

The Great Helsinki Hoax

Dissidents and Cold Warriors

President Jimmy Carter's inaugural address was "received with deep satisfaction by all sober people," declared the official Soviet news agency on the changing of the guard in Washington, adding: "Attention is caught by...his intention to move this year a step toward the ultimate goal, the removal of all nuclear weapons from the earth." A week earlier, in a major speech Soviet Communist Party general secretary Leonid Brezhnev similarly heralded "a new major advance in relations between our countries."

The paeans to détente emanating from Moscow, however, indicate only that the Kremlin bureaucrats, who pride themselves in being hard-headed realists, can indulge in positively childish flights of fancy when it comes to their cherished pipedream of a deal with U.S. imperialism. Actually, in its first two weeks in office the Carter administration has made several moves that point not to relaxation of U.S.-USSR relations but instead toward heating up the "cold war."

Thus, earlier talk of \$5-7 billion cuts in defense spending was pared down in Congressional testimony by "defense" secretary Harold Brown to a maximum of \$2.8 billion in reductions, and even this is being "reviewed." Shortly afterwards, General George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told senators that the USSR is "engaged in a program to achieve strategic superiority" over the U.S. The Joint Chiefs are reportedly pushing for major new weapons programs.

Now, in what has been termed "probably the most important document to be placed before President Carter in his first days in office," it appears that a "National Intelligence Estimate" concurs with the Pentagon. The "estimate" was arrived at by a shadowy "Team B" made up of well-known anti-Soviet hard-liners, whose chairman, Richard Pipes of Harvard, is talking of "preventively destroy[ing] all, or virtually all" of "the opponent's" missiles. Already comparisons are being made to Eisenhower's Gaither Committee which conjured up the mythical "missile gap" used to justify escalated arms spending in the early Kennedy years.

Of a piece with this talk of "preventive destruction" is Carter's "moralistic" foreign policy. The first action by the State Department under the new regime was a pair of peremptory warnings to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia over treatment of dissidents. "We're not going to back down" on the issue of "human rights" blustered Carter, a longtime Vietnam hawk and former lieutenant of ax handle-wielding racist Georgia governor Lester Maddox.

The State Department notes were dripping with hypocrisy. Calling on Moscow to stop harassing nuclear scientist Andrei Sakharov, one said: "Any attempt by the Soviet authorities to intimidate Mr. Sakharov will not silence legitimate criticism in the Soviet Union and will conflict with accepted



Teresa Zabala/New York Times



AP

Imperialist chiefs talk of "human rights," build NATO war machine.



George Meany with Solzhenitsyn

American Federationist

international standards of human rights" (*New York Times*, 28 January). Pretty cheeky for the gang that tried to portray U.S. imperialism's bloody war in Vietnam as a defense of "human rights"! These are the people who train and supply the murderous Iranian secret police. Clearly, the statement's purpose had little to do with dissidents' rights and a lot to do with whipping up anti-communist hysteria in preparation for a new build-up of strategic forces against the USSR.

Charter 77

What is truly revolting about the situation is that the bourgeoisie has no need to fabricate atrocity stories about the nature of Stalinist rule in the Soviet Union and East Europe in order to build support for its war machine. In all these countries the parasitic bureaucracies do

systematically deny even the most elementary democratic rights to the working masses, as they have done for decades. This is a gift of incalculable value to counterrevolutionary forces, and is one of the greatest crimes of Stalinism.

The State Department note on Czechoslovakia was occasioned by the publication of a manifesto, entitled "Charter 77," signed by some 300 intellectuals and ex-party members associated with the ill-fated Dubček regime that was crushed by a Soviet invasion in 1968. "Charter 77," on the face of it, amounts to little more than a demand that the Prague government reform itself by implementing rights ostensibly guaranteed to Czech citizens by the country's constitution and by the "human rights" convention contained in the Helsinki agreement of August 1975.

Actually, the document is a political manifesto calling for a return to the liberalized conditions that prevailed under Stalinist reformer Dubček. Predictably the reaction of the Husak wing of the Czech bureaucracy, which came to power behind the Soviet tanks in 1968, has been harsh. A number of the signatories to Charter 77 have been subjected to police harassment and arrest. Zdenek Mlynar, Milan Huebl, Frantisek Kreigel, Ludvik Vaculik, Jiri Hajek and Pavel Kahout, all prominently associated with the Dubček era, are threatened with deportation to the West.

Party leader Gustav Husak has whipped up a campaign with echoes reminiscent of the early 1950's when Rudolf Slansky, former secretary of the Czech Communist Party, was hanged. (Slansky's widow and son are among the endorsers of Charter 77.) Many of the signatories have lost their jobs. Houses have been ransacked, telephones cut off and drivers licenses confiscated. Resorting to the crudest character assassination, a Czech magazine published a snapshot of Vaculik in the nude, reclining against a tombstone, with the comment that this "reveals his conception of morals."

The party newspaper, *Rudé Právo*, warns: "The people who wanted to smuggle counterrevolution into our home have already received their just desserts. They must be aware that any new attempts will founder in the embryo. The year 1968 will not be repeated" (quoted in *New York Times*, 13 January). Behind that assertion lies the determination and armed might of the Kremlin.

Helsinki Backfires

The events in Czechoslovakia have in turn had their effects on the rest of East Europe. A grouping in Hungary has

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Sadlowski/McBride: Non-Stop Hustle

How the New York Times Defends Union Independence...

Believe it or not, the *New York Times*, that well-known mouthpiece for the liberal imperialist bourgeoisie, has suddenly come out for "trade union independence"! In a 4 February editorial entitled "Union Funds for Union Politics," the *Times* inveighs against United Steelworkers (USWA) presidential candidate Ed Sadlowski's acceptance of funds from liberal politicians and industrialists: "To encourage external contributions is to open the way to contributors seeking to buy something other than the well-being of a union or of the labor movement."

Coming from the *Times* this is the most ludicrous hypocrisy. The *Times* has been the strongest advocate of "outside interference" in the labor movement when it has suited its interests. It has had no qualms about supporting New York's Taylor law, which outlaws strikes by public employees; or the Taft-Hartley law, which forbids secondary boycotts and gives legal backing to reprisals against communists in the labor movement.

And as for Sadlowski's solicitation of funds from liberal industrialists, politicians, etc., this is no different from what Arnold Miller did in the United Mine Workers (UMW) in 1972. Joe Rauh, the cold-war liberal ADA (Americans for Democratic Action) lawyer who ran the Miller campaign, plays the same role with Sadlowski today. Yet the *Times* did not make an issue of Miller's campaigning techniques in 1972.

What's really at stake is that bourgeois political circles are far less enamored of Sadlowski than they were of Miller. The same editorial notes that Abel's candidate McBride favors extension of the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which the *Times* labels a "constructive understanding."

An interesting companion piece to the editorial is an article in the 6 February *Times* by its chief labor columnist, A.H. Raskin. Raskin notes that referendum

elections for union officers have been a focal point for federal intervention through the Landrum-Griffin Act, and goes on to question the benefits of such intervention. Raskin even raises doubts about the UMW experience. Miller has not succeeded in consolidating a bureaucracy able to discipline the mine workers. Raskin writes: "Now that rebel leaders have taken over with the aid of the Landrum-Griffin Act, the union is in chaos, with the three top officers at sword's point.... White House energy officials are already worrying that the wrangling will spill over into a prolonged coal strike when the present contracts run out in December."

The articles in the *New York Times* indicate a hardening of mainstream bourgeois opinion against the wholesale use of government intervention to oust established union bureaucracies. The Mine Workers case was exceptional, involving a maverick union not affiliated with the AFL-CIO, one whose leadership had become a liability in enforcing labor peace—and even here there is now considerable second guessing among bourgeois pundits. Active support for Sadlowski in bourgeois political circles is limited to a small minority in the Democratic Party. The Meany/Abel bureaucracy has, after all, functioned as a reliable point of support for the capitalist class in maintaining labor discipline.

This only underscores the futility of the reformist strategy of relying on government intervention to oust the conservative labor bureaucracy. The real targets of Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin are not the elder labor statesmen, but leftists and labor militants. Marxists reject class-collaborationist schemes for calling on the bosses' government as a weapon against the labor bureaucracy and counterpose to this a strategy of defending and making real the independence of the labor movement through militant class struggle. ■



Ed Sadlowski

Judith Coburn

Maoist OL Somersaults Over Sadlowski

In an attempt to strike an unaccustomed "left" pose, the Maoist October League (OL) has renounced its support for Ed Sadlowski. The OL is calling for a boycott of the February 8 elections, insisting that "The most important struggle in the steel union today is not between McBride and Sadlowski; it is between these labor bureaucrats and the rank and file" (*Call*, 24 January).

Over the years the OL has been among the most shameless apologists for liberal bureaucrats like Sadlowski and Arnold Miller. In an August 1973 editorial the *Call* blasted the Revolutionary Union (RU), its principal Maoist rival, for having the temerity to utter a few mealy-mouthed words of criticism of these labor traitors:

"On the question of supporting the Miller and Sadlowski campaigns, the OL takes sharp issue with [RU leader] Avakian's line of 'critical support.' Faced with the growing fascist assault

of gangster miner-union leader Tony Boyle and USW boss I.W. Abel, it was the duty of the entire working class and its leadership to stand behind these two campaigns, which had the solid support of the rank and file."

Today, however, the OL tells us that Miller, Sadlowski, etc., are labor lackeys of capitalism deserving of no support. But what has changed? Certainly it is not Sadlowski and Miller, who were every bit as reformist three years ago as they are today. Nor has the October League suddenly rejected trade-union reformism. This is underscored by its refusal to criticize its past support for Sadlowski as well as its assurance that "alliances with the labor union misleaders" cannot be ruled out in the future.

Zigs and zags in the workers movement are nothing new for Stalinist groupings. The OL's "left" zag in the trade unions is not only designed to cover up its putrid record in the labor movement, but is closely bound up with its emergence as the Peking-loyal faction among American Maoists, most of whom have balked at endorsing the new Hua regime and/or supporting uncritically the increasing rightward thrust of Chinese foreign policy. Seeking to pose as the hard pole of orthodoxy within the Maoist move-

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SWP's Traveling Con Man for Sadlowski



WV Photo

Chicago: Jack Barnes on pro-Sadlowski tour.

Touring several Midwest cities this past week, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) national secretary Jack Barnes reached new heights of cynicism in his efforts to portray Ed Sadlowski as a "class-struggle unionist." In his hour-long presentations Barnes avoided any criticism of the reformist Sadlowski, concentrating instead on blasting the neanderthal Abel/Meany wing of the AFL-CIO for "calling for government interference" in the unions, collaborating with government pay boards and supporting the Democratic Party.

In contrast Barnes heaped praise on Sadlowski, depicting him as a stalwart defender of union democracy and an opponent of business unionism. Barnes even had the audacity to defend Sadlowski's notorious *Penthouse* interview, in which the candidate asserted that the way to deal with unpleasant working conditions in the mills was to slash the number of jobs in basic steel by 75 percent. Barnes claimed this demonstrated Sadlowski's sensitivity to problems of the environment and proved that he was a "truly human, revolution-

ary person"!

