

## Arab Oil Price Offensive Heightens Imperialist Chaos



UN troops guard tent at Km. 101 where Egypt, Israel generals sign disengagement agreement.

# No Peace in the Near East

JANUARY 25—The disengagement agreement signed last week by Israel and Egypt was optimistically hailed by U.S. President Nixon as "the first significant step toward a permanent peace in the Middle East." In a virtually unprecedented situation, both Egyptian President Sadat and Israeli Premier Meir declared themselves to be well satisfied with the negotiations engineered by diplomatic superstar Henry Kissinger. The prestige of the U.S. is at a high point on both sides of the ceasefire line and the Russians, lost in sweet dreams of détente, looked on with approval. What could disturb this blissful scene?

Just about anything. In fact, the disengagement settlement is based largely on secret "understandings" with Kissinger. The Israelis believe the U.S. has guaranteed whatever military aid and support necessary to secure the existence of the Jewish state. Egypt, on the other hand, believes that Israel has agreed to gradually pull back to its pre-1967 borders. Both believe the Palestinians can be safely ignored. But they are wrong.

U.S. commitments are necessarily influenced by domestic pressures and the concerns of empire. Thus, to the great chagrin of Israeli hawks like General Ariel Sharon, American control of supplies was used in the October war to produce an effective military stalemate. No matter how audacious their tactics, the strutting "Prussian generals" of Tel Aviv could not repeat the 1967 performance. The potential for a renewed conflict between Israel and the surrounding Arab states remains—the Israeli and Arab bourgeoisies remain in power and their appetites for conquest, temporarily constrained by Kissinger's diplomatic maneuvers (acquiesced to by the Soviets), remain unabated. The Arab-Israel conflict can be solved only by a victorious socialist revolution in the Near East, led by a united struggle of Arab and Hebrew workers.

### The Arab Oil Boycott

Much of the State Department's hopes for a lasting peace after the fourth

round of Near Eastern hostilities lies in the belief that the radical nationalist colonels have either been placed firmly under Soviet tutelage or effectively removed from the scene by the dramatic impact of the oil boycott and price increases which were initiated by the most conservative, reactionary, pro-Western monarchies. During the boycott, Iraq's left-wing Ba'athist officers have been reduced to sneaking oil into Europe while Libya's Qaddafi has spent his time trying to find someone (anyone!) willing to exchange control of his population for oil riches and Mirage jet fighters (after failure with Egypt and Tunisia, is Chad next?).

While Qaddafi could cause an occasional uproar by supplying Palestinian guerrillas with SAM-7 anti-aircraft missiles, what is that compared to the effectiveness of the oil boycott which has produced pro-Arab policy statements by every member of the Common Market save Holland; and the price offensive initiated by Iran which has sent

the price of Near Eastern crude skyrocketing from \$1.80 per 42-gallon barrel in October of last year to \$7 in late December! The conservatives' motives are the most respectable one could imagine by capitalist standards. Saudi King Faisal made it quite clear that he had no intention of nationalizing American and British holdings, while His Majesty King-of-Kings Shah Reza Pahlavi of Iran declared innocently, "we are going to be a member of your club." When asked his intentions recently by a West German journalist, the Iranian monarch replied matter-of-factly, "why shouldn't I have some shares in Bayer?" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 19 January). What could be more reasonable than that?

The American government, however, has a different view of things. Earlier this month, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger remarked in a television interview that "the independent powers of sovereign states should not be used in such a way as would cripple the

larger mass of the industrialized world. That is running too high a risk..." Just what this "risk" amounted to was spelled out soon afterward in obviously "inspired" press articles about a threat that "military power might be used against the Arabs if oil curbs become really severe." The *New York Times* (12 January) reported that British members of Parliament have discussed military intervention with American officials, who were described as (of course) "cautious," although noting that such an operation would be "easy to launch." The influential British *Economist* meanwhile warned the Arabs obliquely not to omit the possibility of military retaliation from their calculations. Saudi Arabia, which has only a 36,000-man army and 70 military aircraft, threatened to blow up the oil fields if attacked.

Short of this, Nixon has called for an international oil consumers' cartel to put pressure on the producer nations to lower their prices, a view echoed by the Common Market commissioners. Thus the real prospect, far from being a lasting peace, is for sharp conflicts between the imperialist powers and their upstart former clients. In order to take the workers' minds off the grinding inflation and wage freezes, it is to be expected that the bourgeoisie will launch a wave of protectionist sentiment, blaming all domestic ills on "the Arabs." Only by vigorously combatting this national chauvinism and militantly waging the class struggle can the labor movement counteract this drive toward renewed imperialist war.

### The History and Consequences of the Oil Weapon

When the Arab oil-producing countries first announced a 5 percent cut-back in crude production last fall, neither oil industry nor U.S. government analysts were particularly alarmed. Since only 1 million barrels a day, out of total U.S. consumption of 17.4 million barrels of oil, comes from the Arab states, even a total boycott would have only a small impact. Moreover, since most Arab oil is extracted, shipped, refined and distributed by the U.S.-owned oil majors, any bottlenecks could be easily solved through behind-the-scenes rerouting. Yet the government immediately made plans to cut U.S. consumption by 3 million barrels a day, more than triple the maximum impact of the boycott (*New York Times*, 18 October 1973).

While the oil conglomerates were understandably uneasy about any independent exercise of bargaining power by their erstwhile client states, there were a number of reasons leading them to

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Shah Reza Pahlavi of Iran



King Faisal of Saudi Arabia

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## ECOLOGY

29 December 1974

To the Editor:

"Will Arab Oil Boycott Cripple U.S. Economy?" in WV no. 34 reveals a poor understanding of ecology. You claim: "Environmental pessimism is a classic bourgeois ideology and there is little written today by Dennis Meadows or Barry Commoner that cannot be found in Malthus or Ricardo, who also believed that natural resource scarcity, specifically in agriculture, would lead to zero economic growth." In fact, Commoner does not advocate zero economic growth and has even attacked Paul Ehrlich's *Population Bomb* on this question.

I suggest your author read Commoner's *The Closing Circle*, page 140 in particular. "Economic growth" is a popular whipping boy in certain ecological circles. As indicated earlier, there are good theoretical grounds why economic growth can lead to pollution. The rate of exploitation of the ecosystem, which generates economic growth, cannot increase indefinitely without pushing it to the point of collapse. However, this theoretical relationship does not mean any increase in economic activity automatically means more pollution. What happens to the environment depends on how the growth is achieved." (Commoner, *Closing Circle*, p. 140)

As for "environmental pessimism" being a "bourgeois ideology," is the Spartacist League ignorant enough to maintain that pollution is neither dangerous nor increasing? If we agree that under the present capitalist system pollution is both dangerous and increasing, then "environmental pessimism" seems like a pretty accurate outlook. Consider the skyrocketing increase in urban respiratory disease due to air pollution, strikes by the OCAW and the UMW over workplace pollution, fouled waterways all over the nation, the danger of instant nuclear annihilation of the human race; does the S.L. take these facts as evidence of enlightened human progress towards the "realm of freedom?" It would be idealism to believe that man is aloof from the natural environment and is not constrained by the damage he wreaks upon nature.

"There can be no denying that for Marx, man was the measure of things. Marx believed that the inevitable progression of Communism was from nature's domination over man to man's domination over man, and finally, under Communism, of man's domination over nature." (Weisberg, *Beyond Repair: The Ecology of Capitalism*, p. 161)

This is one root of the S.L.'s analytical difficulty. That is, a dogmatic conception of "Marxism-Leninism" that treats Marx's work as iron-clad law, good for all time, instead of experimental hypotheses, historically conditioned. Weisberg, despite his Maoist illusions, has a more dialectical and materialist perspective towards environmental imbalance, as shown in the following: "Because the production and consumption of every living organism have a function, we are completely dependent on all other forms of life. Nothing in the world is 'useless,' without purpose or design. The human hierarchy over nature—which results from hierarchy within human culture—has no justification in the priorities of evolution." (Weisberg, *Beyond Repair...*, p. 2)

David Moore  
Austin, Texas

WV replies: *The ecology "movement" is not monolithic and it is true that Barry Commoner is less anti-productionist than the Meadows/Club-of-Rome school. It is nonetheless true that the ecology "movement," taken as a whole, is anti-production/consumption and can serve as a partial ideological justification for bourgeois austerity programs.*

*The article in question did not deal with the environmentalists' concerns*

*with pollution, but rather with the consumption of finite natural resources, particularly fossil fuel. Within capitalist society the rate of usage of natural resources is not governed by the rational relation between man and nature, but rather by the conflict between different property interests. Thus a popular belief in the need to conserve oil could contribute to larger profits for the oil majors and sumptuous royalties for the Persian Gulf sheikdoms, or to a policy of economic autarky in this sector on the part of the American ruling class.*

*The popularity and respectability of ecological concern in this country during the past few years is not simply a result of the intrinsic merit of the ideas. Rather, environmental pessimism reflects the increasing dependence of American capitalism on foreign raw materials, just as Malthus' population/agricultural pessimism reflected the conflict between British industrial capital and landed interests.*

*As for pollution, yes, we certainly recognize that it is unhealthy. Other things being equal, we support measures to reduce pollution, such as cleaner car exhausts and heating fuel. However, where pollution is used as a reason (real or pretended) to increase unemployment, such as by shutting down a factory, we oppose that action since maintaining the labor movement's strength and preventing the lumpenization of the working class is more important by far for the future of humanity than the damage done by increased pollution.*

*Our position on ecological matters can be highlighted by the more important and extreme case of nuclear weapons. Viewed in the abstract, there can be no question that the relationship between nuclear weapons and mankind is destructive. Nevertheless, we support nuclear weapons in the hands of Russian and Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers states, because without them they would be smashed, perhaps victim to a nuclear holocaust unleashed by the imperialist powers, killing millions of Russian and Chinese workers in the desperate attempt to restore capitalist exploitation. Consequently we do not protest nuclear tests by the USSR and China and have demanded that the Soviet Union extend the nuclear shield to cover Hanoi instead of cynically exposing Vietnamese peasants and workers to the murderous saturation bombing of the U.S. imperialists. We take this position, which clearly entails a certain amount of radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere, even though the Brezhnev and Mao regimes could well use nuclear weapons to the great detriment of socialism, namely in a Sino-Soviet war.*

*It will be possible to consider production and consumption from the standpoint of the relation of man and nature only after the human race has been unified and become the subject of history, that is, under socialism.*

## EXCLUSIONISM

1 January 1974

Dear Comrade,

The article "In Defense of Exclusionism... Wohlforth Lies!" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 34, 7 December 1973) serves to correctly expose the hypocritical nature of the recent Workers League attacks on the Spartacist League, especially as they concern workers democracy and the use of the cops at the Jack Tar Hotel incident. The article though seems to me to be incomplete, neglecting similar (and quite dissimilar) statements by Wohlforth's mentor Gerry Healy of the International Committee and Workers Revolutionary Party.

While WL members "sniggered as police identified themselves and ordered the SL to leave" Healy has been informing everyone how revolutionaries never, never have anything to do

with the police. His attacks on IMG [International Marxist Group] member Lawless have even gone so far as to contain a condemnation of those who call the police to obtain basic information. Such contradictions between different groups in political solidarity with the International Committee are nothing new. Before Healy discovered that one single word to the cops constituted a form of original sin, he had informed the world in *International Correspondence* (once published by the International Committee) how his organization would not only talk to the cops but use them, through the bourgeois courts, against any other left and workers groups that he wished. So much for the revolutionary principles of Wohlforth and Healy.

Comradely,

Paul Abbot  
Chicago

## ANARCHY

11 January 1974

Spartacist League-Workers Vanguard:

In the 4 January 1974 issue of *Workers Vanguard* you had a well written article on auto and airline workers. In the article you often speak of "capitalist anarchy of production." I really fail to see what relation the capitalist mode of production has with the philosophy of anarchism. The word "anarchy" is properly understood to mean a society without the presence of a state. It does not literally mean "chaos" or "disorder." I realize that you are going to say that Engels used the expression, but that does not make it right either. Your use of the word "anarchy" is similar to the bourgeoisie's use of the word "communism" as meaning the same thing as "totalitarianism," when we all know that that is absurd. In fact communism is actually anarchy! It is merely the last and ultimate stateless phase of proletarian society, according to Marxism.

I have also noticed several debates in WV with the R.S.L. on the class nature of the U.S.S.R. I am not acquainted with the R.S.L. platform and definitely do not agree with the I.S. position but I must question your unconditional statement that the nationalization of an economy means that that state is a "workers' state." Khadafi, of Libya, and Iraq have recently nationalized most of the oil industry in their countries and Bhutto has nationalized the major banks in Pakistan just as Nasser did in Egypt. This does not make their countries any more "proletarian," or does it? What if Nixon nationalized the railroads? Would that be a "proletarian" act?!

In the same vein how can any really revolutionary socialist consider the acts of a conquering army "revolutionary." What was so revolutionary about the acts of the Soviet Army after World War II in East Europe? Usually it is considered that proletarian revolutions are revolutions of the masses of workers and peasants and not palace revolutions carried out by foreign conquering armies, with the working class playing no role at all (except maybe in the case of Czechoslovakia). In fact the workers were opposed to these "revolutionary proletarian" acts as shown again and again in revolts against the Stalinoid bureaucracies.

Fraternally,

Andre Mesarovic  
Cleveland, Ohio

WV replies: *Not only did Marx and Engels repeatedly denounce the tremendous hardships visited on the working masses by the anarchy of capitalist production, through cyclical economic crises leading to mass unemployment, but they never identified their goal as anarchy. They merely pointed out that the aim professed by many utopian anarchists, the destruction of the state, would be achieved under communism; but that*

*this final stage, "the beginning of history," would be preceded by a workers state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) during which the productive forces would be raised to the point of eliminating scarcity, and with it the basis for classes and the state.*

Concerning the question of nationalizations, we have stated on several occasions (for instance, in "RSL Claims Russia is Capitalist," WV No. 35, 4 January 1974) that the key question is the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class. In the case of the USSR, China, Cuba, North Vietnam and Eastern Europe the property of the entire bourgeoisie (with a few minor exceptions) was nationalized, thus destroying the economic basis of the capitalist class. This act—even though nationally limited by the anti-proletarian policies of the ruling bureaucracies, and despite being (except for Russia) the work of petty-bourgeois ruling cliques rather than of the proletariat—is a world-historic achievement which must be defended by all socialists and class-conscious workers.

