, in addition to the normal traffic, they had to transport huge armies of Red Guards around the country. In addition, they were required to study the Thought of Chairman Mao after putting in a long day of work. Because of the extra traffic, existing safety regulations were violated. When the workers complained, the Red Guards attacked "old [safety] regulations which do not conform to the thought of Mao Tse Tung" (*Current Scene*, 19 May 1967). No doubt the Red Guards believed that the Thought of Mao was more powerful than the laws of physics! The railway union in Shanghai organized other workers in negotiations centering on either reducing the longer working hours or being paid for them. In December, the local Shanghai authorities granted a general wage increase. When the Maoist center in Peking reversed the wage increase, Shanghai and China's railroads stopped working.

The Red Guards and PLA overthrew the local Shanghai government and proceeded to smash the strike. The famous "Letter to All Shanghai People" (*Shanghai Liberation Daily*, 5 January 1967) began with the command "Grasp Revolution, Stimulate Production." The "Letter" went on to blame anti-party elements for inciting workers to leave their jobs and converge on Peking. This was curious propaganda coming from the supposed leaders of a "proletarian" revolution against those holding political power. The railway strike took longer to suppress and university students had to be used as unskilled railway scab labor.

After the January 1967 events, those bureaucrats under attack by the Red Guards had little trouble organizing their own "Red Guards," composed of workers, to defend them. The workers

sensed that if the Red Guards took over they would be working twelve hours a day, seven days a week and studying the Thought of Mao for another eight hours. And in the street fighting that erupted throughout China's cities, the radical Maoists were not winning.

Despite the "participation" of the masses, the Cultural Revolution remained a struggle within the bureaucracy. It was a battle between the Mao-Lin faction and the atomized, conservative party apparatus. In the main, the students and workers were organized and cynically manipulated by the bureaucratic groupings. Revolutionary Marxists could not support either the utopian-militarist nationalism of the Mao faction or the various careerists struggling to keep their jobs.

From the standpoint of communists, the Cultural Revolution polarized Chinese society along the wrong lines by pitting subjectively revolutionary student youth, who believed they were fighting bureaucracy, against workers defending their standard of living. Had a Chinese Trotskyist organization been able to intervene, its task would have been to cut across these false lines of division and build a genuine communist opposition to the bureaucracy as a whole.

To the Red Guards, Trotskyists should have said the following: First, communist consciousness among the workers cannot be created by the methods of religious mysticism (has the spirit of Mao seized your soul?) but only when the workers are really responsible for governing Chinese society through democratic institutions. Secondly, the concept of socialism must be purged of military barracks asceticism. Communists are genuinely concerned about the material well-being of the masses and do not glorify poverty and endless toil. And perhaps most importantly, a communist society cannot be built in China simply through the willpower and sacrifices of the Chinese people. That requires the support of victorious proletarian revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries—revolutions which are blocked by Stalinist China's foreign policy. A central task for Chinese communists is to use the power and authority of the Chinese state to further the world socialist revolution. This means not only a break from the policy of supporting anti-proletarian nationalist bourgeois regimes, but also immediately demanding a military bloc with the Soviet Union, most urgently in Indochina, even while the USSR remains under bureaucratic rule.

To those workers drawn into defending the incumbent apparatchiks against the radical Maoists, Trotskyists should say the following: the material interests of the workers cannot be furthered by supporting the "soft," venal elements within the bureaucracy. Those material interests can only be served when a workers government controls the Chinese economy, replacing the deadening control of the conservative bureaucracy. To maintain political power, the workers government would indeed have to restrain wage increases in order to generate a surplus needed for military purposes and to absorb the peasantry into the industrial work force. The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot survive with a small, aristocratic working class surrounded by a sea of impoverished peasants. However, a fundamental improvement in the material conditions of the Chinese people can only come about through resources supplied by more advanced workers states. Economic aid to China through international revolution need not be a long-term prospect. A workers revolution in China would give an enormous impetus to a socialist revolution in Japan, Asia's industrial power, with a highly conscious proletariat and brittle social structure. The complementary, planned development of Japan and China would go a long way toward overcoming the poverty of the Chinese people. And these are the politics the Trotskyist movement should have presented to the embattled Chinese

workers and students during the Cultural Revolution.

Who Were the Victors?

With the incumbent bureaucrats able to mobilize groups of workers to fight the Red Guards, the radical Maoists were stalemated. The Maoist center then took a step which fundamentally changed the course of the Cultural Revolution and eventually led to its liquidation. In February 1967 the army was called in to support the Red Guards in "seizing power." Now the PLA officer corps is of the flesh-and-blood of the bureaucracy, tied to the rest of China's officialdom by innumerable personal and social affiliations. As a condition for militarily supporting the Red Guards the PLA command demand-



Red Guard

ed that there be no wholesale purge of the incumbent administrators, that they be allowed to rehabilitate themselves. This was the so-called "mild cadre policy." The role of the PLA in preserving the bureaucracy was codified by a change in the formal program of the Cultural Revolution. When launched in 1966, the Cultural Revolution was supposed to produce a political system modeled on the Paris Commune. In early 1967, this was changed to the so-called "triple alliance" of "revolutionary rebels" (Red Guards), the PLA and the "revolutionary cadre" (incumbent bureaucrats). Clearly the officer corps was in charge.