Fortunately, Barnes' gross falsifications did not go unanswered. Steel worker militants in Chicago denounced Sadlowski for his failure to fight layoffs in District 31 and his support to a resolution at the August United Steelworkers (USWA) convention calling for trials of suspected communists. Spartacist League (SL) comrades present pointed out that Sadlowski—as well as McBride—supported Jimmy Carter and that far from opposing government interference, Sadlowski's previous election as District 31 director and his current campaign were based on the demand for full-scale Labor Department supervision of the USWA elections. SL supporters also pointed out that Sadlowski's rhetoric about rank-and-file control is the stock-in-trade of any out-bureaucrat seeking higher union office. In 1965 current Steelworkers president I.W. Abel, whom Barnes castigates today, ran a similar campaign against McDonald's "tuxedo unionism," and was supported by the SWP.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Court Sentences ILWU Militants

SAN FRANCISCO, February 5—In several trials over the last three weeks, dozens of strike militants from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) have been forced to plead guilty to frame-up charges. Their crime: walking the picket lines during last June's warehouse master contract strike and in related disputes. Because of the ILWU officialdom's refusal to wage a militant and united defense these militants have

ILWU attorney accepted a plea-bargaining deal: "Local 6 will pay out over \$5,000 in fines in this one case with other cases still on the Northern California court dockets," wailed the *Dispatcher* (28 January).

At this point over 50 ILWU members, including Local 6 president Curtis McClain, have been convicted of various charges, due to the bureaucracy's failure to mobilize the membership to win last summer's strikes and to protest



Cops arrest pickets at Folger's Coffee.

Arthur Frisch

become victims of the employers' union-busting offensive aimed at crippling the powerful Bay Area labor movement.

The biggest legal defeat came on January 18, when 31 Local 6 members arrested at the Folger's Coffee plant entered "no contest" pleas, receiving fines of \$150 each and six months' summary probation. These cases were the result of the company's attempts to drive a convoy of scab trucks through the picket lines there. Despite a negotiated agreement for amnesty, Folger's continued pressing charges and the

the judicial frame-up since then. Probably the only victory for the union was the dropping of charges against Andy Sutter, chief steward at CPC, who faced a possible life sentence for "assault with a deadly weapon." The trumped-up charge was so obviously absurd that Sutter easily passed a polygraph test. The prosecution thereupon dropped the case.

In a taped interview with Berkeley radio station KPFA on January 11, two of the victimized ILWU militants described the strike events and ensuing legal battles. Jack Dow, a steward and 18-year member of Local 6, spoke of the strike at Automatic Plastic Molding, where a three-month ILWU organizing drive was broken with the aid of scabberding Berkeley police:

"A scab stabbed one of the strikers there, for just talking to him, just asking him not to go to work there. He stabbed him three times in the back. The police were going down there every morning. There'd be a bunch of women on the picket line and very few men and the police would come in eight at a time, and just clear the driveway every morning with their batons.... One morning a cop actually picked me up and threw me at the strikers, just to get me out of the driveway."

Dow, a member of the Militant Caucus of Local 6, and Stan Gow, a Local 10 (longshore) executive board member and a publisher of "Longshore Militant," were both given 30-day suspended sentences, one year's probation and \$50 fines. Gow had been charged with "assaulting a police officer" and "attempted grand larceny"—for allegedly trying to take away the nightstick a cop was using to strangle Dow! Other ILWU members received jail time as a result of the APM strike: Winford Adams was sentenced to ten days in jail, and newly elected executive board member Tony Wilkinson got two days imprisonment.

In the KPFA interview, Dow exposed the "neutrality" of capitalist justice: "We had this strike at Handyman too, where one of the supervisors just ran over one of the strikers and killed him. He's now out on \$3,000 bail and he's charged with

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Yoichi Okamoto/Rapho-Photo Research

High court guts civil rights laws.

Supreme Court OK's Defacto Segregation

Integrate Arlington Heights!

CHICAGO—On January 11 the United States Supreme Court by a vote of five to three upheld the right of racist white communities to exclude low-income black and minority families through zoning out all multi-unit housing. The particular case involves Chicago's suburb of Arlington Heights, which for five years has fought a Metropolitan Housing Development Corporation (MHDC) plan to build a government-subsidized housing project in this lily-white town.

The MHDC plan for Arlington Heights was for 210 apartments built in two-story units over 13 acres and made available to low- and medium-income families. In 1972, after the Arlington Heights village board refused to rezone the tract of land for multi-unit dwellings, the MHDC lawyers went to court, charging a violation of the 1968 Fair Housing Law.

Over the last decade, several hundred thousand jobs have disappeared in Chicago, pushing thousands of unemployed onto the welfare rolls. Recently the *New York Times* (24 January) reported that "during the 1960's half a million whites moved to the new housing tracts in what had been cornfields outside of Chicago, while the urban core gained a third of a million black residents." Arlington Heights and other white suburbs around Chicago have been fighting to maintain their elite enclaves from an influx of blacks in search of jobs and a higher standard of living.

The federal appeals court maintained that the restrictive zoning in Arlington Heights was, in its impact, discriminatory and therefore unconstitutional. The high court, however, has since sharply changed its guidelines in judging discrimination cases. It is now not enough to prove the de facto segregationist effects of the zoning laws—intent to segregate must also be demonstrated, an almost impossible task.

The Supreme Court's decision on Arlington Heights opens the floodgates for reversals of most of the limited gains in open housing and integrated schools which blacks and minorities won through militant struggle in the 1960's. Already several plans for school desegregation through busing have been overturned on appeal. In the last two months' alone, the Supreme Court ordered reversals and "re-examination" of busing plans in Austin, Texas; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Dayton, Ohio.

The struggles which raged in the 1960's throughout the Kennedy and Johnson administrations were not against *de jure* segregation laws, most of which were declared unconstitutional in the late 1950's, but against de facto segregation in housing, education and jobs. Now the court's decision throws up

a legal fence around white suburbs, locking poor and minority families into overcrowded and decaying inner cities.

The struggle against residential segregation in Chicago has a long history. In the summer of 1966 Martin Luther King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference targeted Chicago for its open housing campaign, announcing plans for peaceful marches through Chicago's all-white suburbs. Mayor Daley, wanting to keep the lid on, allowed the marchers to go through Gage Park, Cragin and other areas, but blew the whistle when King announced a major march through Cicero. King never went to Cicero—instead Daley, in a smooth political maneuver, phoned up a commission to "study the problem." King soon left Chicago, and six months later the whole thing was forgotten.

During his two-decade reign Daley assiduously avoided any actions which would infringe upon the strict racial/ethnic neighborhood divisions in Chicago, both because (like all significant capitalist politicians) he endorsed the racist status quo and because these community divisions were the basis for his powerful machine organization.

Last summer the small Martin Luther King Jr. Movement attempted to lead marches into Marquette Park. This solidly white area, bordering on Chicago's Southwest Side black ghetto, has been the focus of escalating racial tension. Egged on by the Klan and Nazis who handed out "White Power" T-shirts, hostile whites pelted the marchers with rocks and stones. While off-duty police joined in the rock throwing, uniformed cops arrested the marchers.

It is not only in housing that Chicago's rulers have held firm against integration. The city has missed several court-designated deadlines to submit a substantial busing plan, preferring to stall while anti-busing forces mobilize. Recently a crowd of 150 "interested parents" including the "Mothers for Neighborhood Schools American Style" (!) attended a Chicago school board meeting, where a consultant on busing to the Chicago school board, Edward A. Welling, fielded questions. He was so conciliating toward the racists that one of the anti-busing bigots finally yelled out: "Well, if he's on our side, and the state legislators are on our side and the governor's on our side, what the hell's going on? Why are we here?" (*Chicago Sun Times*, 25 January).

The rigid separation of blacks and whites in capitalist America must be attacked at its most fundamental level: ghettoization of oppressed racial minorities. Integration is a strategic necessity for the working class—only with the greatest possible unity can the working

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Dissidents...

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declared its solidarity with the Charter 77 group. A similar statement was issued by the Polish Workers Defense Committee, which said it was adding its voice to that of the Hungarians and Sakharov. The Committee also solidarized with East Germans victimized for protesting the forced exile of singer Wolf Biermann to West Germany.

The bourgeois press has had a field day with the fact that Soviet bloc dissidents like Biermann have been deported to the West while reportedly more than 100,000 East Germans have applied for permission to emigrate, claiming their "rights" under the Helsinki treaty. It is indeed ironic that the 1975 European security agreement, which was pushed most forcefully by the Stalinists as a milestone of détente, has now become a weapon in the hands of various dissident currents and the imperialists.

At bottom the Helsinki accord was simply a pact between Moscow and Washington that blessed in official terms the post-World War II map of Europe, itself the product of deals between the imperialist "democracies" and Stalin in the 1943-45 period. In exchange for this worthless piece of paper, the Kremlin bureaucrats gave Washington a pledge of non-interference in Portugal (then in an acute pre-revolutionary situation) and acceded to Ford/Kissinger's demands for formal commitments to freedom of



Russian police attack demonstration for rights of Crimean Tatars.

take up the cause of "fighters for human rights" in the Soviet Union. Another group of Russian dissidents issued an appeal to Pope Paul VI, Queen Elizabeth II and President Jimmy Carter to "use your high authority to defend Andrei Sakharov" (*New York Times*, 29 January).

This is a call on the imperialists to use all the power at their command, from economic blackmail to nuclear threats, against a state which—despite the autocratic rule of a usurping bureaucracy—still preserves precious gains of the October Revolution.

The counterrevolutionary import of such appeals was made even more explicit in testimony last month by Andrei Amalrik, the author of *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* who

camp of the imperialists.

For the bourgeoisie, "democracy" means capitalist democracy, full freedom for the exploiters and oppression for the toilers. When Carter calls for "democracy" in the Soviet Union he means the restoration of capitalism. To bloc with such elements is a vile betrayal of the interests of the working class and the future of humanity.

The Berlin Wall

A case in point is the question of the Berlin Wall. From John F. Kennedy on, every bourgeois U.S. politician with the slightest pretense of being a "national leader" has made his anti-communist pilgrimage to Berlin. There they are photographed at the Berlin Wall, preferably in the company of sad-eyed children, and quoted in press dispatches as saying, "I, too, feel like a Berliner." Carter's vice president Mondale is the latest to make this hypocritical trek.

As Trotskyists we take no responsibility for the Berlin Wall. We point out that it was the bureaucracy's crimes that made it necessary, and that it would be torn down in a revolutionary reunification of Germany. It is a bureaucratic solution to a genuine problem of the German Democratic Republic (DDR), namely massive hemorrhaging of its workforce, particularly of skilled workers, in the years before it was built in 1961. But any attempt by the American/French/British occupation troops or the West German government to dismantle this bureaucratically conceived measure of self-defense must be adamantly opposed.

The bourgeoisie has a program of removing the deformities of the bureaucratically deformed workers states by dismantling the dictatorship of the proletariat itself and restoring this vast region to the sphere of capitalist exploitation. Trotskyists call for the most vigilant defense against capitalist restoration, by constructing a Leninist vanguard party to lead the proletariat in a political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and institute soviet democracy. Only in this way can the world-historic gain represented by the overthrow of capitalism be preserved and extended.

In this regard, the 1975 call by the Vargaite sect to hold a demonstration (subsequently canceled) on July 4 (!) at the Berlin Wall around the main slogans, "Down with the Berlin Wall! Down with the Imperialist and Stalinist Bureaucracies!" was an anti-communist provocation which it would be perfectly principled for a Trotskyist group to militarily disperse. As for the Maoists of the West German KPD who held a demonstration in East Berlin around pro-NATO slogans, as well as for



Ex-Soviet dissidents Amalrik (left) and Vanig at Stockholm forum.

speech, press, assembly and the right to travel abroad.

Unlike Washington, the Stalinists insisted that the Helsinki agreement was legally binding and trumpeted it as a major accomplishment of their policies of "peaceful coexistence." The U.S. Communist Party's *Daily World* (7 August 1975) ran the glowing headline, "Heads of State Sign Pact to End Cold War." At the time, rabidly anti-détente forces in the American bourgeoisie railed against Helsinki, playing the theme of "Western retreat" on the "basic principle of self-determination." Today the same elements—represented by, for example, Carter's "National Security Advisor" Zbigniew Brzezinski—find comfort in using the Helsinki accords to bludgeon the Kremlin over "human rights."