On the other hand, the limited nationalizations in Libya, Pakistan, Egypt, etc.—even when they achieve relatively large proportions, as in Burma or Algeria—do not eliminate the bourgeoisie as a class. Such nationalizations, because of capitalist control of the state, actually end up indirectly aiding the bourgeoisie (by providing cheap credit or cheap oil, for instance). Revolutionary socialists would defend such nationalizations against attempts by the reactionaries to return these sectors to private control, but in no way does this imply that these rag-tag military dictatorships and theocratic-bonapartist regimes are workers states.

## "LAW AND ORDER"

7 January 1974

To the Editor:

The *Workers Vanguard* article (23 November 1973) on last fall's Detroit mayoral elections pointed out the lack of real political difference between the two candidates. The correctness of this analysis is now being vividly borne out by events.

If the mayoral campaign featured John Nichols as the gun-toting, anti-labor, racist cop candidate par excellence, then the victor in that race, black Democrat Coleman Young is fast emerging as Detroit's real "law and order" mayor. In an inaugural speech that would have befitted Frank Rizzo or Ronald Reagan (and probably caused a race riot had they actually been so bold) Young swore that criminals would no longer be safe in Detroit and had best "hut the road."

Covered with a thin veneer of liberal pablum—"we must build a new people-oriented Police Department, and then you and they can help us to drive the criminals from our streets" (*Detroit News*, 3 January 1974)—Young's hellfire and brimstone attack on the "crime problem" (which in Detroit, as in every other urban center with a large black population, is considered the "black problem") was the first payoff installment to Young's bourgeois backers. In the few days since Young's inauguration, the local bourgeoisie has increasingly become confident and enthusiastic that Young will crack the whip on Detroit's restless black and white working class more cleverly, more deceptively, but no less viciously than would have Nichols.

The second installment was not long in coming. Although Young made the abolition of STRESS, the Detroit Police Department's undercover "murder squad," a major point in his platform, held-over Police Commissioner Tannian announced to the press that Young in fact was undecided as to just what to do with STRESS. Tannian was quite clear, however, that even if Young eliminated the STRESS unit, it would only be to supercede it with more efficient



# Editorial Miscellany

## WORKERS LEAGUE: Surprise! Morrissey/Miller Betray!

Two candidates in recent union elections—Arnold Miller in the Mine workers and James Morrissey in the National Maritime Union—have stood out as leading proponents within the unions of the U.S. government's efforts to enforce anti-labor laws under the guise of restoring "union democracy." The trend they represent is thus a profound threat to the independence and future of labor.

Miller became president of the UMW in 1972 by using the courts to obtain a Labor-Department-run election. Because the corrupt gangster-like regime of Tony Boyle was already so discredited that it was a liability rather than a help to the companies, Miller was elected through the concerted efforts of government lawyers and with the financial backing of liberal sections of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, thousands of miners still voted for Boyle, many of them because they rightly saw the courts and Labor Department as tools of the corporations and opposed their interference in the unions. Morrissey was less successful: after years of "running" for office through the courts, his vote in the latest (1973) election was down substantially from his previous showing in 1969.

Nearly all fake-left groups jumped on the bandwagon of these liberal-favored front men for the Labor Department. The pathetically opportunist pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League, with no base of support whatsoever in either union, was typical. It backed both Morrissey and Miller, despite its formal lack of political agreement with either on the grounds that "their election would open up the struggle to break up the old bureaucracy." Now, however, in a recent article written with a fake "gee-whiz" naïveté, the WL's *Bulletin* feigns great surprise at the failure of either to "open up" any struggle whatsoever and at their inevitable betrayals. But Miller and Morrissey have simply continued along their chosen paths, as promised: it is not they, but the *Bulletin* that has changed its tune.

The theme of the *Bulletin's* new tune ("Where Is James Morrissey?" 15 January 1974) is an attempt to show how Morrissey has allegedly changed: he has been driven "rapidly to the right" because of his lack of politics and the pressure of the "crisis" (whatever that means); he has "devoted himself to challenging the elections [unsuccessfully—WV] before the National Labor Relations Board"; and his Committee for NMU Democracy has "virtually ceased to exist." None of these correct characterizations represents anything new, as the dishonest Workers League well knows. Morrissey has always had the same, right-wing bread-and-butter program, has always used the capitalist courts as his main strategy and never led a real committee (it was always run "like a private corporation," according to an unsigned letter from a seaman in the 16 December 1968 *Bulletin*). Since 1969 there has been no "Morrissey Movement" at all in the union.

As for Miller, the same *Bulletin* article unabashedly notes that "already a big opposition is developing to Miller," whose election was supposed to have "opened up" anti-bureaucratic struggle. Unfortunately, partly due to the fact that so many ostensible socialists were tailing after Miller, there is today no such "big opposition" anywhere to be seen, despite widespread dissatis-

police methods. Young championed in his campaign the more-cops-on-the-beat concept and has lost no time after his installation putting Tannian to work drafting the details for opening police storefront "mini-stations." Detroit residents can look forward to, albeit with some trepidation given the Detroit police's notoriously brutal reputation, not only having more cops, but also having them right down the block!

Young's railings on the law and order theme, however, have not abashed his old friends in the Communist Party. Young's long history in CP front groups (see WV No. 33) and his rise to prominence in liberal Democratic circles continue to win him jubilant coverage in the *Daily World*. The 4 January issue of *Daily World* started off with the headline "4,000 hail swearing in of Detroit Black mayor" and ended up: "All this week, young and old, Black, white and Latin, are celebrating the inauguration of this new Black mayor, who was an auto worker and who grew up in the ghetto."

Is it necessary to point out that Richard Nixon was a poor boy who worked his way through college? But for the CP, Nixon represents the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie, while Young is precisely the liberal bourgeois politician with whom it would like to consummate an "anti-monopoly coalition." Sociological origins aside, Young and Nixon simply represent different shadings within the framework of bourgeois politics. For Marxists, political support of a section of the bourgeoisie is ruled out in principle. For the CP, however, crossing the class line has become such a commonplace that one imagines it envisions an expressway over it!

Far more significant than the CP's groveling at the new mayor's feet is the support for Young from the labor bureaucracy. A fitting end to a week of inaugural celebration came with Friday's business-labor luncheon for Young, where he was flanked at the main table by Leonard Woodcock and Henry Ford II. Only a few short weeks after shoving down the throats of the Ford workers the most wretched settlement of their history, and in the midst of gigantic layoffs by the auto barons throughout the industry, Woodcock followed Ford to the podium to confirm his abject capitulation to the bourgeoisie and its politics: "Although Detroit was the focus of historic labor-management struggles, we have developed a common interest and responsibility. We are happy to join this new, new coalition. This is an historic event" (*Detroit News*, 4 January, 1974).

Woodcock notwithstanding, this chapter in Detroit politics does not represent a "new, new coalition" but a slightly refined repetition out of the old book of class collaboration, one that Woodcock has studied in earnest. The coalition of Fords and Woodcocks in the support of Coleman Young offers nothing to the working class except slick liberal demagogic wrapping on a package of intensified exploitation and oppression. As the WV noted in its initial article on Young's election: "The only way forward is the path of class struggle, beginning with the struggle to form a working-class political party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government."

Comradely,

J.W.  
Detroit

faction with the grievance and safety clauses of the current contract. But while there continue to be widespread illusions in the new bureaucracy, Miller has opposed impeachment of Nixon, refused to broaden labor support for the striking Harlan County miners and is waging a concerted campaign to curb wildcat strikes against the pro-company provisions of the contract signed by Boyle.

For Trotskyists, "critical support" means calling for votes for a candidate who is running on a platform which claims to represent a class-struggle alternative to the flunkies of the corporations, but which stops short of a full transitional program directed against capitalism. In order to draw a class line against the companies and their agents in the labor movement, revolutionaries can call for votes for such candidates with whom there is substantial programmatic agreement, while mercilessly criticizing the inadequacies of their program. But for the opportunist WL, "critical support" means cynically calling on the workers to vote for candidates whose *entire* political thrust is counterposed to the paper demands in the *Bulletin*. And this means lies, evasions and inconsistencies.

The biggest lie of the *Bulletin's* NMU coverage is its complete failure to mention the Militant-Solidarity Caucus, from whose program it copies most of its slogans. The M-SC calls for a fight against unemployment by demanding a shorter work week with no loss in pay, through two alternating crews and a four-watch system; autonomous unions for NMU shoreside workers; international organizing; opposition to economic nationalism; and a workers party to fight for a workers government. Its candidate, Gene Herson, received 358 votes in the 1973 election running against both Morrissey and Curran's hand-picked successor, Shannon Wall. The *Bulletin*, however, despite its paper demand for a labor party and the call for "revolutionary leadership" of the NMU tacked on to the end of its articles, urged NMUers to vote for Morrissey, who had no caucus and promised nothing.

The Spartacist League rejects such "critical support" betrayals and calls instead for the building of real class-struggle opposition groups, such as the NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus, in all unions.

## OCTOBER LEAGUE: Slinking Back to the Anti-Monopoly Coalition

The current "Unity Statement" of the October League purports to be a simple reprint of the "Statement of Political Unity of the Georgia Communist League (M-L) and the October League (M-L)" of May 1972. However, it appears the OL has continued to "learn" from its mentors, Stalin and Mao, and is now surreptitiously rewriting its own documents, as there are some important changes in the May 1973 edition. Taken together these changes amount to a blanket attempt to wipe out any remaining traces of "leftism" in the OL, which not so many months ago claimed the Revolutionary Union was trying to sneak in the reformist Communist Party's theory of "two-stage" revolution through the RU's "united front against imperialism." Now the OL openly embraces this refurbished "anti-monopoly coalition."

Characteristically for a Stalinist organization, this marked change was not proclaimed openly, but accomplished by literary sleight-of-hand. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, in contrast, valued revolutionary honesty, and when they wished to correct errors or inadequacies in earlier works they did so by writing new introductions, not changing the original. The following are examples both of the OL's rightward shift and the dishonest way it was done:

First, the original edition states:

"...the proletariat must maintain its own ideological, political, and organizational independence. This can only be done under the leadership of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. The party must link the immediate struggles to the final aims of the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian revolution. Communists must consistently sum up the experiences of the masses, raise the level of mass struggle step-by-step, and educate the masses in Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary struggle.

"To regard the immediate struggle as everything and to forget the final aims of the proletariat and the necessity to educate the masses in a revolutionary spirit, can only lead to tailing the liberal bourgeoisie and is out and out reformism.

"On the other hand, to deny any role to the non-proletarian forces opposed to imperialism, isolates the proletariat and strengthens the bourgeoisie."

—pp. 16-17 [May 1972 edition]

Now these paragraphs have been removed and replaced by the following:

"To deny the need to win over non-proletarian forces to the side of the working class, as the Trotskyites and ultra-leftists do, is to turn over to the bourgeoisie the reserves of the proletarian revolution. While intellectuals and middle classes enter the revolutionary struggle with their own petty bourgeois prejudices and are vacillating elements, the proletariat must, through patient work, win these reserves to the side of the revolution by adopting specific policies to unite with them.

"The working class and its party must maintain their political and organizational independence and initiative within the united front, by leading the day to day struggles, by promoting the fight for reforms in a revolutionary manner and by pointing out, in this context, the final aims of the movement."

—pp. 16-17 [May 1973 edition]

Secondly, we were told in the original statement that:

"Especially important, at this time, is the struggle against narrow practicism, or placing the day-to-day struggle of the working class ahead of its final aims. The tendency to bow to the spontaneity of the mass movement, to tail behind it, must be fought by linking Marxism-Leninism with the working class movement. We must develop propaganda and agitational organs that can bring communist ideas to the working class and unite the class struggle. This must be done on a national scale with emphasis now on broad political propaganda directed primarily at the advanced workers."

—p. 20 [May 1972 edition]

The "reprint" throws out the above paragraph and replaces it with:

"While the principal danger in the general peoples' movement is posed by the right opportunist CPUSA, within the young communist forces the main danger is ultra-leftism. Due to inexperience and still shallow roots among the basic sections of the working class, the danger of a "purist" view towards the mass struggle and negation of the united front pose an important obstacle. A manifestation of this ultra-leftist influence is the view of 'building a party first, then later engaging in the mass struggle.' Sectarianism and unprincipled attacks within the communist movement are also symptoms of idealism and dogmatism."

—p. 22 [May 1973 edition]



# Shachtman's Snotty Grandchildren... A Look at the RSL's Family Tree

Over the past several years the Socialist Workers Party and International Socialists have spun off a series of left oppositions which present themselves as orthodox Trotskyists. These include the former Communist Tendency (CT), Proletarian Orientation Tendency (POT) and Leninist Faction (LF), of the SWP, and the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) and Leninist Tendency (LT) of the IS. Despite their relatively small numbers, these groupings had considerable potential importance to the extent that they could effectively expose the fraudulent claims of the Pabloist SWP and Shachtmanite IS to represent the continuity of Leninism.

However, while the LT and a large part of the LF membership have gone on to assimilate the program of proletarian Trotskyism and join or fuse with the Spartacist League, most of these former left oppositionists have stopped half-way in the struggle against Pabloist and Shachtmanite revisionism. Thus today the leaders of the ex-CT, ex-RT and ex-LF all proudly proclaim themselves (each of them) to be the very first Trotskyists since Trotsky himself, yet find themselves curiously united with one another and their parent organizations in support of popular, left-talking trade-union bureaucrats. Like the IS and SWP, all of them supported (with varying degrees of "criticism") the election of the Labor Department's man in the United Mine Workers—"progressive" Arnold Miller, who has spent his first year in office suppressing wildcat strikes, pushing lawsuits and dissolving his "rank-and-file caucus"?