The real relationship between the PLA and the Red Guards was revealed by the famous Wuhan incident in August 1967, although the army commander went too far. In a faction fight between two Red Guard groups, the army commander naturally supported the more right-wing one. When a couple of Maoist emissaries came from Peking to support the more radical faction the commander had them arrested. For this act of near-mutiny, he was dismissed. However, the fate of the principals involved in the Wuhan incident is highly significant. The mutinous commander, Chen Tsai-tao, is today back in power and the two Maoist emissaries were purged as "ultra-leftists."

The Wuhan incident temporarily turned the Maoist center against the PLA command and the Cultural Revolution reached its peak of anarchistic violence, including the burning of the British chancellery. By the end of 1967 the pressure from the PLA command to crack down on the Red Guards became irresistible. The 28 January 1968 issue of the *Liberation Army Daily* announced that the PLA would "support the left, but not any particular faction"—a not-so-veiled threat to smash the Red Guards. The article went on to attack "petty-bourgeois factionalism." About the same time, Chou En-lai asserted that the leadership of the Cultural Revolution had passed from the students and youth to the workers, peasants and soldiers. Throughout 1968, attacks on "petty-bourgeois factionalism," "anarchism" and "sectarianism" drowned out attacks on "capitalist roadism" and "revisionism."

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And it ended with a mango. The final curtain fell on the Cultural Revolution in August 1968 when Mao personally intervened to resolve a faction fight between student Red Guards at Peking's Tsinghua University, where the first Red Guard group was formed. Having failed to resolve the dispute to his liking, Mao is supposed to have said, "You have let me down and what is more you have disappointed the workers, peasants and soldiers of China" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 29 August 1968). Within 48 hours, China's first "Worker-Peasant Thought of Mao Tse-tung Propaganda Team," commanded by PLA officers, arrived at Tsinghua University and dissolved the Red Guards. For this service the Chairman personally sent the group a gift of mangoes. The Red Guards were suppressed by similar methods throughout the country. The more resistant activists were sent to the countryside to "remold" their thinking through toiling with the peasants, the usual fate for those who "disappoint" Mao.

The Mao faction did not win the Cultural Revolution. Mao had clearly expected to replace the administrative bureaucracy with cadre unambiguously loyal to himself interspersed with young zealots and engendering mass enthusiasm while doing so. Instead the popular reaction against the Cultural Revolution strengthened the resistance of the incumbent bureaucracy. Once the army was called in directly, Mao was forced to play a bonapartist role between the PLA officers representing bureaucratic conservatism and the radical student youth.

That the bureaucracy was largely conserved is demonstrated by the composition of the Central Committee elected at the Ninth CCP Congress in 1969—the so-called "Congress of Victors." The average age of the CC was 61 and the length of time in the party 25 years. Two-thirds of the CC elected in 1945 (who had not died or been purged before the Cultural Revolution) were re-elected to the 1969 Central Committee! The 1969 CC did show an increase in the proportion of those who had been on the Long March (the Maoist old guard) and a marked increase in the proportion of PLA officers (45 percent). Hardly what a naive Maoist enthusiast would expect as the aftermath of a supposedly anti-bureaucratic "revolution".

The final liquidation of the Cultural Revolution came with the fall of the Lin faction. Lin Piao was associated with a series of manifestly bankrupt policies. On the domestic economic front, he was accused of wanting to launch a production drive in 1969 and of "allowing peasants to be deprived of their legitimate income" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1973 Yearbook). Clearly Lin was pushing for another Great Leap Forward. However, the Cultural Revolution had revealed enormous economic discontent and the willingness of the workers to fight the regime to preserve their living standards. A Great-Leap-Forward campaign in 1969 could only have been suicidal. In fact, since the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese economy has been more market-oriented, more egalitarian, more localized than it was in 1965. The Mao-Chou regime seems anxious to assure the masses that great economic sacrifices will not be demanded of them. Almost every official statement on economic policy asserts the peasant's right to a private plot.

On foreign policy, the man who announced that "the countryside of the world would conquer the cities of the world" was equally a loser. In the late 1960's, only a political idiot could believe that China was successfully leading the "Third World" against the U.S. and Russia. The Cultural Revolution left China diplomatically isolated. Despite the Vietnam War, U.S. foreign policy up through 1968 continued to orient toward a bloc with Russia against China. With objective conditions favorable for diplomatic and economic gains, a rightward turn in foreign policy was inevitable. In is probable that Lin broke in opposition to the rapprochement with Nixon.

With his base in the army, Lin undoubtedly launched a factional struggle against the emerging Mao-Chou axis. He lost. It is quite possible that he planned a military coup as the Maoists now claim. However, whatever ill Lin may have wished Mao and Chou while he was alive, his corpse has more than made up for it. He is the perfect scapegoat for everything that went wrong because of the Cultural Revolution. Whenever a purged "capitalist-roader" is brought back into power, it was Lin who framed him up. When Chou apologized to the British for the burning of their chancellery, he put the blame on Lin.