But the Stalinists are incorrigible. When Soviet ambassador Dobrynin met with Carter on the issue, he complained... that the U.S. had violated the section of the Helsinki treaty prohibiting "interference in internal affairs" of other signatories!

Cold Warrior/Dissident Alliance?

The Carter administration was quick to exploit the unrest in the Soviet bloc states for the purposes of anti-communist propaganda. But it has received considerable aid and encouragement in this direction from some of the dissidents themselves. Sakharov appealed to imperialist chief Carter to

was expelled from the USSR in July 1976. Amalrik, who has criticized Kissinger as "the strategist of retreat," told the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, according to the *New York Times* (7 January), that the U.S. "should use technology, credits and grain as leverage to insure progress toward more democratic policies. But he said he doubted that the United States would be tough enough with the Russians." He also praised the CIA-funded Radio Liberty.

The Stalinists' suppression of workers democracy is a fundamental roadblock to socialism. A classless society cannot be built by using police-state measures against dissidents who do not militarily threaten the fundamental achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the grim reality of bureaucratic repression in no way excuses the Sakharovs and Amalriks who wish to make common cause with imperialism (more precisely, with imperialist hawks) against the Kremlin. In this case, the syllogism "the enemy of mine enemy is my friend" lands these dissidents in the

Scandinavian USec in the Camp of Maoist Anti-Sovietism

STOCKHOLM—Increasingly over the past few months, pious concern for (supposedly classless) "democratic rights" in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has become a rallying point for liberal anti-communists and left-wing organizations who reject the unconditional military defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism. In the latest example of this anti-Soviet unholy alliance, the Swedish Maoist cultural front *Folket i Bild* issued an appeal for a February 4 demonstration in Stockholm around the slogans "For democratic rights in Czechoslovakia," "Stop the persecution of the Charter 77," and "Soviet Union out of Czechoslovakia!"

The 500 people who attended the demonstration did not, however, participate in a working-class defense of the Czech dissidents. While Trotskyists defend the fullest workers democracy in East Europe and oppose both the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the subsequent victimization of Dubček supporters, we recognize that appeals for abstract "democracy" in Eastern Europe serve as an open invitation to capitalist-restorationist forces. Thus it came as no surprise when the pro-NATO, Peking-loyal SKP (Swedish Communist Party) which controls *Folket i Bild* turned the demonstration into a platform for a keynote speaker from the bourgeois-liberal People's Party (a member of the government coalition, which campaigned in last September's election on the slogan "reforms without socialism").

This caused considerable embarrassment to the ostensibly Trotskyist KAF (Communist Workers League—Swedish supporters of the "United" Secretariat [USec]), which had signed the joint statement. Only shortly before the demonstration did it dawn upon these Pabloists that their role was simply that of a left cover for an anti-communist mobilization. At the last minute, the KAF withdrew its support for the demonstration citing the presence of Per Gahrton (a rabid pro-Zionist parliamentarian from the People's Party).

However, the KAF did not withdraw its endorsement of the signed declaration which was the basis for the rally! Moreover, echoing the "democratic" railings of Peking apologists and bourgeois liberals, the KAF's statement distancing itself from the demonstration repeated the treacherous equation of repression in capitalist states and in the degenerated/deformed workers states: "in other parts of Europe—Poland, the Soviet Union, East and West Germany—writers, journalists and workers are rising in opposition to bureaucratic abuse and the *Berufsverbot* [exclusion of "radicals" from government jobs] in West Germany" (*Internationales*, 4 February). For these renegades from Trotskyism not only is there no mention of the obligation of the world proletariat to militarily defend the deformed workers states, but there is not even a hint of the class line which separates the Soviet Union, Poland and East Germany from imperialist West Germany!

China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism

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"democratic rights" (for whom?), and were arrested by East German Volkspolizei, we merely defend their right to a fair trial, nothing more.

Fake-Trotskyists Tail Pro-Imperialist Dissidents

It is an unfortunate fact that, despite many instances of great individual courage, the majority of the current generation of Soviet and East European dissidents, the bulk of whom are drawn from the intelligentsia, have shown little concern for anything outside their own collective sufferings at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucrats. This deliberate political blindness has led to such outrages as Sakharov's refusal to comment on the 1973 bloodbath in Chile because it was "too far away," and Bukovsky's joking remark after being exchanged for Chilean Communist leader Luis Corvalán that he would gladly trade Brezhnev for Pinochet.

its recent election campaign, SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo told the U.S. House of Representatives Intelligence Committee that his party is "opposed to totalitarian regimes everywhere in the world, whether in the USSR or in Spain"! All that is left for these preachers of "consistent democracy" is to call on Carter to send federal troops or missiles to Moscow to enforce "democratic rights."

If such fake-revolutionists are blind to the class line, the bourgeoisie is not. The State Department was quick to raise its cudgels for a Sakharov or a Solzhenitsyn, but in all its recent warnings against victimization of East European dissidents there is a curious omission: nothing has been said about the Polish Workers Defense Committee, which has suffered from bureaucratic repression no less than the signers of Charter 77. The reason is clear: behind the Workers Defense Committee stand

No to Protectionism—Organize Seamen Internationally!

Chauvinist Outcry Over Oil Spills

The leaflet we reprint below was recently distributed in New York City by the Militant Solidarity Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the National Maritime Union (NMU).

31 January 1977

Recently the news media has been filled with stories of foreign flag ships breaking up. On Nantucket Shoal the Liberian-registered Argo Merchant grounded, spilling over 7.5 million gallons of oil and endangering the fishing grounds in that area. In Los Angeles harbor an explosion aboard the tanker Sansinea killed seven persons. In another incident the tanker Olympic Games leaked 135,000 gallons of oil into the waters at Marcus Hook.

NMU president Shannon Wall suddenly claims to be an ardent supporter of the environment against oil spills. The January *Pilot* contains a story which asserts, "In radio and television interviews and in signed articles in the *Daily News*, President Wall hammered away at the lack of 'competent authority' that would see to it that foreign ships that enter our ports abide by international safety standards."

But Shannon Wall's new-found interest in "international safety standards" is pure hypocrisy. Wall and the NMU officials continue to undercut safety conditions on NMU-contract ships by accepting sweetheart contracts with greatly reduced manning scales on each new tanker that comes off the drydock. While Wall attacks the American oil companies that register their tankers abroad, he says nothing about the rotten practices of American-flag shipowners.

Wall's sudden chatter about "ecology" is only a pretext for his real concern: passing legislation to bring foreign-flag ships under the U.S. flag. The NMU officials support bills like the Energy Transportation Security Act, which would require that 30 percent of all imported oil be carried in tankers built and manned in the U.S.

False Policy Exposed

"Runaway shipping" to third-flag countries has indisputably been a major factor in the shortage of jobs for U.S. seamen. At present only about 5 percent of U.S. oceanborne commerce is carried on U.S.-flag ships. However, Wall's policy of supporting legislation to run foreign seamen off the ships will only weaken our position. This policy is derived from the bureaucracy's strategy of class collaboration. Instead of joining with other sections of maritime labor for a united fight against the shipowners, Wall—like Paul Hall of the SIU—prefers to join with the bosses, guaranteeing them greater profits in the hopes that it will mean a few jobs for NMU seamen. In the present instance, if the oil import quota legislation is passed, Wall and Co. clearly intend to offer contracts with reduced manning scales, less vacation time, etc., in order to make it "profitable" for tanker operators to carry their quota!

Big business always goes where it can derive the greatest profits; labor can only counter this by organizing interna-

tionally. As long as a substantial section of the maritime industry internationally is unorganized, with substandard wages and conditions, this serves as a club for the shipowners, who will continually threaten to go abroad if the unions here don't knuckle under to them.

The oil import quota bill might initially provide a few more jobs for American seamen and some of these jobs might end up in the NMU—but only at the expense of further contract concessions and reduced manning scales. But even more importantly, support for such protectionist legislation like the oil import quota bill, which limit trade and transport by foreign nations, is dangerous to the labor movement. It is not only the leaders of the maritime unions that preach this chauvinist viewpoint. The heads of the steel workers, textile, auto workers unions also support limitations on foreign imports, claiming that this will provide more jobs for American workers. However, it is obvious that this will only drive governments abroad to retaliate by demanding controls on American imports, thus leading to higher prices and reduced trade—including fewer jobs for seamen. Protectionist trade legislation does not "protect" the jobs of American workers; it only protects the profits of big business, while producing divisions in the labor movement internationally.

Which Way Forward

The only way forward is militant international organizing. The NMU can initiate such a struggle by demanding that the U.S. maritime unions enforce a standard of no less than U.S. standards of wages and conditions for all ships in U.S. waters. The NMU, instead of supporting protectionist legislation designed to boot foreign seamen off the ships, could put real muscle into the organizing drive of the International Transport Workers Federation (ITF). The ITF, mainly in Europe and Australia, is refusing to load and unload cargo of third-flag ships that refuse to recognize ITF-affiliated unions and meet ITF standards. Unfortunately, however, the ITF campaign is mostly tokenism, without a serious concerted organizing effort. However, the NMU officials—although our union is affiliated to the ITF—do not even pay lip service to such organizing. Although an occasional article appears in the *Pilot* about giving food and lodging to a crew victimized by a foreign-flag shipowner, this never goes beyond charity into what is really needed—a militant organizing drive to defend the interests of both U.S. and foreign seamen.

The NMU has a history, albeit flawed, in organizing foreign-flag ships. It was called the Pan American division, set up to organize foreign seamen on ships mainly plying the banana trade. Though these seamen were organized by the NMU, their contracts were below

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WV Photo

Leonid Plyushch (right) joins cold warrior Senator Jackson in NYC.

Along with a boundless faith in the democratic intentions and good will of the imperialist bourgeoisie has gone a peculiar blindness to imperialist crimes against the working masses, from Vietnam to South Africa.

In this context the failure of ostensible Trotskyists, such as in particular the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), to openly criticize the pro-imperialist views of various leading Soviet dissidents is nothing short of criminal. But their betrayal is certainly consistent. Both the SWP and OCI have joined together on numerous occasions with bourgeois and social-democratic critics of the Stalinist bureaucracies in classless appeals for "democracy" in the Soviet bloc. Not once in the current crop of SWP articles on unrest in East Europe does one find these "Trotskyists" calling either for unconditional military defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism or for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies.

But why should they? After all, the SWP has no quarrel with Ed Sadlowski who calls upon the self-same capitalists to be "neutral arbiters" in the Steelworkers union election. In fact it calls on the same imperialist army that murdered hundreds of thousands of Indo-Chinese peasants and workers to restore "democratic rights" in Boston. And in

the Polish workers' protests last June and the powerful December 1970 uprising by Baltic port workers. As in the East German uprising of 1953 and the Hungarian revolution the bourgeoisie instinctively recognizes in these proletarian movements a threat not only to the Stalinists but to its own class rule. Its silence is the expression of a fear that such protests could spread across the "Iron Curtain" and engulf all Europe in the flames of workers revolution.

Proletarian democracy will not be achieved in the USSR or in any other of the deformed workers states by appealing to the imperialists (or through self-reform of the ruling bureaucracy). Only through political revolution, under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party, can the proletariat sweep away the Stalinist roadblock to socialism and establish a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

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SL Holds Active Workers Conference

Last month the Spartacist League/U.S. (SL) convened an "Active Workers Conference" in a Midwest city under the direction of the Trade Union Commission (TUC) of the SL Central Committee. The agenda and pre-conference discussion were centered on the SL's trade-union work and the TUC had anticipated limiting attendance to trade unionists and other comrades directly involved in supervising trade-union work.