## RSL Contradictions Will Lead to Its Demise

The contradictions of such centrist politics are particularly sharp in the case of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), formerly the RT of the International Socialists. The leadership of the RSL claims not only to have definitively buried the ghost of Max Shachtman but, moreover, to have better assimilated the method of the Transitional Program than any other ostensibly Trotskyist tendency.

Thus in debating the Spartacist League last summer, RSL leader Sy Landy's repeated theme was: whatever the RSL lacks in the way of concrete program, it amply makes up for in the richness and brilliance of its analysis; all the sectarian SL has is mere "positions" (see "RSL Gives 'Critical Support' to Trotskyism," *WV* No. 27, 31 August 1973). Yet while claiming to have exhaustively analyzed the roots of the IS' Shachtmanism, the RSL maintains that there is no class difference between the Soviet Union and the imperialist West and remains agnostic on the question of democratic centralism?

Is it possible that these "brilliant theorists" have failed to notice that it was precisely over the "Russian question" and the "organizational question" that Shachtman broke with Trotsky's "positions" (and with the Fourth International) in 1940? The RSL's terminology may be different (Max termed the USSR "bureaucratic collectivist," while Sy calls it "state-capitalist"), but its methodology and essential conclusions are classical Shachtmanism.

Having falsely identified Shachtmanism with the trade-union adaptationism of the International Socialists, the RSL turns around and endorses in practice (e.g., the Mine Workers' election of 1972) the same tailism that is the stock-in-trade of the social-democratic IS. Not content to block in practice with admitted Shachtmanites, the RSL even claims that the rotten reformist IS is "centrist." This is an appalling case of self-annealing, whose sole justification is to paper over the long years during which Landy

& Co. were formulating and propagandizing these same reformist politics.

The "creative Marxists" of the RSL apparently believe that their claim to stand 100 percent on the Transitional Program absolves them of Shachtmanite sin. Certainly, as we have pointed out, the RSL has written some fine phrases on the subject, including on the necessity "to fight for an explicitly working class program, and more generally to raise the demands and slogans of the Transitional Program, even when these may be unpopular..." (Ron Tabor, "On the Transitional Program"). However, the RSL abandons these principles in its practice (where was Miller's working-class program?), and denounces the SL's supposed wooden sectarianism. Hence, according to RSLer Bruce Landau, groups like the SL:

"carry the program with them in a mobile ark-of-the-covenant. When they encounter a member of the uninitiated, they fling open the ark's doors wide. Whoever does not instantly make obeisance to every word in the scripture is given up as forever lost, a hopeless sinner."

— "Trotskyism, Centrism and the IS"

If they had really made a serious study of the history of Shachtmanism, the RSL leaders would have discovered that the Workers Party of the early 1940's claimed to be vigorously upholding the program of the Fourth International—better, they claimed, than the "bureaucratic-conservative" Cannonites of the SWP. In fact, while they were still a minority in the SWP, Shachtman, Aberg, Bern and Burnham wrote in 1939:

"Neither in committee nor in their public writings and speeches have they ['the Cannon faction'] made a single illuminating analysis of a single event; they have made no predictions, suggested no guidance whatever. They merely repeat, parrot-like, in their own phrasing and rhetoric, the ideas already presented by Trotsky."

"Here, too, there is nothing exceptional. The same situation *exactly* obtained in the case of the 'Transitional Program' adopted at the N.C. plenum held in the spring of 1938... the Program was, and remained, for Cannon not a policy but a substitute for a policy. Endorsement meant not understanding, not the effort to apply the policy in the concrete life of the movement, but simply the ritualistic nod of agreement with its words. Shachtman, Burnham and others, including Goldman at the time, insisted that it meant nothing merely to 'accept' the transitional program;... distinction would have to be made... between those slogans which were of a general propagandistic and educational character and those suitable for immediate agitational uses; and they insisted further that the *concrete* meaning of many of the general concepts of the program had to be sought in terms of living developments in this country. For Cannon, the test of the true believer was whether he made the sign of the cross with proper piety. 'All or none!' —100 per cent *verbal* acceptance of the program just as it stood, and *nothing more*."

— "The War and Bureaucratic Conservatism"

Perhaps, if one accepts the RSL's identification of the SL with airy references to the "Cannonite faction of Trotskyism," one can tell from the above in what school Landy & Co. learned their politics. Despite its supposed "bureaucratic conservatism" the Fourth International was capable of understanding the fundamental class distinction between imperialism and the Russian degenerated workers state (and the elementary socialist duty of defending the latter against the former), something which escaped Shachtman's analysis. Still lauding their superior analyses, contrasted to mundane program, the latter-day Shachtmanites of the RSL show their "concrete" understanding of the Transitional Pro-



Max Shachtman

THE DONALD PRESS

gram by declaring Russia to be capitalist (consequently, if they are consistent, refusing to support it against imperialist attack), and backing Arnold Miller because he was more "democratic" than the corrupt Boyle regime.

## Democracy and Class

With its Shachtmanite background and politics it is not surprising that the RSL discovers "democracy" as the ultimate decisive criterion for all class questions. Thus the RSL trumpets about its most profound extension of Marxism, "the application to the United States of the theory of Permanent Revolution." By this it means that, "The 'promise of bourgeois democracy' can be fulfilled only through the socialist revolution" (*Torch* No. 2, November 1973).

How very profound! Until now we thought that it was a commonplace among Marxists that because bourgeois society is a class society, ruled over by a narrow layer of exploiters, bourgeois democracy is ultimately a fraud for the toiling masses. Were Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky wrong? Or is it that the "creative Marxists" of the RSL have come up with a formulation to assure its petty-bourgeois friends that socialists of the Shachtmanite stripe are for the "promise of bourgeois democracy" too... and, by the way, opposed to the bestial totalitarianism of state capitalist Russia and China?

What lies behind such a statement must necessarily be profound illusions concerning the real meaning of bourgeois democracy. This is convincingly evidenced by Bruce Landau's hysteria (see *Torch* No. 3, 15 November-15 December 1973) over the SL's rejection of the theory that Watergate is a sign of impending fascism or full-scale bonapartism, and our statement that, "In fact, it is just the opposite—Congress is restoring the norms of U.S. bourgeois democracy..." (*WV* No. 31, 26 October 1973). Landau claims that this means we share the view of the Communist Party that Nixon's impeachment would "remove the peril to world peace and our security" (*Daily World*, 26 October).

Only someone who believes that bourgeois democracy means sweetness and light could make this grotesque amalgam. The SL has no illusions about bourgeois democracy which in the U.S. has been compatible with the Palmer Raids; jailing the leadership of the CP, SWP, IWW and SP at different times; the Coal and Iron Police; concentration camps for citizens of Japanese ancestry in World War II; lynchings of blacks; the imperialist

war in Vietnam; etc.

This consistent petty-bourgeois fascination with democracy in the abstract is also behind the RSL's position on the Russian question. Thus when, according to Landy & Co., the last vestiges of workers democracy were eliminated in the USSR by Stalin's Great Purge Trials in 1936-38, then the class difference between Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany suddenly disappears! The RSL will soon discover that such a position leads straight into the arms of the democratic imperialist bourgeoisie and to support for bourgeois counterrevolutionary forces. For, given the police-state conditions of the Soviet Union, if it is simply one more capitalist state, then a restoration of *bourgeois* democracy would be a considerable improvement. The ability of the RSL to maintain any pretense of revolutionary Marxism is simply a luxury of the Nixon-Brezhnev détente.

## Vanguard or Tail

As with all Shachtmanites, the RSLers' idolization of abstract "democracy" actually represents crawling before bourgeois public opinion. By extension, they are also eager to demonstrate their willingness to capitulate to the present, bourgeois consciousness of the working class. In consequence they effectively liquidate the vanguard role of the revolutionary party, as the *leader* of the class. This shows up most vividly in their conceptions of communist work in the unions.

In contrast to most of the U.S. left, the Spartacist League has been virtually alone in upholding the tradi-



Jack Gregory, RSL

WV PHOTO

tional Leninist concept of struggling for the leadership of the labor movement on the basis of the full program representing the historic interests of the working class. This struggle is carried out within the trade unions by caucuses based on the transitional program, which complement the struggle of the communist party in the class as a whole.

The RSL counterposes a "stages" conception of a series of blocs with "militant" formations (like Miller's now-defunct "Miners for Democracy") that will at some undefined point magically result in the RSL's ascendancy in the labor movement. Out of fear of "sectarianism," these Shachtmanites abandon the struggle for the Transitional Program in the trade unions, in effect denying that it represents the objective needs of the working class in the imperialist epoch. Instead, they conceive of the program of the Fourth International as simply a menu of demands, from which one periodically selects an enticing dish in order to attract militant workers.



To the RSL, Lenin's emphasis on the need to replace trade-union consciousness with socialist consciousness (the heart of *What Is To Be Done?*) is "substitutionism."

The Trotskyists do not deny the validity of the tactic of united fronts with opposing tendencies within the labor movement. But to be effective in educating the mass of the workers in socialist politics and splitting them from their present reformist leadership, it is necessary first that the revolutionaries constitute a firm and clear programmatic pole. Tactical maneuvers can only be carried out from a granite foundation.

## Study History

Landy identifies Shachtmanism with the later evolution of Shachtman into State Department socialism of the Norman Thomas brand during the 1950's. But the RSL resembles nothing so much as Shachtman's early Workers Party during the World War II U.S./USSR détente. (Of course, it only took the end of the wartime honeymoon and the onset of the cold war for Shachtman to realize that his theory, like the RSL's, makes bourgeois democracy preferable to Stalinism. He drew the conclusions, and ultimately ended up supporting U.S. imperialist butchery in Vietnam.)

Another quite similar Shachtmanite formation was the very leftist Johnson-Forrest tendency, which also held that Russia was "state capitalist." This group left the WP in 1947 (as the latter was moving to the right) to join the SWP. Johnson-Forrest were resolutely opposed to even the progressive wing of the bureaucracy (unlike the RSL), and took a strong position for Bolshevik party discipline (again unlike the RSL). They had, however, a strong workerist outlook and expected the proletarian revolution to be just around the corner. When the SWP opposed U.S. imperialism during the Korean War, this and their frustrated apocalyptic visions of instant revolution, catapulted them out of the SWP. Some chose ultra-left irrelevancy, while others left the Marxist movement altogether.

A more contemporary precedent, perhaps even more relevant because of its rapid demise, is the ill-fated American Socialist Organizing Committee (ASOC). Landy is himself directly familiar with its sorry history, for at the time it parted company with the Socialist Party in 1964, Landy, Hal Draper and their fellow Shachtmanites were comfortably ensconced in the cold-war anti-communist SP.

ASOC issued out of the SP's youth group, the Young Peoples Socialist League, which had experienced a certain growth during the early 1960's due to its activities in the civil rights movement and in pacifist protests against nuclear weapons testing. (YPSL more or less controlled the Student Peace Union.) But with the passing of the "Freedom Rides" and the signing of the 1963 Kennedy/Khrushchev test ban treaty, the social-democratic youth came upon hard times. By 1964 YPSL's stagnation had produced an increasingly sharp internal political polarization.

This came to a head during the fall, beginning with the 1964 Labor Day convention at which the delegates passed resolutions censuring the YPSL National Action Committee for its response to the Kennedy assassination (when it had expressed "grief" and "mourning"). They also mandated the new left-wing YPSL leadership to ignore SP discipline until the SP prevented its national leadership from supporting Lyndon Johnson, the Democratic candidate, for president.

The SP leadership thereupon placed its youth group under receivership, leading the YPSL leadership to dissolve the organization. A small section of YPSL subsequently regrouped with the SL; another (the Draperites) remained in the SP while forming the Independent Socialist Clubs that several years later became IS; and a third grouping led by the YPSL leadership of Bob Brown and Tom Barton went on to form ASOC, a militant "third-camp" formation. Con-

trasting themselves to the SP's support for Johnson, the future ASOC leaders had pushed the slogan "Vote No for President."

But ASOC was destined to live a rather short life. Caught between a leftward impulse and its Shachtmanite "third campism" (i.e., opposing equally capitalism and "communist imperialism"), it was torn apart by the first class question it faced: the Vietnam war. This contradiction was acutely felt in the leadership with Barton, on the one hand, stating at the November 1965 ASOC convention that "I am for the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, by the NLF if necessary"; and a right wing led by Kim Moody (later of the IS) which, as Barton put it, "would rather see Vietnam a U.S. colony than see it independent under Stalinist leadership...."

Unable to resolve their sharp differences, the two tendencies simply drifted apart. This led Brown to introduce a motion to dissolve ASOC at its April 1966 national conference. Writing shortly afterwards to a former ASOC member who had resigned to join Spartacist, Brown remarked pathetically: "I am both happy and chagrined to admit your views on ASOC are absolutely correct.... I vehemently disagreed with the Baltimore abstentionist Vietnam point of view at the time it was adopted.... Chicago ASOC people would have left the organization back in Nov. 65 had we not hoped to salvage some people and perhaps enough of an organization to rebuild ASOC along more left-wing lines. But alas, it was not to be."

## On the Road to Nowhere

Today, the left-Shachtmanite RSL finds itself in the same impasse. The Soviet Union in 1941; Eastern Europe in 1947-48; China in 1949; Korea in 1951; Cuba in 1960; Vietnam today—it is impossible to avoid the "Russian question." If the RSL were to follow the political logic of its "state-capitalist" theories, it would have to be defeatist on both sides in the Vietnam war. Instead it is content to settle for the IS solution to the problem (namely, to support the NLF militarily because it is popular in petty-bourgeois circles, while pretending to hold a principled third-camp position) by insisting along with the Stalinists and the ex-Trotskyist SWP, that the war is for "self-determination."

