

Communal Bloodbath in Lebanon

AUGUST 3—The squalid civil war in Lebanon continues unabated after 60 "ceasefires" and 40,000 dead out of a population of less than 3 million. The relatively massive Syrian military invasion of Lebanon has increased to 16,500 regular troops, in addition to the pro-Syrian forces operating as units of the Palestine Liberation Army (the "regular" army of the refugee camps), and the Syrian Ba'athist Palestinian commando group, al-Saiqa.

Since the Damascus regime is currently throwing its military weight behind the right-wing Maronite militias and gangs, the balance of forces has shifted to their side, as has been tragically demonstrated by the siege of the Tel Zaatar Palestinian refugee camp on the southeast edge of Beirut. But the Syrian invasion has not changed the fundamentally inter-communal and sectarian character of the Lebanese civil war in which all sides are sordid and no side is worthy of any support from a proletarian perspective.

Tel Zaatar is near the eastern Christian districts of Beirut and the right-wing Maronites want to wipe out the camp in order to compact a homogeneous Maronite area and open the road linking Christian districts of Beirut to Mount Lebanon and the Mkalles industrial zone. To achieve this end, they refuse to permit the evacuation of 1,000 wounded Palestinians from the besieged camp, allowing children to die of dehydration and defenseless refugees to perish in tunnels meant to protect them from Israeli bombing raids.

On the other hand, the so-called "Muslim-leftist alliance" is not fighting the right-wing gangsters besieging the refugee camp, but rather making "diversionary" attacks upon innocent villagers of Chekka and other northern Lebanese Christian towns which have no relation to the siege of Tel Zaatar, except for those whose strategy is reciprocal communal genocide (in other words, both sides of this reactionary civil war). In a 24-hour period on July 7, some 550 people, most of them unarmed villagers, died in a "diversionary" attack by Muslim forces in northern Lebanon.

Fake-Lefts Back Anti-Syrian Forces

Especially under the impact of the Syrian invasion, various fake-left organizations who have either abandoned or never had a proletarian perspective have championed the "Muslim-leftist alliance" led by Druze patriarch and Progressive Socialist Party leader Kamal Jumblatt, and their current allies within the Palestinian nationalist movement, led by Yasir Arafat of Fatah. For example, the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), a vanishing split-off from the American International Socialists, states: "The key tactic is to give military support to the Moslem-Leftist Alliance" (*Torch*, 15 July-14 August).

In turn, the Healyites—whose political practice mimics some of the least savory aspects of the Lebanese civil war, particularly its gangsterism and sectarianism—in a July 12 statement, "salute[d] the incredibly tenacious and heroic struggle of the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization, the umbrella group of the all Palestinian nationalist organizations] and the Lebanese left and calls on the Arab workers to declare a general strike in solidarity with the defenders of Tel al-Zaatar." The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has, in its usual manner of evading thorny problems, dodged the issue of whether to be for or against military support to Jumblatt and the PLO, instead raising as the focus of all its propaganda the "single issue" "Syria out of Lebanon," thus giving backhanded support to the so-called "Muslim-leftist" forces.

However, until spring of this year, Syria was the main military backer of the PLO and the Jumblatt forces. The supply route from Syria to south Lebanon ("Fatahland") was known as the "Arafat trail" and Palestinian commandos received military training in Syria. When it came to giving lip-service to the Palestinian cause, no one was louder or more truculent than the self-proclaimed "vanguard of the Arab revolution" in Damascus. It was the Syrians who forced through the recognition of the PLO as "sole representative of the Palestinian people" at the Rabat summit of the Arab League states in October 1974. It was Syria which forced the debate on the Palestinian question before the United Nations Security Council last December as the quid pro quo for the renewal of UN "peacekeeping" forces in the Golan Heights.

The same groups which are today condemning Syria for smashing the PLO proclaimed during the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war that Palestinian self-determination would be realized through Syrian (as well as Egyptian) tanks. Yet Syrian suppression of the Palestinian refugees did not begin with the invasion of Lebanon. The current ruler of Syria, President Hafez Assad, came to power in a November 1970 coup after opposing the Syrian intervention on the side of the Palestinians in the Jordanian "Black September" civil war in which 5,000 to 10,000 Palestinian refugees were massacred and the resistance movement in Palestine was crushed. (Not inappropriately, the current siege of Tel Zaatar is being called a Lebanese Black September.)

After Assad came to power, he first hanned Palestinian commandos from launching any operations into Israel from the Syrian front, then drove the commandos out of Syria into Lebanon, and then in September 1973 closed down the Voice of Palestine radio operating in the Syrian town of Deraa along the border with Jordan. This



P. Jurnaux/Paris Match

Phalangist commandos

presaged the present military alliance with the reactionary Hashemite monarchy in Amman and took place only one month before the October war.

In the 1970 civil war in Jordan, the Spartacist League gave military support to the Palestinians defending their refugee camps and communities from the Hashemite army. But in Lebanon, by throwing in their lot with Jumblatt or the Maronite gangs, all factions of the PLO PLA have become submerged in the sectarian communal strife. Therefore, while recognizing the right of both Muslim and Christian communities, including Maronite communities, to self-defense, from a proletarian perspective none of the militias, gangs, "armies" or factions in the Lebanese civil war can be given military support.

The "Heroic" Communal Terror of the "Muslim-Leftist Alliance"

Earlier this year, when the Jumblatt forces had the upper hand, it was mainly

with Syrian-supplied weapons that they drove the Maronite population of Lebanon into small enclaves in the eastern districts of Beirut and along the coast between the capital and Tripoli, in an area bordered by the Christian port cities of Chekka in the north and Junieh in the south.

The creation of a Maronite statelet was not simply a scheme to protect Maronite privilege by that most right-wing Maronite chauvinist, the abbot Charbel Kassis, head of the Order of the Maronite Monks. Inter-communal war has its own logic based on indiscriminate massacre, forced population transfer and partition. And indiscriminate, sectarian massacre has been the dominant character of the military struggle on both sides. Thus, when Jumblatt forces were riding high in January of this year, they wiped out the entire Christian village of Damur, killing 500

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Syrian unit on the road to Beirut.

Michel Artault/Gamma

Review of *Late Capitalism*:

The Many Faces and Long Waves of Ernest Mandel.....6

California Cannery Strike Scuttled

OAKLAND, July 31 Northern California cannery workers started returning to work today as Teamster officials rammed through ratification of a new three-year pact. In Teamster Local 750 here the settlement was approved by more than a two-to-one margin.

As President Ford and the Labor Department threatened an 80-day injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act, Teamster officials were more than willing to end the walkout with a miserly wage settlement and numerous grievances unsettled. In an industry where wages average \$4.93 per hour and 82 percent of the workers earn less than \$5,000 per year because work is heavily seasonal, the Teamsters agreed to accept a \$1.60 per hour raise spread over three years. Their original demand had been \$3.00-\$3.50 over three years.

Furthermore, no move was made to resolve the complicated question of the union seniority system, which was recently declared null and void by a court decision on "affirmative action." Full-time workers will now be bumped by court order in the name of ending discrimination against Chicano and women workers. The bureaucrats are quite content to keep this explosive issue out of contract negotiations and in the hands of the bourgeois courts, which claim the right to intervene at will in internal union affairs. All they offer the workers whose jobs are threatened is the dead-end of a counter-suit in court.

As the Teamster tops flushed away the opportunity to overcome divisions between full- and part-time workers, the canning companies came out ahead on all fronts. The agribusiness bosses are planning to pass the wage increase on to the consumer by increasing prices on canned peaches and tomatoes by 2 or 3 cents a can. Bumper crops this year, as well as enormous "ease carryovers" from last season, made the canneries quite confident of their bargaining position. According to *Business Week* (9 August):

"Indeed, June inventories of canned apricots were six times as high as a year ago, tomato paste in institutional sizes was three times as plentiful, and cling peach stocks were 50% greater. The higher inventories, coupled with last year's 25% decline in wholesale prices of products such as tomato paste, and this summer's plentiful crops, all provided the canners with bargaining room in their negotiations with the Teamsters."

Teamster negotiator Freddy Sanchez complained that the strike was forced upon us by employers who chose this means of reducing their huge invento-

ries rather than make an equitable settlement when our contract expired on June 30" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 31 July). This impotent whine is merely an excuse for not waging a militant strike struggle. Moreover, the Teamster bureaucrats kept cannery workers on the job a full three weeks beyond contract expiration, during the height of the harvest season!

On the divisive seniority issue, militants must not call for gains for one section of the working class at the expense of other sections of workers. However, the maintenance of a semi-permanent workforce of part-timers is a real danger to the union. The seasonal workers, composed largely of Chicanos and women generally discriminated against in hiring for full-time positions, are a ready source of anti-union attitudes. Justly angry at the union's traditional toleration of discriminatory practices, these workers obviously have little to gain under present circumstances from strikes—which to be effective must be waged at the peak canning season—since they only cut into their already limited work time.

To undercut this, militants must demand inclusive union hiring halls in the canning and packing industries to distribute available work. Such hiring halls, combined with demands for a large pay boost and a shorter workweek at no cut in pay to create more jobs, can cut across the discrimination inherent in the present two-tier seniority system separating full and part-time workers. It is the only means to provide a decent living for all agricultural workers. Such demands reinforce the need for unity among Teamster cannery workers and UFW-organized field workers, a goal which is completely alien to both the bureaucrats of the Teamsters and those of the UFW. The time to oust the labor fakers in favor of a class-struggle leadership is long overdue. ■

Letter to the Red Weekly

c/o BCM Box 4272
London WC1V 6XX
12 July 1976

Red Weekly

To the Editor,

In *Red Weekly* (1 July 1976) there is an article ("Jim Crow Flies Again") by Steve Potter which concludes that "Only the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party have consistently fought for such mobilisations on the issue, combining support for black self-defence with a call for federal troops to enforce busing in Boston on the model of Little Rock in 1957." This statement is not only factually inaccurate, but politically represents a denial of basic tenets of Trotskyism.

It is completely misleading to claim that the SWP "comhines" the call for black self-defence with the call for federal troops. Any call for self-defence has mostly been relegated to the level of general and abstract proposals for the future, quite subordinate and secondary to its main plank that the imperialist butcher army be sent to protect the oppressed in Boston. The SWP has denounced the Spartacist League's call for labour black defence as "unrealistic" as "sectarian," "ultra-left" phrase-mongering.

Consistent with its central axis, the



West Virginia miners protesting court injunctions against wildcats in Charleston last year.

Sparked by Court Fines, Injunction

Miners Wildcat Shuts Down Half of U.S. Coal

AUGUST 3 The coal miners wildcat continues despite a back-to-work movement pushed by the bureaucracy of president Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers (UMW).

The impetus for the back-to-work movement was a concession offered by federal judge Dennis Knapp, whose decision to impose huge fines and jail sentences on miners at the Cedar Coal Company originally sparked the massive wildcat. On Friday Knapp offered to drop civil and criminal charges (including fines exceeding \$300,000) against UMW Local 1759 at Cedar Coal if the miners returned to work as soon as "reasonably possible."

Although Knapp's offer represents a significant concession, the militant coal miners are far from satisfied. The imposition of fines and criminal sanctions by company-controlled judges to break UMW strikes is a phenomenon

widespread throughout the industry. Coal miners are demanding that fines and injunctions be lifted on all UMW locals throughout the coal fields.

Miners also want a guarantee of amnesty against victimization of any miner involved in the strike. Furthermore, the striking miners want a meeting between the union and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA, the employers organization) before any return to work. The miners are demanding that BCOA cease utilizing the courts in their bargaining with the union and want an agreement that there be no more fines, jailings or injunctions.