With every passing day the victims of the Cultural Revolution seem to replace the victors. Even the "number two person in power taking the capitalist road," Teng Hsiao-ping, is back on the road with Mao. And yet the Cultural Revolution has clearly left a badly divided party. The secretiveness and extreme brevity of the Tenth Party Congress points to a tense internal situation. It is as if the slightest formal concession to inner-party democracy would produce murderous factionalism. The elevation of the unknown Wang Hung-wen to number three is probably a sop to the radical Maoists who are understandably distrustful of Chou En-lai—the man who is never on the losing side of a faction fight. However, Wang is probably a figurehead with no real base in the party cadre. When Mao dies, the CCP should have a succession crisis that will make the Cultural Revolution look like a formal debate. Of course, the Chinese proletariat may take the question of which bureaucratic aspirant succeeds Mao off the historic agenda by establishing its own democratic class rule.

Down with Mao and Brezhnev For Sino-Soviet Communist Unity

The most important development since the Cultural Revolution has been in China's foreign relations. State relations with the Soviet Union have drastically worsened, flaring into actual armed conflict in 1970. The Sino-Soviet boundary has become one of the most militarized borders in the world. The Mao-Chou regime's new love affair with Richard Nixon is clearly designed as a counter to what it sees as its principal enemy—the Soviet Union. This past year the Chinese attempt to line up Western imperialism against the Soviet Union has reached a new low. China is campaigning to strengthen NATO in order to divert the Russian army from Siberia. For example the 3 August *Peking Review* approvingly cites Lord Chalfont's letter to the *London Times* calling for expansion of NATO:

"Chalfont has of late published a number of articles in *The Times* to expose the Soviet threat to European security and plead for strengthened defense cooperation by the West European countries."

Whatever episodic changes occur in diplomatic moods, the objective relationship of U.S. imperialism to the Soviet Union is fundamentally different than that toward China. The Soviet Union is economically and militarily qualitatively superior to China, and the military peer of the U.S. Therefore it is the Soviet Union which is the core of the anti-capitalist regimes in the world and the main objective obstacle to U.S. imperialism. (Could China have supplied the U.S.-blockaded Cubans?) Conversely, the Soviet Union could defeat China in a major war without imperialist intervention, while China could expect victory only in alliance with another power. Thus the logic of the great power triangle is for a U.S.-China alliance against the Soviet Union. However, great-power politics are not historically rational and a U.S.-Soviet attack on China remains a possibility.

Under any circumstances, a war between Russia and China would be an enormous setback for the cause of socialism. If a Sino-Soviet war breaks out independently of the direct intervention of imperialism, such as an expanded version of the 1970 border clash, Trotskyists must call for revolutionary defeatism on both sides. However, if the U.S. allies itself with one side in a

Sino-Soviet war to the extent that the outcome could be the restoration of capitalism through imperialist victory, Trotskyists must call for unconditional military defense of that deformed workers state directly under the assault essentially of U.S. imperialism.

The focus of the Russian-Chinese conflict is the Siberian border. Significantly the legal basis for the conflicting claims is an eighteenth-century treaty signed by the Romanoff dynasty and the Manchus—who as we all know were scrupulous in their concern for national rights! Those new to the socialist movement may find it impossible to understand why the leadership of a deformed workers state should be willing to go to war with another deformed workers state over a sparsely populated slice of territory and connive with capitalist powers in order to do so. Does this mean that workers states can be imperialists, just like capitalist powers? Is there an economic drive making war between these two Stalinist-ruled countries inevitable? Not at all.

In fact, the Moscow and Peking regimes are politically threatened by each other's very existence, since both competing powers claim to represent the interests of the workers but are in fact the instruments of an isolated bureaucracy which can maintain itself in power only by forcibly suppressing any political life of the proletariat. Khrushchev and Brezhnev have dealt with Liu and Mao the same way Stalin dealt with Tito (against whom he had no territorial claims) and every internal opposition, from Trotsky on the left to Bukharin on the right, and with any potentially independent members of his own faction as well. A competing tendency claiming to represent the workers and with the resources of state power to propagate its views is doubly threatening to the precarious stability of these anti-proletarian regimes.

As Trotsky pointed out, the origins of the bureaucratic degeneration in the Soviet Union could be traced to the national limitation and isolation of the Russian Revolution in a backward country. This led to the elaboration of the nationalist ideology of "socialism in one country"—a necessarily false consciousness for a ruling bureaucratic stratum. Thus these supposed "Communists" speak airily of proletarian internationalism but at the same time truly believe that it is their sacred duty to extend the fatherland. And what is true for Moscow is equally true for Peking or the second-rate nationalist bureaucracies in Sofia, Tirana, etc.

In the conflict over Siberia, the Russians now have an overwhelming advantage. In addition to absolute nuclear superiority, the Soviet army would have an advantage in conventional war not offset by China's greater manpower reserves. The Russian side of the border is much more heavily populated. And the Turkic-speaking peoples inhabiting China's northern border regions are resentful of centuries of Great Han chauvinism and may well be sympathetic to the Russians. Moreover, the Kremlin is also hard at work lining up the support of the capitalist powers. In addition to purely financial considerations, a major reason Brezhnev is so anxious for foreign capital in the Siber-

ian oil and gas fields is to give the U.S. and Japan a stake in keeping Siberia Russian.