The future for the RSL is bleak indeed. In the trade-union arena it will be continually upstaged by the IS and the political bandits of the Workers League, who give "critical support" to sellouts with a shamelessness that even Landy will fear to imitate (at first). And to the extent that the RSL does attempt to go beyond talking sub-reformists like Miller and win militants to the Transitional Program, it will discover that the advanced workers do not exist in a vacuum apart from bourgeois society. They are infected with bourgeois ideology, with Stalinism and every other sort of revisionism. To the surprise of the workerists of the RSL, sinking roots in the class will require a sharp political struggle with the existing bureaucratic misleaders of labor and with the various left-wing tendencies, first among them the Spartacist League.

To those militants in the RSL who do not wish to slip back into the old IS swamp or to prostitute themselves in political banditry in the manner of the Workers League, we say: take up the fight for the program of Trotskyism; for its implementation in practice, not just in "creative analyses"; and study the history of your predecessors. The Russian question hangs over the RSL like Damocles' sword. Not only does it threaten to shatter the organization at the first international crisis (since the cynical ex-CTers claim to hold an orthodox position of unconditional defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialist attack); but the violence done to Marxism by the claim that Russia, China, etc., are capitalist will profoundly corrode whatever formal adherence to Trotskyism the RSL now possesses. ■

# Nazis Clash with Leftists in San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO—On January 8 thirteen members of the American Nazi party, in full uniform with swastikas, attended a public meeting of the San Francisco Board of Education, which was discussing an integration plan for the city's schools. The audience was justly outraged at this deliberate provocation, and one black teacher/activist, Yvonne Golden, got to the microphone to protest the presence of the Nazis. Soon afterwards a scuffle broke out between the Nazis and supporters of the Workers Action Movement (WAM) and Progressive Labor Party.

PL/WAM suffered a considerable beating, especially after 50 city cops rushed in to protect the Nazis and restore "order." As is typical of bourgeois justice, none of the Nazis were

the police protection often given to the fascists. The Leninist answer to the fascist menace is to crush it through mass action of the working class.

## Reformism and Ultra-Leftism

PL/WAM made their essentially reformist thrust clear by their full support to the program of the "Ad Hoc Committee Against Nazism and Racism," which states:

"...we are demanding that the San Francisco Board of Education:

1) Not allow the attendance of Nazis (members of the National Socialist White Peoples' Party) at meetings of the Board of Education.

2) Not allow Nazi youth groups to have organizations in the public schools.



EXAMINER

Nazi throws punch at January 8 San Francisco Board of Education meeting.

arrested, while several PL/WAM supporters were arrested on various misdemeanor charges as well as a felony charge of battery against police officers. Yvonne Golden was arrested later on charges of inciting to riot, disturbing the peace and disturbing a lawful assembly.

It is the elementary duty of all Marxists to demand the immediate dropping of all charges against those arrested. It is irrelevant to us whether or not the Nazis actually threw the first punch—despite their small size, the Nazis represent a potentially mortal danger to the working class if allowed to freely organize and recruit. Furthermore, workers must have no faith in the capitalist state to stop the fascists or other reactionary movements—indeed, bourgeois justice has always shown leniency toward them. In the last resort, the fascists are the tool of the capitalists against the workers movement. Thus, laws which empower the bourgeois state to limit the civil liberties of "extremist" groups should be opposed on the grounds that such alleged "anti-fascist" laws are invariably used against the working class and the left rather than any right-wing threat.

The Chilean Allende government's gun-control law, for instance, ostensibly aimed against the right wing, in fact enabled the police and military to disarm the workers, thus ensuring the success of the generals' September coup. As part of an overall transitional program, workers must create armed workers militias to deal with the fascists. It would have been a relatively easy matter for a workers' detachment to remove the Nazi scum from the school board meeting. Communists rely neither on the bourgeois state nor on the isolated actions of a small vanguard to stop the fascists. While there are occasional instances in which a favorable relation of forces permits one or another left group by itself to prevent a few Nazis from speaking or marching, these are not frequent, if only because of

3) Take no action against Yvonne Golden, Henry Hitz, or any other teacher who protested the Nazis' presence at the January 8th Board of Education meeting. And that your body recommend to the District Attorney's office the dropping of charges against those people arrested at the January 8th meeting."

This program emerged out of the January 13 meeting of the "Ad Hoc Committee," which is an amalgam of PL/WAM, the Teachers Action Caucus, IS and several miscellaneous groups and individuals. The last point is of course supportable, but the first two are a classical liberal/reformist approach to "fighting fascism" by relying on the bourgeois state. This of course is consistent with PL's previous long campaign to "fight racism" by creating coalitions with liberal professors to abolish racist textbooks, instead of organizing the working class to fight concrete acts of racial oppression. Like the liberals, PL separates fascist and racist theories from their material basis in the capitalist system. Thus, in continuation of their Stalinist heritage, PL/WAM supporters tried to argue that World War II was a war to "fight fascism," which was the excuse used by the Stalinist Communist parties to support their "own" bourgeoisies and to make no-strike pledges.

As Lenin noted, opportunism and ultra-leftism are two sides of the same coin; both seek to bypass the struggle for leadership of the working class with shortcuts. PL persists in serving as a classical example of this point. A few days after the above meeting, there was a regular meeting of WAM. Here, away from the "mass" movement of liberal teachers, students and "community activists," PL came out with its hard "worker" line. The key words this year are "Bold Action," which, as any *Challenge* reader knows, means wildcat strikes. One PL/WAM supporter reported enthusiastically that the Detroit

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# The Gulag Archipelago Exposes Stalin's Crimes, but Solzhenitsyn Embraces Anti-Communism

by D. Chembar

*Editor's Note: The following article is based on the excerpts from Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956 which have been published in the New York Times. A complete English translation is not available as yet. However, the intense discussion of the book and Solzhenitsyn's politics currently engaging the bourgeois press, the Russian government, the pro-Moscow Stalinist parties in the West, the Maoists and tendencies proclaiming themselves Trotskyist, requires that we publish a preliminary assessment at this time.*

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's major political work, *The Gulag Archipelago*, is being treated like a bombshell on both sides of the "Iron Curtain." The CIA and leading capitalist newspapers have latched onto certain of Solzhenitsyn's statements identifying Lenin with the crimes of Stalin to provide grist for their anti-communist propaganda mills. In the Soviet Union the bureaucracy has seized upon remarks in the book which favorably compare tsarist Russia to life under Stalin in order to denounce all "Soviet dissidents" as agents of bourgeois reaction. With all its contradictory aspects, combining valuable data on the crimes of the bureaucracy with Russian nationalist rejection of the October Revolution, *The Gulag Archipelago* must be evaluated as a major political statement of one of the leaders of the current generation of Soviet oppositionists. It thus necessitates a serious examination of the nature and role of anti-Stalinist intellectuals in the Soviet Union and the paths of political revolution in the deformed workers states.

Solzhenitsyn's personal history epitomizes the tragic process of disillusionment and demoralization which has sapped the socialist consciousness of some of the most outstanding representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia. His radical transformation from dedicated communist to consistent opponent of socialism is a damaging indictment of a narrow nationalist bureaucracy which is unable to channel the energies and talents of its youth and intellectuals into the cause of world socialist revolution, but rather impels them into the camp of counter-revolution.

The bureaucracy struck its first blow at Solzhenitsyn, then a young officer in the Red Army, by arresting him for criticizing Stalin's disastrous misleadership in the early months of World War II. In discussions with various inmates of the "Gulag Archipelago" (Stalin's vast network of prisons and labor camps spread across Russia and Siberia), Solzhenitsyn began to develop a critique, not only of the bureaucracy, but of socialism in general, which he came increasingly to identify with Stalinism. In one of the *New York Times* excerpts from his book, he recounts the impact on him of several conversations with an Estonian prisoner, Suzi:

"Now he was telling me, with fascination, about everything that was his. About Estonia and democracy. Even though I had never expected to become interested previously in Estonia, or bourgeois democracy, nonetheless I kept listening and listening to his loving stories of twenty free years of that unsensational work-loving small people.... I listened to the principles of the Estonian Constitution which had been taken from the best of European experience, and how their one-house parliament consisting of 100 members had worked. And it was not clear why, but I began to like it all and all of it began to be stored away in my experience."

All these experiences which Solzhenitsyn stored away during his years



Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn as officer in 1944 (left), under detention in 1946 (center), and after 1953 release (right).

in the *Gulag Archipelago* began to pour out in literary works after his release. His first literary productions did not explicitly attack the bureaucracy or socialism in general, although it is now known from Solzhenitsyn's own account that he had already moved away from socialism to a belief in abstract democracy.

Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, recounting the miseries of Stalin's labor camps, was sponsored by Khrushchev as part of the "de-Stalinization" campaign, and this proved to be the only one of all Solzhenitsyn's works which would meet with approval from the bureaucracy.

Another early novel, *For the Good of the Cause*, contrasted the idealism of Soviet youth with the bureaucratic routinism of officialdom. In the short story, *Matryona's Home*, Solzhenitsyn depicted the Soviet peasantry (collective farmers) in a neo-populist fashion, as the spiritual mainstay of the Russian people. What these earlier works had in common with his later novels *The First Circle* and *Cancer Ward*, is their concern with the realities of contemporary Soviet life, their vivid portraits of representatives from all layers of Soviet society and their groping for a moral solution to the evils in the society.

In his moral quest, Solzhenitsyn was forced to take up the problem of Stalinism, examined from the point of view of its victims. In *The First Circle* and *Cancer Ward* Solzhenitsyn attempted to lay bare the ugliness of the Stalinist system, which consisted not only in camps and bureaucrats, but in moral emptiness and degradation of the human personality. He also revealed the beauty of those people who remained uncorrupted by Stalinism. In all of these books we sense the presence of the author himself speaking, now through one character, now through another, commenting, criticizing and passing judgement. In *The First Circle* Solzhenitsyn relives the endless discussions in which he must have participated in the various prisons and camps: in the figure of Communist prisoner Lev Rubin we can see the young Solzhenitsyn himself, or perhaps a parody of him, loyally defending Stalin and the revolution from the attacks of the other prisoners. The hero of *Cancer Ward*, Kostoglotov, is Solzhenitsyn in a further stage of his evolution: a labor camp prisoner (zek), undergoing a cure for cancer, he seeks comfort in the ideas of Christian socialism and in his dream of a "magic herb" which will save his body from the disease. *Cancer Ward* is undoubtedly Solzhenitsyn's greatest re-creation, in literary images, of Soviet reality in all its forms.

As the author became increasingly ostracized by Soviet officialdom and its stooges in the literary clubs (*The First Circle* and *Cancer Ward* were banned from publication in the Soviet Union and Solzhenitsyn himself was expelled from the Writers Union), and as he evolved farther to the right, toward religious mysticism and anti-communism, Solzhenitsyn turned his literary eye from the present to the past. Seeking the moral regeneration of Russia through discovery of its initial "fall from grace," Solzhenitsyn began a huge work dealing with pre-revolutionary Russia, the first part of which has been published as *August 1914*.

Here his heroes are no longer prisoners, communist and non-communist, but tsarist officers and patriotic peasants. His representative revolutionary, Sasha Lenartovich, is a coward who deserts his platoon rather than pass another day under shellfire. While future generations may consider *August 1914* to be, from the aesthetic point of view, Solzhenitsyn's greatest work, the ideological content of this book is certainly very shallow. An incidental character, Varsonofiev, expresses, in trite aphorisms, Solzhenitsyn's views:

"... we should develop our soul. There is nothing more precious than the development of a man's own soul; it is more important than the well-being of countless future generations..."

"... the best social order is not susceptible to being arbitrarily constructed, or even to being scientifically constructed.... Do not be so arrogant as to imagine that you can invent an ideal social order.... history is not governed by reason."

When Varsonofiev's student asks, "but is it right to join the [tsarist] army and go to war?" the scholar replies, "I must say—yes it is." He explains: "For some reason it is important that Russia's backbone not be broken. And for that, young men must go to war."

*August 1914* is Solzhenitsyn's account of the breaking of Russia's backbone, a breaking which led Russia into the arms of the Bolsheviks (who, he implies, were fools for thinking they could build a new social order on a scientific basis). Now Solzhenitsyn says that the cowardly, utopian revolutionaries of *August 1914* led the country, inevitably, to Stalinism!

## Gulag: Main Administration of Corrective Labor Camps

It is not possible to give a comprehensive review of the contents of *The Gulag Archipelago* from the excerpts printed in the *New York Times*, the only sections of the book so far available in English. It is clear from these

extracts and from the commentaries of Harrison Salisbury that Solzhenitsyn's 600-page work encompasses an enormous amount of material concerning political repression under Stalin, parts of it previously unknown in the West. Some of the material, however, is unsubstantiated for obvious reasons—the executioners cannot be expected to keep accurate records of their crimes. Moreover, the selection and commentaries by the *New York Times* may distort the work. Thus, according to Salisbury:

"Mr. Solzhenitsyn presents a detailed statistical comparison [not published in the *Times* excerpts] between conditions under the Czars and in the Soviet Union. For every category—arrests, terms of imprisonment, executions—he finds that the Soviet Government has exceeded Czarist rule by a factor ranging from 10 to one to 1,000 to one. In comparing the Soviet Government to that of Hitler, Mr. Solzhenitsyn suggests that the Nazis were almost benign by comparison. He declares that the total of Soviet victims in more than 50 years dwarfs that of Hitler's years."

—*New York Times*, 29 December 1973

Whether or not Solzhenitsyn actually called the Nazis "benign," it is clear that his figures cannot be accepted uncritically. However, the book is not limited to Solzhenitsyn's account of Stalin's purges (which were amply documented by Trotsky in the 1930's, and about which Roy Medvedev has published accounts based on government archives). It also includes an important description of the impact of Stalin's mammoth repressive apparatus on those of its victims who were not immediately shot, among them Solzhenitsyn himself.

Unfortunately, Solzhenitsyn's own perceptions of Russian realities seem to be distorted by his prison-camp experience. He essentially equates Leninism with Stalinism and considers life in Stalin's labor camps as the archetype of life in the USSR as a whole. In consequence, his works do not reflect the sharp differences between, for example, former Red Army officers or Communist Party members and religious Ukrainian nationalist peasants. In a Vorkuta prison camp they all became comrades in opposition to campguards and management. However, during the Nazi invasion these social groups behaved quite differently from each other (though they all had reasons to hate Stalin). Solzhenitsyn's politics are, in a word, "prison-camp" politics and do not deal with the realities of a bureaucratically deformed workers state surrounded by imperialism.