Since the inception of the walkout, which has spread to include 80,000 miners and has shut down half of all U.S. coalfields, UMW president Arnold Miller has staunchly opposed the strike. Miller has attempted to divert the

SWP has sought to hide examples of integrated workers self-defence. For instance, last year at the instigation of the Labor Struggle Caucus, a class struggle group within the union, Local 6 of the United Auto Workers union in Chicago established a labour black defence guard to defend the home of a black member which was being attacked by racists. Though the action received considerable publicity in the local bourgeois and national left-wing press, the *Militant* has not printed one word about it.

The example of Little Rock which Potter cites in fact illustrates graphically the dangers of calling on the capitalist army to defend the oppressed. Eisenhower at first ignored calls for federal intervention, only sending the troops in after the blacks had responded to racist riots by arming themselves to defend their community. Eisenhower was not enforcing integration, but responding to the pleas of the panicky local racist authorities and acted to restore capitalist "law and order."

The events of Little Rock, and the deployment of federal troops in Detroit 1943, Birmingham 1963, Selma 1965 and Detroit 1967, verify the basic Marxist analysis of the class nature of the capitalist state, and highlight the utter bankruptcy of the SWP's essential

assumption (apparently now shared by the IMG) that it is possible to control the armed forces of the capitalist state through mass pressure. All necessary efforts at black self-defence, together with the continuing struggle to broaden the defence out to make clear its class content, must be unconditionally counterposed to calls on the bourgeois army to act as liberator towards those it is intended to oppress. If the IMG believes that the SWP is correct, how long will it be before it imitates the SWP's call to "Bring the hoys home from Vietnam and send them to Alabama" with one of "Out of Belfast, into Brixton!"

Certainly the fact that the same issue of *Red Weekly* calls for the bourgeois state to ban fascists (veiled as a demand that the "Labour Government ban all provocative marches and demonstrations"), together with your apparent agreement with the call of troops to Boston, suggests that the IMG is at bottom willing to accept the same denial of Lenin's teachings as in *State and Revolution* which the SWP so brazenly espouses.

Fraternally,
David Strachan,
international Spartacist tendency

*A neighborhood in south-central London with a large concentration of black immigrants

WORKERS VANGUARD

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attention of miners by concentrating on lobbying Congress. His latest "coup" strategically timed for the middle of the strike was the passing of a bill in the House of Representatives that would transfer the enforcement of federal coal safety standards from the Department of Interior to the Department of Labor! This meaningless measure which leaves miners at the mercy of the government will avail the miners nothing. The gross bias of the federal government is what prompted the strike in the first place!

However, Miller has been unsuccessful in derailing the militancy of the ranks. Under pressure from the membership, he has been forced to publicly acknowledge the justness of the miners' grievances and the fact that the issues are not local ones but are a nationwide problem. However, the strikebreaking UMW chief has also asserted that miners must return to work before the issues can be resolved.

Using the Knapp offer as a convenient pretext, Miller scheduled numerous back-to-work votes over the weekend. While the bourgeois press circulated reports that a number of UMW locals voted to return to work, this has not had a significant impact on the strike. As of today, West Virginia, the heart of the wildcat, remains solidly shut down, while the majority of miners in Ohio are out. Numerous mines in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Virginia, Illinois and Indiana are also closed.

In the absence of a centralized strike leadership, the high degree of solidarity exhibited has been achieved essentially through the use of roving picket squads. Miners have traditionally refused to cross picket lines and many of the mines have been shut down through the presence of only one or two pickets.

The rift between the UMW bureaucracy and the angry ranks has noticeably widened during the strike. Thirty members of Local 1759 stormed out of a meeting with Miller on July 29. Local 1759 president Hayes Holstein told *WV* that "The men don't trust him [Miller]." Holstein, who apologized for Miller by stating that "He's trying to do the best he can," added that "A lot of people are bucking him at every time." Referring to the no-nonsense mood prevalent among the rank and file, he said: "They're not going to pay attention to anybody. I don't think they'd listen to the president of the United States."

Holstein also made clear that he and other local union officials currently "leading" the strike were willing to sacrifice the demands of the miners. Holstein dismissed the demand raised earlier that the ties between the judges and the coal operators be investigated, stating "That's impossible." Of the demand that fines and injunctions be lifted on all UMW locals, he replied frankly, "We're prepared to deal on that one."

Holstein also asserted that the Right to Strike Committee, a grouping supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party, was playing no role in the current strike. Last week, *WV* reported that the Right to Strike Committee is simply tailing after the spontaneous militancy of the rank and file.

The Right to Strike Committee has totally failed to counterpose itself to the program of the bureaucracy. These ostensible militants are silent in the face of the treachery of Miller and the local union leaders. Failing to raise the need for elected committees to run the strike, they ensure that key demands of the miners will be sold out by the officials.

Rather than such gross capitulation, class-struggle militants must demand that an official nationwide strike be called. Such a strike, while encompassing the miners demands against the use of the courts, would call for a reopening of the contract to take on such key issues as the right to strike, the creation of strong union safety committees, organizing the unorganized mines, and the need for a sliding scale of hours and wages. ■

Gotbaum Threatens to Strike City Hospitals

Nine NYC Doctors Dismissed for Honoring 1199 Pickets

AUGUST 2—New York City hospitals continue to be the focus of labor unrest as a doctors' wildcat broke out last week at Montefiore Hospital in the Bronx. The walkout occurred after the hospital fired two doctors and suspended seven others who last month refused to cross the picket lines of striking District 1199 workers. In another development, members of AFSCME Local 420 voted to strike the city's municipal hospitals beginning August 4 in protest against a new wave of hospital layoffs.

However, for non-medical personnel in the private hospitals (organized into SEIU Local 144), plans for a strike when the contract expired July 31 were quashed when union bureaucrats rammed through a two-year extension of the present contract and agreed to submit wage demands to binding arbitration.

The Montefiore wildcat, which now includes about 40 doctors, began July 24 when the hospital announced the firing of attending physicians Marji Gold and Mike Fisher, and the suspension of seven residents on the house staff who refused to cross Local 1199 lines during the recent 11-day contract strike against NYC "non-profit" hospitals. Their act of labor solidarity stood in sharp contrast to the rest of the city's hospitals, where doctors scabbed freely, with the go-ahead of the Committee of Interns and Residents (CIR). Two of the Montefiore doctors identify themselves as supporters of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and several others are in the PL-supported Health Committee Against Racism.

After a week of picketing, the hospital offered to rescind the penalties of the seven suspended doctors, without, however, rebating their pay. But the picketers insist they will stay out until Gold and Fisher are rehired and guarantees are given against further reprisals. Today was established by the Montefiore administration as the deadline for doctors and other hospital employees to return to work, under threat of new disciplinary action.

Throughout the week the wildcat remained small and isolated, with only about 40 of Montefiore's 450 doctors staying out, supported by a handful of the more than 2,500 District 1199 workers at the hospital. District 1199 president Leon Davis refuses to instruct the members to respect the doctors' picket lines, despite the widespread sympathy many members have expressed for the strike. The picket swells each day at noon when many 1199ers come out to walk the line during lunch hour.

The District 1199 unit delegates voted to support the strike and have collected

over 400 signatures on a petition demanding that the hospital respect a "no-reprisals" clause signed by the union and the League of Voluntary Hospitals as part of the 1199 strike settlement. (Montefiore naturally interprets the clause to apply only to 1199 members.) In addition, groups of psychiatric social workers, members of the pediatrics house staff and other groups have read support statements on the line. While responsibility for the criminal abandonment of the victimized doctors must be laid at the feet of the 1199 bureaucracy, workers at the hospital must be made to realize that their "sympathy" counts for nothing while they are daily scabbing.

An 1199 showdown rumored to be

noontime rally Friday equated the union with management. Instead of ignoring or writing off the union because of its treacherous misleaders, a struggle must be waged within 1199 to bring the union out in defense of the victimized doctors.

Municipal Hospital Strike Vote

In AFSCME's District 37 last week, Local 420 (representing NYC non-medical hospital workers) voted in an emergency meeting to strike the municipal hospitals beginning August 4. The union is demanding that a newly announced wave of layoffs be rescinded. The strike action grows out of long negotiations between the union and the



Doctors and nurses picketed Montefiore Hospital last week after doctors were dismissed for respecting 1199 picket lines during recent hospital workers strike.

planned for today was apparently scratched by Davis who, ironically, owes the victimized doctors both a political and a personal "debt." Suspended doctor Barbara Otto told *WV* that during the hospital workers strike Leon Davis walked the Montefiore line where he pledged to stay out "forever" if any reprisals were taken against the doctors. A few days later, Davis fainted from the heat during an 1199 rally held outside the Democratic convention at Madison Square Garden. Marji Gold attended him there and accompanied the union leader to the hospital. When she was fired shortly afterwards, Gold remembered the pledge and called Davis up. Now Davis denies he ever made it!

The Leon Davis/Moe Foner leadership of District 1199 fears above all that respecting the doctors' picket line at Montefiore could lead to a reopening of their own sellout contract. In addition, these Communist Party-backed bureaucrats will shed no tears for the disappearance of "PL doctors" from their "turf." Such cynical victimization of political opponents on the left—a long-time characteristic of PL also, which learned its Stalinist tricks in the CP—must be countered by militant solidarity of all Montefiore workers in respecting the lines.

While support for the doctors must be gained from CIR and 1199 members throughout the city, the wildcat was a typical PL-style action which in the past has not only isolated and wiped out many of its own supporters from the trade unions, but also cost the jobs of other class-conscious unionists who refused to cross the lines. Moreover, skits staged by the wildcaters during the

city's Health and Hospital Corporation (HHC). Last June, DC 37 head Victor Gotbaum called off an announced strike against layoffs, declaring a "victory" after the HHC's "compromise" offer to lay off 842 workers on the spot and to refer a proposed 2,000 more to a "fact-finding" panel. Last week the panel ordered 1,350 immediate layoffs.

The layoffs necessitate transfers of higher-seniority workers from hospitals experiencing cutbacks to other hospitals, where they "bump" lower-seniority employees. This has spread the impact of the cutbacks throughout the municipal hospital system and has engendered an overwhelming strike sentiment among the Local 420 rank and file. By *WV* press time the union was making noises about gearing up for some kind of action on August 4. However, Gotbaum's blustering always generates widespread skepticism. Despite the elimination of 5,000 jobs in the municipal hospitals since the beginning of the "fiscal crunch," Local 420 has never struck the city.

Nonetheless, the union's back is against the wall and the new wave of layoffs comes in the midst of a vicious anti-union climate triggered by the recent 1199 strike. Paving the way for the layoff announcement, the *New York Times* ran a serialized exposé revealing that several hundred workers scheduled to be laid off under previous cuts were still on the payrolls and drawing salaries from Fordham and Morrisania Hospitals which were closed recently.

Workers at the Local 420 emergency meeting Thursday chanted "strike, strike, strike," and the Gotbaum bu-

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Lordstown Auto Workers Picket Firestone

Rubber Companies Break Off Negotiations in 100-Day URW Strike

CLEVELAND, August 1 The strike against Goodyear, Firestone, B.F. Goodrich and Uniroyal by 60,000 members of the United Rubber Workers (URW) is more than 100 days old. The Big Four rubber companies have arrogantly refused to budge from their "final offer" presented in early July: a \$1.30 wage increase over three years, a cost-of-living allowance which did not cover the first year of the contract at all and only partially covers the last two years, and a pension increase applying only to future years of service. After a three-week recess in negotiations occasioned when the URW rejected this offer, talks were resumed in Washington under the direct supervision of Secretary of Labor W.J. Usery. These talks in turn collapsed after only three days with

on the job. At a URW rally in Akron on June 18, Bommarito boasted that the workers at Mansfield Tire had joined the strike and would stay out until the Big Four settled.