However, the Soviet military advantage is rapidly being undermined by the development of Chinese nuclear capacity. Thus there is now pressure within the Brezhnev regime for a preventive nuclear strike against China before the Chinese develop much greater retaliatory capacity. The Soviet authorities are presently generating a major war scare, particularly among Siberian residents, based on the worst kind of "yellow peril" racism. A correspondent for the *London Economist* (25-31 August) quoted a school teacher in Siberia as stating that:

"The Chinese radio, broadcasting in Russian, had threatened that the Chinese would occupy the south of Siberia, kill all the Russian men and keep the Russian girls for marrying."

If revolutionary workers governments were in power in Moscow and Peking, the conflict over Siberia would be easily resolved in the interests of the Russian and Chinese workers. Siberia would be open to Chinese immigration and jointly administered to ensure rapid economic development. Moreover, the existence of the unified and revolutionary workers states of Russia and China could well spark the Japanese socialist revolution, liberating Japan's economic resources for the development of Siberia, as well as of China.

Trotskyists understand that the Stalinist bureaucracies are caught in a fundamentally contradictory position. On the one hand they seek to defend themselves from imperialist attack, while on the other hand they strive for an impossible accommodation with the capitalist powers and fear above all the spread of world revolution, which would inevitably topple their parasitic regimes. In the long term, the deformed workers states (bureaucratically ruled states based on collectivized property forms) can survive only through the international extension of workers power. By pursuing nationalist policies, the Stalinist bureaucracies of China and Russia undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat and open the way for its overthrow by domestic counterrevolution or imperialist conquest. The Chinese revolution (the most important defeat for imperialism since the October Revolution in Russia) is now mortally threatened by nuclear war. It is war not with an imperialist power, but with the other powerful deformed workers state—the Soviet Union.

Only by overthrowing the reactionary Mao and Brezhnev governments can the Russian and Chinese working masses prevent going to war against each other and instead bring about the political, military and economic unification of the Sino-Soviet states against world capitalism.

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Soviet Dissidents

November 1971).

There is a definite diversity of views among the various trends of Soviet dissidents. Thus the eminent novelist Andrey Solzhenitsyn has recently embraced pacifism and Russian Orthodox religion, while condemning the Chinese nuclear tests and supposed NLF massacres during the 1968 Tet Offensive in a bizarre article which does not even attack the massacres perpetrated by Western capitalist regimes, such as genocidal bombing in Vietnam (*Wall Street Journal*, 10 September 1973). On the other hand there was the old Bolshevik Alexis Kosterin (died in 1968), who is reported to have remarked that, "The only alternative to this regime and to Stalinist 'socialism' is Marxist-Leninist socialism, stripped of its mud and regenerated by its free development." Ivan Yakhimovitch, writing in November 1968, remarked: "Stalinism has become the main danger which threatens the workers' unity and solidarity in every country, the main threat to progress and peace... Whether the Stalinists are aware of it or not, they are more afraid of their own people than they are of the imperialists" ("Leninism, Yes! Stalinism, No!").

But despite the diversity, it must be said that even the most left of the current Soviet dissidents are a long way from Leninism and a long way even from the political level of the post-war student group "The True Work of Lenin." None of the democratic oppositionists opposes peaceful coexistence and calls for international class solidarity (on the contrary, most want a more consistent peaceful coexistence—which would further threaten the nationalized property forms of the USSR). None calls for a Bolshevik-Leninist party and a political revolution to defend the social and economic conquests of October.

Many Soviet critics of the bureaucracy have implicitly or explicitly adopted a "state capitalist" view of Russia, thus obliterating the class distinction between the degenerated workers state, with all its inequality, oppression and the political expropriation of the working class by the rapacious bureaucracy; and capitalism. This leads many to hold an idealized view of the U.S. which is not uncommon among petty-bourgeois intellectuals in Eastern Europe also. A particularly frightening example of this trend was a leaflet distributed by an anonymous "Citizens' Committee" in Moscow last summer:

"Respected citizens! Our country is the world's richest in natural resources. It is the second greatest industrial power. But in terms of living standards, the workers of the Soviet Union rank twenty-sixth, the lowest of all the developed countries....

"An unemployed worker in the West can buy from two to four times more goods with his or her unemployment benefits than our laborers and office workers can buy with their wages.... And it is not toward communism that we are heading—that is all lies. Our system is state capitalism, the worst and most rapacious system of government, which allows the rulers, free of any control, to dispose of all income and wealth in the country and to commit acts of coercion and arbitrariness. This kind of uncontrolled and ruthlessly rapacious government was what Germany had under Hitler's 'socialism.'" —*Intercontinental Press*, 11 September 1972

Every class-conscious worker would be repelled by such politics, which simply abandon the tremendous achievements made possible by the October Revolution. Trotsky, writing in 1940, had an opposite program:

"The October revolution was accomplished for the sake of the toilers and not for the sake of new parasites. But due to the lag of the world revolution, due to the fatigue and to a large measure, the backwardness of the Russian workers and especially the Russian peasants, there raised itself over the Soviet Republic and against its peo-

ples a new oppressive and parasitic caste, whose leader is Stalin. The former Bolshevik party was turned into an apparatus of the caste. The world organization which the Communist International once was is today a pliant tool of the Moscow oligarchy. Soviets of Workers and Peasants have long perished. They have been replaced by degenerate Commissars, Secretaries and G.P.U. agents.