A couple of weeks prior to the gathering, the Political Bureau (PB) under membership pressure relaxed the attendance restriction: any comrade of the SL or its youth group, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), who wanted to brave sub-zero weather to attend the three-day conference, with restricted speaking privileges and no guarantee of accommodations, would be admitted in exchange for a stiff registration fee. The enthusiastic turnout on short notice was a surprise—and dismayed the comrades responsible for conference arrangements, as nearly two-thirds of the membership of the SL/SYL and Trotskyist League of Canada turned out for the conference.

The proceedings demonstrated the consolidation of a layer of SL/SYL comrades committed to being "not trade unionists in the party but communists in the trade unions." The spirit of determined reaffirmation of the SL's revolutionary program as the basis for trade-union work demonstrated the testing and maturing of the so-called "class of '72": the layer of cadres recruited during a period of extremely rapid growth. These recruits, won in large part out of the fracturing of the old New Left, provided the human material for the SL's "transformation into the nucleus of the vanguard party" as projected in 1971, exemplified by the launching of *Workers Vanguard* and the intensified colonization of industry.

Speaking at the opening plenary session, SL National Chairman James Robertson frankly addressed the "crisis of expectations" of this layer of comrades, idealistic formerly young people shaped centrally by the radicalization of the Vietnam war era, whose experience in politics conveyed no gut-level awareness of the ebbs and flows of class struggle. One comrade, Robertson recalled, had confidently presented a statistical analysis of SL growth showing that the then current level of recruitment would naturally transform the SL into a mass party in a matter of a few years.

Instead, Robertson noted, the continuing accumulation of inflammable social material has not as yet been reflected in the outbreak of great class struggles. The relative stagnation of the immediate past period has generated tremendous pressures of frustration upon the tiny American left, from which the SL is not immune. While the ostensibly revolutionary organizations, virtually without exception, have suffered profound crises, factional fragmenting and/or disintegration, the SL, guided by its Marxist analysis of social reality, has preserved itself from any severe dislocation or disorientation and has remained highly politically homogeneous.

However, the frustrations of the immediate past period, reflected in a widespread mood of apathy or cynicism among working people and the continuing penchant of student youth for apolitical escapist faddism, have led to a slowdown in the recruitment rate combined with some losses, adding up to a slight contraction in membership. Prospects for substantial regroupments have become meager through prior absorption, and the remaining centrist fragments evidence sharp rightward motion.

The "crisis of expectations" had tended to weigh most heavily on the SL's most vulnerable and submerged elements, our trade unionists. The arrogance of the trade-union bureaucracy—whose response to the intolerable unemployment, grinding inflation and reactionary ruling-class mobilization aimed at challenging the unions and reversing even the tokenistic social reforms of the past decade has been to stifle militant struggle and intensify harassment of "reds"—is a fertile source for both opportunist and adventurist impulses among trade-union comrades. Only the power of the SL's revolutionary program and its traditions and practice of disciplined Leninist functioning have prevented any widespread demoralization or blunting of revolutionary will among the trade-union cadres.

In this context, the organization has continued to drive hard. It has continued to insist upon an extremely high standard of disciplined functioning despite the objective pressures, generated by a situation of relative class quiescence in the U.S., toward erosion of Bolshevik professionalism in the direction of rotten liberalism. Despite the difficulties of the period, there has emerged from among the membership no challenge to the organization's priorities, despite a real strain on a

number of local committees resulting from the deliberate concentration of leading cadres in the national center, on the press and in international work.

"You Have to Hate Capitalism"

The conference memorandum drafted for the TUC was adopted as the central axis of the forthcoming SL national conference.

The central feature of the conference was the trade-union commissions, in which the concrete work of the SL's industrial fractions over the recent period was examined aggressively and critically. The fundamental principles that define the SL's trade-union work and distinguish it from that of its workerist political opponents—the building of class-struggle caucuses on the basis of the transitional program, refusal to give critical electoral support to fake "lesser evil" bureaucrats, opposition to government interference in the labor movement, rejection of "simple trade unionism" as the road forward—were reaffirmed in the course of intensive evaluation of the fractions' work.

Speaking on behalf of the TUC, Chris Knox stressed that the cadres of the future American socialist revolution must critically assimilate the historical experience of Trotskyism in the trade unions. "Principles are the evolved

lessons of the class struggle," Knox told the conference.

A six-hour discussion following the TUC report was the high point of the meetings. Despite almost five years of physically exhausting, unrelenting pressures—faced with alternating speed-ups and layoffs in their industries, working patiently without major victories in a milieu where, despite intense exploitation, massive class resistance has yet to erupt—the comrades demonstrated their revolutionary will to struggle and overcome the draining pressures upon them.

Our competitors base their "strategy" on attempts to ride the coattails of militant-talking, out-bureaucrats and their phony "rank-and-file movements" like "Miners for Democracy," "Teamsters for a Decent Contract" and "Steelworkers Fightback." A veteran of 18 years of militant struggle in longshore, referring to these reformist illusions, recalled Eugene Debs' observation that it's better to vote for what you want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it.

One steel worker ruefully recalled his six years as a Progressive Labor union activist seeking to build a "left-center coalition" on the basis of a reformist program. An auto worker noted that opportunists like the International

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The American Working Class: Explosion Brewing at the Base

Excerpts from TUC General Memorandum

matched by an increasingly noticeable thirst to recover from the Vietnam debacle and once again be able to intervene militarily around the world at will.

The present period, while characterized by sharp motion to the right, is nevertheless in the main not analogous to the 1950's. The aggressive U.S. imperialism of the post-war period combined its declaration of an "American Century" and world-policeman role with a mass-based domestic anti-communist crusade. Illusions in a myth

of post-war prosperity and in the supposed purity of purpose of American bourgeois democracy fostered widespread complacency and a sense of naïveté throughout most strata of society. The decade of the 1970's is instead taking on a profoundly cynical cast, in which the bourgeoisie no longer denies that things are bad (and getting worse), but merely insists on its right to rule anyway.

All classes are infected by this cynicism, which grows out of disillusionment with the system, combined with a lack of evident solutions. Unlike the Korean War, the Vietnam War severely eroded faith in the avowed purposes of U.S. foreign policy and undermined anti-communism, while the Watergate scandal laid bare bourgeois political hypocrisy on the evening news.

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West Virginia miners battle cops during wildcat over right to strike.

Charleston Daily Mail

Blood and Coal: Harlan County, U.S.A.

Bloody class warfare is a rare theme in American movies. Barbara Kopple's *Harlan County, U.S.A.*, which recently opened in New York City, is a documentary film about one of those battles, a 13-month strike in the Appalachian coal fields that ended in a limited victory for the miners.

The film is a first-rate documentary. It has impact because it is not only the story of a strike but also a compelling portrayal of the power of labor traditions. It is a historical document of

Review of *Harlan County, U.S.A.*, directed and produced by Barbara Kopple

union militancy and working-class solidarity.

It also records, but has no answer for, the treachery of the United Mine Workers (UMW) leadership under Arnold Miller, which withheld active support to the Harlan County strikers for over a year and then sold out the right to strike over grievances in the 1974 national coal contract.

Kopple's use of historical clips from the 1930's never allows the audience to forget that this is Harlan County. This is bloody Harlan: "there are no neutrals here." Dramatic scenes of class confrontation in the 1970's are prepared by images of pitched battles in the past. The screen is filled by the government's tanks ripping through the streets on the way up to the mines. The troops form a corridor of the state's armed might through which scabs are driven.

In these times when the slick bureaucrats of business unionism boast, as AFL-CIO head George Meany does, that they never walked a picket line; when "labor statesmen" like the Steelworkers t. W. Abel sign no-strike agreements; when "rebel" bureaucrats like Ed Sadlowski appeal to the bosses' government as a "neutral arbiter" between labor and capital, *Harlan County, U.S.A.* presents an unsophisticated truth and drives it home in graphic scenes: the class struggle is not dead.

The miners and their wives speak for themselves in this story of a year-long struggle at Brookside, Kentucky. Contemptuous and paternalistic, the Duke Power Company which owns the mine refused to accept the standard UMW contract, forcing the miners to strike in July 1973. Jailed en masse by mine-owning judges, beaten by state troopers, shot at by scabherding gun thugs, the strikers held out and finally forced recognition of the union by the mine bosses.

Kopple's camera allows us interviews of the older folks who remember the martyrs who died. For them the UMW slogan, "fight like hell for the living," is no abstract rhetoric. Throughout the film are woven the miners' own songs, articulating their plight and their determination. At a strike rally, Florence Reese sings "Which Side Are You On?"—the song she wrote during Harlan County's labor battles of the 1930's.

Things are straightforward in Harlan. We see picket lines held by the wives on the highway because the mines are held by machine guns. Those who cross are scabs—there's no confusion here. We

see the Brookside women lie down in the street to stop the gun-toting thugs. The cops drag them away, but they return. We see men and women defying court injunctions which would mean death to the strike. They have no illusions that the cops who arrest them or the courts who jail them are anything but an official extension of the company and its gunmen.

Over and over again Kopple sees the source of the strikers' courage in the memory of prior battles, in the class-struggle traditions of the coal mines of Harlan. After numerous confrontations and mass mobilizations, the miners are faced with the decision to defend themselves with arms against the guns of the union-busters and the cops. Workers self-defense is also a tradition in Harlan, and the climax of the film is surely when the strikers train their gun barrels on a convoy of scabs trying to enter Highsplit Mine.

The central figures of the movie are the miners' wives, whose Brookside Women's Club was in many ways the backbone of the strike. Their gritty defiance of gun thugs and state troopers sustained the picket lines through months of strikebreaking terror. For the Brookside women, as well as their husbands, the union meant survival. (See "Brookside Organized After 13-Month Strike," in *Women and Revolution* No. 7, Autumn 1974, for an on-the-spot report of the strike and the role of the Women's Club.)

The urgency of class solidarity undercut traditional racial and sexual prejudices. The powerful contradiction, pervasive throughout the U.S. proletariat, between militant unionism and reactionary social attitudes is particularly intense in the isolated mining regions. The West Virginia textbook-burning campaigns are an example. The appeal to god-fearing anti-communism has traditionally been the bosses' rallying cry in the coal fields. In the 1930's it was not only prosecution on charges of "criminal syndicalism" that defeated the Communist Party (CP)-led National



Louisville Courier-Journal

Cops arrest strikers at Brookside, Harlan county

Miners Union in Harlan and Bell counties, but also a hysterical scare campaign against "Marxist atheism."

Today UMW bureaucrats play on the same backwardness to harass militant oppositionists and try to purge "reds" from the union. Last September's Mine Workers convention turned into a virtual witchhunt as a result. In this respect Arnold Miller, Mike Trbovich and the rest of the bureaucrats follow in the footsteps of their anti-communist predecessors, from John L. Lewis on.

While the film is able to record the class-struggle traditions in Harlan, it fails to explicitly deal with the political reality of the bureaucratized labor movement which dragged out the Brookside strike and made it into such an agonizing struggle. As a political statement, *Harlan County, U.S.A.* never goes beyond the militant unionism it depicts. Acknowledging Miller's betrayals—and the miners' anger in response, as they burn his 1974 contract—the film shows nothing of the political roots of these betrayals.

When the movie was first shown at the New York Film Festival last fall a militant unionist commented in the ensuing discussion that the story of the strike showed the need to link the trade-union struggle to a fight for power—for socialist revolution—or the limited gains would again be taken away. The audience cheered, and one "old-timer" commented, "Well, I'm glad somebody finally said it."