Mansfield Local 17 leaders insisted, Bommarito stated, that returning to work during the Big Four strike would be like crossing a picket line. This is true, but it did not prevent Local 17 head Harold O. Boyce from ending the strike the very same day. "Pete is really going to be mad," Boyce said (19 June *Akron Beacon-Journal*).

On June 21, Local 6 leaders reached a tentative agreement with Mohawk. Though pickets from other factories in Akron defied an injunction and temporarily closed the plant, Local 6 president Herbert Stoneking urged the Mohawk workers back to the job. Stoneking claimed to have a letter from the URW president also urging Local 6 to go back. As a result of this treachery at the top, Local 6 members decided by one vote to return to work. Eventually Stoneking had to call a secret local meeting (secret from other URW members who might protest over Stoneking's backstabbing) to insure acceptance of the "me too" agreement with Mohawk.

At this point only a mixture of 3,300 Armstrong Rubber Company workers, General Tire workers at Logansport, Indiana and those at Dayton Tire remain on strike alongside the Big Four strikers. In addition to the 65,000 URW members now on strike, contracts affecting more than 20,000 additional rubber workers will have expired by the end of 1976. These union members should have been called out in sympathy 100 days ago. Instead they have been used as a lever against a URW victory.

When the rubber strike began in April Bommarito confidently predicted that tire supplies would run out in May and the auto manufacturers would be forced to shut down. However, at this point the auto giants continue to operate full blast with heavy overtime schedules. Not only did Bommarito grossly underestimate the size of tire stockpiles but supplies have been constantly augmented through production by scabs, the renegade URW locals and imports from URW-organized Canadian plants. And new model changeover in the auto plants will add additional weeks before tire shortages are felt. Michelin, an unorganized company which has significant facilities in the U.S., has supplied increased quantities of tires for Ford and has serviced GM for the first time. Bommarito has announced plans to organize Michelin workers—once the strike is over!

Spurred on by Bommarito's incompetence and his inability to control his own union officials, the companies have risen to new heights of arrogance. While early in the strike Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) to laid-off employees were cut off, the Big Four later announced that hospitalization and insurance benefits for strikers would expire though workers would be allowed to maintain the policies if they pay the premiums themselves! These premiums amount to approximately \$90 monthly for workers with families, workers with no earnings since April 21.

Most serious, however, was Goodyear's effort to hypas negotiations with the URW International. On July 7 Goodyear representatives met with union representatives in Dayton to



URW pickets at Firestone at beginning of current rubber strike.

representatives of Firestone and Goodyear threatening to file unfair labor practice charges against the union, citing the "adamant attitude of the United Rubber Workers leadership."

The conduct of the strike by URW president Pete Bommarito has been a travesty of class-struggle leadership. Repeatedly, rubber workers in Akron (there are 11,000 strikers in the industrial center) have assembled at plant gates to prevent white-collar employees and scabs from entering the struck plants and to attempt to close down the non-striking plants. One Akron deputy has appeared on nearly 200 occasions instructing pickets to disperse in accordance with anti-strike injunctions. But URW bureaucrats have never gone beyond token efforts to defy these strike-breaking court orders.

When the strike began in April, Bommarito looked forward to contract expirations in several rubber companies which were supposed to cut farther into tire production while adding thousands of workers to the numbers already on strike. Instead, workers at General Tire, Kelly-Springfield and Mohawk stayed

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ILWU Local 6 Backs Muñoz Defense

OAKLAND—On July 8, the general executive board of ILWU Local 6 (Bay Area warehouse) adopted a motion calling upon the Argentine government to allow safe passage for Chilean exiled trade-union leader Mario Muñoz. The motion also demanded the immediate restoration of trade-union rights now suppressed by the Videla junta.

The motion was put up by Bob Mandel, a member of the Militant Caucus, who has taken an active role in the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. Significantly, it was seconded by Joe Figueiredo, a prominent spokesman in the Local for the views of the Communist Party's West Coast weekly, *People's World*. While the Muñoz campaign has received the endorsement of Angela Davis, in general the CP has been extremely reticent about supporting victims of the Videla junta. When the military took over in March, the Argentina Communists saluted the junta's supposed "respect for representative democracy!"

ILWU support for the campaign to save Muñoz and other victims of the Argentina junta can have an immediate and powerful impact. In 1974 ILWU and ILA longshoremen as part of a worldwide protest refused to handle any Chilean cargo for two days in solidarity with the embattled Chilean working class. Such labor action today against Argentine shipping could force the junta to grant free exit to the many class-war political refugees currently trapped inside Argentina.

discuss a proposal already rejected by the URW national bargainers in Cleveland. O.N. Sherman, Goodyear's vice president for industrial relations, was quite candid about the company's intentions. The attempt was made, he said, because national union negotiators refused "the best possible offer that could be made and the largest ever proposed in the history of the rubber industry" (*Cleveland Press*, 6 July). It was necessary for Bommarito himself to attend the Dayton meeting to remind the URW's Goodyear negotiators that they were not authorized to bargain on economic issues.

The only bright spot in this dismal picture has come neither from URW bureaucrats nor their counterparts in the United Auto Workers (UAW). The latter—despite the increasingly obvious desperate plight of the much smaller rubber workers union—have refused to call a solidarity strike of auto workers. The only attempt at inter-union solidarity has come from the UAW ranks themselves. Last week 50 militants from the Lordstown GM plant picketed at the

NYC Doctors...

(continued from page 3)

reacraury met opposition from many who wanted an immediate walkout when it added on a rider for a five-day extension of the strike deadline. DC 37's popular black demagogue Lillian Roberts had to be brought in to control the meeting (a role she also plays in the executive board of the New York Coalition of Labor Union Women) and win the members to the bureaucracy's strategy of "creeping paralysis." This may entail impotent harassment tactics, such as closing only one hospital at a time. Clearly worried about a repeat of the militant battles 1199ers had with scabs at Mount Sinai and other hospitals last month, Roberts warned the members, "don't go out until you're told," because "we have to have professional people there when the cops start playing games."

Last month, Gotbaum's sole purpose in referring the 2,000 layoffs to a "fact-finding" committee was to avoid a strike deadline which would coincide with the 1199 contract expiration date. Last year as thousands more layoffs devastated Local 420 he called strikes "an act of weakness." Now Gotbaum's substitute for militant union action is to support right-to-work peanut magnate Jimmy Carter for U.S. president! Militant unionists must demand instead that 1199 and DC 37 break with the Democrats, dump the bureaucrats, and take the lead in building a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Last month Gotbaum demanded that city money be diverted from private hospitals to the municipal hospitals, thus gaining jobs for Local 420 members at the expense of District 1199 members. Last year he dealt with the layoffs by calling for the sacking of minority CETA (federally funded) workers to save the jobs of AFSCME members. Class-struggle union action, in contrast, means labor solidarity. The 1199 contract must be reopened and a joint city-wide strike of all hospital workers waged, with the unions pledged to fighting for no layoffs and more jobs through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. ■

Akron Firestone factory. The picketing was scarcely mentioned in the bourgeois media and a URW International spokesman claimed not even to know about it. The president of UAW Local 112 in Lordstown told *WV* that the demonstration was unofficial and not authorized by Local officials. Thus the officialdom of both unions is anxious to dissociate itself from the militant solidarity which alone can save the rubber strike from defeat and spark a victory in auto.

Unlike Leonard Woodcock of the UAW, who is hoping to retire into a position in Jimmy Carter's cabinet, Bommarito has nowhere to go. In 1973 he negotiated a sweetheart agreement with no e-o-l provision and unless he makes a better showing this time, his job in the URW hierarchy is in jeopardy. However, precisely because of his weak position within the union, he cannot afford to alienate the local union bureaucrats, who within the relatively decentralized structure of the URW have considerable power. Predictably, Bommarito has capitulated over and over to the backstabbing and parochialism of the local bureaucrats.

Despite their frequent squabbling, there is no fundamental difference between Bommarito and the local URW labor lakers. Bommarito's weak-kneed strike strategy encourages the defeatism of the local officials, while the strike-breaking of the latter offers Bommarito an excuse for his inevitable sellout. All of these class-collaborationist parasites must be swept out of office and replaced by a genuine class-struggle leadership. ■

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Chicago AFSCME Strikers Forced Back to Work

CHICAGO, July 31—Jerry Wurf has joined with Chicago cops and the state of Illinois to give the *coup de grâce* to a 23-day strike of unemployment office workers here. When they were arrested on the picket lines early in the strike, AFSCME Local 1006 strikers received neither legal nor financial support from the International, and they received no aid when at least 289 of them were fired or "suspended pending discharge." Last Wednesday the International leadership went from passive obstructionism to active strikebreaking when it fired all officers of the striking Local and took Local 1006 into "administrators'hip."

"The strike is over," declared spokesmen for the International. To make good on this *diktat*, International representatives locked the union hall and cut off the Local's telephone.

With the strikers isolated and deprived of even the means for centralized communication, the AFSCME brass is without a doubt at this very moment preparing a witchhunt of "irresponsible" militants and leftists in order to finish off its dirty job. Union "radicals"—particularly supporters of

protected rights to them, and Local 1006 members will defend those rights with unity, determination, and the law firm of *McCor, Mung and Black*." [our emphasis]

strike bulletin, 26 July

Although the leaders ousted by the International are still saying that the strike continues and picket lines will remain up until the original demands—including a guarantee of no reprisals—are met, the situation looks very bleak for the strike, which has been isolated from the beginning. The picket line in front of the central office has dwindled from 400 picketers on the first day to 20 the day after the International declared the strike over. The Local leadership has boxed itself into a corner by its early failure to mobilize broad labor support for this small and relatively weak union, and by its capitulation to the state. On July 19 and 20, the leadership demonstrated its "cooperative" attitude by voluntarily taking down picket lines in order to "facilitate" negotiations!

The AFSCME International's assault on the Chicago unemployment office workers is only the latest episode in its



WV Photo

AFSCME strikers picket in front of Chicago unemployment office last month.

Progressive Labor Party (PL), who are represented in the Local leadership—are likely to be victimized and will certainly be the least likely of the fired and suspended workers to get back into the unemployment office.

Militant workers must call upon the entire Chicago labor movement to defend these union members! Any attempt to victimize strikers must be stopped! All charges against those arrested on the picket lines (and whose bail was paid out of their own pockets due to the sabotage by the International) must be dropped! The elected leadership of Local 1006 must be reinstated and the AFSCME International's receivership lifted immediately!

However, instead of organizing a hard-hitting, class-struggle defense campaign, the Local leadership has fostered dangerous illusions among the strikers that "justice" will somehow be granted them by the bourgeois courts. Specifically, it is building up the hope that they will win a court injunction to reinstate the 289 fired strikers. This "militant"-talking legalism is well illustrated by the response of Houston Stevens, Local 1006 field director, to the firings and suspensions:

"Our jobs are secure. We have legally

long history of backstabbing betrayal. While in Chicago the International bureaucracy is collaborating with the cops to break the strike, nationally AFSCME has organized police, prison guards and other armed agents of the capitalist state—sworn enemies of the working class—into the union. They should be expelled—Cops out of the unions!

The lesson of the Local 1006 strike is clear: a class-struggle opposition must be built which, unlike the weak-kneed misleaders of Local 1006, can defend the membership and oust Wurf and the rest of the strikebreaking AFSCME piecarts. The Local's defeat can be reversed only by forging a militant new leadership that understands the laws of the class struggle and has a strategy to win it. ■

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Sadlowski Supporter Shot While Leafleting Houston Steelworkers

On July 26, Ben Corum, head of a United Steelworkers (USWA) union local in Kankakee, Illinois, was shot in the neck while distributing leaflets critical of USWA International president I.W. Abel outside Hughes Tool Company in Houston, Texas. Corum is a supporter of USWA Chicago-Gary district director Ed Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fightback Committee.