"But, fortunately, among the surviving conquests of the October revolution are the nationalized industry and collectivized Soviet economy. Upon this foundation Workers' Soviets can build a new and happier society. This foundation cannot be surrendered by us to the world bourgeoisie under any conditions. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend tooth and nail every position gained by the working class, whether it involved democratic rights, wage scales, or so colossal a conquest of mankind as the nationalization of the means of production and planned economy. Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones. Against the imperialist foe we will defend the USSR with all our might. However, the conquests of the October revolution will serve the people only if they prove themselves capable of dealing with the Stalinist bureaucracy, as in their day they dealt with the Tsarist bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie."

—"Letter to the Workers of the USSR"

In contrast to the despairing liberals of today who turn to Pompidou, the UN or "world public opinion" to reform the Soviet bureaucracy, Trotsky sought to defend the degenerated workers state from imperialism by political revolution in the USSR and social revolution in the capitalist West. This was the platform of the Bolshevik-Leninist prisoners who led the 1936-37 hunger strikes in the Vorkuta labor camps, and it was on this platform that the Communist former students and Red Army officers who organized the 1953 Vorkuta uprising fought. While these struggles were annihilated they represented an incomparably greater force than the pacific petitions and mystical moralizing so prevalent today.

SWP and OCI on Soviet Dissidents

Revolutionary socialists must unflinchingly defend democratic liberties in the USSR for the opinions of even petty-bourgeois liberals such as Sakharov. Aware that intellectual ferment among the intelligentsia has often preceded spontaneous proletarian outbursts in Eastern Europe (Hungary in 1956, for example), the bureaucracy strikes out at the anti-Stalin critics it tolerated and even supported for years in order to crush its real enemy—the working class. Like Tito in Yugoslavia, Brezhnev seeks to amalgamate bourgeois nationalists and socialists under the category, enemy of the Soviet state. Ironically, the same amalgam is established by those socialist opponents of Stalinism who uncritically and without distinction laud "Soviet dissidents."

The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party tries to maintain a semblance of Marxism by distinguishing "liberals" such as Sakharov and "radical democrats" such as Yakir, Grigorenko and others. However, at the same time it had been uncritically reporting the protests of Sakharov for more than a year before noting that his criticisms attack the Soviet bureaucracy from the right; and to this day it still adopts a similar attitude of "positive neutrality" on the political statements of Solzhenitsyn. Moreover, there is in fact no sharp dividing line between Yakir and Sakharov, both of whom had oriented toward influencing bourgeois public opinion. Grigorenko, while a sincere militant and a socialist who was closely associated with Kosterin in the struggle for the rights of the Crimean Tatars, cannot be considered in fact a Marxist-Leninist. In calling for political support to Dubcek and the "democratization" campaign of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1968, he failed to make the crucial distinction between bureaucratic reformism and working-class revolution. This same mistake led earlier generations of oppositionists to

place their faith in Malenkov and then Khrushchev. It is high time to learn the lesson of the bureaucracy's "de-Stalinization" campaigns once and for all! Only by struggling for Marxist programmatic clarity and reliance on the working class can the struggle of sincere democratic dissidents in the Soviet Union be carried forward toward socialism.

The OCI, though generally much to the left of the reformist SWP, has if anything an even more uncritical attitude toward oppositionists in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Repeatedly referring to Grigorenko and Yakir as "communists," even after Yakir's capitulation (*Informations Ouvrières* No. 616, 20 June 1973), it even attempted to cover up for the pathetic appeals to bourgeois opinion:

"The development of the communist opposition in the U.S.S.R. depends on its rooting itself among the workers and on the development of the class struggle in the capitalist world, as well as in the whole of Eastern Europe, manifested by the development of political organizations capable of giving to this struggle its revolutionary dimension, that is, the reconstruction of the Fourth International... that is why Pavel Litvinov and Larissa Daniel address themselves, in February 1968, to world public opinion; that is why the founders of the Action Group address themselves to the Committee of the Rights of Man of the UN. World public opinion and the UN should not be taken literally; they represent, in a form diverted, prudent and vague, the tie with the international class struggle and with the international workers organizations."

—Samizdat I



Brezhnev clowning during June visit to U.S.

In themselves, appeals to "world public opinion" are not unprincipled, as revolutionaries will even use bourgeois parliaments and the bourgeois press to make their views known to the masses of workers. Trotsky used the platform offered by the bourgeois press many times to expose the bureaucracy and was even willing to appear before the reactionary Dies Committee of the U.S. Congress. But the Soviet oppositionists appeal to bourgeois public opinion as a strategy rather than making use of a podium to reach the world working class. Like Pushkin's Aleko (in *The Gypsies*) who "wanted freedom only for himself," they want democracy only for themselves and are willing to ally with bourgeois forces to attain it. Of course their illusions about the nature of the UN were learned in the Stalin-Dimitrov school of anti-Marxism, but to make excuses for these illusions and even paint them up as proletarian internationalism is a tremendous disservice to socialist militants in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe who are genuinely seeking a revolutionary strategy.