In the film, "Jock" Yablonski, the long-time UMW bureaucrat who founded Miners for Democracy and was killed by Boyle supporters, dies an untarnished martyr; Miller is seen as just one more personally corrupted bureaucrat. But in fact Miller's political

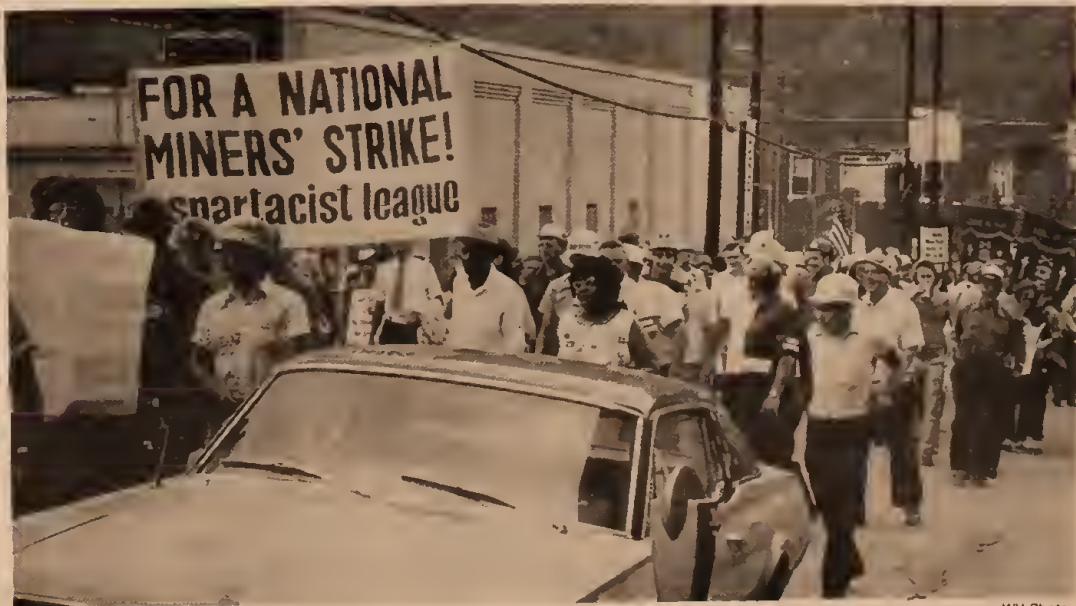
behavior was utterly predictable (and Yablonski's would have been the same had he lived). Unlike their fans in virtually every allegedly socialist group in the U.S., the Spartacist League warned from the outset against illusions in these darlings of the liberals (see "Labor Department Wins Mine Workers Election," in *WV* No. 17, March 1973).

Miller's reliance on the capitalist government—through its courts and Labor Department—to climb to power in the UMW presaged his later collaboration with the class enemy in breaking wildcats, his stifling of the miners' right to strike and his heavy-handed suppression of internal opponents in the union. Today those who backed Miller—"critically" or otherwise—are fleeing like rats from his sinking ship, as the treachery of this "reform" bureaucrat has become obvious to all.

But there is one group of Miller enthusiasts which has remained loyal to the bitter end. The Communist Party's review of *Harlan County, U.S.A.* attacks "Barbara Kopple's limitations as a labor documentary filmmaker"... for putting Miller in a bad light! This, it says, aids the "unholy alliance" of pro-Boyle forces "skilled at taking advantage of the disruptive attacks on Miller by some of the so-called 'leftist' sects operating among the miners" (*Daily World*, 2 November 1976).

The *Daily World* complains that, "As presented in the film, the UMW president is apparently turning out to be just one more labor bureaucrat. Actually in the real miners' world, it's a different situation." In the spirit of the Stalinists' "documentary films" of the Russian Revolution that "edited out" the role of

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WV Photo

Miners march at Harlan, Kentucky, during UMW "memorial" in August, 1974.

Harlan County...

(continued from page 7)

Leon Trotsky, the CP would prefer a "documentary" about the coal miners in which Arnold Miller is not seen as a sellout. The problem is, Kopples camera and microphones recorded what UMW miners thought of Miller's sellout contract; they reflected the fact that the membership struck for a month before he could shove it down their throats. That's what the *Daily World* doesn't want to see on film.

Kopples has limitations, but they are not that she shows what the angry miners thought of Miller's sellout. Unfortunately, the film's indictment of the UMW leaders is only implicit and incomplete. The director sees the strike through the eyes of the most militant miners in the area, who were frustrated by Miller's betrayals yet had no strategy to defeat them. Toward the end of the film one sees the Harlan miners trying to grapple with the Miller bureaucracy; there are arguments, a young miner talks of the need to continue the struggle. Here one hopes for an analysis of the role of the union bureaucracy, a call for constructing a class-struggle opposition in the UMW against all the labor fakers and an explanation of the need for a political struggle by the working class against the parties and state of big business. Instead there is an emptiness, at best platitudes of the kind that one can find in endless stories about Harlan in the pages of the Communist Labor Party's *People's Tribune*.

The strike is finally won—after a young miner is murdered, shot in the face—through the mobilization of 120,000 miners in a five-day "memorial period" which shut down every UMW-

organized mine in the country. A subsequent NLRB representation election was lost at Highsplit Mine and Miller agreed that Brookside would be exempted in any contract strike later in the year. Above all, the necessary support—a nationwide coal strike—deliberately withheld by UMW leaders for months, could have won the strike in short order at the onset. The "reformer" Miller, however, was committed not to class struggle but to accommodation with the coal bosses.

For many in the movie theater audience, *Harlan County, U.S.A.* must seem a curious historical oddity. Not only bloody Harlan of 1931 but Harlan of 1974 must seem like ancient history, fighting labor traditions of days gone by. For the labor fakers—who have corrupted these traditions as much as they can, instituting the "informational" picket line, the "productivity clause," the no-strike agreement—this film must cause them to shudder in fearful recognition of the class militancy which built the unions they now lord over and which will one day drive them out of their cushy positions.

Harlan County, U.S.A. shows that the basis for class struggle is rooted deep in the capitalist mode of production itself. The old-timers recall the bloody battles fought a generation ago in eastern Kentucky, only to be fought again when the mine bosses drove the union out. But if today's militant young miners are to go forward they must go beyond the limits of labor reformism and the tenuous victories of defensive battles. It is through the fight to throw out the Abels and Sadlowskis, the Boyles and the Millers that the workers will recover their militant traditions, forge a class-struggle leadership and go on to make the revolutionary history of the future. ■

Oil Spills...

(continued from page 5)

U.S.-flag NMU standards. However, even this was surrendered without a fight by Curran when the Kennedy administration, supported by the NMU officials, passed legislation prohibiting the maritime unions from organizing foreign seamen. Today, Wall and Co.

are claiming that another Democrat in the White House—Jimmy Carter—will defend the interests of seamen better than the anti-labor Ford administration. This is false. Carter, like Ford, is an experienced capitalist politician. As governor of Georgia, peanut millionaire Carter was a proven enemy of civil rights for blacks, a supporter of the Taft-Hartley Act. Carter protected runaway sweat shops in Georgia and will do the same for runaway ship operators.

No less crucial is an end to the mutual raiding practiced by union hacks like Shannon Wall and Paul Hall. The NMU raid on the west coast PFEL [Pacific Far East Lines] ships did not produce jobs for the NMU—it only led to the SIU raid on the NMU-contract TTT [Puerto Rican government shipping agency] ships and accelerated the cut-throat competition among the maritime unions, offering further contract concessions to the companies in the false hope of grabbing a few jobs. Disunity among maritime labor—including scabbing—has become commonplace. Recently, while Texaco and Gulf oil workers (OCAW) were on strike, the NMU officials continued the operation of those companies' tankers, just as the NMU bureaucrats sanctioned scabbing during the long Shell strike in 1973 (see *Beacon* No. 8, June 1973).

Union raiding as well as protectionist policies designed to boot foreign seamen off the ships are dead-end policies. What is necessary is a joint struggle of maritime labor against the companies: organizing the unorganized, creating more jobs for all through a 4-watch system and increased vacation time (one day off per one day on). Such a struggle will inevitably pose the need for expropriation of the parasitic shipowners, workers control of industry, and a workers party to fight for a workers government. Such a task cannot be carried out by the present gang of pro-capitalist hacks that run the unions; this requires a new class-struggle leadership. It is to this end that the Militant-Solidarity Caucus is dedicated.

Fusion With LSA Planned

Canadian RMG: Back to the Reformist Fold

At a plenum held over New Year's weekend, the Central Committee of the Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) resolved unanimously to call for a fusion with the League for Socialist Action (LSA—Canadian section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat [Usec] from which it had issued as a split to the left three and a half years ago. At the time of the split, the RMG had heralded the impending collapse of the LSA and had denounced both it and its co-thinkers in the U.S.—the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—as incorrigible reformists.

But now the weak and demoralized remnants of the disintegrating RMG have not only proclaimed their intention to reunite with the LSA but have renounced their own centrist heritage as "ultra left" and "sectarian." A document adopted at the RMG's recent five-day plenum declared that the RMG and the LSA have "no principled differences." (For a detailed analysis of the RMG's recent evolution, see *Spartacist Canada*, Nos. 12 and 13, January and February 1977.)

The RMG's circular course from left centrism through right centrism and back to the craven reformism it had rejected in 1973 has been marked by an unending series of failures and disasters. Founding documents predicted rapid growth for the new group. It was expected that the RMG's mentors in Ernest Mandel's International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the Usec would dump the SWP-led "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" (LTF) and lead North American IMT supporters toward the creation of new sections of the Usec. Instead, Mandel demanded that the RMG rejoin the LSA and ordered the IMT supporters who had been expelled from the SWP in 1974 to crawl back in. By late 1976 half of the RMG's founding membership and fully two-thirds of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT), the oppositional tendency within the LSA from which the RMG developed, had quit or were expelled.

Worn out and rendered cynical by both their own failures and the backstabbing "unity" maneuvers of the IMT leadership, the RMG leadership is now ready to re-embrace the until recently scorned LSA. A report on RMG-LSA fusion discussions delivered to the Toronto branch of the RMG by Julie Samuels says:

"At one time we were unsure about whether the LTF belonged within the Fourth International. Then we agreed that despite very important differences such as Angola, Viet Nam, China, etc., the LTF is Trotskyist and does support the program of revolutionary Marxism and the FI."

This is what is described as "no

principled differences"!

The New Year's plenum document and Samuels' report are replete with polemics against "sectarianism"—i.e., Bolshevik insistence that a revolutionary party be built on a foundation of solid programmatic agreement. "On paper we understood these questions," states the Samuels document, "but in reality we had a sectarian notion of party building. Fusion yes but on our line." Abandoning this "sectarian" notion, the document goes on to pay homage to the bankrupt tradition of the Second International by pointing to the "important opportunities for fusion with centrist currents in Europe and Latin America [which] have posed very critically the capacity of the International to be able to embrace different political currents...." In a paroxysm of self-criticism, Samuels belatedly denounces the RCT as a "disloyal faction with a split perspective [which] had ultraleft positions on the NDP [New Democratic Party] in particular." (The RCT had opposed the LSA's orientation of "unconditional support" to Canada's party of right-wing social democracy.)

But while the RMG leadership (which is largely composed of ex-NDPers) has made its peace with the LSA, it is worried about rebellion within its ranks, particularly in the Vancouver and Winnipeg branches. Samuels notes uncomfortably:

"There has been a real concern among comrades that the leadership was acting too quickly in making decisions about relations with the LSA. A certain suspicion and paranoia about the decisions of the plenum has manifested itself in the suggestion that somehow the leadership is trying to pull the wool over the eyes of the membership...."