The assault on Corum was not an isolated incident. Supporters of Steelworkers Fightback were physically attacked twice while handing out literature at Armco Steel in Houston. The attackers at Armco apparently included officials of the Steelworkers local at that plant. Furthermore, Fightback Committee members were reportedly told by USWA staffers that they "had better leave Houston, or you'll regret it" (quoted in *Daily World*, 29 July).

This gangster-style violence takes place in the context of heightened tension within the union over succession for the International presidency when Abel retires next year. Recently a second slate claiming loyalty to Abel has been formed. Most likely this "split" within the Abel gang is nothing more than a reshuffling in order to build a more effective "united slate" against the insurgent bureaucratic reformer Sadlowski. Abel proclaims neutrality in the split between his supporters while concentrating his fire on Sadlowski.

Steelworkers Fightback, which is currently running a nationwide organizing campaign in preparation for the USWA convention in late August, denounced the shooting of Corum and the strongarm tactics at Armco, calling on Abel and other union officials to repudiate the violence. In response, District 37 director Jim Ward has declared a "hands off" attitude. The president of USWA Local 1742 at Hughes Tool, W.W. Woods, while claiming he opposes violence, even offered backhanded justification for the assaults. The attack against Corum took place, he said, because workers at the plant were allegedly angry at being "handhilled in the past by communists" (*Militant*, 6 August).

Militant steel workers must denounce this gangsterism and condemn the inaction of the pro-Abel bureaucrats.

USWA members must defend the right of oppositionists to distribute literature, which is crucial in order that all viewpoints may be brought before the union membership and freely debated. Union democracy is necessary for successful defense against company attacks and in selecting a class-struggle leadership that can wage such a defense.

Rather than struggling within the union to mobilize the ranks against this reactionary thug violence, however, Sadlowski called for an investigation by the U.S. Labor Department and the FBI. He further asserted that, "This intimidation makes a mockery of the notion of union democracy and free speech guaranteed by the constitution and the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act." Thus once again, this liberal reformer is angling for the full-blown government intervention that that put him into office in the first place.

Militant unionists do not defend the would-be assassin of Ben Corum against prosecution for attempted murder. Nevertheless, they must resolutely oppose any government intervention into union affairs launched on the pretext of "curbing violence." Class-conscious steel workers must denounce Sadlowski's invitation to such deadly enemies of the labor movement as the U.S. Labor Department and the FBI, as well as his willingness to utilize the union-busting Landrum-Griffin Act against opponents in the bureaucracy. Gangsterism and thuggery within the unions will only be halted by resolute action of the membership itself.

Not content with appealing to the federal government, Steelworkers Fightback also demanded that Houston cops police the plants to protect their leafleters against goon violence. While the police have apparently declined to intervene, Sadlowski's attempt to bring in these notorious Ku Klux Klan-infested strikebreakers is the most dangerous treachery. But the call for police protection is uncritically echoed by the reformist Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

Clearly, intervention of the cops, courts, FBI or Labor Department into Steelworkers affairs would be directed not against hooligans and gunmen, but against militant unionists and socialists. Hughes Tool Company has already declared war against "reds." Two years ago the company issued a circular which explicitly denounced "Rising Up Angry," a newsletter supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party, as well as the SWP's *Militant* and *Progressive Labor's Challenge*. Were the cops to police steel plants, the first victims would be the leftists and militants who distribute literature at Hughes Tool, including the very same reformists who advocate this measure!

While claiming to oppose the dictatorial methods of the Abel machine, Sadlowski, like "reformer" Arnold Miller in the United Mine Workers (UMW), is himself viciously anti-communist and hostile to workers democracy. When Miller became head of the UMW (also through government intervention), he soon began to crack down on "unauthorized work stoppages" and refused to defend wildcat strike leaders against government prosecution. Not by calling for the bosses' hired guns and judges into the unions, but by organizing the union membership for militant defense of workers democracy and class-struggle policies can the bureaucratic stranglehold of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy be smashed. ■

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The Many Faces and Long Waves of Ernest Mandel

by Joseph Seymour

In reviewing the writings of Ernest Mandel, one is immediately struck by his quite substantial changes in line on virtually any subject. Thus, for example, in various pamphlets and articles during the middle and late 1960's this eminent "Marxist economist" went on at great length about a supposed "neo-capitalism" of greatly increasing productivity (due to a "third industrial revolution" in the computer age) and counter-cyclical capitalist state planning allegedly preventing the recurrence of a 1929-style crash.

The contradiction with the Leninist theory of imperialism as the epoch of capitalist decay was total, and was expressed in blatant revisions of the Marxist program in numerous spheres. Workers control no longer meant dual power at the level of the factory, as it did for the Bolsheviks, but merely "anti-capitalist structural reforms"; the struggle between labor and capital no

REVIEW: *Late Capitalism* by Ernest Mandel

longer concerned exploitation, but instead focused on "problems of organizing production."

Then in the 1970's, Mandel's references to "neo-capitalism" suddenly disappear and in their place we find talk of "more classical models" of socialist revolution. At one level this is an expression of rampant empiricism. Certainly today not even the most inveterate reformists postulate increasing productive forces, successful capitalist crisis management or the disappearance of struggles over surplus value.

But unlike a Paul Sweezy or a Paul Mattick, Ernest Mandel is not merely a pseudo-Marxist academic, and his analyses of contemporary capitalism must be placed in the framework of his role as leader of the ex-Trotskyist revisionist current today known as the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). The abandonment of "neo-capitalism" was the result of the demise of the student-centered and "third-worldist" New Left (with its "new working class" theories) which forced the incorrigible tailist Mandel to look for new pastures in a "broad vanguard" of a Stalinoid or syndicalist character.

The connecting thread of Mandel's various "theoretical" shifts is his rejection of Trotsky's fundamental proposition in the Transitional Program, that "the historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership."

In the early 1950's, reacting to the organizational isolation of the Fourth International (FI) and the post-war expansion of Stalinism, one Michel Pablo (Raptis), head of the FI's International Secretariat, with Ernest Germain (Mandel) as his intellectual lieutenant, developed the liquidationist perspective of long-term "deep estrangement" into the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties, seeking to pressure the reformists to the left.

Later, in the early 1960's, the Pabloists put forward the notion that the peasantry of the colonial and semi-colonial countries was the new "epicenter of world revolution," and the task of European revolutionaries was henceforth that of cheerleaders for petty-bourgeois nationalists (like the Algerian

FLN) and Stalinists (such as the Vietnamese NLF).

At bottom, *Late Capitalism* and Ernest Mandel's other writings on the subject are an objectivist justification for this Pabloist liquidationism. The notion that the post-World War II period up to the mid-1960's was a "long wave of rapid growth in the international capitalist economy" means that this was a fundamentally different and, from the bourgeoisie's standpoint, more positive epoch than that in which the Fourth International was formed. It is an excuse for rejecting the Transitional Program as in large part obsolete and the principles on which Trotsky sought to build the FI as no longer valid.

Nor is Mandel's assertion that the "long post-war wave of rapid growth" ended in 1966 an objective empirical analysis. The eruption of a new political generation in the late 1960's—dramatically manifested in the French May events of 1968—produced a sizable layer of New Leftist, Maoist and syndicalist-inclined youth to the left of the traditional mass reformist parties. To attract the "broad vanguard" of leftists who chanted "The Only Solution is Revolution," Mandel had to promise them "another long wave of increasing social and economic crises for world capitalism."

The political implications of the Mandelian "long wave" theory are scarcely touched upon in the hundreds of pages of *Late Capitalism*. However, the final chapter does contain this significant passage:

"The essential and intrinsic consequence of the end of the long wave of post-war expansion, and the intensified struggle over the rate of surplus-value unleashed from the second half of the 60's onwards, is a world-wide tendency towards qualitatively sharpened class conflicts, which will bring the endemic crisis of capitalist relations of production to explosion point."

The clear implication is that before the mid-1960's, the "endemic crisis" of capitalism could not reach an "explosion point." And what a contrast to Mandel's earlier pronouncement that, "Neo-capitalism experiences and will experience depressions, but not new crises comparable to that of 1929" (speech to the "Cercle K. Marx," 12 January 1964, quoted in "Défense du trotskysme," *La Vérité*, September 1965).

Before discussing in detail the arguments of *Late Capitalism*, it is important to note that the 1975 English edition is not simply a translation of the 1972 German original: it is a revision. Mandel assures us that he has only "corrected and clarified subsidiary formulations, and brought relevant statistics up to date." But most of his readers will have no way of verifying this. When Marx or Trotsky brought out a new edition or translation of a work they considered no longer fully adequate, they included a new introduction or footnotes. In contrast, Mandel has followed the notorious Stalinist and bourgeois academic practice of altering the original text.

Kondratiev's Long Waves

The core of Mandel's book is the assertion that the period from 1940-45 to 1966 was the first phase of the fourth long cycle of capitalist development based on the "third technological revolution."

As he notes, the concept of such long cycles first became prominent in the

Marxist movement in the early 1920's through the work of an eclectic Russian economist, N.D. Kondratiev, a fellow-traveler of the Soviet regime. Kondratiev's schema was based entirely on observed statistical regularities. He made no effort to provide a causal explanation from the standpoint of Marxism or any other theoretical framework.

Kondratiev's long cycle schema produced a lively debate among Marxists during the 1920's. The general tenor of criticism was that his schema was mechanical and without apparent theoretical footing. Typical of Kondratiev's critics was the Soviet economist S.A. Pervushin:

"To prove the existence of major cycles it is not sufficient to find swings of long duration. You must prove that the cause of the upswing necessarily originates the factors which bring down the depression."

—quoted in George Garvy, "Kondratiev's Theory of Long Cycles," *Review of Economic Statistics*, 1943

Trotsky participated in the "Kondratiev cycle" debate, notably in his 1923 note, "The Curve of Capitalist Development" (translated in *Fourth International*, May 1941). Trotsky held that Kondratiev's explorations provided valuable material and insights for a more profound history of capitalism. But he raised against the "long cycle" theory two fundamental, interrelated criticisms. First, Trotsky denied that "long cycles" were genuinely cyclical and analogous to the conjunctural cycle produced by the self-perpetuating effect of the rate of accumulation on the rate of profit. Therefore, he maintained, long waves cannot be explained by purely economic factors, but must be affected by all major historical events:

"As regards the large segments of the capitalist curve of development (50 years) which Professor Kondratiev incautiously proposes to designate as cycles, their character and duration is determined not by the internal interplay of capitalist forces but by those external conditions through whose channel capitalist development flows."

Granting that the history of capital-



Ernest Mandel

News Ltd

ism shows a succession of fairly long periods of rapid growth and greater cyclical stability than adjacent periods, the decisive question is this: do long waves arise from a common cause, an internal law of capitalist production relations, or are they rather an after-the-fact statistical generalization mirroring all the factors which determine the uneven development of capitalist production?

The answer to this question has great political importance. If long waves are more or less a law of capitalist development, then they have the force of long-term conjunctural predictability. A revolutionary organization would have to take into account which phase of the long wave it was passing through in determining its political line. If it concluded it was in the beginning of a long wave of accelerated growth, this would mean that there would be no fundamental worsening of the conditions facing the masses and that a major depression would not occur. Such a prognosis would require a major revision of programmatic emphasis as well as of tactical perspectives.