An indication of this in Solzhenitsyn's novels is his uniformly flat treatment of all bureaucrats, epitomized by his characterization of Stalin in *The*



**First Circle.** That it is possible to write about bureaucrats and managers without depicting them simply as one-dimensional caricatures, while still conveying a powerful social critique of the parasitic bureaucracy, is shown by Victor Serge's novel *The Case of Comrade Tulayev*, written about the period of the purge trials in the late 1930's, or by Dudintsev's *Not By Bread Alone*, written during the "thaw" of literary censorship during the 1950's. However, seen from the perspective of the prison camp, it is hard to imagine how bureaucrats could be portrayed as anything but one-dimensional oppressors.

This is not to deny Solzhenitsyn's stature as a writer. He is, in fact, one of the few real artists to emerge in the Soviet Union in recent decades. It is a devastating comment on the pernicious bureaucratic repression that any real attempt at literary creativity is relegated to the *samizdat* [self-published] underground editions, and that it is precisely Solzhenitsyn, the product of the labor camps, who is the most prominent Russian novelist today.

But beyond the individual case studies and evaluation of the purge trials, *The Gulag Archipelago* will inevitably be judged primarily as one of the main political documents of the current Russian oppositionists. It is for this reason that it is necessary to deal explicitly with Solzhenitsyn's politics, as presented in the excerpts available to us, and in particular his equation of Stalinism with Leninism and explicit rejection of socialism.

#### TERROR AGAINST WHOM?

That Solzhenitsyn actually believes that Bolshevism equals Stalinism is clear from even the mangled fragments of *Gulag Archipelago* reprinted in the *New York Times*. We see Lenin in 1918 planning the reign of terror which Stalin loyally carried out in the 1930's and '40's: "V.I. Lenin proclaimed the common, united purpose of a 'purge' of the Russian earth of all harmful insects."

What is the truth of such accusations? Was Lenin the architect of the Stalinist Terror? On 1 December 1921 Lenin wrote the following note:

"Rough Draft of a Decision for the Politburo of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on the Vecheka [the Soviet secret police, founded in 1918 to combat counterrevolution and sabotage].

- 1st: jurisdiction to be narrowed.
- 2nd: right to arrest still narrower.
- 3rd: term less than 1 month.
- 4th: more weight to courts or only through the courts.
- 5th: name.

6th: pass radical relaxations through the *All-Russia Central Executive Committee*"

—*Collected Works*, Vol. 42, pp. 366-7

Lenin advocated the easing of the terror at the end of 1921 precisely because the danger of counterrevolution had eased with Soviet victory over the Whites and their imperialist allies and with the defeat of the various attempts at counterrevolution and sabotage instigated by the Mensheviks and both wings of the Social Revolutionaries in alliance with White Guardists. Trotskyists must distinguish between the terror of 1918-1923, which (despite some excesses) was directed against the counterrevolutionaries, and the terror of the Stalin era which was directed against Trotskyists, Old Bolsheviks and the masses.

Solzhenitsyn would be consistent (as a pacifist) if he condemned all terror and violence as equally immoral. However, enamored of "democratic" American imperialism, he has refused to condemn American aggression in Vietnam and criticizes American liberals for their concern over the plight of blacks in South Africa. In other words, Solzhenitsyn condemns *only* the violence committed by leaders of the Soviet state and covers up for the aggression of American imperialism against the workers of the world. In this he follows in the footsteps of Karl Kautsky—also a great "moralist"—who delivered the German workers into the hands of the butchers Scheidemann and Noske and then turned around to condemn the Bolsheviks for their "brutal-

*continued on page 8*

# Women Bureaucrats Front for Ford Foundation, Labor Dept. at NY Conference

NEW YORK—A meeting billed as the "First New York Trade Union Women's Conference" was held here January 19 at the Hospital Workers Local 1199 hall. Upwards of 600 women (and about a dozen men) attended. The conference was sponsored by the Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations (ILR), in cooperation with the U.S. Labor Department. It was, in addition, endorsed by the NYC Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, and about thirty individual unions. Many of those involved in organizing this conference are also supporters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, which has been sponsoring a series of regional conferences leading up to a meeting to be held in Chicago in March with the aim of launching a national membership organization.

These efforts mark a shift in the main focus of the movement for women's equality, from the virtually defunct petty-bourgeois feminist movement to the trade-union and electoral (Equal Rights Amendment) arena.

The Spartacist League fought in the women's liberation movement from its inception for a class-struggle strategy, arguing that the needs of women could be secured only by the strength of the labor movement and, furthermore, that women's issues could not be artificially separated out from the program for liberation of the entire working class through the struggle to overthrow capitalist rule. This perspective requires a relentless fight against the reactionary, pro-capitalist bureaucracy of the labor movement.

However, the organizational initiative for the recent conferences has come primarily from lower-echelon labor bureaucrats, whose aim is to increase their clout by recruiting some aspiring female bureaucrats and increasing women workers' participation in union affairs as a potential power base. Their goal is to use the issue of women's oppression at the workplace, and the unresponsiveness of existing union leaderships, to build a following for their own personal advancement in the union bureaucracy.

Despite the rhetoric about militancy and solidarity, despite the union songs and the words of praise for the strength of the labor movement, the conference was an exercise in class collaboration. As one participant protested: "I work for GM, and Ford's no better. These companies have no interest in securing gains for women, but on the contrary try to smash the unions. The companies don't attend our union meetings; why are they here?"

And indeed the companies and their government were there in force. The Cornell ILR women's project, according to its own literature, is funded by the Ford Foundation, notorious for its union-busting, whose director is McGeorge Bundy, architect of Johnson's "Vietnamization" scheme!

A leaflet distributed at the conference by the Spartacist League exposed the Cornell ILR School as having received, according to government records, \$289,500 from foundations identified as CIA conduits in 1961-63. The money was used, according to the *New York Times* index of 1967, for "international labor training projects... union members and officials interested in international affairs of their unions were subsidized under the program"—i.e., in funding the complicity of the labor bureaucracy with U.S. imperialism.

The SL leaflet explained:

"The Cornell program proposes taking women from the trade unions into graduate study to 'train them for leadership.' Presumably after such training they re-enter the unions as part of the international affairs departments, etc. This type of 'training' has a precedent in the 'training' of Latin American leaders in Washington by the American Institute of Free Labor Development, the major union cover for CIA intelli-



Democrat Bella Abzug speaking at N.Y. Trade Union Women's Conference.

gence in Latin America. AIFLD's president is George Meany and the treasurer is the same Joe Beirne of CWA who 'unknowingly' was linked to the 1961 Cornell program. On AIFLD's board of directors, beside leaders of the AFL-CIO are ITT, Anaconda Copper and the United Fruit Company."

The leaflet documented the Ford Foundation's union-busting role ("community control" vs. the 1968 NYC teachers' strike, the "Philadelphia Plan" in the construction trades) and denounced government-controlled programs like "Affirmative Action" as cynical tokenism whose real aim is to destroy union-based job security and the union hiring hall. The real alternative to reformist tokenism and reliance on the capitalist government is the struggle for "30 for 40" to provide full employment at the companies' expense instead of pitting the various sections of the working class against one another in the competition for jobs. Women workers must join with other militant unionists to root out ethnic and sexual discrimination in the unions through struggling to replace the conservative, sell-out "leaders" by a class-struggle leadership. The leaflet concluded by demanding a complete break with the government and the Ford Foundation—for a workers party to fight for a workers government!

Nixon's Watergate government was directly represented at the conference by a speaker from the Women's Commission of the Labor Department. A motion from the floor to exclude her and to reject Ford Foundation funding was ruled out of order. The only explicit defense of the Ford Foundation came from conference co-chairman Judith Berek of Local 1199: "It's not that we like the Ford Foundation, but we should take advantage of the opportunity to use them." Throughout the proceedings the chairmen—Berek and Connie Kopelov of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers—repeatedly intervened to put forward their own politics, while insisting that "political" subjects like Watergate and too sharp criticism of the existing trade-union leaderships were out of order or irrelevant.

The keynote speaker was Addie Wyatt (chairman of the Coalition of Labor Union Women). She stressed that the goal was not to divide the labor movement but to build a stronger labor movement through increased and active participation by women union members. Implicitly arguing both against the anti-union prejudices of the New Left/feminist women's movement and against militant criticism of the sellout union bureaucrats, she insisted that she was "not always satisfied" with the labor leaders and their policies on women's issues, but that women must look toward the union movement in spite of its weaknesses. She of course offered no programmatic demands for overcoming these "weaknesses."

The floor discussion and workshops revealed a wide spectrum of differing and counterposed views and concerns among the participants. Some urged women unionists to work for the election of female politicians, while others advocated independent political action by labor. Several speakers criticized the existing union leaders for ignoring the needs of women workers, suppressing union democracy and selling out membership militancy. A few called for rank-and-file caucuses, while others wanted women's committees for the explicit purpose of "pressuring" union leaders to pay attention to women's issues.

Over considerable opposition from the floor, the chair presented the surprise guest speaker—female Democrat Bella Abzug. When Ms. Abzug was announced, the floor speaker interrupted at the mike suggested that Abzug get in line like everyone else. Nevertheless, Abzug extended her greetings to the conference.

However, the warmest reception was for Dolores Huerta of the Farmworkers. In typical fashion, Huerta proceeded to use the widespread sympathy for the farmworkers to push the reformist politics which dominated the conference. Ignoring the crucial lessons of the farmworkers' struggles, she said not a word about the need for real acts of solidarity by organized labor, nor about the struggle to unionize the doubly oppressed and largely unorganized sections of the working class—a crucial question for those truly committed to the rights of women workers. Instead, her exhortations were: send letters of protest to Teamster head Fitzsimmons, publicize the lettuce and grape boycotts and raise funds for the farmworkers (she suggested fasting and sending in the money you save). If Huerta had explicitly asked the assembled unionists to repudiate using the strike weapon, hot-cargoing and other forms of real labor solidarity to assist their fellow workers' struggles, the message could not have been clearer: work for reforms; struggle and sacrifice to make the existing system a little more humane; all we want is our fair share of the pie.

If the movement of women trade unionists for equal rights results simply in gaining equal representation for women in the ranks of the sellout union bureaucracy, it will be a tragic waste of the opportunity to mobilize militant women workers against their felt oppression. The only road forward lies not in rejection of the unions, and not in class collaboration, but in working women's taking an active and leading part in the construction of programmatic based union caucuses to oust the "labor lieutenants of capital"—both male and female—and turn the tremendous power of the organized labor movement against the capitalist system itself. ■



Continued from page 7

# Solzhenitsyn

ity": "Shooting—this has become the alpha and omega of communist governmental wisdom," he complained in his polemic against the Bolsheviks, *Terrorism and Communism*. But, as Trotsky pointed out, the cruelty of the Red Terror grew in direct proportion to the recklessness of the old ruling classes, determined to win back their property and their country from the working class. The peak of the Red Terror, understandably enough, coincided with the height of White strength:

"A solid front in the north and south, west and east. Besides the Russian White Guard armies of Kolchak, Denikin and others, against Soviet Russia there step forth simultaneously, or one at a time: Germans and Austrians, Czechoslovaks, Serbs, Poles, Ukrainians, Rumanians, French, English, Americans, Japanese, Finns, Estonians, Lithuanians.... In a country in the grip of blockade gasping from hunger, there are unceasing conspiracies, uprisings, terrorist acts, the destruction of warehouses, roads and bridges."

—Trotsky, *Terrorism and Communism*, 1920

As Leninists, we defend the accomplishments of the Russian Revolution (and the necessary measures used to achieve them, including the Red Terror of Dzerzhinsky) despite the degeneration of the Bolshevik party under Stalin and his successors into the mouthpiece for the bonapartist bureaucracy, which usurped power from the working class and liquidated its best leaders. This degeneration of a section of the Old Bolsheviks was rooted in the material conditions of backward, isolated Russia, in conditions beyond the control of the Bolsheviks themselves. Nevertheless Thermidor conquered in Russia only through a bitter struggle with the best, most revolutionary elements in the Bolshevik party.

Solzhenitsyn, however, sees the Bolshevik party as a degenerated movement from its very inception because the Bolsheviks believed that the ends justified the means?

## SWP Turns Toward Shachtmanism

Can Solzhenitsyn's moralistic Koestlerite anti-Bolshevism offer any kind of solution to the tasks facing the Russians, and all the Soviet peoples, as well as the masses of China and Eastern Europe?

The SWP thinks so. Having uncritically latched onto the Soviet oppositionist movement of the 1960's and '70's, it is unwilling to let go of its heroes, even after two of the leading "dissidents," systematically built up by the bourgeois press—Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn—have revealed themselves as demoralized, anti-communist apologists for Western Imperialism. From the very beginning of the 1960's oppositionist movement, the SWP failed to provide a careful analysis of the weaknesses of the movement—its emergence as a wing of Khrushchevite "anti-Stalinism"; its lack of continuity with previous opposition movements, especially the Left Opposition; its social base among professionals and intellectuals—a stratum intersecting, both socially and ideologically, the lower levels of the bureaucracy itself; and, finally, its explicitly liberal program (appeals to the UN, calling only for democratic rights rather than raising explicitly anti-bureaucratic socialist demands).

These weaknesses indicated well in advance the path many "dissidents" would follow if they proved unable to overcome the movement's limitations and link up with the broad proletarian and peasant masses in the Soviet Union. But instead of analyzing the movement in this fashion, the SWP sought rather to capitalize on the popularity of the dissidents in the West by printing fulsome articles about their activities

and reprinting, without comment, their articles. The SWP did not raise any criticisms even regarding the most serious anti-socialist actions of such people as Yakir (who appealed to that bourgeois den of thieves, the United Nations, to investigate the Russian penal system) and Sakharov (who called on the chiefs of American imperialism to blackmail the USSR into softening its attitude toward dissidents).