**For Soviet Democracy!
Down with the Bureaucracy!**

We do not have, for obvious reasons, comprehensive knowledge of opposition currents in the Soviet Union. In Eastern European countries there have

been a few isolated groups oriented toward Trotskyism. The contradictions of the present democratic oppositionist movement may soon lead to sharp divisions along political lines, with the possible crystallization of a left wing based on one or several of the underground groups which the *Chronicle* has criticized for "conspiratorialism." In the USSR, where the class nature of the Soviet state is an immediate and crucial question, there is good reason to hope that such a left opposition could be won to Trotskyism and the perspective of building a Russian section of the Fourth International. (To consider the Soviet Union "capitalist" as do the Chinese, or "socialist" as do various reformers of the Dubcek stripe, would have immediate disastrous consequences which, hopefully, could be relatively easily understood. It is one thing to have a "state-capitalist" position in the United States; it is quite another to hold such an anti-Marxist view in the USSR when one is faced with the fact, for example, that some of the most consistently socialist opponents of Stalinism have come from the bureaucracy and the army itself.)

But Leninist political clarity can be achieved only by a firm defense of the Trotskyist program rather than basking in the reflected popularity which the "Soviet dissidents" enjoy among bourgeois liberals. The fatalism, eclecticism and non-class outlook of Sakharov and the bureaucratic reformism of Medvedev do not show the way forward for the working masses of the Soviet Union, in spite of the integrity and personal heroism which many have shown.

Hands off the democratic oppositionists—For the restoration of full Soviet democracy! Toward the rebirth of soviets of workers and collective farmers! Down with the bureaucracy—For political revolution in the USSR! For social revolution against capitalism! Toward the formation of a Soviet Trotskyist party, Russian section of a reconstructed Fourth International! ■

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**REVOLUTIONARY
LITERATURE**

Defend Carlos Feliciano!

Having been subjected to prosecution on frame-up charges for the past three years, Puerto Rican nationalist Carlos Feliciano could be sentenced to up to seven years in prison as a result of a verdict reached in Manhattan Supreme Court on September 19. While he was found innocent on charges that he tried to bomb the General Electric Building in midtown Manhattan in 1970, he was found guilty on four other counts of possession of bomb-making devices and a gun. The prosecution's case was obviously fabricated, and Feliciano was acquitted of basically the same charges in a trial in the Bronx in 1972.

Just as the SL/RCY have in the past participated in united-front activities in defense of Feliciano and other political prisoners, regardless of our opposition to the bourgeois ideology and class-collaborationist practice of nationalism, it remains the responsibility of all working-class tendencies to fight the ruling-class attack on Carlos Feliciano! His case is to be appealed, and a demonstration has been called by the defense committee for October 12, the date of sentencing, at Foley Square in Manhattan.

For information, contact the:

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND CARLOS FELICIANO
Box 356, Canal Street Station
New York, New York 10013



Carlos Feliciano

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Letter

2 August 1973

Dear Comrades:

While Part I of comrade Knox's article "Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions" (*Workers Vanguard* 25) provides in general an excellent introduction to the subject, two significant errors caught my eye. Comrade Knox states that "... Cannon had broken with Foster in 1926 over the Passaic strike, which he felt was an example in which a new union should have been formed under Communist leadership."

The Foster-Cannon bloc, which originated in 1923 in opposition to the undemocratic Pepper regime and its labor party fiasco, split in August 1925 at the Fourth Party Convention over the question of how to deal with the "cable from Moscow" which gave the Ruthenbergite minority 40% representation on all leadership bodies against the will of the majority of the party convention. Cannon wanted to offer the Ruthenbergites 50% of the leadership in the interests of inner-party peace; Foster, angered by the unwarranted interference of the Comintern (in the early stages of Stalinist degeneration), wanted to refuse any leadership position and to surrender the leadership to Ruthenberg. The Foster-Cannon bloc split on this issue.

Secondly, Cannon defended the affiliation of the Passaic union with the United Textile Workers, an AFL union. (The Passaic union was organized by Weisbord through a "United Front Committee"; this was done under the direction of Ruthenberg and was at least

in part a factional maneuver against Foster and TUEL. The "United Front Committee" was stigmatized as an adventure in dual unionism, and no one in the Party seems to have been willing to take credit for organizing an independent union—except Weisbord, perhaps. In later years, Foster claimed that the strike had been led by TUEL!) In an article entitled "Passaic Strike Anniversary" (*The Militant*, 22 February 1930), Cannon argues that affiliation was neither a mistake in principle nor in tactics: "To say that the affiliation amounted to a 'betrayal' of the workers is childish nonsense...." Cannon further argues that the affiliation was carried out in an "opportunistic manner": "This was particularly noticeable in the publicity of the strike committee which began to be tainted with defeatist apologies to the labor fakers." Cannon refers to "several motions" which he had introduced at the time of the affiliation to correct the "opportunistic manner" with which it was being implemented. But errors were "incidental," Cannon concludes, the policy both principled and correct. (I believe that there is an article in *The Militant* a few months after Cannon's, written by Shachtman, in which the latter argues that affiliation was an opportunist betrayal. I haven't had the opportunity to re-locate that article, but I think it must be in the 1930 or '31 *Militant*.)

Communist greetings,
Carl Watson

Sub-Drive Report

REGIONAL QUOTAS

Bay Area	210
Boston	140
Buffalo	100
Chicago	90
Cleveland	100
Detroit	120
Los Angeles	90
New York	300
At Large	50
Total	1200

SUBS TO DATE

Bay Area	42
Boston	85-1/2
Buffalo	80
Chicago	7
Cleveland	14
Detroit	74-1/2
Los Angeles	26
New York	82
At Large	12
Total	423

Continued from page 16

Woodcock...

of the company through its arbitration or grievance proceedings.