Where does Mandel stand on this critical issue? His formulations are so guarded and ambiguous that it is difficult to pin him down. At one point, in response to a correct criticism of long wave "theories" by Polish Stalinist economist Oskar Lange, Mandel replies:

"Although we likewise reject the concept of the 'long cycle' and do not, therefore, accept the mechanical determination of the 'ebb' by the 'flow' and vice versa, we have nevertheless attempted to show that the inner logic of



The Newsletter

1960-61 Belgian general strike. Mandel withdrew call for march on Brussels when "left" bureaucrat Rénard refused to support it.



Nikolai Bukharin

Il Mondo

the long wave is determined by long-term oscillations in the rate of profit."

Despite his disclaimers of holding a mechanical cyclical theory, Mandel nonetheless asserts that capitalism has regularly experienced long waves based on technological revolutions and their predictable effect on the rate of profit. This is the core of his theory:

"The history of capitalism on the international plane thus appears not only as a succession of cyclical movements every 7 or 10 years, but also as a succession of longer periods, of approximately 50 years, of which we have experienced four up till now...."

"Each of these long periods can be subdivided into two parts: an initial phase, in which the technology actually undergoes a revolution.... This phase is distinguished by an increased rate of profit, *accelerated accumulation*, *accelerated growth*.... This first phase is followed by a second, in which the actual transformation in productive technology has already taken place.... The force that determined the sudden extension by leaps and bounds of capital accumulation in Department I [capital goods] thus falls away, and accordingly this phase becomes one of retreating profits, *gradually decelerating accumulation*, *decelerating economic growth*...." [original emphasis]

Mandel's theory does imply long-term predictability: once a technological revolution has occurred, this event imposes a definite pattern on economic conditions for the next decades. The logic of Mandel's schema is that given sufficient empirical data in the early 1950's, one could predict the absence of a major depression, no marked deceleration in the rate of growth and no period of intense class struggle until the mid-1960's. The rightist, liquidationist political implications of such an objectivist theory are obvious.

What are we to make of Mandel's thesis? First, he offers no empirical evidence for it, and for the 19th century no empirical evidence is available. Before 1900, at the earliest, there exist no reliable statistics for deriving changes in productivity, the rate of profit, capital per worker or the rate of surplus value. Thus Mandel is engaging in outright charlatanism when he writes that in 1826-47 there was a "stagnant rate of profit" or that in 1848-73 the rate of surplus value was rising. It appears that he is simply *deducing* the rate of profit and its component parts from the observed rate of growth in output. This "method" is not only completely unscientific, but it simply *supposes* the causal relationship that must be proved!

From a theoretical standpoint, there is absolutely no reason to believe that technological innovations should come in concentrated clumps about every 50 years. There is also absolutely no reason to believe that diffusion of new technology on an international scale and its impact on the rate of profit has a regular and predictable periodicity. In short, Mandel's theory is without sound empirical foundation and has no a priori plausibility.

Disappearing the 1920's

If Mandel's theoretical construction is untestable for the 19th century, his periodization since World War I is

arbitrary and false. Key to the entire conception laid out in *Late Capitalism* is the existence of a "sixth long wave" from 1914 to 1939 which is described as "regressive" with the rate of profit "falling sharply."

Even those without a profound knowledge of economic history know that the economic conditions of the 1920's were very different from the 1930's, not to mention the economic impact of World War I. The 1920's was a period of unusually rapid economic expansion. Between 1920 and 1929, industrial production in the United States increased by 65 percent, in Britain by 13 percent, in France by 104 percent and in Germany by 100 percent; in Japan during the 1920's real national income almost tripled (from Ingvar Svennilson, *Growth and Stagnation in the European Economy*; and Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress* [1957 edition]). The volume of world exports, which had fallen to 65 percent of the pre-war level in 1921, jumped 86 percent by the end of the decade.

What Mandel does is to simply disappear the economic boom of the 1920's by constructing an arbitrary, artificial long wave of "decelerating growth." He has done this by combining in one category a period of great expansion with a destructive world war and the greatest depression in capitalist history.

The failure to acknowledge, much less analyze, the boom in the 1920's vitiates Mandel's entire analysis of the post-World War II period. In order to scientifically demonstrate a "third technological revolution" during the 1940's and early 1950's, it is necessary to show that there was a radical increase in the rate of productivity, not relative to the depressed 1930's—that is self-evident—but relative to the 1920's.

This Mandel makes no attempt to demonstrate, since he cannot. From 1919 to 1929, the average annual increase in productivity of U.S. manufacturing was 2.0 percent, a figure almost equal to the 2.3 percent average annual increase in the 1948-57 period (John W. Kendrick, *Productivity*



The Newstetter

André Renard, a leader of the 1960-61 Belgian general strike.

Trends in the United States). In Europe, too, the 1920's was a period of considerable technological dynamism. For example, electricity production more than doubled during the decade. Comparing 1929 with 1913, the output of pig-iron per blast furnace increased by 58 percent in Britain, by 65 percent in France and by 131 percent in Germany.

The economic expansion of the 1920's generated a vast literature claiming that capitalism had fundamentally changed for the better, a literature similar to the Keynesian New Economics and "neo-capitalist" theories of the 1950's and 1960's. For example, in 1928, the prominent American populist Lincoln Steffens could assert:

"Big business in America is producing what the Socialists held up as their goal: food, shelter and clothing for all. You will see it during the Hoover administration."

quoted in William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity*

The notion that the economic expansion of the 1920's was based on fundamental structural changes was not

limited to liberals or social democrats. The best-known "revolutionary Marxist economist" of the period, Nikolai Bukharin, attempted to explain a "second period" boom as based on a "technological revolution" associated with the development of state capitalist tendencies in the imperialist economies. As we shall see, the similarity between Bukharin's "second period" and Mandel's "seventh long wave" is undeniable. Perhaps that is why the almost 600 pages of *Late Capitalism* failed to mention Bukharin's analysis of the 1920's even once.

State Expenditure and the Rate of Profit

In a lengthy work designed to be a major contribution to Marxist economics, one is shocked by the superficiality and amateurishness of the statistical material. Since Mandel's central premise is that the first technological revolution since the 1890's occurred in the 1940's and early 1950's, the least one would expect is a consistent historical series measuring productivity change in the major capitalist countries. Instead, Chapter 6 on the "third technological revolution" contains a smattering of illustrative figures such as might be found in a popular magazine article, not a scientific work.

Likewise Mandel does not construct a consistent historical series for the rate of profit and its component parts. He simply asserts that between 1940-45 and 1966 the rate of exploitation rose steeply and then became stable, while the rate of profit rose and then slowly fell. To back these assertions, he presents bits and pieces of incommensurate statistical data, virtually none of which are calculated in labor value terms or otherwise conform to Marxist categories.

Significantly, Mandel explicitly rejects the only scientific Marxist attempt to measure long-term changes in the rate of profit which we know of. This is an unpublished doctoral thesis by Shane Mage (a founder of the Spartacist tendency, who has since abandoned Marxism) entitled *The "Law of the Falling Tendency of the Rate of Profit": Its Place in the Marxian Theoretical Framework and Relevance to the U.S. Economy* (1963). Mage calculates the rate of profit for every year from 1900 to 1960 for the U.S., in both current labor value terms and "real" (1960 labor value) use value terms. Contrary to Mandel's assertion, Mage found that from 1945 to 1960 the rate of profit fell steadily as the rate of surplus value remained stable, while the organic composition of capital (the value of capital per productive worker) rose markedly.

Mandel rejects Mage's findings by asserting that government expenditure should be treated as part of surplus value. This treatment of government expenditure is key to Mandel's entire argument in two ways. First, it is only by adding government expenditure to private property income that Mandel can defend his empirical assertion that the rate of surplus value rose sharply in the post-war period. Second, his treatment of government expenditures is key to his belief in the *past* efficacy of Keynesian stabilization policy as a means of realizing surplus value without increasing the organic composition of capital through productive investment.

Taking issue with Mage for limiting surplus value to property income *after* taxation, Mandel writes:

"In Marx's theory all revenues are traced back to wages or surplus-value. Since state revenues can hardly be regarded as variable capital... they can only be regarded as a redistribution of social surplus-value or an increase of it by deductions from wages."

The term "social surplus-value," which nowhere appears in Marx's writings, is an elementary confusion between use value and exchange value. Social surplus denotes those real resources available over and above those needed

to reproduce the existing level of output. Social surplus is a universal category applicable to all societies above the most primitive. Surplus value, on the other hand, is the exchange value, realized in money, available to the owners of the means of production in capitalist society. Judged by the standards of a rationally planned socialist economy, the social surplus of any capitalist economy is far greater than surplus value, which is restricted by the overhead costs of the capitalist system. And this is what government expenditure is.

Contrary to Mandel, the commodity product is not entirely divided between surplus value and the wage of productive workers. A part of the commodity product is expended on replacing the capital used up in the process of production. This replacement of capital is not limited to depreciation on the physical means of production and distribution, but includes all overhead costs necessary for capitalist reproduction. According to Mage, government expenditure as well as private administrative and commercial expenses are a part of constant capital expended and replaced:

"Since these commercial and political expenses, though unproductive of new value, signify the consumption of a portion of the social capital, the value consumed in this way, in order to assure its continual reproduction must enter into the total value of the mass of commodities produced.... Consequently the appropriate treatment for the outlay of unproductive expenses in general, provided only that they are 'socially necessary' under the existing form of social organization, is to regard them as part of the constant capital advanced and expended." [original emphasis]

--Shane Mage, *op. cit.*

A precise specification of surplus value is key because it is the numerator of the rate of profit, the central concept of Marxist economics. The rate of profit, in turn, is the main regulator of new investment determining the short-run level of output and long-term changes in productivity. By including government expenditure in surplus value, Mandel is faced with two alternatives concerning the incentive to invest. He can assert that the level of investment is not affected by the rate of taxation and government borrowing, which is manifestly absurd; or he can redefine the relevant rate of profit as surplus value minus taxes.

Far from having an identical role in capitalist economies, government expenditure and profit are profoundly antagonistic. One of the most striking reactions of the bourgeoisie to the 1974-75 depression is a determination to augment profit by cutting back what is seen as a bloated, parasitic state sector. Mandel's identification of government expenditure as part of surplus value cannot comprehend, much less predict, the rage for fiscal austerity now sweeping the advanced capitalist world. In contrast, Mage's theory fully explains the attempts of the capitalist class to restore profitability by reducing the cost of government.

Mandel's "Seventh Long Wave" and Bukharin's "Second Period"

"From the economic point of view, from the point of view of the analysis of the capitalist economy, the second period may be described as the period of the restoration of the productive forces of capitalism. In this period, relying on its political victories and on its relative political stabilization, capitalism strove to achieve and ultimately did achieve a certain economic stabilization. The second period passed away to give place to the third period, the period of capitalist reconstruction. This reconstruction was expressed in the pre-war limits being exceeded qualitatively and quantitatively. The growth of the productive forces of capitalism is due on the one hand to the rather considerable progress achieved in the technique of industry and on the other hand to the extensive reorganization of the capitalist economic contacts."

Is this a quote from Mandel describing the developments after

continued on page 8

Mandel...

(continued from page 7)

World War II? No, it is Bukharin giving the report on the world situation to the Sixth Congress of the Third International in 1928 (*International Press Correspondence*, 30 July 1928). As for technological revolution, the report bristles with examples: electrification, synthetic fuels, light metals, industrialization of agriculture, automatic production line, etc. And Mandel really should give Bukharin credit for putting it all together:

"The changes in technique which in some countries, primarily in the United States, is assuming the character of a technological revolution, is quite definitely linked up with the trustification of the national economy, with the establishment of gigantic banking consortiums and already in the post-war period with the growth of state capitalist tendencies in multilateral forms."

Ibid.

