

Obscene Imperialist Rites for War Criminal, Witchhunter

Humphrey Dead at Last

Had he been shot down over Vietnam by the peasants and workers against whom he waged hellish war for American imperialism it would have been a poetic death, a well deserved end for this vicious anti-Communist—the Cold Warrior fallen in a hot and losing war against the “red menace” he had fought passionately all his life. But as Jimmy Carter is fond of saying, “Life is not fair.” Nor is death, and in the case of Hubert Humphrey it has certainly not been poetic. Instead it resembled the man himself: drawn-out, puffed-up, pedestrian, public, tasteless—but not without malignant reactionary purpose.

There is political intent behind the sickening-sweet smell of the eulogies. The press is on to the scent of it as they memorialize “HHH: Man of the People.” For this handshaker of “the little guy,” vacuous windbag and baby kisser was one of the most dangerous enemies of the working class. More than any politician of recent memory Humphrey was touted by the labor bureaucracy as a cause for hope and faith in the hosses’ Democratic Party. Even after death the labor fakers recite his name: the empty Humphrey-Hawkins “full employment” bill is again being pushed in an effort to build illusions in the “pro-labor” Democrats.

This left-over New Dealer was precisely the best “friend of labor” that George Meany invoked as he betrayed labor on behalf of the capitalists. But Humphrey was no betrayer of his class; he served its interests with gusto. So let

Meany mourn this obscene death of his “old friend” on Capitol Hill. It is just one more insult in a life-long record of class treason. Let the “rad-libs” weep bitter tears because, they say, Humphrey wasn’t a “good enough” liberal. On the contrary, he was the quintessential liberal. And let the entire ruling class gather round the corpse to praise Humphrey’s spirit of “Human Rights” anti-Communism. We for our part, as working-class revolutionaries, will come to bury Humphrey and all that he represents.

Happy Cold Warrior

One of the more obscene spectacles in the recent annals of American capitalist politics has been the protracted, carnival-like death ecstasy of Hubert Horatio Humphrey. As soon as it was realized over a year and half ago that the foremost symbol of American liberalism was fading from the scene, the testimonials for the living dead began. But in the last few months the “Happy Warrior’s” final losing battle with terminal pelvic cancer became a morbid media event as television cameras recorded in living color Hubert’s death mask profile and his penchant for the unintentionally grotesque. When he finally expired last Friday night, every major public figure was ready with a statement of nauseating bourgeois homilies that had been waiting for months.

The Washington political establishment shed official tears and organized a memorial service which abounded in the inanities Humphrey relished. Vice president Walter Mondale, one of Hubert’s Minnesota protégés, ended his eulogy with the remark: “He taught us all how to hope and how to love, how to win and how to lose; he taught us how to live, and, finally, he taught us how to die.” It must have been comforting to the audience, for the occasion attracted a striking number of politicians remembered, as the *New York Times* (16 January) observed, “as much for their failures as for their successes.” First among them was Richard Milhouse Nixon, Watergate criminal and like Humphrey an anti-communist hatchet man and Vietnam mad bomber, who sneaked into town to pay “last respects” to his arch-rival.

Now that he is dead and gone the bourgeoisie wants to resurrect Humphrey as a symbol that the American Way of Life holds out promise for the “disadvantaged.” Here was a druggist’s son who made good, the poor man’s candidate who campaigned in the 1960 West Virginia primary in a bus. So he lost as millionaire John F. Kennedy outdistanced him in a jet—many of Humphrey’s bills were enacted anyway as he cajoled the victors. It’s called working within the system. He was, we are told, the impassioned fighter for civil rights who prompted the Dixiecrat



LBJ and “Happy Warrior.”

John Dominis

walkout from the 1948 Democratic convention, the pragmatic politician who floor-managed the 1964 Civil Rights Act through Congress.

To us he was, plainly and simply, a liberal rat.

Beyond Bad Taste

To do literary justice to the macabre affair of Humphrey’s drawn-out death rattle would require the low-brow surrealism of a Paul Krassner. But a *New York Times* reporter writing for the Family/Style page came pretty close when she described one of the endless testimonials for the rotting senator, a memorial dinner at the Washington Hilton. Although the guest of honor could not attend in the flesh, each of the 2,000 mourners present received a personal memento—a medallion bearing the likeness of Humphrey in a toothy grin strangely reminiscent of Bela Lugosi playing Count Dracula. The highpoint of the evening was Jimmy Carter’s testimonial:

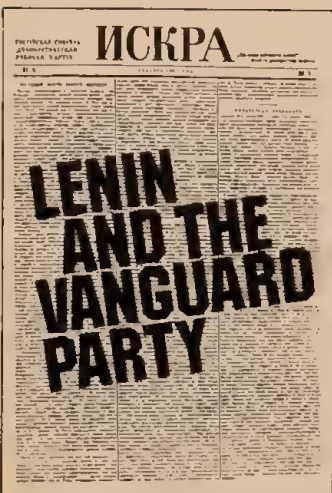
“Mr. Carter told the crowd that Mr. Humphrey had touched his family’s life in ‘strange and wonderful ways’ and recalled his daughter Amy sitting in the Senator’s lap dribbling moist brownie crumbs.”

—*New York Times*, 3 December

One of the most perverse aspects of the whole business was Humphrey’s own exploitation of his fatal illness. Following an initial X-ray treatment for cancerous growths, he wisecracked, “What can be done by medicine, surgery or radiation, I’ll have it. And if it can’t be done, then I’ll have had it, you know.” Later, when doctors removed his bladder he padded through the halls of New York’s Sloan Kettering Cancer Center persecuting the hapless patients with his fatuous cheeriness, urging them to get up and walk for a quicker recovery.

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PART SEVEN



Toward the Communist International

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Humphrey...

(continued from page 1)

HHH seemed to be competing verbally in crudity with LBJ's famous tummy-baring display for reporters after a gall bladder operation.

Then after doctors opened up Humphrey for the last time, declaring him too far gone for further surgery, the real celebrations over the corpse began. When he returned to Capitol Hill his decaying remains were wheeled around from one testimonial dinner to another. Not many people would stand for being treated as dead men while they are still alive. But for the shallow buffoon who ate up humiliation with relish, sitting through his own funeral service was typical of the Humphrey style. At a teary Senate farewell session hawks and doves, friends and enemies alike, joined in a chorus of hollow praise. Anyone else would have been more than a little embarrassed, but Hubie was pleased as punch:

"His time come, Humphrey rose. 'My good friend, Sen. Dale Bumpers, sitting alongside of me here, said: 'This is just a little too much, isn't it Hubert?' I said: 'Hush, I like it!'"

—Newsweek, 7 November 1977

What lies behind the Democrats' ostentatious political necrophilia? Certainly it can't be yearning for Hubert Horatio's windy speeches. Humphrey has been a walking political corpse for the past decade, and during the 1976 primaries Jimmy Carter baited him as a "has been." When he was forced to withdraw from the race for Senate majority leader that January, a leading Democratic colleague estimated he would have been lucky to get even a dozen votes. It is not Humphrey the man who is being celebrated but Humphrey the standard bearer of mid-twentieth century liberalism. The tributes are for the old anti-communist cold-war liberal/labor/black alliance which he symbolized.

But this alliance has lain in tatters ever since the 1968 presidential campaign. Humphrey's last bid for the presidency. That year the antiwar liberals boycotted the Democratic candidate in November because of his vehement defense of the Vietnam war. The next time around mainstream liberals lost control of the 1972 convention to the McGovernite lib-rad fringe, the labor bureaucracy washed its hands of the election and the party went down to stinging defeat at the hands of one of the least trusted politicians of recent memory, "Tricky Dick" Nixon. The impact would have been far worse but for Nixon's Watergate fiasco, which allowed the Democrats to reverse their fortunes and recapture the White House in 1976 on the single issue of "trust."

Union officials, black elected officials and Congressional liberals fervently

hoped the election of Jimmy Carter meant the resurrection of the old New Deal alliance. These are the same forces who today are singing hosannas to Hubert Humphrey, the main spokesman for that coalition since the days of Harry Truman. But their hopes have gone unfulfilled. In the absence of a serious challenge to the capitalist parties from the workers movement and oppressed minorities, Carter is mainly concerned to restore the government's authority internationally from the disasters of Vietnam and Watergate. For this he has adopted a policy of

phy, *The Education of a Public Man* (1975), Humphrey describes the exploits which won his spurs as a bourgeois politician:

"Through that job I met and worked with the labor leaders of Minneapolis and St. Paul. Without it, I would never have been asked to run for mayor in 1943. And it was there that I ran into my first intense, personal experience with the Communist left. 'There were essentially three groups of teachers at that time on WPA, the Stalinist Communists, the Trotskyist bloc and a third group of everyone else.... The presence of such an intense



Lee Ballerman/Life

Humphrey and Muskie at the 1968 Democratic Convention.

Wilsonian platitudes rather than Rooseveltian social programs.

Driving the "Reds" Out of Minneapolis

Humphrey's admirers paint the son of a Huron, South Dakota druggist as a throwback to the prairie populism of the LaFollette era, a representative of a generation formed by the hardships of the Great Depression. This is consistent with his rhetoric, geared to farmers' union meetings and state fair rallies, and with his economic philosophy. It explains his outmoded electioneering style, but it doesn't explain how the senator from Minnesota became a pillar of the U.S. Senate establishment. It ignores the visceral anti-communism which has marked his career from the beginning and made him the archetype of cold-war liberalism.

Hubert Humphrey got his first political break through the New Deal as Twin Cities director of a WPA workers education program. He used this post to smoke out and fire communists on the project's teaching staff. It was here that he forged his initial links with the labor bureaucracy, then engaged in a bitter fight with socialist forces for control of Minneapolis labor. In his autobiogra-

phic movement in Minnesota may seem strange, but it became, for several reasons, possibly the most active Communist center between the East and West Coasts.

"I soon discovered that a number of teachers were not working. They were more interested in their own brand of revolution and agitation.... so I sent out the word that anyone without a full schedule by Thanksgiving would be fired....

"From that job I moved up to district director of workers education...."

That was in 1940. Three years later Humphrey was the Democratic candidate for mayor of Minneapolis, and in 1945 he won the post with a "law and order" campaign that won the support of Twin Cities businessmen and labor bureaucrats alike. Ever since, this supremely power-hungry man retained a special hatred for those who dared to oppose him then, the "left-wing leaders who had not forgotten our arguments in the Workers' Education Program":

"Much of the leadership of the Teamsters Union, which was strong in the Twin Cities, opposed me. Up to 1941 the Teamsters were primarily led by the Trotskyist Dunne brothers, Vincent, Ray, Miles and Grant. In October 1941 Ray Dunne and other Teamster-Trotskyist leaders were convicted of violating the Smith Act."

—Ibid.

With the Trotskyists behind bars for their courageous opposition to the imperialist war, Humphrey turned his fire on the Stalinists.

Humphrey was the architect of the 1944 merger of the Farmer-Labor Party, which under Floyd B. Olson dominated Minnesota politics in the 1930's, with the local Democratic machine. It was this merger that enabled FDR to take the state in 1944 and put Hubert in the mayor's seat the next year. The next step was to purge Communist Party (CP) supporters who had been influential in the FLP from the new Democratic Farmer-Labor (DFL) Party. Liberal muckraker Robert Sherrill describes how it was done:

"...one method used by the Humphreys to take over the DFL from their left-wing opposition after 1946 was to prepare a blacklist of persons who were to be kept out of party meetings; sometimes, when necessary to enforce the blacklist, thugs would be stationed at the door and when one of Humphrey's henchmen signaled from within that a person trying to enter the meeting room was on the list, the thugs would toss him into the street, where he would be arrested by a Minneapolis policeman for 'disturbing the peace.' The police force was under the jurisdiction of Mayor Humphrey, so there was little use in lodging a protest."

—Robert Sherrill and Harry W. Ernst, *The Drugstore Liberal* (1968)

Humphrey won the support of local capitalists with his campaign promise to fill the post of police chief with an FBI-trained "professional." With access to the FBI blacklists and assurance of police department goons to maintain "labor peace," the business community was convinced, and the money flowed into Humphrey's campaign chests. Hubert kept his promises to the bosses.

HHH: No Friend of Labor

But it was Humphrey's close ties to organized labor that built his power base in the ensuing years. In 1948 he set his sights on national office, running for senator against Republican Joe Ball. As Hubert described his opponent:

"He had been a kind of liberal, broke with his party to support Roosevelt in 1944, but got more conservative to regain ground lost by that act. He and Senator Robert Taft worked closely and he supported the Taft-Hartley bill, thus enraging labor and providing me with political support."