Replace Grievance "Procedure" with Workers Control

The only solution to shop-floor problems is to eliminate all restrictions on national and local strikes, create workers committees in each department with stewards directly responsible to them and settle all disputes at once on the shop floor. This would completely eliminate the grievance "procedure," which is just a stalling mechanism anyway. Such workers' con-

trol on the shop floor would then be extended to include control over line speed, job description, hiring and firing, etc. and used to eliminate all racial and sexual discrimination.

Combined with a shorter workweek and struggle against layoffs, these gains would provide the basis for the struggle for a national sliding scale of wages and hours, workers control over production, expropriation of central industries and the struggle for state power by the working class as a whole, through the building of a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for these demands and a workers government. At every step the strength of the workers themselves, mobilized to use their power to withdraw their labor when and where necessary, would decide the outcome. Instead of this, the "gains" of Woodcock's contract serve only to provide a little candy coating to the continued muck of exploitation. While saying nothing about layoffs, control over jobs and line speed, it attempts to lock the workers more securely to the fate of the corporations and a dying capitalism through attacks on absenteeism, isolation from other workers' struggles, "partnership," etc. Already this class collaboration has allowed the U.S. capitalists to freeze wages and extend their foreign exports. As inter-imperialist rivalries intensify, this "partnership" will lead to submission of the working class to a new world war. Only the construction of a revolutionary vanguard party and caucuses in the unions based on a program of transition to the revolutionary seizure of power by the workers can provide an alternative to more class collaborationism and inevitable defeats at the hands of Woodcock and Co. ■

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"Voluntary Overtime" After 54 Hours a Week!

Woodcock Settles for Nothing

DETROIT, 20 September—After only two days of a strike against Chrysler, the United Auto Workers leadership announced that a settlement had been reached, thus promising to make this the shortest strike in UAW history. The settlement is not only a betrayal of the UAW's stated goals, grossly inadequate to meet the minimum needs of the auto workers, but a further victory for the Nixon government in its efforts to shift onto the working class the burdens created by the anarchy of capitalist production for profit.

Fruits of "Partnership"

For months before the strike, the Woodcock "leadership" talked of the lack of necessity of a strike this year. It then proceeded to keep the members completely in the dark as to the bargaining, both before and after the brief strike announcement, which came one hour before the contract expired. The tone of the announcements was one of great friendliness and cooperation between the company and the union. This class collaboration continued after the agreement was announced, whereupon the bourgeois dailies chimed in with fulsome praise for the rapid settlement and its "important," "precedent-setting" character. Naturally the UAW local leaders were ready with their line of "it was the best we could get" and talk of returning to work as soon as possible. Thus all the forces which had only a few weeks earlier united in condemning the spontaneous unauthorized strikes of Chrysler workers in Detroit and denouncing "reds," were again in firm accord on what was best for auto workers.

The "precedent-setting" gains took the form of vague "principles" gutted of almost all content. A "voluntary overtime" provision heads the list: it throws away the 40-hour week (does anyone remember the 40-hour week?) by making overtime voluntary only after 54 hours, or 6 days at 9 hours each. This just happens to be the standard overtime scheduling at most assembly plants, particularly Chrysler and General Motors. Every third Saturday is also optional, but only if applied for a week in advance and if the worker's attendance is perfect during the preceding week!

The question of wages automatically took on added importance once voluntary overtime was under discussion, since most workers with families are compelled to seek overtime for the money. Despite Woodcock's promises that economic issues would not be "downgraded," this was exactly what was done, in order to assure the companies that "voluntary overtime" would have as little impact as possible. After an initial show of ridicule the bureaucrats accepted Chrysler's insulting, pre-strike offer of 3 percent a year, modified only by an initial 12 cents across the board (for a total of 5 percent) in the first year, and minor improvements in the inadequate cost-of-living factor. This agreement is guaranteed to cause further erosion of auto workers' real earnings, which have been declining steadily since the sellout on cost-of-living in 1967. To present such a deal in the face of the rampant inflation, particularly on food, of the past three months, is bureaucratic arrogance at its worst!

The bureaucracy is counting primarily on "fulfillment" of the "30 and out" provision to secure passage of the contract. Although age restrictions

on the retirement clause have been lifted, retirees will not reach the promised \$650/month until 1976 and are not protected by a cost-of-living allowance, which fact could in short order render the pension virtually worthless.

Reject the Fraud

The contract is a fraud from beginning to end and must be rejected. There is no provision to prevent the massive layoffs which threaten all industrial jobs as the inevitable downturn in the business cycle sets in. It simply provides the remaining auto workers with a few inducements to work harder until they can escape after 30 years in the plant, assuming they can afford it. Overtime will still be compulsory, in effect, for the vast majority. No effort was made to make overtime rates prohibitive, which was the original purpose of such rates. The twin evils of unemployment and compulsory overtime for the employed can be solved only by a sliding scale of hours throughout society, through which available work will be divided up evenly among those seeking work, with restrictions on overtime. This should be coupled with a sliding scale of wages, i.e., full protection against rising prices for all workers. This struggle could be initiated in a UAW or other industrial contract through a compulsory shorter workweek with a big raise in pay, full cost-of-living protection and strikes against layoffs and cutbacks.