While we are focusing on the theoretical parallelism between Bukharin's analysis of the 1920's and Mandel's evaluation of the 1950's and early 1960's, it is important to point out the radically different social bases for the respective revisionist doctrines, which make for a qualitatively different scale of historic impact. The rejection of Marxism by Stalin-Bukharin stemmed from the isolation of the Soviet state bureaucracy, which sought to maintain its precarious and parasitic position by adapting to what it viewed as an unshakable capitalist world order. Commanding the resources of a major world power, Stalinism had a great impact on the political events of the 1920's; the doctrine of "socialism in one country" served to excuse such monumental betrayals as the Comintern's failure to oppose Hitler's march to power.

By way of contrast, Pablo/Mandel's attack on Marxism reflected the isolation of small revolutionary propaganda groups from the mass organizations of the working class under seemingly unshakable reformist leaderships. The historic impact of Pablo/Mandel's revisionism was primarily in disrupting the continuity of revolutionary Marxism by destroying the Fourth International. It is because Pabloism has been unable to commit betrayals of world-historic proportions in the name of the FI that Trotskyists today struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International rather than building a new "Fifth" International. But Mandel's revisionism nonetheless bears a major responsibility for the fact that the new generation of radical intellectuals and workers emerging in the 1960's looked to Maoism, Castroism and other "militant" variants of Stalinism rather than to Trotskyism as the embodiment of Marxism.

The origins of both Bukharin's "second period" and Mandel's "seventh long wave" schemas were the subsiding of a post-war revolutionary wave and subsequent strengthening of the reformist bureaucracies in relation to the communist vanguard. This was associated with an unexpected economic expansion which was seen as reinforcing the conservatism of the masses. Both Bukharin and Mandel objectified this particular political and economic conjuncture, constructing what is essentially a sub-epochal scheme.

From the notion that the dominance of the reformist bureaucracies was unshakable due to a long period of economic expansion, it was a short step to the conclusion that communists could make headway only by allying with one section of the bureaucracy against its more rightist opponents. For Stalin-Bukharin the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Council during 1925-27 had the same purpose as "deep entrism" for Pablo/Mandel: a means of pressuring and maneuvering with a

reformist bureaucracy whose dominance was considered objectively unassailable.

The anti-revolutionary consequences of this line were not long in manifesting themselves. Just when Stalin-Bukharin had settled in for long-term collaboration with the British Trades Union Council leaders Citrine and Cook, and when Mandel had forged his one-sided alliance with Belgian Socialist Party trade-union leader André Renard, these very forces were placed at the head of general strikes. Moreover, the British general strike of 1926 took place at the very apex of Bukharin's "second period" of capitalist stability, and the Belgian general strike of 1960-61 was in the heart of Mandel's "long wave of rapid economic growth." Yet these were important class battles pregnant with revolutionary perspectives. Partly to conciliate their new-found reformist allies and partly because they believed the period was inherently non-revolutionary, Stalin-Bukharin in 1926 and Mandel in 1960-61 played a passive, tailist and defeatist role in these historic class battles.

In the Belgian case, Mandel backtracked and finally under pressure from Renard abandoned altogether the demand of a march on Brussels. On 1 January 1961 Mandel's paper, *La Gauche*, carried a red headline proclaiming: "Organize the march on Brussels." The next week (7 January) it argued against concentrating forces for a single day and place and instead for infiltrating tens of thousands of demonstrators into the capital. Finally, on 14 January it wrote:

"We have been reproached for having launched the slogan of a march on Brussels.... Since we find that the demand has not been taken up by the

and dangers" which Poland had avinided "thanks to the leadership role played by...the Gomulka tendency...a centrist tendency nonetheless evolving to the left..." or for resistance to De Gaulle's coup in 1958. A victory for the proletariat in any of these major class battles would have radically altered the course of post-war European history and rendered all questions about a "long wave of accelerated accumulation" sterile scholasticism.

Tactical Origins of the "New Long Wave"

The "deep entrism" tactic was not originally based on the projection of a long period of economic prosperity. Quite the contrary: it was motivated by

highest standard of success imaginable—was blamed on objective conditions. A 1969 document of Mandel's United Secretariat reassesses the entry tactic in the following terms:

"The economic cycle that took place was as a whole unfavorable to the massive development of left currents in the old parties. Nonetheless in several countries such currents did form, but owing to the existing conditions on the one hand and the weakness of the revolutionary Marxists on the other, large splits were rare. Finally, the weight of the objective situation gained the upper hand and led to a very pronounced shift to the right among the traditional parties."

"Draft Resolution on Our Tactics in Europe"

By the mid-1960's, entrism was a failure even in terms of immediate



Hungarian workers tore down Stalin statue during 1956 uprising.



1953 riots in East Berlin.

leaders, we submit, but we point out that at the moment our call appeared last week, no indications on this subject were yet known."

Mandel's "long post-war wave of rapid growth" implies a defeatist attitude not only to the Belgian general strike of 1960 but also to the French general strike of August 1953 (when Pablo's French lieutenant, Pierre Frank, issued a statement apologizing for the fact that the Communist Party-led CGT labor federation refused to demand the ouster of the Laniel government) and toward the East German workers uprising of the same year (when Pablo's International Secretariat issued a declaration calling for "real democratization of the Communist parties"—i.e., bureaucratic "self-reform"—and failed to demand unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet occupation forces which put down the revolt).

Likewise, the "long wave" analysis holds no perspective for the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 (where Pablo wrote that the absence of a political leadership had "provoked...exactly those flaws

imminent catastrophism. In the early 1950's, Pablo advanced the "war/revolution" thesis according to which World War, III, between the U.S. and the USSR, would break out immediately with the mass reformist workers parties of West Europe being forced into the Soviet camp. Thus this "entrism sui generis" was predicated on revolutionary situations developing before the Trotskyist vanguard could develop significant forces.

By the late 1950's, the "war revolution" thesis had become an embarrassing memory and the tactical justification for entrism was turned around 180 degrees. A long period of economic and political stability was now projected for the advanced capitalist countries; this was implicit in the notion that the "epicenter of world revolution" had shifted to the colonial world. The failure of the Pablo/Mandel entrists to pressure their favored left reformists (Renard in the Belgian SP, Pietro Ingrao in the Italian CP) into leading centrist splits—this being the

organizational opportunities. A new generation of radical student youth—the New Left—emerged outside of and hostile to the social-democratic and Stalinist parties. With the rapid growth of organizations within the New Left Maoist/syndicalist continuum, continuation of the "deep entrism" tactic threatened Mandel's USec with being outflanked from the left.

Consequently, in the late 1960's the European USec sections made a sharp tactical turn abandoning entrism for an orientation to this "new mass vanguard." This shift was the focus of the 1969 document, "Draft Resolution on Our Tactics in Europe," as well as of the core document of the USec's "tenth world congress" in 1973, "The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe." The key passage of the latter document reads:

"[T]he central task for revolutionary Marxists in the stage that opened in 1967-68 is to win hegemony within the new mass vanguard...."

Late Capitalism was written in the same period as these documents and can be considered an attempt to provide a high-Marxist, world-historic analysis to crown the new turn. The 1969 "Draft Resolution" was naive enough to place the start of the new period with May 1968, a political event:

"With May 1968, a new period opened up, characterized among other things by a world crisis of the capitalist system and by a political awakening of the European working-class movement."

The USec to the contrary, both the French May events and Italy's "red summer" in 1969 took place under economic conjunctural conditions that were similar to the early 1960's.

However, according to Mandel's objectivist schema a revolutionary situation could not occur during the "long post-war wave of rapid growth." So he had to find a convenient conjunctural event before, but not too much before, May 1968. He came up with the West German recession of 1966-67! Mandel must be the only economist in the world today who believes that 1966 was the fundamental turning point in the post-war capitalist economy. The

failure of the rest of the world to notice the epochal change in that year is readily comprehensible. In the four years preceding 1966, national income in the advanced capitalist countries increased by 24 percent; in the four years following 1966 it went up by 19 percent, hardly an earth-shaking deceleration (*National Accounts of the OECD Countries, 1962-1973*).

Interestingly, in the 1972 German edition Mandel made no attempt to demonstrate empirically that the West German downturn of 1966-67 marked the end of the "seventh long wave," since he could not do so convincingly. However, in the 1975 English edition he triumphantly provides such a proof by adding in the 1974-75 world depression, which of course greatly reduces average annual growth since 1966. Had Mandel chosen the 1969-70 American recession as the turning point, he could have shown an even sharper deceleration. This demonstrates the empirically arbitrary but politically deliberate nature of Mandel's long wave schema.

In rejecting Mandel's objectivism, we do not hold an accidentalist view of contemporary political development, i.e., that a revolutionary situation could break out anytime, anywhere. Only a political imbecile would argue that the prospect for revolutionary struggle in the next few years is the same in West Germany as in Spain. In projecting the development of the class struggle, the economic conjuncture must certainly be taken into account. But to label 25 years of world capitalism, with several generalized recessions and a number of revolutionary opportunities, as a "long wave of rapid growth" is not only totally inaccurate, but necessarily implies a defeatist attitude. *Late Capitalism* is not a serious work of Marxist economics; it is a cynical apologia for Pahlöist liquidationism. ■

Lebanon...

(continued from page 1)

villagers, even breaking open collins and burning corpses.

Damur was the fieldom of Camille Chamoun, a rightist Maronite who was president of Lebanon in 1958 when he invited in the U.S. Marines, and is interior minister of the present "government," such as it is. Chamoun's National Liberal Party is, if anything, even more rightist than Pierre Gemayel's Phalangists, which were modeled after the Nazis, and Chamoun's militia has been in the vanguard of the vicious and brutal siege of Tel Zaatar. The sacking of Damur, of course, was partly in reprisal for the sacking by right-wing Maronites of the predominantly Muslim Quarantina enclave in eastern Beirut, during which 1,500 were murdered.

So when the RSL gives "military support" to the "Muslim-leftist" forces it is to the murderers of Damur, to continued senseless communal slaughter. When the Healyite political bandits of the "International Committee" hail the "incredibly tenacious and heroic



Julienne/Sygm

Bloody aftermath of January battle in the Quarantina slum district of Beirut.

struggle of the PLO and the Lebanese left," they are saluting the "diversionary" massacres of Christian villagers in the north.

Lebanon Goes the Way of Cyprus

Throughout the Near East during the 20th century there have been communal conflicts between a crazy-quilt of interpenetrated religious and national populations. Palestine prior to 1948, Cyprus prior to 1973 and Lebanon until now are examples. Capitalism offers no democratic solution to such conflicts, which fester and mount until a flash-point is reached. Now Lebanon may go the way of Cyprus, through the forced population transfers of interpenetrated peoples into separate Christian and Muslim statelets.

The comparison with sectarian strife in Northern Ireland has also not been lost on Lebanon. The London *Observer* (6 June) relates how an Armenian Christian "hauled out of his car by a particularly bloodthirsty Muslim road-block reportedly saved his life by telling his captors he was a Protestant. One of them went off to find out what this was and returned with orders to release the Armenian immediately. 'Protestants are the people killing all those bloody Christians in Northern Ireland,' he explained."

Fatah in its demand for a "democratic

secular Palestine" projected a solution to the Palestinian question which was "democratic," but not anti-capitalist. Lebanon was their model. But now Fatah's model of multi-religious harmony is drowned in the blood of sectarian war.

Given the weakness of the former Lebanese army, now disintegrated into its sectarian components, the Palestinian refugee camps were able to constitute a "state within a state," setting up their own army, police, laws and government. Right-wing Maronite forces (including the presidential candidate of Jumblatt, Raymond Edde) have struggled incessantly to consolidate Lebanese "sovereignty" and strip the refugee camps of their militias and autonomy. Now the Syrian army may very well finish the job that Chamoun, Edde, Gemayel, etc., were unable to complete.