—*The Education of a Public Man*

Labor's fury over Taft/Hartley sparked a nationwide miners' strike, filled Madison Square Garden with protesting unionists and threatened to take the entire CIO out on a protest general strike. However, instead of mobilizing the organized strength of the unions the "labor statesmen" relied on their "friends" in Congress and the White House. While Truman vetoed the bill during the 1948 campaign, his veto was overridden by Congress with the votes of a number of liberals.



LBJ shows off for press.



Chicago cops assault demonstrators during 1968 Democratic Convention.

Tweedle/Chicago Daily News

When "friend of labor" Humphrey arrived in Washington, he suddenly announced that "we have to go a good deal further than we had" in the Taft-Hartley non-Communist oath. For starters he suggested that the oath be expanded to exclude any union member who was "spiritually and morally a CP member" in addition to the actual members. He also advocated that a "Communist" union, "even if it gets a majority [in shop elections], shall not be given bargaining status in terms of a collective bargaining contract."

In his first year as a national figure, Humphrey went on from his Minnesota witchhunting to play a leading role in founding Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) as an "additional method of finding people whose political philosophy was liberal but anti-Communist." This was code language for the ADA's drive to "clean out the reds" from American unions and the liberal wing of the Democratic Party as the imperialist "cold war" against the Soviet bloc reached a fever pitch. Humphrey writes:

"In the spring of 1949, as my term as mayor was ending, I decided it was time to move into high gear to eliminate Communist influence in the DFL.... Philip Murray, national president of the CIO, was the person who could help so I flew to Pittsburgh to see him...."

"Murray's response was direct. He said, in essence, that he had been looking for someone to take the lead, that he understood my position, and that he would co-operate in running the Communist leadership out of the CIO in Minnesota."

—The Education of a Public Man

Humphrey started off his Senatorial career by stepping on a few toes of the Congressional patriarchs, but he soon mended his ways. By 1951 he had become chairman of a Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations investigating "Communist domination of unions and national security." That same year he initially opposed the anti-Communist McCarran Internal Security Act as not strong enough, then voted for it. Humphrey was one of the prime backers of the Kilgore amendment (which became part of the law) setting up concentration camps for times of "national emergency." Under these provisions thousands of "potential spies and saboteurs" on a "master pick-up list" could be arrested overnight



Strong/New York Times

Humphrey medal given out at recent Washington dinner.

(Charles Allen, Jr., "Concentration Camps U.S.A." [1966]).

The *New York Times* (14 January) noted that, "Through the early 1950's, during the time when Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin came to symbolize for some the excesses of anti-Communism, Mr Humphrey was uncharacteristically quiet." He never spoke against the Republican witch-hunter from Wisconsin on the floor of the Senate. But even this silence and his own record were not enough to spare Humphrey from the charge by Republican vice presidential candidate Nixon in the 1954 campaign that the "Democratic party's left-wing clique" was soft on Communism. This prompted the Minnesota senator to retort that he'd "give the back-row Red-hunters on the other side some real legislation to chew on" (*The Drugstore Liberal*). This was the 1954 Communist Control Act, which



Vice-president Humphrey (right) bids farewell to Cardinal Spellman in 1966 as Spellman began trip to visit U.S. soldiers in Vietnam.

would have outlawed the CP.

Hubert Humphrey enjoyed, until well into the 1960's, a reputation as a flaming liberal, the scourge of Dixiecrats and established interests, a "winter soldier" in shining armor who stood on the side of the "little guy." But from the very beginning of his career he was the most vicious hatchet man for the bourgeoisie. Far from being a friend of labor he went along with Taft-Hartley, the cornerstone of post-war legislation imposing state control over the unions in the cause of anti-Communism. Far from fighting the McCarthyite assault on democratic rights and the left, Humphrey was one of the leading liberal witchhunters. And it was precisely his position on the left wing of the Democratic Party which made him a prime candidate for this role. His close ties to the unions and the aura of a "friend of labor" made it more palatable for him rather than an out-and-out labor-hater to spearhead reactionary measures.

"The Bright Sunshine of Human Rights"

One of the main themes of the Humphrey obituaries has been his reputation as the foremost liberal champion of civil rights for minorities. Carter referred to him as "the first voice I ever heard, a lone voice persistently demanding basic human rights for all Americans." Particularly his "fiery speech" to the 1948 Democratic convention urging a beefed-up civil rights plank and his role in greasing the 1964 Civil Rights Act through the rusty Senate gears are cited as high points in his career. In the present period when bourgeois liberals have ignominiously abandoned any pretense to fight for busing, Humphrey's claims as an integrationist may not look bad. But in both cases closer examination shows the classic liberal response of token concessions only in the face of a threat from the left, and the subordination of Humphrey's famed "principles" to furthering his own career.

Today the papers praise his 1948 convention speech: "The time has come for the Democratic Party to get out of the shadow of states' rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights," he pontificated. The fact that the Dixiecrats walked out in protest is cited as an example of the "Happy Warrior's" "courage." But the 1948 plank fought for by Humphrey and adopted by the convention was fundamentally a maneuver to protect the Democrats' left flank. Sherrill writes:

"With Henry Wallace's Progressive Party on the ballot, the liberals of the large urban centers of the north and west might easily go to him in sufficient numbers to leave several normally Democratic states in the hands of Republican Dewey. The presidency of

Truman up to that point...had done little to inspire the nation's liberals.... "Something had to be done to galvanize this drowsy bloc, and fast. A bit of civil-rights byplay might do it...."

"The plan was for Humphrey to amend the Democratic civil-rights plank.... "The amendment that Humphrey would seek was drafted by Joseph Rauh. Rauh is about as radical as Quaker Oats, and the amendment that he wrote can hardly be differentiated from the civil-rights plank which the Trumanites had come prepared to offer. The Truman plank called for nondiscriminatory right to vote, right to work and equal protection of the laws. To this, the Humphrey amendment added virtually nothing except jazzier phrases...."

—The Drugstore Liberal

In 1948 Humphrey's speech to the Democratic convention served to launch his national reputation; in 1964 his successful floor management of the Democratic administration's civil rights bill was a key element in winning LBJ's endorsement for vice president. Johnson told him, "this is going to be your test, your chance." The government of course would not have lifted a finger except for fear that civil rights agitation would get "out of hand." In addition to southern voter registration, the unions had backed Martin Luther King Jr.'s March on Washington and Harlem was in flames. But Humphrey's talents and good name among black liberals were needed for another, dirtier job. It was his role in keeping the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge off the Atlantic City convention floor that year, saving the party the embarrassment of public collapse over nationwide TV, which really won him the nomination.

The MFDP had come to Atlantic City demanding to be seated in place of the regular Mississippi delegation on the unassailable grounds that the delegates had been illegally chosen in a Jim Crow election. First leaning on the credentials committee to keep the fight in the back rooms, Humphrey and MFDP lawyer Joe Rauh worked out a "compromise" seating two special MFDP "roving delegates" as well as the entire 68-member regular delegation. Although the MFDP voted the proposal down, the very mention of it was enough to spark a walkout by the "regulars." Preferring a bloc of empty chairs rather than seat a black delegation, the convention proceeded to recognize the "compromise."

The MFDP could not accept the slap-in-the-face terms of the Humphrey/Rauh deal. But an interview with Freedom Democratic Party leader Fannie Lou Hamer in the Sherrill biography shows the Minnesota senator's ADA sidekick doing his best to force it through by playing on illusions in a Humphrey vice presidency:

"Mr. Humphrey, he kept telling us to compromise for two votes. He seemed very upset, very upset. Our attorney at

the time told us if we didn't go for the two votes, if we didn't slow down, Mr. Humphrey wouldn't get the nomination.... Mr. Humphrey was sitting right there when Mr. Rauh said that and he had tears in his eyes.... I asked the vice president if his position was more important than the lives of 400,000 black people in Mississippi. He didn't answer me and I didn't get invited to any more meetings, neither."

—The Drugstore Liberal

The MFDP imbroglio at the 1964 convention accurately portrays how the Democratic Party exploits the illusions of the exploited and oppressed in its claims to be the "party of the people." Liberals of the Humphrey ilk play a crucial role in this deception, posing as influential friends in high places who will be benevolently inclined to the masses so long as they settle for crumbs.

The MFDP convention challenge was also one of the formative experiences leading the most militant sectors of the civil rights movement to reject integration and turn instead to black nationalism. In our 1967 document "Black and Red," the Spartacist League drew the lessons of the MFDP experience:

"The struggle for black freedom demands the total break of the Negro people from the Democratic Party, the preferred political weapon of the forces which profit from the suppression and super-exploitation of the Negro people. The only alternative is a new party based on the needs of the poor and working people. The formation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in the South, initially with a mass base, indicated the potential and feeling which



Kit Luce

Hubert and Muriel Humphrey

exist for independent political action. However, the MFDP, as its name indicated, was not independent but was simply a means whereby certain Southern and Northern civil rights leaders hoped to pursue their ambitions within the national Democratic Party at the expense of the interests of the Negro people."

—Marxist Bulletin, No. 9, Part 1

Chicago, Vietnam and October

From 1964 on Hubert Horatio Humphrey ceased to excite the imagination of American liberals. After becoming LBJ's "veep" he was handed the job of

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Humphrey ...

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touring the campuses and banquet circuits justifying administration policy on Southeast Asia. By his own count he gave more than 400 speeches in defense of the Vietnam war. This earned him the enmity of intellectuals and youth for whom Vietnam had come to symbolize the quagmire of an America which had "lost its liberal ideals." Harkening back to his cold war rhetoric of the early 1950's Humphrey would denounce "North Vietnamese aggression" and straight-facedly defend backing dictator/puppets Ky and Thieu as necessary for the defense of the "free world." The only troops in Vietnam who have committed atrocities, he would claim, are those of the Viet Cong.

Thus the famous "credibility gap" hit Humphrey as hard or even harder than it did Lyndon Johnson with his Tonkin Gulf resolution and phony "body counts." For a long time ADA liberal friends tried to console themselves that Hubert "really" supported peace negotiations in the high councils of government. The "Happy Warrior" would reply, as he once told staff members of the American embassy in Saigon, "This is our great adventure, and a wonderful one it is." Left liberal Sherrill reproduces a statement by the ever-present Joseph Rauh, one of Humphrey's last cronies to break with him:

"I said, I know you believe in the war, and I wouldn't question your sincerity but I believe if you were president you'd have us out of Vietnam in ninety days. He said, 'I just told you I agree with everything the President has done.' I said, 'I think you think that and I believe you honestly believe that but you don't have the kind of independent judgement about that you would have if you were president and unrestricted by the views of anybody else.' He denied it. He says he agrees with Johnson 100 percent."

—The Drugstore Liberal

But eventually it became clear that Humphrey would sink or swim with the Johnson administration position on Vietnam. He sank. The dénouement came at the 1968 Democratic Party convention in Chicago. In battling fellow Minnesota senator Eugene McCarthy and senator Robert Kennedy (before his assassination) in the primaries, Humphrey had no legions of "clean for Gene" youth but only the doorbell-ringers and stamp-lickers of the AFL-CIO and UAW union bureaucrats. Arriving at the conventions he relied on the machines to secure his nomination, declaring he now felt comfortable with reactionaries like Strom Thurmond or Lester Maddox despite past squabbles. Getting the nod from LBJ and Mayor Richard Daley, HHH steamrollered the opposition, much of which was gathered outside the convention hall in nightly demonstrations. There they were brutally assaulted by Daley's cops. Humphrey denied that his friend Daley, the last of the old-time bosses, "did anything wrong."

Humphrey almost won the election, coming within a fraction of a percentage point of topping Nixon, but the antiwar liberals felt betrayed and stayed away from the polls in large numbers. This was the origin of the great rift in the

Democratic Party which led to the 1972 convention—dominated by Vietnam doves, ecology freaks, feminists and black liberals—and a second term for Nixon. Only in the 1976 election was the division between doves and hawks overcome. But the liberals still felt betrayed by Hubert.

Revolutionaries, class-conscious workers, militant blacks and other oppressed minorities cannot feel betrayed by Humphrey, however, for he was never one of their own. His biographers frequently draw a parallel between Humphrey and the West European social democrats such as Willy Brandt or Harold Wilson, with whom he politically sympathized. But while his governmental policies were not markedly different from these reformists, his class position was notably different. Whereas they stood at the head of mass organizations of the working class, misleading the ranks into collaboration with capitalism and betraying their interests, HHH was capitalist politician responsible only to the bourgeoisie whose stock-in-trade was seducing the workers and minorities into the illusion that in him they had found a sympathetic ear.