The RMG, like all centrist formations, has also been placed in an uncomfortable contradictory situation by reason of its own rhetoric. While it has moved very far to the right in order to prepare for its reconciliation with the LSA, it still retains a more militant veneer than its ultra-"respectable" putative fusion partners. Thus, for example, RMG supporters in the Vancouver postal union (who participated in an oppositional caucus) have had a hellish time trying to convince fellow caucus members to work more closely with LSA postal workers (who are open bootlickers of the incumbent trade-union bureaucracy).

The March 1975 expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT) and the departure of other left-wingers laid the basis for the RMG's reconciliation with reformism. The B-LTers and other ex-RMGers who today adhere to the Trotskyist League of Canada and the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) comprised a full fifteen percent of the membership of the RCT—its best, most subjectively revolutionary elements.

The impending dissolution of the shell of the RMG into the LSA holds an important lesson for militants who seriously seek to construct a revolutionary international. There is no middle road between reformism and Trotskyism; centrist organizations are inherently unstable and must ultimately choose between reform and revolution. The RMG leadership has chosen the former. Those comrades who wish to make a proletarian revolution on this continent must look to the Bolshevik program and practice of the international Spartacist tendency. ■

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BULLETIN from the Bay Area Group for the Defense of Paranagua and Pilla

Paranagua, Pilla Released!

1 February 1977

On 22 January 1977 Paulo Antonio de Paranagua and Maria Regina Pilla arrived by air in Paris, France.

Paranagua and Pilla were released with several comrades after almost two years' imprisonment by the military government of Argentina.

On this happy occasion we offer a warm embrace to all those friends of liberty whose solidarity contributed to the success of the Paranagua-Pilla defense effort.

In particular, our appreciation goes to the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), the U.S. Committee for Justice for Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), City Lights Books, The Berkeley Barb, and Radio KPOO-FM.

And let us not forget the thousands still behind bars in Latin America, in the whole world.

For solidarity

Bay Area Group for the Defense of Paranagua and Pilla, P.O. Box 26481, San Francisco, Calif. 94126

Explosion Brewing...

(continued from page 6)

Watergate clearly hurt both parties more or less equally. It is noteworthy that while the SL prediction (*Perspectives and Tasks of the SL/U.S.*, August 1974) that Watergate would put the Democrats in the White House proved correct, Carter didn't dare use the scandal as a club to beat the Republicans, and the Democratic victory was no landslide.

The characteristic pressures of the period are producing increasing frustration with objective conditions, decreasing confidence in the future and a general turning away from many of the traditional props of the capitalist system throughout the petty bourgeoisie and working class. The Catholic Church battles for public money to finance its school system as the "faithful" abandon it in droves. With worsening economic conditions weighing on it like a great weight, the bourgeois family structure shows increasing instability through high rates of divorce and remarriage.

explosive labor struggles. This projection retains its general validity, with the note that an upsurge has not occurred as soon as expected, and with the recognition that further delay in significant outbursts is likely. The near general strike of spring 1976 in San Francisco demonstrated the case with which the ossified labor lieutenants, given the right intersection of circumstances, could lose control of an elemental, class-struggle upsurge. Striking coal miners in the hills of West Virginia—about as far removed as possible from the petty-bourgeois cultural milieu of San Francisco—made the same point. The events in the mine fields showed the qualitative identity between the newly elevated Miller wing of the bureaucracy and the old buzzards still haunting Bay Area labor temples.

Elsewhere, however, the union bureaucrats played on demoralization among the workers over rising unemployment rates and past defeats, and managed to hold the lid on outbursts. The present collapse of the very narrowly based economic recovery of 1975-76, and the projection of increasing unemployment, make the chances of an immediate escalation of class struggle

the SL's forward movement than [to] the major reverses suffered by these organizations," which flowed mainly from "the collision of the overambitious goals and inflated expectations peddled to their members with the sharp decline in labor and social struggle in the 1971-73 period."

Since then, the period has continued to be a rocky one for the left, in particular for the centrists and Maoists. The contradictions inherent in the game of *fake revolutionist*, with its attendant gimmicks, fictions and underlying opportunism, have made existence in this period very difficult if not impossible for leftist organizations such as the RSL, the (unmourned) CSL, and the ex-IT. The impulse to cave in to the pressures of the period has meant a rapid evolution to the right for most of them, as exemplified by *Spark* and the Landau group, both of which long for the warm bosom of the SWP, and by the RSL, which is trying to ape SWP-like "mass movement" pop fronts.

Qualitatively reformist organizations such as the SWP and CP, which long ago gave up the difficult *pretense* of revolutionary politics, have benefitted quantitatively at the expense of the centrists within the general rightward drift. Following a left-right split in 1973, the I.S. has consolidated on the basis of rejection of the Trotskyist Transitional Program, craven capitulation to left-liberal bureaucrats, and hard trade-union economism. Political bandits and mavericks such as the Healyites and PL enjoy a dubious and lonely continued existence through the mechanism of vicious slander and trade-union opportunism respectively. The Maoists, meanwhile, who have also evolved to the right over the past several years, are now going through an exquisite (for Trotskyists!) and possibly terminal crisis of confidence in the deformed-workers-state bureaucratic ruling elite through which they define their political existence.

The grossly opportunist and, in some cases, adventurist behavior of the ostensibly revolutionary organizations in the near-general strike in San Francisco in spring 1976 brought home the bankruptcy of the U.S. left when faced with the prospect of a real class struggle situation. While the consciousness of the active minority of workers made noticeable advances, the left organizations were increasingly revealed as helplessly unable to influence the forward motion of the class struggle, and, in general, hopelessly rightist. While the CP (predictably) concentrated its fire on the left in order to protect the bureaucracy, the SWP and the RCP actually *opposed* implementing the call for the general strike!

There is a reason for the galloping motion to the right on the part of the centrists, and it lies in the nature of centrism: for these weather vanes of the left, program is determined by whatever happens to be popular at the moment or by what forces are available to tail after or capitulate to. "Program" is required by the simple fact that they find themselves together in an organization one day and decide that they really ought to have something to stand for. Thus the Ellensites left the SL unsure of their positions on just about everything; Passen and Gregorich spent months looking for a political excuse to avoid talking to the SL; the RSL came together and split from the I.S. prior to deciding what its position on the Russian Question was, etc.

For revolutionists, the program of revolutionary Trotskyism is the sole basis for existence. Gimmicks, fictions, fakery and cliquism have no place in an organization which genuinely seeks an international proletarian revolution rather than new get-rich-quick "solutions." The SL's practice of recruitment on a sound political basis and setting realistic organizational goals has enabled it to survive the present period without a major faction fight, split, or hemorrhaging of the cadre. ■

ILWU...

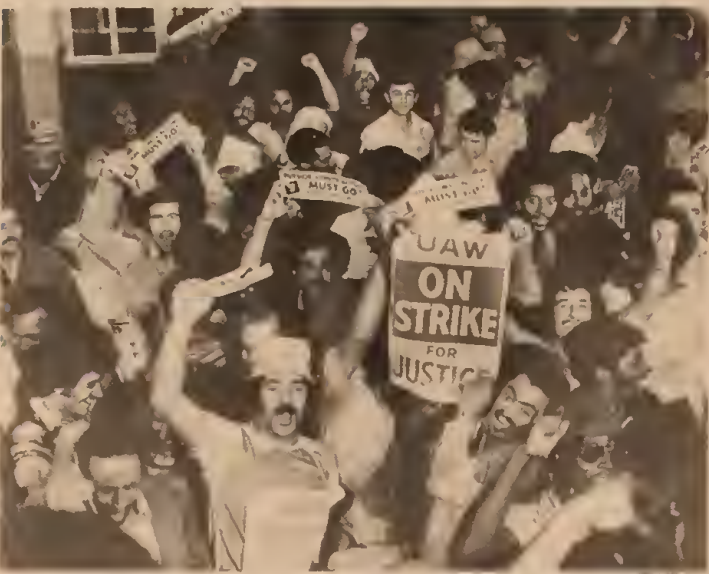
(continued from page 3)

'vehicular manslaughter.... He really should be charged with murder. He ran over the picketer and then afterwards backed up his truck and ran over him again and killed him." A scab murderer gets off lightly, while innocent strikers are convicted: the bosses' courts are accomplices in the anti-labor offensive.

During the court battles the Militant Caucus (MC) had tried to mobilize a militant working-class defense of all the victimized unionists, despite the sabotage of the ILWU leadership. The MC pushed for the union to organize mass demonstrations outside the courtroom and to prepare for defensive strikes to enforce the negotiated amnesty. But an MC motion to this effect was defeated by the McClain bureaucracy at the November 23 Local 6 general executive board meeting.

In the radio interview before the trials, MC member and Local 6 executive board member Bob Mandel pointed out that "the employers and government had to prove that they could actually break the unions on the line.... Having taken on some of the strongest unions in the Bay Area and having inflicted certain severe defeats on them, they're now trying to make an example to intimidate workers against striking in the future.... If they can whip the ILWU, which is one of the strongest unions in the area, and put these 40 people behind bars, they'll feel confident that they can go ahead and extend their anti-labor legislation."

Stan Gow drew the political lessons of the anti-strike repression, arguing that labor needs its own party and government: "[S.F. mayor] Moscone, Ford, Carter, the Berkeley City Council and the San Francisco Board of Supervisors are all anti-labor," he warned. It was precisely the bureaucrats' reliance on the Democratic "friends of labor"—a policy promoted by supporters of the reformist Communist Party—which set up the union for defeat in the first place. Gow asserted "the trials are part of an attack on the right to strike," and called for mobilizing the entire labor movement as well as civil liberties groups and socialist organizations to defend the victimized militants. ■



Auto workers at Ford go out on strike in September.

WV Photo

The turn to the narcissism of "self-fulfillment" gimmicks like new religious cults, drugs and health foods is pervasive. For the working class, however, the dream of escaping alienated labor by rising into the petty bourgeoisie—a traditionally strong restraining influence on class consciousness in the U.S.—necessarily becomes dimmer as the job lines lengthen.

As the bourgeoisie becomes more arrogant and the working class and petty bourgeoisie more disillusioned in the system, the traditional role of the trade unions as the last line of defense of capitalism becomes more important. The encrusted bureaucracy played this role to the hilt in the recent elections, dragging out every conceivably revivable illusion and making a maximum effort to resurrect the old "Roosevelt coalition" of labor and blacks in the Democratic Party. The Meany-Woodcock-Fitzsimmons gang's continued holding of the line of wage increases has resulted in falling comparative wage rates for U.S. workers as against workers in other major industrial countries. With the onset of heavy layoffs and drastically increasing unemployment in 1974-75, the labor fakers went all out to prevent any militant response, channeling protest instead into reactionary protectionist schemes and bourgeois utopian jobs legislation such as the Humphrey-Hawkins bill.

The SL projected in August 1974 that enormous pressures were building up at the base of the labor movement, threatening to shatter the hold of the encrusted and brittle labor bureaucracy and resulting in a series of elemental and

small. Since the economic strike is the only perceived form of class struggle in the U.S., an increase in unemployment in the coming year will probably have a further depressing effect on the class struggle, especially at first. The pressures at the base will continue to mount, however, and the *consciousness* of the working class can be turned around rapidly, as San Francisco showed. Given the right intersection of a rather less abrupt decline in employment with a militant strike in a major industrial center, class-struggle militants can still expect to encounter opportunities. As we pointed out in the "Perspectives and Tasks" document, such opportunities as do arise are likely to be fraught with the danger of our friends being thrust prematurely into the leadership of major struggles.