Cyprus, Northern Ireland, Lebanon and Palestine all are the legacy of imperialism, where religious, racial and/or national differences were exploited and exacerbated in order to divide and rule. Capitalism offers no other solution to these conflicts than that which transpired yesterday in Cyprus and threatens today in Lebanon. The only way out of the morass of communal killing in Lebanon must be based on a perspective that is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist.

The butchery of Muslim Quarantina and Christian Damur will only be avenged through a proletarian class upheaval which welds together the urban and rural oppressed, extending beyond the narrow national boundaries to give rise to a socialist federation of the Near East. ■



P. Jurnaux/Paris Match

Pierre Gemayel

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sition grouping in the plant — the SWP press breathed not a word about it.

In the cause of not frightening the civil libertarians, the SWP argues against calling on the state to suppress the fascists, a standard Communist Party demand. In arguing that the fascists' "freedom of speech" must be defended, the "Education for Socialists" bulletins repeat a number of Trotsky and 1930's SWP statements warning that to call for state repression of the Nazis would legitimize state repression against left "extremists" as well. This is a telling argument against the SWP's "fraternal" allies of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat in Europe, such as the French I.C.R., which has called for the state to outlaw the fascists and ban their demonstrations. But the SL SYL has repeatedly warned that, "Any government ban against extremist armed groups will always be used as a bludgeon against the left, not the right" ("The Fight to Implement Busing").

To this the SWP responds, "It's

SWP YSA supporters intervened to oppose the heckling and protect Nelson's "right." This revolting defense of an advocate of lynch-mob terror gives the lie to Dobbs' calculated hit of deceit.

Renouncing Trotsky, and Their Own History

While SWP YSA leaders make a great show about how they are unconcerned with answering the Spartacists, *Counter-Mobilization* shows that these revisionists have at least been forced to deal with the numerous articles the SYL has reprinted from the Trotskyist press of the 1930's and 1940's on how to fight fascism. Their response is to openly break with the historic Trotskyist position, but they do so in a consummately dishonest manner, seeking to place the blame on the Spartacus Youth League, youth group of the Communist League of America in the 1930's, implying that the youth, always prone to ultra-leftism went a little overboard in some of their formulations.

Thus, for example, the SYL called for preventing the fascists "by all possible means...from assembling and spreading their insidious program" (*Young*



James de Pree/Time

Nazi-led racists attacked Martin Luther King Jr. Movement march in Chicago two weeks ago.

As for Trotsky, he was far from advocating that the fight against fascism be limited to peaceful protest marches in order not to "confuse" the liberals. To the workers of France he counseled:

"A workers' militia, however is not for parades or theater performances...but for fierce struggle. A workers' militia is the mailed fist of the proletariat. Answer each and every blow with two blows. Carry the struggle to the point of exhaustion, to annihilation. Do not let the fascist enemy raise its head. Follow him on his trail."

"France is Now the Key to the Situation," 1934

"Do not let the fascist enemy raise its head," counsels Trotsky. "Every right of the fascists must be taken away by us," writes the SYL in 1934. "No platform for fascists!" demands the SYL in 1975 in rallying students to drive the Nazis off S.F. State campus. "If you are insisting that fascists can't speak, you risk antagonizing students," says Farrell Dobbs in *Counter-Mobilization*!!!

Against Civil-Libertarian Cretinism — For Labor/Black Defense!

Despite all their sermons about "smart" tactics, the SWP YSA leaders present in *Counter-Mobilization* a strategy for combating fascism which can only lead to defeat for the working people and the black masses of this country. Serious militants influenced by the SWP YSA strategy for "counter-mobilizations" would do well to study the lessons of history. In Italy during 1920-22, when the fascist Black Shirts of Mussolini grew from a tiny handful of thugs to a powerful movement, the Italian Socialist Party pleaded for the bourgeois state to intervene against the fascists, while refusing to organize workers defense squads. Rather, the Italian Socialists prattled that mass demonstrations and processions would intimidate the fascists and compel the government to act against the Black Shirts. But again and again during 1919 and 1920 mass "counter-mobilizations" of tens of thousands of Socialists were dispersed and routed by well-executed terror attacks of a single carload of armed fascists.

Today the SWP YSA preaches the same fatal illusions promoted by the Italian social democrats. While the ultra-"respectable" line of the SWP/YSA may attract hesitant liberals to its "counter-mobilizations" against fascists, the strategy based on the framework of civil libertarianism can only retard and obstruct the development of labor black defense. The success of the struggle against the fascist danger tomorrow depends on the political strategy and tactics fought for by the vanguard of the workers movement today.

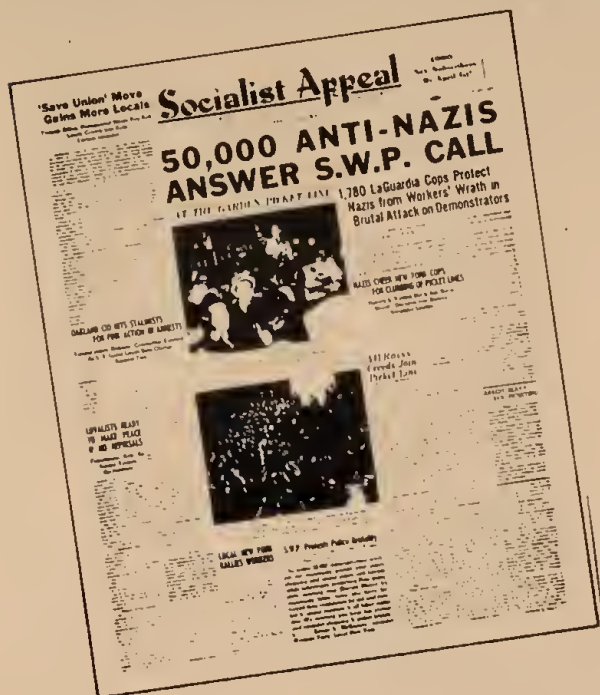
The SWP YSA calls for federal

troops and more cops to repel the racist mobilizations and preaches that fascists must be permitted to speak and organize for racist terror. The SL SYL raises the call for labor black defense to defend black people from racist attack and to smash the fascist scam, despite howls about suppression of "democratic rights" of the lynchers. It is the difference between treacherous reformism and revolutionary Marxism. ■

"In order to prevent fascist meetings it is a question of the relationship of forces. We alone are not strong, but we propose a united front.

"Hitler explains his success in his book. The Social Democracy was extremely powerful. To a meeting of the Social Democracy he sent a band with Rudolf Hess. He says that at the end of the meeting his thirty boys evicted all the workers and they were incapable of opposing them. Then he knew he would be victorious. The workers were only organized to pay dues. No preparation at all for other tasks. Now we must do what Hitler did except in reverse. Send 40 or 50 men to dissolve the meeting. This has tremendous importance. The workers become steeled, fighting elements. They become trumpets.... We can only arouse the vanguard but this vanguard must then arouse the others. That is why I repeat it is a very important question. In Minneapolis where we have very skilled powerful comrades we can begin and show the entire country."

—L.D. Trotsky, "More Discussion on the Transitional Program," June 1938



basically self-contradictory to say that we don't call upon the state or campus administration to ban these fascist groups and at the same time say that they have no right to speak." Only for those whose political horizons are limited to calling on the state to carry out their reformist program! The SWP has repeatedly called on the federal government to bring in troops to impose "law and order" on anti-fascist rioters in Boston. Just as in the case of banning fascist groups or demonstrations, such calls only open the way for government repression of the oppressed blacks, especially if the latter should begin to defend themselves against racist marauders terrorizing their communities. To the SL SYL call for labor black defense by the unions and mass black organizations, the SWP once again raises a hue and cry about "adventurism" and "irrelevancy."

Dobbs ends up on a "left" note, cautioning that: "We don't fight for free speech for Nazis.... Our aim is to crush the fascists." But only last November, the YSA championed the right of Ku Klux Klan leader Scott Nelson to speak at the University of Houston. In response to militant black students and SYL supporters who protested the appearance of this notorious purveyor of "nigger-hunting" licenses," the SWP YSA distributed a leaflet saying: "Scott Nelson must have the right to speak at the University of Houston." And when the audience beatfully responded to Nelson's vile race-baiting,

Spartacus, 12 October 1934). The SWP leaders also object to "misformulations" in two 1934 documents, the statement that "Every right of the working class must be defended every right of the fascists must be taken away by us" ("The Youth in the Struggle Against American Fascism"); and "Immediate action to obstruct their 'civil rights' to assemble forces which can effectively conduct such destructive activity is also needed" (letter to the Young People's Socialist League).

This is merely an underhanded way of attacking the position universally held throughout the Trotskyist movement that the fascist scam have no "rights" which the working class is bound to respect, that each storm-trooper meeting, each race-hate speech is a launching pad for genocide and anti-labor violence. The SWP itself had exactly this position in 1939, and put it into practice. After bringing out 50,000 anti-fascist militants who surrounded the Madison Square Garden filled with assembled Silver-shirts, Bondists and Coughlinites, it responded to the wails of the civil libertarians with an article, "Should Fascists Be Allowed the Right of Free Speech?" (*Socialist Appeal*, 3 March 1939), that should send Barnes and Dobbs up the wall:

"The wailing and weeping about the Nazis' 'rights' can safely be left to the prissy liberals and phoney Democrats. The self-preservation of the working class demands that it cut through all abstract chatter and smash the fascist gangs by decisive and relentless action."



Union defense guard from UAW Local 6 protects home of black member against racist violence.



Farrell Dobbs Militant

Farrell Dobbs Misremembers

Farrell Dobbs, former national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), speaks with authority on the battles waged by Midwest trade unionists against fascist swine like William Pelley's Silver Shirts and Gerald L.K. Smith's gang of thugs. From 1934 to 1940, he was a militant leader in the struggle to organize the International Brotherhood of Teamsters along industrial union lines and to defend the workers' gains against employers, the government and right-wing, anti-labor forces.

Yet in Dobbs' contributions to *Counter-Mobilization* the Trotskyist trade union cadre of 1934 has become the elder statesman of labor reformism in 1976.

Dobbs recounts the anti-fascist struggles of the 1930's and 1940's through the distorting lens of the SWP's present-day legalism and pacifism. On the question of "free speech for fascists" and "defensive slogans":

"The essence of it then was to counterpose to the fascist actions the democratic right of a counter-mobilization. We bypassed the whole free speech question.... We were not there formally or actually (our emphasis, B.U.) to prevent the fascists from speaking. We were there to show them that we were just as determined that they weren't going to carry out an attack on the trade unions as they were determined to carry one out maybe more so."

How did the workers' defense guards in Minneapolis and other union towns, in fact, demonstrate their determination? Is it true that the workers "were not there formally or actually to prevent the fascists from speaking"? In *What Policy to Fight Fascism?* (August 1975) the SWP reprinted an account where a phalanx of militant SWP-led unionists in 1946 chased Gerald L.K. Smith's bully boys right out of Minneapolis:

"Surging through the lobby, the pickets were met by a knot of fascists who attempted to bar the way to the ballroom where the meeting was to be held. With a mighty push, the Smith supporters were brushed aside and the pickets

plunged on like a tidal wave toward the meeting hall. "Charging through a barricade of chairs which the fascists had thrown up to prevent the pickets from entering the hall, the shouting mass of labor anti-fascists made their way into the ballroom. In their frantic retreat, the fascists left broken chairs, tables, lamps and mirrors in their wake. Dozens of Smith's supporters fled through the windows. Those remaining in the hall scuttled to one corner of the room and huddled there."