Humphrey was probably never the most popular bourgeois politician among American workers. The Kennedys had more flair and posed as aristocratic friends of the poor. But the senator from Minnesota and LBJ's vice president did represent the classical so-called "friend of labor." Those most responsible for giving him this reputation are the labor fakers of Meany's AFL-CIO and Reuther/Woodcock/Fraser's UAW. These were the real betrayers and the principal obstacle to the independent organization of the American workers into their own party, counterposed to the twin parties of capital. In order to head off moves toward a party of labor the union misleaders would always point to their success in winning piecemeal reforms with the aid of the Humphreys.

While Humphrey did not betray workers and blacks, he certainly did deceive them and contribute to their oppression. (The same was true, moreover, of such prominent doves as McCarthy/McGovern, whose main accomplishment for the bourgeoisie was to confine the antiwar protests within the bounds of capitalist politics.) In this he was aided not only by the crusty Meanyite labor fakers but also by reformist would-be socialists, most notably his old bugbears of the Communist Party. The CP's "fight the right" line in the 1964 presidential election led it to give only barely disguised support to the Democrats' Johnson/Humphrey ticket.

Humphrey is dead, but liberalism lives on. Shunning the (in any case superficial) social reform schemes pushed by HHH such as Medicaid, public works, etc., Jimmy Carter seeks to divert social discontent more cheaply through "human rights" rhetoric. The task of revolutionaries is to break the workers not only from such businessman Democrats but from the most left-wing of the phony "friends" of the people such as Hubert Horatio Humphrey. As his career amply demonstrated, it is often the most "progressive" of the bourgeois rulers who are the most insidious. HHH is dead, but strikebreaking, witchhunting false "friends of labor" live on. Proletarian revolution will finally bury their cadavers, whether already dead or artificially kept alive through the treachery of the Meany and Frasers.

Bury all the Humphreys! Oust the bureaucrats—For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

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Bureaucrats Trade Posts in S.F. Longshore Elections

SAN FRANCISCO—Recently concluded elections in Local 10, the Bay Area longshore division of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), resulted in a vote of "no confidence" for the outgoing Local leadership. Top positions were taken by a group around Larry Wing, a former president of the Local who regained that position in the elections.

The elections took place in the context of continued chipping away of past union gains. The employers, grouped in the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), have embarked on a campaign to reduce Bay Area longshoremen to a skeletal workforce through wholesale slashing of jobs and forced deregistrations, at the same time seeking to destroy the union hiring hall. Although the Local 10 membership forced their leadership last June to retreat from open support to PMA's proposal to declare San Francis-

co hiring hall. The newly instituted "rotary" system will increase the disparity in time worked among Local 10 longshoremen, thereby further undermining union solidarity in the same ruinous fashion as the steady-man system.

The Local 10 leadership demagogically sought support for this measure, claiming that it would eliminate chiseling practices that had sprung up (primarily as a result of reduced job opportunities) under the old system of dispatching. In fact, such cheating could be eliminated by closer union monitoring, without eliminating low-man-out bidding. The bureaucracy's support for "rotary" shipping stemmed from the fact that it was provided for under the notorious Supplement 3 of the contract, which contains provisions for LWOP.

The new dispatching procedure is in fact a company-promoted measure designed to toughen up work rules and



Stan Gow



Howard Keylor

co a low-work opportunity port (LWOP), which would enable the companies to implement mass deregistrations, the Local bureaucracy has been carrying out the LWOP provisions of the contract in a piecemeal fashion.

After having induced 150 to 200 longshoremen to "voluntarily" transfer to other ports, the Local 10 leadership struck its next major blow in December when it rammed through elimination of the traditional system of low-man-out job dispatching, under which men with the least time worked would have first crack at jobs dispatched through the

enable the PMA to drive longshoremen out of the industry. Under the guise of fighting corruption, the Local 10 bureaucracy is continuing to implement LWOP provisions through the back door. Thus, by putting into practice LWOP/Supplement 3 measures in piecemeal fashion today, the bureaucracy is assisting the companies in laying the basis for forced transfers and deregistrations tomorrow.

While Local 10 bureaucrats have temporarily succeeded in disguising their treacherous implementation of LWOP, there has nonetheless been widespread dissatisfaction among Local members with the clearly worsening conditions. The victory of the Wing faction, which in years past had postured as an opposition to the then Bridges-led International, is a clear indication of a desire for change by longshoremen. This was further confirmed by the disastrous showing of outgoing president Cleophus Williams, who received only 271 votes for executive board, down significantly from last year.

The victory of the Wing clique demonstrates, however, that the bulk of the membership still has illusions that their gains can be preserved without militant struggle. Over the past several months the incoming bureaucratic clique has given up any pretensions of being an opposition to the ILWU International leadership of Jimmy Herman Wing and his pals like former business agent Herb Mills, the Local's new secretary-treasurer, have opposed

Workers Vanguard

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Letters

Paris
13 January 1978

Dear Comrades,

The article on the Vietnam-Cambodian border war (*WV* No. 187, 6 January) points out that "Third World" bulls must be pained by this spectacle of mutually bloody nationalist aggression on the part of their Stalinist peasant guerrilla heroes. A rather pitiful expression of centrist discomfort was found in the 2 January issue of *Rouge*, newspaper of the arch-Pabloist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). The LCR's Indochina specialist, Pierre Rousset, prime peddler of illusions in the Indochinese Stalinists, now asks plaintively: "The death of Internationalism?"

How "bitter" the news, anguishes Rousset, "particularly for this political generation to which many of us belong and which recently rediscovered internationalism by taking to the streets with the cry 'Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Indochina will win!'" He frets about the "disastrous effects the Vietnam-Khmer conflict could have on the consciousness of militants in the capitalist countries, fostering the development of a profound cynicism and a turning to local struggles."

Since the dubious honor of systematizing the Pabloites' anti-Marxist embrace of Vietnamese Stalinism is in large part his own contribution, Rousset might well worry: he who sows illusions reaps cynicism.

Shortly after the conclusion of the Paris Peace Accords in 1973—which, as the *WV* article points out, already included a clause selling out the Cambodians by the Vietnamese, a fact that Rousset leaves out of his little dirge over the death of internationalism—Rousset's comprehensive political defense of the Stalinist bureaucracy appeared in his book, *Le parti communiste vietnamien*. In it, Rousset slides over the Vietnamese Stalinists' system-

atic betrayal of the struggles of the Vietnamese proletariat and claims that Ho Chi Minh was not "au courant" of the Stalinists' assassination of the Vietnamese Trotskyists. Rousset ascribes a revolutionary character to the Stalinist bureaucracy by virtue of the empirical fact that they militarily defeated the capitalist state.

For Trotskyists, who demanded "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution" while warning against Stalinist betrayals, the development of nationalist squabbles between two deformed workers states will not damage our faith in revolutionary internationalism. We never propagated illusions in the "revolutionary" nature of these regimes. The international Spartacist tendency has always held that only political revolution in the deformed workers states and the extension of the revolution could safeguard the military victory of the Indochinese revolutions. But for those in constant search of social forces other than the working class led by the vanguard party to make the revolution, their path will always be mined with demoralizing surprises: the Stalinists will continue to betray the proletariat, each other's nationalist regimes and their Pabloite cheerleaders.

Rousset, the Pabloites' professional apologist for Ho Chi Minh, lays most of the blame at the doorstep of Cambodia and China and criticizes, a bit belatedly, "the Stalinist revisionism of 'building socialism in one country' carried to its absurd caricature by the CPK [Khmer Rouge] leadership." His medicine for the current malaise inflicted by the Vietnam-Cambodian conflict on the centrists is a typical specimen of Pabloite phraseology: what is needed, he says, is "a systematic refurbishing of true internationalism." What was needed all along was indeed true internationalism—the steadfastness to Trotskyist principles upheld by the iSt.

Comradely,
J.W.

UAW Bureaucrats Set Up Militants

Chrysler Judge Sentences Trenton 7

DETROIT—Exploiting the scandalous abandonment of its own members by the United Auto Workers (UAW) leadership, on December 12 Judge John Feikens sentenced seven auto workers from the Chrysler engine plant at Trenton, Michigan to a week in federal prison. "This is not a labor question," Feikens declared during the sentencing. "It is significant that not the union International or the Local supported these defendants...." But the railroading of the Trenton 7 is not only a "labor question." Their firing and frame-up conviction is the result of the criminal complicity of the UAW International in a direct assault on labor's most basic weapon: the right to strike.

Thousands of auto workers walked out of Detroit-area plants during last summer's intense heat wave, unable to work in these bake ovens where temperatures reached 120° to 130°. At Chrysler's Trenton Engine Plant (UAW Local 372), the firing of several union stewards for one such walkout led to another week-long wildcat. Of the hundreds of pickets who kept the plant shut down, seven were picked out for persecution.

Though nearly 60 workers fired for heat walkouts at various Detroit-area plants were subsequently rehired in a Chrysler Solidarity House deal, the Trenton 7 were not reinstated. Instead they were dragged into court on charges

of "criminal contempt" of a federal restraining order barring picketing at the plant. The conviction and now the sentencing of the Trenton 7 is meant as a message to all UAW members: violating the no-strike contract clause will cost you a job and maybe even jail time.

The UAW tops who opposed the Trenton strike from the beginning also deserted the workers' defense. The ranks of Local 372 and several other Detroit-area locals passed motions demanding reinstatement of the Trenton 7 with full back pay and clean records, the dropping of court charges and that the full weight of the International be thrown behind their defense. Local 372 also overwhelmingly passed a motion threatening to strike for the reinstatement of their fired union brothers and demanded authorization from the UAW International Executive Board. But Solidarity House provided no money, no legal assistance and not so much as a press release on behalf of the militants under attack. As much as the auto bosses and the courts, the UAW hacks are interested in reinforcing the no-strike clause. One of the Trenton 7 defendants, Jim Hart, told *WV*: "Between it all, management and the union are sleeping together."

The Trenton 7, denied a jury trial and convicted by a judge who is a former Chrysler stockholder and whose son

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3,000 Cops Guard Hated Iran Empress

On her third visit to the U.S. in the last year, Empress Farah Pahlavi, wife of the bloodthirsty Shah of Iran, was met by some 1,000 chanting protesters when she arrived at the New York Hilton for a January 12 dinner in her honor sponsored by the Mobil Oil Company, Ford Motor Company and Exxon Corporation, among others. While a claque of toadies and SAVAK (Iranian secret police) agents—about 300 in all, reportedly flown in for the occasion at the expense of the Iranian government—shouted "We love, we love, we love Shah!" and "Long live his majesty!" they were far outnumbered by three rival groups of masked anti-Shah demonstrators.

The protest against the imperialist fête for the empress was organized by

ciation of repression against Iranian writers. The CAIFI "picket" included such liberal literary notables as Nat Hentoff, Kate Millet and Arthur Miller. However, filmmaker Andy Warhol attended the banquet. His companion, actress Paulette Godard, commented: "It bothers me that people are tortured in Iran or anywhere, but we're personal friends of the Empress" (*New York Post*, 12 January).

The "illustrious" diners included Mayor Koch, who commented about repression and torture in Iran, "I'm very big on human rights, but I think it's probably better than the Soviet Union." Another guest was former Secretary of State Kissinger, who, according to the *Post*, "glared stonily when asked about torture, stalked off to his limousine, then



3,000 cops stand guard over angry demonstrators as the Empress is toasted by oil magnates and celebrities.

competing Iranian Student Associations and included participants from a number of American leftist groups, among them Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) and the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). The smallest organized contingent, including YAWF, was made up of guerrilla enthusiasts and chanted "Armed Struggle Shakes the Fascist System Down!" A larger RCP-dominated group counterposed "Mass Uprising in Iran Shakes the Fascist System Down!" All three groups joined in "People Yes, Shah No—He's a lacky. He must go!" and "Death to SAVAK, Death to the Shah!"

The anti-Shah demonstrators were surrounded by 3,000-plus riot-helmeted cops on foot, horseback and motorscooter who were there to protect the empress and the Shah's lackeys. Channel 11 News reported that the U.S. was paying approximately \$250,000 a day to protect the empress during her trip here. This massive deployment underlines the close ties between Washington and the Iranian torture regime, giving the lie to Jimmy Carter's phony "human rights" talk, which is fundamentally directed against the Soviet Union.