Such actions are analogous to a union member's taking the union to a bourgeois court to enforce democracy, something any socialist would oppose on principle—yet the SWP, letting slip only a few mildly critical remarks for face-saving reasons, continued to defend Sakharov's specific actions ("What else could he do?" asked an SWPer at a Militant Forum last fall in New York) on the grounds that the Soviet oppositionist movement, which the SWP calls "the movement for proletarian democracy" (see *Intercontinental Press*, 24 December 1973) is *objectively revolutionary* (like nationalism), whatever it does.

For example, an *Intercontinental Press* article (15 October 1973), after detailing Sakharov's various anti-Soviet statements (the USSR must be controlled "so that it cannot become a threat to its neighbors"; Western aid to the USSR is harmful because it would enable the Soviet leaders "to concentrate on accumulating strength" and "the world would become helpless before this uncontrollable bureaucratic machine"—shades of Shachtman!) and the gleeful response of the American bourgeoisie and its ideologists, then goes on to say piously: "But Sakharov was not responsible for the way the imperialist propaganda machine seized on what he said."

Not responsible indeed! Sakharov is an intelligent and experienced man who directed his appeals exactly where he wanted them to land—in the "imperialist propaganda machine."

Nor is Solzhenitsyn an innocent child. Well connected (Swiss lawyers and other agents, both official and unofficial, in the West) and with a keen sense of military strategy, Solzhenitsyn has won the respect of the bureaucracy itself for his stubborn and well-thought-out struggle against it, as noted by Harrison Salisbury in the *New York Times* of 31 December 1973:

"That the Soviet Government views him with respect as an opponent was emphasized by one of Mr. Solzhenitsyn's literary colleagues. In describing the Kremlin's attitude this writer said: 'They are afraid of him. He is the voice from there [the land of the slave-labor camps]. When he speaks they hear the voices of the millions who perished there. And they are afraid.'"

No doubt the bureaucracy fears not only the "voice from there" exposing its past crimes, but also the voice of one for whose safety certain sections of the American ruling class are willing to threaten economic sanctions and political blackmail—at a time when the bureaucracy is desperate for détente.

However, the bureaucracy will not be overthrown by men like Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn. While their admirers in the American bourgeoisie would gladly use their tremendous military

and economic power to crush the USSR and restore capitalism, at present liberals of the Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov stripe are merely isolated reactionaries, capable neither of revolution nor of counterrevolution. As Trotskyists we defend their right to free speech in the Soviet Union, to publish and disseminate their views, however anti-Marxist they may be. (We would, of course, take a very different attitude to actual counterrevolutionary acts which threatened the military security of the USSR.) We condemn the repressions of the bureaucracy and demand the release of political prisoners, particularly the many socialists such as General Grigorenko, who have been incarcerated solely because of their anti-bureaucratic views.

These demands are not based on any belief that Solzhenitsyn is serving the cause of political revolution, whether consciously or unconsciously, in spite of the SWP's claims:

"Though the Gulag Archipelago is... tainted with Solzhenitsyn's misconceptions, it nevertheless is a powerful blow against the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union and a confirmation of the Marxist critique of Stalinism. Any work that has the potential of revealing part of the truth about Stalinism to the Soviet people can only strengthen the movement for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."

—*Intercontinental Press*, 14 January 1974

To say that any exposure of Stalinism aids the movement for socialist democracy is sheer opportunism. Did the exposés of Stalinism by ex-socialists like Burnham, Silone or Koestler aid the cause of socialist democracy? No—they aided the cause of the liberal "critics" of Stalinism. But Burnham and Co. were nowhere near as popular as Solzhenitsyn!

The SWP's constant whitewashing of pro-bourgeois statements by Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn can only serve the interests of the capitalists and the Stalinists. On the one hand, the bourgeoisie is aided by building up these elements hostile to socialism as the representatives of all Russian dissidents. And the Stalinists can then claim that "Trotskyites" simply serve as a cover for counterrevolution. During recent days the American CP's *Daily World* has been running virtually daily columns on Solzhenitsyn, distorting his statements into support for Hitler and then identifying Trotskyism with Solzhenitsyn on the basis of quotes from the *Militant*.

Trotskyism has always been characterized by intransigent struggle for its program of proletarian internationalism. Repeatedly, Trotsky emphasized the unbridgeable gulf which separates the political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy from social counter-revolution to restore capitalism. Never did he block with bourgeois restorationists against the bureaucracy. (He refused to make a programmatic bloc with right Bolsheviks, such as Bukharin, against Stalin.) Never did he assert that any exposé of Stalinism was positive. On the contrary, his struggle was always to demonstrate that it was the Fourth International which

best defended the USSR against bourgeois counterrevolution, and it was Stalin's criminal purges and capitulation to the imperialist bourgeoisie which were endangering the conquests of the October Revolution.

Proletarian revolutionaries must mercilessly expose the crimes of Stalin and his successors—their jailing and extermination of hundreds of thousands of oppositionists, their sabotage of the Chinese and Spanish revolutions, their anti-internationalist policies of "socialism in one country" and détente with the imperialists. We must resolutely fight for a return to Soviet democracy (including freedom for the victims of the bureaucracy's anti-socialist repression, and freedom to publish even for anti-Marxists like Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn), and for a political revolution to shatter the bureaucracy of the degenerated and deformed workers states. But we must never blur the ideological lines which separate revolution from counterrevolution, socialism from barbarism.

Trotskyist parties can be built in the deformed workers states only in the course of a determined struggle to defeat all alien modes of thought in the working class and intelligentsia, from the bureaucratic liberalism of the Dubcek variety to all types of workerism and anarchism to the openly pro-capitalist views of Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn. While Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* performs a valuable service to historians of the Stalinist Terror, it does not advance the cause of political revolution by one inch. Rather, it attempts to divert the Soviet masses from the struggle against Stalinism into the reactionary struggle for bourgeois democracy.

The task of Trotskyists is not to apologize as the SWP does for the ideological misleadership of the present Soviet oppositionists, but to explain to Soviet workers the difference between Leninism and Stalinism; between political revolution and bourgeois counterrevolution; between unconditional defense of the workers states and apologetics for the "democratic" imperialists. ■

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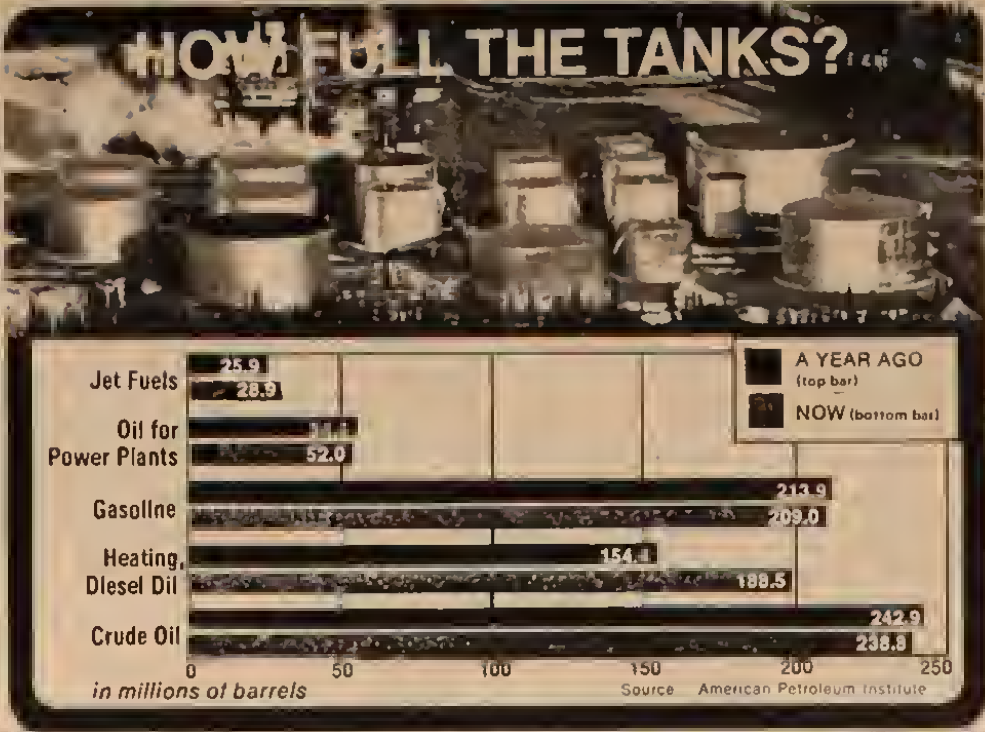
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# ...Near East

view the boycott with favorable "neutrality." For one thing, it offered a convenient excuse for raising prices. Thus even though two-thirds of all U.S. crude oil consumption is domestically produced (and supposedly subject to price controls!), and while imports from the Near East make up only 6 percent of the total, the Arab boycott was used as an excuse to raise the price of refined petroleum products (gasoline, heating fuel) by 125 percent in 1973 (*New York Times*, 9 January). These price increases sent oil company profits skyrocketing last year, with Exxon up 59 percent over the last quarter of 1972, Mobil up 68 percent and Texaco up 70 percent.

Another indication of the oil companies' attitude toward the boycott was given in remarks by Union Oil Company President Fred Hartley before the October war. Arguing that petroleum should be used primarily for transportation, coal and nuclear energy for electricity, and natural gas for petrochemical production, Hartley warned, "we're going to have to get used to higher priced petroleum in order to force these other sources of energy into the marketplace" (*New York Times*, 19 September). It just happens, of course, that since 1966 every major oil company has been diversifying into these fields so that in 1970, of the top 25 petroleum companies all 25 had holdings in natural gas, 18 held oil shale lands, 11 were involved in coal production, 18 held uranium reserves and 7 held tar sands (*Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, October 1971).

A third "positive" influence of the oil boycott (from the U.S. companies' viewpoint) was the damage it would do to Japan. While a little over 1/20 of U.S. crude consumption comes from the Near East and 72 percent of Western Europe's supplies, Japan is almost totally dependent on the Arabs. (The increasing oil prices are having the ef-



### What fuel shortage?

fect of greatly reducing the competitive edge of a large range of Japanese industrial products in the world market, reducing exports 15 to 25 percent and forcing a tremendous \$10 billion deficit in Japan's balance of payments last year, the first since 1968 according to the *New York Times* of 23 January.) Because of the pressure this takes off the U.S.' own balance of payments there have even been suggestions that the American government actually encouraged the Arab oil boycott.

### The Shah's Oil Price Offensive

Prices are a somewhat different matter. While the boycott was a limited political measure primarily directed at putting pressure on Israel, the price offensive initiated by Iran in mid-December is a real threat to the economic stability of the advanced capitalist states, particularly at a point where they were already heading into a worldwide recession. When Libya raised its posted prices to \$18 a barrel early this

month there was a rash of warnings of an international depression from leading bourgeois economists. Since this would hardly aid the oil-producing states, it is unlikely that prices will go above the \$7-11 level being offered by the more realistic Iranians.

But even at this level the additional cost to oil-importing countries is calculated by the OECD at roughly \$50 billion per year (*Le Monde*, 28 December 1973), an amount which could send all the advanced capitalist countries into substantial balance of payments deficits simultaneously, with Japan exhausting its monetary reserves by the end of 1974, giving the Arab oil sheiks the power to cause an international financial crisis at will. The U.S. would be far less affected than the other major capitalist powers, but even so both the American and Western European bourgeoisies will certainly find such a power in the hands of upstart landlords intolerable. Not only would they be able to dictate domestic economic policies or foreign policies in Europe and Japan (as the U.S. did for almost a decade after World War II through its handmaiden, the International Monetary Fund); but if, as the Common Market is proposing, the Arabs invest their new-found billions in European industry, a good chunk of it will go to buy out the existing capitalists.

Already the Shah is dreaming of Iran's becoming, along with perhaps Brazil, one of the world's five most powerful countries by 1980, ahead of China and Japan. As for the Chinese, he remarks, "how could you really supply the needs of an advanced society of one billion and a half people?" On Japan (one of Iran's biggest customers): "I don't know what is going to happen to Japan, because Japan has no coal, they have no shale, they don't have oil, they have nothing, absolutely nothing. The whole scale is changing around" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 19 January). But the Shah forgets that Brazil's rapid development has been as a client state of U.S. imperialism, which remains militarily far stronger than a handful of non-industrial oil emirates and kingdoms. He forgets that when Japan's rapid

economic expansion began to threaten the American sphere of influence in the 1930's, Washington deliberately provoked it into war by progressively embargoing all its crucial raw materials, including oil. Were he a Marxist, Mohammed Reza Pahlevi would understand that his desire to become a new capitalist power by peaceful economic growth is a pipe dream which, if persisted in, will lead inevitably to direct military conflict with the dominant imperialist powers.

On the other hand, the Shah is no pacifist and has been rapidly expanding his arms budget, increasing from \$8.5 million in the early 1960's to \$168 mil-



Oil tankers waiting to unload...

lion in 1968 and rising to an astronomical \$2 billion per year under the current plan (*Le Monde*, 12 January). His concern is to create a massive military establishment to prevent a domestic uprising, while establishing a de facto Greater Iran by granting military "aid" to the former British protectorates on the southern shore of the Persian Gulf (there are already several thousand Iranian troops fighting leftist guerrillas in western Oman).

The Saudis are following suit by concluding arms deals with the French and the U.S., and even tiny Abu Dhabi has ordered 14 Mirage-5 fighters. However, such deals could easily backfire with the emergence of "Nasserite" nationalist (or conceivably even pro-Western) groups of leading officers who could easily unseat the monarchs. It is certainly not accidental that the U.S. accompanies its arms supplies with substantial "advisory groups" (some 3,500 U.S. military "technicians" in Saudi Arabia for instance), who traditionally provide the Americans with effective dual control of the military (or at the very least, with accurate intelligence).