Yet is the general stagnation of class struggle, rather than opportunities posing the danger of premature leadership, which we must recognize as the major aspect of the objective situation at the present time. Dealing with this general stagnation, and with the cynical, personalist and escapist moods connected with it—and with their effect on our ranks—is the biggest conjunctural problem facing the SL/U.S., and its trade-union friends in particular.

The existence of a general stagnation in the class struggle, imposed largely through the "class peace" policies of the trade-union bureaucracy, and affecting the entire left, has already been noted. In the 1974 "Perspectives and Tasks" document, we attributed our surpassing of four of our central competitors in strength and influence as due "less [to]

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Active Workers Conference...

(continued from page 6)

Socialists hope to wheedle the workers into supporting them as "good guys" in spite of their politics. "We want people to know that the reason we fight for the workers is because we're against capitalism and want to oust the reformist bureaucracy," she said.

Another comrade cited James P. Cannon's remark: tactics are nothing but fingerwork—fingers don't mean much if your arm is broken, and that arm is the revolutionary program. The reformists seek instant success by adapting to a supposed layer of "honest trade-union militants" who are idealized as "unconscious" socialists. But lacking a revolutionary program, trade-union militants are politically defined by the reformist limits to the struggles they engage in. Leninists refer to such politics as "simple trade unionism," emphasizing that it is a reformist ideology which must be *combated* if the workers' struggles are to be freed from the bureaucratic straitjacket.

Unremitting company harassment of

militants—with the bureaucrats' eager complicity and the apparent fearful acquiescence of the workers—can induce frustration and defeatism, leading to opportunism, even within the Leninist vanguard. While inevitable tactical mistakes elicited by this currently unequal battle must be painstakingly and patiently combated, the SL trade unionists demonstrated that they would not tolerate cynical tinkering with the class line and insisted upon the removal from trade-union work of one comrade whose weakness under pressure could corrode our principled program. Many comrades took the floor to insist that those who put themselves forward as a class-struggle leadership for the working class must safeguard, as a precious and irreplaceable acquisition, their unblemished reputation for integrity and the revolutionary program of Trotskyism, which alone can lead the working class to victory.

The intersection of trade-union and legal defense work was the subject of a panel discussion. The consolidation of a professionalized legal defense fraction was apparent. It was noted that defense against bureaucratic repression is an integral part of trade-union work and that the success of campaigns to defend victimized worker militants is ultimately dependent upon the ability to mobilize in the unions.

The Race Question: Motor for Social Revolution or Barrier to Social Revolution

Much of the discussion in the black commission dealt with the urgency of creating a genuinely racially integrated communist organization with a significant black component in its leadership. U.S. society is deeply, poisonously racially polarized and the only significant degree of racial integration takes place at the lower levels of industrial production. The lack of a significant black leadership component impedes the SL's transformation into a Leninist party, as well as to carrying out certain immediate tasks, particularly in the trade unions. The racist character of this bourgeois society imposes special de-

mands on black communists, in particular the firm rejection of any form of acquiescence to lumpenized life styles.

A reporter to the first plenary session noted:

"The race question could prove to be either a great motor for social revolution or the insuperable barrier to social revolution. I can think of no more significant and decisive element in that choice than the issue of whether or not at that juncture there is an effective Leninist vanguard with components from both races."

Fruitful commissions were also held dealing with the vital areas of finances and press. A high point of the conference was the session on current perspectives of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), enriched by the participation of senior comrades from the tendency's German and Australian sections. The validity of the iSt's insistence on construction of a disciplined tendency based on programmatic cohesion is strikingly reconfirmed by the fake-Trotskyists' wild maneuvers as they frantically scramble for unstable alliances in a grotesque travesty of internationalism.

While soberly facing up to the reality of relative political stagnation, it was noted at the plenary that the present conjuncture is fundamentally different from that during the Cold War, when a massive political contraction of the entire left prevailed for nearly two decades. The conference adjourned on an optimistic note, with the participants confident of the organization's ability to withstand the corrosive pressures of the period and to change reality through intervention in the class struggle on the basis of the Transitional Program. As one comrade observed during the final plenary:

"The most important accomplishment since the transformation of the SL is more than the trade-union work, the weekly and the international work. What is revealed by yesterday's and today's discussion is the existence of a layer of Bolshevik cadre which will not be easily lost despite contraction and reversals. Organizational growth is measured not just in numbers but in political depth, experience and programmatic solidity." ■

Arlington Heights...

(continued from page 3)

class overthrow the rule of the exploiters, whose chief defense is the time-honored tactic of "divide and rule." Communists call for the construction of low-rent, racially integrated quality public housing and must support the current school busing plans, however minimal, while demanding that busing be extended to the white suburbs. Such demands are essential to turn the black and white working masses' present vicious competition for a larger share of the shrinking pie into a united struggle against the common enemy—the capitalist class.

Mobilization of Chicago's powerful multi-racial labor movement to defend black and minority rights and fight for decent integrated housing for all is the only answer to the festering racial hatred. Reformists like the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP), however, have looked instead to liberal politicians and above all to the federal courts to defend blacks against racist attack. With this "strategy" of pressuring the courts gone up in smoke, the SWP is now pressuring the liberal NAACP, Urban League and the "World Community of Islam" to take to the streets...to pressure Carter.

On the other hand, those so-called revolutionaries like the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party or the third campist Revolutionary Socialist League who oppose busing as a "bourgeois plot" must be grateful indeed to the Supreme Court and the racist village fathers of Arlington Heights for siding with them.

In Chicago, racist attacks—often covertly aided by the police and condoned by city officials, as in the Marquette Park incidents—have been growing in intensity. Last fall new incidents were reported almost every week in the Chicago papers. And now, in its Arlington Heights decision, the Supreme Court has thrown up a major roadblock to residential integration. Especially in the present climate of social reaction, it will be virtually impossible to prove racist motivation behind the smokescreens of pleas for "neighborhood schools," "maintaining property values" and the like. But the Supreme Court decision in the Arlington Heights case has only given legal sanction to the policy that the bourgeoisie has more or less consistently upheld in practice. Rather than reformist illusions in the "neutrality" of the capitalist courts and cops, the Spartacist League calls for integrated working-class defense against racist terror and massive mobilization of the labor movement, black organizations and other defenders of democratic rights to enforce and extend busing and other desegregation measures. ■

OL on Sadlowski...

(continued from page 2)

ment, the OL proclaims: "From conciliating with the revisionists and with the Soviet Union, to prostrating before the liberals and the labor bureaucrats" various of its Maoist competitors "all now find common ground in their attacks on the party building forces and the October League at home and against China and the Marxist-Leninist movement internationally" (*Call*, 10 January).

There are two interrelated reasons why the OL would want to switch gears and come out against Sadlowski. For one thing, having more or less sewn up the Peking franchise Klonsky & Co. figure they are free to sound more "left" on domestic affairs—and in fact have a strong interest in doing so. In the last period, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP—formerly the RU) had struck a more militant pose than the OL in the trade unions, even at one point going so far as to denounce Sadlowski-like bureaucrats as "OOO's" ("Opportunists Out of Office"). Now, with the RCP firmly on the Sadlowski bandwagon and "Oilcan Eddie" himself embarrassed over contributions from bourgeois liberals, the OL has a perfect opportunity to jump over its main rival within the Maoist spectrum and plant its banner just to the left of Avakian in the unions.

jockeying for position. In opposing Sadlowski, the OL harps on the fact that he is supported by the Communist Party (CP), adding that the CP "hopes to use this left-liberal coalition tactic to expand support for the Soviet Union and its phony 'detente' propaganda" (*Call*, 24 January). (The fact that yesterday the OL lined up with the CP in supporting Sadlowski and Miller is handily "forgotten.") Here the OL appeals to reactionary anti-Sovietism, ostensibly as an argument for support to neither of the competing pro-capitalist bureaucrats. But just as Peking's assertion that "Soviet social-imperialism" represents the greater danger leads to support to NATO and the most reactionary imperialist warmongers against the Soviet Union, so must it lead inevitably to political support to the most conservative, anti-Soviet wing of the labor bureaucracy. This is the clear logic of its politics and the logic of Stalinism, which everywhere betrays the interests of the working masses to the nationalist appetites of the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states. ■

SWP on Sadlowski...

(continued from page 2)

Barnes was unable to reply to these criticisms without abandoning any pretense of standing on the Trotskyist Transitional Program. In Chicago he laid it out on the table: "Abel never proposed the rank and file taking over, only reform of McDonald's practices. But that's good. We say do it again." Throwing out the principle of trade-union independence from the bourgeois state, he blubbered: "Sادلowski and the workers are fools if they don't use the Landrum-Griffin act, using every clause." In Pittsburgh he justified Sadlowski's court suit to open up *Steel Labor*, claiming that the "union newspaper was turned over to the bosses years ago and that to get it back, Sadlowski has to go to court."

But even this wasn't enough. The SWP felt compelled to descend to Stalinist-style slander. In Pittsburgh Barnes attacked the SL charging: "Left-wing support for McBride and Abel is as

bad as right-wing support for McBride and Abel." And in Cleveland, after known SL supporters were demonstrably denied the right to speak, this would-be supporter of "democracy" blustered: "I believe your organization is the most reactionary on the American left. I believe you are the left wing of the Abel-McBride team. You echo the worst and most reactionary charges of the right wing."

What Barnes means by this mudslinging is that neither he nor his touted "steel rebel" has been able to answer the serious charges raised by the SL. The slanders of this tin-pot booster of reformist labor fakery will not succeed, but Barnes is right in seeing in the Spartacist League the most vigorous opponent of all brands of labor reformism, both Sadlowski's and his own. The SL has repeatedly warned that the "Steelworkers Fightback" campaign aims at *rejuvenating* the hidebound American labor bureaucracy so that it can better contain threatened militant class battles. Drawing the lessons of past bureaucratic "insurgencies," we pointed out that the Ed Sadlowskis of today are the strikebreaking, autocratic I.W. Abels and Arnold Millers of tomorrow. The SL has generated, and will continue to generate Marxist clarity in the workers movement with its principled political opposition to *both* the McBrides and the Sadlowskis and to all other exponents of class-collaborationism. ■

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 13

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- Seattle Radical Woman
- Women Scapegoated for Rising Unemployment
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British Labour Party...

(continued from page 12)

around former Labour cabinet minister Reg Prentice, who was rejected as a parliamentary candidate by his constituency party in the London district of Newham Northeast last fall. Prentice is not only an extreme, red-baiting right-winger, he is a notorious boor who managed to alienate even middle-of-the-road Labourites. In alliance with some typical "Labour lefts," Militant supporters toppled Prentice in his own bailiwick and successfully resisted much bureaucratic pressure to reverse that decision.

Prentice screamed like a stuck pig about "communist infiltration" and his cause was aggressively championed by



Tony Benn

Economist

the big business press. However, in terms of the general motion within the Labour Party, the unseating of Prentice by left-wingers in his constituency is an exception by far. On the whole it is the left, not the Prentices, which faces a purge. In the recent past a number of left activists have been suspended from their constituency parties, among them Keith Veness from the London district of Islington North.

The main current focus of the anti-Trotskyist campaign has been the appointment of Andy Bevan, a Militant group supporter and past president of the LPYS, as the full-time salaried party officer for youth matters. As part of a right-wing attempt to block his appointment, the National Union of Labour Organizers refused to work with him on the grounds that he was not a member of that union. The political motivation of this move was clear since, in the past few years, half of the similarly appointed functionaries were not members of the union either.