About a block north of the main demonstration the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), which is supported by the reformist Socialist Workers Party, held a small, brief "informational picket line" devoted to "peaceful and legal" denun-

ciation of repression against Iranian writers. The CAIFI "picket" included such liberal literary notables as Nat Hentoff, Kate Millet and Arthur Miller. However, filmmaker Andy Warhol attended the banquet. His companion, actress Paulette Godard, commented: "It bothers me that people are tortured in Iran or anywhere, but we're personal friends of the Empress" (*New York Post*, 12 January).

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The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League intervened in the demonstration to pose its proletarian-internationalist opposition to "Her Majesty" Farah and the bloody totalitarian regime she represents. The leaflet which it distributed concluded:

"Militants of the ISA! If any country today resembles Czarist Russia in 1917, it is certainly Iran. But the Russian Revolution above all demonstrated that in economically backward countries the basic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution can only be accomplished through the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is only the genuine Trotskyism of the international Spartacist tendency that points the way for the Iranian proletariat to topple the Shah and establish a workers and peasants government of Iran, part of the socialist federation of the Middle East."

Carter's "human rights" hacks Iranian terror regime! Down with the butcher Shah! Avenger the Shah's victims through proletarian revolution in Iran! ■

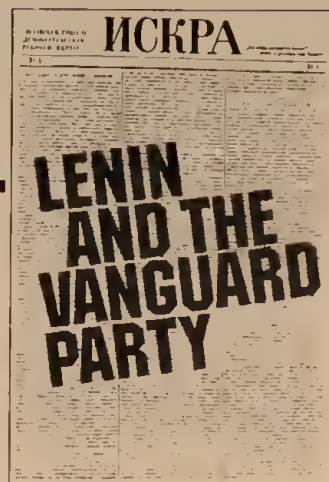
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Toward the Communist International



PART 7

To understand the principle of the communist vanguard party, it is necessary to recognize the evolution of Lenin from a revolutionary social democrat to the founding leader of the Communist International. Various revisionists, notably the British workerist-reformist Tony Cliff, have attempted to deny or obfuscate the principle of the democratic-centralist vanguard party by pointing to those elements of classic social democracy retained by the pre-1914 Bolsheviks and conditioned by the particularities of the Russian situation. Part 7 is the concluding article of this series, which has traced the development of Lenin's position on the party question. The first part (WV No. 173, 16 September 1977) focused on the Kautskyan doctrine of the "party of the whole class" and its relevance to early Russian social democracy. Part 2 (WV No. 175, 30 September 1977) covered the 1903 Bolshevik-Menshevik split and its aftermath. Part 3 (WV No. 177, 14 October 1977) dealt with the 1905 Revolution. Part 4 (WV No. 178, 21 October 1977) dealt with democratic centralism and "freedom of criticism." And Part 5 (WV No. 182, 18 November 1977), "The Struggle Against the Boycotters," describes Lenin's fight with the ultra-left Bolsheviks, including the relationship of philosophy to politics. Part 6 (WV No. 186, 23 December 1977) is entitled "The Final Split with the Mensheviks."

The event which transformed Lenin from a Russian revolutionary social democrat into the founding leader of the world communist movement can be precisely dated: 4 August 1914. With the start of World War I the parliamentary fraction of the German Social Democracy (SPD) voted unanimously in favor of war credits for the Reich. Having now experienced more than 60 years of later social-democratic and then Stalinist betrayals of socialist principle, it is difficult today for us to appreciate the absolutely shocking impact of August 4th upon the revolutionaries in the Second International. Luxemburg suffered a nervous collapse in reaction to the wave of national chauvinism which swept the German social-democratic movement. Lenin at first refused to believe the report of the Reichstag vote in the SPD's organ, *Vorwärts*, dismissing that issue as a forgery by the Kaiser's government.

For revolutionary social democrats August 4th did not simply destroy their illusions in a particular party and its leadership but challenged their entire political worldview. For Marxists of

Lenin's and Luxemburg's generation, the progress of social democracy, best represented in Germany, had seemed steady, irreversible and inexorable.

The Historic Significance of the Second International

The era of the Socialist (Second) International (1889-1914) represented the extraordinarily rapid growth of the European labor movement and of the Marxist current within it. Except for the British trade unions (which supported the bourgeois liberals), the organizations making up the First International (1865-74) were propaganda groups numbering at most in the thousands. By 1914 the parties of the Socialist International were mass parties with millions of supporters throughout Europe.

In the period of the First International, there were perhaps a thousand Marxists on the face of the globe, overwhelmingly concentrated in Germany. Significantly, there were no French Marxists in the Paris Commune of 1871, only the Hungarian Leo Fränkel. By 1914 Marxism was the

most important tendency in the international workers movement, the official doctrine of mass proletarian parties in Central and East Europe. It is understandable therefore that Kautsky and the social democrats should regard Marxism as the natural, inevitable political expression of the modern labor movement.

Britain, it is true, had a mass labor movement which was politically liberal and openly class-collaborationist. However, Marx and Engels themselves had explained the political backwardness of the British labor movement as the product of particular historic circumstances (e.g., Britain's dominance in the world economy, English-Irish national antagonism, the Empire). Furthermore, Marxists in the Second International, including Lenin, regarded the founding of the Labour Party in 1905 as a significant progressive step toward a mass proletarian socialist party in Britain. Thus the relative political backwardness of the British workers movement did not fundamentally challenge the orthodox social-democratic (i.e., Kautskyan) worldview.

To be sure, the pre-1914 Marxist movement was familiar with renegades and revisionists—the Bernsteinians in Germany, Struve and the "legal Marxists" in Russia. Lenin would have added Plekhanov and the Mensheviks to this list. But these retrogressions toward

liberal reformism appeared to affect only the intellectual elements in the social-democratic movement. The SPD as a whole seemed solidly Marxist in its policies, while Marxism gained against old-fashioned socialist radicalism (e.g., Jaurèsism) in other sections of the International (e.g., the French, Italian).

August 4th was the first great internal counterrevolution in the workers movement, and all the more destructive because it was so unexpected. The triumph of chauvinism and class collaborationism in the major parties of the Socialist International shattered the shallow, passive optimism of Kautskyanized Marxism. After the SPD's great betrayal, going over to the side of its "own" bourgeoisie, revolutionary Marxists could no longer regard opportunism in the workers movement as a marginal or episodic phenomenon or as a product of particular historic political backwardness (e.g., Britain).

The established leaderships of most mass socialist parties could hardly be dismissed as unstable, petty-bourgeois democratic intellectuals, as fellow travelers of social democracy. This is how Kautsky had characterized the Bernsteinian revisionists and how Lenin had dismissed the Mensheviks. But the chauvinist leaders of the SPD in 1914—Friedrich Ebert, Gustav Noske, Philipp Scheidemann—had worked their way up from the party's ranks beginning as young men. All three had been workers: Ebert had been a saddler, Noske a butcher and Scheidemann a typesetter. Ebert and Noske began their SPD careers as local trade-union functionaries, Scheidemann as a journalist for a local party paper. The leading chauvinists and opportunists were thus very much of the flesh and blood of the German Social Democracy.

Nor could the actions of the SPD leadership be explained as a reflection of the historic political backwardness of the German working class. Ebert, Noske and Scheidemann had been trained as Marxists by the personal followers of Marx and Engels. They had voted time and time again for revolutionary socialist resolutions. In supporting the war, the SPD leaders *knew* they were violating their party's long-standing socialist principles.

Right up to the fateful Reichstag vote, the SPD engaged in mass antiwar agitation. On 25 July 1914 the party executive issued a proclamation which concluded:

"Comrades, we appeal to you to express at mass meetings without delay the German proletariat's firm determination to maintain peace... The ruling classes who in time of peace gag you, despise you and exploit you, would misuse you as food for cannon. Everywhere there must sound in the ears of those in power: 'We will have no war! Down with war! Long live the international brotherhood of peoples!'"

reproduced in William English Walling, ed., *The Socialists and the War* (1915)

In considering the social-chauvinist betrayal of the German Social Democracy, Lenin came to realize that the Bolsheviks were not simply a Russian counterpart of the SPD with a principled revolutionary leadership. The selection, testing and training of cadre in



The German Reichstag in 1914.

Dieltz

Lenin's party was fundamentally different from Bebel's and Kautsky's party. And in that difference lay the reason why in August 1914 the parliamentary representatives of the SPD supported "their" Kaiser, while their counterparts in the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks) were instead clapped in the tsar's prisons.

Lenin Breaks with Social Democracy

Lenin's basic policy toward the war and the international socialist movement was developed within a few weeks after the outbreak of hostilities. This policy had three main elements. One, socialists must stand for the defeat, above all, of their "own" bourgeois state. Two, the war demonstrated that capitalism in the imperialist epoch threatened to destroy civilization. Socialists must therefore work to transform the imperialist war into civil war, into proletarian revolution. And three, the Second International had been destroyed by social-chauvinism. A new, revolutionary international must be built through a complete split with the opportunists in the social-democratic movement.

These policies, which remained central to Lenin's activities right up to the October Revolution, were clearly expressed in his very first articles on the war:

"It is the duty of every socialist to conduct propaganda of the class struggle... work directed towards turning a war of nations into a civil war is the only socialist activity in an era of an imperialist armed conflict of the bourgeoisie of all nations... Let us raise high the banner of civil war! Imperialism sets at hazard the fate of European culture: this war will be followed by others unless there are a series of successful revolutions....

"The Second International is dead, overcome by opportunism. Down with opportunism, and long live the Third International, purged not only of 'turncoats'... but of opportunists as well.

"The Second International did its share of useful preparatory work in preliminarily organizing the proletarian masses during the long, 'peaceful' period of the most brutal capitalist slavery and most rapid capitalist progress in the last third of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. To the Third International falls the task of organizing the proletarian forces for a revolutionary onslaught against the capitalist governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries for the capture of political power, for the triumph of socialism!"

—"The Position and Tasks of the Socialist International" (November 1914)

While Lenin was optimistic about winning over the mass base of the official social-democratic parties, he understood that he was advocating splitting the workers' movement into two antagonistic parties, the one revolutionary, the other reformist. Thus Lenin's demand for a Third International encountered far more opposition among antiwar social democrats than his impassioned denunciation of social-chauvinism. In fact, most of Lenin's polemics in this period (1914-16) were not directed at the outright social-chauvinists (Scheidemann, Vandervelde, Plekhanov), but rather at the centrists who apologized for the social chauvinists (Kautsky) or refused to split with them (Martov).

Thus Lenin was forced to confront and explicitly reject the orthodox social-democratic position on the party question, the Kautskyan "party of the whole class":

"The crisis created by the great war has torn away all coverings, swept away all conventions, exposed an abyss that has long come to a head, and revealed opportunism in its true role of ally of the bourgeoisie. The complete organizational severance of this element from the workers' parties has become imperative... The old theory that opportunism is a 'legitimate shade' in a single party that knows no 'extremes' has now

turned into a tremendous deception of the workers and a tremendous hindrance to the working-class movement. Undisguised opportunism, which immediately repels the working masses, is not so frightful and injurious as this theory of the golden mean... Kautsky, the most outstanding spokesman of this theory, and also the leading authority in the Second International, has shown himself a consummate hypocrite and a past master in the art of prostituting Marxism"

"The Collapse of the Second International" (May-June 1915)

In considering the growth of opportunism in the West European social-democratic parties, Lenin naturally reviewed the history of the Russian movement and of Bolshevism. He realized that the Bolshevik organization had not, in fact, been built according to the Kautskyan formula. It had completely organizationally separated formally from the Russian opportunists, the Mensheviks, two and a half years before the outbreak of war and in practice long before 1912. Lenin now took the Bolshevik party as a model for a new, revolutionary international:

"The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party has long parted company with its opportunists. Besides, the Russian opportunists have now become chauvinists. This only fortifies us in our opinion that a split with them is essential in the interests of socialism... We are firmly convinced that, in the present state of affairs, a split with the opportunists and chauvinists is the prime duty of revolutionaries, just as a split with the yellow trade unions, the anti-Semites, the liberal workers' unions, was essential in helping speed the enlightenment of backward workers and draw them into the ranks of the Social-Democratic Party.

"In our opinion, the Third International should be built up on that kind of revolutionary basis. To our Party, the question of the expediency of a break with the social-chauvinists does not exist, it has been answered with finality. The only question that exists for our Party is whether this can be achieved on an international scale in the immediate future."

—V.I. Lenin and G. Zinoviev, *Socialism and War* (July-August 1915)

We have maintained in this series that Leninism as a qualitative extension of Marxism arose in 1914-17, when Lenin responded in a revolutionary manner to the imperialist war and the collapse of the Second International into hostile social-chauvinist parties. This view has been contested, on the one hand, by Stalinists who project the cult of the infallibly clairvoyant revolutionary leader back to the beginning of Lenin's political career and, on the other, by

various centrist and left-reformists who want to eradicate or blur the line between Leninism and pre-1914 orthodox social-democracy (Kautskyism).