The Western imperialist powers are hardly likely to sit by passively as

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# ...Blacklist

considers itself a specific response to a specific attack, which does not preclude—but rather would aid—militant response to other attacks as well. Mandel's well-established reputation as a militant opponent of all forms of racial discrimination has caused open CP-backed attacks on him in the hiring hall for "racism" to get nowhere with the numerous black and Chicano members of the union.

CP supporters also objected to the united-front nature of the Committee; in which all participants would remain free to express their different points of view. Following the model of a popular-front alliance across class lines, these Stalinists favored a gag rule under which members of a "broadened" committee would have to refrain from criticizing each other or expressing differences. They thus would have provided a shield for continued bureaucratic inaction.

CP supporters proved this by behaving as the most grovelling flunkies of the bureaucracy at the meeting. They continually attempted to cut off discussion, and, after the Committee's resolution passed, a CP supporter raised another resolution more to the bureaucracy's liking, which passed easily. It called for an investigation of all forms of discrimination by the General Executive Board of the Local (a bureaucratic body standing above the Divisions), as though another bureaucratic "fact-finding" mission were required!

Unlike their more craven CP Stalinist mentors, the supporters of the right-Maoist Revolutionary Union, including the other ex-steward blacklist victim, signed the Committee's petition

and voted for the resolution at the membership meeting, though they refused to speak. The RU supporters, however, stated that defense work with "revisionists or Trotskyites" is their "lowest priority" as a matter of principle. Thus out of sectarian abstentionism they refused to join the Committee and the blacklist-victim supporter even refused to speak in defense of the blacklist victims when Committee members spoke at his warehouse!

In addition to the CP's grovelling prostration before Bridges & Co., CP and RU supporters only reveal their sectarianism by attacking and refusing to support the campaign against the blacklist: like the bureaucracy and the blacklisting companies themselves, they don't like what the Committee's chief spokesman stands for. While the CP and RU were content to passively and uncritically support the turn-the-other-cheek liberalism of the Chavez leadership of the Farmworkers, Mandel called on the ILWU to "hot cargo" (refuse to handle) struck lettuce and grapes during the farmworkers' strike. He advocated similar treatment for Chilean cargo after the reactionary military coup overthrew Allende's popular-front government. Annoying those such as the Stalinists who seek to restrict the workers' struggle to narrow, trade-union limits, Mandel calls for a class-struggle approach, including a break with capitalist politics and a struggle for a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Despite their mutual disagreements over ultimate goals, all union members have an immediate interest in banding together to defeat direct company assaults, such as blacklisting. This is the principle of the united front and of unionism. Without such a consciousness on the part of the workers, the union cannot survive; but with it, the basis for future victories can be laid. ■

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# ...Near East

their balance of payments is threatened, billions of dollars siphoned off into the coffers of desert chieftains and the normal operation of industry threatened by disruption at any moment. But with the Vietnam war still fresh in the memory and the domestic class struggle heating up dangerously, neither American nor Western European rulers are likely to be enthusiastic about direct military intervention at this point. For the time being, the Europeans are intently trying to work out direct government-to-government deals (bypassing the U.S. oil majors), while Nixon wants to organize an international cartel of the leading oil-importing nations with the obvious intent of threatening to cut off industrial or food exports to the Arab oil producers if they continue the boycott indefinitely or raise prices "unreasonably." But behind threats of economic boycott lies the reality of naked military force.

## Whatever Happened to NATO and the Common Market?

One of the most noted casualties of the October war in the Near East was the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). When Britain's Heath and the French foreign minister made pro-Arab statements at the beginning of the hostilities, U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger accused them of being "more interested in gaining marginal individual advantages than in cooperating on united actions.... the Europeans acted as though the alliance didn't even exist" (*Newsweek*, 12 November 1973). This conflict is now repeating itself with Brandt, Heath and Pompidou all hurriedly dispatching arms merchants and industrialists to the Near East in the hope of working out special delivery contracts with one or another of the oildoms.

The tensions within the so-called "Atlantic Alliance" are nothing new. Since DeGaulle took French troops out of NATO and tried to build up an independent French franc by accumulating mountains of gold in the mid-1960's, the likelihood of the Western imperialists' acting in a unified manner in a world political or economic crisis has been questionable. In particular, there has been a sharp reaction of the European ruling classes to Kissinger's Metternichian plans for a new counter-revolutionary Holy Alliance under U.S. leadership. When the U.S. Secretary of State proposed a "new Atlantic Charter" in a speech last spring, the European reaction was almost uniformly nega-



Recent demonstration against "fuel shortage" called by UAW-IUE bureaucrats in Linden, N.J.

tive. And when Nixon demanded a joint statement last fall, the European version left out any mention of "mutual interdependence," "common interests" and "faithfulness to the Atlantic alliance" desired by the U.S. Instead, the European version posed the joint statement as between the United States on the one hand and a united Common Market on the other, while the U.S. version spoke of the 10 countries separately (*New York Times*, 9 November 1973). In any case, all work on a joint statement stopped on October 26, when President Nixon ordered U.S. forces on worldwide alert without informing NATO allies.

Consequently November saw a rash of articles proclaiming the demise of NATO. On the Common Market side, bourgeois journalists accused the U.S. of failing to understand that three quarters of their oil came from the Near East; on the American side, pundits denounced the Europeans for deserting under fire. But the degree of the conflict can be easily overstated. It was also notable that a Common Market declaration on the "European identity" in December stated unequivocally that "in present circumstances there is no alternative to the security provided by the nuclear weapons of the United States and by the presence of North American forces in Europe," a point that was underlined explicitly by French Foreign Minister Jobert. A striking indication of the real inability of the European powers to attain military great power status is the fact that today Syria has more than twice as many tanks as Great Britain.

Walter Laqueur, a leading cold-war liberal supporter of NATO and European unification remarked recently that:

"The real victim of the [oil] crisis was not the growth rate and prosperity; it was the myth of European power and unity. It suddenly appeared that Western Europe with 40 per cent of the world's gold reserves, 20 per cent of its industrial product and 10 per cent of its population counted for precisely nothing in terms of political power. During the Middle Eastern crisis Europe's voice was not heard and when European solidarity was put to the test for the

first time in connection with the oil embargo, it appeared that unity had been a mere chimera."

—"The idea of Europe runs out of gas," *New York Times Magazine*, 20 January 1974

He noted caustically the failure of France, Germany or Britain to supply Holland with oil when it was placed on the embargo list along with the U.S. and Portugal. (The oil monopolies made "informal" arrangements to supply the Netherlands anyway, although they apparently refused to service the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean!)

In reality what has occurred as a result of the October war and the oil boycott/price offensive is a sharp intensification of the level of inter-imperialist rivalries generally. And behind the current realities of boycotts, trade war, competitive monetary devaluation, etc., stands the threat of world war. The Moscow-line Stalinist Communist parties think this danger can be averted by the "détente" and a "democratic" peace in the Near East on the basis of UN Resolution 242 (which calls for Israel to withdraw from the territories occupied in the 1967 war, but also endorses Israel's right to "secure" boundaries). They are dreaming.

At the time of World War I, in contrast to Kautsky's reformist-pacifist illusions about a harmonious "ultra-imperialism" Lenin insisted that inter-imperialist war was inevitable so long as capitalism was not destroyed by socialist revolution. Now, however, since the Khrushchevite 20th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow-line Stalinists maintain that "wars are no longer fatally inevitable." Consequently they call not for a struggle against capitalism, but for an "anti-monopoly coalition" which can impose "democratic" and "peaceful" foreign policies on the imperialists.

## The Response of Labor and the Left

The "oil crisis" dramatically demonstrates the defeatist and ultimately fatal consequences of reformism in the epoch of imperialism. Yet to date the response of the American working class, tied down by a rigid reactionary

bureaucracy, has been virtually nil—not even rising to the level of reform struggles. After a year of truly massive inflation relentlessly grinding down the living standards of the working population, the total lack of response by the labor movement has raised eyebrows even in the bourgeois press. Not one of the contracts negotiated by supposedly powerful unions (UAW, Teamsters, ILWU) comes close to keeping up with the 8.9 percent increase in consumer prices last year. (During 1973 the average factory worker's real take-home pay declined by more than 3 percent. But faced with inflation on the order of last year's wholesale price hikes—18.2 percent—even contracts with the most liberal escalator clauses will amount to massive wage cuts in 1974.) Nor has there been any response to the tens of thousands of layoffs attributed to the alleged (but never proven) "fuel shortage."

The efforts of the AFL-CIO to respond to the "oil crisis" have been directed at pressuring Congress into enacting a tax on "unconscionable" "excess" profits. This is a completely meaningless gesture, indicated by the fact that Nixon (the steadfast friend of the oil companies) has himself endorsed it. Since the petroleum monopolies control the extraction, shipping, refining and distribution of petroleum, they can simply follow the standing practice of juggling prices their "separate" companies charge each other to transfer profits to those areas where taxes are lowest (for instance, to Liberian or Panamanian registry tankers). At present, as a result of such practices and innumerable tax loopholes (depletion allowances, foreign tax credits, etc.) the oil majors pay only 2 percent taxes on their profits! In any case, such proposals imply that the working class has a duty to support capitalist exploitation by guaranteeing or permitting a "conscionable" profit level. Once you accept that, everything else—inflation, fuel shortages, layoffs, speed-up, etc.—automatically follows.

At the lower levels of the bureaucracy the rhetoric against the giant corporations is frequently more militant, though the action no more effective. Thus in a recent demonstration called by IUE, UAW and state AFL-CIO officials at an Exxon research center in New Jersey by union leaders, no effort was made to mobilize their members. Only 200 showed up, overwhelmingly bureaucrats and supporters of various left-wing groups. There was not even an effort to bring out the OCAW workers at a nearby plant. This publicity stunt contrasts sharply with the current situation in Europe. In France, the Stalinist leaders of the CGT labor federation—who have no more intention of struggling to overthrow capitalism than Woodcock or Meany—were forced to call a national one-day general strike to protest inflation. In Britain, the Stalinist and Labourite leaders of the Mineworkers' union are (despite their best efforts to restrict action to the level of particularistic trade-union struggle) waging a wages battle which objectively threatens the state wage controls and the Tory government itself. Thus in the short run the prospect is for both sharper trade-union struggles and the continuation of certain illusions in their leaders on the part of French or British workers; and the possibility of a sharp (but initially undirected) explosion by U.S. workers against the stranglehold of their do-nothing, pro-company, reactionary "leaders."

In either case, the key to victory lies in achieving a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement which offers a program to unite the labor movement in struggle against the capitalist system as opposed to isolated impotent reform struggles. Instead of "excess profits taxes" the clear need (which would receive immediate support from millions of working people, far beyond the limits of the organized labor movement) is for nationalization of the oil companies without compensation, under workers control. Rather than meaningless publicity-seeking pickets, the necessary response to massive layoffs is an industry-wide auto sitdown (factory occupation) strike, raising the demand for

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Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

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Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G. P. O., New York, N. Y. 10001. Telephone: 925-8234.

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Exxon pipelines in Libya.

GEORG GERSTER-RAPHO GUILLUMETTE

a shorter workweek with no loss in pay in order to provide jobs for all. Likewise, to counter the perfidious liberal Democratic "friends of labor" who repeatedly vote for wage controls and strike-breaking legislation, it is necessary to call for the formation of a labor party based on the unions, to fight for a workers government.

The point is that such transitional demands can only be implemented by a new leadership which is not simply a jazzed-up, European-style reformist version of the same pro-capitalist bureaucracy, but rather one that is committed to a consistent class-struggle policy and prepared to deal with its inevitable consequences. Since a revolutionary leadership of the labor movement would inevitably be faced with a sharp reaction on the part of the ruling class, it would have to begin now to explain the necessity of armed self-defense of picket lines and ultimately a workers militia. Similarly, since a policy of continuing militant trade-union struggles during times of "national emergency" would inevitably lead to a capitalist ideological offensive against labor, it is necessary for a class-struggle leadership to educate the membership now as to the true interests of the working class, in order to prevent it from being overwhelmed by chauvinist propaganda at the point of decisive battle. Thus it would explain that it was necessary for class-conscious workers to oppose both the Arab and Israeli bourgeoisie during the recent October war, while standing ready to fight against an imperialist attack on the Arab states as a result of the difficulties caused by the oil boycott/price offensive. It would also explain why revolutionaries must give unconditional military support to the Soviet Union, while calling for a politi-

cal revolution in all of the deformed workers states—to overthrow the short-sighted and rapacious bureaucracies that sabotage the defense of the economic conquests of the revolution through their policies of compromise with imperialism.

### Two Sidelights

Those who are new to socialist politics are frequently confused by the multitude of groups all claiming to represent the interests of the working class. "Why can't everyone unite in support of such obviously necessary demands," is a frequent lament. The fact is that the tremendous power of bourgeois ideology causes many groups to restrict "socialism" to abstractions, while capitulating to the current backward consciousness of the masses in practice. Some, such as the reformist Stalinist Communist Party, make no bones about their desire to find a niche as the left wing of the labor bureaucracy. (A few years ago the CP called for socialism by constitutional amendment in an effort to demonstrate its utter respectability.) Among those claiming to represent Trotskyism, a common indication of their opportunism is their capitulation to the popularity of various petty-bourgeois nationalists in the backward countries.

Thus while the Spartacist League called for a Leninist policy of revolutionary defeatism on both sides in the recent Arab-Israel war, both the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and the political bandits of the Workers League called for support to the Arab side. Recent events cast a revealing light on these betrayals. Thus the WL, for instance, distinguished itself by bombastic claims that a revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle had been unleashed by Sadat's invasion of Israel. Today, however, Sadat is relying on U.S. imperialism to work out a deal with Israel, blatantly ignoring the Palestinians over whose fate the Arab regimes are supposedly so concerned. Moreover, having (he hopes) achieved the reopening of the Suez Canal, Sadat is systematically trying to attract foreign investment by reducing state controls over the economy, reviving the stock exchange, liberalizing exchange controls, establishing tax-free zones and legal guarantees against expropriation (*Wall Street Journal*, 27 December).