The Militant, 31 August 1946

Another such confrontation was described in a *Northwest Organizer* (24 November 1938) article:

"A company of union defense guards, made up of unionists from Youngstown, Ohio, had the honor of leading the first victorious assault on the fascist Silver Shirts when the boss-supported labor-haters sought to hold a meeting last Thursday in Sharon....

"The meeting had no sooner got under way than 10 earloads of union guards from Youngstown dashed up the stairs and stormed the meeting.

"As the doors and windows were being battered down, several squads of cops rushed in to protect the Silver Shirts. The union guards circled the building and prepared to storm it from the rear. At this point, two officials from the Carpenters Union arrived and ordered the Silver Shirts out of the building.

"Quaking, the Silver Shirts quickly stole out of the building and were escorted to their cars by the cops as the union pickets hurled their hatred at the local Hitlerites."

One of the union guards described to the *Northwest Organizer* how these workers "bypassed the whole free speech question": "Union members in this area are determined that the Silver Shirts shall hold no meetings.... Our motto 'Offense is the best defense!'" While always emphasizing the mortal danger to the working class posed by fascist activities (i.e., using defensive formulations), these workers' defense guards certainly did not share Dobbs' latter-day timidity about clearly stating their opposition to the 'right' of these would-be storm troopers to assemble and propagate their bloodthirsty creed.

Baraka's Follies

To call "S-I," Amiri Baraka's new skit abysmally amateurish, wooden, boring, idiotically simple-minded, etc. (although all true) misses the point of this production, which is actually beneath criticism on an aesthetic level. "S-I" is simply a propaganda vehicle for Baraka's Congress of Afrikan People (CAP), on the level of a rather mediocre RAT troupe performance at a 1960's SDS conference.

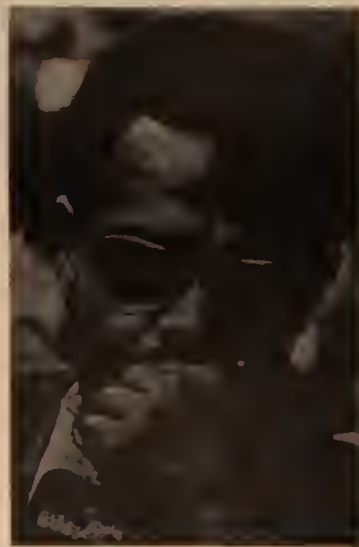
"S-I" is nothing but a walking-talking hodge-podge of CAP articles on how the S-I hill will lead to fascism, how the two "imperialist superpowers," the U.S. and USSR, are going to start a war (the USSR is the aggressor in "S-I"), which will also lead to fascism, and how the "only solution is revolution" (as the actors periodically chant).

Although this trashy act has Baraka's name on it, it could have been written by any combination of Maoist hacks in committee—the bureaucratic ideal of how Stalinist "socialist-realist peoples' culture" should be cranked out. Baraka is undoubtedly not so stupid as to imagine that "S-I" has any literary value whatsoever; he is merely cynically trading on his literary reputation to attract an audience (including an unwary *New York Times* reviewer who somehow found the play "incendiary" apparently under the misapprehension that it was some kind of literary effort). The play received a polite reception from the professionally "broad-minded" radical-chic Village audience at its weekend performance at the Washington Square Church, while a small trickle of indignant, white-haired CPers leaving the auditorium as the actors called the USSR "imperialist" did relieve the general tedium (about a fifth of the audience escaped during the intermission).

Amiri Baraka has now put Mao-Thought in command, and it is striking that his early poetry was a more accurate reflection of the life of American black people than his later "more political" works. This is in no small measure because his politics codified a series of lies in defense of the narrow nationalism of the Peking bureaucracy. Trotsky understood that art could not be created in the service of a corrupt and rapacious bureaucracy. "Artistic creation has its laws," he wrote, "even when it consciously serves a social movement. Truly intellectual creation is incompatible with lies, hypocrisy and the spirit of

conformity" ("Art and Politics in Our Epoch," June 1938).

There is a tradition for political theater that goes back to old Greek theater. Successfully employed it can be quite powerful. Jean Paul Sartre's "The Flies," a disguised anti-fascist drama performed at the time of the German



Amiri Baraka

occupation, is a modern example. Others include the more well-known plays of Brecht, such as "Galileo," which is an allegorical treatment of the Moscow Trials; or in the U.S., Arthur Miller's "Crucible," an attack on the witchhunts of the McCarthy period.

Artists have long been moved by political themes, and the best of them have created works which have made a lasting contribution to human culture. But Baraka's "S-I" is nothing of the sort.

In 1930, Mayakovsky went home, changed his linen and put a bullet in his head. His late plays were a devastating attack on the Stalinist bureaucracy, and with the official hack critics closing their philistine grip about his talented neck, he chose death. After seeing "S-I," one clearly knows why. ■



WV Photo

YSA national secretary Steve Clark: "In dealing with the question of how to fight the Nazis at San Francisco, for instance, we had the problem of differentiating ourselves from the Spartacus Youth League without appearing to be siding just a little bit with the Nazis, without appearing to be soft."

SWP Opposes Militant Action Against Fascists

As its national convention approaches, the reformist ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has recently evidenced considerable political discomfort over its by now notorious defense of "free speech for fascists."

Several months ago the SWP/Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) issued an "Education for Socialists" bulletin containing documents—many of them already published by the Spartacist League Spartacus Youth League (SL SYL) in the pamphlets, "The Fight to Implement Busing" and "What Policy to Fight Fascism?" attempting to prove "by way of contrast" that the SL SYL "indulges in adventurist tactics in the name of 'smashing fascism'." (Our response to the SWP's social-democratic eyewash is to be found in *Young Spartacus*, Nos. 43 and 44, May and June 1976.)

But in the context of continuing anti-busing mobilization in Boston, fascist-inspired bombings of radical offices in several cities and the current wave of Nazi KKK anti-black violence in Chicago, many militants are understandably not satisfied with the SWP's placid calls for "educational campaigns." Apparently, incredible as it seems, the desire to defend endangered blacks and crush the fascist vermin has found a faint echo in the solidly reformist and deeply cynical SWP/YSA ranks. To answer these waverings, a new "Education for Socialists" bulletin has appeared with the deliberately weaselly title, *Counter-Mobilization: A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks*.

Even more than its predecessor, *Counter-Mobilization* is a polemic against the SL SYL. It grows out of an incident at San Francisco State College in March 1975, where the SYL initiated a united-front committee around the demand "No platform for fascists" and led a demonstration of 150 that drove a gang of stormtroopers from the National Socialist White People's Party off campus. The campus YSA "by way of contrast" opposed "the demonstration as 'unfortunate,' 'counterproductive' and a 'disruption.'" It offered only the most minimal, tokenistic paper defense of the SYL and Progressive Labor when these were subsequently threatened by an administration witchhunt against the anti-fascist demonstrators. After such despicable behavior, the YSA understandably had difficulty holding its head up among local leftists.

But this was not low enough for the SWP leadership! A YSA statement on the anti-Nazi demonstration had sought to excuse their passivity with the argument, "To stop the Nazis from speaking, the campus majority has to be won to that point of view through an educational campaign." Subsequently the party leaders came down against even this timid hint of future anti-Nazi action. There must be no "suppression of free speech" for the fascists, they decreed. *Counter-Mobilization* is a transcript of discussions in which SWP leaders Farrell Dobbs and Jack Barnes

explain this snivelling line to YSA youth leaders, supposedly in order to inculcate these little Kautskys against infection by "ultra-leftism."

Siding "Just a Little" with the Nazis

The preoccupations of the youth leaders are put forward by then YSA national secretary Steve Clark:

"In dealing with the question of how to light the Nazis at San Francisco State,

Jack Barnes intervenes to orient the discussion toward the "main problem." Well, what is the main problem? The Nazis and Klan sticking their heads up more and more frequently, trying to use the campuses as a platform to spew out their incitements to lynching? "Civil libertarian hangups" among liberal students who want to let the fascist terrorists "present their side of the story"? The need to mobilize the ranks of organized labor and the black masses

the fascists' "right" to free speech won't be touched!

After all the SWP/YSA's talk of Spartacist "ultra-leftism" and "adventurism," do Barnes & Co. give even one example where the SL SYL led unsuspecting militants into suicidal confrontations with the cops, where we called on tiny groups of leftists to take on hordes of racists in a pitched battle? No, because the Spartacist tendency has sharply criticized kamikaze adventurists who are more concerned with "kicking ass" than teaching the fascists a lesson they won't forget. At S.F. State, the united-front demonstration steering committee advised demonstrators not to follow a group of splitters who entered the building where in narrow corridors and a small classroom students would be virtually unable to defend themselves against a Nazi or cop attack. In the article, "Fascism: How Not to Fight It" (*WV* No. 70, 6 June 1975) we denounced adventurist demonstrations or actions by Maoists and pseudo-Trotskyist groups in several countries which attempted to take on the cops, the army or mass fascist mobilizations.

Rather, the substance of these ex-Trotskyists' accusations of ultra-leftism is simply the fact that the SL SYL stands for the Trotskyist policy of crushing the fascists, where possible, before they get a chance to assault the left, labor and oppressed minorities. Dobbs put forward the SWP's main criterion: at all costs, avoid giving "the professional civil libertarians... grounds for getting themselves worked up about how you are jeopardizing the Constitution by demanding the suppression of somebody's freedom of speech." Otherwise, he says, "many students" will become "confused." Barnes chimes in: "I think too much credence is given in the *Young Socialist* to the idea that the big goal is to stop the racists from speaking—if not now, then later."

"Fighting" Fascism...By Defending Fascists' Rights

Of course, says Barnes, "It's going to be necessary to stop fascist forces *one day*" (our emphasis). But for now it's organizing, educating, etc. Dobbs makes the same argument: "If you start by attempting to hastily gather together a vanguard force and crush fascism in the egg, you are playing into the hands of the fascists." But the SWP leaders' drivel about "today nothing, tomorrow the final conflict" is simply a cover; they oppose smashing the fascists today because they have no intention of doing so tomorrow either.

Nor is it a matter of mobilizing the unions rather than a few students. When UAW Local 6 at International Harvester near Chicago last year mobilized a union defense guard to protect a black Local member's house from firebombing by racist nightriders—an action undertaken on the motion of the Labor Struggle Caucus, a class-struggle oppo-

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A Short History of Liberalism



SWP CARTOON
from Socialist Appeal, 17 March 1939

for instance, we had the problem of differentiating ourselves from the Spartacus Youth League without appearing to be siding just a little bit with the Nazis, without appearing to be soft. These sectarian groups have orators who will try very hard to whip up a frenzy on this theme and sometimes this will have an impact on militant Black students, although this was not at all the case at San Francisco State."

He goes on to say the YSA line doesn't go down too well with black students who "don't have any civil-libertarian hangups" and just have a "gut hatred for these racists." "To the extent that our members may be uncomfortable with the educational process that we have to carry out on this issue," he says, "I think that the problem will not be how do we answer the Spartacist League," but how to win black militants to the SWP/YSA, (that is, to their head-in-the-sand civil libertarianism).

At this point SWP national secretary

to defend themselves against racist nightriders and segregationist mob violence?

Wrong. "The problem," says Barnes, "is ultra-leftism." Furthermore, "The ultralefts in the Black student movement don't know the time of day any more than the Spartacists." This insidious spectre of a movement of black students and communists of the Spartacist League haunts the SWP and is for them even more frightening than the movement of fascists! How does the SWP propose to fight it? Barnes' and Dobbs' answer is the consummately ambiguous "counter-mobilization." There is no doubt about their real meaning, however. Dobbs suggests at one point that instead of running the stormtroopers off campus at S.F. State there could have been a peaceful and ultra-respectable "counterdemonstration outside the meeting" being addressed by the Nazi. That way, you see,