Among the Bolsheviks, however, it was generally recognized that Leninism originated in 1914 and not before. In a commemorative article following Lenin's death, Evgenyi Preobrazhensky, one of the leading Bolshevik intellectuals, wrote:

"In Bolshevism or Leninism we must make a strict distinction between two periods—the period roughly before the world war and the period ushered in by the world war. Before the world war, Comrade Lenin, although he held to the real, genuine, undistorted, revolutionary Marxism, did not yet consider the social-democrats to be the agents of capital in the ranks of the proletariat. During this period, you will find more than one article by Comrade Lenin in which he defends this German social-democracy in the face of those accusations and reproaches which it received, for instance, from the camp of the populists, syndicalists, etc., for unrevolutionary opportunism, for betrayal of the revolutionary spirit of Marxism.... "If, to our misfortune, Comrade Lenin had died before the world war, it would never have entered anyone's head to speak of 'Leninism,' as some kind of special version of Marxism, as it was subsequently to become. Lenin was the most consistent revolutionary Marxist.... But there was nothing specific in our Bolshevism in the realm of theory... to distinguish it in any way from the traditional, but truly revolutionary, Marxism"

"If Comrade Lenin had not lived to see this [post-1914] period, he would have entered history as the most eminent leader of the left wing of the Russian social-democracy.... Only the year 1914 transformed him into an international leader. He was the first to pose the basic question: what in a broad sense does this war mean? He replied: this war signifies the beginning of the crash of capitalism and thus the tactics of the workers' movement must be directed towards turning the imperialist war into a civil war."

"Marxism and Leninism," *Molodaya Gvardiya*, 1924 (our translation)

What Did Social Chauvinism Signify?

Within a few weeks after the outbreak of war Lenin determined to split with the social-chauvinists and to work for a new, revolutionary international. But he did not immediately present a theoretical (i.e., historical and sociological) explanation as to why and how the mass parties of the West European proletariat had succumbed to opportunism.

Here one might contrast Marx and Lenin as revolutionary politicians.

Marx often arrived at theoretical generalizations well in advance of the immediate programmatic, tactical and organizational conclusions which flowed from his new socio-historical premises. Thus in late 1848, after nine months of revolution, Marx concluded that the German bourgeoisie was incapable of overthrowing absolutism. However, it was only a year later in exile that Marx developed a new strategy corresponding to his changed view of German society. In contrast, Lenin's revolutionary thrust frequently led him to break with opportunism and false policies well before he attained corresponding theoretical generalizations.

1914-16 was a period when Lenin's theoretical analysis lagged behind his political conclusions and actions. Lenin's earliest writings on war and the International identified social-democratic opportunism only as a political-ideological current. The only attempt to relate the growth of opportunism to objective historical conditions was the observation that the West European socialist parties functioned under a long period of bourgeois legality.

The absence of a sociological and historical explanation for social-democratic opportunism was a serious weakness in Lenin's campaign for a Third International. For it had to be demonstrated that August 4th was not an opportunist episode or a reversible false policy to fully justify splitting international social democracy. Lenin's fight with the centrists—Kautsky/Haase/Ledebour in Germany, Martov/Axelrod in Russia, the leadership of the Italian Socialist Party—focused on the historic significance of national defense in the world war and on the depth of opportunism in the social-democratic movement. The centrists maintained that "defense of the fatherland" was a monumental opportunist error, but nothing more. The policy of national defense could be reversed, the Second International reformed (literally as well as figuratively). Some of the extreme chauvinists would probably have to go, but basically the "good old International" could be restored as of July 1914. Lenin regarded the pre-1914 International as diseased with opportunism, with the war the disease worsened into social-chauvinism and became fatal. For the centrists the pre-war International was basically a healthy body. It was now passing through the sickness of

continued on page 8



Klinger, Eberlaine, Lenin and Platten at the first congress of the Third International at the Kremlin in 1919.

Toward the Communist International...

(continued from page 7)

social-chauvinism. The task of socialists was to cure the sickness and save the patient.

The main spokesman for amnestying the social-chauvinists and minimizing the problem of opportunism was, of course, Kautsky. In *Neue Zeit* (15 February 1915) he advocated an attitude of comradely tolerance for those who "erred" in defending German imperialism:

"It is true I saw since the 4th of August that a number of members of the party were continuously evolving more and more in the direction of imperialism, but I believed these were only exceptions and took an optimistic view. I did this in order to give the comrades confidence and to work against pessimism. And it was equally important to



Karl Kautsky

urge the comrades to tolerance, following the example of [Wilhelm] Liebknecht in 1870."

—William English Walling, ed., *The Socialists and the War*

Centrist softness toward the Second International also expressed itself within the Bolshevik party early in the war. The head of the Bolshevik group in Switzerland, V. A. Karpinsky, objected to Lenin's position that the Second International had collapsed and a new, revolutionary international must be built. In a letter (27 September 1914) to Lenin he wrote:

"... we believe that it would be an exaggeration to define all that happened within the International as its 'ideological-political collapse.' Neither by volume or content would this definition correspond to the real happenings. The International... has suffered an ideological-political collapse, if you like, but on one question only, the military question. With regard to the rest there is no reason to consider that the ideological-political position of the International has wavered or, moreover, that it has been completely destroyed. This would mean that after losing only one redoubt we are unnecessarily surrendering all forts."

—Olga Hess Gankin and H. H. Fisher, eds., *The Bolsheviks and the World War* (1940)

To overcome such centrist attitudes, Lenin had to demonstrate that August 4th was the culmination of opportunist tendencies profoundly rooted in the nature and history of West European social democracy.

Imperialism, Social-Chauvinism and the Labor Bureaucracy

Lenin's analysis of the social bases of opportunism in the Second International was first presented in a resolution ("Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International") for a Bolshevik

conference in Berne, Switzerland in March 1915:

"Certain strata of the working class (the bureaucracy of the labor movement and the labor aristocracy, who get a fraction of the profits from the exploitation of the colonies and from the privileged position of their 'fatherlands' in the world market), as well as petty-bourgeois sympathizers within the socialist parties, have proved the social mainstay of these [opportunist] tendencies, and channels of bourgeois influence over the proletariat."

This capsule analysis was not developed in any theoretical or empirical depth until the following year, principally in Lenin's pamphlet, *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (written in early 1916), and his article, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism" (October 1916), and in Zinoviev's book, *The War and the Crisis of Socialism* (August 1916).

Given the Stalinist cult of Lenin and the individualistic interpretations of bourgeois historiography, it is not generally recognized that Lenin worked as part of a collective. During the war years he had a literary division of labor with Zinoviev in which the latter concentrated on the German movement. Reading only Lenin's writings of this period, one gets a seriously incomplete picture of the Bolshevik position on the imperialist war and international socialist movement. That is why in 1916 both Lenin's and Zinoviev's war writings were collected in a single volume published in German, entitled *Against the Stream*. The principal Leninist analysis of opportunism in the German Social Democracy is Zinoviev's *The War and the Crisis of Socialism*, which contains a long section entitled "The Social Roots of Opportunism." This key section of Zinoviev's important work was reproduced in English in the American Shachtmanite journal, *New Internationalist* (March through June 1942).

Marxists had long recognized the existence of a pro-bourgeois, pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy in Britain. Engels had condemned the bourgeoisified leaders of the British trade unions more than a little, relating this phenomenon to Britain's world dominance economically. However, Marxists in the Second International regarded the class-collaborationist British labor movement as a historic anomaly, a stage which European social democracy had happily skipped over. In beginning his section on the labor bureaucracy in Germany, Zinoviev states that Marxists had regarded social democracy as immune from this corrupt social caste:

"When we spoke of labor bureaucracy before the war we understood by that almost exclusively the British trade unions. We had in mind the fundamental work of the Webbs, the caste spirit, the reactionary role of the bureaucracy in the old British trade unionism, and we said to ourselves, how fortunate that we have not been created in that image, how fortunate that this cup of grief has been spared our labor movement on the continent."

"But we have been drinking for a long time out of this very cup. In the labor movement of Germany—a movement which served as a model for socialists of all countries before the war—there has arisen just as numerous and just as reactionary a caste of labor bureaucrats." [our emphasis]

The triumph of social-chauvinism in the Second International caused Lenin to reconsider the historical significance of the pro-imperialist British Labour leadership. He came to the conclusion that the class-collaborationist trade unionism of Victorian England anticipated tendencies that would come to the fore when other countries, above all Germany, caught up with Britain economically and became competing imperialist powers.

Germany's very rapid industrial growth, following its victorious war in 1870, simultaneously created a powerful mass social-democratic labor move-

ment and transformed the country into an aggressive imperialist world power. Germany's expansionist goals could only be realized through a major war. And Germany could not win a major war if faced with the active opposition of its powerful labor movement. Thus the objective needs of German imperialism required the cooperation of the social-democratic leadership. The defeat of the German bourgeois-democratic revolution in 1848 and the resulting semi-autocratic class-political structure made a rapprochement between the ruling circles and labor bureaucracy more difficult, less evolutionary than in Britain. Hence the shock effect of August 4th.

But Lenin recognized that the underlying historic process which led in 1914 to the SPD's vote for war credits and to British Labour Party cabinet ministers was similar. In *Imperialism* he wrote:

"It must be observed that in Great Britain the tendency of imperialism to split the workers, to strengthen opportunism among them and to cause temporary decay in the working-class movement, revealed itself much earlier than the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. 'The distinctive feature of the present situation is the prevalence of such economic and political conditions that are bound to increase the irreconcilability between opportunism and the general and vital interests of the working-class movement.'"

"Opportunism cannot now be completely triumphant in the working-class movement of one country for decades as it was in Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century; but in a number of countries it has grown ripe, overripe and rotten, and has become completely merged with bourgeois policy in the form of 'social-chauvinism'." [our emphasis]

Lenin's *Imperialism* deals with those changes in the world capitalist system which strengthened opportunist forces in the workers movement internationally. It is Zinoviev's 1916 work that concretely analyzes the forces of opportunism in the German Social Democracy.

Zinoviev showed that the SPD's huge treasury supported a vast number of functionaries who led comfortable petty-bourgeois lives far removed from the workers they supposedly represented. In addition to a relatively high standard of living, the social-democratic officialdom had begun to enjoy a privileged social status. The German ruling elite began to treat the SPD and trade-union leaders with respect, differentiating between the "moderates" and radicals like Karl Liebknecht. The corrupting effect on an ex-printer or an ex-saddler of being treated as an important personage by the Junker aristocracy was considerable. Referring to Scheidemann's memoirs of the war period, Carl Schorske in his excellent *German Social Democracy 1905-1917* (1955) comments: "No reader of Scheidemann can miss the genuine pleasure which he felt in being invited to discuss matters on an equal footing with the ministers of state." The German social democracy had become an insti-



Jean Jaurès

tution through which able, ambitious young workers could reach the top of a highly class- and caste-stratified society.

Zinoviev's major 1916 work corrects the emphasis on ideological revisionism as the cause of opportunism which is found in Lenin's earliest war writings. In fact, the SPD's official doctrine and program failed to reflect its increasingly reformist practice. Many of the social-democratic leaders, overwhelmingly of working-class background, retained a sentimental attachment to the socialist cause long after they ceased believing in it as practical politics. Only the war



Émile Vandervelde

forced the SPD to break openly with socialist principle.

Zinoviev recognized that social-chauvinist ideology was false consciousness arising from the SPD officialdom's actual role in Wilhelminian German society:

"When we speak of the 'treachery of the leaders' we do not say by this that it was a deep-laid plot, that it was a consciously perpetrated sell-out of the workers' interests. Far from it. But consciousness is conditioned by existence, not vice versa. The entire social essence of this caste of labor bureaucrats led inevitably, through the outmoded pace set for the movement in the 'peaceful' pre-war period, to complete bourgeoisification of their 'consciousness.' The entire social position into which this numerically strong caste of leaders had climbed over the backs of the working class made them a social group which objectively must be regarded as an agency of the imperialist bourgeoisie." [emphasis in original]

The anarcho-syndicalists applauded the revolutionary Marxists' attack on the social-democratic bureaucracy and proclaimed: we told you so. Thus the Bolsheviks in attacking official social democracy carefully distinguished their position from the anarcho-syndicalists. Zinoviev pointed out that the existence of a powerful reformist bureaucracy was, in one sense, a product of the development and strength of the mass labor movement. The anarcho-syndicalists' answer to bureaucratism amounted to self-liquidation of the workers movement as an organized force objectively capable of overthrowing capitalism. If the reformist bureaucracy suppressed the revolutionary potential of the workers movement, the anarcho-syndicalists proposed to disorganize that movement into impotence.