Equally opportunist are the policies of the so-called "United Secretariat," a fake-Trotskyist "International" which is sharply split between a reformist minority led by the American SWP and a centrist majority led by the Europeans under Ernest Mandel. Both sides, however, support the non-existent "Arab Revolution," though they are more cau-

Continued from page 5

## Nazis Clash with Leftists...

Mack Avenue auto wildcat last summer was a tremendous success because WAM grew from 5 to 20 members, and all demands were met, even though 120 workers were fired! This claim is of little comfort to the 120 fired workers, let alone the thousands of militants left with no strategy to fight the "anti-communist" witchhunt launched by the Woodcock bureaucracy since the wildcats.

Needless to say, it is the duty of communists to stand with the workers in any spontaneous mass action against the capitalists and the labor bureaucrats. But a conscious policy of wildcats, which avoids a struggle to oust the reformist traitors from leadership in the unions, can only serve to exhaust and demoralize the advanced workers and discredit the adventurists. At this WAM meeting, spokesmen from the CWA's Militant Action Caucus (MAC), as well as some individual trade unionists, argued strongly for the need to fight the labor bureaucracy on the basis of program and warned of the danger of trying to use the capitalist state to fight fascism.

At one point the chairman attempted to intimidate a MAC spokesman with bureaucratic demagoguery in an attempt to evade the political issues posed. Such tactics are a hallmark of WAM, whose founding meeting in the Bay Area in October 1971 broke up abruptly when PL goons attempted to physically beat up and evict supporters of the Spartacist League for raising their political program.

### Fake Lefts Undermine Defense

The campaign to defend the victimized militants is complicated by the jockeying for power of various reformists inside the local AFT (American Federation of Teachers) chapter. The Teachers Action Caucus (TAC), a reformist caucus launched over a year ago primarily around alliance with the "community" (including support to "affirmative action" programs) and "improving democracy in the union," is challenging the leadership of the local. TAC receives heavy political support

from PL/WAM, as well as the International Socialists, presently tailing PL/WAM, their Stalinophobia having momentarily succumbed to their opportunist appetites.

The local AFT leadership under James Ballard is allied with the national social-democratic "Progressive Action Caucus" of Albert Shanker. In true social-democratic tradition, Ballard has stifled internal union democracy, to the point of eliminating the union's general membership meetings, and is heavily red-baiting the TAC. "I came out of the left myself, but it was the democratic left, not the totalitarian left," Ballard said in a recent interview with the local bourgeois press. Predictably, Ballard, along with the ACLU and other liberal groups, have come out in defense of the "free speech" rights of the Nazis. The opportunist TAC caucus has of course been quick to make use of this wretched betrayal.

At the same time, the reformist Communist Party has jumped into the act by pledging all-out support to Yvonne Golden, while failing to defend the PL/WAM victims. In fact, at the "Yvonne Golden rally" on January 20, which was heavily supported by *People's World* and attended by such figures as Vincent Hallinan (Golden's lawyer), the organizers attempted to chase away PL/WAM supporters who were distributing a leaflet outside, on the basis that, "this is Yvonne Golden's rally."

Typically, the rally was a parade of liberal professors, pacifists, "community leaders" and Democratic Party politicians. (It was noted that Yvonne Golden herself belongs to the National

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Women's Political Caucus.) The "high point" of the rally was a speech by black Democratic Assemblyman Willie Brown, who said, "I am amazed that anyone would think that the Nazis are entitled to free speech." Thus, if the liberals and the CP get their way, some kind of "anti-fascist" law may be passed for future witchhunting against the workers movement.

Part of the "program" presented called for the recall of Dr. Eugene Hopp, the present president of the Board of Education. According to the CP, Hopp and Mayor Alioto "were in large part responsible for the removal last year of Dr. Thomas Shaheen as superintendent of schools, a man committed to integration, and affirmative hiring" (*People's World*, 19 January). Needless to say, Dr. Shaheen was another featured speaker at the "Yvonne Golden rally." Thus the fight against the Nazis has become merely a political football within the Democratic party, with the liberal/CP Democrats using the Nazi issue to attack present incumbents. Like their Stalinist and social-democratic forbears in Germany, the reformists could unwittingly pave the road for fascism through relying on the bourgeois state. Only the working class acting independently can smash fascism! ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## ILWU Ranks Back Blacklist Victims

### Local 6 Votes Grievance Fight

OAKLAND, Calif., 24 January—Warehousemen in the East Bay Division of Local 6, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, took the first step toward a fight against witch-hunting yesterday by endorsing a campaign of militant defense of victims of company blacklisting. A slanderous, denunciatory attack by Local 6 President McLain against the Committee to Fight the Blacklist, which had brought a resolution defending the victims to the meeting, failed to prevent the membership from voting for the Committee's resolution. There were no opposing votes. McLain, his bureaucratic flunkies and backers such as the supporters of the reformist Communist Party managed to induce many workers to abstain; these elements, however, could not work up the courage to openly vote against the anti-blacklist campaign, despite McLain's demagogic claim that it was "an attack on this union."

The Committee to Fight the Blacklist is fighting for union action against political firings of militants such as Bob Mandel, a leader of the 1960's antiwar movement (one of the "Oakland Seven") and a full member of Local 6 since 1970 (see WV No. 36, 18 January 1974). Mandel has been "terminated" from a second warehouse (with contradictory explanations from the company adding evidence to the existence of the blacklist), since the campaign began over an earlier political firing. His case, which has now been adopted as a grievance by the union as a result of the membership's action yesterday, coincides with grievances over similar cases involving blacklisting of two former union stewards.

#### Petition Campaign Slandered

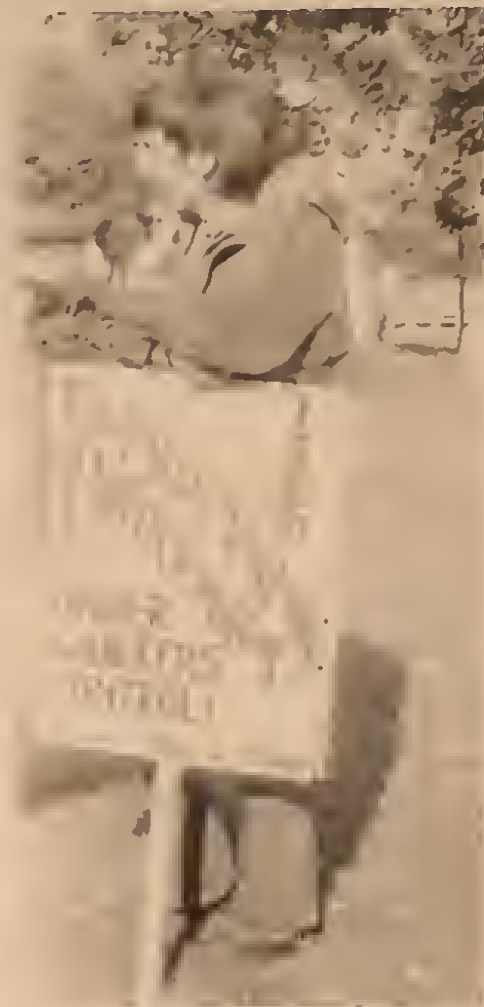
In the three weeks prior to the meeting, the Committee had conducted an

intensive campaign of visiting warehouses to discuss the blacklisting with the workers and obtained 400 names on a petition protesting the firings and calling for union action against the blacklist. Support among the membership increased rapidly as the evidence of the blacklist's existence mounted. McLain's response to this legitimate petition of the leadership was to falsely accuse the Committee of attempting to go around union channels! The petition contained the Committee's resolution, which was passed at the meeting:

"Whereas the ILWU constitution affirms 'the right of everyone to a job without discrimination because of race, creed, color, sex or political belief' and,  
"Whereas the existence of the blacklist poses a threat to all union militants and ultimately to the existence of the union itself,  
"Therefore be it resolved: 1) that the union shall undertake a vigorous fight in defense of itself and its membership against the blacklist, and 2) that the union shall file a grievance on behalf of brother Bob Mandel under Secs. 5 and 18.3 of the contract for discrimination because of union membership or activities and shall pursue speedy resolution of Mandel's and the other two grievances of like nature already filed."

Blacklisting of militants by the Distributors Association, an employer group to which most warehouses in the Bay Area belong, is accomplished through firing the militant from every employer to whom he is sent from the union hiring hall prior to the end of the 90-day probation period, so that the victim never gains seniority or full union protection on any job. Mandel has been blacklisted since 1971, when he led a petition campaign for a warehouse strike in solidarity with striking longshoremen. Some employers abuse the probation period regularly in this way by firing all full members of the union, in order to prevent establishment of a stable work force and jack up productivity.

McLain was incensed because the Committee to Fight the Blacklist exposed the cowardly inaction of the re-



WV PHOTO

Bob Mandel, warehouse blacklist victim.

formist bureaucracy of Harry Bridges & Co. in fighting attacks on the union. Spending virtually half of his annual "state of the union" report at the meeting attacking the Committee's campaign, McLain discredited himself by denying the factual basis of Mandel's blacklisting, even denying that there were any warehouses which discriminated against full members—a phenomenon with which working warehousemen are well acquainted.

According to Committee members who were interviewed by *Workers Vanguard* after the meeting, they were at first denied the right to respond to

McLain's attack or raise their resolution and were forced to wait until "new business." McLain's factual slanders were refuted by a member who had been present when Mandel received verification of the existence of a letter from the Distributors Association which had resulted in his firing. Mandel spoke, noting that the blacklist was an attack on the hiring hall—the primary gain of the 1934 general strike which established the ILWU. Another member pointed out that the right to petition did not contradict "union channels" and that, in fact, the Committee had been very careful to bring its petition to the union stewards and house committees in each warehouse it had visited. Incensed, this member underscored that it was outrageous to be charged with "an attack on the union" for petitioning the leadership!

#### CP Supports Race-Baiting

Supporters of the craven Communist Party, which has consistently tailed after "left" bureaucrats like Bridges since the 1930's, actively supported the leadership against the Committee, despite the CP's own experience of victimization through blacklisting. When a black woman business agent implied that the blacklisting of three militants, including two former union stewards, was relatively unimportant because they are white, a CP supporter and one of the ex-steward blacklist victims mentioned in the Committee's resolution said explicitly that the blacklist was actually a "white list" (whatever that means) and that you can't start such a campaign by defending three white men!

This capitulatory, self-defeating race-baiting nonsense reconfirmed the hypocrisy of the CP sympathizers. Previously they had refused to join the Committee on the grounds that it should be "broadened" into a committee against all forms of discrimination. The purpose of this demand was simply to bury the issue and avoid criticism of the leadership. The Committee

*continued on page 9*

## DEFEND LOS TRES!

### Police Agents Frame Up Chicano Militants

On July 27, 1971 three Chicano militants, now known as Los Tres del Barrio—Alberto Ortiz, Juan Ramon Fernandez and Rodolfo Pena Sanchez—were arrested and charged with shooting and wounding federal police agent and provocateur Robert Canales, whom they had believed to be a heroin pusher. The three were associated with "La Casa de Carnalismo" (the House of Brotherhood), a radical Chicano community-organizing group then involved in an attempt to drive drug peddlers out of the Los Angeles housing project areas of Pico Gardens and Aliso through direct (and armed) confrontations. The Carnalismo group had resorted to vigilante-type actions to purge the barrio of the drug traffic which was thriving under police protection.

The government prosecution achieved a conviction of Los Tres with extremely heavy sentences of 10 years

prison for Ortiz, 25 years for Fernandez and 40 years for Sanchez. In fact, the case is a frame up of three political militants. The militants around the Casa de Carnalismo had been long-time activists in the Chicano movement, participating in the East Los Angeles high school student rebellions of the late 1960's, the Chicano Moratorium and other activities in the Los Angeles and West Coast area.

The group had been subjected to frequent police harassment, violence and infiltration by provocateurs as its activities became increasingly annoying to the extremely repressive paramilitary Los Angeles police apparatus. Last year federal agent Frank Martinez (of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the Treasury Department) revealed that after becoming chairman of the Chicano Moratorium and a leading member of the Brown Berets (where he engaged in provocations such as parading around with a shotgun and leading a physical attack on Senator John Tunney) he had been instructed to infiltrate the Casa in order to discredit it and that its activities were being monitored in order to provoke just such an incident as occurred in July 1971. Another indication that the

case was an attempt to paralyze the Casa de Carnalismo group was the fact that immediately after the shootout between Los Tres and Canales police entered the organization's offices looking for two of the three defendants.

The railroad conviction of Los Tres confirmed the case to be a crude frame up. Actively hostile Judge Lawrence Lydick (a former law partner of Richard Nixon) refused to permit the defense to present a case on the basis of entrapment or self-defense. (Los Tres did not know at the time of the incident that Canales, alias "Bobby Parker, the pusher," was a federal agent; therefore the charge of "shooting a federal agent" cannot be legally justified.) Judge Lydick continued to deny the political character of the case, "proving" this by refusing to hear the testimony of federal agent Martinez and squashing all attempts by Los Tres' lawyers to demonstrate that the three were in fact well-known political activists in the community. The jury was subjected to searches to give them the impression that Los Tres were highly dangerous criminals; several supporters, witnesses and one of Los Tres' lawyers were threatened with reprisals by the FBI.

Bail had been set at \$50,000 each, but it wasn't until after Los Tres had been convicted, sentenced and on their way to separate prisons that this high sum could be raised, to be applied while Los Tres were appealing their convictions. The courts then refused to accept the bail, forcing a new round of hearings on the collateral behind the bail. Los Tres were finally released on November 7-9 and are now appealing the sentences meted out by Judge Lydick.

While the Spartacist League is politically critical of the community-oriented tactics of La Casa de Carnalismo, we unconditionally defend all members of the working-class movement under attack by the government. A successful appeal of the Los Tres case will depend on a widespread outcry at this vicious frame up. Public cynicism about the government, and especially about the police and their active involvement in the drug traffic, is at an all-time high. This sentiment must be tapped and turned into a massive protest. Inquiries and financial support may be directed to: National Committee to Free Los Tres 4400 South Huntington Drive Los Angeles, California 90032