The Woodcock bureaucracy, however, like the rest of the trade-union bureaucracy, is not interested in the struggle of the working class against capitalism but only in "sharing" in the prosperity of "their" companies. This was shown most graphically by Woodcock's failure even to mention Nixon's vetoing of the AFL-CIO's very minimal minimum wage bill, his proposal to slash the minimum for young workers still further and the UAW's utter failure to do anything to thwart the attempts to break the teachers' strike throughout Michigan, all of which occurred simultaneously with the auto negotiations and strike.

No section of the working class can stand alone and isolated. A militant auto workers' strike could have raised demands of interest to all workers, such as a higher minimum wage with cost-of-living protection, and declared its solidarity with the teachers and for the right of all public employees to strike. Woodcock's lack of leadership and elementary solidarity leaves auto workers at the mercy of the low wage structure and wage-freezing government.

Woodcock also failed to protest the large price increases being granted to the auto monopolies by Nixon's Cost of Living Council, despite the obvious maneuverings by General Motors and the CLC itself in preparation for a possible attack on the auto contract. Seeking to prompt CLC action and possibly to reject the Chrysler terms, GM announced that the total cost of the contract might be as much as 10 percent. Meanwhile, to improve its creditability, the CLC temporarily put off Chrysler's latest bid for a price increase.

Woodcock's faint-hearted "opposition" to the wage guidelines serves only to legitimize the capitalist freeze on wages, while prices skyrocket. Although claiming to be against the wage control law, Woodcock still sits on Nixon's "advisory committee" to the



UAW leaders Fraser (left) and Woodcock announce sellout contract to press.

CLC and Productivity Commission and furthermore made clear in advance his intention of "living with" the guidelines. After the settlement was announced, both UAW and Chrysler went through pre-planned refusals to state the percentage cost of the agreement. Asked how he expected to get CLC approval without a cost estimate, Woodcock said, "I live in blissful hopes that the CLC, having been such a miserable failure, will just go away" (*Detroit News*, 18 September 1973). The contract avoids a fight against wage controls by simply providing for an escrow fund for any money taken away by the CLC until some other way to give it to the workers can be found.

Bureaucrats Seek Management Role

The real nature of the contract is revealed in provisions which received much less attention than the "voluntary overtime" and "30 and out." In the bargaining convention resolution's "harmony clause," which asserted the identity of interests between the union bureaucracy and the company, and in its demands for a partnership in management under the rubric of "humanize the work force," the Woodcock bureaucracy made its intentions plain. The contract will attempt to improve productivity, attendance and eliminate strikes. It includes a clause which actually reduces pay for probationary employees (first 90 days), and in effect lengthens the probation period by re-funding the lost money in a lump sum only after six months, "if the employee is still on the job." This provides another club over the head of militant new workers and will save the company money on "turnover." Provisions on health and safety and "humanization" are based on extensive company-union cooperation rather than a move in the direction of workers' control of the shop floor. The company is to send the union a guarantee of partnership in employee-motivation "experiments," is to cooperate with committeemen in plant inspections, etc. This is "aimed at preventing shutdowns of the sort that plagued Chrysler Detroit-area plants earlier in the summer" (*Detroit News*, 18 September 1973).

Besides three well publicized wildcat strikes, including two plant seizures, these "shutdowns" included numerous walkouts over heat. Combined

with a high rate of absenteeism, these "unauthorized" struggles have been the only real way the workers have managed to combat abuses in the plant such as dangerous conditions, overwork and grueling overtime hours. No amount of "cooperation" between management and existing union committees, which have been ignoring the conditions in the plants which led to these walkouts, is going to change conditions. This union structure is so committed to company "rights" under the contract and partnership with capitalism that it mobilized 1,000-strong throughout the Detroit area to crush the Mack Ave. sitdown strike.

(It was only the adventurism of the Progressive Labor/Workers Action Movement [PL/WAM] leadership of that strike which allowed the bureaucracy to get away with this by failing adequately to prepare for the strike with mass mobilization, instead relying on the tin god of "spontaneity": a quick action which it hoped would catch on. Workers recognized the premature nature of this action; there was strong criticism of WAM at the Mack plant and little attendance at a national WAM convention held in Detroit shortly afterward. The union bureaucracy revealed its basically contradictory character, however. While scabbing on the strike, it tried to justify its action in terms of what was "really" in the interests of the workers, i.e., not losing a day's pay!)

The contract includes a provision for immediate arbitration of any grievance as a voluntary alternative to the standard grievance procedure. Supposedly designed to speed up the incredibly cumbersome, time-consuming grievance procedure, arbitration will simply serve to eliminate some of the most glaring abuses while taking control out of the hands of the union entirely, placing it instead with a "neutral" body which will of course in its decisions always respect the standard norms of capitalist society. The union's demand that a worker be considered innocent until proven guilty was another promise which got lost somewhere in the behind-the-scenes horse trading. While this would have made things more cumbersome for the company instead of for the worker (which is why Woodcock had no intention of really insisting on it), it would nonetheless have left ultimate control in the hands

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