Zinoviev maintained that a bureaucracy was not identical with a large organization of party and trade-union functionaries. On the contrary, such an apparatus was necessary to lead the working class to power. The decisive task was the subordination of the leaders and functionaries of the labor movement to the historic interests of the international proletariat:

"At the time of the crisis over the war, the labor bureaucracy played the role of a reactionary factor. That is undoubtedly correct. But that does not mean the labor movement will be able to get along without a big organizational

apparatus, without an entire spectrum of people devoted especially to service the proletarian organization. We do not want to go back to the time when the labor movement was so weak that it could get along without its own employees and functionaries, but to go forward to the time when the labor movement will be something different, in which the strong movement of the proletariat will subordinate the stratum of functionaries to itself, in which routine will be destroyed, bureaucratic corrosion wiped out, which will bring new men to the surface, infuse them with fighting courage, fill them with a new spirit."

There is no mechanical organizational solution to bureaucratism in the workers movement or even in its vanguard party. Combatting bureaucratism and reformism involves *continuous* political struggle against the many-sided influences and pressures bourgeois society brings to bear upon the workers movement, its various strata and its vanguard.

The Leninist Position on the Labor Aristocracy

The Marxists of the Second International were fully aware that the entire working class did not support socialism. Many workers adhered to bourgeois ideology (e.g., religion) and supported the capitalist parties. Pre-1914 social democrats generally associated political backwardness with social backwardness. In particular, they saw that workers newly drawn from the peasantry and other small proprietors tended to retain the outlook of the former class. Thus Kautsky in his 1909 *The Road to Power* wrote:

"To a large degree hatched out of the small capitalist and small farmer class, many proletarians long carry the shells of these classes around with them. They do not feel themselves proletarians, but as would-be property owners."

In other words, the classic social-democratic position was that those workers who had a low cultural level, were unskilled, unorganized, came from a rural background, etc., would be most submissive toward bourgeois authority. In the context of late nineteenth century Germany and France, this political-sociological generalization was valid.

However, with the development of a strong trade-union movement social and political conservatism appeared at the top of the working class and not only at the bottom. Skilled workers in strong craft unions insulated themselves to a certain degree from labor market and cyclical unemployment and tended to express a narrow corporate outlook.

The phenomenon of a labor aristocratic caste, like that of the labor bureaucracy, first manifested itself in Victorian England. The narrow corporate spirit of the British craft unions was well known. Furthermore, the upper stratum of the British working class was almost exclusively English and Scots, while the Irish were a significant part of the unskilled labor force.

The composition of pre-war German Social Democracy consisted largely of skilled, better-off workers. Zinoviev saw in this sociological composition an important source of reformism:

"...the predominant mass of the membership of the Berlin social-democratic organization is composed of *trained, of skilled workers*. In other words, the predominant mass of the membership of the social-democratic organization consists of the better-paid strata of labor — of those strata from which the greatest section of the labor aristocracy arises. [emphasis in original]

— *The War and the Crises of Socialism*

Zinoviev makes no attempt to demonstrate empirically that the labor aristocracy provided the base for the SPD right wing; he merely asserts it. He can therefore be criticized for mechanically transposing the political sociology of Edwardian Britain onto the very different terrain of Wilhelmian Germany. Craft unionism never played as

important a role in Germany as in Britain. On the other hand, rural backwardness loomed large in the political life of Germany right up until the war. The rock-solid base of the SPD right wing was the party's provincial organizations. Right-wing bureaucrats tried to counter the radicals, who were always concentrated in the big cities, by gerrymandering the party's electoral districts in favor of the small towns. A farmer's son working as an unskilled laborer in a South German town was more likely to support the SPD right, represented by Bernstein and Eduard David, than was a Berlin master machinist.

However if Zinoviev was too mechanical in imposing a British model of the sociological bases of opportunism on the SPD, the basic Leninist position on the stratification of the working class in the imperialist epoch remains valid. In advanced capitalist countries with a large well established labor movement,

there is any such thing as a worker's aristocracy, here it is."

— *World Communism* (1939)

Lenin's position on the labor aristocracy was an important corrective to the traditional positive social-democratic orientation to that stratum, an orientation which was in part a conservative reaction to the rapid growth of the unskilled labor force from among a politically conservative and socially backward peasantry. While workers from a rural background can be extremely militant, they are highly volatile and difficult to organize on a stable basis. For example, migrant farm labor and similar groups (e.g., lumberjacks) drawn into the syndicalist American Industrial Workers of the World before World War I demonstrated great combativity, but also great organizational instability.

No self-professed Marxist today maintains as positive an orientation to the highly skilled, well-paid sections of

of the argument is concerned, it could be extended to a majority or even all the workers in the industrialized countries. In any case it is clear that taking into account the global character of the capitalist system provides strong additional reasons for believing that the tendency in this stage of capitalist development will be to generate a *less* rather than a more revolutionary proletariat." [our emphasis]

The New Left is quite wrong in simply identifying the labor aristocracy with the better-paid sectors of the proletariat. In the first place many of the relatively higher-paid workers (e.g., auto workers or truckers in the U.S.) are members of industrial unions of the unskilled and semi-skilled, who won their wage levels through militant struggle against the bosses rather than imperialist bribery or job-trusting. Nor can all craft unions be counted among the labor aristocracy. The needle trades, organized along craft lines, are among the lowest-paid unionized workers in the U.S.

In *Imperialism* and related writings Lenin emphasized again and again that the labor aristocracy represented a small minority of the proletariat. And this was not an empirical estimate but a basic sociological proposition. A group can occupy a privileged social position *only in relation* to the working masses of the society of which it is a part. The New Left Third Worldist notion that the proletariat in the imperialist centers is a labor aristocracy in relation to the impoverished colonial masses denies that the European and North American working class is centrally defined by its exploitation at the hands of "its" bourgeoisie. It is methodologically similar to the argument of apologists for apartheid in South Africa that black workers in that country are better off than those in the rest of Africa.

However, Sweezy's revisionism is not limited to extending the category of labor aristocracy to the majority of workers in the advanced capitalist countries. He also distorts Lenin's attitude toward the actual labor aristocracy, which is a sociological not a political category. For the uppermost stratum of the working class, defense of its petty privileges often dominates its consciousness and action. It is thus a culture medium for the false consciousness which sees the workers' interests as tied to those of "their" bourgeoisie (support for imperialist war, protectionism, "profit-sharing" schemes, etc.). But the labor aristocracy is also a part of the working class, sharing common class interests with the rest of the proletariat, and thus cannot be considered as ultimately inherently pro-imperialist. Under normal capitalist conditions, the labor aristocracy may well seek short-term economic advantages at the expense of the class as a whole. However, under the impact of a major depression, a devastating war, etc., the long-term interests of this stratum as a section of the proletariat will tend to come to the fore.

Leninists even seek to win over exploited sectors of the petty bourgeoisie proper (e.g., teachers, small farmers) to the cause of revolutionary socialism. Therefore they can scarcely consign a section of the working class, albeit a relatively privileged, petty-bourgeoisified section, to the camp of bourgeois counterrevolution. In the October Revolution the relatively privileged railway workers provided a base for the Mensheviks' counterrevolutionary activities. However, the oil workers in Mexico, likewise an elite proletarian group in a backward country, have long been among the most advanced sections of that country's labor movement. In an important article written shortly after *Imperialism*, Lenin explicitly states that what fraction of the proletariat will eventually side with the bourgeoisie can

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Leaders of the first Weimar government in 1919: Scheldemann, Noske and Ebert.

the upper strata of the working class will frequently tend toward social and political conservatism relative to the mass of the proletariat. Moreover, within certain economic limits, the bourgeoisie and labor bureaucracy can widen the gap between the labor aristocracy and the class as a whole.

Zinoviev is certainly correct when he writes:

"To foster splits between the various strata of the working class, to promote competition among them, to segregate the upper stratum from the rest of the proletariat by corrupting it and making it an agency for bourgeois 'respectability'—that is entirely in the interests of the bourgeoisie.... They [the social-chauvinists] split the working class inside of every country and thereby intensify and aggravate the split between the working classes of various countries."

The uppermost stratum of the working class is not always and everywhere politically to the right of the mass of the proletariat. Sometimes the greater economic security of highly skilled workers produces a situation where they maintain a more radical political attitude than the mass of organized workers, who are more concerned with their day-to-day material needs. Thus in Weimar Germany in the 1920's, Communist support among skilled workers was relatively greater than among the basic factory labor force, which looked to the Social Democrats for immediate reforms. Franz Borkenau wrote of the German Communist Party membership in 1927:

"...skilled workers and people who have been skilled workers make up two-fifths of the party membership; if their womenfolk were added they would probably make up nearly half.... If

the working class as did the social democracy. On the contrary, during the past period New Left "Marxism" has gone to the opposite extreme, dismissing the entire organized proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries as a "labor aristocracy" bought off by the spoils of imperialism. Just as at one time the revolutionary Marxists' attack on the social-democratic bureaucracy was exploited by the anarcho-syndicalists, so in our day Lenin's critical analysis of the role of the labor aristocracy is distorted and exploited in the service of anti-proletarian petty-bourgeois radicalism, particularly nationalism.

A leading intellectual inspirer of New Left Third Worldism (more or less associated with Maoism) has been Paul Sweezy of *Monthly Review*. His revisionist distortion of Lenin's analysis of the labor aristocracy is presented with especial angularity in a centenary article on the publication of the first volume of *Capital*, "Marx and the Proletariat" (*Monthly Review*, December 1967). Here Sweezy claims Lenin's *Imperialism* for the proposition that the principal social force for revolution in our epoch has shifted to the rural masses in the backward countries:

"His [Lenin's] major contribution was his little book *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* which, having been published in 1917, is exactly half as old as the first volume of *Capital*. There he argued that 'Capitalism has grown into a world system of colonial oppression and of the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world by a handful of "advanced" countries....' He also argued that the capitalists of the imperialist countries could and do use part of their 'booty' to bribe and win over to their side an aristocracy of labor. As far as the logic

Toward the Communist International...

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only be determined through political struggle:

"Neither we nor anyone else can calculate precisely what portion of the proletariat is following and will follow the social-chauvinists and opportunists. This will be revealed only by the struggle. It will definitely be decided only by the socialist revolution."

"Imperialism and the Split in Socialism" (October 1916)

The Leninist attitude toward the labor aristocracy is significantly different than toward its leadership, the labor bureaucracy. In the imperialist epoch, the age of capitalist decay, successful reformism is impossible. Thus whatever their background and original motivation, unless they explicitly adopt a revolutionary course the leaders of the labor movement are forced by their social role to subordinate the workers' interests to the bourgeoisie. As Lenin later wrote of the "labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie":

"Present-day (twentieth-century) imperialism has given a few advanced countries an exceptionally privileged position, which, everywhere in the Second International, has produced a certain type of traitor, opportunist, and social-chauvinist leaders, who champion the interests of their own craft, their own section of the labor aristocracy... The revolutionary proletariat cannot be victorious unless this evil is combated, unless the opportunist, social-traitor leaders are exposed, discredited and expelled."

—"Left Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder (1920)

In contrast, skilled, well-paid workers, while more susceptible to conservative bourgeois ideology, are not "agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement" (*Ibid.*). Like the rest of the proletariat, they must be won away from their treacherous misleaders.

Classic Marxism and the Leninist Vanguard Party

By 1916 Lenin had developed both the programmatic and theoretical basis for a split with official social democracy and the creation of an international vanguard party modeled on the Bolsheviks. The actual formation of the Communist International in 1919 was, of course, decisively affected by the Bolshevik Revolution and establishment of the Soviet state. However, this series concerns the evolution of Lenin's position on the organizational question away from traditional revolutionary social democracy. And that process was essentially completed before the Russian Revolution. We therefore conclude with a discussion of the relationship of the Leninist vanguard party to the previous Marxist experience around the organizational question.