The Bevan appointment produced a confrontation between the "lefts" and

"rights" in the NEC, which held several ballots on the issue. The most important defender of Bevan's appointment is minister of energy Tony Benn, present acknowledged leader of the Labour left. Benn upheld the proscription of members of other parties, but observed that: "Marxism has, from the earliest days, always been openly accepted by the Party as one of the many sources of inspiration within our Movement along with—though much less influential than—Christian Socialism, Fabianism, Owenism, Trade unionism, or even radical Liberalism."

—Militant, 7 January

Benn's current tolerance for "Marxists" in the Labour Party is a cynical manoeuvre. The Militant group and similar tendencies provide a hard-working, disciplined corps of activists for any pretended "left" oppositionists within the framework of British social democracy, a role played by Aneurin Bevan in the post-World War II years, later by Harold Wilson, then Michael Foot and now Tony Benn. Aneurin Bevan died before he could become prime minister and dash the illusions of his would-be Marxist supporters. Wilson and Foot (who led the fight against Andy Bevan's appointment as youth officer) did live long enough to attain high office and become red-baiting "moderates." Benn will follow in their path.

Andy Bevan, like the Militant group as a whole, has pledged himself to loyally carry out the policies of the Labour Party's current leadership:

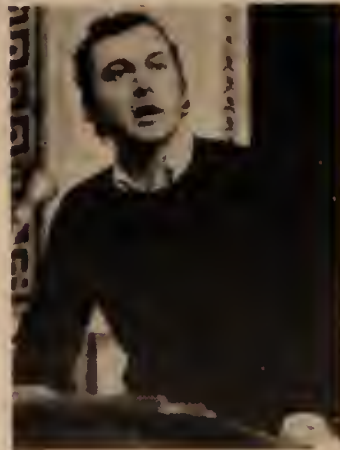
"There is a standard document every single Labour official signs. In addition, I had to agree, it was no part of my duties to promote in any way ideas or proposals of any unofficial group or party, or to appear on any platform or attend a meeting unless authorized by the national agent [e.g., Reg Underhill, who has been leading the campaign to stop Bevan's appointment]. I say 100 percent here and now that I will abide by these undertakings."

—Guardian, 31 January

In defending the appointment, Benn commented: "I accept Andy Bevan's word that, as National Youth Officer, he would faithfully serve the party, giving

capital, is wholly justified.

Callaghan, Wilson & Co. know full well that the Militant group and other self-styled Trotskyists in the Labour Party do not pose the slightest threat to their leadership. At bottom the current red scare reflects the anxiety of the British bourgeoisie and its agents in the workers movement about their ability to maintain the tenuous class peace embodied in the "social contract." With renewed unrest at the important nationalized auto manufacturer (Leyland), the



Andy Bevan

Economist

National Union of Miners' upcoming wage claim and other pay negotiations, British rulers cannot afford significant dissidence in any sector of the organized workers movement.

For a Trotskyist Opposition to Labourism

Over the past period, the Callaghan government has been able to rely on the trade-union bureaucrats to police the working class. However, even as an escape valve, the NEC forum for Tribune "left" demagoguery has been an embarrassment to the cabinet. The anti-Trotskyist campaign is a means to whip



Capitalist press carried hysterical campaign against "Trotskyist infiltration" in Labor Party.

us his first loyalty and adhering to its constitution, programme, and policy" (Militant, 7 January). From our knowledge of the Grant group, we can affirm that Benn's faith in its loyalty to the British bourgeois-workers party, the faithful executor of the will of finance

the NEC majority into line and to prevent the emergence of an alternative pole in the workers movement to the Callaghan/TUC axis. Numerous commentators are strongly suggesting that Jack Jones and the union bureaucracy purge the Benn-Tribune majority in the party executive, something they could easily do with the trade-union bloc of votes. Andy Bevan turns out to be a very convenient whipping boy to start with.

While the bourgeois media now present the Militant group as the most cunning, insidious and dangerous reds, it is actually utterly reformist, wedded to and legitimately within the programmatic framework of the Labour Party. It would be truly unjust for poor old Ted Grant, presenting his Kautskyan politics in the manner of a Victorian headmaster, to be proscribed from Labour. When he says, "We want to strengthen the Labour Party and the Labour government on the basis of socialism" (Times [London], 10 December 1976), he really means it. Grant is completely sincere in claiming that his loyalty to Labourism is stronger than that of most of the right-wing social democrats who denounce him as an

Cleveland Wler Attacks Spartacist

Last week WV published a letter by David North, national secretary of the Workers League (WL), hypocritically protesting alleged Spartacist League (SL) attacks on the WL, and decrying the "use of violence" in the "socialist movement." In response, we reiterated our long-standing principled defense of workers democracy and pointed to the WL's wretched history of assaulting its opponents on the left. Unfortunately, we must now report that a mere six days after North's January 27 letter the WL has once again physically attacked a Spartacist supporter.

The incident occurred on February 2 in Cleveland, where salesmen for both WV and the WL's Bulletin were selling in front of a downtown unemployment office. When asked by the WV salesman how the Workers League could pretend to be for a labor party while supporting such pro-capitalist, pro-Democratic Party labor fakers as Ed Sadlowski, the Wler flew into a rage. He attacked our salesman, landing a few glancing blows, but was unable to inflict any serious damage. Our comrade stood his ground and continued selling, while taking the Workers League to task for its trade-union opportunism and two-bit desperado violence.

The disparity between North's pious words and his membership's actions is certainly nothing new for the political bandits of the WL. Nevertheless, such despicable violence is a matter of serious concern to all tendencies in the workers movement and cannot be dismissed as simply one more example of WL cynicism. We insist that the WL bring its actions into line with its professed denunciation of violence within the socialist movement. For our part, we continue to stand ready to protect our members and our legitimate rights—as well as those of the Workers League—in line with our consistent defense and enforcement of the principles of workers democracy.

agent of an international communist conspiracy.

Of all the groups in Europe claiming to be Trotskyists, the Grant group is undoubtedly the most organically social-democratic. It refuses to call for unconditional withdrawal of the imperialist British army from Northern Ireland, on the grounds that its presence there supposedly prevents sectarian civil war. It supports voting for the Labour government's state budget, including expenditures for nuclear weapons, military intelligence and the like. Even the centrist United Secretariat of Ernest Mandel—despite its "family of Trotskyism," come-one, come-all policies—has written off the Militant group for its avowed agnosticism on the possibility of a "peaceful road to socialism" in Britain.

The bourgeois and right-wing social-democratic hysteria against Trotskyism is not testimony to the Militant group's revolutionary credentials but rather to the extreme fragility of class peace in Britain. A genuinely Trotskyist organization in Britain would not use the authority and program of Marxism as a cover for liquidation into social democracy, but as a means for organizing the working class to smash the "social contract" and for the mobilization toward a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Geriatric "Trotskyists" the Target

Red Scare in the British Labour Party

LONDON, February 6—Under the implacable pressure of international finance capital, exercised through such agencies as the International Monetary Fund, Britain's Labour government is presently forcing a massive cut in the standard of living of the working people. The two primary policies used to attain this end are the "social contract" (de facto government wage control) and wholesale dismantling of the "welfare state."

Prime Minister James Callaghan's "austerity" policies have been sufficiently conciliatory to "City" financiers, Wall Street bond dealers and the nebulous "gnomes of Zürich" to secure several massive loans and IMF "stand-by" credits to cope with a whopping balance-of-payments deficit. Key to the elaborate financial juggling, however, is acquiescence of the hard-put working class.

So far this has been forthcoming, as Trades Union Congress (TUC) chief Len Murray and Transport Workers leader Jack Jones have vigilantly suppressed opposition in the unions to the 4.5 percent pay ceiling. Yet the bourgeoisie remains worried lest the slightest crack appear in the cabinet-TUC agreement on wage policy. First among its preoccupations is guarding against any "maverick" behaviour by the so-called "left-wing majority" on the Labour Party National Executive Committee (NEC).

Thus the current "red scare" over "Trotskyist infiltration" in the Labour Party left wing aims much higher than its ostensible target, the small Militant group led by Ted Grant. Fundamentally, the "anti-Trot" campaign is a warning to the loose grouping of Tribunitary MP's [Members of Parliament], "militant" union leaders and left-wingers in the constituencies to toe the line should there be an outbreak of struggles over pay claims in the coming weeks and months.

"Reds Under the Beds"

The cry of "Trotskyist infiltration" has become a serious issue in British

politics during the last two years. Ex-prime minister (now Sir) Harold Wilson alluded to the Militant group as "political asset strippers" who used the "financial methods of the takeover bidders." Current prime minister Callaghan went even further, asserting that "there are too many people who have infiltrated this party already." "Get them out," he demanded.

Typical of the anti-Trotskyist venom pouring out of the leaders of British social democracy these days is that of right-wing cabinet minister Shirley Williams, in a speech that was reprinted in full in the liberal *Guardian* (22 January):

"Leon Trotsky himself cared nothing for individual liberty; he cared nothing for parliamentary democracy. His actions in the 1920's as one of the leaders of the Soviet State—for example, his part in the crushing of the Kronstadt rising—make this clear. So do his voluminous writings.... What they reveal makes one deeply uneasy about Trotskyism—and I regret to say, about people who call themselves or permit themselves to be called Trotskyists. I could recite quotation after quotation, making clear Leon Trotsky's profound and total disdain for individual liberty and the process of parliamentary democracy.... Modern Trotskyism, like the Trotskyism of Trotsky himself, holds liberty and democracy in total contempt. Its vision of socialism has nothing to do with the British Labour Party's vision."

Two weeks later this diatribe was followed by a special feature article in the *Guardian* entitled, "So, Who Are the Trots?"

The anti-"Trotskyist" witchhunt has been going on for some time. In the summer of 1975, a report on "Trotskyist infiltration" was prepared by the Labour Party national agent, Reg Underhill. It provoked a welter of paranoid "reds under the beds" articles throughout the bourgeois press. A prime example was the front-page story in the London *Observer* (31 August 1975) entitled "'Trot' Conspirators Inside Labour Party" and sub-titled "Revolutionary Plot Is Exposed." Recalling the scurrilous innuendo of the late U.S.



Labour prime minister calls on party's executive committee to carry out anti-Trotskyist red purge at meeting last fall.

senator Joe McCarthy, the article warned:

"A secret organization of Trotskyists, with its own national policy, full-time officials and strictly disciplined membership, is operating inside the Labour Party. Its aim is to use the party as a step to revolution. It clings to conspiratorial anonymity to avoid being expelled from the party.... It controls a majority of the executive of 17 of the 18 regions of the Labour Party Young Socialists (LPYS).... The RSL [Revolutionary Socialist League] works behind the front of the Militant."

The Underhill report was subsequently tabled by the Tribunitary "left" majority on the NEC. However, in response to a virulent campaign in the bourgeois press since early December and under pressure from Callaghan, the NEC reversed itself in late January and agreed to consider the report. The excuse for the current witchhunt was controversy over appointment of a supporter of the Militant group as

Labour's National Youth Officer.

In actual fact, the group around Ted Grant's weekly *Militant* is no threat at all to the stability of the Labour Party. The Grant group is the most successful of several ostensibly Trotskyist tendencies committed to "entrism" (organizing itself as a current within the Labour Party). But the Militant group is so "successful" that it has controlled the official LPYS for more than a decade, a fact that is well-known to Labour Party leaders and within the British workers movement. Furthermore, this grouping is so fossilized and thoroughly social-democratic that it is at best a limp caricature of revolutionary Trotskyism.

The Grant Group: Tony Benn's Left Flank

Much of the fury surrounding the anti-Militant campaign has centered

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Movie Review

Blood and Coal: Harlan County, U.S.A.

Scene from the film: strikers take aim at scabs.