With respect to the vanguard party, the history of the Marxist movement appears paradoxical. The first Marxist organization, the Communist League of 1847-52, was a vanguard propaganda group which clearly demarcated itself from all other tendencies in the socialist and workers movements (e.g., from Blanquism, Cahet's Icarians, German "true" socialism, British Chartism). By contrast, the International Workingmen's Association (First International), established a generation later, sought to be an inclusive body embracing all working-class organizations. A central pillar of the First International was the British trade-union movement, which politically supported the bourgeois liberals. The Socialist (Second) International, although its dominant section was the Marxist German Social Democracy, sought to be inclusive of all proletarian socialist parties. In 1908 the Second International even admitted the newly-formed British Labour Party which did not claim to be socialist. Thus the Communist International of 1919

was in a sense a resurrection of the Communist League of 1848 on a mass foundation.

How does one account for the absence of the vanguard party principle in classic, late nineteenth century Marxism? Stalinist writers sometimes deny this fact, distorting history so as to make Marx/Engels out as advocates of Leninist organizational principles. On the other hand, it would be ahistoric idealism to criticize Marx/Engels for their organizational policies and to maintain that the equivalent of the Communist International could and should have been established in the 1860's-90's.

The formation of the Communist League of 1847 was predicated on an imminent bourgeois-democratic revolution. The task of organizing the people, including the urban artisan-proletariat, was being accomplished by the broader revolutionary democratic movement. The task of the Communist League was to vie for leadership of an existing revolutionary movement against the bourgeois democrats (as well as utopian socialists). The Communist League thus defined itself as the proletarian socialist vanguard of the revolutionary bourgeois-democratic movement. With the definitive end of the 1848 revolutionary period (signaled by the 1852 Cologne Communist trial), Marx's strategy and its organizational component became unviable.

Between the revolutions of 1848 and the Russian revolution of 1905 the possibilities of a successful bourgeois-democratic revolution had been exhausted while the economic bases for a proletarian-socialist revolution were still immature in the principal countries of Western Europe. (Britain presented its own exceptional problems in this

anarchist Ferdinand Domela-Nieuwenhuis, he wrote:

"It is my conviction that the critical juncture for a new International Working Men's Association has not yet arrived and for that reason I regard all workers' congresses or socialist congresses, in so far as they are not directly related to the conditions existing in this or that particular nation, as not merely useless but actually harmful. They will always ineffectually end in endlessly repeated general banalities."

—Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (1975)

In Western Europe the transition from the revolutionary bourgeois-democratic



Eduard Bernstein

movement to mass proletarian socialist parties required an entire epoch involving decades of preparatory activity.

The situation facing Marxists in tsarist Russia was fundamentally different. There a bourgeois-democratic revolution appeared a short-term prospect. A revolutionary bourgeois-democratic movement existed in the form of radical (socialistic) populism with broad support among the intelligentsia.

In important respects the conditions facing Plekhanov's Emancipation of Labor group in the 1880's paralleled those facing the Communist League before the revolution of 1848. Plekhanov projected a proletarian party (initiated by the socialist intelligentsia) which would act as a vanguard in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, while sharply demarcating itself from all petty-bourgeois radical currents. This vanguardist conception is clearly stated in the 1883 program of the Emancipation of Labor group:

"One of the most harmful consequences of the backward state of production was and still is the underdevelopment of the middle class, which, in our country, is incapable of taking the initiative in the struggle against absolutism."

"That is why our socialist intelligentsia has been obliged to head the present-day emancipation movement, whose direct task must be to set up free political institutions in our country, the socialists on their side being under the obligation to provide the working class with the possibility to take an active and fruitful part in the future political life of Russia." [emphasis in original]

G. Plekhanov, *Selected Philosophical Works* Volume I (1961)

In Bismarckian and Wilhelminian Germany all bourgeois parties were hostile to social democracy, which represented both the totality of the workers movement and by far the most significant force for democratic political change. The Catholic Center Party, National-Liberals and Progressives were only episodically viewed as a challenge to the semi-autocratic government. By contrast, Russian social democrats had to compete for cadre and for popular influence, including among the industrial proletariat, with the radical populists and at times even with the liberals. Moreover, since Russia was a multi-national state, the social democrats also had to compete with left nationalist parties like the Ukrainian Radical Democratic Party and the

Polish Socialist Party, and similar parties in the Baltic region and Transcaucasia.

The organizational principles of Plekhanovite social democracy thus had a dual character. With respect to the proletariat, early Russian social democrats sought to become "the party of the whole class" emulating the SPD. But they also sought to become the vanguard of all the diverse anti-tsarist forces in the Russian empire.

From Plekhanovite social democracy Lenin inherited vanguardist conceptions absent in the West European socialist parties. The significance of the fight against Economism, which was initiated by Plekhanov not Lenin, was in preserving the vanguard role of social democracy in relation to the broad, heterogeneous bourgeois-democratic forces. Because Lenin split Russian social democracy (in 1903) before it achieved a mass base, he did not fully recognize the significance of what he had done. He regarded the split with the Mensheviks as a legitimate continuation of the struggle to separate proletarian socialism from petty-bourgeois democracy. In reality he had separated the revolutionary socialists from the reformists, both seeking a working-class base.

The world-historic significance of pre-1914 Bolshevism was that it anticipated the organizational principles required for victory in the epoch of imperialist capitalism and of proletarian revolution. As the epoch of capitalist degeneration opened up with World War I, the principal obstacle to proletarian revolution was no longer the underdevelopment of bourgeois society and of the workers movement. It was now the reactionary labor bureaucracy, resting upon a powerful workers movement, which preserved an obsolete social system. The first task of revolutionary socialists was henceforth defeating and replacing the reformists as the leadership of the mass workers movement, the precondition to leading that movement to victory over capitalism and laying the basis for a socialist society. This task has a dual character. The establishment of a revolutionary vanguard party splits the working class politically. However, a vanguard party seeks to lead the mass of the proletariat through united economic organizations of class struggle, the trade unions. In a revolutionary situation a vanguard party seeks to lead a united working class to power through soviets, the organizational basis of a workers government ■



Gregory Zinoviev

regard. Even though Britain was far more advanced than France or Germany, in the 1850's house servants still outnumbered industrial workers.) The task of socialists was to create the precondition for a socialist revolution through the organization of the proletariat from an atomized condition. Furthermore, in the decades immediately following the defeat of 1848, mass, stable working-class organizations in Germany and France were impeded by effective state repression.

A Leninist-type vanguard party in Germany or France in the 1860's-90's would have existed in a political vacuum unrelated to any broader potentially revolutionary movement. Thus in the period following the dissolution of the First International, Marx opposed the re-establishment of an international center as a diversion from the task of building a workers movement actually capable of overthrowing capitalism. In a letter (22 February 1881) to the Dutch

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ANN ARBOR	(313) 663-9012
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Michigan Union U. of Michigan	
Ann Arbor MI 48109	
BERKELEY	
OAKLAND	(415) 835-1535
Box 23372	
Oakland CA 94623	
BOSTON	(617) 492-3928
Box 188	
MIT Station	
Cambridge MA 02139	
CHICAGO	(312) 427-0003
Box 6441 Main P.O.	
Chicago IL 60680	
CLEVELAND	(216) 566-7806
Box 6765	
Cleveland OH 44101	
DETROIT	(313) 868-9095
Box 663A General P.O.	
Detroit MI 48232	
HOUSTON	
Box 26474	
Houston TX 77207	
LOS ANGELES	(213) 662-1564
Box 26282 Edendale Station	
Los Angeles CA 90026	
NEW YORK	(212) 925-2426
Box 1377 G.P.O.	
New York NY 10001	
SAN DIEGO	
P.O. Box 2034	
Chula Vista CA 92012	
SAN FRANCISCO	(415) 863-6963
Box 5712	
San Francisco CA 94101	

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TORONTO	(416) 366-4107
Box 7198 Station A	
Toronto Ontario	
VANCOUVER	(604) 291-8993
Box 26 Station A	
Vancouver B.C.	

Essex...

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emerged as a popular strike leader, said that the workers at that point wanted to call on other UAW locals to help mass picket the plant and keep the scabs out:

"Our local president felt we should, we all felt that way. They [other locals] asked to, but the Regional office told them not to. Our [International UAW] rep, James Johnson, said they were not to come. He said they would just get arrested and get in trouble. They sent letters of support, they sent money and food, but the union officials would not allow mass picketing or a large group of people.... The scabs just took over."

Faced with a mounting number of scabs, strike leaders traveled to Detroit seeking help. In a mid-November meeting at Solidarity House with the UAW International Executive Board and in private meetings with UAW president Doug Fraser and Region 3 director Dallas Sells, the strikers were promised that the International would put pressure on the Big 3, who purchase 80 percent of the Elwood plants' auto parts, not to buy the scab goods and that the strikers would get additional legal and financial assistance.

But bureaucrats unwilling to mobilize the union ranks for mass picketing were equally unwilling to muster the force necessary to shut off the flow of scab parts. Ford, Chrysler and GM were not about to voluntarily deprive themselves of critical parts, particularly to aid an embattled UAW local. It would have taken UAW members at the Big 3 refusing to handle Essex products to give the Elwood strikers the vital assistance necessary to win the strike. Such action would endanger the cozy relationship between the auto bosses and UAW hacks. So nothing was done.

After months of inaction, Solidarity House swung into action only when Essex filed a \$600,000 damage suit in early December against Local 1663 and the International. Two officials were sent in from UAW headquarters just a few days before Christmas to hammer the Essex workers into accepting an offer almost identical to that which they had rejected in five previous votes. Georgia Ellis explained the sellout:

"They came in late Tuesday night and said we had to have a meeting 9 a.m. Wednesday morning and said we had to have a vote. Well, my god, we couldn't get ahold of our people, most of them had their phones disconnected and had moved in with relatives and all sorts of things. We wound up with 117 out of our 200 people. They got up and told us what they had done, that's all they had got—this language—that's all Essex was going to give them and that's all we were going to get and we might as well give up. And our people asked them, if we stayed out, would they stay with us, we didn't want to go back. They said we would get strike benefits but there was nothing they could do to help and there was nothing we could do ourselves. That was it."

"None of the promises that were made were kept.... I feel they cooperated completely with the company. They agreed to put pressure on, and they did—on us. They just simply wanted to get us off their back and get it done as quickly and as easily as possible. Part of the deal was to drop the law suit. And that was dropped. It was just plain blackmail."

Isolated and betrayed, the Essex workers voted 70 to 44 to end their fight. Having battled the company for nine long months, the strikers were not beaten down by the bosses—they were strangled by their "leaders."

The tragic defeat at Essex is appalling in its extent. The workers—and only a minority of them—return with no gains and a shattered union. Doug Fraser and the UAW hierarchy have, of course, sold out a lot of strikes. In the last year alone, Fraser sabotaged major strikes in Indianapolis, Fremont, California and Trenton, Michigan, leaving union officers and rank-and-file workers fired and disciplined. But compared to the big locals in the assembly plants and foundries, the small Essex local was considered expendable and was allowed to be thoroughly smashed.

The stranglehold of the International bureaucracy paralyzes the UAW. Workers in the auto industry alternate between grueling hours of forced overtime, intensifying speed-up and long periods of layoff. If they strike against these conditions, the union leaders join hands with the corporations and courts to drive the workers back into the factories or fire them. When, on occasion, a local leader stands with the ranks instead of the International brass, his head goes on the chopping block as well. As a result, almost all local and regional UAW officers march in lockstep to the International's tune, forming a bureaucratic roadblock implacably hostile to auto workers' interests.

The clear lesson of the Essex strike is the urgent and overdue need to build a class-struggle opposition to the betrayers in Solidarity House and their water boys. Caucuses must be constructed throughout the union which oppose not only the obvious strikebreakers/sellouts, but the arm-in-arm collaboration with the Democratic party which shapes the bureaucracy's pro-capitalist policies.

Most of the American left, however, busies itself in pursuit of demagogic bureaucrats barely to Fraser's left as the easy road to power and influence. A few years ago the fake-left United National Caucus was the darling of such groups as the Communist Party (CP) and the International Socialists (I.S.). Never more than a bloc between disgruntled skilled-trade parochialists, aspiring bureaucrats and leftist sycophants, the UNC predictably fell apart under the strains of conflicting bureaucratic ambitions and different constituencies.

The current favorite of the CP, I.S. and Socialist Workers Party (SWP), newly arrived on the trade union scene, is Frank Runnels, head of Cadillac Local 22 in Detroit. The vain and ambitious Runnels is seeking to advance his bureaucratic career by sponsoring a pan-union "Shorter Work Week Committee" and has received uncritical praise in the press of the reformist pseudo-socialists.

With auto sales slipping seriously in the last quarter of 1977 and some auto plants already beginning to furlough workers, the shorter work week will be an increasingly popular idea in the UAW, and Runnels knows it. But desiring at all costs to avoid a clear break with Fraser, Runnels is careful to avoid specifying how many hours the workweek should be cut, hopes a Democratic Congress will do it and wants Doug Fraser to be the keynote speaker at a "Shorter Work Week" convention this spring.

A fighting leadership for the UAW will not be fashioned out of the likes of Frank Runnels or other climbers interested in enhancing their rise in the bureaucracy. There will be more Elwoods, and worse, until auto workers forge a new and militant leadership committed to a complete break with the politics of class collaboration. ■

S.F. Longshore

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every attempt by militants to fight for jobs for all through a coastwide strike.

They have endorsed the voluntary transfers as well as the new dispatch system, and thus helped open the way for full-scale implementation of LWOP. And during the recent ILA strike of East and Gulf Coast longshoremen Mills, who had previously campaigned on a demagogic promise to "shut the coast down" for a shorter workshift at no loss in pay, meekly accepted the role of Herman's flunkie in Local 10, responsible for implementing the International's farcical "defense pact" with the ILA. This phony deal ended in ignominy when picket lines were pulled down on the West Coast as soon as the PMA predictably sought injunctions.

Even more revealing is the support of Wing & Co. for Jimmy Herman's attempt to limit the number Local 10 delegates to be elected to the upcoming contract caucus (the longshore contract expires next June) to six, instead of

Kentucky Coal Fields...

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got shot by being peaceful," the miner said angrily. "We're going to be prepared the next time."

No doubt emboldened by this wanton execution of a loyal UMWA retiree, non-union truck drivers are increasing their efforts to run scab coal. *WV* learned that coal haulers have organized a "truckers association" and appealed to Kentucky governor Julian Carroll for assistance against roving pickets, who have convinced many drivers to put up their trucks for the duration of the strike. In one case 40 scab drivers with rifles hid in the bed of a coal truck hoping to ambush picketing miners.

While gun thugs and cops have failed to intimidate the miners, Miller's abysmal preparations for this strike (there are neither health benefits nor a strike fund) and his treachery since December 6 have left UMWA militants bitter. The most sacred tradition in the 88-year history of the union is respect for the picket line, yet Miller has ushered thousands of western U.S. strip miners back to work under a "separate peace" agreement. "People feel suspicious; people feel Arnold Miller really is trying to betray them," the Kentucky miner told *WV*.

Such sentiments are the fruit of five years of Miller's pro-capitalist leadership, during which union coal has fallen below 50 percent of the national total. Unless hundreds of new and old non-union pits are brought under UMWA contract, scab operations will sabotage strikes and threaten the union's existence altogether. Unfortunately, Miller's re-

leven as provided for in the constitution. When Bridges undertook to stifle Local 10 opposition to his policies in 1973, the Wing forces squawked loudly. But today they want to make peace with the International and are content to do Herman's bidding.

Howard Keylor and Stan Gow, publishers of "Longshore Militant," were re-elected to the executive board, receiving 295 and 277 votes respectively, a slight improvement over past elections. Keylor also got 95 votes in his first bid for the Local presidency. "Longshore Militant" has clearly established itself as a credible left pole in the Local. This was the fourth consecutive year in which Gow and Keylor were elected to the Local 10 executive board on a class-struggle program. These militants, uniquely in Local 10, opposed the new LWOP-stipulated dispatch system. They campaigned vigorously for a coastwide strike for a shorter workshift at no loss in pay, full manning scales on all operations; abolition of the "steady man" system and all other attacks on the hiring hall; for an end to the no-strike clause, for democratically elected strike committees and a break with the capitalist parties.

The principled program of Gow and Keylor stood in sharp contrast to that of Communist Party (CP) supporters, who have time and again attempted to give themselves a "militant" face only to end up supporting Herman and the Local 10 leadership on every crucial issue. The Local 10 membership gave a sharp rebuke to these unprincipled hacks. Well-known CP supporter Billy Proctor received only 142 votes, failing to make the executive board, while his bloc partner Leo Robinson got only 281 votes, down from last year.

As the bosses tighten the screws, the policies of Proctor and Wing become virtually indistinguishable from those of Herman and Williams. The upcoming contract battle poses the need once again for longshoremen to throw off the stranglehold of the pro-capitalist bureaucrats and their reformist hangers-on, and fight for the class-struggle policies of "Longshore Militant." ■

cord in organizing—like that of his former allies-turned-adversaries Lee Roy Patterson and Harry Patrick—is as painful as the history of broken wildcats, which all three feuding bureaucrats helped to defeat.

Although non-union coal constitutes a mortal threat to the UMWA, the Miller bureaucracy has in some cases ignored the organizing efforts of rank and filers even when non-union miners asked to join up. The Pike County miner continued: "We were on strike for a contract [in 1974 and] we pulled a non-union mine out. The men were willing to sign the cards and everything and go union, but the International wouldn't recognize them. We got 150 men fired."

The current strike, in which many non-union pits are already shut down, presents a crucial opportunity to organize the unorganized mines. But as the experience of Kentucky miners in 1974 demonstrates, this task cannot be entrusted to the likes of Miller & Co. The job of closing all North American coal mines must be taken up by the election of authoritative strike committees which would exert the will of the membership in the face of the bureaucracy's treachery and bungling. Such bodies would possess the credibility necessary to approach the ranks of the steel workers, seamen and railroad unions, appealing for solidarity actions—in particular a labor boycott of all U.S. and Canadian coal.

Many of the measures needed to win this battle and beat back the growing danger of scab coal come from the miners' own arsenal of tested strike weapons. It is by forging a class-struggle leadership which can apply these tactics on an industry-wide basis and oust the defeatist Miller gang—along with its bureaucratic opponents—that UMWA militants can lead the strike to victory. ■

Trenton 7...

(continued from page 5)

handles Chrysler legal cases, are appealing their case and asking other unions to file legal briefs in their favor. While all legal channels must be pursued to overturn this outrageous conviction, no faith can be placed in the "justice" of the courts or legislative halls, where the right to strike is under severe attack. As another of the Trenton 7, Al Larcinese, remarked: "In the 1930's, they were using mobsters, state troopers and everything to break a strike. Now they just use the courts."

The same labor fakery who refuse to defend workers' strikes against attack by the capitalist state look to the state for union protection. The union bureaucrats are currently touting the "Labor Reform Act," which has already passed the House and is under consideration by the U.S. Senate. Like the 1935 Wagner Act, this bill purports to be a boon to union organizing by speeding up the procedures for certification elections. But Section 12 of the bill empowers the National Labor Relations Board to obtain court injunctions against solidarity or so-called "stranger pickets" in the face of expressed or even implied no-strike agreements.

In its early years, when memories of the sitdown strikes which built the auto union were still fresh, the UAW exercised the right to strike over all grievances. This was traded away by Reuther/Woodcock/Fraser and replaced by the no-strike clause which today is used to fire and convict militants like the Trenton 7. Not through reliance on the bosses' courts or faith in the pro-company bureaucrats but only on the terrain of the class struggle can the right to strike be won. In the coal fields militant miners are demanding the local right to strike in their contract. On the Mesabi Range, iron ore workers struck for four and a half months in defiance of the no-strike "Experimental Negotiating Agreement." In Detroit defense of the Trenton 7 must be the rallying point for auto workers to join this struggle. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Doug Fraser's Most Shameful Sellout

UAW Strangles Essex Strike

The most shameful defeat in the recent history of the United Auto Workers (UAW) has been inflicted on a small local in Elwood, Indiana. For nearly nine months 200 strikers, 80 percent of them women, militantly resisted the attacks of armed guards and scabberding police, their desperate battle virtually ignored by the UAW bigwigs. But when Essex Incorporated brought a \$600,000 law suit against the International in early December, Solidarity House bureaucrats rushed in to impose substantially the same terms the strikers had been offered *before* they walked out last April and which they had rejected in five subsequent votes.

The strikers' union, UAW Local 1663, has been broken. One hundred twenty scabs hired during the strike will continue on the job and do not have to join the union. Of the 200 strikers, only 50 have been recalled to work; the rest will be reinstated over the next three years "as needed." Essex flatly refuses to

rehire eleven strikers accused of "misconduct" on the picket line. Their cases will go to arbitration.

It's a Doormat, not a Contract

Before they struck, Essex workers' base pay was a shocking \$2.76 per hour, particularly outrageous when compared to the \$7-plus fellow UAW members make at Ford, GM and Chrysler. Essex offered a miserable wage increase of 62 cents over three years. But thanks to Solidarity House, the workers are returning now for even less than that: 61 cents! A penny an hour was diverted from the original company offer to increase sickness benefits from \$35 to \$37.50 a week. As one striker told *WV*:

"There was no gain whatsoever financially. We don't have shift preference, we don't have our classifications back, we don't have anything. We were just losing in every negotiation; they gave away something else and never asked for anything in return. We took a listing of things that were of utmost impor-

tance to our people in order to go back...at the bottom of the list was rotation of operators and additional grievance time and those were the only two things we got. No cost of living, no pensions, we didn't get anything."

This "contract" is a declaration of unconditional surrender by the union. Strike leaders told *WV* that many workers will simply pull up stakes and move elsewhere rather than return on these humiliating terms. Those who do return face the conditions of a prison camp. The small plant, which never had guards or even a fence before the strike, is now enclosed by an eight-foot-high wire fence, with two armed guards on the gate. Two other guards take every worker's name and ID number as they clock in and out. Armed thugs patrol up and down the plant aisles constantly.

These are the same hired guns who subjected the strikers to repeated violent assaults. When the company decided to re-open the plant last June with scabs, private guards were hired who shot up

the picket line from slits cut in sand-bagged factory walls. Striker Carol Frye was shot in the back and is permanently disabled with a bullet lodged near her spine. Pickets were beaten and hit by scabs' cars. Over 80 strikers were arrested by county police; many still face court appearances.

The strike was not lost due to a lack of militancy on the part of the strikers. Together with husbands, sons and boyfriends, the workers armed themselves with clubs and baseball bats and fought back. When Carol Frye was shot in July, the company claims a four-day siege ensued, with hundreds of rounds of gunfire pouring into the harricaded plant. It was then that Essex obtained a federal injunction limiting picketing to six strikers. Sixty Indiana state troopers were rushed in to keep the plant open to the scabs.

In an interview with *WV*, Georgia Ellis, a 57-year-old grandmother who

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Essex workers picket in Elwood, Indiana where striker was shot by security guards.

Sign Up Unorganized Miners!

Kentucky Coal Fields Seethe Over Picket-Line Murder

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia, January 17—Bargaining resumed Thursday in Washington between representatives of the striking United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) after a 12-day lapse. Far from signaling progress in the six-week-old strike, however, the re-opened talks are cause for daily worry by the ranks as they wait to see what UMWA president Arnold Miller will give away next.

Prior to December 30, when the BCOA walked out of negotiations, the "broad outline" of a settlement was widely reported which would have outlawed the vital right to strike by providing for individual financial penalties for wildcatting and instant firing of

roving pickets at any mine site. As word of this wholesale capitulation to the operators reached the coal fields the resulting protest forced union hargainers to back off, at least temporarily. Hoping to avoid a repetition of the ranks' "intrusion" into the talks, negotiations are now being conducted under a news blackout to prevent press leaks. No new developments have been officially released.

Among the rank and file, however, militants' efforts to stop scab coal began in the first days of the walkout and have continued on an even larger scale after the holidays. (Militants in southern West Virginia, eastern Kentucky and southern Ohio last week told *WV* that as soon as the weather breaks meetings will be

called and the roving pickets will again be sent out. The strikers' determination to win has been increased by the cold-blooded murder on January 6 of 65-year-old retired miner Mack Lewis, gunned down by a company guard in Pike County, Kentucky.

In addition to the shooting itself, miners are incensed by the reportage in the capitalist media which portrayed Lewis' death as an inexplicable tragedy virtually unrelated to the coal strike. Pro-company newspapers pondered why Lewis would be shot by an off-duty guard employed by the Diamond Coal Company, and wondered why there were pickets present at all, since Diamond Coal shut down early in the strike. The truth is that although pickets closed

Diamond Coal weeks ago, another scab outfit which shares Diamond's gate was still working. Lewis' assailant's home is on company property, and he was responsible for unlocking the gate which admits coal trucks, according to District 30 UMWA members.

According to a Pike County miner interviewed by *WV*, four elderly unarmed union men were picketing the gate at the time of the murder while cursing the guard who draws a UMWA pension. A few minutes after Lewis arrived at the site with sandwiches for his union brothers, the guard "walked up, didn't exchange three words till the guy was shot—five times—with a .44." "They were peaceful old men, and one of them

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